

**国学与西学
(国际学刊)**

**International Journal of
Sino-Western Studies**

**主编 黄保罗
Editor-in-chief Paulos Huang**

**A Special Volume on Chinese Christian Texts
and the Formation of New Thoughts in Ming
and Qing Dynasties**
明清汉语基督教文献与新思想的形成专辑

No. 22, 2022

国学与西学：国际学刊（半年刊）

第二十二期：二零二二年六月

主编及出版总监

黄保罗（上海大学特聘教授，芬兰赫尔辛基大学国学与西学北欧论坛主席/博睿《中国神学年鉴》英文版主编）

网络电子版（www.SinoWesternStudies.com）和微信版（国学与西学国际学刊）

副主编：肖清和（中国：上海大学历史系副教授），苏德超（武汉大学哲学学院教授）

执行编辑

包克强（美国：康耐尔大学历史系副教授），英语

陈永涛（金陵神学院副教授、博士），汉语

郭瑞珠（澳大利亚，西澳大利亚大学神学系研究员，珀斯），英语

胡宗超（武汉大学哲学系），微信版编辑

K-H, Johanna（芬兰TD出版公司编辑），英语

Jørgensen, Knud（挪威神学院兼职教授），英语

王伟平（武汉大学哲学系），微信版编辑

学术顾问（以姓氏拼音为序）

陈来（清华大学国学研究院院长、教授）

戴德理（美国：世华中国研究中心主席）

格勒格森（丹麦：歌本哈根大学系统神学教授）

汉科克（英国：牛津亚洲宗教社会研究院院长）

郭齐勇（武汉大学国学院院长、教授）

江怡（长江学者教授、山西大学哲学系资深教授）

赖品超（香港中文大学文学院院长、教授）

罗明嘉（芬兰：赫尔辛基大学系统神学系主任、教授）

麦格拉斯（英国伦敦英王学院，神学、宗教与文化中心教授、主任）

南乐山（美国：波士顿大学神学学院前院长、教授）

施福来（挪威：斯塔湾格神学与差传学院教授）

孙向晨（复旦大学哲学学院院长、教授）

田默迪（奥地利维也纳大学哲学博士、澳门圣约瑟大学哲学教授）

王晓朝（中山大学哲学系珠海校区教授）

王学典（山东大学儒家高等研究院执行院长、教授、《文史哲》主编）

魏克利（美国伯克利神学研究院教授 / 香港圣公会大主教之神学及历史研究特别顾问）

杨富雷（瑞典：哥登堡大学教授）

杨熙楠（香港：汉语基督教文化研究所总监）

杨煦生（北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心主任、教授）

张福贵（吉林大学文学院院长、教授）

钟鸣旦（比利时：皇家科学院院士、天主教鲁汶大学汉学系主任、教授）

张志刚（北京大学宗教文化研究院院长、教授）

钟志邦（新加坡三一神学院前院长）

卓新平（中国社会科学院学部委员、中国宗教学院会长、教授）

特约评委（以姓氏拼音为序）

爱德华多·丹尼尔·奥维耶多（阿根廷 科技研究委员会研究员、罗萨里奥国立大学教授）

曹剑波（厦门大学哲学系教授）

陈建明（四川大学道教与宗教文化研究所教授、主任）

陈声柏（兰州大学宗教文化研究中心副教授、主任）

樊志辉（黑龙江大学哲学院教授、院长）

高师宁（中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所研究员）

李向平（华东师范大学宗教与社会研究中心教授、主任）

梁工（河南大学圣经文学研究所教授、所长）

刘家峰（华中师范大学基督教研究中心教授、副主任）

刘建军（东北师范大学教授、社科处处长）

宋刚（香港大学文学院助理教授）

王志成（浙江大学基督教与跨文化研究基地教授、主任）

游斌（中央民族大学哲学及宗教学学院教授、副院长）

亚达夫·阿润·库玛尔（印度新那烂佛教大学巴利语和佛教助理教授）

张先清（厦门大学人类学及民族学系教授、主任）

赵杰（山东大学哲学及宗教学系教授）

赵林（武汉大学欧美宗教文化研究所教授、所长）

朱东华（清华大学哲学系副教授）

封面题款：刘大钧（中国周易学会会长，山东大学终身教授）；封面设计：黄安明；本刊logo 取自金砖图案，一首两翼四足一尾的飞龙，象征中国精神体系的实然形象。

引用索引：本刊已被收入芬兰艺术 & 人文学索引（芬兰国家图书馆）、美国宗教学 & 神学提要数据库（www.rtabstracts.org）、汤姆森路透新资料引用索引（ESCI, Thomson Reuters）和美国神学图书馆协会数据库（ATLA RDB®, [www: http://www.atla.com](http://www.atla.com)）、the Bibliography of Asian Studies, EBSCO's Academic research database as a part of a collection of Ultimate databases, SCOPUS, Globethics.net library (a journal collection and the Online Chinese Christianity Collection / OCCO), ELSEVIER and DOAJ (<http://bit.ly/1IPWhdD>), European Reference Indexs for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH).

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (IJS)

(Semi-annual)

No. 22: June 2022

Editor-in-chief and Publishing Supervisor:

HUANG, Paulos (Ph.D., Th.D., Distinguished Prof., Shanghai Univ., Chairman of the Nordic Forum for Sino-Western Studies, Finland, and Chief editor for *Brill Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, Leiden & Boston)

Vice-editor-in-chief for Electronic Version (Online: www.sinowesternstudies.com)

XIAO Qinghe (Associate Professor, Ph.D., Dept. of History, Shanghai University, China)

Vice-editor-in-chief for Wechat Version (Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan)

SU Dechao (Professor, Ph.D., School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, China)

Executive Editors

BARWICK, John (Associate Professor, Ph.D., Department of History, Cornell University, USA), English

CHEN, Abraham (Associate Professor, Th.D., Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, China), Chinese

GUOK, Rose (Researcher, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia) English

HU Zongchao (Researcher, School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, China), Wechat version editor

JORGENSEN, Knud (Adjunct Professor, Ph.D., Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo, Norway), English

K-H, Johanna (Editor, TD Publishing Company, Helsinki, Finland), English

WANG Weiping (Researcher, School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, China), Wechat version editor

Editorial Advisory Board (in alphabetical order)

CHEN Lai (Prof. & Dean, Institute of National Studies, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China)

CHONG Chee Pang (Previous Principal, Trinity Theological Seminary, Singapore)

CHRISTIAN, Matthias (Prof. of Philosophy, St. Joseph University, Macau/Ph.D, Vienna University, Austria)

DOYLE, G. Wright (Director, Global China Center, Virginia, USA)

FÄLLMAN, Fredrik (Researcher, Dept. of East Asian Studies, Göteborg University, Sweden)

GREGERSEN, Niels Henrik (Prof., Dept. of Systematic Theology, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark)

GUO Qiyong (Prof. & Dean, Institute of National Studies, Wuhan University, Wuhan, China)

HANCOCK, Christopher (Director, Institute for Religion and Society in Asia, Oxford, UK)

JIANG Yi (Prof. & Dean, School of Philosophy, Shanxi University, Taiyuan, China)

LAI Pan-chiu (Prof. & Dean, Faculty of Arts, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

LAITINEN, Kauko (Previous Director of Confucius Institute in the University of Helsinki / Director & Professor, Finnish Institute, Tokyo, Japan)

McGRATH, Alistair (Professor & Head, Centre for Theology, Religion and Culture, King's College, London, UK)

NEVILLE, Robert C. (Prof. & Previous Director, School of Theology, Boston University, Boston, USA)

RUOKANEN, Miikka (Prof. & Head, Dept. of Systematic Theology, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland)

STANDAERT, Nicolas (Member of Belgian Royal Academy of Sciences; Professor & Director, Dept. of Sinology, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)

STRANDENAES, Thor (Professor, School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway)

SUN Xiangchen (Prof. & Dean, School of Philosophy, Fudan University, Shanghai, China)

WANG Xiaochao (Prof., Department of Philosophy, Zhuhai Campus, Zhongshan University, Zhuhai, China)

WANG Xuedian (Prof & Executive Dean, Advanced Institute of Confucian Studies, Shandong University and Chief editor for *Wenshizhe* [Literature, History and Philosophy], Ji'nan, China)

WICKERI, Philip L. (Prof. of Interdisciplinary Studies, the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, USA/Advisor to the Archbishop on Theological and Historical Studies, Hong Kong Anglican)

YANG Xusheng (Prof. & Director, Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies, IFAHS, Peking University, China)

ZHANG Fugui (Prof. & Dean, School of Humanities, Jilin University, Changchun, China)

ZHANG Zhigang (Prof. & Director, Academy of Religious Studies, Pekin University, Beijing, China)

ZHUO Xinping (Prof., Institute for World Religions Studies, China Academy of Social Sciences / CASS Member / Chairman, Chinese Association for Religions Studies, Beijing, China)

Special Reviewers (in alphabetical order)

CAO Jianbo (Prof., Dept. of Philosophy, Xiamen University, Xiamen, China)

CHEN Jianming (Prof. & Director, Institute for Daoism and Religious Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, China)

CHEN Shengbai (Prof. & Director, Center for the Study of Religion and Culture, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou, China)

FAN Zhihui (Prof. & Dean, Faculty of Philosophy, Heilongjiang University, Harbin, China)

GAO Shining (Researcher, Institute for World Religions Studies, China Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China)

LI Xiangping (Prof. & Dean, Center for Religion and Society, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China)

LIANG Gong (Prof. & Director, Institute of Biblical Literature Studies, Henan University, Kaifeng, China)

LIU Jiafeng (Prof. & Vice-Director, Center for Christian Studies, Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China)

LIU Jianjun (Prof. & Director, Council of Research, Northeastern Normal University, Changchun, China)

Oviedo, Eduardo Daniel (member of the Argentine National Research Council (CONICET) and Professor at University of Rosario, Argentine)

SONG, Gang (Assistant Professor, School of Humanities, Hong Kong University, Hong Kong)

WANG Zhicheng (Prof. & Director, Institute of Christian and Cross-Cultural Studies, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China)

Yadav, Arun Kumar (Prof. Dr., Department of Pali, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara University, India)

YOU Bin (Prof. & Vice-Dean, Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Minzu University of China, Beijing, China)

ZHANG Xianqing (Prof. & Director, Dept. of Anthropology & Ethnicity, Xiamen University, Xiamen, China)

ZHAO Jie (Prof., Dept. of Philosophy, Shandong University, Ji'nan, China)

ZHAO Lin (Prof. & Director, Institute for European and American Religious & Cultural Studies, Wuhan University, Wuhan, China)

ZHU Donghua (Associate Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China)

Calligraphy of journal title by Prof. **LIU Dajun** (Chairman of the Chinese *Yiching* Association, Shandong University). Cover design is by **Joonatan Anming HUANG**. The logo of journal is taken from a Han Dynasty brick carving. It is a flying dragon with one head, two wings, four feet and one tail; and it symbolizes the reality of Chinese thought.

Index: This journal has been indexed by Finnish National Library, Religious & Theological Abstracts (R&TA), Thomson Reuters the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), *the ATLA Religion Database® (ATLA RDB®)*, <http://www.atla.com>, the Bibliography of Asian Studies, EBSCO's Academic research database as a part of a collection of Ultimate databases, SCOPUS, Globethics.net library (a journal collection and the Online Chinese Christianity Collection / OCC), ELSEVIER and DOAJ (<http://bit.ly/1IPWhtD>), and European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH).

目录

Contents

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk*

肖清和、黄保罗	明清汉语基督教文献与新思想的形成.....	9
Qinghe XIAO	From the Editors' Desk: Chinese Christian Texts and the Formation of	
Paulos HUANG	New Thoughts in Ming and Qing Dynasties.....	14

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

Thierry MEYNARD	A Thomistic argumentation on creationism in Late Ming China: First	
	juan of the Explanation on the Great Being (Huanyou quan), 1628.....	3
梅谦立	晚明对创造论的托马斯主义论证——《寰有诠》(1628年).....	16
Benoît VERMANDER	John Gerson and the Foundations of Mystical Theology.....	17
魏明德	让·热尔松与神秘神学的奠基.....	23

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

张西平	梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的明清天主教中文文献.....	27
Zhang XIPING	Documents from Ming and Qing Western Studies and Chinese	
	Books in the Vatican Library.....	39
Qinghe XIAO	The Imperial Astronomical Bureau and the Official Catholics	
	Community during the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties.....	41
肖清和	钦天监与明末清初官员天主教徒群体.....	53

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

魏宗翔	西班牙来华传教士闵明我的中国宗教观.....	57
Jingxiang WEI	Domingo Fernández de Navarrete's Views on Chinese Religion,	
	a Spanish Dominican to China.....	70
陈欣雨	钱德明生平及易学思想探析.....	73
Xinyu CHEN	Throughout History, Taking Book of Changes As The Path:	
	Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot's studies on Book of Changes.....	84

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

Jingjing LIU	The Last Remaining Jesuit in China after Suppression in Europe.....	89
刘晶晶	最后在华耶稣会士: 贺清泰(1735-1813).....	101
郭建斌	始同终异: 近代在华天主教与基督新教的宿怨新隙.....	103
Jianbin GUO	The same Origin and different Roads: the old and recent hatred between Catholicism and Protestantism	
	in Modern China.....	116

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

Rui PENG	The Economic Ethic in Chinese Society: Differences from and Similarities to the Western Economic	
	Ethic from the Perspective of Social Cooperation.....	121
彭睿	中国社会中的经济伦理:	
	从社会合作视角看与西方经济伦理的异同.....	146
YU Yan'e	An Analysis of the Multiple-interaction Characteristics of Christian Indigenization in the Ethnic Minority	
	Areas of Southwest China ——A Case Study of the Lahu Funeral Ceremony in G County of Southwest	
	Yunnan.....	147
余艳娥	西南少数民族地区基督教本土化多重互动特征分析	
	——以滇西南G县拉祜族丧葬仪式为个案.....	157

书评与通讯 Reviews and Academic Reports

于晓东	论犹太人的 Havruta 学习法.....	161
Yu Xiaodong	On the Jewish Havruta Learning Method.....	169
Liu XIAOYI	On the Much-Debated Remarriage Case of Li Qingzhao.....	171
刘晓艺	论颇具争议的李清照再婚一案.....	177

刘光耀	文化狱：两重高墙里的救赎——阿石《朵儿》阐释.....	179
Guangyao LIU	Culture Prison: The Redemption Within Two Walls ---An Interpretation of Ashi's <i>Duor</i>	187
投稿须知	Notes for Contributors	191
注释体例及要求	Footnote Format and Requirements	193

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

卷首语： 明清汉语基督教文献与新思想的形成

肖清和、黄保罗

上海大学历史系, Email: xiaoqh@shu.edu.cn

晚明清初是中西文化交流的又一璀璨时期。相关论著虽然充栋，但有关此时期对于中国历史、社会与文化的深刻影响仍然有待于进一步探索。不过首先需要对“影响”进行界定，否则容易陷入解释学的“循环”或肤浅的捕风捉影。所谓“影响”，按照思想史的观点是指不同思想之间的交流与互动，既包括冲突也包括融合；既包括显性的直接的作用，也包括隐性的间接的效果。对于直接影响，我们可以通过相关文本进行个案或具体研究，但对于间接影响，则需要仔细甄别。比如基督教及西方文化入华对明末清初的思想转变有无影响？如果是肯定的回答，这些影响又体现在何处？

如果将中国思想史比喻成一条河流，那么从来源上看，它有无数条源头，可能会找到了几个最主要的源头；而它的去向也会有众多的支流，虽然最终会有一条入海口。因此，从这个意义上说，晚明入华的基督教实际上最终汇入了明清思想史这条河流中，又在某些支流中得以呈现。只不过我们在描述、梳理或研究中国思想史时，只看到了干流，而对这些细小的源头或支流有所疏略而已。

而这条河流的流向，既有显流，也有潜流。按照余英时先生的讲法，明清思想的转变有外在的理路，也有内在的理路。明清基督教在禁教之前可谓是显流，而禁教之后变成了“帝国潜流”。同样，这种转变有外在的原因，也有内在的原因。同样也是余英时先生指出，要关注中国思想史的断裂或突破。余先生指出中国思想史上层出现四次跳跃。第一次在春秋战国时期，第二次在汉末，一直延续到魏晋南北朝，第三次是唐宋之际，第四次是16世纪，即王阳明时代。余先生特别注重将学术与政治结合起来进行考察。余先生所指出的从“得君行道”到“觉民行道”之转变非常具有启发意义。除此之外，晚明时期随着商品经济的发展，社会上逐渐出现了独立的知识分子群体或阶层。这是一个非常值得关注的事情。

通过科举向上流动的机会越来越少，许多人主动放弃了科举。而科举也不再是向上流动、阶层跃迁的惟一方式，或者也不是生存下去的惟一途径。很多人开始选择与知识生产、再生产有关的专业作为职业，如刻书、编书、制墨、治印、绘画、医药、戏曲、陶器、治玉等等。当然，有些家庭原始积累丰厚，下一代就从事与博物、收藏、行旅等相关的事业。换言之，不依附于官府或独立于政治之外的知识分子群体的出现，是晚明社会的一个重要历史现象。当然，有些士大夫虽然是官员，但同时也是学者。这种身份的转换并不妨碍他们成为这个群体的另一组成部分。觉民行道的一个重要渠道就是讲学运动。许多人仕的（官员）、出仕的（学者）的士大夫都在从事这一活动，甚至未取得任何功名的学者也可以从事这一职业。与此对应的是西方尤其是英国也已出现了独立的科学家群体。而随着改朝换代的完成，明末清初中国社会中所出现的这个群体也基本上消失殆尽。官府或政治继续垄断一切社会资源，而学术、思想等等变成了政治的附庸或意识形态的从属。在这种情况下，东西方进入所谓的“大分流”时代，一个朝着现代化、全球化的买进，而另一个则继续内卷。

明末清初时期的基督徒群体是一个值得关注的群体。该群体与中国历史、社会中既有群体不同。作为一个具有明显社会边界、与众不同信仰的群体，其与上至皇帝本人、下至贩夫走卒均有接触、交流、对话乃至冲突。这对于明清社会来说异常重要。首先，一个社会能不能容许不同的声音？能不能接纳与本土不同的信仰、思想主张的群体？其次，如果社会中出现了一群与众不同的群体，该如何处理？再次，是否有必要让官府或政治垄断所有资源，包括思想抑或宗教？

所谓“沸腾的晚明思想”是指晚明时期较为自由、开放的思想市场。晚明天主教入华虽然给当时的社会带来了一定的冲击,但只是为当时“沸腾的”水中加入了一点新料而已。对于儒家保守主义者或者保守的官员来说,天主教徒群体的最大危害不在于思想,而在于政治。反教官员仍然按照正与邪的二元对立的模式来处理天主教。此模式的核心并不在于正与邪的标准,而在于将对方纳入邪教的框架内,从而给予对方以政治上的定性。

此时期的基督教则有意要跳出儒家传统的正邪关系,试图构建新的道统体系。明清基督教新道统论有两个发展阶段。第一个阶段是利玛窦、徐光启等第一代群体提出来的“补儒易佛”。第二个阶段是马若瑟、刘凝、张星曜等第三代群体提出来的“真儒”、“超儒”。所谓基督教新道统论指的是晚明入华的基督教接续了先秦儒家道统,是真正的道统继承者;而中国儒家自秦火之后,业已偏离了原先的道统,不是真正的道统继承者,而是各出己意、各树一帜,“道术为天下裂矣。”利玛窦、徐光启非常敏锐地觉察出晚明思想的发展趋势,提出基督教可以“补益王化”、“左右儒术”,可以帮助朝廷实现三代之治。补儒的前提是合儒,但此儒是指先秦之古儒,而后儒则需要补。因为后儒偏离了古儒,主要是因为佛道之侵蚀,因此补儒就需要易佛。是故,补儒与易佛是相互相成的关系。

到了马若瑟、刘凝、张星曜,基督教新道统论进一步得到发挥。他们提出只有入华的天主教才是真正的儒家;只有入华的传教士,尧舜禹汤周孔之道才没有消失,“非有泰西儒者,杭海远来,极力阐发,则尧舜禹汤、文武周公孔孟之真传几乎熄矣。”张星曜认为天主教徒才是真正的儒家,而那些所谓的儒家不过是俗儒、伪儒,因为天主教徒敬天、辟佛,而俗儒不仅不敬天而且佞佛。也是张星曜本人,虽然未得功名,但是追随他的门生近百人,而且是来自陕西、甘肃、直隶、满洲等不同地方。

明清基督教新道统论是外来宗教在华存在的合法性说明。此亦反映出外来文化在华的一个困境,即取决于官方或政治的态度,而不取决于外来文化本身或老百姓自己。晚明时期,西方科学得以引进、推广,也是因为朝廷需要;而清初则是因为皇帝本人的喜好。至于普通人是否可以自由信仰外来宗教、是否可以研习西方科学,则要受到诸多因素的限制。总而言之,明清时期的基督教发展实际上与此时期的社会、思想发展一致。随着官方禁教的展开,天主教潜入水下,镶嵌到民间社会当中,逐渐民间化、本土化,直到鸦片战争之后又浮出水面。

中西学界对明清基督教史的研究经历了不同阶段。民国时期,诸如陈垣、方豪、英华等“民国三公子”对明清基督教展开了深入研究,在古籍校勘、人物生平、史事厘清等方面具有开创之功。上个世纪八十年代,随着文化热的兴起,国内有关明清基督教研究的成果如雨后春笋般涌现,基本上采取了文化交流的研究模式,也有从哲学、社会学、人类学、比较文学等不同学科出发而取得了令人瞩目的成果。海外汉学界从1960年代之后大多采取“以中国为中心”的研究模式,代表作如谢和耐的《中国与基督教》、钟鸣旦的《杨廷筠》等等。新的研究成果则采取了互动交流等模式,而关注作为“之间”的明清基督教在中西文化交流过程中的地位、作用,以及其自身的思想与信仰。也有采取地方宗教、大宗宗教等研究模式而出现的研究成果。

目前中国学界、政界、教界都在推行宗教中国化研究。明清基督教可谓是基督教中国化研究的最好案例,不仅有丰富的历史实践,而且更为重要的是留下了丰富的历史文献。根据已有研究,明清时期基督教仅汉语文献就有8971部,其中天主教为3733部,新教为5194部,还有少量的东正教文献。除了汉语之外,还有数量众多的外文文献,如藏在各地的来华修会档案、年信、报告、书信、日记、著作等等。

现有无法准确知道晚明到晚清所有的汉语著作总量,不过可以《四库全书》为例。《四库全书》共收录各类图书馆3474种,其中西学23种;而《四库全书总目提要》则收入西学37种。四库馆臣根据需要或者是揣摩上意,将23种西方科学著作收入《四库全书》予以传世,而14种宗教类著作则只存目。按照比例来说,23种西学只占四库总量中的0.66%,加上存目也只占1.65%。从天主教文献来说,乾隆时期的汉语天主教著作约有2000多部,收入《四库全书》的比例也只有1.15%。换言之,虽然明清汉语基督教文献数量较多,但是被官方认可、接受的只有其中的1%,而且只是其中的科学类著作。

此或可反映出盛世时期文人士大夫以及皇帝本人有关西学的态度。此时期不仅没有独立的知识分子群体，更无以科学为职业的人群。皇帝、士大夫之所以择取部分西学著作，无非是认为其可能有用，或者是为了增加其博学，或者表明其爱好广泛，其实并没有意识到西学对于社会、技术、思想等方面可能带来的革新与推动。此时期所盛行的“西学中源”说亦是这种心态的体现。

这批近9000部汉语基督教文献蕴含了丰富的哲学、神学、科学知识 with 思想，也是基督教中国化实践的宝贵遗产。其中，有不少著作已影印出版，少量著作被整理、研究。这里就这批文献所蕴含的新思想进行初步讨论。

哲学方面的新思想主要是传教士引入的西方经院哲学或亚里士多德哲学。传教士通过汉语著作介绍了亚里士多德哲学的三段论、类比论证、灵魂论、形而上学、逻辑学等等。除此之外，传教士还在著作中尝试使用了存在、是等汉语词汇翻译西方哲学中的being。因此，可以说晚明天主教是汉语哲学之肇始。

科学方面的新思想主要是引入西方的天文、历法、地理、数学、机械、几何、制图、化学、医学、火炮等等。相关科技史的著作中讨论非常多。科学方面新思想主要有二：其一是有关宇宙与地理体系观念的更新，改变了传统的天圆地方、大九州，或者佛教的三大部洲的观念；宇宙体系还与中国传统的哲学概念有关。宇宙体系的改变有利于改变传统的天人关系。同样，地理体系则改变了传统的华夷观念或者华夏中心主义。其二是新的因果关系的引入。科学思想不同于巫术、迷信或宗教，而是一套全新的因果关系或推理关系。因此，科学方面的新思想所起到的作用就在于“祛魅”。不过，此时期的“祛魅”并不全面和彻底。

宗教方面的新思想主要是一神论思想的引入。虽然在晚明天主教入华之前，已有景教、伊斯兰教、犹太教等一神教思想在中国流播，但没有像晚明天主教那样大力推广一神论思想，也没有像晚明天主教产生了广泛影响。利玛窦等传教士明确反对三教合一、主张真教惟一，在其在整个东亚文化圈都得到广泛流行的《天主实义》中，利玛窦全面、深入论证了一神论。晚明天主教的一神论带有合儒的特征，因此被学者称为儒家一神论。儒家一神论可谓是汉语神学之滥觞，也为基督教中国化提供了绝佳借镜。除了一神论之外，三位一体、原罪、堕落、道成肉身、恩宠、三仇等思想也被引入。宗教方面除了思想、观念之外，还有新的制度、礼仪、组织、实践引入中国，如七日一礼拜、弥散与丧葬礼、善会、朝圣等等。

伦理道德方面的新思想主要是改变了传统的善恶观念、因果报应观念，提出了新的义利思想。利玛窦、徐光启反对传统儒家的善恶观念，认为无意为善不利于社会道德，只会催生伪善或者道德堕落。因为对于普通人来说，无意为善，或者为了善而行善，实际上是很难做得到。因此，利玛窦认为有意为善可以更好的推动道德的提升，徐光启也因为只有“他律”才可以真正做到迁善改过，因为“耸动人心”，那么爱善恶是发自由衷也。他们还提出利与德、与善并不冲突，而且还提出只有利，才可以为善，才可以修德。首先，为了利，人们才有为善去恶的动力；如果没有利，普通人为什么要为善去恶？其次，有了利，人们才有条件去做善事；如果没有利，何谈做善事？当然，没有利，穷人也可以为善；但有了利，富人做的善事可以更大、更多、更好。因此，利与德无关。此种观点对于传统的义利关系带来了松动，其背后是晚明时期兴盛的商品经济。

伦理道德方面的新思想还有很多，诸如对三纲五常的改变，强调君臣之上大伦，即在君权之上加入了神权。此外，朋友一伦被晚明天主教反复强调。利玛窦的《交友论》风行天下。晚明也开始从朋友关系来思考君臣关系，而不是之前的父子关系，实际上此与儒家的“从道不从君”具有高度相似性。朋友关系最重要的是义，而不是孝；是平等与互动，而不是尊卑与服从。同样，天主教还强调一夫一妻制度。虽然没有强调女性地位与权力，但在某种程度上业已改变了传统的男女二性关系，因为有天主教徒提出：一女不可嫁两夫，一夫岂可娶两女？这种反问实际上就带有男女平等的观念在里面。

晚明社会在道德方面的一个困惑在于，要么如程朱理学那样支离破碎而无法真正做到知行合一，要么如阳明心学那样过分乐观而无法真正做到除恶务尽、流于空疏。此时期入华的天主教不仅有科学，而且也有宗教；既有格物，也有道德。在某些士大夫眼中，天学就可以完全弥补了程朱与阳明之不足。而针对儒家的“率

性之谓道”，天主教提出了“克性之谓道”，从而以一种比较“极端”的“性罪论”观点强势卷入晚明时期有关人性论的讨论。

“克性之谓道”不啻于晴空中的一道霹雳，引起诸多士大夫之侧目，甚至直接推动了著名士大夫如王徵的受洗入教。在商品经济高度发展的晚明，纵情放诞的人比比皆是，传统道德秩序开始崩塌。这样天崩地解的状态很容易让人怀疑传统儒家的人性善是否还有其现实的合理性。对人的道德约束不能只来自于道德说教或者逻辑自洽的论证，更重要的是要有一套实践制度与群体生活，而天主教能够提供这些。天主教之所以在伦理道德方面具有吸引力，也在于这个方面：它不仅仅是思想，也是生活。

需要注意的是晚明天主教所引入的新思想有一个特征是采用本土的术语但予以新的诠释，从而改变了其含义，甚至变成了天主教的专有名词，如天主、上帝、天、圣人、鬼神、道等等。这种“旧瓶装新酒”的做法实际上在基督教早期传播中也发生过。明清基督教大量采用了儒家的术语，通过重新诠释赋予其全新含义，从而实现了思想的交流与更新。比如传教士与信徒重新诠释了孔子的“朝闻道，夕死可也”，认为是孔子强调“闻道”的迫切性，而这个“道”与“死”有关，即天主教的备死说。除此之外，还有一些体现新概念的新名词、新术语，如直接音译过来的术语，还有重新组合的术语如三位一体、一家三时、道成肉身、真福、义人等等。

本期《国学与西学》主题集中在明清汉语基督教文献与新思想的形成，一共收录了9篇文章。中山大学梅谦立(Thierry Meynard)教授的文章主要以傅汎际与李之藻合作翻译的《寰有诠》(1628)为研究个案，探讨晚明天主教对创造论的引入与介绍。梅谦立教授在文章中指出，《寰有诠》实际上翻译自亚里士多德《论天》的拉丁文评注，但是在其第一卷中加入了基督教的创造论。同时，《寰有诠》还吸收了托马斯·阿奎那的《争议问题集：论天主的能力》中的论点，将创造论置入形而上学的框架中理解，揭示天主与万物之间的基本关系。梅谦立认为《寰有诠》为汇通创造论与宋明理学提供了基础，因为天主与万物的关系，非常类似于太极与万物之间的关系；其次，如同太极，天主没有不曾脱离世界，但也不与其混为一体；再次，天主与太极都是通过实在表现出来的；天主与太极对世界的影响得以确认，但不影响其超越性。《寰有诠》还对《寰宇始末》、《超性学要》都产生了影响。在某种程度上说，《寰有诠》所引入了新的思想与观念要比传统儒家以及中国本土的观念更加先进，但是不可否认的是在此过程中又掺杂了宗教内容。正如上文所谓的虽然有祛魅作用，但并不彻底。其意义还在于刺激晚明士人对传统宇宙观进行反思，并与新的思想与观念进行竞争。

复旦大学魏明德(Benoît Vermander)教授在其文章中介绍了中世纪神学家让·热尔松(Jean Gerson, 1363-1429)的灵修神学及其影响。魏明德教授指出，热尔松的神学贡献之一就是将其灵修神学变成了一门经验科学，从而使其从教义神学中独立出来。魏明德教授以热尔松的《论神秘神学》(*De theologia mystica*)为分析对象，对此书的思想来源、内容、影响进行了详细梳理。魏明德教授指出，此书的思想来源是托名的狄奥尼修斯，并将其发展成一种有关神秘的知识，这种知识以描述人类认知能力与情感能力如何联合运作为基础。魏明德教授指出热尔松的灵修神学对神秘主义的现代方法的发展起到了极为重要的作用。

北京外国语大学张西平教授的文章介绍了梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的明清天主教中文文献概况。文章对梵蒂冈图书馆的历史、馆藏中文文献来源进行了深入分析。梵蒂冈图书馆藏明清天主教中文文献主要来源有四：柏应理、康和子、傅圣泽以及蒙突奇四人所收藏的文献。其中，柏应理带回了耶稣会在华出版的汉籍，数量也是最多；康和子带回了托钵僧修会的书籍以及在山东传教的原始文献；傅圣泽则带回了大量中文善本以及索隐派传教士的手稿；蒙突奇则共享了语言类的书籍。学界对于法国国家图书馆、徐家汇藏书楼、罗马耶稣会档案馆的明清天主教文献多有研究，而张西平教授的文章对于我们了解梵蒂冈图书馆藏明清天主教文献多有裨益。

上海大学肖清和教授通过对钦天监的个案研究，揭示了明末清初官员天主教徒群体。该群体是学习、推广西学的最重要机构，但受到各种因素的限制，并没有发展成类似于西方的科学院之类的机构。主要原因有二：其一受到中国本土习俗的影响，钦天监并不能完全推广西方科学；其二传教士的主要目的是传教，并非在传科学。当然，钦天监的官方职能也决定了其只能服务于朝廷的准科学机构，在推算历法、预测天象之外，

还要为朝廷从事择日、择地、占星、解梦等非科学活动。钦天监对于清初天主教的作用有三。首先，为钦天监为传教士提供了长期居留中国的合法性，但同时也限制了传教士不能外出传教。其次，为了弥补不能外出传教的遗憾，传教士直接向钦天监官员、天文生传教，从而把这些官员、天文生变成天主教徒。一些致仕的官员信徒回到原籍就成为天主教的有力传播者，还有官员信徒成为华籍神父。再次，得益于担任钦天监官员，这些传教士可以直接面见皇帝与北京官员，从而为各地的教会提供保护。因此，南怀仁高度推崇天文学在中国传教事业中的重要作用。尽管南怀仁可能为其担任钦天监官员辩护之嫌疑，但是也从一个角度说明天主教在清初面临着合法性难题，而钦天监则为解决此难题提供了方法。由此可见徐光启在推动传教士入局修历的良苦用心。本文也指出外来宗教在华的一个合法性就在于其是否有用，这是外来宗教不得不面对的问题。

对外经济贸易大学魏京翔博士的文章集中讨论清初入华的多明我会传教士闵明我 (Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, 1618-1686) 的中国宗教观。有关明清基督教的研究成果基本上以耶稣会士为中心，而对托钵僧的关注比较少。本文以闵明我为研究对象，尤其以其著作《中华帝国历史、政治、伦理与宗教论集》(Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China) 为个案，重点讨论以闵明我为代表的托钵僧传教士对中国宗教与文化的看法。可以发现，闵明我等托钵僧传教士的观点与利玛窦等耶稣会传教士不同。闵明我反对利玛窦的译名，也反对利玛窦有关中国古代儒家的看法。闵明我判定中国古代都是偶性崇拜式的宗教，与信奉一神教的基督教传统毫无关系。此种判定基本上就将耶稣会传教士以及儒家信徒所构建的“补周易佛”、新道统论等等全部否定。另外，闵明我也否定中国人是《圣经》所记载的以色列始祖的后裔。这样也就否定耶稣会传教士将中国纳入《圣经》编年史的努力。托钵僧传教士与耶稣会士之间的内讧是礼仪之争的重要原因。其核心是在于传教士如何理解译名以及中国礼仪。利玛窦等人的做法的可取之处是在不引起冲突与张力的情况下，重新诠释或改造，注入基督教的内容，因此对这些术语与礼仪的认定就必须选择与基督教不冲突的一面。但是闵明我等人的重点不是在后面的重新诠释或改造，而是在于术语以及礼仪本身是不是与基督教相一致。闵明我的中国宗教观有利于我们了解明清时期不同修会的观点。

北京行政学院陈欣雨博士的文章梳理清初来华的耶稣会士钱德明 (Joseph-Marie Amiot, 1718-1793) 的易学思想。钱德明在音乐方面的造诣颇深，被称为“入华耶稣会士中最后一位汉学家”。本文则主要关注钱德明的易学思想。钱德明在其著作中介绍中华乐理时，也将《易经》中的阴阳五行、天地之数理论进行详细介绍。本文指出，钱德明关于《易经》的关注与研究，体现出其博才的易学素养，更加注重历史考据，回归中国《易经》研究传统，以比较客观的方式向西方介绍中国《易经》。这一点与之前的白晋、马若瑟等传教士不同。可以说，这个阶段的传教士汉学开始向专业汉学转变。

武汉文华学院刘晶晶博士的文章利用中外文献研究欧洲耶稣会解散后留华最后一人贺清泰 (Louis de Poirot, 1735-1813)。由于种种原因，耶稣会于1773年被教宗解散，直到1814年复会。贺清泰在母会被解散的情况仍滞留在中国传教。文章对贺清泰作为画家、译者的身份及其贡献进行了详细说明。文章指出贺清泰是新旧耶稣会的连接点。贺清泰所翻译的《古新圣经》贡献极大，而其作为宫廷传教士，即使在禁教时期仍然为了传教事业而积极努力。

西南民族大学郭建斌博士在其文章中以晚清华籍神父李问渔 (1840-1911) 为个案，讨论晚清时期在华天主教对新教的看法。文章主要以李问渔的《辩惑卮言》、《真教问答》为主要材料来源，讨论李问渔对新教的认知。李问渔认为天主教才是唯一真教，而新教不符合真教的标准；李问渔还认为天主教独得《圣经》真传，而新教则非；而有关神父独身、圣母崇敬等内容，李问渔也做了详细辩护。李问渔对新教的态度前后有一个转变过程。李问渔对新教的态度从肯定其慈善传教，否定其教义等较为审慎的讨论态度，转变为定义新教为“异端邪说”彻底否定的决绝态度，又从消极被动的回应新教对其的质疑到积极主动的阐明天主教教义教规的转变。本文对于全面了解近代以来在华天主教与新教之间的关系多有裨益。

南昌大学彭睿博士的文章从社会合作 (social cooperation) 的角度比较中西社会中的经济伦理的异同。文章指出借助于博弈论和交易费用理论，宗教或宗教伦理可以转换成一种对各种社会合作及其局部均衡

和整体均衡提供伦理支持和解释的体系。文章认为近代西方的经济伦理是从整体均衡中分化和独立出来的局部均衡, 而中国社会的经济伦理则始终与整体均衡保持密切关联。本文采用经济学的理论与方法, 从宗教伦理的层面探讨中西经济伦理的异同, 是一篇跨学科的研究文章, 值得学界关注。

本期文章无论是主题、文献还是方法均有引入瞩目的突出创新, 从多个维度展示了明清基督教研究以及比较宗教研究的最新成果。明末清初天主教入华开启了汉语神学、汉语哲学、基督教中国化之先河, 相关议题仍需要进一步探究, 冀本期文章能为此贡献力量。

最后需要再次指出明清基督教9000部汉语文献的意义。通过整理、研究这批文献可以发现前近代时期某些重要概念的流变过程, 从而更加深入理解前近代时期中国思想的发展脉络, 更好理解本文一开始所提出的问题: 如何理解明清基督教对中国社会的影响。同样, 明末清初是一个非常重要的“窗口期”。晚清“开眼看世界”的士大夫的眼界可能还没有晚明某些士大夫高, 诸如徐光启的“翻译、会通、超胜”、李之藻的“以夷攻夷”、方以智的“招商海运”等等。这些超前的新思想确实具有划时代的意义, 可惜随着改朝换代在历史中销声匿迹。金尼阁曾经返回欧洲, 再次入华时携带了7000部西书, 并计划全部译成中文, 惜未完成。明清西学汉译是佛教大规模译经之后的又一次大规模翻译活动。翻译本身就是比较, 就是会通, 也是新思想的形成。如传教士将孔子翻译成圣人或哲学家, 实际上就赋予了孔子多元化的身份; 将“率性之谓道”中的“道”译成regula, 即尺度、规则, 显然是从西方经院哲学的角度来理解“道”; 贺清泰将《若望(约翰)福音》中的logos (verbum) 翻译成“物耳朋”, 却是采取了音译原则; 而新教传教士则将其翻译成“道”, 近代天主教斯高版圣经则译成“圣言”。利类思曾将卷帙浩繁的《神学大全》译成中文(即《超性学要》, 约有60万字), 其中所出现的新名词、新术语值得关注与研究。

另外, 本期还收录了昆明理工大学外国语学院讲师余艳娥博士的“西南少数民族地区基督教本土化多重互动特征分析——以滇西南G县拉祜族丧葬仪式为个案”, 分析研究了拉祜族丧葬文化中出现德火葬与土葬并行, “立十字架”与“修坟立碑”共举的变化, 以及“魂归祖源地”与“灵魂上天堂”“魂居埋葬地”等观念的杂糅。从拉祜族丧葬文化的变迁反观基督教本土化过程, 发现西南少数民族地区基督教本土化并非基督教与少数民族文化的双向互动, 而是基督教、少数民族文化及其周边民族文化的多重互动与融合。

在书评与通讯部分则收录了上海外国语大学贤达经济人文学院商学院于晓东博士的“论犹太人的Havruta学习法”, 对犹太人的Havruta学习法的理论进行了研究。从考察Havruta学习法最初的应用范围开始, 给出Havruta学习法的定义、构成要素、展开与实施, 同时展示运用该教学法在教学过程中进行的教学设计和实施。根据研究我们建议, 在现行的应试教育为背景下, 以升学竞争型的个体学习为手段的学校教育、以强化应试为主的课堂知识的课外补习班、以及一味追求分数的功利性家庭教育都需要引入Havruta学习法, 以促进学生的德育养成、智慧培养、批判思维的建立。

山东大学文学院刘晓艺教授的“颇具争议的李清照再婚一案”, 研究了杰出的女词人曾在其夫死后改嫁给一位叫张汝舟的小官员一案。在仔细探研李清照生平资料及清代文献考据的证据之后, 作者认为, 李清照之受攻讦, 主要还是由于她曾写下过尖锐讽刺的文学批评; 她无法被一个男性占主导地位的社会所容忍, 如是而已。

湖北文理学院荣休教授刘光耀博士的“文化狱: 两重高墙里的救赎——阿石《朵儿》阐释”分析了阿石篇幅不大的小说《朵儿》, 指出其宛如一部史诗一样, 沉重而平静、且又令人震撼地描绘出的文化狱中的残酷, 讲述了不幸落入狱中者骇人的痛苦, 并令人悲伤而又悲壮昂扬地呈现出来: 苦难由对精神和自由的爱而来, 并且是人胜过苦难, 得获救赎, 达乎爱的天国之路。

From the Editors' Desk: Chinese Christian Texts and the Formation of New Thoughts in Ming and Qing Dynasties
Qinghe XIAO, Paulos HUANG

Department of History, Shanghai University

人学、神学与国学

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

A Thomistic argumentation on creationism in Late Ming China: First *juan* of the *Explanation on the Great Being* (*Huanyou quan*), 1628

Thierry Meynard

(Sun Yat-sen University, Haizhu, Guangzhou, China 510275)

Abstract: Creationism is an important feature of Christianity but seems very foreign to Chinese philosophy. This paper examines an early attempt of introducing a metaphysical account of creationism in *Huanyou quan* (1628) by the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Furtado and the Chinese scholar Li Zhizao. It investigates the sources drawn from the works of Thomas Aquinas and reconstructs the choices made by the two authors in their translation. Finally, it suggests that Thomistic creationism bears similarities with Chinese philosophy.

Keywords: Creation, Aquinas, Jesuit, Francisco Furtado, Li Zhizao

Author: Thierry Meynard, Professor, PhD director, Philosophy Department; Address: Philosophy Department, Xichang Bldg Room 710, Xingang West Road N. 135, Sun Yat-sen University, Haizhu District, 510275 Guangzhou; Email: meiqianl@mail.sysu.edu.cn, Tel: +8613725116351

Since their arrival in the East, the Jesuit missionaries had presented the Christian doctrine, but they quickly felt the need of presenting also Aristotelian philosophy upon which their theology was built. In China, the first Aristotelian work was published in 1624, the *Lingyan lishao* 靈言蠹勺 (Humble Attempt at Discussing Matters Pertaining to the Soul, 1624), by Francesco Sambiassi (1582-1649) and the Christian scholar Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562-1533), which notably provided a rational argumentation for the immortality of the soul. Four years after, in 1628, the second work, on cosmology, was published: the *Huanyou quan* 寰有詮 (*Explanation on the Great Being*) by the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Furtado (1589-1653) and the Christian scholar Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1571-1630). Compared to the two *juan* of the *Lingyan lishao*, this work is more ambitious in size with six *juan*. However, the first *juan* deals with the non-Aristotelian concept of creation. A cursory reading indicates that several arguments are derived from the First Part of the *Summa theologiae*, in which Aquinas establishes a dual discourse on creation, first a metaphysics of creation in which all beings obtain directly their being from God, and secondly an exegesis of the Biblical account of creation in six days (the hexameron). The first *juan* of the *Huanyou quan* provides such a dual discourse, with the philosophical (first four chapters) and biblical (the last and fifth chapter) discourses. We shall not discuss here the biblical account, but focus on the philosophical explanation of creation and show that Furtado and Li have drawn most of their argumentations from the works of Thomas Aquinas. After briefly presenting the historical context of the introduction of creationism in the East, we shall follow the chapters of the first *juan* and analyze how the metaphysics of creation by Aquinas is rendered into Chinese. We shall also indicate the relevance of this philosophical account in going beyond the ontological gap between the Creator and creature, providing a common ground with Chinese thought.

Context for the introduction of creationism in the East

Creationism is a distinctive feature of Christianity, crucial in holding a radical difference between God the creator and the creatures, as clearly exposed in the narrative of Genesis 1-2. However, this kind of creationism presents philosophical difficulties, which became even more apparent when the Jesuits introduced the idea in the East where it was received with great skepticism. Indeed, Buddhism had refuted the creationist ideas found in the ancient Indian schools, and Confucianism had developed since the Song Dynasty a cosmogenesis in which *Taiji* or *Li* plays a transcendental role, but without imposing a radical difference with the myriad of things.

The Jesuits in Asia perceived a great chasm between the two traditions and developed an understanding of Asian thought as being a materialist monism. In the *Catechismus Christianae Japonensis* (Lisbon, 1586) edited by the Jesuit Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the first lecture (*concio*) describes the most important propositions of the Japanese sects, the second lecture being: “The First Principle dwells within all things; they owe their existence to it and are one in substance with it; when they cease to exist they return to the First Principle.”⁽¹⁾ In the second lecture, Valignano discusses different forms of pantheism, obviously at odd with creationism.

In China, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) also faced great difficulties in promoting creationism as it can be seen in his famous debate with the Buddhist abbot Xuelang Hong'en 雪浪洪恩 (1545–1607) in Nanjing in 1599: against the Chinese idea of spontaneous generation (生生不已), Ricci opposed to him the Christian idea of a willed creation; and against the Buddhist idea of mental production, Ricci opposed the Christian idea of concrete realities ultimately originating from God.⁽²⁾ In explaining the Creed, early catechisms like the *Brief Explanation of the Essential Doctrine* (*Jiaoyao jielue* 教要解略, 1615) mentions the creation in six days (天主制作天地人物凡六日) and the creation *ex nihilo* (從無造有, 化成天地).⁽³⁾

The debate on creation continued with Xu Dashou 許大受 (c.1575-c.1666) who published in 1623 *Help for the Refutation [of the heresy]* (*Zuopi* 佐闢), advancing three arguments against Christian creationism. First, the Christian God rushed to create the cosmos in six days, but for the Chinese, Heaven (*qian* 乾) is not in hurry.⁽⁴⁾ Second, the Christian creation is explained only in terms of a male principle (God the Father or yang), without a female principle yin.⁽⁵⁾ Third, spontaneous generation is for the benefit of all things, not for the Creator to be worshipped.⁽⁶⁾ Xu Dashou's refutation of creationism is based on Buddhism and Neo-confucianism.

The most sophisticated refutation of Neo-confucianism in Late Ming was done by Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1654) in his *Brief Response on the Controversies over Shangdi, Tianshen, and Linghun*, written in 1623-1629 when the Jesuit missionaries discussed the Chinese terms to express God, soul, and spirit.⁽⁷⁾ Here we shall not deal with the so-called Terms Controversy, but only indicates that Longobardo systematized Ricci's refutation

(1) Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan* (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), p. 74.

(2) See Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, edited by Thierry Meynard. (Boston: Jesuit Sources, 2016), pp. 167-173.

(3) Alfonso Vagnone, *Jiaoyao jielue* 教要解略 in *Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus* (Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute, 2002) vol. 1, pp. 156 & 180.

(4) See Xu Dashou 許大受, *Shengchao Zuopi* 聖朝佐闢, edited by Thierry Meynard 梅謙立 & Yang Hongfan 楊虹帆 (Kaohsiung: Foguang wenhua 佛光文化, 2018), pp. 92-93.

(5) Xu, p. 103.

(6) Xu, p. 106.

(7) Niccolò Longobardo (Ms.), *Resposta breve sobre as Controversias do Xámti, Tienxin, Limhoên, e outros nomes e termos sinicos: per se determinar quaes delles podem ou nao podem usarse nesta [Crista]ndade*. Archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide. Roma: SC Indie Orientali, Cina, vol. 1, fol. 171r-195v.

of Neo-Confucian philosophy. In his report, Longobardo analyzes the sophisticated cosmological system of Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077) and its two levels of reality: Prior-Heaven (先天學) and Posterior-Heaven (後天學). He describes quite correctly Song Confucianism as a system in which the highest metaphysical reality and the world constitute a continuum of a common substance which takes different manifestations, from abstract to material. However, from his Aristotelian and Christian standpoints, Longobardo concludes that Confucian metaphysics does not allow transcendental causes, either efficient nor final, and does not allow a difference of substances or beings for the species of the world, which ultimately are merged into one common substance or being. Interestingly, Longobardo compared the Neo-Confucians to pre-Socratics, and he condemned both for not distinguishing clearly enough the spiritual from the material, and therefore for not allowing a true transcendence. His conclusion still raises some questions. Even if we characterize Chinese thought as monism, does it mean that there is no idea of transcendence? Also, does the reductionist framework of matter versus spirit give a fair account of Chinese thought? As we shall suggest, *Huanyou quan*'s metaphysical explanation of creation can provide a much better ground to engage the dialogue with Chinese thought.

Creator as what is common and first to all things

As the French priest and scholar Hubert Verhaeren indicated in his seminal article of 1935, the *Huanyou quan* is based on the Coimbra commentary on the *De Coelo* with the exception of the first *juan* which deals with creation, a Christian topic conspicuously absent from Aristotle.⁽⁸⁾ Unfortunately, Verhaeren did not investigate further the sources used by Furtado and Li. We can notice that the name Thomas (*duoma* 多瑪) is mentioned four times in the first *juan*, and this points out naturally to Thomas Aquinas who frequently wrote on creation, notably in the commentary on the *Sentences* (Lib. II, dist.1. q.1), in the *Disputed Questions on the Power of God* (q.3), in the *Summa contra gentiles* (Lib. II, cap. 6-38), and evidently in the *Summae theologiae* (Ia, qq. 44-49, 65-74).

The first *juan* comprises five chapters, and let us begin by examining the first one. Its content introduces the metaphysics of creation of Aquinas with the famous *quinque viae* (Second question of the First Part of the *Summa*), which discusses the concepts of being and creation. The *quinque viae* are usually understood as five demonstrations for God's existence, but Aquinas is, in fact, dealing with the question of the relation of God to the world, arguing that the very existence of the world requires the existence of what does not depend on anything else to exist. So, when Aquinas thinks of God as creator, it is not so much as the being chronologically first within a chain of beings, but as the being upon which the existence of the whole world rests upon at any point of time.⁽⁹⁾

Since their coming to the East, the Jesuits made a great use of the demonstrations for God's existence, but they quickly recognized the need for rearranging their order, content and forms to adapt to Eastern culture. In China, Ricci offered in the first chapter of his *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu shiyi 天主實義, 1603)* three proofs about the existence of God as ruler of the physical universe and human society, which are mostly based on the teleological argument (*quinta via*). This is followed by another set of three proofs about the existence of God as creator of the universe, which are based on the efficient cause (*secunda via*) and final cause (*quinta via*). Since the idea of a ruler (*zhuzai zhe* 主宰者) had been developed by the philosophers of the Song dynasty, while the

(8) Hubert Verhaeren, "Aristote en Chine," *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* 264 (1935), pp. 417-429.

(9) See Gaven Kerr, *Aquinas and the Metaphysics of Creation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 28-32.

idea of a creator was quite unfamiliar, Ricci adopted this pedagogical progression from the familiar idea of God as ruler to the unfamiliar idea of God as creator.

The authors of the *Huanyou quan* adopted many expressions from Ricci's work, like the four causes of Aristotle. However, they do not adopt Ricci's distinction between God as ruler and creator, but in a conscious effort to go back to the text of Aquinas, they translate literally the five demonstrations (*wuzheng* 五證) for God as creator, but rearranging their order.

Same as Ricci, the *Huanyou quan* starts with the efficient cause (*zuosuoyiran* 作所以然), probably because of its logical strength: the chain of efficient causes in the natural world requests a first cause to avoid infinite regress; this first cause has no other cause than itself, and this is God. Aquinas makes this his second demonstration, and as frequently noticed, he does not have in mind the first efficient cause in a chronological sequence, but rather he expresses a simultaneous dependency of all things at all time upon the first cause. This idea is correctly expressed by *Huanyou quan* as: "A first agent is needed as being common to the myriad of things" (必有最初之作, 以爲萬物者之所共屬; p. 1212).⁽¹⁰⁾

Next comes the argument of degrees (the fourth demonstration in Aquinas): difference in degrees among things requires the existence of "one perfection to measure them" (*yijizhizhe weizhizhun* 一極至者爲之准; p. 1213). This is true at the level of a particular genus (*lun* 倫) and also of the world which depends for its existence upon "the one being without origin" (*yiwuyuan zhiyou* 一無元之有; p. 1213). This demonstration, absent in Ricci, is quite important for the idea of a metaphysical being which is at the heart of the theology of Aquinas. We should pay here a special attention to the expression Without Origin (*wuyuan* 無元). It usually refers to the Three Origins (*sanyuan* 三元) in Daoism, which are all empty (*wu* 無), but the *Huanyou quan* characterizes the perfect thing upon which all differences in degrees are founded not as an empty origin but as something existing which itself has no further origin or cause. In fact, the expression is found on the "Nestorian stele," or more precisely the "Stele on the Spreading in China of the Brilliant Religion of *Daqin*" (大秦景教流行中國碑), erected in Xi'an 西安 in 781, during the Tang dynasty. At that time, Christianity adopted a great deal of Daoist concepts. The stele was discovered in Xi'an around 1623-1624, and its discovery was mentioned in 1625 to Li Zhizao by a friend who sent him a letter with the rubbing of the stele. Li Zhizao wrote a short piece, published in 1626 in his *First collection of Heavenly Studies* (*Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函), where he reproduced also the text of the stele.⁽¹¹⁾ Having studied the text of the Nestorian stele, Li Zhizao adopted in the first *juan* of the *Huanyou quan* a few terms coming from the stele: Without Origin (*wuyuan* 無元), Sublime Being (*miaoyou* 妙有), Most Respected (*yuanzun* 元尊) and Satan (*Shadan* 娑殫).

In third position comes the argument of necessity (also ranked third in Aquinas): it is impossible for everything to be contingent, and, to avoid infinite regress, it must exist a "necessary cause" (*guran zhi suoyiran* 固然之所以然) which explains the actual existence of the world. This argument was not used by Ricci. It is built on the Western distinction between contingency and necessity, and it is quite remote to the Chinese way of thinking.

Huanyou quan places the famous Aristotelian argument of the "first unmoved mover" (最初施動而不自動者) in the fourth position, but Aquinas had considered it the most evident and placed it in first position. The translators stayed close to the Latin text of the *Summa*, explaining the notion of motion as any change from

(10) Francisco Furtado & Li Zhizao, *Huanyou quan* 寰有詮, in *Mingqingzhiji Xixue wenben* 明清之際西學文本, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2013). I indicate page number in the main text.

(11) *Du Jingjiaobei shuhou* 讀景教碑書後, dated 10 June 1625; See Nicolas Standaert, ed., *The Handbook on Christianity in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 12-13.

potentiality to actuality. In fact, the Aristotelian metaphysics of motion and rest is quite different from the Chinese alternance of motion yang and rest yin, and probably by prudence, Ricci had not mentioned the argument.

The teleological argument comes last, and this agrees with the ranking of Aquinas because, unlike the others, it is not taken from the immanent structure and governance of the world, but from its finality: the world and human beings are created to reach an end assigned by God. Ricci had used the argument in the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* and made also great efforts in convincing the Chinese scholars about the finality of the world and human life in God and paradise, but Ricci's insistence on the reward of paradise was not easily accepted by Confucianism which does not emphasize the idea of reward or profit (*li* 利).

Huanyou quan's first complete translation of the *quinque viae*, though in a different order from the original, is noteworthy in the sense that the five demonstrations are presented here not so much to prove God's existence, but the necessity of God for the world to exist: "The myriad of things share one single origin" (萬物共一最初者), as said in the title of the chapter. This interpretation is completely faithful to Aquinas who understands creation primarily as a metaphysical relation between God and the world, and not as a production by God of a world which would exist separated from Him.

We should notice that the first chapter ends with two objections (*bo* 駁) and their answers (*zheng* 正), taken from Question 44 of the first part of the *Summa*. The first objection holds that prime matter (*yuanzhi* 元質) is uncreated, but it is answered:

若夫初作者與其所生之萬效，則相距無量矣。然因天主妙有超然兼統萬有，又因天主性體函有萬有之意得亞（釋云內理，亦云物之元則），故其所生之效，稍亦肖其繇出之元。至論元質，雖無所爲，然既已屬有，必亦微肖所出之元有。譬如言天言地，天不壞，地有壞，固不相似。然兩皆屬有，則亦相似也。（p. 1214）

Concerning the first agent and the myriad of the effects generated by it, there is an infinite distance between the two. But the Lord of Heaven is sublime and transcendental, comprising the myriad of beings, and His nature encompasses the ideas (or internal principles and original norms of things) of the myriad of beings, and therefore all the effects which are generated have some kind of resemblance with the origin from where they come. Concerning prime matter, though it is free from activity, and since it belongs to being, it must somehow be slightly resembling to the first being from where it comes from. For example, speaking about heaven and earth, heaven is imperishable and earth perishable, and thus they are not similar, but both belonging to being, they are similar.

In this passage above, we should pay attention to the Platonic term of idea (*yideya* 意得亞) already found in the *Lingyan lishao*, with also its explanation as "original norm of things" 物之元則 to translate Aquinas's "types of things" (*rationes omnium rerum*). *Huanyou quan* explains further this concept as inner principles (*neili* 內理), borrowing clearly from the Neo-confucian concept of heavenly principles (*tianli* 天理), but still maintaining a semantic distance because heavenly principles lacks true substance according to the Jesuits. In this passage above we find also the Neoplatonic idea of emanation. Indeed, for Aquinas, while creation in the physical world always involves both form and matter, in the specific case of prime matter, it is an "emanation from the universal principle." This means that prime matter is immediately produced from God's mind, without the mediation of form or matter. Interestingly, the last sentence in the passage above is an addition by Furtado and Li, expressing the ontological relationship between God, heaven and earth, since all three are beings, but also opposing the imperishability of God or heaven, to the perishability of earth. Such a strong opposition does not represent the

final stance of the *Huanyou quan* since its third *juan* discusses the question of the eternity of the world and, like Aquinas, defends the logical possibility of its eternity.

The second objection raised by our text is drawn from the fourth and last article of Question 44 and deals with finality (Whether God is the final cause of everything?), but due to space constraints, we shall not deal with this. In conclusion to our analysis of this first chapter, we can see that the *Huanyou quan* has expressed the *quinque viae* within a creationist framework which is permeated by the metaphysics of creation of Aquinas, showing that God is creator not in the ordinary sense of God making something out of nothing, but in the sense of being the ontological foundation for the world and human beings to exist.

Creator as First Being and Cosmos as Great Being

We need to pay closer attention to the central metaphysical concept of being (*ens*) because Aquinas considers that only by raising one's thought from the accidental and essential dimensions of things towards their being can we truly understand creation. Crucially, same as God is a being, all things share this same metaphysical foundation, to be beings.⁽¹²⁾ Similarly, in the first *juan* of the *Huanyou quan*, God is called once the First Being (*chuyou* 初有) and four times the Sublime Being (*miaoyou* 妙有) while the things are called the myriad of beings (*wanyou* 萬有), with "being" translated simply as *you* 有.⁽¹³⁾ The neologism *huanyou* 寰有, which appears only in the title, is left without any explanation, but can be understood as the Great Being, either in reference to God or to the cosmos. I believe the latter is the correct meaning.

The emphasis on the concept of being is quite remarkable because it underlines the metaphysical common foundation between God and the world, something which could resonate strongly with Chinese thought. On the basis of this common foundation, Aquinas had exposed differences: all things are composites of essence and being, but only God is pure being and has a necessary existence depending on nothing else. Similarly, in the beginning of its first *juan*, *Huanyou quan* explains that things have the possibility to exist (*nengyou* 能有) or not to exist (*nengfeiyou* 能非有) and therefore have a contingent existence (非固然之有), while God's existence alone is necessary.⁽¹⁴⁾ Directly linked to the concept of being, the concept of participation consists in the possession by an individual of what is in itself universal, and this is crucial for Aquinas's account of creation in explaining how the created being is related to the divine being.⁽¹⁵⁾ It is difficult to find in the *Huanyou quan* a translation for the concept of participation, but the use of the concept of affiliated existence (*shuyou* 屬有) presupposes such idea.

After having discussed the term being and before analyzing the text further, I would like to analyze how the term creation was used previously by the Jesuits Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618). In the first Jesuit work published in China, the *True Record of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實錄, 1584), Ruggieri explains the article on creation in the Creed by using the word *zhizuo* 製作 (to make), and in dialogue

(12) See Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed questions on the Power of God, Disputed questions on the Power of God*, translated by the English Dominican Fathers Westminster (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), q.3.a.5.resp. *Summa theologiae*, Ia.q.44.a.2.resp.

(13) Ricci had already introduced the concepts of True Being (*shiyou* 實有); see Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, pp. 66 & 77.

(14) In the *True meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (chapter 1, n. 40; p. 57), Ricci expresses God as the "Origin independent from any species" (*yuanshituyizhilei* 原始特意之類), but he does not make use of the concept of being in Aquinas.

(15) Kerr, p. 47.

with his real or fictive interlocutor, he uses the Buddhist term *huasheng* 化生 (to transform and produce).⁽¹⁶⁾ The term indicates any rebirth in the *samsara*, but more specifically a transformation into a bodhisattva, appearing on earth in any form, at will and without condition. If Ruggieri would have known the specific meaning of the term, he would have probably refrained from using it. In chapter 4, Ruggieri indicates clearly the specificity of the divine creation out of nothing: “Nothing existed but the Lord of Heaven, who wished to create heaven, earth, humans and things to express his Goodness” (別無他物，只有一天主。欲制作天地人物，施之恩德, Ruggieri, 2013, 9).

In the *True meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Ricci continues using the term *huasheng* (11 times), but he proposes also an alternative translation with *zao* 造 (to make) being used ten times, including once the more specific term *chuangzao* 創造, and six times the term *zaohua* 造化 (to make and transform). Ricci explains the creative power of God as “unable to be destroyed or to decline and creating all things out of nothing” (其能也，無毀無衰，而可以無之為有者; Ricci, 2016, 69).

De Pantoja seems to be the first to adopt the Confucian term *huacheng* 化成 (to transform and perfect),⁽¹⁷⁾ which adequately expresses the idea that the creation of the world by God is in itself complete and perfect, without any defect, but does not convey the Christian idea of creation out of nothing. The term was officially adopted by the China mission in the catechism of 1615, mentioned above, with the complementary explanation of “making something out of nothing” (從無造有 or 以無造之為有). It seems also that Pantoja is the first to refer to God the creator as the Lord creating things (*zaowuzhu* 造物主), a term still in use today.⁽¹⁸⁾

Huanyou quan refers to God’s creation with the vague term of *zao* (to make), but it is sometimes more precise: “creation by oneself” (*zizao* 自造) in the sense that God does not need anything else. On the footsteps of Ruggieri and Ricci, it continues using 16 times the Buddhist concept *huasheng*, but prefers using the Confucian expression *huacheng* (59 times). However, those expressions are used alternatively and apparently do not denote any specific meaning. *Huanyou quan* gives three similar translations for “creation out of nothing” (以全無造物，以無造有，繇無化有). The diversity of terms may be confusing for the reader, but this reflects the situation of the Catholic church in Late Ming still in the process of forging its vocabulary.

Power of the Lord of Heaven to create out of nothing

Chapters 2 to 4 of the first *juan* deal with three important aspects of Christian creation: creation out of nothing, non-participation of creatures in creation, and freedom of God in creating. But what is the source text? For example, concerning creation out of nothing, chapter 2 of *Huanyou quan* lists five objections, and the source can hardly be the first article of Question 45 in the *Summa*, which has only three objections. Fortunately, we have identified the textual source as article 1 (Can God create from nothing?) of chapter 3 in the *Disputed Questions on the Power of God*. Chapter 3 of *Huanyou quan* corresponds to the fourth article (Is the creative power or art communicable

(16) Michele Ruggieri, *Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄, in *Mingqingzhiji Xixue wenben* 明清之際西學文本 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2013), vol. 1, p. 9. The Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) adopted this Buddhist term in his *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說: 無極而太極[...] 二氣交感，化生萬物。

(17) Diego de Pantoja, *Pangziyiquan* 龐子遺詮, *Mingqingzhiji Xifang chuanjiaoshi Hanjicongkan* 明清之際西方傳教士漢籍叢刊 (Nanjing: Fenghuang 鳳凰, 2013), 1st collection, vol. 2, 229-333, p. 244. According to Antonio de Caro, “the first occurrence of the term *huacheng* 化成 in the Confucian Classics is in the *Zhouyi* 周易 specifically in the *Tuan chuan* 彖傳 (*The tuan commentary*) related to the hexagram *bi* 賁 (adorning / grace).” See Antonio de Caro, *The Ruist Way of Heaven and the Jesuit Way to Heaven; Cosmogonic meditations by Fr. Angelo A. Zottoli SJ (Chao De Li 晁德蒞, 1826-1902)*, Doctoral dissertation, Hong Kong Baptist University, 2019, p. 197.

(18) Pantoja, p. 246.

to a creature?), and chapter 4 to article 15 (Did things proceed from God by natural necessity or by the decree of his will?). Out of the 19 articles, only three have been partially translated into Chinese. Because of its focus on cosmology, it is understandable that *Huanyou quan* left out articles dealing with the creation of the vegetative, sensitive and rational souls (articles 9 to 12), as well as the creation of angels (articles 18 and 19).⁽¹⁹⁾ Article 17 (Has the world always existed?) was also left out because this issue is addressed on the third *juan*, based on the Coimbra commentary of the *De coelo*.

Let us examine the three chapters one by one. The first one is intitled: “The meaning of the power of the Lord of Heaven to create out of total nothingness” (天主能以全無肇物有義). The first argument is comparing natural agents and God in regard to their actuality towards themselves and towards other beings. In regards to themselves, natural agents are composed of both matter and form (質模相合, p. 1215), and therefore they have both potentiality and actuality (俱藏為受兩義), and since they have potentiality, this means that their actuality is not complete but partial (其為非因全有而為), and they cannot create the complete beings of things (其物之全有) except through participation. In regard to other beings, natural agents can transmit within a particular species only what the species contains, and they cannot give birth to beings of other species. It follows that, prior to the effects of what natural agents generate, matter must exist as a basis (性作者所生之效, 必先有質為底), and therefore they cannot create out of nothing. Compared to the text of Aquinas, *Huanyou quan* adds the example of the horse: the horse transmits the form of the horse, but it is unable to produce horse-matter. On the contrary, God in regards to himself and to other beings is pure actuality without potentiality (純然之為, 無受之義) and can create without matter. He is called the complete actuality of all beings, “the Origin which is itself without origin” (萬有萬為、無元之元), an expression corresponding in the text of Aquinas to “the first universal cause.”

The second argument compares the creative power of the Lord of Heaven with the powers of the craftsman and of nature. The creative power of the craftsman (藝成之能, p. 1215) requires the combination of matter and form, while the creative power of nature (性成之能) is greater because it needs only to endow matter. The power of the Lord of Heaven is even greater because He needs neither matter nor form. This corresponds to the distinction by Aquinas of two kinds of causes, a natural cause and an artisan cause. As Kathryn Tanner says, the concept of natural cause is influenced by the theory of emanation in Neo-platonism, while the artisan cause is influenced by Christian idea of God as creator. For Aquinas, for two causes function together in the work of creation. Natural causality expresses the ultimate origin of all the creation in God, but it seems to downplay the role of God in other acts of creation or generation, like a horse begetting a horse. Artisan causality expresses better that God creation plays a role in everything being created or generated, like a house or a desk being built.⁽²⁰⁾

The third argument consists in: “All the principles which do not involve a contradiction belong to the power of the Lord of Heaven, and since there is no contradiction in the meaning of the creation out of nothing, it certainly belongs the power of the Lord of Heaven” (凡理無相悖者, 皆屬天主所能, 繇全無而令物者, 於義非有悖也, 則屬天主之所能無疑).

The three arguments are followed by five objections and their solutions, all drawn from the same section of *Disputed Questions* (numbers 2, 9, 11, 14 and 17). According to the scholastic method of teaching, Aquinas first

(19) *Lingyan lishao* expounds the principles of the rational soul. Only around 1635-1639 did Giulio Aleni publish the first edition of his *A brief introduction to the study of human nature* (*Xingxue cushu* 性學彙述), which deals with the vegetative and sensitive souls; see Giulio Aleni, *A Brief Introduction to the Study of Human Nature*, Translated and Annotated by Thierry Meynard and Pan Dawei (Boston: Brill, 2020).

(20) Kathryn Tanner, “Creation,” Philip McCosker and Denys Turner eds, *Cambridge Companion to the Summa Theologiae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 142-155.

lists all the objections, and after presenting main argument (*responsio*), he solves the objections one by one. In China, there was not such academic setting, and the *Huanyou quan* chooses to present first Aquinas's arguments (疏), and each objection (*bo* 駁) immediately followed by the resolution (*zheng* 正).

According to the first objection, before something is created, it needs to receive a capacity to be created (凡受造者, 其未受造之前, 必有受其所造之容德). Such a capacity needs an accident which itself needs a subject (*ti* 體). Therefore, the creator does not create out of nothing since some conditions are needed for creation to happen. However according to Aquinas, many things exist that God could have created, and even if the act of creation brings some potentialities to actualities, this does not mean that creation itself relies on something different from God's creative power. In the words of *Huanyou quan*:

(正)曰: 寰宇未受造之前可以受造良然。顧不必前有其質以爲能受造之容德, 能受造之底賴也, 何也? 所謂可受造者, 惟論物之能有, 其於受造不屬相悖(相悖義見前註), 而不謂物有容受其造之德。(p. 1216)

Before the universe was created, it could have been created. It is not necessary for its matter to exist so that it could receive the capacity and basis for being created. What we mean by being created is only a potentiality which does not involve any contradiction (see above) on the part of the creature, and this does not mean that a thing has the power of being created.

According to the second objection (number 9 in Aquinas), the inequality of things cannot come from the Lord of Heaven (物有不齊, 其不齊者非繇天主而來) because He is one and pure (至一至純), and therefore comes surely from preexistent matter. However, it is answered that the Lord of Heaven is completely free in all his actions (有所作爲, 皆繇自主而行), and the reason for the inequality of things is not matter, but the adornment of the whole world (任其全知所定秩序, 以全寰宇之美) according to God's omniscience. Interestingly, *Huanyou quan* added a gloss to contrast God's absolute freedom in creating with the necessary relationships existing within Trinity.

The next objection (number 11 in Aquinas) distinguishes two steps in creation: to be in the making (方造) and to be made (受造). If the two steps are sequential, there must be a being as the material basis for the thing to be created. If the two steps are simultaneous (方造之頃, 物即受造), the boundary between the thing in the making and the thing already made can be said to be something, and not to be something. When something is made, it has not received yet its full being, and only when the creation is complete, then the thing receives its name; how could it be called a thing and not a thing? Since it is impossible, the Lord of Heaven cannot create out of nothing. However, it is replied that there are two kinds of change: temporal change (屬時分), like life and death, and immediate change (倏然), like the air receiving the sun light and being illuminated (空中氣得日照而成其光), and like the creation out of nothing. *Huanyou quan* adds a gloss about the natural process of creation which unfolds along the time, unlike the creation by God which is immediate: the activity of the agent needs to be based on a substance (*tidi* 體底), and therefore it is correct to talk in terms of a temporal and not sudden change because the substance is the common basis of a change from non-being to being, and this unfolds in different stages (不同時).

The fourth objection (number 14 in Aquinas) is similar to the second objection we saw above about the inequality of things attributed to matter. Here it is said that God, origin of all perfections (萬有圓滿之元), cannot create imperfect things, which originate, in fact, from matter. However, it is replied that the existence of different degrees among creatures does not imply they are imperfect, as if they had defects. For example, saints (*shengshen* 聖神) in heaven are arranged in different degrees but this does not imply that some saints are

imperfect.⁽²¹⁾ Similarly, the imperfection of things does not come from the Lord of Heaven, nor from matter, but only from the fact that things are created out of nothing and could not receive perfection.

The final objection (number 17 in Aquinas) states that, since the Lord of Heaven makes a being, He must give a being (天主造有, 則必授有矣), and therefore the creation is out of something. However, it is replied that the being which is given and the thing receiving the being are the same (所授之有與受有之物爲一不二). *Huanyou quan* gloss further: though the True Being (*shiyou* 實有) comes after, its Original Principle (*yuanze* 元則) existed before the beginningless (從無始以前而已有之), and it was only manifested externally when the thing was made.

In conclusion to our analysis of this second chapter, we can see that *Huanyou quan* provided very detailed explanations about creation out of nothing, based on the *Disputed Questions*. Furtado and Li did not translate everything, but there was no need for this, because their selection already presents the most important arguments. There is the strong affirmation that God is the sole creator of everything, without the intermediary of prime matter or an exemplar cause, and that creation is not dependent on any condition.

Impossibility for creatures to create

For the Muslim Persian philosopher Avicenna (980-1037), God had conferred his power of creation to lower creatures, so that God could be said the ultimate cause of every creatures, with lower creatures still playing a causal role. Aquinas's metaphysical theory of creation rules out the participation of lower creatures since God is the only efficient cause making everything to exist. Chapter 3 in *Huanyou quan*, "Creatures cannot create" (他物莫能肇有義), is drawn from Article 4 of Question 3 of the *Disputed Questions*. Two possibilities are advanced for things to create: either their natural power (物本性之能) or their natural strength (物本性之力; p. 1217). Against the first possibility, it is argued that generally speaking a power in creating something is proportionate to the distance between what creates and what is created (for example, a great heat-power can make something cold hot), but since there is an infinite distance between being and non-being, the power to bring something from non-being into being "belongs only to an omnipotent Lord of Heaven" (惟屬一全能之天主; p. 1218), and this power cannot be communicated to others. Against the second possibility, i.e., the natural strength of things, it is said that generally speaking the actions of an agent are accidents upon a material object (*wuti* 物體) and therefore they require a material basis, but "only in the Lord of Heaven who is pure subject and pure act, being and action are purely identical, and thus He does not need matter for his action" (至論天主即已純體, 爲己作用, 其有其作, 純一不二。故不必先有其質以爲作用之底耳; p. 1218). Therefore, no creature at any time has in itself a power to create due to its metaphysical status, nor a strength to create due to its reliance on matter.

Then follow five objections and their resolutions, all drawn from the same article of the *Disputed Questions*. The first objection quotes Saint Diya 聖弟阿, in fact Pseudo-Denys (5th century): "The Omnipotent established as a rule that things, starting from the superior down to the inferior, return to the Primal Origin" (繇上使下, 復向初元, 此全能者所定之則).⁽²²⁾ Our text explains further: "The creation of the all the lower things necessarily follow the superior things, and it can be deduced that all things abide by the action of the superiors things and they also are produced from the Primal Origin" (故下焉者之化成未有不從其上焉者。以此推之, 則凡物但循他物之用,

(21) In *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Ricci uses also the word *shengshen* 聖神 to indicate the saints, but *Huanyou quan* uses the word *shensheng* 神聖, like below.

(22) Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchies*, v. i: "It is a rule of the Godhead to draw to himself the last things through the first"; quoted in Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed questions on the Power of God*, q.3.a.4.

亦能從其元初而出也; p. 1218). As suggested by the quote of Pseudo-Denys, this account of creation is influenced by the Neo-Platonic theory of emanation which was later adopted by Avicenna. Gaven Kerr explains the implication of this theory: “God is not the direct and immediate creator of all things but creates what immediately succeeds Him, and in so creating bestows on His successor a certain power to create but not as much as He has in himself.”⁽²³⁾ In refuting the emanation theory, Aquinas starts by admitting that creatures participate in bringing other creatures towards their end, but he denies them any role in terms of creation because “creating creatures” and “bringing creatures to their end” should not be put on the same level (*non est simile*), and all creatures, from the lowest to the highest, are directly created by God. Similarly for *Huanyou quan*, “creating things” is greater (*youda 尤大*) and more difficult (*gengnan 更難*) than “bringing things towards their end.”

The second objection is a variation of the first and consists in holding that things have a finite power to create other things since they have a finite share in the nature of being, and their distance from non-being is finite. However, it is replied that since an infinite being, infinitely distant from the absolute non-being (無限之無), needs an infinite active power, therefore a finite being (有限之有), also infinitely distant from absolute non-being, would require such an infinite power, and this is impossible.

Huanyou quan does not translate Aquinas’s third objection (derived from the first and second objections) nor the fourth objection (creation by angels), and goes directly to the fifth according to which, since God makes something previously inexistent to exist, it could easily confer to an existing thing a finite power (有限之德能) and even an infinite power to create things (無限之全能; p. 1219) because the distance between two existing things is not as great as the distance between non-being and being. It is replied that something is impossible not only on account of the distance between extremes, but also because it is altogether impossible to be done; for example, to make God from a body is an absolute impossibility because God cannot be made. Similarly, infinite power cannot be made out of finite power, not only on account of the distance between the two, but also because a creature cannot have infinite power. Indeed, the power of a creature “cannot be a pure act” (必非純全之爲), but depends on something else. Compared to the text of Aquinas, *Huanyou quan* adds the example of the angels: though they do not have a combination of matter and form, they cannot be considered pure acts by the very fact they are creatures.

Huanyou quan skips the sixth objection (again creation by angels) and translates the seventh. All the objections discussed above are variants of the emanation theory which attributes to creatures the power to create directly other creatures. Kerr calls this “the strong view” in contrast to “the weaker position” by Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) of creatures providing help (*ministerium*) to God’s creation.⁽²⁴⁾ According to this objection (third in *Huanyou quan* and number 7 in Aquinas), only God can create a substantial form, but since the action of a natural cause gives birth to the composite of matter and form, this can be seen as nature helping out the work of creation. Here *Huanyou quan* adds the example of horse breeding: the substantial form (形體之模) of the horse pre-exists but the composite of matter and form (質模總合) is generated, producing a foal. Since natural cause prepares matter and form for each other, this can be seen as nature concurring to God’s creation. In refuting Lombard’s theory of creatures participating to creation, *Huanyou quan* follows Aquinas in distinguishing between potential and actual forms (*in potentia/in actu*). The Lord of Heaven creates the potential forms of all things together with prime matter, but not through natural agency (不藉司作), meaning that secondary causes are needed to bring things to their actual existence. Indeed, material creatures can be the cause of becoming for other creatures, and

(23) Kerr, p. 89.

(24) Kerr, p. 90.

this is clearly apparent in biological reproduction or generation where an actual form is informing matter, like the actual horse-form informing horse-matter. In this sense, the actual form can be said drawn out by natural agency from matter (其模之從質以出). *Huanyou quan* illustrates this by saying that “the form is in the matter like the melon is in the grain” (模之在質如菓蓏之在種子然; p. 1219). This illustration may be ambiguous since it seems to imply that the form of a thing to come exists already in matter, and this reminds the view of the seminal causes (*rationes seminales*) in Saint Augustine, that was later rejected by Aquinas who argued that the forms existing in the matter are not realized and only potential, and thus in need of a more powerful cause, God, to confer actuality.⁽²⁵⁾ The case of human soul presents a special problem since it is spiritual and independent from matter. It is argued that: “Though the soul is created without matter, yet it comes into contact with matter and then exists” (雖繇無質而有, 然亦著質乃有; p. 1219). There is a double simultaneity: as soon as the human soul is created, it unites with matter, and as soon as the soul unites with matter, it is created. Furthermore, the cause of becoming for children is found in the parents, but their cause of being is found in the Lord of Heaven alone.

Huanyou quan skips the remaining objections which mostly focus on the human soul and the angels, but still translates the sixteenth and last objection: the natural agency of a thing can overcome the active resistance of its opposite and create something. However, as Aquinas argues, the force necessary to create from nothing is much greater than the force to make something out of another thing.

In this chapter, *Huanyou quan* has explained quite adequately Aquinas’s idea of the universal causation by God alone, rejecting the Avicennian theory which attributes creative power to creatures and the Lombardian theory which attributes them co-creative power. It is argued that the secondary causes are causes of becoming, but only God is the cause of being for all things. We shall discuss in the end the relevance of this.

Lord of Heaven creating freely

The fourth chapter discusses an important issue: Is there a necessity imposed on God to create the world? Or was He free to create or not to create? As the title affirms, “the Lord of Heaven created freely” (天主自主化成義), and it mostly translates Article 15 of Question 3. Two kinds of necessity need to be distinguished. First, there is a natural necessity which does not involve at all the actions of the intellect (*mingwu* 明悟) and will (*aide* 愛德 or *yude* 欲德); for example, fire must be hot and water must be cold, but this necessity does not apply to the will of the Lord of Heaven which is free (*zizhu* 自主; p. 1220). A second necessity involves intellect and will, and when they are drawn out, they cannot be stopped. For example, according to Saint Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, the First Person (God the Father) necessarily engenders the Second Person (Christ), and the Two persons according to their will necessarily engender the Third person (Holy Spirit). But this second necessity does not apply either since the Lord of Heaven is free will and intelligence, and thus freely communicates his goodness to the creatures.

The first objection (number 4 in Aquinas) states that a necessary act is more beautiful than a free act, taking as example again the necessary relations within the Holy Trinity. Against this it is replied that an act is determined necessary or free by considering its object. If the object of an act is the perfect good, then the will is necessarily moved, like the saints in paradise who see the Lord of Heaven and necessarily love Him. But if the object of an action is not present, the act is not necessary but free, like God envisioning creation:

(25) Etienne Gilson, *L’esprit de la philosophie médiévale* (Paris : Vrin, 1969), p. 144.

若夫天地人物既皆有限不全，奚足以牽天主之欲德，使其固然愛之，固然化生之哉？(p. 1221)

Since the object of His love is infinite, the Lord of Heaven necessarily loves, but since heaven, earth and human beings are finite and imperfect, how could they move His will so that He would necessarily love and create them?

According to the second objection (number 10 in Aquinas), since God knows everything by necessity, He also loves everything by necessity. In response, *Huanyou quan* follows Aquinas's analysis of the object of the act. An object of knowledge does not present any obstacle to the Lord of Heaven, and *Huanyou quan* illustrates with the necessary process of visual cognition starting from the external object of vision to the species (*wuxiang* 物像) within the subject.⁽²⁶⁾ Concerning will or love, the direction is reverse: loves jumps out of oneself and enters into the object of love (此愛從己躍出，以投入於所愛之物; p. 1222). If the object of love is not perfectly good, why would God necessarily love it? Also, the Lord of Heaven knows all the creatures that He could possibly create, without the mediation of species or ideas, but His knowledge needs to be directed by His will, and since the objects of the will are external and finite, how His will could be said necessary?

According to the third objection (number 11 in Aquinas), contingency (不緣固然而行者) indicates an agency which is not permanent but changing, but the agency of the Lord of Heaven is permanent and without changes (天主作用既恒一而不變), and thus creation belongs to necessity. It is replied that, a contingent act indicates a change from a temporal point of view, but not from the point of view of “a beginningless and permanent agent” (無始恒久之作) who has freely determined creating all things. From the point of view of the things which are created, the cause is external, but the ideas (*yideya* 意得亞) of the creatures are eternal in God. The mention of God as “beginningless and permanent agent” indicates that the act of creation by God cannot be reduced to a temporal moment, but it is an eternal act which is enacted at any moment. For Aquinas, the world depends radically on God's will at any time, and not only in one point of history.

Conclusion

As we have shown, *Huanyou quan* develops a metaphysics of creation drawn from the *Summa* and the *Disputed Questions on the Power of God*. Following Kerr, we have analyzed this sophisticated account of creation as a metaphysical dependence of the world on an ultimate foundation, God. The *Huanyou quan* greatly influenced two other Jesuit works: Alfonso Vagnone (1566-1640)'s *Comprehensive Account of the Universe (Huanyu shimo* 寰宇始末 c. 1637) and Ludovico Buglio (1606-1682)'s *Essential Studies about the Transcendental Nature (Chaoxing xueyao* 超性學要, 1654-1678). However, as far as we know, no Chinese literatus had reacted to the metaphysical creationism presented in *Huanyou quan*. Nevertheless, we claim that this work lays the ground for a fruitful encounter with the Confucian philosophy of the Song Dynasty, especially the School of Principle. First, the metaphysical relationship between a supreme being and the things of the world bears similarities with the relationship between *Taiji* and the myriad of things. Second, like *Taiji*, God does not leave the world nor mingle with the world. Third, God and *Taiji*, same as the world, are expressed in term of reality. Fourth, secondary causes are fully recognized but without compromising the transcendence of God and *Taiji*. We believe that the *Huanyou quan* opens some untapped resources for a philosophical encounter between the two traditions.

(26) The term *wuxiang* for species is borrowed from the *Lingyan lishao*; see Thierry Meynard, “The First Treatise on the Soul in China and its Sources,” *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra* 24.47 (2015), pp. 203-241.

中文题目: 晚明对创造论的托马斯主义论证——《寰有诠》(1628年)

梅谦立

中山大学哲学系教授、博士生导师, 主要从事于明清时期中西思想交流。电子邮件: meiqianl@mail.sysu.edu.cn。
电话: +8613725116351

摘要: 傅汎际与李之藻撰写的《寰有诠》(1628)主要翻译自亚里士多德《论天》的拉丁文评注, 然而其第一卷加上了从哲学和圣经方面介绍的基督教创造论。在哲学论述方面, 本文考证出《寰有诠》吸收了阿奎纳在《争议问题集: 论天主的能力》中的论点, 把创造论放在形上学的框架中理解, 揭示出作为第一本原的天主与万物之间最基本的关系。如此, 《寰有诠》为汇通创造论与宋明理学提供了非常恰当的基础。

关键词: 创造论; 阿奎那; 耶稣会; 傅汎际; 李之藻。

John Gerson and the Foundations of Mystical Theology

Benoît Vermander

(Fudan University, Yangpu District, Shanghai, China)

Abstract: Among other contributions, Jean Gerson (1363-1429) has played a decisive role in establishing spiritual theology as an *experimental science*, the foundation and process of which are independent from the ones of dogmatic theology, even if their results need to eventually coincide. Based, as all works in the field, on Pseudo-Dionysius, Gerson's *De theologia mystica* (written between 1402 and 1423) developed an epistemology of mystical knowledge, itself grounded upon an anthropology describing how humankind's cognitive and affective powers operate together. Gerson's work played a major role in the development of French, and more largely, modern approach to mysticism.

Keywords: Gerson; mysticism; Pseudo-Dionysius; spiritual theology; synderesis

Author: Benoît Vermander is professor of religious anthropology at Fudan University (Shanghai) where he also teaches the hermeneutic of Chinese Classics. He heads the Xu-Ricci Dialogue Institute in the same university. Email: mdwei@fudan.edu.cn

Introduction

A theologian of great stature, situated at the crossroads of the nominalist and mystical currents, Jean Gerson (1363-1429) was also a committed intellectual: Chancellor of the University of Paris from 1395 to 1415, he played a major role in many theological and political conflicts of the time. In particular, he contributed to the settlement of the Great Western Schism (1378 - 1417). He is generally known for the influence that his work had on Reformed thinkers such as Luther and Calvin as well as on Catholic thinkers such as Saint Francis de Sales.⁽¹⁾ He was also a representative of the first French humanism, which took shape under the Italian influence, in particular that of Petrarch. He could therefore be described as a “transitional figure”, between the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance still to come, and this is how he is most often presented.⁽²⁾

However, to call him a “transitional figure” is to obey a rather facile chronology, which neglects both the specific spirit of the time in which Gerson wrote and the complexity of his own thought. We prefer here to study Jean Gerson as a thinker in his own right, and to do so by focusing on one of his contributions: the way he founds “mystical theology” as an autonomous speculative field.

In the last period of his life, Jean Gerson wrote many spiritual treatises. But these are not the ones that interest us here. We will focus our study on the first treatise he devoted to mystical theology: *De mystica theologia* originated in lessons that Gerson gave at the University of Paris in 1402-1203. It evolved little by little

(1) For the laudatory references to Gerson made by Luther, see Yelena Mazour-Matusevich, “Gerson's Legacy,” in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp.356–399. For a rapprochement with (and differentiation from) Luther's anthropology, see notably Steven E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis. A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson and Martin Luther (1509-16) in the Context of Their Theological Thought*, Leiden: Brill, 1969.

(2) On the life and work of Jean Gerson, see in particular Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005; Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. For a comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach to the work, see Brian Patrick McGuire (ed.) *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, Leiden: Brill, 2006.

and eventually took the form of a book for which we possess one textual witness of 1408. The text was reworked again; a version dated 1422-1423 is used as a basis for the contemporary critical editions. ⁽³⁾ A complementary treatise by Gerson is known as *De theologia mystica tractatus secundus practicus*; it focuses on spiritual practice. It is only the first treatise (*tractatus primus speculativus*) - a set of lectures with a theoretical focus - that concerns us here. ⁽⁴⁾

We will first recall how the field of mystical theology has traditionally been defined, and what are the sources and influences that have shaped Gerson's approach. From there, we will try to define the object of study that Gerson sets himself, and the way in which this object determines the structure of the treatise. We will then show the salient points and the originality, which will allow us to better understand its posterity.

The Context and Sources of the *De Mystica Theologia*

Throughout the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, the field of "mystical theology" corresponds almost exclusively to the study of a very short work that bears that title - the *Mystical Theology* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. ⁽⁵⁾ The very term "mystical" ("hidden") applies properly to God: God is "hidden" (*absconditus* in Latin ⁽⁶⁾), and mystical theology is directed toward the mystery of his being. The paradox is that mystical theology can only come close to its goal by "letting God be God" as Master Eckhart (1260-1328) would say, and thus by accepting that God goes beyond what it is possible to say and think about him. ⁽⁷⁾

The Areopagite was probably a Syrian monk who lived around the year 500. Of neo-Platonic inspiration, he was influenced by the writings of Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa. ⁽⁸⁾ On the basis of the text itself (the author says he witnessed the darkness covering the whole earth after Christ's death), he was assimilated with the Dionysius converted by Paul on the Areopagus of Athens (AA 17, 34), and this position of "confidant" of Paul was giving a particular weight to his work: one was prompt to find in his description of the stages of the mystical ascent the very experience of Paul, who delivered precise allusions to his visions, revelations and ecstasies (see in particular 2Cor 12). Although doubts about this attribution were raised as early as the 15th century, it was only at the very end of the 19th century that this identification of the two historical figures was definitively refuted, on the basis of the textual borrowings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite from the neo-Platonic philosopher Proclus (412-485).

(3) The Latin edition of reference is that of A. Combes (ed.), *Joannis Carlerii de Gerson, De mystica theologia*, Lugano: Thesaurus Mundi, 1958. This text is the one reproduced in Marc Vial (ed.), *Jean Gerson: Sur la théologie mystique*, Paris: Vrin, 2008. I have used this edition, and have drawn much profit from the preliminary indications provided by its introduction. See also Marc Vial, "Théologie mystique et expérience chez Jean Gerson", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 142 (3/4), 2010, pp.229-243.

(4) The foundational studies on Gerson's mystical theology remain the ones conducted by André Combes: *La Théologie Mystique de Gerson: Profil de son évolution*, 2 vol., Rome and Paris, Desclée: 1963-1964; *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson*, 4 vol., Paris: Vrin, 1945-1972. For an assessment of Combes' approach and results in the light of recent scholarship on Gerson, see Jeffrey Fisher, "Gerson's Mystical Theology: A New Profile of its Evolution", in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, op. cit., pp.205-248.

(5) Cf. Alain de Libera, *Penser au Moyen Age*, Paris, Seuil, 1996, pp.301-302.

(6) A frequent reference of the authors who comment on Dionysius (and Gerson among them) is to the Latin translation of Ezekiel 45:15: "Truly you are the hidden God! (*Vere tu es Deus absconditus*)".

(7) Cf. Alain de Libera, *ibid*; Jean Vanneste, *Le mystère de Dieu; Essai sur la structure rationnelle de la doctrine mystique du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959.

(8) In addition to his *Mystical theology*, remain the following treatises by Pseudo-Dionysius: *Divine Names*; *Celestial Hierarchy*; and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.

Pseudo-Dionysius establishes “mystical theology” as a kind of paradoxical knowledge founded on the ascent of the soul towards God. This science has for object to unite the contemplative to God “by that intimate taste and that ineffable feeling which those can appreciate, who have known and experienced him” (Prologue of the *MT*). Mystical theology reveals the mysteries of God hidden “among the very luminous darkness of a silence full of profound teachings” (*MT*, I,1). Dionysius’ book concludes with the proposition that “Neither affirmation nor absolute negation should be made of him; and in affirming, or denying the things inferior to him, we cannot affirm or deny him himself, because this perfect and only cause of beings surpasses all affirmations, and he who is fully independent, and superior to the rest of beings, surpasses all our negations.” (*MT*, V)⁽⁹⁾

The authority of the work of Dionysius is affirmed very early in the Eastern Church. In the West, a copy of the Greek text reached Paris at the beginning of the 9th century, and was deposited in the Abbey of Saint Denis, this location being chosen because the author was also sometimes confused with Denis, the first bishop of Paris, a probably legendary figure of the 3rd century. It was the object of several translations into Latin and of many commentaries. From Saint Bonaventura (1221-1274) onwards⁽¹⁰⁾, Dionysius’ *Mystical theology* is interpreted from the other parts of his work, those of which the text has been preserved and those to which Denys alludes: Denys is said to have first elaborated a “symbolic theology” which speaks about God starting from the experience of the senses translated into symbols⁽¹¹⁾, then a “speculative theology”, which corresponds to what one usually understands by the term “theology”, one that reasons by deductions or inductions and starts from the revelations brought by the biblical text, and finally the “mystical theology” that crowns his work. The commentators retain especially two aspects of the mystical theology of Denys: (1) it proceeds essentially by negations; (2) the knowledge which it provides is the product of a “mental extasy” (*excessus mentis*) which transcends the normal operations of the spirit.

Gerson’s treatise fits into this general framework. Let us see now its articulations, progression and method.

The Structure and Argumentation of Gerson’s Treatise

Gerson’s treatise is divided into a prologue and eight parts, which contain a total of forty-four “considerations” (*consideratio*). Each consideration consists of a thesis accompanied by a short demonstration or explanation. Each part contains between four and eight considerations. The Prologue poses the general question which animates the treatise: “to show if one acquires better the knowledge of God by means of an affect which makes penance (*penitens affectus*) than by means of the intellectual [entering into] research (*intellectus investigans*)”. Such questioning, Gerson writes, aims at bringing all those who have not experienced meditation or ecstasy to understand (or at least to believe in) what the few people who experienced such state of mind say of it (note that Gerson firmly excludes himself from the number of these persons). As in Dionysius, most of the Prologue is taken up with a prayer: Gerson asks God to help him to carry out his work both resolutely and without pride, and to ensure that those who listen to him “are excited not to instruct the intellect alone to such an extent as to leave the affect dry, or even shuddering and smeared with passions.” Interestingly, he concludes by saying that this Prologue is intended to “unearth a place deeply rooted into humility” (*ad fodiendum de profundo humilitatis loco*) that may ensure the soundness of his

(9) I rely on the Greek text available in: *Les Noms divins; La Théologie mystique*, introduction, translation and notes by Ysabel de Andia, Greek text by B. R. Suchla and A. M. Ritter (“Sources chrétiennes 578-579”), Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2016.

(10) See his *Itinerary of the Mind to God*.

(11) Notably in *Celestial Hierarchies*, III.

discourse. The more sublime and mysterious the subjects one deals with, the greater must be the fear and humility of the one who speaks of them.

The first part of the treatise bases itself upon Dionysius in order to show that mystical theology is based on operations that take place “in the innermost, in the hearts of pious minds” (*ad intra in cordibus animorum devotorum*), while symbolic and speculative theologies have their foundation in the “outside” (*extrinsecus*) (*Consideration* [C] 2). The illiterate, the simple ones (*idiotae*) can thus possess a knowledge superior to that of the learned (C3). Gerson distinguishes four categories of people: (a) those who are pious, who have direct experience of the mystery of God and whose judgment does not err; (b) those who are pious but whose judgment may err – and thus, they may occasionally be corrected by the third category of people: (c) the learned, who, without having direct experience of the divine mysteries, have studied the writings that bear witness to these mysteries. But these scholars must also know how to “suspend their judgment and venerate in silence what is unknown to them” (C8). (d) A last category includes the very rare persons who have a double knowledge of God, that of the intellect and that of the affect. Gerson counts St. Augustine, Bonaventura, Hugh of Saint. Victor, and St. Thomas Aquinas among these (C8).

The purpose of the second part is clearly expressed at the beginning of *Consideration* 9: “To acquire a speculative knowledge (*cognitio speculativa*) of mystical theology it is necessary to know the nature of the rational soul (*natura anime rationalis*) as well as its cognitive and affective powers.” Gerson thus engages in an anthropological enterprise (elucidating the nature of the human mind) in order to bring out what is the capacity or power in the mind that is capable of producing mystical knowledge. At the same time, he indicates the nature of his enterprise: to *establish a speculative doctrine of mystical theology*; or to put it another way: to elucidate and formalize by reason a type of knowledge produced by inner experience. From this point of view, it can be said that Gerson’s “mystical theology” aims at founding an epistemology: bringing to light the nature of mystical knowledge.

Gerson’s anthropology is strongly based on the work of Richard of Saint-Victor (110-1162). While insisting that the categories he uses are formal and not real in nature (C9)⁽¹²⁾, Gerson distinguishes three cognitive powers: the sensible cognitive power (*vis cognoscitiva sensualis*) which uses the sense organs to know, and which he also sometimes simply calls “imagination” (C12, see also C21 et al.); reason (*ratio*) capable of deduction and abstraction (C11); and “simple intelligence” (*intelligentia simplex*), which receives from God a natural light by which the first principles are made known (C10). In strict parallel⁽¹³⁾, he distinguishes three affective faculties: the animal appetite (*appetitus animalis*); the rational appetite (*appetitus rationalis*), which can also be called, according to the perspective one adopts, “will”, “freedom” or “conscience” (C15); and finally *synderesis* (or *synteresis*) the part of the mind which receives from God a natural inclination to the good, as the “simple intelligence” (*intelligentia simplex*), receives from God a natural inclination towards the truth (C14).

The term *synderesis* goes back to St Jerome (347-420).⁽¹⁴⁾ The same author uses the expression “spark of the soul” (*scintilla animae*) or “spark of the conscience” (*scintilla conscientiae*) in an equivalent manner. In

(12) The anti-platonic character of Gerson’s thought has been stressed by many commentators. See for example Alain de Libera, *La philosophie médiévale*, Paris, PUF, 2014 (1993), p.478. Matthieu van der Meer sees at the root of Gerson’s anti-Platonism the fact that the French Chancellor suspects that Plato is aiming at Man’s self-divinization. Gerson would anchor himself into an Augustinism freed from Platonic influences, while Nicholas of Cusa would build upon the Platonic ground of Dionysius’ theology. (See Matthieu van der Meer, “Divus Dionysius: Jean Gerson, Nicholas of Cusa, and the Interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysius’s Mystical Theology”, *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 44 (2), 2013, pp.323-342.)

(13) “To every cognitive power there is a proportional affective power.” (C13)

(14) The term is problematic. It most likely comes from a faulty manuscript version of the term *syneidēsis* (συνείδησις), which in New Testament Greek refers to the moral awareness of right and wrong.

both cases, Jerome designates this way the remorse of the conscience, active even after original sin. The term is gradually extended to the faculty of recognizing the good, whether this faculty is attributed to the will (Albert the Great) or to reason (Thomas Aquinas).⁽¹⁵⁾ Concurrently, the affective (Bonaventura) or cognitive (Aquinas) nature of synderesis remains debated. Still, the question remains to identify the part of the soul that remains incorruptible to the action of sin. One understands how, in Eckhart (who will call it “the little fortress of the soul”), the synderesis ends up designating the place by which the soul participates in the essence of God.

The third part of the treatise is interested in the mode and degree of understanding brought to the human being by each of the six powers previously distinguished. The starting analogy is, for the cognitive powers, that of the light dispensed by the sun, and, for the affective powers, that of the heat dispensed by the same sun (C17). Other analogies (notably those of mirrors disposed in a row, which thus reflect an image that is increasingly blurred) are used to rank the knowledge provided by the different powers (C19). The power proper to mystical theology will necessarily be the one that suffers the least amount of obscurity, corruption or weakening. In the fourth part, Gerson then turns to the acts that the six faculties are capable of performing when the object of their examination or desire is God himself. Gerson, after Hugues of Saint-Victor, distinguishes between cogitation (*cogitatio*), in which the mind is unable to settle down; meditation (*meditatio*) in which the mind turns to God with constancy and effort, and finds fruit therein; and contemplation (*contemplatio*), which “flies everywhere and settles everywhere but with fruit” (C21). Contemplation is the result of the efforts made in meditation, of the ability to abstract oneself from sensible things, and a direct effect of divine grace (these three factors playing in varying proportions) (C24).

In the fifth part, Gerson links cogitation to concupiscence, meditation to devotion and contrition, and contemplation to love (C27). “Contemplation, which is a free and detached consideration” (...) has its corresponding affection located in the soul (*in anima*), a similarly free and detached, pure and abstract love.” (Ibid.) Contemplation understood this way unites the highest cognitive faculty (the simple intellect) and the supreme affective faculty (synderesis): the very act of contemplating is attached to the intellect, but the fruits of this act correspond to the very realm of mystical theology, to the fact of tasting “the wisdom of God hidden in the mystery,” and tasting it “with a priceless and indescribable, ineffable, and surpassing joy.” (ibid.).

Mystical knowledge of God is therefore affective in nature. The sixth part of the work is devoted to the specificity of mystical theology in relation to other modes of theological knowledge: it is not acquired “in the school of the intellect” (*schola intellectus*) but “in the school of religion or of love” (*scola religionis vel amoris*) (C30). Gerson then returns to one of his favorite themes: “Nothing forbids that one speaks to simple people (*simplices*) about the mystical theology which is love and which is acquired by love. On the contrary, those who are wise in their own eyes should be kept away from it.” (C31) The seventh and eighth parts detail how “love ravishes to the beloved and leads to ecstasy” (C36). Here Gerson defines “transformation” (*transformatio*) as “the amorous union of the faculty of the spirit with God (*amorosa unio mentis cum Deo*)” (C41). This is the occasion for him to criticize the thesis defended by Ruysbroeck (1293-1381) in *The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage* according to which the soul, united to God, would lose its own being and would become, by participation, the very being of God. He notes, however, that Ruysbroeck would have qualified and restricted this thesis in later

(15) Cf. Odon Lottin, «La syndérèse chez Albert le Grand et saint Thomas d’Aquin», *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 1928 30(17), pp. 18-44; Christian Trottmann, «La syndérèse selon Albert le Grand», Walter Senner et al, *Albertus Magnus, Zum Gedenken nach 800 Jahren: Neue Zugänge, Aspekte und Perspektiven*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2001, pp.255-273.

writings (C41). Consideration 43 identifies mystical knowledge, love and perfect prayer, repeating that “mystical theology is the knowledge of God made possible by the conjunction of the spirit’s affect with him [God] (*cognitio experimentalis habita de Deo per coniunctionem affectus spiritualis cum edoem*).” And the treatise then ends with a praise of prayer, for prayer makes one able to approach God as a friend (*[Deum] sibi amicum concilians* [C44]), soothes, comes to the aid of the neighbor and of the Church, and frees from all evil.

The Originality and Posterity of *De Mystica Theologia*

Gerson envisions “mystical theology” as an experiential knowledge of God made possible by the union that the highest form of man’s *affective capacity* achieves with God when the highest form of his *cognitive capacity* is absorbed in contemplation. However, his treatise implicitly gives a second meaning to the term “mystical theology”: it becomes the speculative discipline which, taking seriously the teachings delivered by those who have entered into such an experience, elucidates them as “knowledge about God” in its own right. This knowledge certainly reasons essentially (but not only, insists Gerson in Consideration 2) by negations; it is nevertheless *knowledge* about God. This position has two main implications:

Based on the reading of Dionysius, the tradition was identifying mystical union with the cessation of all acts of thought. Gerson makes the cessation of thought an *operation*, and an operation of an affective nature. Only the most purified (and most powerful) part of man’s affective capacity, i.e., *synderesis*, is capable of producing mystical knowledge. This thesis in a way democratizes mystical knowledge, in the sense that the latter escapes the sole holders of knowledge. A simple man who prays to God purely is a “philosopher”, says Gerson, who defines philosophy as “any science proceeding from experiences” (C3). The primacy given to the theological science of the simple man humbly united to God will be a constant in the later work of Gerson. He thus opposes an intellectualist and elitist conception of the spiritual life that the rediscovery of Greek thought through the intermediary of Arab philosophy had nourished in the Latin Church during the 13th century.

Gerson’s work comes slightly later than the great works of the Flemish and Rhenish mystical schools, and, in some aspects, diverges from them: Gerson could not endorse the idea of *substantial* union between the soul and God. More importantly, his contribution is of a different nature: it consists first of all in making the *affective* knowledge of God the object of a *speculative* knowledge that learned people will have to build humbly on the basis of the testimony of the simple. Mystical theology is thus doubly an “experimental science”: first of all, it is *lived knowledge*, experienced by those who go beyond the stage of meditation to enter into that of contemplation freed from thought; secondly, the testimonies that the latter give of their experience become the very matter upon which to develop reasoned knowledge about God.

Gerson thus attempts to constitute a “science of mysticism”, a project which will mark the whole of the XVI and XVII centuries and will resonate upon theological debates. The so-called Quietist controversy of 1697–99 was the final defeat of those who considered mysticism as an “experimental science”⁽¹⁶⁾, and this defeat contributed to the drying up of the impulse of the Catholic Church in the Counter-Reformation period.⁽¹⁷⁾ It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the mystical tradition once again began to nourish theological,

(16) Condemnation of Fénelon by Pope Innocent XII in 1699, under pressure from Louis XIV.

(17) Michel de Certeau remains the author of reference on the mystical figures of these two centuries and on their social and intellectual context. See in particular *La Fable mystique*, Paris, Gallimard (1982 for Volume I, and 2013 for Volume II).

philosophical, anthropological and social debate.⁽¹⁸⁾ Until today, a work like that of Gerson continues to mark the “absent presence” of a mystical knowledge that would surpass and question all other modes of knowledge and would do so from the union of humankind’s cognitive capacities with its affective power.

中文题目： 让·热尔松与神秘神学的奠基

魏明德

复旦大学宗教学系教授、博士生导师·研究方向主要集中在 中国宗教和心灵传统·电邮: mdwei@fudan.edu.cn。

电话: + (86-21) 65642980

摘要: 让·热尔松 (1363-1429) 作出的诸多贡献之一, 是决定性地 把灵修神学建设成为了一门 “经验科学”, 使其基础与进路都从教义神学独立出来, 尽管这两个神学领域的最终成果需要保持一致。如同该领域的所有著作一样, 热尔松 写于1402-1423年间的《论神秘神学》也是扎根于托名的狄奥尼修斯的思想, 由此发展出一种有关神秘知识 的认识论, 这种认识论以一种描述人类认知能力与情感能力如何联合运作的人学为基础。在法国 以及更大范围内, 热尔松的工作对神秘主义的现代方法的发展起到了极为重要的作用。

关键词: 热尔松、神秘主义、托名的狄奥尼修斯、神秘神学、本性良心 (synderesis)

(18) From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, a real interest for the mystical discourse has been manifested, and has developed far beyond confessional bases. To quote only a few names in the French-speaking world: Henri Bergson (*Les Deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, 1932), Jean Baruzi (*Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*, 1924); Henri Bremond, the historian of spirituality, Joseph Maréchal, the theologian; and, after the Second World War, Jean Orcibal, Michel de Certeau, Jacques Le Brun, and others. These historians and philosophers have contributed to rehabilitate the mystical discourse by revealing its scope and creativity. (See Dominique Salin, *L'Expérience spirituelle et son langage*, Paris, Éditions Facultés jésuites de Paris, 2015). A parallel investigation into the English-speaking world would start with William James, while developing accents slightly different from the current that Gerson initiates and still represents.

实践神学

与中西教会和社会

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

梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的明清天主教中文文献

张西平

(北京外国语大学中华文化国际传播研究院, 100089, 北京市)

摘要: 明清之际的中西文化交流史研究中, 对西学汉籍文献的收集和整理是一项基础性学术工作。近年来, 耶稣会图书馆、巴黎国家图书馆、徐家汇图书馆所藏明清汉籍先后出版。梵蒂冈图书馆是目前世界范围收藏明清西学汉籍文献最多的图书馆。本文对梵蒂冈图书馆西学汉籍的来源做了分类的研究, 初步展示了梵蒂冈图书馆所藏明清西学汉籍文献的基本特点。

关键词: 梵蒂冈图书馆、西学汉籍、中西文化交流

作者: 张西平, 北京外国语大学中华文化国际传播研究院首席专家、教授, 《国际汉学》主编, 主要从事海外汉学、中西文化交流史研究。电子邮件: zhangxiping@263.net.cn。电话: +8613910383282。

一、梵蒂冈图书馆及所藏的东方文献

梵蒂冈图书馆简史

梵蒂冈教皇图书馆(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)位于梵蒂冈境内,它是梵蒂冈的国家图书馆。梵蒂冈图书馆本质上是罗马教宗的私人图书馆,它汇集了有史以来人类的精神财富和文化宝藏。历史上的宗座图书馆可追溯到教会建立初期教宗专用的学习室和藏书室。梵蒂冈图书馆的奠基人是教宗尼古拉五世(Nicolas V,1447-1455),他也是著名的人文主义者。此时,开始图书馆开始建立了分类和目录的编制,有了拉丁文书库、希腊文书库、手写本书库和教皇书库。

西克斯图四世(SixteIV, 1471-1484)担任教宗时期,梵蒂冈图书馆成为一个对公众开放的图书馆。到利奥十世(利奥十世(Leo X))时,作为文艺复兴一部分的梵蒂冈图书馆达到了它的巅峰。以后,图书馆被关闭不再对外开放,直到1890年才重新对公众开放。

16世纪后图书馆收入了许多著名的藏书。“1600年古文物收藏家弗维奥·奥西尼遗赠给图书馆的413册手写本;1622年收购了帕拉蒂纳书库,其中拉丁文手写本2027册,希腊文手写本432册;1658年教皇亚历山大七世购进乌尔比诺侯爵书库,包括拉丁文和意大利文手写本1767册,希腊文手写本165册,东方手写本128册;1690年教皇亚历山大八世购买了隐居在罗马的瑞典女王克里斯蒂娜的书库,共计写本2000余册。随着图书的不断增长,馆舍也一次次扩建,十八世纪马克威斯·卡波尼把他的288册手写本遗赠给梵蒂冈图书馆;1748年该馆又购进了奥托比尼的手写本,共拉丁文3349册,希腊文473册。”⁽¹⁾

从教皇利奥十三世(Leo XIII)开始,经过历代教宗的努力,梵蒂冈图书馆已经成为一个世界上著名的现代化的图书馆。今天的梵蒂冈图书馆是一个拥有“总计藏有82,000种不同文字的写本,100,000万个存档单元的档案资料,1,600,000本纸质书(包括8,700部摇篮本书),400,000枚硬币和勋章,100,000张版画、绘画和印版及浮雕作品以及150,000张照片,保存着从基督纪元最初数世纪至今的人类历史和思

(1) 李伟Li Wei, “梵蒂冈教皇图书馆概说” Fandigang jiaohuang tushuguan gaishuo [Overview of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana], 《北京图书馆馆刊》 Beijing tushuguan guankan [Journal of the National Library of China], No. 3, (1998), 138-139.

想、艺术和文学、数学与科学、法律与医学领域的大量文献资料, 涵括从远东到哥伦比亚之前的美洲西部等地区的多种语言和文化, 以及具有较高价值的人文背景资料。”⁽²⁾

梵蒂冈图书馆无疑是西方各类图书馆中最具有特色的图书馆之一, 因为它“拥有一段五百年漫长的历史: 在西方的各大图书馆中或许是最悠久的一段历史。”⁽³⁾

梵蒂冈图书馆的东方文献

虽然梵蒂冈教廷与东方国家的外交关系上溯自十三世纪, 梵蒂冈档案馆(Archivio Segreto Vaticano) 收录有相关的文献反映当时教廷和一些东方君主的书信往来, 如 1246 年由成吉思汗之孙贵由汗(Khan Guyuk, c. 1206-1248, 在位 1246-1248) 从喀拉昆仑(Karakorum) 寄给教宗英诺森四世(Innocenzo IV) 的信, 但梵蒂冈图书馆第一次对其所藏东方语种文献的记录仅开始于 1481 年, 而有关其远东和中国周边国家文献收藏的最早记载则更是推迟到十六世纪下半叶。这些文献的内容涉及广泛, 包括教会史, 原住民宗教, 文学, 字典等等, 用不同的语言文字写成: 安南语, 巴塔克语, 缅甸语, 印地语, 日语, 爪哇语, 高棉语, 孔卡尼语, 韩语, 老挝语, 马拉巴尔语, 马来语, 马拉雅拉姆语, 蒙语, 尼泊尔语, 尼瓦尔语, 巴利语, 普拉克利特语, 梵语, 暹罗语, 僧伽罗语, 泰米尔语, 泰卢固语, 藏语, 乌尔都语, 等等, 其载体主要是纸张, 另外有贝叶, 还有刻文字的金属板。

梵蒂冈图书馆的中文文献

梵蒂冈图书馆的中文文献镇馆之宝是《中文字母表》(Alfabetum Idiomatis de Cina), 在 1574 至 1578 年间一位法国文人在意大利的旅行, 曾看过这份中文字母表。《事林广记》、《续资治通鉴节要》是该馆最早的2本中文藏书, 文艺复兴时期著名法国作家蒙田(Michel de Montaigne, 1533-1592) 在其《旅行日记》记载有 1581 年 3 月 6 日他在梵蒂冈图书馆的访问, 曾看到过其中一本。⁽⁴⁾

从Giuseppe Simon Assemani (1687-1768) 开始, 就计划出版梵蒂冈图书馆所有写本的目录, 共二十卷: 六卷着录东方各种语文的写本, 四卷着录希腊文献, 十卷着录拉丁文献。对东方语种文献的着录他请了希伯来文, 埃塞俄比亚文, 科普特文, 中文各方面的合作者。但最后的结果实际上只出版了三卷。在第二卷目录中涉及到从中国来的写本, 但目录中已经没有任何东方文字。⁽⁵⁾在梵蒂冈图书馆的这些古代东方文献中有2,000 种中国古籍善本, 以及二百多件已经记录在案的中国周边国家的古文献写本。这些并不包括上万件尚未经整理的日本17 世纪的写本文献。目前梵蒂冈图书馆藏共有7,000种中国图书收藏, 2,000 多种1911年之前的写本和印刷本古籍, 600种1949年前的民国印刷品, 1,000种其后的出版物。⁽⁶⁾这些中文刻本和写本是如何来到梵蒂冈图书馆呢? 这就涉及到明清之际的耶稣会来华与中西文化交流。

(2) 余东YU Dong: “梵蒂冈图书馆中国古籍文献的收藏整理及其电子化(讲演稿)”Fandigang tushuguan zhongguo guji wenxian de shoucang zhengli jiqi dianzihua (jiangyangao)[Collection and arrangement of ancient Chinese books and documents in Vatican Library and its electroneization (Speech writing)], The international conference on “Digital Resources Sharing and Application (DRSA 2017)” Zhejiang University, June 15th-17th, 2017.

(3) Antonio Manfredi, *Le Origini Della Biblioteca Vaticana Tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento (1447-1534)*, Città del Vaticano Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010.

(4) 中文书当为原书号为 Vat. lat. 3771 今为 I.Racc.III.332 的《事林广记》Shilinguangji, 或原书号为 Vat. lat. 3772, 后为 I.Racc.III.333, 今为 Vat. estr. or. 66 的《续资治通鉴节要》Xu Zizhitongjian jieyao。这是当时图书馆通常向参观者展示的两件中文宝藏。

(5) G. Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del piu antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1939 (Studi e Testi 92), 2-3.

(6) 以上材料摘自余东Yu dong, “梵蒂冈图书馆馆藏中国周边国家古代写本文献”Fandigang tushuguan zhongguo zhoubian guojia gudai xieben wenxian [Vatican Library holds ancient texts written by China’s neighboring countries]一文, 在此表示感谢。

梵蒂冈图书馆中文文献来源

费赖之书目所记耶稣会士中文文献

1580年罗明坚(Michel Ruggieri,1543-1607)来华拉开了了耶稣会传教士进入中国的大幕。刚到达澳门时他遵循范礼安(Alexandre Valignani,1538~1606)的进入中国的天主教神父“应该学习中国话及中文”⁽⁷⁾的要求,开始学习汉语、了解中国的风俗习惯。罗明坚是一位很有毅力并有极高天赋的传教士,到达澳门后刚刚几个月后,他便能认识许多个汉字,初步可以读中文的书籍,三年多以后他便开始用中文来写作了。罗明坚学习中文的目的是为了传教,他认为“这是为归化他们必须有的步骤。以便日后用中文着书,驳斥中文书中(有关宗教方面)的谬误。希望将来能为天主服务,使真理之光照耀这个庞大的民族。”⁽⁸⁾罗明坚返回欧洲后,利玛窦承担起了在华传教的大业,他更为清楚地认识到“刊书传教”的意义,利玛窦写道:“在这个国家里文学相当发达,中国人很少不识字。所有的宗教也是依靠印成书籍来传播推广,而非以当众布道或传授教理的形式。他们这种方式也为我们向教友传授必要的祈祷常识提供了很大的方便,因为教友们通过自己阅读,或请亲友为他们朗读已经刊印的《天主教要》,便能迅速地将其内容记在脑子里,在中国,是不乏识文断字之人的。”⁽⁹⁾当利玛窦确立了“合儒易佛”的文化适应路线和刊书传教的方针后,来华耶稣会士学习汉语,翻译西学,出版书籍成为他们传教的基本手段。从费赖之的《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》中所记载的每一位来华耶稣会士的著作中,我们大体可以看出这些来华传教士在传播西学,刊书传教上的热情与成就。

从目前的研究来看,费赖之的书目并未收全来华耶稣会士的中文著作,费赖之书也不包含来华的其他修会传教士的中文著作,他的书目只是提供给了研究者一个进一步展开研究的基础。

由于各种原因从中国返回欧洲的传教士,将天内出版的中文书籍带回罗马成为他们的返回欧洲的重要任务之一。梵蒂冈图书馆东方部负责人余东在编制《梵蒂冈图书馆藏早期传教士中文文献目录(十六至十八世纪)》(*Caralogo delle Opfre Cinesi Missionarie Della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*)时,对梵蒂冈图书馆的中文馆藏来源做了说明,她在前言中说:⁽¹⁰⁾

根据增添的不同文献,与中国传教事业有关的大部分文献都保存在手稿部“Barberini Oriente”,“Borgia Cinese”,“Vaticano Estremo Oriente”,以及印刷部的“Raccolta Generale Oriente”。

“Barberini Oriente”档案来自Barberini图书馆,1902年被梵蒂冈图书馆购置。⁽¹¹⁾它保存了很多珍稀书籍,比如《天学初函》、《崇祯历书》,以及一份非常稀有的利玛窦世界地图和汤若望的天体平面球图。

(7) (意)利玛窦Matteo Ricci,《天主教传入中国史》Tianzhujiao chuanru zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas], (台湾Taiwan:光启社 Guangqishe [Kuangchi press], 1986), 113.

(8) 《利玛窦书信集》Limadoushuxinji[The Correspondences of Matteo Ricci], (台湾Taiwan:光启社Guangqishe [Kuangchi press], 1986), 427. 参阅利玛窦Matteo Ricci:《天主教传入中国史》Tianzhujiao chuanru zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas], (台湾Taiwan:光启社Guangqishe [Kuangchi press], 1986), 114. 龙思泰Anders Ljungstedt:《早期澳门史》Zaoqi aomenshi [An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China; a Supplementary Chapter, Description of the City of Canton], (北京Beijing:东方出版社Dongfang chubanshe [Orient Press], 1997), 193. 费赖之Louis Pfister:《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesuhuish liezhuan ji shumu [Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552-1773]上册, (北京Beijing:中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company]), 1995), 2.

(9) (意)利玛窦Matteo Ricci著,文铮Wenzheng译、梅欧金Eugenio Menegon校:《耶稣会与天主教进入中国史》Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao jinru zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas], (北京Beijing:商务印书馆Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2014), 354.

(10) Yu Ding Caralogo delle Opfre Cinesi Missionarie Della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Città del Vaticano Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1996.

(11) 关于“Barberini”档案的历史,请参见Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *Guide au département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, LII année (1934), pp.223-225.

“Borgia Cinese”档案, 则来自红衣主教Stefano Borgia的部分收藏, 也是于1902年为梵蒂冈图书馆所购得。⁽¹²⁾它保存了大量传教士的出版物和文献, 其中有很多与中国语言和文学的研究以及中欧词典有关的手稿。

由传教士编纂的许多字典和中国语法书籍, 也保存在“Vaticano Estremo Oriente”档案中, 特别是它有一部分很重要的手稿, 来自传教士康和子(Carlo Orazi da Castorano, 1673-1755)的收藏。

然而, 传教士文献中最为重要的一部分则是“Raccolta Generale Orient”档案。其中有两个中文传教士出版物的特别收藏: 一是耶稣会士柏应理神父赠送给教宗Innocenzo十一世治下的梵蒂冈图书馆; 另一部分则是有圣方济各神父Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa从中国带到罗马的收藏,⁽¹³⁾他的这部分之后由康和子本人进行编目。⁽¹⁴⁾

从余东的介绍, 我们知道有三名来华的传教士对梵蒂冈图书馆的汉文书籍的收藏有着重要贡献, 他们是: 柏应理、康和子与傅圣泽。我们对他们在中国和梵蒂冈之间的图书交流分别展开研究。

柏应理与梵蒂冈图书馆中文藏书

柏应理(Philippe Couplet, 1624-1692)是比利时来华耶稣会会士。顺治十五年(1658)抵澳门。柏应理在华传教约二十三年, 其中有十二年的时间在江南地区度过, 先在江西、福建、湖广、浙江, 后在松江、上海、嘉定、苏州、镇江、淮安、崇明等地传教。柏应理是利玛窦“文化适应”政策的坚决执行者, 从他诸多的中文著作中可以看出这一点。

他所写的《天主教百问答》刻于康熙十四年(1675年), 该书通俗易懂, 如他所说“然而习俗深者, 嗜欲匪浅, 虽千百言, 难以启其信, 而习俗浅者, 嗜理必深, 虽一二语, 足以释其疑”⁽¹⁵⁾因此, 这本书出版后, 受到教区的欢迎, 此后在上海多次再版, 乃至到晚晴同治七年(1868), 民国期间1925年、1934年先后七次出版, 可见此书影响之大。柏应理写了多部中文传教著作, 如《永年瞻礼单》、《圣教福音》、《圣玻尔日亚行实》、《周岁圣人行实》、《圣若瑟诗文》、《徐光启行略》等。

柏应理另一件被人称道的是他返回欧洲后所推动的中西文化交流。1680年柏应理“被选为中国耶稣会副省区的理家(帐房), 并被选为教区代表前往罗马, 商讨传教区事物, 物色传教人员, 并申请核准应中文举行弥撒祭礼。”⁽¹⁶⁾

关于柏应理返回欧洲所做的几件重要的事情, 笔者在《欧洲早期汉学史: 中西文化交流与西方早期汉学的兴起》一书中已经做了初步的研究。⁽¹⁷⁾“首先, 他将中文的弥撒书、福音书和礼仪书的译本带到了罗

(12) 关于“Borgia”档案的历史, 参见*ibid.*, p.222-223; *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Paris, 1975, p.229.

(13) Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa, 来自罗马, 1696年被选任为以Bertyus为头衔的主教, 并一直担任直1712年。1696年, 他也被选任为湖广两省的宗座代牧主教, 1700年晋铎为主教, 并获得一个名义上的教区头衔(Myra); 1737年逝世。R.Ritzler-P.Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, V. Padova, 1952, pp.118-119; VI, Padova, 1968, p.299. 他葬在罗马的S. Francesco a Ripa教堂; Vaticano Lat.7900, f.1211, 附有其讣告日期和墓碑。

(14) 对于这两部分的收藏, 请参见附录的目录。

(15) 张西平Zhang Xiping、马西尼Federico Masini、任大援Ren Dayuan等主编, 《梵蒂冈图书馆藏明清中西文化交流史文献丛刊》*Fandigang tushuguan cang mingqing zhongxi wenhua jiaoliushi wenxian congkan* [A series of historical documents on sino-Western cultural exchanges in the Ming and Qing dynasties in Vatican Library]第一辑, 第14册, (郑州Zhenzhou: 大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2014), 704.

(16) (法) 费赖之Louis Pfister著, 梅乘祺Mei Chengqi、梅乘骏Mei Chengjun译: 《明清间在华耶稣会士列传(1552-1773)》*Mingqingjian zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan (1552-1773)* [Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552-1773], (上海Shanghai: 光启出版社Guangqi chubanshe [Kuangchi Press], 1997), 350. 中华书局本翻译有误。

(17) 张国刚Zhang Guogang: 《明清传教士与欧洲汉学》*Mingqing chuanjiaoshi yu ouzhou hanxue* [Missionaries in Ming and Qing Dynasties and European Sinology] (北京Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe [China Social Science Press], 2001); 莫东寅Mo Dongyin: 《汉学发达史》*Hanxue fadashi* [The history of Sinology] (郑州Zhenzhou: 大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2006); 张西平Zhang Xiping: 《欧洲早期汉学史: 中西文化交流与西方汉学的兴起》*Ouzhou zaoqi hanxueshi: zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu yu xifanghanxue de*

马。(18)。他把许太夫人所送给他的中文书籍,包括中国经典著作和传教士们译着的中文书籍献给了教廷。在和教皇亚历山大七世的会见中,他献上了400余部传教士写的汉语著作。现在梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的其中一部分中文著作就是柏应理此次欧洲之行带去的。(19)柏应理献上这批书的目的很清楚,就是希望通过传教士的这些中文著作来说明耶稣会在中国传教所采取的“合儒”的路线的正确性,同时为以后中国神父用中文做弥撒这个要求做准备。”(20)

在柏应理1680年返回欧洲时,按照费赖之的统计,当时在华的耶稣会士已经出版了130本左右的书。这说明柏应理带回的400余种书中也有一般中国古籍。

带回罗马的这批中文文献究竟有多少本放在梵蒂冈图书馆呢,一般人常说是400本,但从未有人做过核对,为此,我根据伯希和与余东的著录,对梵蒂冈所藏中文文献做了逐一核对,找出由柏应理带回的西学汉籍情况如下:

柏应理1685年从中国带来的414册中国古籍,其中330册刻本献给教宗英诺,这批藏品藏在《东方文献普通收藏》(Raccolta Generale Orientale)里。(21)对照费赖之书目可以看到在柏应理1680年返回欧洲时在华的耶稣会士已经出版了大约140部著作,如果除去他带回的徐光启、朱宗元等信教文人的著作,可以看到,他基本上把当时已经出版的耶稣会士的书籍都带到了罗马。因为,罗马耶稣会档案馆也藏有一批来华耶稣会士的中文著作,估计他当时带回欧洲的书也赠送了耶稣会档案馆,同时他也去了法国和英国,他是否也将这批书赠给这些国家,不得而知。如果从他们带着沈福宗在欧洲的旅行,宣传耶稣会在中国的传教士事业,希望得到欧洲各国的支持这点来看,他带回书的总量有414本也是符合逻辑的。(22)

就柏应理带给梵蒂冈图书馆来说,它有两个重要特点,其一,这些西学汉籍既有传教士所写的著作,也有信教文人的著作,例如“三大柱石”徐光启、杨廷筠,李之藻等人的著作,这点是和费赖之的书

xingqi [History of Early European Sinology: Cultural Exchange between China and the West and the Rise of Western Sinology] (北京Beijing:中华书局 Zhonghuashuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2009)、《儒学西传欧洲研究导论:16-18世纪中学西传的轨迹与影响》Ruxue xichuan ouzhou yanjiu daolun: 16-18 shiji zhongxue xichuan de gui ji yu yingxiang [An introduction to the Spread of Confucianism to Europe: The track and Influence of the Spread of Chinese learning to the West during the 16th to 18th centuries] (北京Beijing:北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2016)。

(18) 日本-中国卷藏书, 124, ff.129-133中记述了利类思关于是否应该向中国人授予神职和是否允许用中文做礼拜而向耶稣会总长阐述的意见。他认为对于那些愿意学习拉丁文的中国年轻人来说可以让他们学习。但是对于那些已经成年的神职人员候选人来说,学习拉丁文是一件很难的事情。由于早期的在华传教士已经得到了教皇保罗五世将罗马弥撒书译成中文的特许。当时那些传教士并未将此项特许付诸实施是因为当时天主教徒的数量还不大,而传教人员的数量相对可观。现在天主教徒的数量上升了,需要大量的传教人员。“现在在上级的允准下,我负责将罗马弥撒书、礼仪书和福音书译成中文,并给中国的神职人员候选人以训导。我已经翻译了大部分,还有一大部分正在进行当中”(北京,1678年5月19日)。罗马耶稣会档案馆保存着两份罗马弥撒书的中文译本,题为《圣事典礼》,它们是合为一卷的。出版于康熙十四年(1675年)。扉页上有用拉丁文写的如下文字: *Manuale ad Sacramenta ministranda iuxta ritus S. ROM-ECC.*, Sinice redditum a Ludovico Buglio Soc. Iesu. Pekini in college. Eiusd Soc. An. 1675. 封底有用中文写的如下文字:泰西利类思(Ludovico Buglio)的中文名字; *Nihil Obstat*. 同会安文思(Gabriel de Magalhaes)和鲁日满(Francois de Rougemont);南怀仁省长准。又见BONTINCK, *op. cit.*, 200(12)。神学研究方面,利类思1654-1677年间将《神学大全》(*Summa Theologiae*)的一部分翻译成了中文。其中的《复活论》(On the Resurrection)是由安文思翻译的,出版于1677年前。见日本-中国卷,第一卷,108。

(19) 见柏应理Philippe Couplet著,徐允希Xu Yunxi译:《一位中国奉教太太》Yiwei zhongguo fengjiao taitai [A Chinese religious wife], (上海Shanghai:土山湾印行Tushanwan yinhang [Tushanwan Press], 1938), 106。

(20) 张西平Zhang Xiping:《欧洲早期汉学史:中西文化交流与西方汉学的兴起》Ouzhou zaoqi hanxueshi: zhongxi wenhuajiaoliu yu xifanghanxue de xingqi [History of Early European Sinology: Cultural Exchange between China and the West and the Rise of Western Sinology], (北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghuashuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2009), 419。

(21) 余东Yu Dong:《梵蒂冈图书馆中国古籍文献的收藏整理及其电子化现状(讲稿)》Fandigang tushuguan zhongguogujiwenxian de shoucangzhengli jiqi dianzihua xianzhuang(jiangao) [Collection and arrangement of ancient Chinese books and documents in Vatican Library and its electrization (Speech writing)], The international conference on “Digital Resources Sharing and Application (DRSA 2017)”, Zhejiang University, June 15th-17th, 2017。

(22) 参阅Albert Chen, S.J. *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, New York, 2002. 张西平Zhang Xiping主编:《欧洲藏汉籍目录丛编》Ouzhoucang hanjimulu congbian [Catalogues of Ancient Chinese Classics in Europe], (广州Guangzhou:广东人民出版社Guangdong renmin chubanshe [Guangdong Peoples Publishing House], 2019)。

目完全不同的;其二,所带回的著作较为全面,基本反映了耶稣会在华的主要方面,既有西方神学著作的译着,也有介绍西方天文学数学的著作。

柏应理返回欧洲做了许多重要的事情,而向梵蒂冈图书馆捐赠书籍是其中的一件,这是他在汉籍西传历史上做出的重要贡献,在以往的研究中很少提到这一点,这是一个疏漏。

康和子与梵蒂冈图书馆中文藏书

康和子也是梵蒂冈图书馆天主教藏书的贡献者。康和子原名安东尼奥·奥拉齐(Antonio Orazi),1673年出生于意大利阿科利皮切诺省(Ascoli Piceno)的山城卡斯托拉诺(Castorano)。1690年他加入方济会,1695年被祝圣为神父,1698年来到中国。“1702年春,他来到山东临清,也就是当时的直隶教区主教伊大仁的主教堂所在地协助主教管理教区事务,并在周边地区传教。1722年雍正即位后,康和子获准来到北京,住在位于海淀的传信部居所。1733年,康和子应陕西和山西的宗座代牧方济会士方启升(Francesco Saraceni da Conca, 1679—1742)请求,回罗马向教廷说明中国教会情况,促使教廷禁止特使嘉(Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba, 1685—1741)来华时制定的“八项许可”,⁽²³⁾坚持1704年颁布的禁止中国礼仪决议。”⁽²⁴⁾这样康和子于1733年12月12日到达广州,1734年1月26日,他结束了在中国的30年传教生涯,乘船返回欧洲。⁽²⁵⁾从此后再没有回到中国。

为此,我根据伯希和与余东的着录,对梵蒂冈所藏中文文献做了逐一核对,查找出由康和子带回的西学汉籍情况如下:

康和子捐赠的书目

序号	作者	书名
1	利玛竇	《天主实义》
2	苏如望	《圣教约言》
3	庞迪我	《七克大全》
4	高一志	《圣母行实》
5	艾儒略	《天主降生言行纪略》
		《圣教四字经文》
		《万物真原》
6	汤若望	《主教缘起》
7	潘国光	《天神规课》

(23) “八项许可”是嘉乐来华后面康熙帝的质询和在京耶稣会士的压力,对1704年教宗的禁止中国礼仪的决议做了适度的灵活处理。具体内容如下:允许中国教徒在私宅内供奉仅刻有亡者姓名的牌位。旁边必须附上一份按规定制作的说明,不带有任何迷信色彩,不能引起任何质疑。允许所有纯属世俗范围的祭祖仪式,这些仪式不能有任何迷信色彩,不能引起任何质疑。允许民间崇拜孔子,允许给孔子设立牌位,但牌位上不能刻字及迷信内容,旁边必须附上一份按规定制作的说明。允许在符合规定刻字的孔子排位前点烛、焚香、摆设供品。允许向符合规定的牌位、灵柩或者亡者跪拜或叩头。允许操办丧礼、供奉香烛,但须张贴按规定制作的说明。允许在亡者灵柩和张贴按规定制作的声明的牌位前准备祭台、供点心、水果、肉类和各种日常祭品,但不能有任何迷信色彩,只能将其视为对于亡者的尊重和缅怀。允许在中国的新年和其他节日时在符合规定的牌位前行叩头礼。允许在符合规定的、张贴说明的牌位前焚香点烛,同样,允许在坟墓前供奉食品,当然也要谨慎行事、张贴说明。参阅南开大学外国语学院法语系译《法国外交部档案藏中法关系史档案:巴黎分馆,卷一》,(天津Tianjin:南开大学出版社Nankaidaxue chubanshe [Nankai University Press], 2019)。

(24) 李慧Li Hui:“意大利来华方济会士康和子的<拉意汉词典>(1732)”Yidali lai hua fangjigehuishhi kanghezi de <layihan cidian>(1732) [Carlo Orazi da Castorano and His Dictionarium Latino-Italice-Sinicum (1732)],《辞书研究》Cishuyanjiu [Lexicographical Studies], No. 5, (2018).

(25) (美)孟德卫D.E.Mugello著,潘琳Pan Lin译:《灵与肉:山东的天主教:1650-1785》Lingyurou: Shandong de tianzhujiao:1650-1785 [The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650-1785], (郑州Zhengzhou:大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2009), 147.

8	利类思	《善终瘞莹礼典》
9	柏应理	《天主圣教百问答》
		《四末真论》
10	南怀仁	《教要序论》
11	利安当	《正学谬石》
12	徐光启	《辟释氏诸妄》
13	白多玛	《要经略解》
14	石铎录	《默想神功》
15	朱宗元	《拯世略说》
16	利类思	《圣教总牍》
17	杨廷筠	《代疑篇》
18	严保禄	《帝天考》
19	艾儒略	《出像经解》
20	汤若望	《主制群征》
21	巴西略	《坚振圣事规义》
21		《天主圣教经文》
23	石铎禄	《听弥撒凡例》
24	恩若瑟	《瑟辣飞各圣父方济各行实大全》

从数量上看康和子捐赠给梵蒂冈图书馆的中文刊本并不太大，但从当时的情况来说，在欧洲这也算是一批不少的中文书籍。另外，康和子所捐赠的书籍中也有较为独特的书籍。例如，奥斯定会(Augustinian Order)来华传教士白多玛所写《要经解略》仅有梵蒂冈图书馆所藏。奥斯定会是天主教的古老的托钵修会1256年，教宗亚历山大四世加以联合统一，并于同年发布《教会许可》通谕，准其为正式之修会。与加尔默罗会、方济各会、多明我会合称天主教四大托钵修会。奥斯丁修会是最早进入中国的天主教修会。

1574活跃在中国沿海的海盗林风集团，成为明朝的心头大患，而当时林风的大本营设在菲律宾，西班牙当时已经占领了菲律宾。为了剿灭海盗林风，明朝把总王望高追剿“海盗”林风至菲岛，并与西班牙殖民者达成协议：“如西班牙人生俘或杀死林风，须将其人或尸体移交明政府；而王望高则应允西班牙‘使节’马丁·德·拉达(Martin de Rada)和赫罗尼莫·马林(Jeronimo Marin)以及两名中国通事林必秀与陈辉然和部分士兵一同前往福建。以便进一步商协通商及宣教事宜。”⁽²⁶⁾马丁·德·拉达带领两名士兵米格尔·德·洛加(Miguel de Loarca)和佩德罗·萨米恩托(Pedro Sarmiento)于1575年6月12日搭乘王望高的战舰前往中国。他们从1575年7月3日至9日14日在福建滞留了两个月零九天。利用这个机会拉达对中国进行实地的考察，返回菲岛后，他就其所闻所见，写了一部《菲律宾群岛奥斯定修道会神甫马丁·德·拉达与其同伴赫罗尼莫·马林以及与他们随行的士兵在中国观察与体验到的事物》(*Las Cosas que los Padres Fr. Martin de Rada, Provincial de la Orden de S. Agustin en las Islas Filipinas, y su companero Fr. Jeronimo Marin y Otros Soldados que fueron con ellos vieron y entendieron en aquel Reino.*)英国学者博克舍将此书部分和其他早期西班牙传教士的关于中国的记述编辑成《十六世纪中国南部行记》，1999年在中华书局出版。⁽²⁷⁾所以，

(26) 张凯Zhang Kai:《西班牙汉学史:1552-2016》Xibanya hanxueshi: 1552-2016 [History of Sinology in Spain:1552-2016], (北京Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe [China Social Science Press], 2017), 83.

(27) (英)博克舍C.R. Boxer著, 何高济He Gaoji译:《十六世纪中国南部行纪》Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbuxingji [South China in the Sixteenth Century], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghuashuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2002).

奥斯丁会是最早进入中国的天主教托钵修会。⁽²⁸⁾白多玛的这本《要经解略》是奥斯定修会稀见的中文传教刻本, 具有重要学术价值。另外, 方济各会来华传教士石铎禄 (Petro de La Piñuela) 的《默想神功》也是一本十分珍贵的刊本书。

康和子还捐赠给了梵蒂冈图书馆一些中国古籍, 象《孔子家语》、《文公家礼》《资治通鉴大全》、《万宝全书》等, 这些书学术价值大都一般。康和子的一些手稿通信, 词典、⁽²⁹⁾传教笔记也留在了梵蒂冈图书馆, 具有独特的价值。其中他在山东临清的《传教手册》学术价值较高, 是目前所见到的明清之际较为完成的教区传教记录和教徒受洗名单。这点我们会在历史篇专门展开研究。

傅圣泽与梵蒂冈图书馆中文藏书

傅圣泽 (Jean-Francois Fouquet, 1663-1740) 1699年入华, 最初是在江西传教后因为在礼仪之争中采取和白晋相类似的索隐派立场来解释中国文化, 从而受到白晋的注意。当时白晋在康熙身边, 颇受康熙帝器重, 白晋向康熙帝表达了希望将在江西的傅圣泽调到北京来, 和他一起研读《周易》, 这个请求得到了批准。

“四月初九日, 李玉传旨与张常住: 据白晋奏说, 江西有一个西洋人, 曾读过中国的书, 可以帮得我。尔传于众西洋人, 着带信去将此人叫。再白晋画图用汉字的地方, 着王道化帮着略理。遂得几张, 连同着和素报上, 带去。如白晋或要钦天监的人, 或要那 (应为: 哪-作者注) 里的人, 着王道化传给。钦此。”⁽³⁰⁾

傅圣泽调到北京后成为白晋索隐派小团体的一员, 但在此期间他与耶稣会上司的矛盾越来越大, 1718年他就向法国的耶稣会总部写信请求返回法国, 1720年他的请求被批准。实际上他是被勒令回国的, 因为他在北京的耶稣会团体中太不受欢迎了。⁽³¹⁾1720年1月13日他从广州离开中国, 8月27号到达法国。在离开中国前他做了一件重要的事就是替巴黎皇家图书馆馆长让—保罗·比尼翁 (Jean-Paul Bignon) 购买书籍。让—保罗·比尼翁馆长曾托人在广州买一批中文书籍, 但仍有一些书没有买到。傅圣泽来到广州后又继续购买所缺的书籍。在他离开广州时几千册中文书籍, 整整装了十一只箱子。返回巴黎后, 他除了将一部分书籍交还给让—保罗·比尼翁馆长外, 他坚持要将属于自己在广州买的书籍运回罗马, 因为他买这些书籍的目的是为了自己返回欧洲后继续学习中文, 研究中国宗教所用。

另外, 在这批书籍中还有殷弘绪 (Fençois-Xavier d' Entrecolles, 1662-1741) 在他离开北京时, 托他带回欧洲的一批书。为了此事, 傅圣泽希望通过各种关系来要回这批书。最终傅圣泽在返回罗马晋升为主教后解决了这个问题, 将这批据说有四千册的书运回了罗马。⁽³²⁾

傅圣泽带回欧洲的“书籍选择之善, 卷帙之多, 前此西士无能及之者, 此中书籍, 现在分散, 其中一部分藏在国王内阁, 其余则散藏于法、英、意三国公私书库中。”⁽³³⁾关于这批书的去向欧洲汉学家也有研究, 法国留下了一批, 从而推动了法国汉学的兴起,⁽³⁴⁾而带回罗马的这一批书籍, 一开始放在梵蒂冈传信

(28) 在澳门有一座圣奥斯定修会的教堂, 被当地人称为“龙嵩庙”, 位于岗顶前地2号, 是由西班牙奥斯定会修士于1591年创建, 是本澳最古老的教堂之一。

(29) 李慧Li Hui: 《意大利来华方济会士康和子的《拉意汉词典》(1732), Yidali lai hua fangji gehuishi kanghezi de <layihan cidian>(1732) [Carlo Orazi da Castorano and His Dictionarium Latino-Italico-Sinicum (1732)], 《辞书研究》Cishuyanjiu [Lexicographical Studies], No. 5, (2018).

(30) 梵蒂冈文献Borg.Cinese.439 (b) 阎宗临先生是国内最早发现梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的白晋读《易经》这批文献的学者。参阅阎守诚Yan Shoucheng编, 阎宗临Yan Zonglin著: 《传教士与法国早期汉学》Chuanjiaoshi yu faguo zaoqihanxue [Missionaries and Early Sinology in France], (郑州Zhengzhou: 大象出版社Daxiang chubanshe [Elephant Press], 2003)。

(31) ¹ (美) 魏若望John W Witek: 《耶稣会士傅圣泽神甫传: 索隐派思想在中国及欧洲》Yesuishi fushenze shenfuzhuan:suoyinpai sixiang zai zhongguo ji ouzhou [Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: A Biography of Jean-Francois Fouquet, SJ, 1665-1741], (郑州Zhengzhou: 大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2006), 20-23.

(32) ¹ibid., pp. 260-261.

(33) 费赖之Louis Pfister: 《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesuishi lianzhuan ji shumu [Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552-1773] (上), (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1995), 557.

(34) 法国汉学家雷慕沙说傅圣泽的藏书是那个时代“一位欧洲人完成的最大宗最上乘的收藏。”(美) 魏若望John W Witek: Yesuishi fushenze shenfuzhuan:suoyinpai sixiang zai zhongguo ji ouzhou [Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: A Biography of Jean-Francois Fouquet,

部档案馆,因为傅圣泽当时是传信部的主教。以后,这批书籍被移交给了教廷图书馆,即现在的梵蒂冈图书馆。⁽³⁵⁾这点梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的系列的中文才书单就是一个证明。

傅圣泽藏书单:

(1) Borg.cin357-1西河沿世业堂胡氏铺书单,这份书单20页,列出了624种中国善本书目,例如《昭待典则》、《列朝诗集》、《十二唐人诗集》、《中晚唐诗》、《范文正公集》等,经核对大多数这些书目并不存在梵蒂冈图书馆,只有《易经存疑》、《易经详解》二种梵蒂冈图书馆藏有。

(2) Borg.cin357-2 书单,9页纸,抄录了486套中国的善本书;这本“装箱上船书目”肯定是傅圣泽所带回欧洲的书目,一是书中中的中国善本书多本藏在梵蒂冈图书馆,列在《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》中,例如《天下一统志》、《魏书》、《续文献通考》、《法苑珠林》、《李氏藏书》、《万姓位谱》、《本草纲目》等。二是书目中《西洋书》共有二十多本,这些西洋书应是拉丁文书籍、法文书籍等,其中有《西字论道》,这是指傅圣泽用拉丁文所写的《神学问题》,在《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》Borg.cin 371,《西字中文文法》这是指万济国的《官话语法》一书,在《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》这本书有三个藏本,分别是Borg.cin 420、Borg.cin 472和Raccolta Generale-Oriente_III246-7,前两个藏本书是蒙突奇的藏本,第三个藏本就是傅圣泽在书单中所列的《西字中文文法》。三是这份书单列出了《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》中的多本手稿《白先生易稿》这是白晋的易经研究手稿,《真宰明鉴》、《天学本义》、《经传杂记》、《天象不解均》、《易经诸解说》。所以,这是一份重要的书单,对研究梵蒂冈图书馆中文藏书中的索隐派中文著作和手稿具有重要价值。

(3) Borg.cin357-3《行李书单》,书单列出了63种书目,在这4页的书单中每一页有对应的法文翻译书目;目录中的《五经大全》、《周易折中》、《性理大全》在梵蒂冈图书馆藏书中都有,特别是《算法统宗》这是一本算学的书,白晋在研究《易经》像数时用了这本书。因为所有书目都列出了对应的翻译,这个书单很可能是原计划交给法国皇家图书馆的书单。

(4) Borg.cin357-4,《五经书目》,共5页,记录了135种经学书目。书单封面写有“Index Librorum Confuucci ,quos Roman missit”(寄往罗马的儒家书目),应该说这是傅圣泽寄往罗马的书单,但与《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》核对,大部分这些藏书没有收藏,如关于《礼记》的书籍书目中列了14种,但只有《礼记大全》这本书《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》藏有,这些书或许成为意大利其他图书馆的藏书。

(5) Borg.cin357-5,《十四夹版内书单》这份15页的书单,共记录了324本书。其中部分中文书籍构成了梵蒂冈图书馆的中文善本藏书,例如,《佩文韵府》、《日讲易经解义》、《管子》、《荀子》、《大明会典》等。这份书单值得关注的是也列出了一些西学汉籍的书目,例如《圣经直接》、《几何原本》、《圣人行实》、《天主实义》、《答客问》、《历法书》等。这些书在《梵蒂冈图书馆所藏汉籍目录》中都可以一一找到对应。这份书单和Borg.cin357-3《行李书单》一样,也有西洋书、西洋字录这类书二十余种。

(6) Borg.cin357-6《书名徧览》这份书单32页,记录了498本书名。

(7) Borg.cin357-7《新刊经解目录》这是一个分类经学书目,其中关于《易经》书目39种,关于《书经》书目11种,关于《诗经》书目11种,关于《春秋》书目33种,关于《三礼》书目12种,关于《孝经》书目4种,关于《论语》2种,关于《孟子》2种,关于《四书》8种,关于《总经解》7种。

SJ, 1665-1741], (郑州Zhengzhou :大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2006), 261.

(35) 裴化行对傅圣泽带回欧洲的这批藏书有专门的研究论文,参阅(美)魏若望John W Witek :《耶稣会士傅圣泽神甫传:索隐派思想在中国及欧洲》Yesuhiishi fushenze shenfuzhuan:suoyinpai sixiang zai zhongguo ji ouzhou [Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: A Biography of Jean-Francois Fouquet, SJ, 1665-1741], (郑州Zhengzhou :大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2006), note 2, 261.

通过对傅圣泽的藏书单考察, 我们可以看到尽管他的书单主要是关于中国传统书籍为主的书单, 但也涉及到部分西学汉籍的书目, 因此这些书单不仅对研究梵蒂冈图书馆的中文善本藏书有着重要价值, 对于研究梵蒂冈图书馆的西学汉籍藏书也有重要的意义。

这批书单, 特别是Borg.cin357-2 书单明确告诉我们, 梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的最有价值的白晋手稿、马若瑟手稿以及相关清宫中的文献都是傅圣泽带回罗马的, 从而大大丰富了梵蒂冈图书馆的明清之际中西文化交流史文献的收藏。

由此, 我们可以看到傅圣泽对梵蒂冈图书馆中文文献的贡献表现在两点: 其一, 他提供了十分丰富的中国古代善本; 其二, 他带回到图书馆一批珍贵的白晋以及他自己的关于《易经》研究和索隐派研究的手稿, 这批手稿具有重要的学术价值, 某种意义上甚至可以说是梵蒂冈图书馆的镇馆之宝。傅圣泽藏品是梵蒂冈几个贡献者中在手稿写本上贡献最大的, 至今对这部分写本我们尚无详尽研究。这点在下面的写本研究中我们会具体展开。

蒙突奇与梵蒂冈图书馆中文藏书

蒙突奇 (Antonio Montucci, 1762-1829) 欧洲早期的业余汉学家, 1785年他从意大利最古老的大学锡耶纳大学 (University of Sienna) 毕业后, 获得法律学位, 他是一名语言天才, 1789年他来到伦敦担任家庭意大利语老师, 期间开始对中文感兴趣, 并四处收集有关中文的材料。由于当时英国完全没有人懂中文, 这样在当时的伦敦他算是一个东汉语的人。为此, 他和两件重要的事情发生了关系。

一件事当时独立派牧师莫斯理 (Willian Moseley) 为推动《圣经》的中文翻译, 在大英博物院发现了一份《圣经》新约的部分中文译稿, “莫氏并讨论印刷这部抄本的各种可行办法。”⁽³⁶⁾ 这份新约的部分中文译稿就是白日升译稿或者更准确应为“徐-白译稿”, 即来华传教士白日升 (Jean Basset) 和他的中国助手徐若翰共同翻译的。⁽³⁷⁾ 蒙突奇和莫斯理认识, 并是最早在《绅士》(Gentleman's Magazine) 上发表了研究对“徐-白”译本的文章, 最后莫斯理出版这个译本的计划没有实现, 这样“蒙突奇在有关白日升译本的讨论里, 便完全给历史遗忘了。”⁽³⁸⁾

另一件事就是马夏尔尼访华, 在马夏尔尼出使中国前, 他要把英王乔治三世致乾隆皇帝的国表文翻译成中文, 当时在欧洲只有在意大利的那不勒斯由马国贤所创立的《圣家学院》有懂中文的中国人, 因为圣家学院是为培养中国神父而设立的学院。当马夏尔尼从意大利带回了两位中国人后, 在伦敦自然找到了蒙突奇。这样他就参与了英王乔治三世的国书翻译成中文的过程。这一点王宏志有详尽的研究,⁽³⁹⁾ 同时梵蒂冈图书馆也藏有一份蒙突奇手抄的英王乔治三世致乾隆皇帝国表文的文献, 这点在后面的历史研究中有专门的研究。

(36) 苏精 Su Jing: 《中国, 开门! 马礼逊及相关人物研究》Zhongguo, Kaimen! Malixun ji xiangguanrenwu yanjiu [China, open the door! Morrison and related figures], (香港 Hong Kong: 基督教中国宗教文化研究社 Jidujiao zhongguo zongjiaowenhua yanjiushe [Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion & Culture], 2005), 8.

(37) 关于徐-白译本的研究参见周永 Zhou Yong: “从白、徐译本到‘二马译本’-简论白、徐<新约>译本的缘起、流传及影响” [From Basset and Xu to Marshman and Morrison: origin, diffusion and influence], 《天主教研究学报》Tianzhujiao yanjiu xuebao [Hong Kong Journal of Catholic Studies], 香港中文大学天主教研究中心 Xianggang zhongwendaxue tianzhujiao yanjiuzhongxin [Center for Catholic Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong], No. 2, (2011); 宋刚 Song Gang: “小人物的大历史: 清初四川天主教徒徐若翰个案研究的启示” Xiaorenwu de dalishi: qingchu Sichuan tianzhujiaotu xuruohan geanyanjiu de qishi [A Minor Figure, A Large History: A Study of Johan Su, a Sichuan Catholic Convert in the Early Qing Dynasty], 《国际汉学》Guojihanxue [International Sinology], No. 1, (2017); 赵晓阳 Zhao Xiaoyang: 《域外资源与晚清语言运动: 以<圣经>中译本为中心》Yuwai ziyuan yu wanqing yuyanyundong: yi<shengjing>zhongyiben wei zhongxin [Extraterritorial Resources and Language Movement in the Late Qing Dynasty: Centered on the Chinese version of the Bible], (北京 Beijing: 北京师范大学出版社 Beijing shifan daixue chubanshe [Beijing Normal University Press], 2019).

(38) 王宏志 Wang Hongzhi: “蒙突奇与白日升圣经译本” Mengtuqi yu bairisheng shengjing yiben [The Bible translation of Antonio Montucci and Jean Basset], 《东方翻译》Dongfang fanyi [East Journal of Translation], No. 5, (2013).

(39) 王宏志 Wang Hongzhi: “大红毛国来信: 马夏尔尼使团国书中译的几个问题” Dahongmaoguo laixin: magaernishituan guoshuzhongyi de jigewenti [Letters from the Red Hair Country: Some questions on the translation of the Letters of the Macartney Mission], 《翻译史研究》

蒙突奇为何将其一生的藏书给了梵蒂冈图书馆了呢?目前没有文献可以找到。或许他长期以来希望编撰一部汉英词典,为此做了大量的准备,但最后马礼逊先于他出版了《华英词典》,(40)虽然他也写文章将马礼逊的词典与自己准备的词典相比较,但毕竟他的词典并未出版。莫非由此心灰意冷,将书全部捐给了梵蒂冈图书馆?不得而知,待进一步研究。(41)

在梵蒂冈图书馆所藏的个人藏书中,蒙突奇的藏书最多,大的藏书有三类:中国传统文化典籍,以中国古代语言类著作为主,例如《列音韵谱》、《列编正谱》、《满汉同文分类全书》、《正字通》、《海篇统汇》、《增补字汇》、《幼学杂字》等等,因为这类藏书不在本文讨论之列,这里不做展开。(42)

汉外双语词典是蒙突奇收藏的重点,他作为早期自学汉学家收藏如此多的双语手稿词典是在令人惊讶。关于这些词典在专题研究篇将有专门研究,这里仅仅列出目录。

梵蒂冈图书馆藏稿抄本汉外词典共计24部,涉及拉丁语、意大利语、葡萄牙语、西班牙语、法语等5种欧洲语言,其中稿抄本的拉丁语-汉语词典数量最多。梵蒂冈藏稿抄本汉外词典的语种及数量统计详见下表(表1)。

表1:梵蒂冈图书馆藏稿抄本汉外词典语种及数量统计表

计数	语种	藏书号
1	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.423
2	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.424
3	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.408
4	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.406
5	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.475
6	汉语-拉丁语	Borg.Cin.495
7	汉语-拉丁语	Vat.Estr. Or.2
8	汉语-拉丁语	Vat.Estr. Or.3
9	汉语-拉丁语	Vat.Estr. Or.8
10	拉丁语-汉语	Borg.Cin.461
11	汉语-拉丁语-法语	Borg.Cin.392
12	汉语-拉丁语-法语	Borg.Cin.393
13	拉丁语-意大利语-汉语	Vat.Estr.Or.4
14	拉丁语-意大利语-汉语	Vat.Estr. Or.5 A
15	拉丁语-意大利语-汉语	Vat.Estr. Or.5 B
16	意大利语-汉语	Borg.Cin.407

Fanyishijianjiu [Studies in Translation History], (上海Shanghai:复旦大学出版社Fudandaxuechubanshe [Fudan University Press], 2013).

(40) 参阅张西平Zhang Xiping、吴志良Wu Zhiliang、彭仁贤Peng Renxian主编:《马礼逊文集》Malixunwenji (13卷)[The Morrison Papers], (郑州Zhengzhou:大象出版社Daxiangchubanshe [Elephant Press], 2008);杨慧玲Yang Huiling:《19世纪汉英词典传统:马礼逊、卫三畏、翟里斯汉英词典的谱系研究》19shiji hanyingcidian chuantong: malixun, weisanwei, zhailisi hanyingcidian de puxiyanjiu [The Chinese-English Dictionary Tradition of the 19th Century: A Genealogical Study Chinese-English Dictionaries of Robert Morrison, Samuel Williams and Herbert Giles], (北京Beijing:商务印书馆Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2012年)。

(41) 关于蒙突奇的研究参阅:Urh-Chh-Tsze-Ten-Se-Yn-Pe-Keou; Being A Parallel Drawn Between the Two Intended Chinese Dictionaries; By the Rev.Robert Morrison and Antonio Montucci, LL.D. MONTUCCI A. 1817.

Antonio Montucci. McANALLY H. Modern Language Quarterly. 1946.

(42) 姚小平Yao Xiaoping,《罗马放书录》Luoma fangshulu [The Roman Bibliography], 中对蒙突奇的这批中文语言类书籍逐本都做了介绍,真正的孤本并没有,这些本子国内大都有所收藏。有趣的是书中的插页和随记使我们看到19世纪初年在欧洲像蒙突奇这样以治学为主的汉学家们收集汉籍与学习汉语的历程。

17	葡萄牙语-汉语	Borg.Cin.420
18	汉语-葡萄牙语	Vat.Estr.Or.6
19	汉语-葡萄牙语	Borg.Cin.473
20	汉语-西班牙语	Borg.Cin.395
21	汉语-西班牙语	Borg.Cin.503
22	汉语-西班牙语	Borg.Cin.412
23	汉语-法语	Borg.Cin.398
24	汉语-法语	Borg.Cin.411

蒙突奇是个语言学家，在收藏语言类书籍的同时，也收藏了明清之际天主教的书籍。例如：

Borgia Cinese 503《汉西字典》，这份文献估计应是蒙突奇所藏，在文献内夹有《圣教孝亲解》，这是西班牙多明我会神父黎玉范(Juan Bautista Morales, 1579-1664)的一篇重要文献。

Borgia Cinese 506《字汇》，这也是本语言类的书，但其中夹有咸丰元年的一张《圣教瞻礼斋期表》和咸丰八年

这样我们看到，蒙突奇对梵蒂冈图书馆汉籍的贡献主要是语言类书籍，在西学汉籍上主要是双语词典的收藏。

通过对以上梵蒂冈图书馆中文文献的收藏做出过重要贡献的四位人物的分析，我们可以看出：柏应理的贡献主要在于带回了耶稣会在中国出版的西学汉籍，在数量上也是最多的；康和子虽然带回的西学汉籍刊本书籍并不多，但他带回了托钵修会的书籍以及他在山东传教的原始文献仍是重要的。在中文善本上，傅圣泽的贡献最大，他不仅给梵蒂冈图书馆，也给法国皇家图书馆等的馆藏中文古籍都做出了重要贡献。他的另一贡献就是带回的白晋以及他自己和索隐派传教士的大量手稿。蒙突奇的贡献在于语言类书籍，关于中国古代语言书籍虽然藏本并不一定很好，但在当时的欧洲来说，能收集如此多的中文语言类古籍也是不多见的。当然他最大的贡献就是藏在梵蒂冈图书馆的这批汉外双语词典，这批汉外双语词典和白晋的大量手稿应是梵蒂冈图书馆中文文献的镇馆之宝。

当然，梵蒂冈图书馆的有关明清之际天主教的汉文文献还有其他的来源，例如1854年梵蒂冈图书馆获得了东方学家Watson的藏书，有一些中文书籍。其他重要的中文文献收藏是“巴尔贝里尼东方收藏 (*Barberini orientali*)”。此收藏含总计六十种中文文献，来自于十七世纪教宗乌尔班八世及其家族的图书馆。巴尔贝里尼图书馆由巴尔贝里尼家族创立于17世纪世纪早期，在两个世纪内收藏大量增加。巴尔贝里尼是十七和十八世纪很有势力的家族，出了很多的主教和一位教宗，主教里老佛朗西斯科 (Francesco Barberini senior, 1597-1679)于1626-1633年间是梵蒂冈图书馆的第十二任枢机馆员，其叔父是教宗乌尔班八世(Urbano VIII, 1623-1644)，两人对珍本善本的喜好和收集对其家族图书馆馆藏的快速增长起了决定性的作用。巴尔贝里尼图书馆的整馆藏书和书架于1902年由梵蒂冈图书馆收购，其中包括一些非常罕见的的数据，如利玛窦的坤舆万国全图、汤若望的赤道南北两总星图、明代的绘书和书籍、存八册珍本崇禎历书”。⁽⁴³⁾又如，美国驻维也纳领事施瓦茨的藏书、安南教会赠给教皇利奥十三世 (Le XIII) 的一套安南语丛书，实际上绝大多数是天主教汉文文献等，这些藏书在梵蒂冈图书馆的中文藏书中数量不大，这里不再专门展开研究。

(43) 余东YU Dong：“梵蒂冈图书馆中国古籍文献的收藏整理及其电子化（讲演稿）”Fandigang tushuguan zhongguo guji wenxian de shoucang zhengli jiqi dianzihua (jiangyangaog)[Collection and arrangement of ancient Chinese books and documents in Vatican Library and its electrization (Speech writing)], The international conference on “Digital Resources Sharing and Application (DRSA 2017)” Zhejiang University, June 15th-17th, 2017.

English Title:

Documents from Ming and Qing Western Studies and Chinese Books in the Vatican Library

Zhang XIPING

Professor of the school of Beijing Foreign Studies University, Tel:+8613910383282 Email: zhangxiping@263.net.cn

Abstract: In the research on the history of cultural exchanges between China and the West during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the collection and arrangement of Chinese literature in Western studies is a basic academic work. In recent years, Chinese books of Ming and Qing Dynasties have been published successively in the Jesuit Library, the National Library of Paris, and the Xujiahui Library. The Vatican Library is currently the library with the largest collection of Chinese literature in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. This paper studies the sources of Chinese books of Western learning in the Vatican Library, and preliminarily shows the basic characteristics of the Chinese books of Western learning in the Ming and Qing Dynasties stored in the Vatican Library.

Keywords: Vatican Library, Western Learning, Chinese Books Chinese and Western Cultural Exchanges

The Imperial Astronomical Bureau and the Official Catholics Community during the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties

Qinghe XIAO

(Shanghai University, Baoshan, Shanghai, China)

Abstract: During the late Ming Dynasty, with the establishment of the Calendar Bureau (历局) by Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) and the recommendation of missionaries and Catholics to take part in the revision of the calendar, the Imperial Astronomical Bureau (钦天监) became an important institution for missionaries to stay in China and played an important role in the dissemination and development of Catholicism. Until the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, the Imperial Astronomical Bureau became a government office with the most official Catholics. Missionaries were not only in charge of the calendar revision, but also converted the officials and astrology students into Catholics through active preaching. The missionaries of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau provided protection for missionaries all over the country, and retired officials returned to their homes to continue spreading Catholicism. Even during the prohibition period, missionaries still stayed and worked in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. The formation of the community of official Catholics in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau could be regarded as the embodiment of the Catholic preaching through sciences during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. There are many studies on Adam von Bell (1591-1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), but less on the official Catholics in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. This article tried to illustrate the basic situation of the official Catholics during the late Ming and early Qing, by discussing the relationship between the Bureau and Catholicism, and analyzes the historical influences of preaching through the Bureau and the sciences.

Keywords: The Imperial Astronomical Bureau, Catholic community, preaching through sciences

Author: Qinghe XIAO, Professor, Department of History, Shanghai University, Baoshan, Shanghai, China, 200444. Tel: +86 15821851145, Email: xiaoqh@shu.edu.cn

Introduction

In 1703, the Jesuit François Noël (卫方济, 1651-1729), in his report to the General of the Society of Jesus stated, “In the vast empire, it is often the common people who become Christians. As for members of the court, our experience in China, as elsewhere, is that it is difficult for the favored and the powerful to enter the kingdom of heaven. Especially they were non-believers. However, in addition to the merchants, soldiers, artisans, farmers and fishermen who often come into our churches, we also have bakers and doctors, even there were also a number of government officials, albeit small in number and concentrated in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau (钦天监) in Beijing.”⁽¹⁾ Noël’s report reflects the sources and social status of Catholics in the early Qing dynasty. Most Catholics in the early Qing dynasty were commoners, mainly from merchants, soldiers, artisans, farmers and fishermen. There were also a number of scholars and doctors as well as official believers, who were concentrated in Beijing.

In 1629, under the impetus and auspices of Xu Guangqi (徐光启, 1562-1633), the Chongzhen Emperor (崇祯帝) approved Xu Guangqi to form a new calendar bureau. This bureau was led by Xu Guangqi, assisted

(1) ‘Sur l’état des Missions de la Chine, présenté en latin à Rome, au révérend père Général de la Compagnie de Jésus, l’an 1703, par le père François Noël, missionnaire de la même Compagnie, et depuis traduit en français’, in *Lettres Édifiantes Et Curieuses, Écrites des Missions Étrangères*. Nouvelle édition, tome 9, Lyon, 1819, pp. 366-367.

by Li Zhizao (李之藻, 1571-1630); the calendar bureau used “western method”; Nicolas Longobardi (龙华民, 1559-1654), Jean Terrenz (邓玉函, 1576-1630) and other missionaries “held the positions to revise calendars”. The formation of the new Bureau to revise the calendar solved the “legitimacy” of the missionaries’ long stay in China. As early as 1616, influenced by the Nanjing Persecution, Xu Guangqi wished to recommend missionaries for appointment as officials of the Imperial Court in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau to resolve the problem of residency rights of missionaries in China. And with the finishing of the *Chongzhen Calendar* (《崇祯历书》) and the achievements in the revising calendars and casting of artillery by Adam Schall von Bell (汤若望, 1591-1666) and other missionaries, they gained a high status in Late Ming China. In the early Qing dynasty, Adam Schall von Bell changed the title of *Chongzhen Calendar* to *Shi Xian Calendar* (《时宪历》) and offered it as a tribute to the new dynasty, to meet its needs to release the royal calendars to the people with the mandate of the Heaven. The Qing court rewarded him to appoint him as the director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. From then on, missionaries were always in charge of the supervision of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. The missionaries, in addition to practicing the calendar, undertook some official tasks in the Bureau and preached to the Chinese in the Bureau. There was a Catholic community around Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest (南怀仁, 1623-1688) which consisted of Jesuits, believers and some friendly officials. Although confined to Beijing and unable to go out directly to preach, it is undeniable that through the platform of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, Adam Shall von Bell and other missionaries had succeeded in converting the officials of this Bureau into Catholics. These Catholics were as François Noël had reported were little in number, however, they were government officials in imperial court. Thus, this community had a significant impact on the development of Catholicism in the early Qing dynasty, as in the case of Liu Yunde (刘蕴德, 1628-1707), who served as an official of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and later became a Chinese Jesuit and presided over church life in the Nanjing diocese.

Compared with the late Ming Dynasty, the status of Catholic community in the early Qing Dynasty moved downward, and there was a lack of high-ranking scholar officials like the “Three Pillars” in the late Ming Dynasty. The few officials Catholics came from Catholic families, such as Xu Zuanzeng (许纘曾), Sun Zhimi (孙致弥), etc. The official Catholics in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau represented the high-ranking Catholics in early Qing. However, there are few concern and researches on these official Catholics, which pay more attention on famous Jesuits such as Adam Schall von Bell, or Ferdinand Verbiest. This article will focus on these official Catholics and the Catholic community in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau so as to contribute to the study of Catholicism in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Xu Guangqi and the New Calendar Bureau in late Ming

At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the court set up the Astrological Office (Taishi yuan, 太史院). In the first year of Hongwu reign (洪武), the Astrological office was changed to the Imperial Astronomical Bureau with four sections, namely Astronomical Branch (天文科), Time Branch (漏刻科), Islamic Branch (回回科) and Calendar Branch (历科). Officials of this Bureau may not be relocated to other positions, and their offspring continued the study and succeeded the positions. The court used the Datong Calendar which had lots of mistakes in late Ming dynasty. In 1629, the Ministry of Rituals (礼部) was already aware of the fact that there were errors to calculate solar eclipses by the Imperial Astronomical Bureau with using of Datong Calendar. Then the Ministry of Rituals sent a memorial to the Emperor to petition to revise the Calendar. In the same year, Xu Guangqi put forward four measures to revise calendars: electing staffs; selecting talents and specialties broadly; preparing salaries; assessing and examining the

staffs. Although Xu Guangqi eventually submitted only four suggestions for calendar revision, but during the drafting process, Xu Guangqi had listed five suggestions, among which was using the Western calendar, that is, following the example of using the Muslim calendar and recommended the use of Western missionaries to modify the calendar.⁽²⁾ Xu Guangqi considered this suggestion too obvious in its purpose and removed it from the final edition of memorial. From the outset, Xu Guangqi wanted to give missionaries the legitimacy to stay in China by revising the calendar. Not only did Xu Guangqi want missionaries to serve as officials for the revision of the calendar, but he also recruited scholars and students who were familiar with Western Learning to come to Beijing to assist in the revision. In the article on “selecting talents and specialties broadly”, Xu suggested that “not only officials, scholars and non-degree holders, but also people with knowledge of the calendars should come to Beijing”. Here the “knowing the calendars” means to know the Western calendars, and in the late Ming dynasty people who was familiar with the Western calendars mainly came from the community of Catholics and their family and friends. It can easily be found that Xu Guangqi’s purpose to revise the calendar was, on the one hand, to correct the errors of the calendar and, on the other hand, through the official name, to provide official positions and shelter for the missionaries and their believers. This was the beginning of the formation of the Catholic community in Beijing. According to Xu Guangqi’s suggestion, the new calendar bureau would recruit no more than 10 Confucian scholars and 15 astronomical students. If missionaries were included, the bureau would have a concentration of nearly 30 Catholics.

After Xu Guangqi’s petition, Chongzhen Emperor approved his request and ordered it in practices according to his four suggestions. Chongzhen Emperor appointed Xu Guangqi to be the director of the new Bureau and command Li Zhizao to assist him.⁽³⁾ In the same year, Xu Guangqi sent another memorial to the Emperor which recommended to use western calendar again and invited Nicolas Longobardi and Jean Terrenz to revise the calendars.⁽⁴⁾ On the second day of April 1630, when Jean Terrenz died of illness, Xu Guangqi recommended Adam Schall von Bell and Jacques Rho (罗雅谷, 1593-1638) succeeded. Chongzhen decreed: “Adam Schall von Bell can be used to revise calendar, then the local officials help to support him to come to Beijing.” In July of the same year, Jacques Rho entered the new Bureau. Adam Schall von Bell arrived at the capital five months later in December of the same year, and checked in Honglu Temple (鸿胪寺), then served in the Bureau.⁽⁵⁾

Thus from 1629 onwards, a distinctly Catholic community was formed in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. The Jesuit missionaries such as Nicolas Longobardi and Adam Schall von Bell was the center of the Catholic community which around them were official believers such as Xu Guangqi, Chen Yujie (陈于阶), Li Cibin (李次霖), Wu Mingzhu (邬明著), Cheng Tingrui (程廷瑞), and their friends such as Li Tianjing (李天经) and Wang Yinglin (王应麟). They had their own space, i.e., the Shoushan College (首善书院) which was changed to the office of the new Bureau. They also had their own legal status and position, and received the imperial salary. The students of astronomy who entered the Bureau should be Catholics, “the Chinese students who entered the Bureau were naturally Christians. Under the guidance of missionaries, they worked on the translation of astronomical and logarithmic tables (der astronomischen Tabellen und der Logarithmentafeln).”⁽⁶⁾

(2) Xu Guangqi, “Libu wei fengzhi xiugai lifa kailie shiyi qicai shu” (《礼部为奉旨修改历法开列事宜乞裁疏》), in *Xu Guangqi quanji* (《徐光启全集》), volume 9, Shanghai: Shanghai Rare Book Press, 2010, p. 151.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 157.

(4) Xu Guangqi, “Xiuyi lifa xiuzheng suicha shu” (《修议历法修正岁差疏》), in *Xu Guangqi quanji*, volume 9, pp. 161-162.

(5) Xu Guangqi, “Yinying zaishen qianqing yi wan dadianshu” (《因病再申前请以完大典疏》), in *Xu Guangqi quanji*, volume 9, p. 188.

(6) Alfons Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592-1666, ein Leben und Zeitbild*. Nettetal: Steyler Verl., 1991, p. 103.

In 1630, Xu Guangqi stated in his memorial that the missionaries and Chinese believers had already completed some of the works and instruments needed for revising calendars. In 1631-1632, in Xu Guangqi's memorials appeared Zhou Yin (周胤), Liu Youqing (刘有庆), Liu Chengzhi (刘承志), Zhou Shichang (周士昌), Xue Wencan (薛文燦), Jia Liangqi (贾良琦), Liu Chongru (刘崇儒), Zhu Guoshou (朱国寿), Zhu Guangcan (朱光燦), as well as the Jesuits, to speculate on solar and lunar eclipses. Among them, Zhou Yin once joined the Catholic Church, but in the Calendar Case in early Qing, he confessed that he had left church, because of superstition and marrying a concubine.⁽⁷⁾

Before his death in 1633, Xu Guangqi recommended Zhu Dadian (朱大典), the governor of Shandong, Li Tianjing, the Shandong Provincial Councillor, and Jin Sheng (金声), the imperial censor of Shandong, to succeed him to supervise the new Bureau. However, eventually only Li Tianjing arrived. These people who were recommended by Xu Guangqi were all friendly to the missionaries and Catholicism, such as Jin Sheng who "respected Western Confucianism, addicted to its learning".⁽⁸⁾ Wang Yinglin was also recommended by Xu Guangqi who was also friendly to the missionaries. Fang Hao and other scholars all believed that Li Tianjing was a Catholic with Christian name of Petrus.⁽⁹⁾

In October 1633, Xu Guangqi sent a memorial to the Emperor to petition for the rewards for the contributors of the revising calendars. Among them, the Jesuits Jacques Rho and Adam Schall von Bell should be the firstly rewarded. Followed them were those people who also deserved rewards, including Wu Mingzhu who was a calendar student, Chen Yujie who was a non-degree Confucian scholar, Cheng Tingrui, Sun Silie, Meng Lvji (孟履吉) who all were calendar students, Li Cibin who was an Imperial student, Yang Zhihua (杨之华), Zhu Maoyuan (祝懋元), Zhang Caichen (张采臣), Huang Hongxian (黄宏宪), Dong Siding (董思定), Li Yuchun (李遇春), Zhao Chenen (赵承恩) who all were non-degree Confucian scholars and so on.⁽¹⁰⁾ Xu Guangqi also mentioned officials in other Bureaus such as Wang Yinglin, Chen Yingdeng (陈应登), Wei Banglun (魏邦纶), as well as other members of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, such as supervisory deputy Ge Chengke (戈承科), director of Autumn Department Zhou Yin, astronomy student Zhu Guoshou (朱国寿), director of security of five officials Liu Youqing, director of middle official Jia Liangdong (贾良栋), candidate for the director of security of five officials Jia Liangqi (贾良琦), doctor Zhu Guangxian (朱光显), astronomy students Zhu Guangchan (朱光燦), Zhu Guangda (朱光大), and so on. For these contributors, Xu Guangqi made a distinction: missionaries took the first credit, and Chinese believers who followed the missionaries and assisted in the interpretation, such as Wu Mingchu and others came second; again, other officials who assisted in the revising calendars. As for the other officials, they were originally officials of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, but were not believers, and although "diligent study is desirable", they "will be recounted on another day when they have finished their studies".

In 1633, François Sambiasi (毕方济, 1582-1649) gave four suggestions in his memorial to Chongzhen Emperor. The first was "clear the theory of calendar to show the unification". He proposed that it needed to invite western missionaries who were familiar with astronomy together with the Imperial Astronomical Bureau to observe and calculate the stars and sun and moon eclipse. So, it was enough to enlighten the descendants

(7) An Shuangcheng trans., *Qingchu xiyang chuanjiaoshi manwen dang'an yiben* (《清初西洋传教士满文档案译本》), Zhengzhou: daxiang chubanshe, 2015, p. 22.

(8) Jin Sheng, "Shang Xu Xuanhu xiangong shu" (《上徐玄扈相公书》), in *Xu Guangqi quanji*, volume 9, p. 244.

(9) Fang Hao, *Zhongguo tianzhujiaoshi renwu zhuan* (《中国天主教史人物传》), Beijing: Religious Cultures Press, 2007, p. 243; Alfons Văth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China*, p. 103.

(10) Xu Guangqi, *Zhili shugao chuji* (《治历疏稿初集》), collected in *Bibliotheca Zikawei*, pp. 99-100.

and pass to future in thousand years.⁽¹¹⁾ He further emphasized the importance of inviting missionaries to revise calendars. Of course, as far as the situation was concerned, the imperial court at that time really needed talents who specialized in revising calendars, prospecting mines and casting artilleries, but for the missionaries, they just met these needs to solve the problem of the legitimacy of staying in China especially in the imperial capital Beijing.

But the Imperial Astronomical Bureau was full of suspicions that the revising Calendars was led by the Catholic missionaries. Li Tianjing once said in his memorial to the Emperor: “These people who were opponents to the new calendar viewed the missionaries be from alien countries. They don’t know that Your Majesty rule all nations and all people under the heaven are the subject of the Emperor. We take the theory which comply with the Heaven. Why discriminate the theory from China or the West?”⁽¹²⁾ This also shows that the court was still wary about Adam Schall von Bell and had some objections to the new calendar. Xu Guangqi and Li Tianjing, because the new calendars were finished, sent memorial to the Emperor to petition for rewards to the contributors. One of the Bureau officials Cai Fuyi (蔡孚一) repeatedly requested rewards. However, in Xu and Li’s memorials, there were no Cai’s name. Thus, Cai sent memorials to accuse Wu Mingzhu, Cheng Tingrui and other Catholic officials of briberies.⁽¹³⁾ Li Tianjing also said, “Those who disagreed with us, split up into different divisions and have conflicts and quarrelling with each other with all possible means”, in order to “stop the finished calendar by our Bureau and expel the officials in our Bureau.” There was evidently still a lot of resistances within the Imperial Astronomical Bureau to revise the calendar by using the missionaries and the new theories from the west.⁽¹⁴⁾

In addition, the struggle between the different factions of the new Calendar (the Western Calendar) and the old Calendars (Datong, Islam) within the Imperial Astronomical Bureau was quite intense.⁽¹⁵⁾ There was also strife between Wei Wenkui (魏文魁), an official in the Bureau, and Jesuit Adam Schall von Bell. In December of Chongzhen reign, there was a sun eclipse, in the platform of observation (观象台), his son Wei Xiangqian (魏象乾) sent memorials to the officials from the Ministry of Ritual to accuse Adam.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the same year, some officials who opposed to the new calendars impeached Adam and said that what Adam talked was contradictory to the way of Confucius, Yao and Shun. It should be forbidden to be circulated and practiced.⁽¹⁷⁾ On January 12th of Chongzhen 11 years (1638), Li Tianjing suggested that “all officials of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau should calculate calendars according to the new theories from the West.”⁽¹⁸⁾ He also suggested to establish a new Branch of New Theory (新法科) in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. However, all his suggestions were not accepted by the Emperor. It was not until the early Qing Dynasty that the Imperial Astronomical Bureau abolished the Branch of Islam and totally adopted the new Western theory to revise calendars.

(11) François Sambiasi, *Memorials* (《奏折》), collected in Bibliotheca Zikawei, p. 4.

(12) Li Tianjing, “Li Tianjing zouwei shuqi gaocheng jinzhao yuanti chaxu zaishi zhuchen shu” (《李天经奏为书器告成谨照原题查叙在事诸臣疏》), in *Zhili shugao chujì*, p. 168.

(13) Huang Shijun, “Huang Shijuan deng tiwei shuqi gaocheng jinzhao yuanti chaxu zaishi zhuchen shu” (《黄士俊等题为书器告成谨照原题查叙在事诸臣疏》), in *Zhili shugao chujì*, pp. 222-223.

(14) Li Tianjing, “Li Tianjing tiwei jiaoshi jieqi qiling gefa tongri baojin yiding shumì shu” (《李天经题为交食届期乞令各法同日报进以定疏密疏》), in *Zhili shugao chujì*, pp. 279-280.

(15) Alfons Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China*, pp. 106-108.

(16) Zhou Yin, “Zhou Yin zouwei fengzhi jushi zooming shu” (《周胤奏为奉旨据实奏明疏》), in *Zhili shugao chujì*, pp. 291-292.

(17) Huang Bolu, *Zhengjiao fengbao* (《正教奉褒》), in *Zhongguo tianzhujiao shiji huibian* (《中国天主教史籍汇编》), Taipei: Fujen Catholic University Press, 2003, pp. 478-479.

(18) Li Tianjing, “Li Tianjing tiwei gefa shumì weijian qinzun zaiken mingduan zaoding lifa shu” (《李天经题为各法疏密未见钦遵再恳明断早定历法疏》), in *Zhili shugao chujì*, p. 300.

Adam Schall von Bell and the Catholic Community in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau

The formation of the Catholic communities during Chongzhen reign and Shunzhi reign was closely related to the Jesuit Adam Schall von Bell. In *Chongzhen Calendar* which was titled as *Calendrical Science According to New Western Methods* (《西洋新法历书》) in Shunzhi reign and the Adam's memorials to the emperors, we could find a lot of the officials were disciples of Adam.

On January 28th of Chongzhen 4 years (1631), Adam Schall von Bell firstly presented the Calendar to the court which included seven volumes of *A Table of the Grades of the Sphere* (《升度表》). In this book, we found the list of contributors: the author Jean Terrenz, the revisor Adam Schall von Bell and the proofreaders Yang Zhihua, Li Zubai, Zhu Maoyuan (祝懋元), Chen Yujie, Wei Banglun, Zhang Cheng (掌乘) who all were disciples of Adam Schall von Bell.⁽¹⁹⁾

On August 1th of Chongzhen 4 years (1631), Adam Schall von Bell secondly presented the Calendar to the court which included three volume of *Calendar of Stellar* (《恒星历指》). The list of contributors is that the author was Adam Schall von Bell, the revisor was Jean Terrenz, and the proofreaders of the first volume were Li Yuchun, Li Zubai, Chen Yingdeng, Yang Zhihua, Wu Mingzhu, Zhang Cheng who all were disciples of Adam.⁽²⁰⁾ The proofreaders of other two volumes were Li Yuchun, Song Kecheng, Chen Yingdeng, Dong Siding, Chen Yujie, Zhu Guangxian, Wei Banglun, Zhu Maoyuan, Zhu Tingshu. In the same year, Adam also presented the *Explanation of the Proportional Compass* (《比例规解》) to the court. The proofreaders were Li Zubai, Zhang Caichen, Zhang Cheng, Zhou Yin, Sun Silie (孙嗣烈) and Song Kecheng.⁽²¹⁾ In the same year, Adam also presented the *Complete Theory of Surveying* (《测量全义》). The proofreaders of the volume 3 were Li Zubai, Dong Siding, Song Kecheng, Sun Silie and Jiao Yingxu (焦应旭).⁽²²⁾

On April 4th of Chongzhen 5 years (1632), Adam Schall von Bell thirdly presented the Calendars to the court which included four volumes of *Calendars of Eclipses* (《交食历指》). The author was Adam Schall von Bell, the revisor was Jacques Rho, and the proofreaders were Zhu Maoyuan, Zhang Youzhan (掌有篆), Zhu Guoshou, Zuo Yunhe (左允和), Li Zubai, Wu Zhiyan (武之彦).⁽²³⁾ In the same book, the proofreaders included Huang Hongxian, Li Hua, Jia Liangdong, Jiao Yingxu, Zhang Cheng, Song Keli, Pan Guoxiang, Liu Youqing, Zhu Guangda, Zhou Shichang, Chen Yingdeng, Wu Mingzhu.⁽²⁴⁾ In the same year, the Calendars which Adam presented also included four volumes of the *Calendar of Moon* (《月离历指》). Its proofreaders were Li Zubai, Cheng Tingrui, Lu Changlu, Song Fa, Zhu Guangda and Zhang Cheng.⁽²⁵⁾

On July 19th of Chongzhen 7 years (1634), Adam Schall von Bell fourthly presented the Calendars to the court which included the four volume of *A Table of Eclipse* (《交食表》). The proofreaders were Zhu Guangda, Zhou Shichang, Cheng Tingrui, Zhang Cheng, Li Zubai, Song Keli, Cheng Tingrui, Cheng Yingdeng, Song Fa,

(19) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu* (《西洋新法历书》), book 3, in *Gugong zhenben congkan* (《故宫珍本丛刊》), book 385, p. 86.

(20) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 2, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 384, p. 325.

(21) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 5, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 387, p. 11.

(22) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 5, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 387, p. 157.

(23) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 1, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 383, p. 374.

(24) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 1, p. 391.

(25) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 5, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 387, p. 118.

Song Siding, Li Hua, Chen Yujie, Jiao Yingxu, Zhang Caichen, Zhou Shitai, Yang Zhihua, Zhu Maoyuan, Zhu Guangda, Zuo Yunhe, Wu Mingzhu, Liu Yunde and Bao Yingqi (鲍英齐).⁽²⁶⁾

On November 24th of Chongzhen 7 years (1634), Adam Schall von Bell fifthly presented the Calendars. The proofreaders were Liu Youqing, Li Zubai, Zhu Tingshu, Zhu Guangda, Cheng Tingrui, Song Fa and so on.⁽²⁷⁾

In Chongzhen 7 years, calendar student Wu Mingzhu and Confucian scholar Chen Yujie were sent to test and observe in Shanhai Gate (山海关) and Deng Zhou (登州) by the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. In the tenth year of the Chongzhen reign (1637), Wu Mingzhu resigned from the Bureau and returned to his hometown Wuchang in Hubei to spread the Catholic faith.

In the fifth month of the first year of Shunzhi reign, Adam Schall von Bell and his colleagues and disciples surrendered to the Qing court. Adam changed the title of *Chongzhen Calendar* to the *Calendrical Science According to New Western Methods* and offered it as a tribute Shunzhi Emperor. The Qing court appointed Adam as the director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau.

In the August of the first year of Shunzhi's reign, Adam mentioned 11 Chinese disciples in his memorials. At that time, besides Li Zubai, there were other members of the Bureau, such as Jang Youzhuang, Xu Huan, Sun Youben, Zhang Zhonghu, Bao Yingqi, Yin Kai, Wu Zhiyan, Li Hua, Song Keli, Liu Yunde. Among them, Liu Yunde joined the Society of Jesus in 1684 and was ordained a priest by Luo Wenzao (罗文藻, 1616-1691) in 1688.

On October 29th, the Qing court asked Adam to list the names who should be rewarded because of their contributions to the Calendar. On the 4th of November, Adam made a list of names as follows: Zhu Guangda, Huang Hongxian, Song Fa, Zhu Tingshu, Li Zubai. Adam also deliberately stated that these five officials had the most contributions. Thus, they were in the beginning of the list. After Li Zubai, Adam listed other 16 names including Zhu Guangxian, Liu Youqing, Jia Liangqi, Song Kecheng and so on.

Among the disciples of Adam Schall von Bell, these were obviously Catholics according to the present materials. They were Chen Yujie, Li Cibin, Wu Mingzhu, Li Zubai, Liu Yunde and Bao Yingqi. Those who Adam highly esteemed such as Zhu Guangda, Huang Hongxian, Song Fa, Zhu Tingshu were most likely also Catholics. The Imperial Astronomical Bureau became an important platform for Adam's missionary work, "because Adam's original purpose, is to make the Bureau as much as possible into a Catholic Agency."⁽²⁸⁾

Ferdinand Verbiest and the Catholic Community in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau

After the Calendar Case (1669), Ferdinand Verbiest became the key core of the Catholic community in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau after Adam Schall von Bell's death. In February of Kangxi eight years (1669), the Ministry of Personnel (吏部) proposed to appoint Ferdinand Verbiest for the deputy director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. Kangxi Emperor decreed that the appointment should be made "according to suggestion". Although Ferdinand Verbiest refused to accept the appointment, but was declined by the Kangxi Emperor.⁽²⁹⁾ In fact, although Ma Hu (马祐) was appointed as the head of the Bureau, Ferdinand Verbiest began to manage the affairs of the Bureau. In

(26) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 2, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 384, pp. 88, 108, 128 and 157.

(27) Xu Guangqi etc. ed.s, *Xiyang xinfa lishu*, book 3, in *Gugong zhenben congkan*, book 385, p. 186.

(28) Alfons Văth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China*, p. 304.

(29) Ferdinand Verbiest, *Xichao ding'an* (《熙朝定案》), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Store, 2006, p. 56.

the ninth year of the Kangxi reign (1670), Ferdinand Verbiest called himself “the minister of the making calendars of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau”. In the eleventh year of the Kangxi reign (1672), Christian Herdtricht (恩理格, 1624-72), Philippe-Marie Grimaldi (闵明我, 1639-1712) and Thomas Pereira (徐日昇, 1645-1708) went to the Bureau to assist in the revision of the calendar. In the same year, in Ferdinand Verbiest’s memorial, Li Guangxian was appointed as the first deputy director and Liu Yunde as the second deputy director.⁽³⁰⁾

In the thirteenth year of the Kangxi Emperor (1674), Ferdinand Verbiest completed a total of fourteen volumes (two volumes of catalogues) of the *Compendium on the Newly Constructed Instruments of the Observatory* (《新制灵台仪象志》), and 31 officials participated in the writing and revising of this book. Among these contributors, Liu Yunde and Bao Yingqi were Catholics.

In the Kangxi 17 years (1678), Ferdinand Verbiest and his followers were rewarded by the Emperor because they had finished the *Perpetual Calendar of the Kangxi Emperor* (《康熙永年历法》). In the list, Li Shi and Jiao Bingzhen (焦秉贞) were Catholics. Li Shi was the son of Catholic Li Zubai who was executed during the Calendar Case.⁽³¹⁾

The missionaries in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau were also involved in the Chinese Rites Controversy. In the 39th year of the Kangxi Emperor’s reign (1700), the Jesuits Philippe-Marie Grimaldi, Thomas Pereira, Antoine Thomas (安多, 1644-1709), and Jean-François Gerbillon (张诚, 1654-1707) from the Bureau presented a memorial to the Kangxi Emperor on the issues of Chinese rites. In this memorial, they took the rites of sacrificing ancestors and venerating Confucius as some kinds of secular actions based on the strategy of Jesuit Accommodation, and understood the term Venerating Heaven as Sacrificing the Master and the Origin of the Heaven and Earth and everything. Kangxi approved that: “This is written very good, there is a fit with the Great Tao, which respects for heaven, teachers and elders. It is universal value in the world. It is unalterable.”⁽³²⁾

Antoine Thomas, a missionary in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, in the fortieth year of the Kangxi (1701), was appointed as the vice-president of the Jesuit Province of China. At that time, it was the third stage of the Chinese Rites Controversy. On September 12, 1645, the Pope issued a decree forbidding the Chinese Rites. However, the Pope canceled this decree. On March 26, 1693, Charles Maigrot (颜珰, 1681-1730) of MEP who was the apostolic vicar of Fujian issued a condemnation of the Chinese Rites and Terms; and submitted it to the Holy See in Rome in 1697. At the same time, there was a growing debate in Europe, especially in Paris, about the Chinese rites. In response to Charles Maigrot, Antoine took steps to defend Jesuit position. From 1701 to 1704, Antoine collected numerous personal and collective testimonies concerning Chinese rites, including Kangxi’s own imperial approval, and the testimonies of literati of non-believers. In the 41st year of the Kangxi reign (1702), Antoine collected some 60 testimonies with more than 430 signatures. The testimonies came mainly from the Jesuit missions: 50 signatures in Beijing; 20 in Nanjing in the south of the Yangtze River; and more than 430 in Songjiang and Jiading. There are 33 in Suzhou, 32 in Suzhou, 13 in Shanghai, 50 in Changshu and 56 in Taicang; 10 in Ganzhou, Jiangxi and 15 in Nanchang; 27 from Huang’an and other districts of Huguang, 28 from Xiangtan, and 27 from Hanchuan. Among them were a testimony from the Imperial Astronomical Bureau.⁽³³⁾

(30) Ibid., p. 101.

(31) About Li Zubai’s life and activities, see Xiao Qinghe, “The Great Dao is for the Universal World since the Original Time: New Research on Confucian Christian Li Zubai in early Qing”, in *Sino-Christian Studies* 23 (2017): 197-228.

(32) Ferdinand Verbiest, *Xichao dingan*, p. 363.

(33) Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: Travelling Books, Community Networks, Intercultural Arguments*, Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012, p. 26.

There were 33 signatures in the Collective Testimony from the church in Beijing, which dated the 17th day of the 7th month of the 41st year of the Kangxi Emperor (1702).⁽³⁴⁾ However, there were only baptist names and surnames in this signature list. It was difficult to identify these Catholics. However, we still recognized some of them. For example, the signatory Bao Vincent was Bao Yingqi; Jiao Paulus was Jiao Bingzhen; Xi Wuluo was Xi Yigong (席以恭); Bao Bartholomeus was Bao Kecheng (鲍可成); Fang Michael was Fang Liang (方亮); Zhu Laurentius was Zhu Shigui (朱世贵); Bao Alexander was Bao Xuan or Bao Yinghua (鲍英华); Feng Thomas was Feng Chengyin (冯承荫) or Feng Fangqing (冯方庆) or Feng Mai (冯迈); Zhang Leo was Zhang Wenming (张问明) or Zhang Dengke (张登科) or Zhang Shikui (张士魁) or Zhang Wenchen (张文臣); Sun Joseph was Sun Youben (孙有本) or Sun Yourong (孙有容) or Sun Erhui (孙尔蕙); Li Joseph was possibly Li Shi (李式) who was the son of Li Zubai. According to this collective testimony from Beijing especially from the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, the number of officials, doctors, astronomy students, and supervisors who became Catholics in the Bureau was considerable. Quite a few of the officials in the Bureau were Catholics from the same family, either father and son, or brothers, such as Bao Yingqi and Bao Yinghua; Sun Youben. Sun Yurong, etc.

Therefore, there were possibly largest number of official Catholics in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau than in any other places during early Qing dynasty. According to the records, there were more than 66 astronomy students in the Bureau in the period of Shunzhi reign and more than 94 astronomy students during Kangxi. Since Shunzhi, the directors of the Bureau were held by the missionaries.⁽³⁵⁾ Thus, these officials and students in the Bureau always were the objects of the missionaries' preaching. The Imperial Astronomical Bureau not only provided an institutional legitimacy for missionaries to stay in China especially in Beijing, but also became the significant platform for mission works.

The Catholic community in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau played an important role in the development of Catholicism in the early Qing dynasty: not only because the Bureau was the more important government department and, more importantly, the missionaries used the the Bureau as a platform for their missionary work. During the Calendar Case period, Catholics in the Bureau, such as Li Zubai, were willing to give their lives to defend their faith. Li Zubai also wrote books to spread Catholicism while he followed the missionaries to revise calendars. At the same time, the Catholics in the Bureau often returned to their hometowns to spread the Catholic faith after retirements, such as when Wu Mingzhu returned to Hubei to spread the Catholic faith; while Liu Yunde became a Chinese Jesuit and later became primarily responsible for the Catholic affairs in Jiangning Prefecture.

Because of the Catholic emphasis on family transmission, the descendants of those officials Catholics in the Bureau were often Catholics. During the period of persecution and prohibition, although the imperial court expressly forbade the Chinese officials of the Bureau to convert to Catholicism, there were still descendants of official Catholics of the Bureau who "practices Catholicism and did not want to repent." It is possible that some officials of the Bureau or astronomical students may have secretly practiced Catholicism, even though they were forbidden to go to church and had to "burn the scriptures and abide by the law".⁽³⁶⁾

After Philippe-Marie Grimaldi, Bernard-Kilian Stumpf (纪理安, 1655-1720), Ignace Kögler (戴进贤, 1680-1746), Augustin' de Hallerstein (刘松龄, 1703-1774), Antoine Gogeisl (鲍友管, 1701-1771), Félix da

(34) Ibid., pp. 141-144.

(35) Qu Chunhai, "Qingdai qiantianjian ji shixianke zhiguan nianbiao" (《清代钦天监暨时宪科职官年表》), in *Zhongguo kejisshi* (《中国科技史》) 3 (1997): 45-71.

(36) Zhang Xianqing, "Zhichang yu zongjiao: qingqianqi tianzhujiao de hangye renji wangluo" (《职场与宗教: 清前期天主教的行业人际网络》), in *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* (《宗教学研究》) 3 (2008): 94-99.

Rocha (傅作霖, 1713-1781), Joseph d’Espinha (高慎思, 1722-1788), Anoré Rodrigues (安国宁, 1729-1796) and Joseph- Bernard d’Almeida (索德超, 1728-1805) served successively in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. After the dissolution of the Society of Jesus (1773), the Bureau was taken over by Lazaristes. Alexander de Gouvéa (汤士选, 1751-1808), Domingos-Joaquim Ferreira (福文高, 1740-1824), José Reberio-Nunes (李拱辰, 1767-1826), Gaetano Pirès Pereira (毕学源, 1763-1838), Verissimo Monteiro de Serra (高守谦, ?-1852) served in the Bureau in succession. In 1837, Verissimo Monteiro de Serra resigned and returned to the West, and the Bureau never employed any Western missionaries again.⁽³⁷⁾

Conclusion

Ferdinand Verbiest had a more complete account of the importance of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and revising calendars to Catholicism in the early Qing dynasty: “It was due to the fact that the prestige of Adam Schall von Bell and the Bureau under his leadership is such that our priests are able to live scattered in different provinces and start churches; and over and over again, new missionaries were brought into the interior of China. It is true that in the year of my arrival in China, fourteen or more of our party of missionaries, were on the pretext of astronomy to enter China at the same time. It is also this group of missionaries, supporting the whole cause of evangelization in China.”⁽³⁸⁾ From this we can see that the “apostolate through scientific works” which was initiated and promoted by Matteo Ricci and especially by Xu Guangqi had truly played a significant role in the process of the spread of Catholicism in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. These Jesuit missionaries such as Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest followed this strategy and put it into practices. Thus, Ferdinand Verbiest reminded the later missionaries that “astronomy became the most important root for the survival of our religion in all of China.”⁽³⁹⁾ Ferdinand Verbiest also wrote *Astronomy in Europe (Astronomia Europaea)* to explain to the Western world why astronomy was so important in China.

Why was the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and revising calendars considered by Ferdinand Verbiest to be the key to the survival of Catholicism in China? This is because it concerns the legitimacy of Catholicism in China. For Chinese literati and officials, as well as the imperial court, the fundamental reason for allowing missionaries to enter China and preach freely was that they were useful to the Qing dynasty by serving in the Bureau. During the Late Ming period, Xu Guangqi and Matteo Ricci’s proposal of “Complementing Confucianism and replacing Buddhism (and Taoism)” better solved the problem of Catholic legitimacy in China; however, during the early Qing Dynasty, especially during the Kangxi period, when the Neo-Confucianism of Zhu Xi became the official ideology again, society was more stable and peaceful, economic was steadily increased, it was not appropriate to say that the Catholicism could complement Confucianism and replace Buddhism and Taoism. The only reason for Catholic staying at China was to serve the imperial court especially to the Kangxi Emperor himself. Ferdinand Verbiest and other Jesuit missionaries well understood this. Thus, Ferdinand Verbiest served in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, revised the Calendars, taught and trained Chinese astronomy students, and he also forged artilleries, built aqueducts and transported boulders. Other missionaries served as interpreters, surveyors, and even

(37) Bo Shuren, “Qing qiantianjian renshi nianbiao” (《清钦天监人事年表》), in *Kejishi wenji* (《科技史文集》) volume 1, Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jieshu chubanshe, 1978, pp. 86-101.

(38) Ferdinand Verbiest, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, translated into English by Noël Golvers, translated into Chinese by Yu Sanle, Zhengzhou: daxiang chubanshe, 2016, p. 10.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

became Kangxi's ambassadors to Europe. Through their "services" and "meritorious deeds", the missionaries gained the trust and favor of the emperor himself, and thus gained the legitimacy and patronages for the Catholic Churches in China. In several anti-Catholic movements such as Zhang Boxing (张伯行)'s and Zhang Penghe (张鹏翮)'s petitions to forbid Catholicism, missionaries did take advantage of the favor of the Kangxi Emperor himself to resolve the crisis. Even in 1692, the free preaching of the Catholic Church in China was confirmed by Kangxi himself, who wrote in his decree that: "Westerners do not do crimes. It seems inappropriate to prohibit Catholicism. Accordingly, all Catholic churches are to be kept as they are, and those who make offerings of incenses are to be allowed to walk as usual. No need to ban it."⁽⁴⁰⁾ This decree was called as *Edict of Tolerance* (《容教令》) which was viewed as the Edict of Milan (313). The later changed the history of Christianity in Rome Empire totally.

Ferdinand Verbiest believed that through astronomy the Chinese emperors could be guided, like the Three Kings of the East who worshipped Jesus, "to know the Lord of Heaven who rules the stars, and go on to believe in him." Ferdinand Verbiest wanted "a favorable opportunity to explain mathematics to the emperor, and as a matter of course, to insert a lot of the stories of our religion." "If without such favorable conditions, it would never have been possible for me to introduce and explain all these things to these royalties."⁽⁴¹⁾ But Kangxi Emperor, and later Yongzheng Emperor and Qianlong Emperor were not interested in Western religion as the missionaries wished, nor did they further convert to the Catholicism. The reason why Kangxi Emperor favored Catholicism and let him surrounded by missionaries was not the "Muses in charge of astronomy" revealed the emperor's innermost heart, but the Emperor wanted to control these missionaries and their religion. In the early Qing dynasty, the literati were deliberate to distinguish between western religion and western sciences. And due to the impetus of Kangxi Emperor himself, many of the literati had a strong interest in Western sciences. However, the interests of the emperors as well as literati in Western sciences declined with the rise of the saying that the origin of western sciences was ancient China. The dream of Western Catholic missionaries especially Jesuits to preach through sciences was finally shattered. Until after the Self-Strengthening movement (洋务运动), the Catholic Church translated and introduced a lot of Western sciences according to the needs of the time, such as Li Wenyu (李问渔, 1840-1911), Ma Xiangbo (马相伯, 1840-1939) and so on.

In the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, Western missionaries firstly served in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, then were appointed as the director of the Bureau, which realized Xu Guangqi's initial vision, which was to use the Bureau as the official platform for these foreigners and to serve the imperial court as the legitimacy of staying in China especially in Beijing. Thus, the Imperial Astronomical Bureau became an important institution for the development of Catholicism in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. Firstly, the missionaries serving at the Bureau provided protection for missionaries from all over the country. Prominent missionaries such as Adam Schall von Bell were in charge of the Bureau, directly supported and protected other missionaries such as Gabriel de Magalhães (1609-1677), Lodovico Buglio (1606-1682) who were in trouble at that time. Secondly, the Bureau where missionaries presided over the revising calendars, became an official symbol of institution for the presence of foreign Catholicism in China. Missionaries gained royal support for their activities in China through such allegiance activities as calendar revision, translation, mapping, and cannon casting, thus supporting missionaries to preach freely in China. The anti-Catholic activities of some of the officials were halted precisely because they

(40) Ferdinand Verbiest, *Xichao dingan*, p. 359.

(41) Ferdinand Verbiest, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, Chinese version, p. 12.

were opposed by the emperor himself. Again, the Bureau and revising calendars activities provided an opportunity for Western missionaries to enter China, both Jesuits and other missionaries, all of whom entered China under the name of calendars. Fourthly, missionaries preached directly to the officials, astronomy students of the Bureau and even the Emperor himself. The number of the official Catholics in the Bureau was the most at that time. And around these Catholics gathered lots of high-ranking officials who were friendly to the western religions, such as Xu Zhiqian (许之渐), Wang Duo (王铎), and Hu Shi'an (胡世安). These literati were the important patronages and supporters for Catholic developments. Some of the official Catholics returned hometown to preach Catholicism after retirements. Some of them even became Chinese Jesuits. At last, the Bureau became an important institution for missionaries to spread western sciences. The missionaries spread Western sciences and, indirectly, Western Catholicism through the highest scientific institution at the time, which attracted many literati to join Catholicism, and had a positive influence on the development of Chinese society and thought in the Ming and Qing dynasties. For example, during the Kangxi period, Li Changzuo (李长祚), the governor of Hengshan County, studied the calendars with missionaries and converted to the religion. Some famous intellectuals such as Fang Yizhi (方以智), Xiong Mingyu (熊明遇) and Mei Wending (梅文鼎) were deeply influenced by Western astronomy.

However, the Imperial Astronomical Bureau had some negative effects on the development of Catholicism in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Firstly, missionaries such as Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest who served in the Bureau were stuck in Beijing for long time, unable to go out and preach freely. There was a conflict between the official position and the receipt of the salary, and the Jesuit vows, which triggered controversy within the missionary community. Secondly, the missionaries in the Bureau spent most of their time on these secular or civil matters such as revising calendars, teaching astronomy, casting cannons and other social activities, with little time for missionary works. Although Adam Schall von Bell preached Catholicism through books, the number of these books was little and had limited influences. Thirdly, missionaries obtained the emperor's patronage and protection through their loyalties and services. However, the relationship between missionaries and the Emperor was vulnerable and non-consistent. The fate of Catholicism in China depended on the emperor's own likes and dislikes. Fourthly, although the missionaries converted some officials in the Bureau to Catholics, the number was still limited. Some literati were quite fond of Western learning, but with the changing times, sciences such as astronomy could not provide the legitimacy for the Catholic mission in China. But objectively speaking, missionaries and official Catholics in the Bureau played a significant role on the development and exchange of Chinese and Western sciences during late Ming and early Qing dynasties.⁽⁴²⁾

(42) The new research please refer to Han Qi, *Tongtian zhixue: Yesuishi he tianwenxue zai zhongguo de chuanbo* (《通天之学: 耶稣会士和天文学在中国的传播》), Beijing: sanlian shudian, 2018.

中文题目：
钦天监与明末清初官员天主教徒群体

肖清和

上海大学历史系教授、博士生导师，研究方向是明清中西文化交流史

Email: xiaoqh@shu.edu.cn; 电话: +8615821851145

摘要：晚明时期，随着徐光启主持组建历局，推荐传教士以及天主教徒入局修历，钦天监成为传教士居留中国的重要机构，并对天主教的传播与发展起到了重要作用。迨至清初，钦天监成为官员天主教徒最多的官府衙门。传教士不仅掌管钦天监修历事务，而且还通过积极传教，将钦天监官员、天文生变成天主教徒。钦天监的传教士为各地的传教士提供了保护，官员信徒在致仕之后返回家乡继续传播天主教。即使在禁教时期，钦天监仍然有传教士供事。钦天监官员天主教徒群体的形成，可视为明清天主教科学传教之体现。学界对汤若望、南怀仁研究颇多，但对钦天监与官员天主教徒研究较少。本文在相关档案文献的基础上，通过梳理钦天监与天主教之间的关系，展示明末清初官员天主教徒群体的基本情况，并对通过钦天监（科学）传教的历史影响进行分析。

关键词：钦天监；官员天主教徒；科学传教

中西经典与圣经

Chinese and Western Classics
and the Bible

西班牙来华传教士闵明我的中国宗教观

魏京翔

(对外经济贸易大学外语学院)

摘要: 作为十七世纪西班牙著名的来华传教士和人文学家, 闵明我特别关注中华帝国的宗教思想问题。在其所著《中华帝国历史、政治、伦理与宗教论集》(*Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*, 以下简称《论集》)第二卷、三卷、四卷皆有对中国各类宗教形式的专门研究和评述, 尤其是他不仅注译了儒家的经典文献, 还将来华耶稣会士龙华民神父的未刊手稿《论中国宗教的若干议题》一文由拉丁语译入西班牙语并收录进《论集》, 成为是书第五卷。本文试图以这四卷的内容为基础, 尽量展现闵明我对中国宗教思想的认知, 以求进一步探究闵明我的汉学思想。

关键词: 闵明我、中国宗教观、《中华帝国历史、政治、伦理与宗教论集》

作者: 魏京翔, 博士, 对外经济贸易大学外语学院讲师; Email: weijingxiang@uibe.edu.cn, 电话: 18810954416

闵明我⁽¹⁾在向西方阐释中国宗教信仰时提供了丰富的信息, 他对中华帝国详尽描摹的手法符合十七世纪下半叶欧洲来华传教士的总体叙事风格, 与耶稣会士曾德昭(Álvaro de Semedo)或卫匡国(Martino Martini)的中国宗教论述模式相近。⁽²⁾闵氏之所以能向西方提供如此丰裕的中国思想和宗教信息, 除了他本身的传教职业需要外⁽³⁾, 也与一个条件和一个目的有关。首先, 学识渊博、颇通中文的闵明我能够大量运用中外文献中蕴藏的真知灼见, 这是他得以展开论述的先决条件。在《论集》中, 闵明我不仅直接引用了许多西方拉丁文作家(以基督教学者为主)的著述, 而且译注、征引了大量儒家学说的格言警句(以《四书》为主)及某些流行于明末的道家、佛家观点。其次, 在当时大的宗教背景下(欧洲和中国), 闵明我及其所属的托钵修会始终与耶稣会处于竞争甚至对抗的状态, 而来华耶稣会又基本垄断了“出口”欧洲的中国知识, 因此, 闵明我很有可能借由《论集》内的中国宗教叙述来表明他个人(或者来华多明我会), 在中国“礼仪之争”问题上的立场, 以达到使欧洲读者不“偏听”耶稣会的目的。⁽⁴⁾

(1) 闵明我(Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, 1618-1686)是弗朗西斯科·德·卡斯特罗和玛利亚·纳瓦雷特的女子, 出生于西班牙佩涅阿费埃镇, 属现今巴利阿里多利德大省管辖。1635年12月8日, 闵明我发愿加入多明我会; 1648年7月抵达西班牙菲律宾圣玫瑰经传教省; 1659年9月25日抵达澳门后进入中国大陆并进行传教活动近十年; 1686年2月16日, 闵明我病逝于圣多明戈岛。闵明我学养深厚, 著述颇丰, 代表作有《中华帝国历史、政治、伦理与宗教论集》Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676) 和《中华大帝国传教士古今争辩》Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, *Controversias antiguas y modernas entre los misionarios de la gran China* (Madrid: 1679)。作为西班牙来华多明我会士, 闵明我不仅是十七世纪西班牙汉学的集大成者, 亦是西班牙汉学的一代宗师。

(2) 唐纳德·F·拉赫 Donald F.Lach, 《欧洲形成中的亚洲》Ouzhou Xingchengzhong De Yazhou [Asia in the Making of Europe], 朱新屋Zhu Xinwu译, (北京Beijing: 人民出版社Renmin Chubanshe [People's Publishing House]) 2013, 第181页。

(3) 十七世纪欧洲来华传教士(无论耶稣会或其它托钵修会)都必须在研习中国学术思想(尤其是儒家学说)上做出努力, 这是他们在华正式传教前的必要准备工作。

(4) 闵明我在《论集》内对中国宗教的论述似乎不能完全阐明他在“礼仪之争”中的立场, 所以他回到罗马后著述了《争辩》, 以专门讨论中国的宗教和仪式问题。这也得到了他本人的证实, 试举一例: “这里说明的是一个较为重要的问题, 即中国的异教徒是否可以获得救赎, 或这本身值得怀疑吗? 在《争辩》中, 我将对此展开长论, 并解释中国的异教问题”。参见: Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.90.

民间宗教

与前辈或同时代的来华传教士相比, 闵明我在叙述中国本土宗教的类型时, 采用了二分法予以表征。除了详述以下将要分析的三大主流教派(儒、释、道)外, 他还谈及了中国社会中存在的某些传统宗教信仰, 认为它们不仅保留了本土的宗教实践, 还为三大“主流宗教”(主要是儒教和道教)提供了“养分”。闵明我曾坦言, 论述这些民间宗教的难度比儒、释、道大的多, 因为它们不仅具有地域性(南北方的民间信仰不同)和阶层性(城市与乡村的民间信仰不同)差异, 还时常与三大教派相融合, 处于中国宗教的“灰色地带”。在闵氏这里, 中国的民间信仰被定义为“模糊的宗教”(religión difuminada), 它们与主流的教派紧密地结合在一起, 以至于无法“自成一格”(sui generis), 也正是这种宗教上的“调和主义”使得闵明我很难认清中国民间宗教的本质, 从而只能笼统地说:“火神庙、马神庙、还有中国人叫做龙王庙(Lung Vuang)的水神庙, 看起来都一样”。⁽⁵⁾

闵明我以西方观察者的视角描述了中国南部乡村地区盛行的占卜习俗⁽⁶⁾并精确地描述了“风水”(Fung Xui)⁽⁷⁾对中国人的重要性。此外, 作为中国“礼仪之争”的积极参与者, 闵明我在评价了中国自古以来对祖先的崇拜⁽⁸⁾、对自然事物的遵奉⁽⁹⁾、拜神赐福的礼仪和数不胜数的迷信行为后, 得出了这样的结论:“毫无疑问, 普通百姓很容易堕入迷信, 所有人做事前都会卜问吉凶, 以便确定是否还要继续行事”。⁽¹⁰⁾ 为了证明中国社会中广泛存在的迷信行为, 闵明我提供了丰富的事例, 尤其是对“灶君”信仰的描述, 堪为代表:

这位名叫李少⁽¹¹⁾(Li Xiao)的王爷⁽¹²⁾(Regulo)给炉灶献祭;也就是说·他向那位虚假的厨房之神祈求幸福和长命百岁·甚至说服了皇帝信奉这个偶像。他对皇帝说·如果您侍奉这位神灵·他就会为您带来延年益寿的良药·并把点石成金的秘方告诉您。自此以后·这种迷信在中国愈演愈烈。因此·直到今天·中国人对于炉灶和厨房都怀有很高的敬意。首先·他们非常注重做饭之处的干净整洁·绝不会在厨房或靠近的地方做不雅之事;其次·如果有人在那里小便·会被认为是极大的不恭和亵渎·因为这种行为糟蹋了灶神司命的地方”。⁽¹³⁾

依上述引用, 我们可知闵明我对中国民间宗教的洞察细致入微, 不仅录其传说, 而且对其社会意义也有一定评价。事实上, 闵氏对中国民间的“泛神信仰”描述远不止此:为了有利于农业收成, 中国人会焚香

(5) Ibid., p.81.

(6) “所有的庙宇都有两根硕大的占卜卦签(casteñetas), 上面写着几个对他们来说很神秘的字。他们首先向偶像多次跪拜, 然后把那些挂签一次次地抛在地上, 直到出现他们想要的结果。之后, 他们会查阅钉在墙上的黄历(Kalendarios), 调整自己的计划, 以便所求之事能有善终。”(Ibid., p.56);“在收获大米的时节, 有许多人赶到稻田里, 为收割者演奏祈福的音乐;北方在收获小麦时也一样, 他们用手中的粮食支付演奏者的表演”(Ibid., p.59)。

(7) “有不少人善于发现安放墓葬的幸运地点;他们观察朝南向的地势, 以便找到能够与(虚假的)地下龙脉相接的方位。这种地方可以为子女、孙辈及所有的后世子孙带来财富和荣耀, 这就是所谓的风水。”(Ibid., p.59)。

(8) “大舜(Xun)是第八位皇帝, 也是第一位修建庙宇祭祀祖先的帝王”(Ibid., p.94);“可以感受到中国人对祖先的祭祀是非常隆重的, 没有一个活着的人能够配享这样的荣耀, 皇帝不行、任何其他高贵的人也不行”(Ibid., p.108)。

(9) “中国人对于天空、大地、鸟鸣、狗吠、梦境及其它许多事物都有极为虚幻的信仰”(Ibid., p.56);“在太宗(Tai Zung, 即朱棣)即位的第三年, 发生了严重的旱灾:皇帝身穿粗布衣服, 脚踩麻鞋, 前往一座庙宇。他在那里向山峦、河流的神灵的献祭:白天暴晒在烈日之下, 晚上则睡在地上”(Ibid., p.114)。

(10) Ibid., p.56.

(11) 《史记·孝武本纪》:“是时而李少君亦以祠灶、谷道、却老方见上, 上尊之”。故此可知, 此处“李少”实为汉武帝崇信的方士李少君。参见司马迁Sima Qian:《史记》Shiji [The Historical Records], (北京Beijing, 中华书局Zhonghua Shuju [China Publishing House], 2014, 第1084页。

(12) 按西班牙语Régulo, 译为“王爷”。但李少君虽贵为武帝宠臣, 却从未封王, 这里是闵明我误记。

(13) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.94.

祭拜雨神⁽¹⁴⁾；太阳、月亮或星星都对应着不同的神位⁽¹⁵⁾；每座城市都有自己的守护神，百姓也时时向他们献祭⁽¹⁶⁾；祭拜火神、马神或其它类似神灵的庙宇⁽¹⁷⁾... ..至于他不厌其烦地记述这些民间宗教实践的目的，笔者认为还是出于巩固他在“礼仪之争”中的立场，因为“关于这些神灵，耶稣会神父早已有过很多争论，方济各会和本会的神父们也为此辩论过”，但它们究竟属于一般性的社会约俗，还是带有明显的迷信色彩，各方始终莫衷一是，闵明我应该是希望通过《论集》来传达自己的一家之言。

闵明我对中国民间信仰的叙述除了事例丰厚外，还常常将在华了解到的民间宗教元素与其它主题混合在一起，其记录方式也多呈现出分散、不关联的特点。因此，《论集》的读者必须对它们进行重新归纳，才能应对这种非系统性的叙述模式。这种没有任何专门章节框架的处理方式，应该与闵明我常年在华的漂泊生活有关，从福建到浙江、从北京到广东，旅行的颠沛流离只能使他零散地记录下沿途的百姓信仰，无法也无从更深入地研究它们。⁽¹⁸⁾闵明我试图在《论集》中囊括彼时中国宗教的全景，以表明在此广大的疆域中，民间宗教与主流宗教互相影响、同化，彼此的界限亦不明确。

二、主流宗教

与民间宗教相比，闵明我对中国主流宗教 (religión popular) 的阐述则系统的多，他向西方世界展示了一系列“有组织的” (religiosidad organizada) 宗教传统、宗教礼仪和宗教偶像。所谓“有组织的”宗教信仰，即闵明我在《论集》中明确指出的中国三大“教派” (sectas)：(1) 由孔子创立的儒家学派；(2) 道教，尊老子为鼻祖；(3) 佛教，信徒为佛陀 (Foe) 的追随者。⁽¹⁹⁾博闻强识的闵明我对每个教派奉行的主要仪式、主要的献祭偶像、庙宇的组成元素，甚至其主要的道场所在⁽²⁰⁾都进行了记录。当然，他在描述时并非平均用力，儒家学说和佛教是他关注的重点。《论集》的第三卷、第四卷和第五卷集中体现了闵氏的儒学观。他不仅翻译、评注了儒家的经书典籍，还特别强调了皇帝在“有组织的”宗教中所起的作用，认为皇帝已将自身与国家性的宗教联系在一起。虽然闵明我没有言明国家性的宗教是什么，但显然与儒家学说有密切关系，因为中国的天子注定要成为儒家教义的表率。与佛教相关的内容主要出现在第二卷，其篇幅虽没有介绍儒家学说的多，但传递的信息更加系统有效。关于道教，闵明我似乎兴趣不高，对其介绍仅停留在初级阶段。

虽然上述三大教派的起源、教义和仪式各不相同，但在闵明我的眼中，它们依然具有诸多共同性：(1) 都有高度的组织性和巨大的信徒基础；(2) 被大明政府和百姓广泛认可；(3) 各自的创立者威望极高；(4) 都有大量记载本派教义的经书典籍；(5) 这三大教派都具有偶像崇拜的性质，它们与基督教传统没有任何关联。也正是基于此，我们得以较为清晰地总结出闵明我对中国宗教的叙事脉络：创立者的生平、基本教义、教派主要偶像和对庙宇的描述等。接下来，笔者将依次回顾闵明我对中国主流宗教的记述和剖释，以求初步廓清闵氏的中国三大宗教观。

(14) “如果五月不下雨，就会开始斋戒、祷告和祈福，这是令我十分惊异。”(Ibid.)

(15) “伏羲 (Fo Hi) 是第一个用动物之血祭天的人。此后，中国就总是祭祀天、太阳和月亮。”(Ibid., p.93)。

(16) “在同一时期，(汉)武帝 (Vü Ti) 的一位使臣 (Embaxador) 名叫威武 (V Vü) 的，极为庄严地修建了一座偶像庙宇，取名城隍 (Ching Hoang)；意思是城墙、壕沟的守护者，或者城市的守护天使 (Angel tutelar de la Ciudad)”。(Ibid., p.94)

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) 值得注意的是，闵明我虽然广泛地注释、分析了中国的儒、释、道三教，但他从未使用西方通行的术语来指称它们，即Confucianismo, Budismo和Taoísmo。

(20) “... ..达摩 (Ta Mo)，中国著名的偶像，他主要的道场在湖广省 (Provincia de Hu Kuang) 的武当山 (monte llamado Vu Tang Xan)。在这里，他面朝石壁，整整九年陷入冥想... ..” (Ibid., p.86)

1. 儒教

与同时代的欧洲来华传教士一样, 闵明我 将中国的儒家学说称之为“文人的教派”(Secta de los Letrados), 并真切地指出它是中国三教(儒、释、道)中历史最悠久的派别, 其信奉者亦是该国的文人学子。⁽²¹⁾尽管没有在《论集》中 断言, 但闵明我深知儒家学派的“教义”支配着整个中华帝国的运作, 在国家治理上, 更是明王朝的根本基石, 因此他将儒家的文人称为“那个帝国最有威严、最崇高的人”。⁽²²⁾依据《论集》的内容, 闵明我对儒家学派的 分析大略可分为三条主线。其一, 闵明我对儒家至圣先师孔夫子(Kung Fu Zu)的记述;其二, 对孔子及儒家学说的评价;其三, 借助自己(或他人)翻译的儒家学说, 评述中国的儒家学说和其创始人 都与西方的基督教没有任何联系, 更遑论儒教是天主教在华传播的助力因素。在这一点上, 凸显了闵明我对待中国“礼仪之 争”的立场。

孔子生平

在论述孔子起伏的一生时, 闵明我将许多带有神话色彩的轶事与中国史籍载录的孔子事迹结合起来, 颇具亦真亦幻的色彩。关于传奇, 闵氏在《论集》中曾记述“一头独角兽嘴衔一册玉书先立于颜氏⁽²³⁾(Ien Xi)身前, 后吐书而出。书上写着:纯洁之子, 迥异常人, 当来定当成王(Principe)”⁽²⁴⁾, 这明显与中国民间“麒麟献书”⁽²⁵⁾的故事相一致;此外, 他还提及了孔子著成儒家典籍后“跪受赤虹”的传说——“七十一岁, 孔子著述完儒家教理后回到家乡。他仰望北方天空, 斋戒祈祷, 忽见一道彩虹化为透明的金玉落在他手上”⁽²⁶⁾——只是没有说到黄玉上刻有“孔提命作, 应法为赤制”的字样而已。至于他以中文史料为依据所作的论述, 则可信的多。闵明我正确地指出“(孔子)曾经勤谨正直地治理过某些省份, 但在六十岁⁽²⁷⁾时, 他因(鲁国)政府的 堕落、贫贱和卑劣而卸下所有官职, 开始周游这个帝国(Imperio)。他向所有人宣扬道德与自然正义(rectitud natural);孔子曾受到凌辱, 甚至虐待, 但他都以平和之心视之:甚至有人说, 他越在逆境之中, 越是甘之如饴;当他被赶出某个村庄时, 索性盘坐在一棵树下, 欢快地弹起随身携带的琴具”。⁽²⁸⁾通过这段叙述, 我们可知闵明我对孔子后半生的遭遇了如指掌, 并且间接地向欧洲读者表明孔子的政治生涯成就不高, 不仅在衰败的鲁国受到排挤, 在其它国家中亦无法施展抱负, 但他个人对孔子的乐观精神应当是满心钦佩的。

当然, 作为十七世纪欧洲人的著作, 《论集》关于孔子描述的偏差亦在所难免。闵明我曾写:“金尼阁神父在第一卷第五章⁽²⁹⁾将此人⁽³⁰⁾的生辰记作上帝之子出世前551年。我则遵循该会⁽³¹⁾其他神父们的意见,

(21) “我认为, 儒教(la Literaria)是中国本土最古老的教派, 其追随者是学子(Estudiantes), 这一点处处皆知”。(Ibid., p.53)

(22) Ibid., p.51.

(23) 即孔子生母颜徵在。

(24) Ibid., p.130.

(25) 麒麟玉书:孔子未出生时,家门口有只麒麟口吐天降之书,上书:“水精之子,继衰周而为素王”。孔子的母亲感到很奇怪,就用绣绂系在麒麟的角上,隔了两夜才离去。孔子的母亲怀孕十一个月才生了孔子。

(26) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.131.

(27) 按照鲁定公十四年(公元前496年)孔子开始与弟子周游列国计算,他应当是五十六岁。

(28) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.131.

(29) 这里提到的金尼阁著作应作为1615年出版的拉丁文版《基督教远征中国史》Jidujiao YuanZheng Zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta ab Societate Iesv],“他生于公元前551年,享年七十岁”。参见利玛窦Limadou:《耶稣会与天主教进入中国史》Yesuhui Yu Tainzhujiao Jinru Zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta ab Societate Iesv],文铮We Zheng译,(北京Beijing,商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]),2014,第22页。

(30) 即孔子。

(31) 即耶稣会。

确认孔子在救世主 (Redeptom) 降临前645年诞生”。⁽³²⁾ 依据《春秋公羊传》所载, 孔子生于鲁襄公二十一年十一月庚子日⁽³³⁾ (公元前551年9月28日), 因而此处确为闵明我的误记。颇为有趣的是, 美国史学家唐纳德·拉赫 (Donald F. Lach) 在其所著《欧洲形成中的亚洲》(Asia in the Making of Europe) 中曾声称“与金尼阁、曾德昭相比, 17世纪晚期的作家—卫匡国、纽霍夫、达帕、闵明我、柏应理、李明等—给出了更多有关孔子的描述。他们提到, 孔子出身于公元前551年”⁽³⁴⁾, 则属于对闵明我错误的“误读”了。

对儒学的整体评价

闵明我深知孔子是儒学的至圣先师, 是中国文化的核心人物, 他的思想统治着整个中国社会的历史和现实。因此, 在大明帝国之中, 祭祀孔子的庙宇比比皆是, 以至于“旷古及今, 在传授智慧的学者之中, 无人能望其项背”。⁽³⁵⁾ 至于儒学的教育目的, 闵明我曾说: “孔子及其全部的教义均旨在培养好的管理者 (Governador)。他的原则和基础在于个人要懂得自我约束, 并能安排好他的家庭; 善于持家的人, 将知道如何治理一个王国; 而善于治理王国的人, 将知道如何平衡一个帝国, 并使其长治不衰”。⁽³⁶⁾ 这段话充分表明闵氏对儒家学说在治理中国社会、构建古代中国政治思想的主导性上有深刻的认识, 也正是基于此, 他将大部分与儒家学派有关的描述都纳入了《论集》第二卷《中国政府的运作模式, 结构体系, 社会阶层划分及其值得铭记的历史特征》(Del modo y disposición del gobierno, del Chino, de sus sectas, y de las cosas mas memorables de su historia) 之中。闵明我对儒家“三纲五常”⁽³⁷⁾、劝进学业⁽³⁸⁾、君主修德⁽³⁹⁾等论述的分析将在第五章第三节进行阐释, 这里不再赘述。

纵观《论集》, 闵明我一再赞扬儒家的行为方式, 因为他坚信这些做法与基督教义的要求十分相似。⁽⁴⁰⁾ 他毫不怀疑“儒家学说在中国具有的权威性完全可以媲美《福音书》(Evangelios) 对我们的教化”⁽⁴¹⁾, 这样的比较, 笔者认为闵氏应当不全是从宗教影响的角度出发, 更重要的是强调了它们(儒学和天主教)所具有的、规范各自社会思想、行为及人际关系的统治性。

(32) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.130.

(33) 《春秋公羊传注疏》: “九月庚戌朔, 日有食之。冬十月庚辰朔, 日有食之。曹伯来朝。公会晋侯、齐侯、宋公、卫侯、郑伯、曹伯、莒子、邾娄子于商任。十有一月庚子, 孔子生”。参见公羊高Gongyang Gao: 《春秋公羊传注疏》Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan Zhushu [Biography of Gongyang and its Significance], (北京Beijing, 北京大学出版社Beijing Daxue Chubanshe [Peking University Press]), 1999, 第29页。

(34) 唐纳德·拉赫 Donald F.Lach, 《欧洲形成中的亚洲》Ouzhou Xingchengzhong De Yazhou [Asia in the Making of Europe], 朱新屋Zhu Xinwu译, (北京Beijing: 人民出版社Renmin Chubanshe [People's Publishing House]) 2013, 第175页-第176页。

(35) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.81.

(36) Ibid., p.139.

(37) 闵明我认为中国社会关系的连接从根本上是靠五种“秩序”来维持的, 即“君臣有义、父子有亲、夫妇有别、长幼有序、朋友有信”, 而作为道德规范的“五伦”, 实际上浓缩了儒家学派的全部社会伦理精义。客观地说, 闵氏的判断是较为准确的, 只是他混淆了“五伦”观念的提出者并非孔子而是孟子的事实。

(38) “学习后不反复地思考, 很快就会遗忘, 就像以前那样无知。只思考不学习, 甚至妄想结果与精妙的义理一致, 是不可能的, 它只会让人迷惑并不断犯错”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.132.

(39) “孔子说, 如果皇帝得到臣民的爱戴, 那他将拥有帝国; 如果他失去这份爱戴, 他讲丢掉皇冠。因此, 君主必须关切第一点, 努力获得美德”。(Ibid., p.133)

(40) 例如, “孔子说: ‘上至帝王将相, 下至黎民百姓, 都必须以美德立身, 以良习度日’。多么令人钦佩的教化。上帝也说过: ‘要圣洁 (Estote Sancti)。良善是所有人之责任, 尤其是那些因其地位和职务而成为臣属和底层人 (inferiores) 榜样的人更要严苛地遵守’。”(Ibid., p.133)

(41) Ibid., p.131.

闵明我的儒学观及其与“礼仪之争”

闵明我在《论集》第五卷对意大利来华耶稣会士龙华民的遗稿《对上帝, 天使, 灵魂(这些是中国人对“上苍之主”、“鬼神”和“理性的灵魂”的称呼)及其它中文名讳、术语争论的简要回答, 以便使居留中国的神父们在研读之后, 能将其意见呈送给驻澳门耶稣会远东视察员, 以此廓清在传教时能采信的中文词汇》(*Respuesta Breve, Sobre las Controversias de el Xang Ti, Tien Xin, y Ling Hoen, (esto es de el Rey de lo alto, espíritus, y alma racional, que pone el China) y otros nombres, y términos Chinos, para determinarse, quales de ellos se pueden usar esta Christianidad, dirigida à los Padres de las residencias de China, para que le vean, y imbién despues su parecer al P. Visitador de Macao,* 以下简称《简要回答》)进行了全部的翻译(拉丁文—西班牙文), 通过引用、评注龙神父的著述, 闵明我集中表达了自己对儒家学说的理解以及关于中国“礼仪之争”的立场。有鉴于闵明我对儒家义理的深入钻研, 仅凭本节内容是无法将其全面涵盖的, 故而笔者只从闵明我对宋明理学—尤其是“理”、“气”、“太极”等哲学范畴—的理解出发, 初步探讨他的儒学观, 以期管中窥豹。

“理”

与耶稣会来华传教士龙华民神父一样, 闵明我也认为中国人“无法想象纯粹虚无(*puro nihil*)的存在, 更不知晓无穷伟力⁽⁴²⁾ (*poder infinito*) 能从无中创造万物”⁽⁴³⁾, 但儒教的思想家相信“一定有一种先于万物而永恒存在的第一动因(*causa*), 它是万物的根由和本原”⁽⁴⁴⁾, 即儒士们崇信的“理”(Li)。正是有了“理”这个第一本原, 中国人坚信“无中只能生无(*ex nihilo, nihil fit*)”, 故有始者必有其终, 而终又复始。由此产生了所有中国人都信纳的观点: 这个世界终将结束, 然后再生出新的”。关于龙华民记载的这段儒家“循环创世说”, 闵明我在其评注中说他也曾多次读到过, 并援引德国天主教神哲学家大阿尔伯特的观点, 称古希腊哲学家恩培多克勒的“天动说”是“中国人教授的”, “中国人与曾经的欧洲人有着共同的错误”。⁽⁴⁵⁾此外, “中国人同样笃信, 这种第一动因是无尽的实体(*entidad infinita*), 永不朽坏, 无始无终”, 在闵明我的笔下, 中国人将“理”视为包罗万象的主(客)观原理或实体, 它“没有生命、不含知识、毫无权威(*autoridad*), 是纯粹的、寂静的、精妙的, 透明的, 无形无体的”。⁽⁴⁶⁾虽然“只能依靠理智才能感受它, 就像我们口中的精神实体一样”⁽⁴⁷⁾, 但实际上, 无论龙华民还是闵明我, 都认为儒家的“理”“不具备精神性, 也没有要素”⁽⁴⁸⁾ (*elementos*) 的那些主动或被动的品质”。⁽⁴⁹⁾

由上述可知, 闵明我虽然没有完全继承利玛窦关于儒家理学温和唯名论本质的判断⁽⁵⁰⁾, 但他们在否定“理”作为外化的抽象性本体所具有的宗教可能性上完全一致。“我认为, 是否可以用‘理’来表达我们上帝的想法, 可能会进入某些人的思想, 因为它被赋予了太多尊贵的属性, 以至于只能与我主上帝相应。但龙华民神父却指出, 在这些徒有其表的尊称背后, 藏匿着‘毒蛇’和‘邪恶的利维坦’, 因为归根结底, 所谓‘理’不过就是我们所说的原初质料”。⁽⁵¹⁾在此, 闵明我认为儒学中的“理”与基督教神学中更为抽象的“本体”或“

(42) 类似于基督教中“大能”的概念。

(43) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.260.

(44) *Ibid.*

(45) *Ibid.*, p.262.

(46) *Ibid.*

(47) *Ibid.*

(48) 此处似指古希腊关于世界物质组成的“四元素说”。

(49) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.260.

(50) 孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang: 《基督教与明末儒学》*Jidujiao Yu Mingmo Ruxue* [Christianity and Confucianism in the Late Ming Dynasty], (北京Beijing, 东方出版社Dongfang Chubanshe [Oriental Press]), 1994, 第84页。

(51) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.279.

本原”决不能混为一谈。原初质料是混乱无章、排列无序的，它既不能形式化也不能具象化，只能如闵明我所言，周而复始地无意义循环。

“太极”

关于“太极”，龙华民引用《性理大全》卷26第9页所说，认为它“始终如一，不增不减”是“宇宙创生和消亡的根源与起因，是天、地、人及世界万物生生和销尽的本因”。⁽⁵²⁾ 龙氏还说，既然中国人认为“太极”与“理”一样没有生命、智慧和威权，并且也会在循环中不停地创生和消亡，那它就绝不是永恒不灭的精神实体，更不可能是基督教的上帝。闵明我也把“太极”看作是与“理”相同的范畴，认为它的实体也是第一原理，它与“理”唯一的区别只是形式不同而已。他还赞同利玛窦神父和艾儒略神父将“太极”认定为“原初质料”的观点⁽⁵³⁾，认为它是“理”在其所创的万物身上有所为时的另一种称呼。“理”偏于寂静的一面，而“太极”则重于创造的一面，它是造化宇宙和天地人的完成者。⁽⁵⁴⁾总而言之，在闵明我眼里，“太极”与“理”就是同一个事物，只是针对不同的对象具有不同的称谓，或者说是以不同视角观察到的同一物罢了。

“理”和“气”的关系

闵明我在《论集》第五卷引用龙华民的叙述时说，“依据这个教派，‘太极’蕴藏于‘理’中，宇宙万物皆出于‘太极’，它是原初质料；‘原气’(ayre primogenio)，即万物的直接物质(materia proxima)，也出自‘理’。‘理’生‘五德’，仁义礼智信。‘理’与‘原气’相合，化生出‘五行’及其它全部有形之物(figurar corporales)”。⁽⁵⁵⁾由此可见，在闵明我这里，“气”出乎“理”，“理”虽本身并无所为，但在产生“气”或“原气”之后，开始有化生天地万物的大作为。

关于“理”、“气”、“太极”三者的关系

关于这三者的关系，龙华民神父有一段扼要的论述：

中国人设想·从无限的原初质料‘理’中·自然生发出‘气’·‘气’经过五种变化·最后凝聚成万物·但是在无穷的‘理’内部·存在一个完满有限的圆球·即‘太极’·它也被称为“混沌”(Hoen Tun)·意指万物化生前的状态。⁽⁵⁶⁾

依照闵明我对龙华民神父这段文字的评注，“太极”应是无穷的“理”所孕育的完美无瑕的凝练形式，它虽然“混沌”，但却包含了流出万物的一切质料。而“气”作为“运动”的“理”，从第一原理中产生，是创生万物的直接质料，比“理”更具物质性和可变性，有浓淡、动静和冷热的变化。⁽⁵⁷⁾

至此，闵明我借龙华民之笔，较为清晰地论述了“理”、“气”、“太极”这三个儒家学说(理学)关键词语之间的相互关系：“理”是本原，“太极”出自理，“气”乃是“理”化生万物的手段。闵明我不仅对这三个概念的差异和联系加以界定，还试图在三者之间建立一种结构模式，这充分体现了他具有的经院哲学思维模式。总之，在对待宋儒理学的问题上，闵明我与龙华民的立场保持一致，统一持有批判的态度。

(52) Ibid., p.280.

(53) Ibid.

(54) “孔子在解读《易经》时，以如下文字开始对太极展开确切说明：太极生两仪(包括五行元素)，两仪生四象，四象生八卦。八卦即象征着天、地、人，而这(天地人)三才创造世界万物”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.262.

(55) Ibid., p.267.

(56) Ibid., p.260.

(57) Ibid.

关于闵明我与中国“礼仪之争”的关系, 这又是一个极大的论题。如前文一样, 笔者仅以闵明我对待天主教“Deus”一词的中译态度, 来扼要说明他在对待这一中西文化交流史上著名公案的思索。关于这一方面的深入研究, 笔者将留待未来。

为了维护基督信仰的纯一性, 闵明我明确反对以中文的“天”或“上帝”作为拉丁文“Deus”一词的对译。他认为“天”或“上帝”这两个词的中文含义无法囊括“Deus”所蕴含意义的丰富性和抽象性, 不但反映不出“Deus”所包含的道成肉身的那种人格神的特征, 更要害的在于根本无法表达出“Deus”所包含的那种“三位一体”的超验性。他引用了龙华民神父在《简要回答》一文中的开篇词以表明自己的态度:

首先·大略是二十五年前·中文里的“上帝”(即“上苍之主”)一词开始进入我的视野·并刺痛了我的心·在研习了孔子的《四书》之后——就像所有传教士进入中国伊始所习惯的那样——·我渐渐地发现儒教的注经学家们赋予“上帝”的各种阐释与天主教的“神圣本性”(Naturaleza Divina)不仅无法相容·甚至是矛盾对立的·但因必须从本会前辈神父那里接受“上帝”即是“我主”(nuestro Dios)的观念·我将上述疑虑搁置一旁·思忖或许是某些儒士犯了错误·就像那些不认同古代儒家教义的离经叛道者一样·怀着这样的观点·我在韶州度过了来华后的头十三个春秋·没能与寓居其他教区的神父们商讨我对“上帝”的看法·而我本该这样行事的。(58)

从这一段话, 我们可以看出, 早在闵明我之前, 耶稣会士龙华民神父就已经不赞成把“Deus”译成“上帝”, 只是鉴于利玛窦的权威(59), 一直没有把这个疑虑果断地提出来。此外, 闵明我还认为并不是中国的后儒们犯了错误, 与之相反, 先儒和后儒是一脉相承的, 中国人自古以来就没有对基督教的认识, 中国人所说的“上帝”充其量也就是理学家所说的“气”, 也就是万物的一种形式, 绝不可能代表创造万物的“Deus”, 就此, 他援引龙华民的文章说:

同一作者在《性理大全》卷29第11页论及“上帝”时说:“以形体谓之天·以主宰谓之宰·以至妙谓之神·以功用谓之鬼神·以性情谓之乾·其实一而已·所自而名之者异也。”这里尤需注意·他说的“上帝”其实是同“气”一样的实体·山川湖泊之神也是如此。(60)

利玛窦去世后, 龙华民主张将拉丁文的“Deus”直接音译为汉语的“陡斯”。由此开始导致耶稣会内部的中国“礼仪之争”。客观来说, 闵明我和龙华民的看法有一定道理, 他们认识到, 中国人对于“上帝”的阐释, 是在后代学者对儒家原始经典的注疏基础上把“天”或“上帝”看作一种没有附带任何个性特征的自然力量, 而不把“天”或“上帝”看作宇宙创造者的唯一绝对存在, 且具有人格、智慧和思想的特征。西班牙来华耶稣会士庞迪我也在《燕京开教略》中说过:“至若天字与上帝二字, 并无造化天地主宰之意。中国人所敬之天, 不过苍苍之天, 与造天主之主宰毫不干涉, 故严禁奉教人, 不准行其礼仪, 恐有害于圣道之淳也”。闵明我正是出于这种担忧才认真思考“天”在儒家文化中的确切涵义。

2. 道教

相比于儒教, 闵明我对道家的关注则少得多, 在《论集》第二卷中, 闵氏对道教的描述只有寥寥几个段落。显而易见, 明末清初的来华传教士几乎将其全部注意力都集中在儒学及其与天主教的关系阐释上, 闵明我亦不例外。

(58) Ibid., p. 246.

(59) “本会前辈神父”指的就是利玛窦。

(60) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p. 273.

关于道家, 闵明我称之为“修道之教”(secta del Tao), 说它是中国的本土宗教, 历史与儒家学派一样古老。闵氏特别提到了老子(Lao Zu), 并按照中国的传统记载, 对他的身世作了叙述:“他在母亲的肋骨里分娩, 出生时已有七十三岁, 须发皆白。中国人尊称他为‘老子’, 即‘年老的儿子’(hijo viejo)”。⁽⁶¹⁾关于老子与孔子的关系, 闵明我称“他为孔子的同世之人”, 并引用《孔子家语》(*Kia Iu*)里的说法, 认为孔氏对老子推崇有加。⁽⁶²⁾此外, 闵明我还认为道教教义晦涩难懂

且与“巫术”(Magia)有关, 但它从不缺乏信徒, 庙宇(Templos, 即道观)也遍布整个国家; 道教徒既不甘于贫穷也不信奉独身法则; 他们广蓄胡须, 且只在做法事(procesiones)的时候才穿着道袍。⁽⁶³⁾

曾德昭神父也曾在《大中国志》(*Imperio de la China i la cultura evangelica en él*)中记载过教徒的生活:“他们生活在一起, 不结婚, 把头发和胡须留得很长, 服装与俗人无异, 只在做法事时略有不同。他们戴一顶小冠替代帽子, 仅容纳头发的髻”。⁽⁶⁴⁾由此可见, 闵明我对道教的阐述虽与同时代的来华耶稣会士略有不同, 但基本信息一致, 而且他还第一次向欧洲文化界提供了中国道教顶层结构的知识:“安赫莱斯神父曾说, 这个教派的省府道首(Provinciales)出门乘坐镶有象牙和黄金的轿椅, 这是妄谈; 他们确实有高阶的大道首, 类似于我们的总会长神父(General); 他过去出门时, 总是伴着盛大的排场, 颇似显贵高官, 现在他也享有这个特权, 但仅此而已”。⁽⁶⁵⁾

3·佛教

在闵明我所述的中国三大宗教中, 佛教(la secta del Foe)的评价最低。这固然是由于佛教的偶像崇拜性质, 但更重要的是, 自利玛窦的时代起, 传教士们就已意识到佛教对基督教在华传播的巨大危害。⁽⁶⁶⁾闵明我对佛教教义和其创始人尤其持批评态度, 在《论集》中直言贬斥其为“极坏的教派”(pestifera secta)、“邪恶的教派”(maldita secta)、“卑劣的教派”(infernal secta), 佛陀(Buda)亦被称为“邪恶之人”(maldito hombre)。闵明我知晓中国佛教的来历, 遂将其命名为“印度的偶像教派”(secta de los Idolos de la India), 并按中国文人的习惯, 称呼佛陀为释迦(Xe Kia)。此外, 闵氏还意识到佛教不仅在中国, 甚至在整个东亚地区都有很高的传播性(“在日本, 佛陀的名字是Xaca”⁽⁶⁷⁾), 这无疑加剧了他对该教派的批判力度。⁽⁶⁸⁾

(61) Ibid., p.81.

(62) Ibid.

(63) “这个教派在全中国拥有众多庙宇, 道士们不信奉贫穷; 有些道士也结婚, 另一些则有自己的副手(coadjutores), 可以继承他们的俸禄; 道士们留胡子, 在做法事的时候身穿法袍(capas de Coro), 其质地外观与我们天主教使用的很像”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), pp.81-82.

(64) Álvaro Semmedo, *Imperio de la China i la cultura evangelica en él, por los religiosos de la Compañía de JESUS, compuesto por el Padre Alvaro Semmedo, Procurador General de la propia Compañía de la China, embiado desde allá a Roma el Año de 1640*, (Madrid: 1642), 118.

(65) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), pp.81-82.

(66) 谢和耐曾说:“一篇书目提要的作者针对利玛窦的《天主实义》一书写到:‘知儒教之不可攻, 则附会六经中上帝之说, 以合于天主; 而特攻释氏以求胜。然天堂地狱说与轮回之说相去无几, 特小变释氏之说, 而本原则一耳’”。参见谢和耐Xie Henai:《中国与基督教—中西文化的首次碰撞》*Zhongguo Yu Jidujiao—Zhongxi Wenhua De Shouci Pengzhuang* [Chine et christianisme: la première confrontation], 耿昇Geng Sheng译, (北京Beijing, 商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]), 2013, 第88页。

(67) “大洪水灭世后3109年、耶稣降世后60年, 这个极坏的教派, 如我上述所言, 进入了中国。它的始作俑者在日本被称为Xaca; 在中国叫释迦: 当他被偶像化后, 人们尊称其为佛(Foe)”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.85.

(68) “这个邪恶的教派已经大肆扩张, 它的规模超出了默罕默德宗教(即伊斯兰教—笔者注)的五分之一到三分之一, 其传教范围也从印度直至日本。在这片广大的地域内, 没有什么大陆或岛屿不被它渗透: 老挝(Laos)、琉球群岛(Lequios)、西藏(Tivete)、东鞑靼和西鞑靼(las dos Tartarias)、暹罗(Sina)、柬埔寨(Camboxa)、交趾支那(Cochinchina)、东京(Tunquin, 今越南河内—笔者注)以及整个圣拉萨路群岛(Archipielago de San Lorenzo, 今菲律宾群岛—笔者注), 都已信奉了这个可怕的教派”。(Ibid., p.82)

佛陀的生平

正如对孔子与老子的介绍那样, 闵明我对佛陀的人世修行作了基本的叙述, 其内容依然是以中国佛教的传统认知为参照。如同曾德昭神父, 闵明我也相信佛陀的母亲在睡梦中看见一头白象后感应而孕, 并且在左侧肋骨处诞下了他。(69)关于佛陀降世后的神迹, 闵氏写道:“一出生, 他就周行七步, 一手指天, 一手指地, 并且说道, 天上地下, 唯我独尊”。(70) 对此, 作为虔信天主教的闵明我当然无法接受, 他援引汤若望神父的话, 认为“(佛陀)一降世, 魔鬼便进入了他的身体, 诱使他说出了那番路西法式的渎神言论”。(71)关于佛陀的世俗生活, 闵明我指出他在十七岁时娶了三个女人并有一个儿子, 名叫罗睺罗(Lo Heu Lo); 十九岁时, 他离开尘世, 当了独修的隐者; 三十岁时, 他眼望启明星(Estrella de el Alva)而开悟; 四十九岁开始布道, 直至七十九岁涅槃。在他离世前, 曾向最亲密的弟子开示了新的教诲, 宣称“在四十多年里, 我没有传授我所理解的真理, 因为我只传布了外在的(exterior)、表象的(aparente)教义, 现在我把它们当做假的(falso)”⁽⁷²⁾, 真正的佛教徒应当领悟“空”(Kung)和“虚”(Hiu), “舍此之外, 别无他求”。⁽⁷³⁾

“外在教义”与“内在道路”

闵明我关于佛教教义的论述, 集中体现在他对所谓的“外在教义”(doctrina exterior)和“内在道路”(el camino interior)的阐述上。他说上述佛陀否定的“外在教义”不仅过于强调“偶像”(Idolos)对世人的外在渡化作用, 也夸大了只有“偶像”才以慈悲心向世人指出通往彼岸的道路⁽⁷⁴⁾, 但他并没有解释“外在教义”是什么。按照闵氏对于“偶像”渡化世人的观点来看, 所谓“外在教义”有可能就是流行于明末的大乘佛教。不论佛陀灭度前是否留有此教诲, 笔者认为闵明我的真实目的其实在于借佛陀之口“否定”中国佛教, 而这也与他一贯的排佛立场相呼应。至于渡化, 曾德昭神父在《大中国志》中理解为“和尚的教派都指望在今世做忏悔, 以求得来世的好报”⁽⁷⁵⁾, 而这与闵氏所说的“他们相信毕达哥拉斯的转世说”⁽⁷⁶⁾一致。

关于“内在道路”, 闵明我解释说, 对于佛教徒而言, 世界是一个不断变化的幻象, 救赎之道仅在于跳出无穷的变化和永无止境的轮回, 摆脱虚无、空寂和混沌, 以臻于觉行圆满。他以佛家常用的镜花水月为喻, 来阐释大千世界的万千色相与所谓“终极实质”(realidad última)之间的关系并得出结论:“因此, 佛陀说大千万物不过是第一本原(primer principio)所造, 它是万物的本质(ser), 其实体(sustancia)不具有理性(entendimiento)、意志(voluntad)、能量(virtud)、效力(poder)等。但它纯粹(puro)、精微(sutil)、不育(ingenerable)、无穷无尽(infinito)、不朽不坏(incorruptible)、至臻完美

(69) “(佛陀)是印度中部人, 他的王国被中国人称为‘天竺国’(Tien Cho Kue)。他的父亲自称净饭王(Cing Fan Vuang), 母亲叫摩耶(Mo le)。据说, 她在睡梦中看见一头白象从其口而入, 遂怀孕。佛陀在她的左侧肋骨出世后, 她便离世了”。(Ibid., p.85)

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) 闵明我撰写的这一段佛陀入灭前的最后教诫出处无法考证, 但似乎与《巴利三藏·长部》第十六经《大般涅槃经》中的记载不符:“世尊告诉众比丘:‘比丘, 我现在告诉你们, 诸行乃是衰灭法。你们要毫不松懈, 以达圆满。如来不久将入般涅槃’。从此刻起三个月后, 如来将入般涅槃”。参见《汉译巴利三藏·经藏·长部》HanYi Balisanzang Jingzang Changbu [Chinese translation of the Pali Tripitaka], 段晴Duan Qing等译, (北京Beijing, 中西书局[Chinese and Western Bookstore]), 2012, 第246页。

(74) “释迦认为虚假的外在教义, 其本质在于承认偶像。这些偶像由世人供奉(satisfacen), 并以慈悲之心拯救世人, 向他们的灵魂宣照通往西天(Cielo)的道路, 他们将在彼岸重生”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.86.

(75) 曾德昭Zeng Dezhaio: 《大中国志》Da Zhongguozhi [The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China], 何高济He Gaoji译, (北京Beijing, 商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]), 2017, 第120页。

(76) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.87.

(perfectissimo)”。⁽⁷⁷⁾ 在这里, 闵明我与同时期的来华传教士一样⁽⁷⁸⁾, 以欧洲中世纪流行的亚里士多德哲学及托马斯·阿奎那的经院哲学来比附东方的佛学理论, 其分析框架不可能脱离他所受的天主教神学训练。

在世界各大宗教体系中, 佛教是极少谈创世论的, 但它的本觉思想、真如论等涉及的就是宇宙的起源问题, 《华严经》也说:“譬如三千大千世界初始成时, 先成色界诸天宫殿, 次成欲界诸天宫殿, 次成于人及余众生诸所住处”。中国佛教中的实在论元素起源于7世纪的玄奘西行求法活动, “他归国后就译了陈那的《正理门论》和商羯罗主的《入正理门论》”。⁽⁷⁹⁾这两部印度佛教正理派的实在论著作在中国产生了巨大影响, 它不仅奠定了中国因明学的基础, 还促进了佛教法相宗唯识论的发展。闵明我所说的“第一本原”或“终极实质”与法相宗对“真如自性”的理解颇为相近。以玄奘及其弟子窥基为代表的法相宗主张一切现象皆从阿赖耶识(ālayavijñāna)所生, 故“真如”本身为一超越现象之绝对寂然之体, 其自体不会成为现象之法, 故说“真如凝然, 不作诸法”, 而这就与闵氏上述“第一本原”的“实体”的某些性质(如不具有理性、能量、不催生万物等)相吻合。至于闵氏所述的“第一本原”究竟是否就是佛教中的“真如自性”或“一真法界”, 笔者目前不敢妄言, 但至少有一点可以断定, 即闵明我对中国佛教的理解应与唐代以来的法相宗唯识论有关。

六道轮回

作为受过西方基督教神学系统训练的神父, 闵明我不可能对东方宗教的“生命观”发生兴趣, 他在《论集》中这样描述了佛教的轮回之说:“我们的理智、意愿、欲望被称作‘识’(Sin), 它不停地在六种客体(objeto)或道路上运行”。⁽⁸⁰⁾按照闵氏的升序排列, 这六道(Lo Tao)依次是: 第一, 地狱道(infierno)。堕入此道的人是因为身染“三毒”(San To), 即贪(codicia)、嗔(ira)、痴(ignorancia); 第二, 饿鬼道(Ngo Kuci), 堕入此道的人常饥虚并饱受贫苦而生的折磨; 第三, 畜生道(Cho Seng), 堕入此道的是粗蠢之人, 他们行为像野兽, 没有理智; 第四, 修罗道(Sieu Lo), 进入此道者力大无比, 他们常常发怒, 喜欢挑衅; 第五, 人道(Iin Tao), 人在这里要忍受四苦; 第六, 天道(Tien Tao), 即闵明我所说的“天路”(camino celestial), 这里属于“王”(Rey)和“王子”(Príncipes), 他们尽享欢愉和音乐。⁽⁸¹⁾

闵明我不仅了解佛教徒对于跳出六道轮回的渴望, 而且还在《论集》中指出了佛家的四品级。⁽⁸²⁾ 首先, “幸闻”(Xing Vuen), 即初学佛家“万物皆非”教义的人; 其次, “闻教”(Vuen Kio)⁽⁸³⁾, 指学有所成者, 他们常以沉思冥想的形象出现在佛陀的脚下, 他们也被称作“罗汉”(Lo Hoan); 第三, 菩萨(Pu Sa), 他们是觉行圆满者(consumado), 已无需精进, 但要负责渡化世人; 第四, 佛(Foe), 臻于化境的完满“偶像”(Idolo consumadissimo), 他们心无外物, 在天道之上与“第一本原”相连, 佛与“第一本原”具有同一本质。

通过上述分析, 我们可知闵明我对佛教“轮回”之说认识已较为深刻, 不但正确地描绘了六道的特点, 而且对于佛教果位的分类也基本正确。相比闵明我, 曾德昭神父在《大中国志》中对相应内容的叙述就模

(77) Ibid.

(78) “但他们的智者, 或者实在说那些倾向于无神论者, 摒弃这种他们称之为外表的道路, 遵循另一条更内在即秘密的道路。在他们当中非常谨慎的保持这种知识, 专注于理解所谓的本体(这原是释迦的教义)。他们相信万物同源, 而一切事物与本体等同, 没有本质区别, 根据本体衍生出的性质而运作。”参见曾德昭Zeng Dezhaoh:《大中国志》Da Zhongguozhi [The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China], 何高济He Gaoji译, (北京Beijing, 商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]), 2017, 第120页。

(79) 舍尔巴茨基Sheer Baciji:《佛教逻辑》Fojiao Luoji [Buddhist Logic], 宋立道 Song Lidao译, (北京Beijing, 商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]), 1997, 第62页。

(80) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.88.

(81) 闵明我对佛教六道轮回的详述, 参见Ibid.

(82) 闵明我称其为“这个教派的四类哲学家(Filosofos)”。(Ibid., p.89)

(83) 这里所说的“幸闻”和“闻教”为笔者按照原文的音译, 实际上不存在于中国的佛教术语中。“幸闻”大略相当于比丘, 而“闻教”就是罗汉, 至于闵明我从何处引用这两种说法, 尚未可知。

糊得多。尽管他也提到了佛教将人类分为十等(前四类是好的,后六类则住在地狱之中),但却错误地将六道与果位混淆在一起,前后逻辑也有诸多不通。⁽⁸⁴⁾利玛窦神父虽然提到了所谓的佛教“灵魂转世”说⁽⁸⁵⁾,但对于佛教教义的认识则似乎没有他的儒家学养深厚了。

佛教的“偶像”、“五戒”及“六功业”

闵明我在《论集》中指出,中国佛教的两大“偶像”(Idolos)是阿弥陀佛(O-Mi-To-fo)和观音菩萨(Koun In Pu Sa)。阿弥陀佛统治西方极乐世界(paraíso del Oeste),中国人通过对他的信仰和祈求,可以获得罪孽的宽恕,从而重生于西方净土。他还指出,中国人对这个“偶像”的祭拜比许多基督徒对耶稣和玛利亚的祈祷更多,“以至于某些人在‘受洗’之后,依然难改此恶习”。⁽⁸⁶⁾关于后者,闵明我称观音菩萨是中国人心目中救苦救难的“女神”(Diosa)⁽⁸⁷⁾,中国佛教雕像大多是菩萨像,她在觉行圆满后,富有同情心地留在人世上普渡慈航。至于菩萨与天主教可能存在的“关系”,闵明我指出:“徐光启学士(Doctor Paulo)说她是我们的圣母,早在教父们⁽⁸⁸⁾布道叙利亚的时期就已存在”。⁽⁸⁹⁾闵氏对此口诛笔伐,认为“她是伪装的”。⁽⁹⁰⁾

除了阐述佛教外在的“偶像”,闵明我还非常准确地描述了出家僧人必须遵循的五项道德准则,即佛教的“五戒”:一戒杀生(no matar viviente),二戒偷盗(no hurtar),三戒淫邪(no fornicar)、四戒妄言(no mentir)、五戒酒(no beber vino)。⁽⁹¹⁾此外,他还提到了佛教信徒应该恪守的“六功业(obras de misericordia)”,但事实上他记录了四项:“首先,要善待和尚,这是最主要的;其次,给他们修建庙宇;第三,崇拜和尚的‘偶像’并祈求保佑,这样才能免于所有的罪孽;第四,给逝去的先人烧纸钱”。⁽⁹²⁾

因此,他非常清楚中国人在解决某一问题时可能同时诉诸于多种宗教实践。他曾略带自嘲地写道:“巫师们⁽⁹³⁾(hechizeros)施展魔鬼的伎俩(diabluras),偶像崇拜者(idoltras)求助于他们的神明,儒生们到上山祭拜天地,所有人都焦躁不安。总之,他们像魔鬼(demonios)祈求的殷勤之心远远超过了我们对上帝的侍奉”。

四、并立的信仰:中国宗教与基督教、犹太教和伊斯兰教

1. 中国古代宗教与基督教的关系

为了让西方知识界获得不同于耶稣会的观点,闵明我在中国宗教问题的阐释上,特别强调了他个人对古代中国信仰的认识。他完全摒弃了中国古人具有“一神教”信仰的看法,“尤其是那些属于儒教的人都是无神论者⁽⁹⁴⁾”

(84) 曾德昭Zeng Dezhao:《大中国志》Da Zhongguozhi [The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China],何高济He Gaoji译,(北京Beijing,商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]),2017,第121页-第121页。

(85) 利玛窦Limadou:《耶稣会与天主教进入中国史》Yesuhui Yu Tainzhujiao Jinru Zhongguoshi [De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta ab Societate Iesv],文铮We Zheng译,(北京Beijing,商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan [the Commercial Press]),2014,第72页。

(86) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.86.

(87) Ibid., p.87.

(88) 即基督教早期那些既宣讲又著作的护教者,他们对制订和论证基督教教义作出了贡献,因而被尊称为“教会的父老”,简称“教父”。

(89) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.82.

(90) Ibid.

(91) Ibid., p.87.

(92) Ibid.

(93) 即中国的道教徒。

(94) “儒家教派信奉纯粹的无神论,这一点在中国的历史中已被证实”。参见Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.80.

; 闵明我不相信古代中国对基督教的上帝有任何了解, 更不用说崇拜他了。⁽⁹⁵⁾为了证明自己的定见, 他从两方面展开论述:

其一, 中国人所谓“天命”(Mandato del Cielo)或“天子”(Hijo del Cielo)之类的表达实际上指的是一个“物质的”(material)、“有形的”(tangible)且“无关紧要”(intrascendente)的“天堂”, 它仅仅“对邪恶降下惩罚, 对善良予以回报; 授予皇权, 也剥夺皇权”⁽⁹⁶⁾, 但无论如何都不可能是耶稣会士口中的基督教意义上的“无形的”(incorpóreo)精神性天堂。闵明我认为中国人过于重视此世的生活, 而忽略了最重要的事, 即人类在彼世的奖赏或惩罚⁽⁹⁷⁾;

其二, 闵明我直斥所谓的“《圣经》历史与中国古代史之间的联系”, 认为这纯属人为的错误。对于部分耶稣会士而言(如曾德昭, 卫匡国或基歇尔), 古代中国人只尊崇唯一的神, 他是宇宙的造物主, 被称为“上帝”或者“天主”⁽⁹⁸⁾, 因为古人对其他庇护性的神明所做的祭祀可以忽略不计。耶稣会士们赞颂并努力捍卫古代中国“一神论”的立场, 甚至在某些情况下, 他们还确信孔子预言了基督的降临和基督教来华的未来。⁽⁹⁹⁾关于最后这一点, 闵明我写道:“不乏传教士, 使这个人⁽¹⁰⁰⁾成为先知; 这已用拉丁语记录下来并印刷出版: 但是这一修会⁽¹⁰¹⁾的其他人, 尤其是更年长的人却嘲笑此事并感到难过”。⁽¹⁰²⁾

对于上述两点, 闵明我不仅一概予以否定, 而且以清晰的笔触论断了中国古代信仰的神学本质: 这些都是偶像崇拜式的宗教, 与信奉“一神教”的基督教传统毫无关系。在整部《论集》中, 他对那些源于耶稣会士的错误宗教观点进行了反思和批判, 甚至在一些与宗教主题无关的章节中, 都以略带讽刺的口吻, 断然地“揭露”了耶稣会士在古代中国宗教问题上的理解偏差。⁽¹⁰³⁾闵明我认为耶稣会士们太笃信于那些“道听途说的断言, 并且任性地将它们翻译出来”, 而真正应该做的是, “在中国的事务上, 我们应当遵循它的大学士们所持有的意见和判断”。⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

(95) “另一个需要遵循的观点来自一些著名的耶稣会士: 陆若汉神父、熊三拔神父、龙华民神父、阳玛诺神父、何大化神父及其他耶稣会的神父们都一致认同中国人从一开始就缺乏对天主的真正了解。他们(中国人)所写的、所传布的(思想)与我们相反, 他们更多受意志而不是理智的支配”。(Ibid., p.4.)

(96) Ibid., p.21.

(97) “中国的儒生们目光短浅, 其教义亦不完善, 因为他们从未像其他宗教信仰徒那样创造有关死后的奖惩法则, 而这对于有效地管理人民十分重要”。(Ibid., p.81, 3.)

(98) “天主”一词系来华耶稣会士罗明坚所创, 首次出现是在《新編西竺國天主實錄》上, 出版日期为“万历甲申岁秋八月望后三日”, 即万历十二年(1584年)旧历八月十八日。参见钟鸣旦、杜鼎克 Zhong Mingdan、Du Dingke主编:《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》Yesuhui Luoma Danganguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao Wenxian [The Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, Ming and Qing Catholic Documents], (台北 Taipei: 利氏學社 Lishi Xueshe [Ricci Institute]), 2002, 第1—86页。

(99) 拉赫曾在著作中以金尼阁、曾德昭、基歇尔等神父为例, 阐释来华耶稣会士极力回护的古代中国“一神教”的立场, “古代中国有关上帝的原始知识的出现, 要比任何其他地方都要早”。参见唐纳德·F·拉赫 Donald F.Lach,《欧洲形成中的亚洲》Ouzhou Xingchengzhong De Yazhou [Asia in the Making of Europe], 朱新屋 Zhu Xinwu译, (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin Chubanshe [People's Publishing House]) 2013, 第182页。

(100) 即孔子。

(101) 即来华耶稣会。

(102) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.81.

(103) “有些神父心胸过于宽大, 随意找到一个表面上似乎影射了我们神圣信仰奥秘(misterios de nuestra Santa Fè)的词, 在没有更多调查的情况下, 便心满意足地运用它, 还以为发现了大宝藏(gran tesoro)。我在本章中谈到的那个(他们想)用来指称“三位一体”(Santissima Trinidad)的词就是显例。幸运地是, 整部《旧约全书》都找不到他们想要迎合中国人的明确奥秘”。(Ibid., p.262); “如果中国的儒士们如此地推崇自己的教派, 甚至将其至于我们的天堂之上, 那么他们就无理由轻易地信任并赞同这些昨天才进入中国的(宗教), 更何况它所解释的事情还与本教派的古代权威及经典学者们的观点背道而驰。这当然是极大的不谨慎。因此, 在囚禁(广州)时, 我们每天都会说, 在阐释中国文字(文献)方面, 一个中国人就比三十个欧洲传教士强”。(Ibid., p.81)。

(104) Ibid.

2. 外来宗教: 犹太教与伊斯兰教

除了在古代中国宗教的性质上耶稣会士存在差异外, 闵明我在解释中国外来宗教的方式上也与他们不同。闵氏不相信中国人是《圣经》中记载的以色列消失的两个部落的后裔, 更不相信他们会举行犹太教的传统仪式, 但却断言古代犹太人曾到过中国⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, 不管是否有耶稣会士反对这一点。此外, 他对中国穆斯林宗教的关注大大超过了犹太教。这一方面是由于作为西班牙人, 他对穆斯林世界的认知远远在其他欧洲人之上⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, 另一方面则是出于传教策略的考虑, 尽管“摩尔人的教派超过五十万人, 甚至还有奢华的庙宇, 我在杭州时就见过一座”⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, 但它的“一神教”信仰始终无法与儒家学派的主流思想兼容。这不仅是天主教在华传播时所必须面对的困境, 也是闵明我与来华耶稣会士的最大分歧。

余论

纵观早期中西文化交流史研究, 国内学界长期以来华耶稣会为主, 本文则另辟蹊径, 从入华多明我会入手, 揭示了早期西方认知中国的另一个重要维度。在《论集》中, 闵明我详尽分析了明末中国的民间宗教和主流宗教, 并就儒家思想中对于中国传统礼仪的论述提出了与来华耶稣会不同的观点, 开启了欧洲学界对中华帝国的新认识。法国启蒙思想家卢梭、魁奈、英国哲学家约翰·洛克、德国思想家莱布尼兹等都曾将《论集》作为描摹中国文明的一手史料。法国文豪伏尔泰更是在《风俗论》中称: “在有关中国的事上没有人(比他)写得更好”。总之, 中国宗教思想的西传经历了漫长复杂的过程, 除了来华耶稣会外, 以闵明我为代表的天主教托钵修会亦做出了极为重要的贡献。对该领域的学术考察将会使中国早期汉学史研究进入新的阶段, 笔者亦希冀本文能略尽绵薄之力。

English Title:

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete's Views on Chinese Religion, a Spanish Dominican to China

Jingxiang Wei

Lecturer, Department of Spanish, School of Foreign Languages, University of International Business and Economics, Chaoyang, Beijing, China, 100029. Tel: +86 18810954416, Email: weijingxiang@uibe.edu.cn

Abstract: As a famous Spanish missionary and humanist in China in the seventeenth century, Domingo Fernández de Navarrete paid special attention to the religious and ideological issues of the Chinese Empire. In his book *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*, Volumes II, III and IV specialized research and commentary on various forms of religion in China. In particular, he not only annotated and translated Confucian classics, but also translated from Latin the unpublished manuscript *Respuesta Breve*, written by the

(105) “已经有传教士说, 中国人对犹太人的事情知之颇深, 甚至还有一种新奇的观点指出中国拥有超过四十种的犹太教仪式。在很久很久以前, 犹太人就已经来到这个国家, 这是非常确定的, 即使不乏有人否认这一点; 但同样要说明地是, 中国的历史远早于犹太人的十二个部落开始散居的年代, 因此, 任何人都不要再说中国人的祖先是犹太人土地上消失的两个部族了”。(Ibid., pp.80-81.)

(106) 公元711年, 阿拉伯帝国倭马亚王朝的埃及总督穆萨·伊本·努塞尔及其麾下的将领塔里克·伊本·齐亚德率军攻入伊比利亚半岛, 征服了日耳曼人的西哥特王国, 从此开启了西班牙的穆斯林统治时代。在近八个世纪中, 阿拉伯人将自己的文明深刻烙印在西班牙的中世纪史上, 使得西班牙成为唯一受过东方文明统治的西欧国家。

(107) Domingo Fernández de Navarrete: *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), p.83.

Jesuit priest Niccolo Longobardi., into spanish, and was also included in the *Tratados*, becoming the fifth volume of the book. Based on the contents of these four volumes, this article attempts to show Domingo Fernández de Navarrete 's cognition of Chinese religious thought as much as possible, in order to further explore Domingo Fernández de Navarrete's Sinology thought.

Keywords: Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, Chinese view of religion, *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China*

钱德明生平及易学思想探析^(*)

陈欣雨

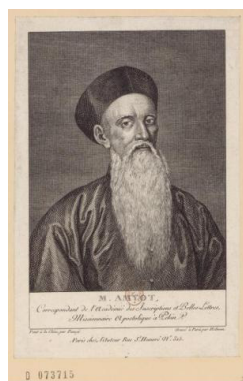
(北京行政学院哲学与文化教研部, 北京 100044)

摘要: 钱德明作为早期来华的法国耶稣会士, 被誉为“入华耶稣会士中最后一位汉学家”。其学识渊博, 造诣深厚, 精研满、汉文字, 在诗学、音乐、历史、兵法、翻译等各方面成就斐然。本文重点阐释他对《易经》的关注, 在他回归历史、剖析易学人物的基础上, 将易学作为乐理的基础, 著有《中国古今音乐考》。他的易学思维不仅成为他利用欧洲语言系统研究中国音乐的基础, 也为中西文化的交融提供了可能。

关键词: 钱德明; 汉学; 《易经》; 音乐

作者: 北京行政学院哲学与文化教研部副教授、硕士生导师, 主要从事中西哲学比较研究。电子邮件: chenxinyu1986517@126.com. 电话: +8619910701517

钱德明 (Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, 1718-1793) 在汉学史上被评价为“是盖发扬光大法国教会与耶稣会之一代学者之最后遗裔也。”⁽¹⁾。“入华耶稣会士中最后一位大汉学家, 通晓满、汉文, 学识渊博。他能用汉文、法文以及满文、蒙文等文字著书立说, 是一位罕见的多才多艺的传教士汉学家。”⁽²⁾在他去世后, 由于无人继承其所遗学识, 在其学术研究中, 他对《易经》的关注且以此探讨易学与乐理的关系不容忽视。《易经》不仅成为他音乐理论的基础, 也是他对中华经典研究的重要体现。



钱德明画像⁽³⁾

一、钱德明生平及墓碑简介

钱德明, 字若瑟。1718年2月8日出生在法国瓦尔省的土伦 (Toulon), 就读教会学校, 1737年9月27日在阿维尼翁 (Avignon) 入初修院, 后在里昂教区入耶稣会, 1746年12月21日晋铎。曾教授古典学, 后又研究哲学、神学等。钱德明于1749年12月19日, 从洛里昂乘维尔福利克斯号 (Villeflixe) 船出发, 与之同行返华

(*) 本项目为北京市社科基金青年学术带头人项目《中西文化交流视阈中的正福寺墓地研究》(21DTR006) 阶段性成果。

(1) 费赖之-Louis Pfister, 《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu[Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552-1773], 冯承钧Feng Chengjun 译, (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1995), 第876页。

(2) 刘雅芳 Liu Yafang, 《汉学人物钱德明简述》Hanxue renwu qiandeming jianshu[A Brief Introduction to the Sinologist Joseph-Marie Amiot], 《知识经济》Zhishi jingji[Knowledge economy], 2010(7), 第142页。

(3) 法国国家图书馆French National Library, [Recueil. Portraits de Joseph Marie Amiot, le Révérend Père (1718-1793), missionnaire en Chine] Sujet Amiot, Joseph (1718-1793) Portraits.

的还有两位国籍神父, 康斐理 (Philippe-Stanislas Kang, 1728-1750) 修士和刘保禄 (Paul Lieou, 1717-1794) 神父。他们一行于1750年7月27日先抵达广州, 1751年8月22日抵京。时在京耶稣会士多前往欢迎, 并带其拜见北京主教。数日后, 又获乾隆帝传召, 他很快就获得乾隆的信任, 来华不久便以名称护守天神会之儿童信教会务委之。后担任法国中国传教区的司库以及教区长上。“他是科学院通讯员, 乾隆皇帝的西语官方译员和法国驻北京使团的精神领袖”(4)。此后, 钱德明一直深入研究中华文化, 国籍神父杨雅各 (1732-1784) 负责协助钱德明(5), 而钱德明亲历亲为教授杨神父其欧洲研究方法, 启发其考古兴趣, 教授其鉴别之术。“德明学识鸿博, 嗜爱研究, 最初尝试颇饶成绩, 因是以一部分光阴致力于中国民族, 与此广大帝国的方言, 以及发扬已久的历史艺术之研究”(6)。

然而自1750年后, 钱德明不断受到打击, 最初有欧洲詹森 (Jansenists) 派与哲学家对在华传教策略的抨击, 1759年又接到葡萄牙耶稣会士被驱逐消息, 1962年又是法国耶稣会被废止以及澳门诸教士被逮捕的消息, 1763年西班牙耶稣会士被驱逐, 1767年洛兰地区耶稣会士被驱逐, 甚至到了1773年耶稣会全体被解散以及1775年教廷敕令传至北京, 诸如此类, 让钱德明饱受打击, 然而他仍留在北京持续传教(7)。他业余的时候, 经常去拜访和驻足北京传教士墓地即栅栏墓地。(8)“天气晴和之时, 吾人则赴郊外故旧遗骸埋葬之地祈祷, 此即吾所谓消遣”。(9)1779年他担任法国传教区长上。1780年成为北京宗座代牧主教(10)。

然而到了1792年9月中旬由于身体原因不得不辞职。当时法国大革命 (La Révolution Française) 已进行到如火如荼的地步, 统治法国多个世纪的波旁王朝及其统治下的君主制在三年内土崩瓦解。当时诸多耶稣会士或因苦痛, 或因疲劳, 或因年高相继去世, 钱德明也备受折磨, 情绪崩溃, 失眠, 呼吸困难, 健康备受摧残。御医和西医都认为其油尽灯枯, 无法康复。然而奇迹般地, 钱德明竟然逃脱了死亡, 并有力气再去墓地祈祷。1793年10月8日, 这天早上, 钱德明像往常一样起床, 还为路易十六举献弥撒。傍晚庆祝

(4) Alain Peyrefitte, *Images de l'Empire Immobile, ou, Le choc des mondes*, (Éditions Fayard, 1989), 113.

(5) (法)费赖之Louis Pfister, 《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu[Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773], 冯承钧Feng Chengjun译, (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1995), 第875页

(6) 费赖之Louis Pfister, 《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu[Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773], 冯承钧Feng Chengjun译, (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1995), 879.

(7) Camille de Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la Mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)*, (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Rils, 1915), 79.

(8) 1610年意大利传教士利玛窦 (Matteo Ricci, 1552—1610) 在京去世, 明万历皇帝赐此地, 史称“滕公栅栏墓地”。随后墓园陆续安葬着汤若望(Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1592—1666)、南怀仁(Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623—1688)、郎世宁(Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688-1766) 等传教士八十余人, 此外还有修士、修女、教徒、婴孩墓地等。经历庚子年义和团运动以及文化大革命, 栅栏墓地现存63通墓碑碑主分别来自葡萄牙 (14人)、意大利 (11)、法国 (9人)、德国 (7人)、捷克 (2人)、比利时 (2人)、斯洛伐克 (1人)、瑞士 (1人)、奥地利 (1人) 斯洛文尼亚 (1人) 等地, 此外还有14位中国神父。其中多位在天文、军事、数学、医学、绘画、机械制造等中西文化交流中做出重要努力的外国传教士。“由此成为北京第一座来华传教士墓地”。Henri Bernard-Maitre, *Aux origines du cimetière de Chala : le don princier de la Chine au P. Ricci*, (Hautes Études, Tientsin, 1934) .1. 裴化行认为栅栏墓地能够自1610年到1860年期间的各种迫害中得以幸存, 在某种程度上它“是中国天主教不可动摇的基石”(le fondement inébranlable de l'église catholique en Chine)。Henri Bernard-Maitre, *Aux origines du cimetière de Chala : le don princier de la Chine au P. Ricci, Hautes Études, Tientsin, 1934. p.1.*“栅栏石门是中国天主教传教士最古老的见证之一”。Peking, *Ses palais, ses temples et ses environs : guide historique et descriptif*, illustré par Y. Darcy, compositions originales de J. Malval. (Tien-tsin: Librairie Française, 1937). 280. “毫无疑问, 北京城附近的栅栏墓地是天主教在华传教史上最值得敬重的地方之一”。*Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, (Pékin: Imprimerie des Lazaristes du Pei-T'ang, 1916), 131.

(9) 费赖之Louis Pfister, 《在华耶稣会士列传及书目》Zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu[Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773], 冯承钧Feng Chengjun译, (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1995), 842。

(10) 荣振华Joseph Dehergne; 方立中J. Van Den Brandt; 热拉尔·穆赛Gérard Moussay; 布里吉特·阿帕乌Brigitte Appavou, 《16—20世纪入华天主教传教士列传》16-20 shiji ruhua tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi liezhuan[Biographies of Catholic missionaries in China from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries], 耿昇Gengsheng译, 广西师范大学出版社Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe[Guangxi Normal University Press], 2010), 55。

圣餐，并且在晚餐后诵读圣职。然而到了夜间，钱德明终于听到同年1月21日法国国王路易十六被处死的消息，钱德明极度哀伤。是日尚为其王举行弥撒，随即8日或9日突然中风，不治逝世。11月9日法兰西在华传教区的长上罗广祥 (Nicolas-Joseph Raux, 1754-1801) 给钱德明妹妹写信告知了钱德明的死亡。“尊敬的女士，我告诉你一个不幸的消息，你的兄弟先生于10月8日至9日晚上因中风去世。那天他还庆祝了圣弥撒。在其文件中找到一封给您地址的现成信件之后，我认为我应该将其发送给您。我们所敬爱的亡者已经为死亡作了很长时间的准备。法国大革命的不幸消息给予他致命一击。”⁽¹¹⁾ 钱德明死后，来华传教士中再无耶稣会士。他在北京去世后葬于正福寺，其碑现存于北京市石刻艺术博物馆传教士墓碑区。

耶稣会士钱公之墓

钱先生讳德明，泰西拂耶济亚国人。缘慕精修，弃家遗世，在耶稣会三十八年。于乾隆十五年东来中国传天主教，至乾隆五十八年九月初六日卒于都城。年七十六岁。

D. O. M.

P. JOSEPHUS MARIA AMIOT GALLUS SOC. JESU PROF. VIXIT IN SOC. ANNIS XXXVIII. IN. MISS. SIN. ANNIS XLIII. OBIIT HIC PROP. PEKNUM DIE VIII OCTOB. ANN. DOM. MDCCL. XLIII. ÆTATIS ANN. LXXV. (IHS 标志)⁽¹²⁾



钱德明墓碑照片⁽¹³⁾



钱德明墓碑拓片⁽¹⁴⁾

(11) A Madame Amiot, soeur Ursuline, à Toulon. 转引自 *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la Mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)*, nombreux documents inédits. P. Camille de Rochemonteix, (Paris. Librairie Alphonse Picard et Rils, 1915), 431.

(12) 拉丁文翻译: 献给至尊至善的天主。钱德明神父, 法国人, 耶稣会是, 在会38年, 在华传教长达43年, 1793年10月8日去世于北京, 享年75岁。

(13) 明晓艳 Ming Xiaoyan; 魏扬波 Jean-Paul Wiest, 《历史遗迹——正福寺天主教墓地》Lishi Yihen-Zhengfusi [When stone speaks-Zhengfusi Catholic Cemetery], (北京 Beijing: 文物出版社 Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2007), 92.

(14) 明晓艳 Ming Xiaoyan; 魏扬波 Jean-Paul Wiest, 《历史遗迹——正福寺天主教墓地》Lishi Yihen-Zhengfusi [When stone speaks-Zhengfusi Catholic Cemetery], (北京 Beijing: 文物出版社 Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2007), 167.

钱德明汉学研究概述

在钱德明的整个传教生活中, 有两个截然不同的时期。第一个阶段是从1750年到1766年, 是他大量阅读汉籍和对中华帝国的语言研究; 第二个, 也是最重要, 也是延续时间最长的阶段, 即1766年至1793年间, 通过他与欧洲学术界不断地科学和文学书信往来, 他成为了当之无愧的科学家⁽¹⁵⁾。他因渊博的学识而在欧洲名声大噪, 甚至南、北美洲都声名鹊起。当时, 英国使臣乔治·马夏尔尼 (George Macartney, 1737-1806) 在1793-1794年期间很想结识钱德明, 然而因为钱德明的身体非常虚弱, 因此二人最终未能见面, 但是马夏尔尼的秘书斯汤顿 (Staunton) 在其发表的使馆纪实中他的工作中没有忘记尊敬的传教士钱德明神父⁽¹⁶⁾。事实上, 钱德明作为年龄最大、学识最渊博的人, 成为了法国传教士在华使团最后的绝响。法国学者兰格尔 (Langlès) 于1805年对英国人福尔摩斯的《中国航行》(*le Voyage en Chine*) 进行了翻译, 并将此书献给了耶稣会, 其中他表达了对钱德明无比崇高的敬意。“将崇高的敬意、遗憾和认可给予在北京的使徒、备受尊敬的钱德明神父。他是法兰西文学院 (法兰西铭文与美文学学术院, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres) 的通讯员, 孜孜不倦的科学家, 在科学史、艺术史以及中国语言卓有成就, 他还是鞑靼-满语和文学的积极推动者。⁽¹⁷⁾ 而在学界, 则将他视为继马若瑟、宋君荣后法国传教士最有功于科学、文学者。而对于其品行, 也被称为满具热诚, 勤于工作, 和蔼可亲。

钱德明在华期间, 耶稣会的活动因为清政府和罗马教廷之间的礼仪之争而处于低谷状态, 1775年又遭遇被教廷解散的厄运。在京岁月里, 钱德明尽管努力传教, 但手下甚微, 而是下苦功学习满文、汉文, 钻研中国的传统文化, 成为 声名卓著的汉学家, 有名的“中国通”, 不仅被认为是继马若瑟、宋君荣之后法国传教士中有功于科学、文学者, 而且他有大量论文被收入《中国丛刊》中。他的著作的语言被称之为“深通语言, 判断充足, 论理坚强”⁽¹⁸⁾。1772年他将《孙子兵法》译成法文 *Art militaire des Chinois d'après L'Art de la guerre de Sun Tzu*, 这本书早于英译本《孙子兵法》近140年。他的《中国古今乐记》(*De la musique moderne des Chinois*, 1776) 首次将中国音乐介绍给了欧洲, 在音乐史上堪称中西文化交流标志。撰写《鞑靼语-满语-法语辞典》(*Grammaire Tatare-Mantchoue*, 1787), 首次将满语介绍至欧洲。

由于钱德明著作甚丰, 在他去世后, 其著作由他的友人将其整理出版, 辑录在《中国历史、科学、艺术、风俗、道德、习惯之记录》(*Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*)⁽¹⁹⁾, 共15卷。在此书封面写的是“来自北京的传教士” (par les missionnaires de Pékin) 即是指钱德明 (见右图)。并且在说明中提及到在此集成的数卷中, 有大量的关于中国历史名人的肖像或生活, 按照年代顺序排列, 从先秦直至清代。诸多内容都由钱德明撰写的, 并且他对材料的收集整理有重要的贡献



(15) *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la Mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)*, nombreux documents inédits. par le P. Camille de Rochemonteix. (Paris, Librairie Alphonse Picard et Rils, 1915), 432.

(16) *Voyage et ambassade de lord Macartney*. 转引自 *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la Mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)*, nombreux documents inédits par le P. Camille de Rochemonteix. (Paris, Librairie Alphonse Picard et Rils, 1915), 433.

(17) *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la Mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)*, nombreux documents inédits. par le P. Camille de Rochemonteix. (Paris, Librairie Alphonse Picard et Rils, 1915), 433.

(18) 刘雅芳 Liu Yafang: 《汉学人物钱德明简述》 *Hanxue renwu qianeming jianshu* [A Brief Introduction to the Sinologist Joseph-Marie Amiot], 《知识经济》 *Zhishi jingji* [Knowledge economy], 2010(7), 143.

(19) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*. par les missionnaires de Pékin. (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Libraire, 1782).

(20)。其中包含诸多重要的中西交流的信件。并且在此集成中，还有钱德明关于中国武术艺术的著作《孙子兵法》(Art militaire des Chinois d'après L'Art de la guerre de Sun Tzu, 1772)，钱德明还在编辑出版工作中寄送了补充材料，然而并没有与董事会达成一致，特别是关于中文部分的翻译。而他在《由载籍证明中国之远古》(L'antiquité des Chinois prouvée les monuments) 中涉及到《易经》伏羲画卦乃古史存在的重要依据，从而论证中国之编年较其他诸国之史籍更为可信，为世界最真之撰述。

三、钱德明关于传统易学人物的论述

在当时法国传教士中，白晋(Joachim Bouvet, 1656-1730)及其弟子傅圣泽(Jean François Fouquet, 1665-1741)、马若瑟(Joseph-Henri-Marie de Prémare, 1666-1736)等人以《易经》作为最主要的中华文化载体，将西方索隐学的方法引入到对《易经》的研究上，形成了索隐派(“Figurisme”或“Figurism”)。“索隐派的开宗要籍是《易经》”(21)。他们引入了西方最大的宗教基督教的经典文本《圣经》作为《易经》的参考文本，用《圣经》的主旨来贯穿易学研究；用《圣经》的故事对应《易经》的具体卦爻；用《圣经》的人物来对应易学人物等等。试图在中国经典中能够找到天主的启示，比如关于创世纪，比如人类的堕落；洪水等，也预示了救世主的到来，比如三位一体；最后的晚餐等。进而通过对《易经》的研究来论证天主“预言”(Prophency)的确定性。在他们看来，耶《易》研究不仅是亲近中华文化的最佳方式，也是将基督介绍到中国的不二选择。此外，还可以对现实礼仪之争问题提供有效的学理解释。然而易学索隐思想尽管在欧洲总体上受到教廷传教总部的压制，著作无法在欧洲出版发行，其思想也只能为少数人知晓(22)。而在中国关于索隐派的易学著作亦从未刊行发表，故尚未发现有古代中国文人对其进行评价和研究，故他们的易学研究并未形成气候。

而钱德明并没有如索隐派“着了《易经》的魔”(23)，也并不如其它耶稣会士对《易经》甚至《易经》研究投以批判的态度，“Stumpf(纪理安——引者注)、Mailla(冯秉正——引者注)和Regis(雷孝思——引者注)曾于1715年前后批评Bouvet(白)，说他太强调《易经》研究，迷失方向”(24)。而是在中华历史研究中，以介绍代表性易学人物，特别是“北宋五子”邵雍、张载、周敦颐、程颢、程颐五人的生平从而论证《易经》在中华思想中的重要性。与百家谨案“周、程、张、邵五子并时而生，又皆知交相好，聚奎之占，可谓奇验”(25)相合，钱德明认为这五人不仅是宋学乃至宋代哲学主要形态——理学的开创者，个个更是易学大师，都精通易学，其易学著作对后世都产生了深远影响。

关于邵雍(1012-1077)，提及到邵雍在洛阳，受河图、洛书、宓戏八卦六十四卦图像。发明先天八卦图，并被称为“天文学家、物理学家、数学家、历史学家，几近先知。”(devient Physicien Astronome.,

(20) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*. par les missionnaires de Pékin.(Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire, 1782), 1.

(21) 李爽学 Li Shixue: 《中西合璧的小说新体——清初耶稣会士马若瑟著〈梦美土记〉初探》 Zhongxi hebi de xiaoshuo xinti-Qingchu yesu huishi maruose meng meitu ji chutan [An excellent conglomeration of Chinese and Western Novels -- A preliminary study on "Dream of beautiful land" written by a Jesuit in the early Qing Dynasty Joseph de Prémare.], 《汉学研究》 Hanxue Yanjiu [Chinese Studies], 2011(2), 94.

(22) 张国刚 Zhang Guogang: 《明清传教士与欧洲汉学》 Mingqing chuanjiaoshi yu ouzhou hanxue [The missionaries during Ming & Qing dynasties and European Sinology], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press], 2001), 272.

(23) Albert Chan, SJ, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, (Armonk, N.Y. M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 518.

(24) 雷立柏 Leo Leeb: 《中国基督教史辞典》 Zhongguo jidu zongjiaoshi cidian [A dictionary of the history of the Christian religion in China], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religious Culture Publishing House], 2013), 125.

(25) 黄宗羲 Huang Zongxi, 全祖望 Quan Zuwang: 《百源学案》 Baiyuan xuean [A Study Note of Baiyuan] (Volume, 《宋元学案》 Songyuan xuean [A Study Note of Song and Yuan Dynasties] (Volume IX), 陈金生 Chen Jinsheng, 梁运华 Liang Yunhua 点校, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1986), 367.

j,Mathématicien, Historien & presque Prophete)。(26)他能够通过先秦律数之学与两汉卦变之学来通晓天地之变化规律,他以自然之道体人事,不离儒家之内圣外王之学。他反对那些循规蹈矩之人,更看重自然自由之态。钱德明特别提及,邵雍结合自然万物消长之律与人事变化,运用伏羲先天易数,把自然和人事加以有系统的组织,以数理为基础的著作《皇极经世》。正如《宋元学案》中记载“魏鹤山言及‘邵子生平之书,其心术之精微在《皇极经世》’”(27)在钱德明看来,以数为基础的哲学与古希腊哲学很相似,他几乎可以肯定,这两种哲学有共同性,并认为邵雍是用八卦来作为数的表达方式。(28)最让钱德明推崇的是邵雍的为人境界,将名利视为浮云,不受制于朝廷,崇尚自由活,“他总是怡然自得,自由胜过名利”(29)。钱德明将邵雍的墓志铭《病亟吟》“生于太平世,长于太平世。老于太平世,死于太平世。客问年几何,六十有七岁。俯仰天地间,浩然无所愧!”先用拼音将此诗进行了简写,继而翻译为法文:

Lorsque je vins au monde,
 Dans une paix profonde
 Tout respiroit ici
 À présent que je meurs tout est en paix aussi.
 Paffant, veux-tu favoir mon âge,
 Ce que j'ai fait, & quel fut mon partage?
 En peu de mots je te réponds ainsi :
 J'ai foixante ans, plus fept, j'ai vécutans foitci ;
 Et pourtant, dans toute mavie,
 Il n'efl rien dont le fouvenir
 Doive exciter en moi, fur ce qui l'a remplie,
 Les remords, ou le repentir.
 Entre le Ciel, la Terre & mon etude,
 J'ai vu tranquillement s'écouler tous mes jours,
 Egalement tranquille, & fans inquiétude,
 J'en ai vu finir l'heureiix cours⁽³⁰⁾

从而赞许其人其学尤佳⁽³¹⁾, 值得后人深入研究。

而对于张载 (1020-1077) 的易学, 钱德明言及张载在遭遇人生挫折后, 全身心的投入《易经》的研究中, 他试图解开易之起源问题, 因此提出“太虚即气”、“气有阴阳, 推行有渐为化, 合一不测为神”等观点。他废寝忘食, 夜不能寐, 开拓一种全新的方式 (以气代替理) 来解释卦象。嘉祐二年 (1057年), 张载在京城 (今开封) 中进士, 在候诏待命之际, 张载在开封相国寺设虎皮椅讲《易》, 特别是针对伏羲先天八

(26) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*, par les missionnaires de Pékin. (Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire, 1782), 49.

(27) 黄宗羲 Huang Zongxi 原著; 全祖望 Quan Zuwang 补修, 《百源学案》 Baiyuan xuean [A Study Note of Baiyuan] (Volume II), 《宋元学案》 Songyuan xuean [A Study Note of Song and Yuan Dynasties] (Volume X), 陈金生 Chen Jinsheng, 梁运华 Liang Yunhua 点校, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1986), 470.

(28) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*, par les missionnaires de Pékin. (Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire, 1782), 50.

(29) Ibid.

(30) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*. par les missionnaires de Pékin. (Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire, 1782), 54.

(31) Ibid., 53.

卦进行解释,“虎皮”象征着权威,张载关于《易经》的解释一时成为风尚。闻声听课之人,络绎不绝,甚至诸多文人都亲自前来请教⁽³²⁾。期间,张载的侄儿程颢、程颐二兄弟针对《易经》提出了自己的见解,特别是在卦爻辞的解释上,张载甘拜下风,于是拿走虎皮,并且将讲席让给了二程,言称“今见二程至,深明《易》道,吾不及也,可往师之。”⁽³³⁾此言一出,二程声名大振。但张载并没有因此停止易学研究,他至少有三本关于易学的著作——《东铭》、《西铭》、《正蒙》等。钱德明非常认同张载的为人之道,认为他虚怀若谷,淡泊名利,乐天安命。⁽³⁴⁾

而在钱德明看来,周敦颐(1017-1073)是历史上最具有代表性的大儒。周敦颐曾办学育人,其中即以《易经》后人,很多学生只知皮毛,然程颢、程颐二兄弟却表现出特有天资,周敦颐便特意教授《易经》给二兄弟。周敦颐致力最深的便是研究《河图》、《洛书》的图象与数字,他提出“一”与“万”的关系。“二气五行,化生万物。五殊二实,二本则一。是万为一,一实万分。万一各正,小大有定。”⁽³⁵⁾在此基础上回到世界的本原问题,即太极和无极的关系,他将二者统一起来体贴“太极生万物”的发展规律,提出无极(太极)生阴阳,阴阳生五行,五行生万物,反复归本亦可,故“无极之真,二五之精,妙合而凝。‘乾道成男,坤道成女’。二气交感,化生万物。万物生生而变化无穷焉。”⁽³⁶⁾并且还从太极过渡到人类社会,创生出“人极”的概念。人是“得其秀而最灵”,并提出如何天人合一,则需要至诚、主静功夫,由此才能“‘乾道变化,各正性命’,诚斯立焉。”⁽³⁷⁾。关于《易经》的著作,有《太极图说》、《通书》等。钱德明特别强调嘉定十三年,周敦颐去世,赐谥曰元公,淳佑元年,封汝南伯,从祀孔子庙庭,从而说明周敦颐在儒家发展中的地位。这与《宋元学案》中记载一致,“嘉定十三年,赐谥元公,淳祐元年,封汝南伯,从祀孔子庙庭。”⁽³⁸⁾

针对二程,钱德明先言及程颢(1031-1085)在对经典的研究中,对《易经》的看重。他用义理的方式诠释《易经》,并于宋仁宗嘉祐元年(1056年),在京师公开讲《易》(Il fe mit à expliquer publiquement l'Y-king),他精深的研究使得其它研《易》之人黯然失色。诸多后生闻名登门拜访,求教《易经》问题。正是因为程颢信守承诺,谦卑低调,故备受欢迎,他的德性以及关于他的逸事甚至激起了欧洲人的好奇心,都试图去探究程颢的才华(Les deux traits que je viens de citer, & plusieurs autres femblables que je pourrais citer encore fi je les croyois propres à piquer la curiosité du le&eur Européen décelèrent le talent de Tcheng-hao)⁽³⁹⁾。他在儒家被视为圣贤之人。在他的哲学体系中,亦可看到《易经》的重要性,最重要的范畴“天理”与《易经》中的“太极”紧密联系。将“生生之易”作为“道”,即是“天理”。程颢去世后,宰相文彦博为其题写墓碑,送他“明道先生”四个大字Ming-taoJfen-cheng⁽⁴⁰⁾,这契合他始终儒家正道之风骨,后人无不敬仰。宋宁宗嘉定十三年(1220年),赐谥程颢为“纯公”。宋理宗淳祐元年(1241年),又追封程颢为“河南伯”

(32) Ibid.,61.

(33) 黄宗羲Huang Zongxi原著;全祖望Quan Zuwang补修:《横渠学案》Hengqu xuean[A Study Note of Hengqu](Volume I),《宋元学案》Songyuan xuean[[A Study Note of Song and Yuan Dynasties](Volume XVII),陈金生Chen Jinsheng,梁运华Liang Yunhua点校,(北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhonghua Book Company],1986),663。

(34) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*, par les missionnaires de Pékin.(Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire,1782),67.

(35) 周敦颐Zhou Dunyi:《通书》Tongshu[Yijing Studies of Zhou Dunyi],《周敦颐集》Zhou dunyi jiji[Collected works of Zhou Dunyi],陈克明Chen Keming点校,(北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhonghua Book Company],2010),32。

(36) 同上书,5。

(37) 同上书,13。

(38) 黄宗羲Huang Zongxi原著;全祖望Quan Zuwang补修:《濂溪学案》Lianxi xuean[A Study Note of Lianxi](Volume I),《宋元学案》Songyuan xuean[A Study Note of Song and Yuan Dynasties](Volume XI),陈金生Chen Jinsheng,梁运华Liang Yunhua点校,(北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhonghua Book Company],1986),481-482。

(39) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*. par les missionnaires de Pékin.(Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire,1782),82.

(40) Ibid.,89.

，并“从祀孔子庙庭”。在《宋元学案》中亦如是表述，“文璐公采众议而为之表其墓曰‘明道先生’，嘉定十三年，赐谥曰‘纯公’。淳祐元年，逢河南伯，从祀孔子朝廷。”⁽⁴¹⁾

钱德明进而介绍程颐(1033-1107)，他开篇即将二人做了区分。他论述到，程颢作为程颐的弟弟，兄弟二人虽师出同门，并授教于周敦颐，但是程颐似乎比其兄更有灵气，他反应灵活，淡泊名利，竭尽所能，全力以赴的追寻圣人之道。这刚好契合了朱熹对二程的表述，“顾二程子虽同受学濂溪，而大程德行宽宏，规模阔广，以光风霁月为怀，二程气质刚方，文理密察，以峭壁孤峰为体”⁽⁴²⁾。“明道宏大，伊川亲切”⁽⁴³⁾程颐24岁时就已在京师(今河南开封)授徒讲学。在易学上，程颐著有《伊川易传》(《程氏易传》)，他汲取王弼义理易学和不同时代的易学研究，重新对《易经》进行了义理解释，他卓越的工作将儒家解《易》推阐发挥到极致，最大程度的发展了义理，他试图集合各种关于卦爻辞的观点，并且比较其不同，从而更好地体现自然和道德两方面的意义。此书亦是程颐用力做多的著作。随着程颐政治身份的转变，他的著作也面临不同的命运。宋哲宗时，程颐以布衣受诏，任崇政殿说书，后受到谏议大夫孔文仲的奏劾，被罢去崇政殿说书之职。而新旧两党斗争中，宋徽宗下令追毁全部著作，并且被夺去官位。大观元年(1107年)九月十七日，程颐病逝于洛阳伊川，卒年七十五岁。程颐从事学术活动多年，培养了大批理学人才，对宋代哲学的发展起到了重要的作用。在二程死后，甚至被列为孔子和孟子之后最伟大的圣人，他们关于《易经》和《书经》的研究尤被推崇⁽⁴⁴⁾。

由此可见，钱德明针对北宋五子生平及学术的介绍与论述，是与正统儒学评价一致的，其表述在《宋元学案》、《宋史》乃至他们各自著作中多有所见，也可看出钱德明对中华书籍的涉猎除了经典以外还有历代著作。他对传统易学人物的记载，这在传教士的著作中并不多见，实属难得。

四、中西释《易》·由《易》入乐

在《中国历史、科学、艺术、风俗、道德、习惯之记录》的第42项注释，则专门解释了《易经》(De I'Y-king)，其中关于《易经》的信息如下：

- (1) 《易经》作为最知名的古籍，含有最美好的行为方式，为康熙所看重。他将其介绍至欧洲，并耗时近五十年来对此书进行有价值的评论。
- (2) 关于卦爻，通过组合形成六十四卦。钱德明言称由伏羲首创，文王、周公演绎，孔子又作传，故阳爻代表着男性，权力和社会主导精神，阴爻代表女性，附属。
- (3) 文王和周公的《易经》版本充满了大量的隐喻，其中卦辞仍然充满了神秘。甚至可以说在《易经》中发现了中国了宗教的基础。并且认为《易经》中的卦爻辞与基督宗教的启示有密切的联系。
- (4) 在《易经》的图象中蕴含着人祖原罪的起源，这与基督宗教相合。
- (5) 法国汉学家尼古拉·弗雷列(NicolasFréret)讽刺莱布尼茨试图以二进制作为打开《易经》的卦爻辞以及图象的钥匙。其实中国人已经在此之前做了研究，并证明是非常安全的。但是他们理解《易经》只能是延展卦爻辞的数字部分的解释。⁽⁴⁵⁾

(41) 黄宗羲Huang Zongxi原著;全祖望Quan Zuwang补修:《明道学案》Mingdao xuean[A Study Note of Mingdao] (Volume I),《宋元学案》Songyuan xuean[A Study Note of Song and Yuan Dynasties](Volume XIII), 陈金生Chen Jinsheng, 梁运华Liang Yunhua点校, (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhonghua Book Company],1986), 540.

(42) 同上书。

(43) 同上书, 652。

(44) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois.* par les missionnaires de Pékin.(Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire,1782),111.

(45) *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*". par les missionnaires de Pékin.(Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Libraire,1782),230.

钱德明看重的并非只是《易经》的卦爻辞本义，还包括对卦爻辞的史料考证，他注重历史，并且重视将传说和经书内容相比较，从而构建相对完整的中国纪年体古史。在他看来，由于中国人注重历史记载，故其历史可信度较之于他国更高，方豪博士在《中国天主教史人物传》中评述《中国古史研究》一书说：“所据为原始启示、《易经》之卦、《书经》及《春秋》、《史记》，其结论为中国纪年体古史，较其他各国历史为可信。”⁽⁴⁶⁾

并且在此基础上，钱德明在其著作《中国古今乐记》(*Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois tant anciens que modernes*)⁽⁴⁷⁾ (见右图) 中以易学中的阴阳理论作为乐律的基础，从而全面的阐释中国的乐理。钱德明自称他来中华最主要的目的便是研究中国的语言和习俗，之所以研究就是为了有望告知他们关于圣教(天主教)的真理。我们需竭尽所能使其能够明白。科学和艺术是最有效的传教方式，特别是在京城和朝廷。

由于钱德明擅长乐器，“我擅长音乐，特别是横向长笛和大提琴”(Je favois paffablement la Musique, je jouois de la flûte traversiere & du clavecin)⁽⁴⁸⁾。并且也承认音乐是备受皇帝认可的，给予他们了很大的便利。并且钱德明提到在宋君荣神父的帮助下，很快深入到中国的语言和文学上，并于1754年开始对清朝大臣文渊阁大学士李光地(1642-1718)的《古乐经传》(*Kou-yo-king-tchouen*)进行翻译和评论。钱德明认为此书非常出色(Un ouvrage fort estimé)，而原书中即对古乐书进行解诂之书，其中为卷三《附乐经》，杂采《易经》文字。故钱德明在此书中也对《易经》研究有所精进。而钱德明之所以要着力于从事如此“知之甚少”的经典翻译，是想将中华思想传入欧洲，特别是将中国人与埃及人的思想进行比较，从而能够寻求到古老文明中的共同性，并且寻求文明之所以常青的原因。《中国古今乐记》目录共分七章，第一章介绍由于此书是皇帝钦定之书，因此选取的都是古代音乐中最为权威的篇章。第二章是介绍同时为舞为乐的篇章。第三章是关于最古老的书籍《乐经》的介绍，以及不同时代学人对其的评介及批判。第四章主要是针对金(Kin)、石(Chê)的用法，从远古到成书时代。第五章主要是特别介绍礼仪中的音乐(如箭术)。第六章是关于计算直径和周长的书籍。第七章是关于《律吕精义》(*la conjunctiort des Lu*)的各类书籍。并且还涉及十三经和二十一史的内容，囊括了从伏羲到明代的历史中关于音乐的记载。

钱德明首先根据古今顺序介绍了中国传统的八音。革(le métal)、石(la pierre)、金(la foie)、土(la terre cuite)、丝(la câbleaffe)、木(le bois)、竹(le bambou)、匏(la peau tannée des -animaux)⁽⁴⁹⁾。并且有相对应的乐器相对应。即鼓(Le fon de la peau etoit rendu par les tambours)、磬(le fon de la pierre par les king)、钟(celui du métal, par les cloches)、坝(celui de la terre cuite, par les hiuen)、琴(celui de la foie, par les kin & les chê)、笛(celui du bois, par les yu, & les tchou)、管子(celui du bambou, par les différentes flûtes & les koan)和笙(celui de la

M É M O I R E S U R L A M U S I Q U E D E S C H I N O I S ,

TANT ANCIENS QUE MODERNES .

PAR M. AMIOT, MISSIONNAIRE A PEKIN;

Avec des Notes, des Observations & une Table des Matieres, par
M. l'Abbé ROUSSEAU, Chanoine d'Écoles, Correspondant de
l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres;

FAISANT PARTIE DU TOME SIXIÈME DES MÉMOIRES CONCERNANT
LES CHINOIS.



A P A R I S ,

Chez Nyon l'aîné, Libraire, rue du Jardinet, vis-à-vis la rue
Mignon, près de l'Imprimeur du Parlement.

M. D C C. L X X I X .

Avec Approbation, et Privilège du Roi.

(46) 刘雅芳 Liu Yafang: 《汉学人物钱德明简述》Hanxue renwu qiandeming jianshu[A Brief Introduction to the Sinologist Joseph-Marie Amiot], 《知识经济》Zhishi jingji[Knowledge economy], 2010(7), 143.

(47) 1770年钱德明主要参考李光地的《古乐经传》和明宗室郑恭王厚烷之子朱载堉的《律吕精义》写成的《中国古今乐记》。1780年又被收入《《中国历史、科学、艺术、礼仪及习俗等回忆录》》。

(48) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Librairet, 1776), 2.

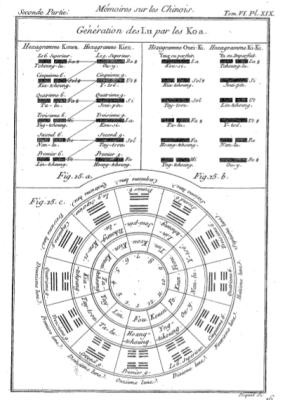
(49) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Librairet, 1776), 34.

calebasse, par les cheng)。(50)而形成的五声音阶, 从宫音开始到羽音, 宫(koung) — 商(chang) — 角(kio) — 徵(tché) — 羽(yu) (fa, fol, la, ut, re) (51)。在此基础上, 钱德明对传统乐器的历史、制作和用法都有详细说明, 并附大量图例(全书包括118幅图(52)), 这时候中国乐器首次系统地以图象的形象走向欧洲世界。

在第二部分关于律学总论中, 钱德明言及由于在中国传统思维里, 艺术并不能上升到科学, 所以他们的音乐更多的是赞美自然, 或者颂扬祖先。关于律吕的理论, 涉及中国传统的三分损益律及生律方法、中国管律的长度和口径的数据、朱载堉创立的十二平均律理论等, 并特别指出欧洲当时流行的十二律是朱载堉的研究成果。

钱德明介绍到中国古代律制为十二律, 这是至为传统的乐器度量方式, “凡以乐器, 以十有二律为之数度, 以十有二声为之齐量”(53)。其中运用到《易经》中的阴阳立论, 十二律作为正律, 其中奇数第一、三、五、七、九律称之为“阳”, 即“六阳律”或“律”。而偶数第二、四、六、八、十律称之为“阴”, 即“六阴吕”或“吕”(54)其中黄钟(Hoang-tchoung)、太簇(tay-tfou)、姑洗(kou-si)、蕤宾(joui-pin)、夷则(y-tfê)、无射(ou-y), 称“六阳律”, 为奇数。大吕(Ta-lu)、夹钟(kia-tchoung)、仲吕(tchoung-lu)、林钟(lin-tchoung)、南吕(nan-lu)、应钟(yng-tchoung)称“六阴律”(55), 为偶数。在中国, 凡为乐器, 皆是十二律, 且分阴阳。阴阳, 钱德明解释阳为“parfaits”(完备的), 阴为“imparfaits”(不完备的), 阳律和阴律在中国有很大的区别。早在《周礼》中记载“阳声: 黄钟、太簇、姑洗、蕤宾、夷则、无射。阴声: 大吕、应钟、南吕、函钟、小吕、夹钟”(56)。“六律为阳, 六同为阴, 两两相合, 十二律为六合, 故云各有合也。”(57)正是将六律六同相合, 才能辨得天地四方阴阳之声, 以为乐器。因为阳声属天, 阴声属地, 故天地之声布于四方。

钱德明进一步指出, 关于音律重的数字, 从1-10, 他们排列的规律和代表的意义, 都是来源于《易经》。1、3、5、7、9作为奇数, 为阳, 它们代表的是一种创造精神(l'esprit vital cherche à produire) (58), 而2、4、6、8、10作为偶数, 为阴, 它们代表的是一种“徘徊和寻求团结的精深, 并且能够遵循本心而为, 获得完美的存在”(l'esprit erre & cherche à s'unir, pour pouvoir agir suivant sa nature & acquérir la perfection de son être) (59)。二者相互作用而共生音律。白点代表阳律, 代表天, 黑点代表阴律, 代表地。在《易经》的《乾》、《坤》卦中更是体现了阳气、阴气升降的规律, 特别是用龙的身体来象征阴阳力量的权衡。他在附录中除了《乾》、《坤》卦的阴阳之气升降图外,



(50) 中国历史上最早的乐器科学分类法, 西周时已将当时的乐器按制作材料, 分为金(钟、镛)、石(磬)、丝(琴、瑟)、竹(箫、箴)、匏(笙、竽)、土(埙、缶)、革(鼗、雷鼓)、木(柷、敔)8类。Ibid., 34-35.

(51) Ibid., 51.

(52) Ibid., 26.

(53) 郑玄Zheng Xuan注, 贾公彦Jia Gongyan疏:《周礼注疏》Zhouli zhushu[Commentaries on The Chou Rituals], 李学勤Li Xueqin主编, 《十三经注疏》Shisanjing Zhushu[Commentaries on The Thirteen Confucian Classics]标点本, (北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe[Peking University Press],1999), 622.

(54) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Librairet, 1776). 96.

(55) Ibid.

(56) 郑玄Zheng Xuan注, 贾公彦Jia Gongyan疏:《周礼注疏》Zhouli zhushu[Commentaries on The Chou Rituals], 李学勤Li Xueqin主编, 《十三经注疏》Shisanjing Zhushu[Commentaries on The Thirteen Confucian Classics]标点本, (北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe[Peking University Press],1999), 607.

(57) 同上书, 608.

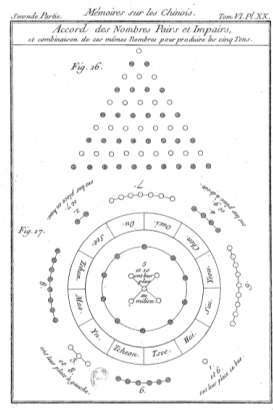
(58) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Librairet, 1776). 138.

(59) Ibid.

还有水火《既济》、《未济》两卦的阴阳变化。此外，还附有十二律与十二消息卦之间的对应关系⁽⁶⁰⁾（见右图）。在钱德明看来，在中国，阴阳理论也适用于中医。

由伏羲开创以来，1、2、3、4、5代表生数，6、7、8、9、10代表成数。《易经·系辞传》言及“天一，地二；天三，地四；天五，地六；天七，地八；天九，地十。”⁽⁶¹⁾以此论天地阴阳自然奇偶之数。而“天数五，地数五，五位相得而各有合。天数二十有五，地数三十，凡天地之数五十有五，此所以成变化而行鬼神也。”⁽⁶²⁾而天地之数各五，五数相配，以生数、成数合金、木、水、火、土，“若天一与地六相得，合为水，地二与天七相得，合为火，天三与地八相得，合为木，地四与天九相得合为金，天五与地十相得，合为土也。”⁽⁶³⁾这样的天地阴阳奇偶之数刚好与音律相合。

结合《河图》《洛书》，天一地六位处北方，一个白点在内，六个黑点在外，表示玄武星象，五行为水。刚好在音律上对应yu或re 两个音调，用六英尺的管乐弹奏。地二天七位处南方，二个黑点在内，七个白点在外，表示朱雀星象，五行为火。音律上对应为letchés或m (ii)，用七英尺的管乐弹奏。天三地八位处东方，三个白点在内，八个黑点在外，表示青龙星象，五行为木。音律上对应为kio或la，用八英尺的管乐弹奏。天八地四位处西方，四个黑点在内，九个白点在外，表示白虎星象，五行为金。音律上对应为chang或sol，用九英尺的管乐弹奏。天五地十位处中央，五个白点在内，十个黑点在外，表示时空奇点，位于中间，也代表大地的中央。五行为土，音律上创造出了黄钟。用十英尺的管乐弹奏⁽⁶⁴⁾（阴阳律《河图》、《洛书》对应图⁽⁶⁵⁾见右图）。



在《河图》、《洛书》的基础上，乐理上的三分损益之法应运而生。“下生者三分去一，上生者三分益一”⁽⁶⁶⁾“自此已下相生，而为减益之法。”⁽⁶⁷⁾在司马迁的《史记·律书第三》中写到：“九九八十一以为宫。三分去一，五十四以为徵。三分益一，七十二以为商。三分去一，四十八以为羽。三分益一，六十四以为角”。⁽⁶⁸⁾《易经》不仅定义了自然界的完美和谐，还为我们提供了音律上的和谐，正是阴阳五行，我们有了定音的规律。而“六律为万事根本焉”⁽⁶⁹⁾。《洛书》中6、9为至尊，以1、3、5、7、9为阳，9乃阳数之首，奇数之极。《河图》6、10为至尊，以偶数2、4、6、8、10为阴，10乃阴数之首，偶数之极。而九其尺寸为律，十其尺寸为度。基数为81，即至阳之数9、9 相乘。这被称之为“宫音”。若以10为至阴之数，10、10相乘为100，即管乐长度的完美长度。而根据三分损益，在81的基础上，将其长去掉三分之一，也就是将81乘上2/3，就得到54单位，定为“徵音”。将徵音的竹管长度增加原来的三分之一，即将54乘上4/3，得到72单位，定为“商音”。再去掉三分之一（三分损），72乘2/3，得48单位，为“

(60) Ibid.Appendix,16.

(61) 王弼Wang Bi注，孔颖达Kong Yingda疏：《周易正义》Zhouli zhengyi[Judgment on The Book of Changes]，李学勤Li Xueqin主编，《十三经注疏》Shisanjing Zhushu[Commentaries on The Thirteen Confucian Classics] 标点本，(北京Beijing：北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe[Peking University Press]，1999)，286。

(62) 同上书，281。

(63) 同上书。

(64) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, Chez Nyon l'aîné Librairet, 1776). 138-140.

(65) Ibid.Appendix,17.

(66) 郑玄Zheng Xuan注，贾公彦Jia Gongyan疏：《周礼注疏》Zhouli zhushu[Commentaries on The Chou Rituals]，李学勤Li Xueqin主编，《十三经注疏》Shisanjing Zhushu[Commentaries on The Thirteen Confucian Classics] 标点本，(北京Beijing：北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe[Peking University Press]，1999)，609。

(67) 同上书，610。

(68) 司马迁Si Maqian：《律书》Lüshu[The Book of Temperament] (Chapter III)，《史记》Shiji[The Historical Records](Volume XX)，(北京Beijing：中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhonghua Book Company]，1959)，1249。

(69) 同上书，1239。

羽音”。再增加三分之一 (三分益), 48乘4/3, 得64单位, 为“角音”。而这宫、商、角、徵、羽五种音高, 就称为中国的五音。(十二律与西音对应图⁽⁷⁰⁾, 见下图)

<i>Noms des lu.</i>	<i>Heures chinoises.</i>	<i>Sons.</i>	
1. Hoang-tchoung . . .	Tfee	fa.	XI ^b . — minuit.
2. Ta-lu	Tcheou	fa※.	I — II.
3. Tay-tfou.	Yn	fol.	III — IV.
4. Kia-tchoung.	Mao	fol※.	V — VI.
5. Kou-fi	Tchen	la.	VII — VIII.
6. Tchoung-lu	See	la※.	IX — X.
7. Jouï-pin	Ou	fi.	XI — midi.
8. Lin-tchoung.	Ouei	ut.	I — II.
9. Y-tfê	Chen	ut※.	III — IV.
10. Nan-lu	Yeou	re.	V — VI.
11. Ou-y	Hïu (e).	re※.	VII — VIII.
12. Yng-tchoung	Hai	mi.	IX — X.

(e) Ce caractère se lit également *hiu*, *fu* ou *su*. Voyez le Tome II de ces Mémoires, pag. 96.

由此可见, 钱德明在介绍中华乐理时, 已深入到文化内核中, 将《易经》的阴阳五行、天地之数理论也得以客观而详细的介绍, 为西方学界提供了全面了解中华音乐的可能, 直到18世纪末, 法国音乐的一些主要著作都不同程度地引自《中国古今乐记》⁽⁷¹⁾。

综而论之, 钱德明关于《易经》的关注和研究, 体现出以为博才的易学素养, 无论是其历史研究还是音乐探讨上, 他都能够旁采《易》说, 从而丰实其理论基础, 体现出对中华思想的深入把握。然而他所处的时代, 正是禁教时期, 作为在华的“最后一名耶稣会士”⁽⁷²⁾他在艰难的传教环境下, 依然坚守着对中华文化向往的心, 将一生的心血付诸于上。通过对索隐派易学研究的审视, 钱德明更加重视历史考据, 严格回归历史, 重视《易经》历史人物的研究。从现实而言, 这也是一种学术“自救”, 以“纯学术”的方式保存研究的可能。在此基础上, 将《易经》思想以更加客观的方式介绍到欧洲, 为后期的汉学发展提供可靠的理论依据。

English Title:

Throughout History, Taking *Book of Changes* As The Path: Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot's studies on *Book of Changes*

Xinyu CHEN

Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Culture, Beijing Administration Institute, Xicheng, Beijing, China, 100044.

Email: chenxinyu1986517@126.com, Tel: +8619910701517.

Abstract: As an early French Jesuit who came to China, Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot was praised as “the last sinologist among the Jesuits who entered China”. He is knowledgeable and profound, has studied Manchu and Chinese characters, and has made remarkable achievements in

(70) Joseph Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*. (Paris, Chez Nyon l'ainé Librairet, 1776), 231.

(71) 刘雅芳 Liu Yafang: 《汉学人物钱德明简述》Hanxue renwu qiandeming jianshu [A Brief Introduction to the Sinologist Joseph-Marie Amiot], 《知识经济》Zhishi jingji [Knowledge economy], 2010(7), 142.

(72) 明晓艳 Ming Xiaoyan、魏扬波 Jean-Paul Wiest, 《历史遗迹——正福寺天主教墓地》Lishi Yihen-Zhengfusi [When stone speaks-Zhengfusi Catholic Cemetery], (北京 Beijing: 文物出版社 Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2007), 163.

poetics, music, history, art of war, translation and other aspects. This article focuses on his concern for *Book of Changes*, he returned back to history and analysis of the characters of *Book of Changes*, he took studies on *Book of Changes* as the basis of music theory, and wrote *De la musique moderne des Chinois*. His studies on *Book of Changes* not only the basis for his use of European language systems to study Chinese music, but also provided a possibility for the exchange of Chinese and Western culture

Keywords: Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot; Sinology; *Book of Changes*; Music

教会历史 与中西社会

Church History
in the West and in China

The Last Remaining Jesuit in China after Suppression in Europe

Jingjing LIU

(Wenhua College, Wuhan, Hubei, China)

Abstract: This paper will attempt to show the Jesuits' situation in China and Russia through Fr Louis de Poirot (1735–1813 賀清泰)'s life. He was the last remaining Jesuit in China (the new Jesuits returned to mainland China on 11 June 1842), and was a link between the Old Jesuits and New Jesuits. The first section will introduce his life in the Chinese court. He was the last of the Western painters who worked for Qianlong along with Father Giuseppe Panzi. The two painters replaced the more famous fathers Giuseppe Castiglione and Jean-Denis Attiret. He was also in charge of the translation between Latin and Manchu for the diplomatic correspondence between Peking and Saint Petersburg. He was the first to translate most of the Bible into Chinese and Manchu. The paper will show the attitude of Chinese Emperor and other official's attitude to the suppression, Did they even care about the suppression of the Jesuits? What's of any concern to them? The second section will present a precious letter received from Father General Brzozowski written on Sept. 25, 1806 with the help of the Russian ecclesiastical mission. Father General Brzozowski asked whether Fr Louis de Poirot had received Gruber's permission to rejoin the Society and to enquire about the situation of the other fathers in China and the Chinese church. He also mentioned their attempt to enter China and the Jesuits' situation all over the world.

Keywords: Louis de Poirot, suppression, rejoin

Author: Associate Professor, Wenhua College, Wuhan, Hubei. Email: jingjing0329@gmail.com; Tel: +86 15387025490

Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Society of Jesus in 1773. The withdrawal from China of this dynamic segment of the missionary force exposed the church to successive waves of persecution. The Jesuits only returned to China on June 11, 1842, twenty-eight years after the Pope revoked the suppression. Among the last Jesuits to work at the Chinese court were Louis Antoine de Poirot (賀清泰1735–1813) who worked for the Qianlong Emperor as a painter and a translator. This paper will focus on Louis de Poirot, who was the last remaining Jesuit at the Qing court and was a witness to that difficult period and lived to see the restoration of the Society.

Louis de Poirot was born in Lorraine, France, in 1735 and brought up in Italy. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in Rome in 1756 and finished his studies there. He arrived in Peking in 1770, by way of Canton, with his colleague Fr Louis Cipolla.⁽¹⁾ On September 29, 1771, he arrived in the capital and began his mission at the Qing Court.

The publication of the suppression of Jesuits

The suppression of the Society in China happened in two phases. The first phase took place in 1762. In that year, the decree of the Portuguese King ordering the confiscation of all Jesuit property and the arrest of all members of the Society was put into effect in Macau which fell under the Portuguese authority. All Jesuits (of whom around 20 were related to the China Mission) were sent to Lisbon. Some died at sea, others in prison. After 1762 no Jesuits resided in Macau.⁽²⁾

(1) Louis Cipolla (齐类思) was born in Sicily and went to Peking in 1771. He was good at glass and crystal manufacturing. See Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552–1773* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), vol. 2, 965.

(2) See Liu Jingjing, "Restoration of the Jesuit Mission in Macao", in Eilo Yu, ed. *Macau-in-Coimbra 2014: Highlights from the EACS'14 Conference*, (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2015), pp.297-314

When the Qianlong Emperor learned that the Society was no longer under the protection of Portugal, he said: “My Jesuits do not need the protection of a Portuguese prince. It is I who am their protector. If one were to fail, I would punish him but I do not want him to go into exile, or deprive my empire of men who are so useful.” (余之耶穌會士無需葡萄牙國王保護。余即為彼等之保護人；脫有犯罪者余知懲之；然余不欲將有益於國之人放逐於國外也。) So the Jesuits were able to remain in Canton without having to fear prosecution by the Portuguese authorities in Macau; new missionaries could go to work for the Court in Peking and replace the old. The Emperor defended the Society against all the attacks to which it was exposed which aimed at nothing less than to exile all Jesuits.

The second phase was the execution of the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* by Clement XIV (1773), which abolished the Society of Jesus.⁽³⁾ The brief of suppression was delivered in Nanking on 17 June, 1775. The Jesuit bishop Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven and five Chinese Jesuits signed it in submission to papal authority. The Jesuits in Peking, dealt with the news of the suppression differently. Some Jesuits, as early as November 1774 when they first received the informal message that the Society had indeed been suppressed, immediately declared themselves no longer Jesuits. Critics said that they wanted to be free from the yoke of obedience and to live a more independent life. Other Jesuits in Peking argued that they remained Jesuits until the papal brief was officially published in Peking (in November 1775). In the meantime, disputes and confusion arose.⁽⁴⁾

At that time, the Chinese Jesuits constituted one third of the total number of Jesuits. The others were mainly Portuguese Jesuits, belonging to the Chinese vice-Province which was under the Portuguese Padroado. Another group were the French Jesuits, who belonged to the French Mission. They were sent with the approval of the French King. There were disagreements among the bishops about who had the authority in Peking to publicize the decree of suppression. Then arguments about policy and about the property that once had belonged to the Society arose among the ex-Jesuits, and between the ex-Jesuits and the missionaries of other orders.

Before the Suppression, Francois Bourgeois (晁俊秀1723-1792) had been the superior of the French Jesuits in Peking. Although he gave up his position of superior when the Brief of Suppression was published, he continued to administer the property of the French mission. This was against the letter of the Brief, which ordered that all authority of all Jesuit superiors must cease, even in temporal matters. Some of the French ex-Jesuits who were working in the Imperial court, especially Jean-Mathieu Ventavon (汪洪達),⁽⁵⁾ Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (錢德明),⁽⁶⁾ Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Grammont (梁棟材)⁽⁷⁾ and Louis de Poirot in 1775 proposed a different way to deal with the property instead of the previous system of administration by one man. They argued that

(3) For overview of the suppression and restoration, see Jonathan Wright, “The Suppression and Restoration,” in Thomas Worcester, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.263-277, and more refer to Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jonathan Wright, ed., *Jesuit survival and restoration: A global history, 1773-1900* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2014).

(4) See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, “The end of the Jesuits Mission in China,” in Jonathan Wright, ed., *The Jesuits’ Suppression: Causes, Event, and Consequences*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2014

(5) Jean Mathieu de Ventavon(汪洪達1733-87) was trained as a clockmaker, and he constructed mechanical curiosities for the Qianlong emperor and repaired clocks as well. His work so pleased the emperor that he was kept very busy and had no time to study the Chinese language. He was required to make an automaton that could write in Manchu. He also set it up so that it could write in Mongolian. After his death, the Lazarist Charles Paris (1738-1804) succeeded him. Zheng Cheng 郑诚: Qianlong yu Wo-bang: Yesu hui shi Wang Dahong jie shao Xiyang zhu cheng shu shi shi gou chen 乾隆與沃邦: 耶穌會士汪達洪介紹西洋築城術史事鉤沉, in: Aomen li shi yan jiu 澳門歷史研究 2014, no. 11, pp. 201-205

(6) Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (錢德明1718 - 1793) was sent to China in 1750. He soon won the confidence of the Qianlong Emperor. He was a correspondent of the Académie des Sciences, official translator of Western languages for the Emperor, and the spiritual leader of the French mission in Peking.

(7) Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Grammont,(梁棟材1736-1812), who worked at the Court as an astronomer and musician, baptized the prince of Korea.

property should be controlled by a board of administrators in a democratic way, and each man should have his own savings.⁽⁸⁾

In 1780, due to disagreements, missionaries asked the Emperor to intervene. In 1781, the Emperor appointed a team composed of several officials to investigate the situation. Finally the Emperor decided that all priests, regardless of their nationality, should handle their own property. For the position of administrator, the Emperor considered it was inappropriate for himself. He decided that each priest, in turn, be administrator for one year. The order was decided by drawing lots. (各國人所住之堂由各國人自行管理，他國人不得參與，並得任意處理一切財產。至若管理之人由各人輪流擔任一年，用拈鬮方法定之。)

The arguments about policy and property were finally resolved in 1783, while the Lazaristes were appointed to take the place of the Jesuits in the Chinese mission and Alexander de Gouvea (湯士選 1751-1808)⁽⁹⁾ was appointed as the new bishop. The Lazarists and the new bishop arrived in Peking in 1785. Their arrival offered a solution and finally established peace.

Mission at the Qing Court

In any case, in the year 1724 the old dream of converting the Son of Heaven came to an end. In spite of the prohibition, Christianity lingered on in all provinces (or even flourished, as in eighteenth-century Sichuan), but the role of the missionaries that were maintained in Beijing was now completely reduced to that of “foreign experts”. Under the Qianlong emperor that atmosphere generally became less hostile, and the Emperor used the technical skills of the foreign experts for his own luxury and leisure purposes. To a certain extent, they became indispensable to him.

After the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, the number of missionaries working at the imperial court decreased considerably, so much so that after a few years even the Emperor became alarmed, lest he might lose their valuable services. In 1778 an imperial edict, dated 27 October, ordered the governor-general in Canton to look for Westerners. The order was renewed on 25 May 1781. When toward the end of 1782, two Franciscans arrived in the Capital, they were welcomed by the Emperor with gifts beyond the customary.⁽¹⁰⁾

But still, the prohibition remained in force. The persecution of 1784-1785 (usually called “the great religious incident”, 大教案) was the worst persecution up to that time.⁽¹¹⁾ It did not break out because of a sudden wave of anti-Christian sentiment, but because four Franciscans ignored the prohibition and were arrested in Hubei on their way from Macao to their new parishes in Shaanxi (October 1784). It was suspected that they were on their way to help the Muslims in Gansu who had been revolting against the government since 1781. A search for missionaries and Christians in other provinces followed. The arrests and trials confronted the authorities in Beijing with Western missionaries sent from Macao to the Provinces, and with Chinese priests who had received their education in Europe or Southeast Asia and all were working for a foreign organization (Propaganda Fide) under the direction of a procurator at Canton. Within a year a large number of priests (including Chinese) who had been

(8) See Joseph Krahl, *China Missions in Crisis, Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738-1787* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964). Camille de Rochemonteix, *Joseph Amiot et les derniers survivants de la mission française à Pékin (1750-1795)* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1915).

(9) Alexander de Gouvea (湯士選 1751-1808), was born on 2 August 1751 at Evora, in Portugal. 1773 he entered the Third Order Regular of St. Francis (TOR). Appointed bishop of the Diocese of Beijing by the Portuguese crown on 22 July 1782, de Gouvea arrived in Beijing in 1785 and reestablished peace amongst the missionaries; disappearance of the last signs of resistance to the bulls against the rites. He did much to revive the religious fervor among the 3,000 Catholics of Beijing. At court he held the position of mathematician and was a vice-president of the Bureau of Astronomy.

(10) *Imperial Government*, pp.16-17.

(11) An extensive and well documented study, based on Western and Chinese sources, is *Imperial Government* (1948), pp.197-208.

located in the provinces, were exiled to Yili (a border region in north-western Xinjiang Province) or deported to Beijing, where they were condemned to life imprisonment (ten of them died there).⁽¹²⁾

When there appeared to be no connection with the Muslim rebellion, de Poirot and others urged the Emperor to release the twelve surviving missionaries from prison (November 1785) and allow them to stay in Beijing or to go to Macao. Although this incident meant a serious setback for the underground mission in China, twenty years of relative peace followed. One of the reasons was that lower officials no longer reported the presence of missionaries to Beijing, because in 1785 many of them had been punished for having tolerated missionaries in their territories.⁽¹³⁾

Apparently, a last attempt was made by some missionaries in 1793, when they cleverly slipped a plea for free proselytizing into the translated text of the requests submitted by the Macartney embassy. Qianlong's reaction was clear:

As regards the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven that is upheld in your country, it is the doctrine that is professed in Western countries. Our Celestial Dynasty follows the doctrine and laws that since the beginning of time have been handed down and created by saintly rulers and wise kings; these are the constant principles followed by all Our innumerable subjects who do not dare to be deluded by strange theories. As to the Westerners who are employed by Us in the capital: they must stay in their churches, and are not allowed any intercourse with the Chinese people, lest they unlawfully propagate their doctrine. Strict indeed should be the distinction between Chinese and barbarians!⁽¹⁴⁾

Fr Louis de Poirot got special permission from the Qianlong Emperor which allowed him to preach to the Han Chinese in Peking but not to the Manchus or the elite or upper class. However, for most of his missionary life, he just was an important painter appreciated very much by Qianlong emperor.

After 1795, China was under the reign of the Jiaqing Emperor. As opposed to the Qianlong emperor who appreciated westerner skills very much and to some extent, protected the missionaries and Christianity, Jiaqing hated missionaries and Christianity.

The year 1805 was marked by a persecution of Christian communities in Peking. Later, more and more decrees against Christianity and foreigners made it impossible for Louis de Poirot to do anything.

The following decree, which can shed light on the situation⁽¹⁵⁾:

The people in Europe are wont to worship the Lord of Heaven, and when, as followers of that religion, they were from the outset permitted to spread and practice the religion among themselves, and not prosecuted for it. But if they swindle and mislead the Chinese, and in the worst case arbitrarily appoint Chinese pastors and other title-bearers, or spread over the various provinces, this certainly involves a serious violation of the law.

And if Chinese living in peace, are seduced and misled by them to such an extent that they propagate that religion among themselves, and can no more escape from its deception, what is this but wild opposition? Let us remember that this religion does not profess the worship of any god, nor the

(12) On the 11th of the 11 month (Dec.23) of 1784, an Imperial decree was addressed to the Council of State, Shi Lu, 258

(13) *Imperial Government* (1948), pp.164-165; cf. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929), pp. 173.

(14) *Da Qing Gaozong Chun huangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, J. 1435, f. 19b (in *Da Qing liechao shilu* 大清列朝實錄, Mukden, 1937).

(15) 29th of the 5th month (July 18 1811) The emperor decreed to the Chancery that the Board of Punishments had sent the following advice and reply concerning a memorial presented to the Throne by the Censor Kan Kia-pin, in which he proposed that special laws should be enacted for the punishment of Europeans preaching their religion(上諭內閣刑部議覆御史甘家斌奏請嚴定西洋人傳教治罪專條一折). Shi Lu, 100

eneration of ancestors or the dead, and therefore overtly opposes the orthodox Tao; so, when the Chinese listen to it and follow it, spread and observe it, accept its falsehoods, and put up title-bearers, is this anything short of opposition and rebellion? If no rigorous laws are made to punish such things on a large scale, how can these heresies be stopped, and the human hearts be kept orthodox?

Henceforth, if Europeans print religious writings, or found communities or preach, thereby poisoning and misleading many; or if Bannermen turn to the Europeans, and become promulgators for them, privately appointing titularies, so that the fire of error reaches the masses, then, if sure and reliable proof is found against these culprits, they will face immediate execution.

For propagandists who fan the fire of error, but without misleading people in great numbers and without employing any title-bearers, the punishment to be fixed shall be strangulation, with reprieve of execution until after the revision of their sentence. And simple followers who embraced that religion and did not mean to apostatize, shall be given in slavery to the Solon Tartars; and if they are Bannermen, they shall at the same time be expelled from their Banner-regiment

And with regard to the Europeans now living in Peking, they shall be in chargedf with only astronomical calculations at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens, for they possess no other abilities to render service to the Government. And they who have no knowledge of astronomy, why allow them to live here with the others and provoke trouble?

The ministers entrusted with the administration of that Bureau shall forthwith make investigation about this; those in employ for astronomical work at the Bureau for the Observation of the Heavens can be left in office, but the other Europeans shall be sent to the Viceroy of the two Kwang, who as soon as a ship from their country calls at Canton shall send them back therein to their own land.

And the Europeans who remain in Peking in Government employ, shall be kept under control with increased strictness, in order that their intercourse with Bannermen may be effectually stopped, and the poison emanating from them be kept away from the provincial districts. Since Europeans are no more wanted in Government employ, why should they be allowed to go there by stealth and spread their heretical religion? Every Viceroy or Governor shall strictly examine with all his energy whether there are any roaming about in his jurisdiction, in which case he shall immediately track them, arrest them, and prosecute them one by one, in order to purify both root and stem.”

Louis de Poirot was allowed to live in Peking just because he was too old to make the long journey back to Europe.

As a painter

In 1773, the 38th Year of the Qianlong reign, de Poirot was allowed to work at the Ruyiguan 如意館.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Ruyiguan, where the most prestigious painters painters worked alongside the best craftsmen, could be said to be

(16) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao zai Hua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 (Historical Sources in the Archives of Catholicism in China in Early and Mid-Qing Dynasty), ed. Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (First Historical Archives of China), vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Book Company, 2003), 4: 480.

the Academy of Painting. The idea had originated with the Yongzheng Emperor, but the Hall was founded in the first year of Qianlong, initially housed in the Southern Hall of the Qixiang Palace 啟祥宮 in the Forbidden City. The Qianlong Emperor, who often stayed at Old Summer Palace, moved de Poirot's painting studio to the Dongtianshenchu 洞天深處 garden and named it the Master Painter's Hall (*Shouxi huayuan* 首席畫院) of the Court.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1777 the Summer Palace was expanded, and the Emperor built the Yuanying Guan 遠瀛觀 in it for the Fragrant Concubine (Xiang fei 香妃).⁽¹⁸⁾ Around 20 decrees were issued ordering Louis de Poirot to paint different things from the survival Qing Archives. Some of his paintings are for the inner decoration of Yuanying Guan. On April 9, 1782, a decree was issued ordering Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi⁽¹⁹⁾ to paint nine well-known figures of Western stories for the ceiling of the main room of the Yuanying Guan.⁽²⁰⁾ However, they "started the draft too slowly", and the task was not completed by the September deadline.⁽²¹⁾ On October 8, a third decree was issued, ordering de Poirot to paint mountains and trees instead.⁽²²⁾

Louis de Poirot was skilled in depicting birds and animals in a style close to that of Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧 1688–1766). In response to the imperial decree, de Poirot often copied the works of Giuseppe Castiglione.⁽²³⁾ De Poirot showed great talent in his painting *Liangyun jun* 良雲駿. In the 11th month of the 52nd year of the Qianlong reign (1788) he and Panzi were ordered to prepare a scroll named "modeling *Bai jun tu* 百駿圖⁽²⁴⁾ (1728,

(17) For a discussion of the Hall, see Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕, *Qianlong shiqi de Ruyiguan 乾隆時期的如意館* (The Hall of Fulfilled Wishes in the Qinglong era), *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 (National Palace Museum Research *Quarterly*), vol. 23 (3), 127–159; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也, *Shiqi shiba shiji chuanjiaoshi yu Xi hua dong jian* 十七十八世紀傳教士與西畫東漸 (*Catholic missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries and the spread of Western painting to China*) (Hangzhou: Chinese Fine Arts Academy Press 2002), 185.

(18) The Fragrant Concubine is a figure in Chinese legend who is supposed to have been taken as a consort by the Qianlong Emperor in the 18th century. Although the stories about her are believed to be mythical, they may have been based on an actual concubine from western China who entered the harem of the emperor in 1760 and who had the court title of Rong Fei. She was a Uyghur girl named Iparhan, granddaughter of Apak Khoja, a local leader in the oasis city of Kashgar. Even more remarkable than her beauty was the scent her body naturally produced; captivated, the Emperor sought her as an Imperial Consort for his harem. She was given as a gift to the Emperor and carefully escorted all the way to Beijing, washing every day along the road in camel's milk to preserve her mysterious fragrance.

(19) Giuseppe Panzi (潘廷璋, 1734–c.1812) was a Jesuit painter active in the 18th and early 19th century, who worked in the service of the Qianlong Emperor. He was the last of the Western painters who worked for Emperor, together with de Poirot. Giuseppe Panzi arrived in Peking in 1773, where the two painters replaced the more famous Fr Giuseppe Castiglione and Jean-Denis Attiret. See Lorry Swerts and Koen De Ridder, *Mon Van Genechten (1903–1974) Flemish Missionary and Chinese Painter: Inculturation of Chinese Christian Art* (Leuven University Press, 2002).

(20) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 446.

(21) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 452–54.

(22) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 462.

(23) Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧; July 19, 1688–July 17, 1766) was a prominent Jesuit artist, architect, and missionary in China. Castiglione arrived in China in 1715. His skill as an artist was appreciated by the Qianlong Emperor and Castiglione spent many years at court painting various subjects, including the portraits of the Emperor and Empress. Castiglione's work served as the subject for a series of "battle copper / engravings" commissioned by the Emperor to commemorate his military campaigns. Small-scale copies of his paintings were shipped to Paris and rendered into copperplate intaglio before being returned to China. Castiglione's style was a unique blend of European sensibility with Chinese technique and themes. The style was, however, modified according to Chinese taste – strong shadows used in chiaroscuro techniques were unacceptable as the Qianlong Emperor thought that shadows looked like dirt. Therefore, when Castiglione painted the Emperor, the intensity of the light was reduced so that there was no shadow on the face, and the features were distinct. In addition to his demonstrable skill as a painter, he was also in charge of designing the Western-style palaces in the imperial gardens of the Old Summer Palace. Due to Castiglione's work, Qing court paintings began to show a clear Western influence. Other European painters followed and a new school of painting was created that combined Chinese and Western methods. The influence of Western art on Qing court paintings is particularly evident in the light, shade, perspective, as well as the priority given to recording contemporary events.

(24) This is considered to be his finest work. The influence of Western tradition can be strongly felt both in his treatment of the horses, their cast shadows, the suggested anatomy, the way they stand out from their surroundings, and also in the landscape, with its linear perspective, the depth of the composition, the interplay of light and shade, and the naturalistic portrayal of vegetation. See Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume 1: 635-1800*, Leiden: Brill Handbook, 2001.

National Palace Museum, Taipei).⁽²⁵⁾ The task was not completed until the 3rd day of the 10th month the following year.⁽²⁶⁾ In the tenth month of the 55th year of the Qianlong reign (Nov. 1790), the Inner Court issued a decree saying that Louis de Poirot should *follow the Emperor's example in imitating Zhao Mengfu's 趙孟頫 paintings*. The Emperor shall paint *Mandarin Ducks on Sand Bar/Sandbank* (Shazhu shuang yuan 沙渚雙鷺), while Louis de Poirot shall paint a running deer in response.⁽²⁷⁾ *Running Deer (Pen lu tu 賁鹿圖)* (193.3cm*93cm), now is displayed in The Beijing Palace Museum. The brush strokes are detailed and the density and contrast in colour follow the rules which give a delight in elusiveness and beautiful richness. The strokes of the rocks, trees and grass are beautiful and detailed. The contrast in brightness gives a strong sense of reality.⁽²⁸⁾

Louis de Poirot was well known for painting falcons. In 1783, a Mongol prince presented this white falcon to the Qianlong emperor. The falcon, with its steely beak, grasping claws, and snow-white plumage, is tethered on a stand for a realistic portrait of its ferocious spirit. Fr. de Poirot employed elements of Western painting, such as shading, to give Chinese techniques and subject matter a sense of volume.⁽²⁹⁾

While Castiglione's copper engravings of battle scenes to commemorate military campaigns are well known, almost nobody mentioned that de Poirot was involved in the production of sixteen tableaux depicting the *Two Campaigns Suppressing the Jinchuan* [Pingding liang Jinchuan desheng zhantu 平定兩金川得勝戰圖] (1747–1749, 1771–1776).⁽³⁰⁾ After another series of successful military campaigns known as the Ten Great Campaigns in Central Asia, the Qianlong Emperor commissioned depictions of the battles. All these series of prints from copper engravings (*tongbanhua* 銅版畫) were so-called “Battle Copper Prints”. They were produced under the aegis of the Qianlong emperor of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and depict his military campaigns conducted both in the inner provinces and along the country's frontiers.

The copper engravings of the first set of sixteen paintings were produced in Paris where at that time the best European artisans was working at in this technique. The Chinese emperor even decreed to emulate the style of the Augsburgian copper engraver Georg Philipp Rugendas the Elder (1666-1742), whose work was known to him. Thus, small-scale copies of the larger paintings of Castiglione and his Peking colleagues were sent to Paris to be transferred into copperplates, printed and subsequently sent back to China along with the plates and prints. All following sets of copper engravings were executed in Peking by the Jesuits and their Chinese apprentices. They

(25) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 464.

(26) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 475.

(27) *Qing zhongqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao*, 4: 477.

(28) Pictures from <http://big5.elong.com/gate/big5/lvyou.elong.com/4680293/tour/a01fef81.html>, accessed on Mar. 2014.

(29) White Falcon (Bai haiqing tu 白海青圖) scroll(110cm*60cm), was collected in the book *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編. Now it was displayed in Taiwan National Palace Museum. Picture from <http://www.bozoart.net/art/heqingtai/2012412/94BG.html>, accessed on Mar. 2014. *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈 is a collection of famous Qing paintings owned by the emperors. The first series of this work, *Shiqu baoji chubian*, was completed in 1745 and had 44 volumes; the second series, *Shiqu baoji xubian*, was completed in 1793, with 40 volumes; the third series, *Shiqu baoji sanbian*, was completed in 1816, with 28 volumes. Louis de Poirot's other paintings like Yellow Eagle (Huang ying tu 黃鷹圖) scroll, and the White Eagle (Bai ying tu 白鷹圖) scroll (1785) also were selected in *Shiqu baoji sanbian*,

(30) The suppression of the Jinchuan hill people was very costly and difficult, as well as destructive. Jinchuan (literally “Golden Stream”) was north-west of Chengdu in western Sichuan. The tribal peoples there were related to the Tibetans of the Amdo. The first campaign in 1747–1749 was a simple affair; with little use of force the Manchu general induced the native chieftains to accept a peace plan, and departed. Inter-ethnic conflict brought the Manchus back after twenty years. The result was the Qing expeditionary force being forced to fight a protracted war of attrition costing the Qing treasury several times the amounts expended on the earlier conquests of the Dzungars and Xinjiang. The resisting tribes retreated to their stone towers and forts in steep mountains and could only be dislodged by cannon. The Manchu generals were ruthless in annihilating the rebellious tribes and then reorganized the region as a military prefecture and repopulated it with more cooperative inhabitants. Pictures see <http://crossasia.org/digital/schlachtenbilder/index/show>

differ markedly in style and elaborateness from those of the “Paris Series.” In that way de Poirot got involved in reproductions, which were printed with copper plates engraved by the Imperial Workshop of the Imperial Household Department.⁽³¹⁾

Besides those paintings, Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi cooperated on another work, *Kuoerka xian xiang ma tu* 廓爾喀貢象馬圖 (The Tribute of Gurkhas),⁽³²⁾ which shows elephants and horses sent by the king of Gurkha (Nepal) after Qianlong conquered the country. This painting is on silk, 40.8×318 cm, and displayed in the Palace Museum, Peking.

There is a long list of inscriptions:

The 11th month of the 58th year of Qianlong, painted by Louis de Poirot and Giuseppe Panzi by Imperial Decree

The 11th month of the *guichou* year of Qianlong, signed by Dong Gao 董誥⁽³³⁾ by Imperial Decree

The 12th month of the 58th year of Qianlong (*guichou*), Wang Jie 王傑, Dong Gao 董誥, Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞,⁽³⁴⁾ Jin Shisong 金士松,⁽³⁵⁾ Yu Bao 玉保,⁽³⁶⁾ Hu Tuli 瑚圖禮,⁽³⁷⁾ Na Yancheng 那彥成⁽³⁸⁾ praise in all fours.

From the last painting, we can see that Louis de Poirot worked at court until 1793. He had a good relationship with high-ranking officials.

As a translator

He was a gifted linguist with an excellent command of Latin, Chinese and Manchu. In 1785, he taught Chinese and Manchu to four Lazarist missionaries who were sent to Peking after the suppression.

In 1793 the Macartney Embassy took place. Louis de Poirot was ordered to translate the edicts from Manchu to Latin.⁽³⁹⁾ He tried to soften the haughty attitude to meet international etiquette. His Latin translation with his

(31) Zhang Xiaoguang 張曉光, *Qingdai tongban zhangong tu quanbian* 清代銅版戰功圖全編 [A complete collection of the Qing victory pictures], (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 22–37.

(32) The name used to denote the Mongol tribes north of the Gobi during the Qing dynasty (roughly corresponding to the present state of Mongolia).

(33) Dong Gao 董誥, obtained the title of Jinshi in 1764, and was appointed Trainee at the Hanlin Academy. Known to the Emperor for his painting skills, he was later appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, and was later vice minister in the Ministries of Personnel, Revenue, Justice and Works and Vice-Director of the *Siku* Office. He was grand secretary of the Eastern Pavilion and the *Crown Prince's* Tutor, and was a member of the Grand Council for forty years.

(34) Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞, a native of Nanchang, was a minister and scholar. He was also a composer of couplets. He obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1757 and was appointed trainee and later junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy; he served as minister of works

(35) Jin Shisong 金士松, a native of Wujiang, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1760 and was appointed trainee and later junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy. He was later transferred Academician Reader-in-waiting, inspecting education in Guangdong. He was promoted to assistant minister of rites and later transferred to the Ministry of War. In 1785 he was invited to the Thousand Senior Banquet at the Qianqing Palace.

(36) Yu Bao 玉保, a member of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1781 and was admitted to the Hanlin Academy. He was famed for his talents and reached the post of vice minister of defence.

(37) Hu Tuli 瑚圖禮 obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1787 and served as minister of personnel, war, and rites.

(38) Na Yancheng 那彥成, a member of the Manchu Plain White Banner, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1789 and became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. He was admitted to the Grand Council in 1798. He was transferred as assistant minister to the Ministry of Works and then the Ministry of Personnel and the Master Secretariat of the Hanlin Academy. He was promoted to minister of works, with titles of vice-general and minister of the Imperial Household Department.

(39) George Macartney. *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney During His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung* (1793-1794). London: Longmans, 1962.

modifications safeguarded Britain's national dignity. Although the translation was unfaithful to the Qianlong Emperor's original intent, the Emperor praised Louis de Poirot and gave him a promotion (六品頂戴).

Louis de Poirot translated some Chinese books into Latin. Well known among them is *Kangxi "Shengzu Ren huangdi ting xun ge yan"* 康熙《聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言》(Kangxi Emperor's Instructions to His Children). This book was compiled by the Yongzheng Emperor as a record of his memories of his father's teachings. This book included two hundred forty-six chapters, which were compiled in two sections 《聖訓》(sacred instructions) and 《實錄》(veritable record). The Yongzheng Emperor hoped this book would be remembered forever. De Poirot's Latin translation was printed in Paris in 1783.

Another important achievement of de Poirot was the Chinese translation of *Gu-xin shengjing* 古新聖經 (Old and New Testament) ⁽⁴⁰⁾ He made a Manchu translation too, entitled the *New and Old Testament with Manchu annotation* (*Manwen fu zhu Xin-jiuyue shengjing* 滿文付注新舊約聖書), which was never printed or published. ⁽⁴¹⁾ Some researchers said that the best translation is the Book of Job. ⁽⁴²⁾ The Bible translation probably began in 1790 and was completed in 1808. Fr Louis de Poirot wrote in 1803 to the Propaganda Fide asking to publish the Chinese Bible, but did not get permission and was actually criticized for translating without permission. Although it was never published, it had tremendous influence on future translations. The translator of the first published Chinese Bible, Robert Morrison, referred to de Poirot's work. One of the main translators of the first complete Catholic translation of the Bible, Gabriele Allegra, went to Beitang Library and also referred to de Poirot's translation. ⁽⁴³⁾

Readmission

Pope Clement XIV's decree suppressing the Jesuits (1773) required promulgation by the secular ruler in each area. But not all governments were willing to cooperate, especially Russia. The Orthodox monarch Catherine the Great highly valued the Jesuits, and so Jesuits continued to exist in the Russian empire, and were active especially in the field of education. Some Jesuits elsewhere who had not been thrown into prison took refuge in Russia. When in 1778 Catherine the Great requested the Holy See that the Jesuits in White Russia should have a novitiate, she received the answer that the local bishop should do as he thought best. The local bishop presumably

(40) Manuscripts in Zikawei Library. Reprinted in *Xujiahui Cangshulou Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian xubian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻續編, Sequel to Chinese Christian texts from the Zikawei Library,] vols. 28–34, ed. Nicolas Standaert, Ad Dudink and Wang Renfang 王仁芳 (Taipei Ricci Institute, 2013).

(41) See [김동소] 金東昭 (Kim Dongso), *Zui chu Zhongguo yu Manzhou yu sheng shu yi cheng zhe He Qingtai shen fu* 最初中國語滿洲語聖書譯成者賀清泰神父 in: *Guo ji han xue* 国际汉学 (*International sinology*) 2015, no. 3, pp. 109-120.

(42) Erling von Mende, "Problems in translating the Bible into Manchu: Observations on Louis Poirot 's Old Testament", in Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean ed., *Sowing the Word: The cultural impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-2004*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004.

(43) More research on his Bible translation, see Li Sher-shiueh 李爽學, " Jin dai bai hua wen, zong jiao qi meng, Yesu hui chuan tong: shi kui He Qingtai ji qi suo shi 'Gu xin sheng jing' de yu yan wen ti 近代白話文•宗教啟蒙•耶穌會傳統——試窺賀清泰及其所譯《古新聖經》的語言問題 (Louis de Poirot and His Guxin Shengjing at the Linguistic Crossroads of China)", in: *Zhongguo wen zhe yan jiu ji kan* 中國文哲研究集刊 (*Academia sinica Taibei*) 42 (March 2013), pp. 51-108; Zheng Haijuan 鄭海娟, "Xin chuan yu xin quan: 'Gu xin sheng jing' de jie jing zhi dao 薪傳與新詮: 《古新聖經》的解經之道(Annotating the Bible in Mid-Qing China: Poirot's efforts)" in: *Wen bei* 文貝 (*Cowrie*): *Bi jiao wen xue yu bi jiao wen hua* 比较文学与比较文化 (*Comparative literature & culture*) 2014, no. 1, pp. 55-84; and also see Song Gang 宋剛, "Ben yi yu tu yu zhi jian: Qing dai Yesu hui shi He Qingtai de Sheng jing han yi ji quan shi' 本意' 与 '土语' 之间: 清代耶穌會士賀清泰的《圣经》汉译及诠释 (Between 'original meaning' and 'vernacular language': The translation of the Bible and exegesis of the Jesuit Louis de Poirot during the Mid-Qing period)", in: *Guo ji han xue* 国际汉学 (*International sinology*) no. 5 (Dec. 2015), pp. 23-49

thought it best to give the Empress what she wanted. It is from the Jesuits in Russia, that the Society was later revived worldwide.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Fr Louis de Poirot wrote several letters to the Congregation of Propaganda from November 4, 1778, requesting the reestablishment of the Society of the Jesus in China. Pope Pius VI had approved that the Jesuits in White Russia could receive novices and elect a new Vicar General.

In 1802 de Poirot thought there was an opportunity to restore the Society. With the agreement of the other four remaining Jesuits (José Bernardo de Almeida,⁽⁴⁵⁾ Luigi Cipolla, Guiseppe Panzi and Jean-Baptiste Grammont⁽⁴⁶⁾) in China, in September 1803 Louis de Poirot sent an application to Pope Pius VII and the Father General Gruber asking to join Society of Jesus in Russia “wrote a letter to the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII, and another to Father General, Gabriel Gruber, demanding the sending of Jesuits to China, and their own re-admission in the Society”.⁽⁴⁷⁾

This application initiated a plan to continue the mission in China in 1805. Eventually de Poirot was successful. In 1806 Gruber’s successor, the Father General Tadeusz Brzozowski sent letters to de Poirot. I cannot find the letter written in 1803; only the letter from Father General Brozowski to de Poirot in 1806. The following is the translation from original Latin letter⁽⁴⁸⁾:

29 September 1806

To the Rev. Fr Louis de Poirot or Luigi Cipolla, Peking, to be sent with the Greco-Russian priests who are to go from Irkutsk to Peking.

I send this letter to Yr Rev. with the Greek priests who travel from the borders of the Russian Empire to Peking to succeed their confrères who until recently resided in that city but have now returned to the Capital of our Empire. Yr Rev. will be able to use this same occasion to send me an answer to my letter, and I pray again and again that you will do that. So that those priests even more willingly offer to accept Yr Rev.’s letter for myself, it would be sufficient to tell them that Prince Galitzin, the procurator of the most great synod of St Petersburg, kindly undertook to transmit this letter of mine to Yr Rev. and that he has allowed an answer to be brought to me by the same route.

Yr Rev. will be keen to know something of the matters of the Society: I briefly satisfy your desire. The Superior Gen., the Rev. Fr Gabriel Gruber, who readmitted Yr Rev. into the Society, flew away to blissful eternity, as it is right to hope, on 6 April 1809. The one who writes this to Yr Rev. was elected to his position in the Gen. Congregation on 14 September of the same year. We are in this Empire altogether 330 members of the Society under the protection of the Great Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, who graciously guards us and bestows his favours on us. Other members of our Society in the Kingdoms of the Two Sicilies were restored to their former status in a Brief of the Holy Pope Pius VII and are already as numerous as those of us here in Russia; but in the month of July of this

(44) M. Ignat SJ, le missioni della Compagnia di Gesu di Russia Bianca (1772-1820), in *Studia Missionalia*, vol. 60, 2011, pp. 319-354.

(45) José Bernardo de Almeida (甘若翰, 1736–1812), a French Jesuit, was skilled at calendrical calculation. He baptized a Korean nobleman, which made Christianity popular in Korea. See Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, vol. 2, 958–962.

(46) Jean-Baptiste Grammont (索德超, 1728–1805), a Portuguese Jesuit. He was appointed Director of the Department of Astronomy in 1783. He was also a medical doctor. See Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, vol. 2, 886–888

(47) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 976.

(48) Latin text from ARSI, Rissia 1021, pp. 188-190

year 1806, they were driven away from Naples by the French who are now laying waste to everything and have occupied Naples. The state of Europe is sad and Yr Rev. has no doubt been informed about that by some missionaries arriving from Europe: and that is the reason why the Holy Pope cannot confer greater favours on us however much he is anxious to do so.

While the Rev. Fr my predecessor was alive, he arranged for some assistance for you in the form of missionaries, as our most gracious Emperor wishes to gratify the great Emperor of the Chinese by dispatching three Jesuits with excellent knowledge of physics mathematics and sculpture; but because no one is now allowed to go to the Chinese missions without previously obtained permission from the Apostolic See, they remain stuck in Lisbon already for the second year: I hope, however; that they will travel next spring. These are their names: Fr Norbert Korsak, Polish, mathematician and physicist; Fr Giovanni Antonio Grassi, Italian from Bergamo, physicist and mathematician; Johann Stürmer, a German brother, sculptor. If the Lord first guides them to Canton from where they wish to send a letter for the Fr Vicar Gen. to Yr Rev., please see to it that as soon as they reach Peking they are well informed by you and the other old fathers of the conditions for spreading the glory of GOD in those regions and for offering our trifling obedience to the two great Emperors. Yr Rev. will bestow the greatest comfort on me if you, when you have occasion to do so, let me have a letter by means of those Greeks, I mean the Russian priests, who are in Peking, for it is of great interest to me to know about matters concerning the mission. Thus, when you write me a letter; you should first of all let me know if you received the Rev. Fr Gruber's affirmative reply to your letter in which you had wished for him to readmit you to the Society and reinstate you in your position. Next I wish to know whether the Rev. Fr Cipolla is alive and who else and how many of the Society in Peking and elsewhere are still; and finally I wish to know how the cause of JESUS Christ and the Holy Church is proceeding there.

The very good Fr Bourgeois sent a quite lengthy letter to our people here in Russia more than twenty years ago, which safely reached us here. Yr Rev. can easily write to me with the help of the priests that I have already mentioned. Use this way so that I am able to communicate with you from time to time; this I desire and I also ask Yr Rev. for it for the glory of GOD, and I commend myself to the prayers of all our people, however many they are there, and to the saint.

From this letter, we can see that the Jesuits in Peking never stopped contacting the Jesuits in Russia. Fr Bourgeois sent a letter twenty years ago in 1786. The Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking began in 1727. The Jesuits in Peking had good relationship with Russian Orthodox and always kept an eyes on the situation in Russia.

Father General Gruber assigned the three missionaries to Peking. They began their journey in February, 1805. They crossed through Russia and Finland to Sweden and Stockholm and then to Copenhagen. They crossed a stormy winter sea to London. From there they sent out for Lisbon and stopped off at Cork on they way. They waited a long time in Lisbon and while waiting they studied astronomy in Lisbon and at Coimbra. Although later they got permission from the Holy See, they could not find any ship in Lisbon willing to let them board for China. Once more they went back to England in Nov. 1807, to make another effort to set sail, and also studied more astronomy in London. Then they went back to White Russia to make a new attempt to get to China by way of Tartary. But they were not successful. Eventually, Father Korsack worked in England and Father Grassi was sent

to the United States. Father Grassi was named Superior, and Rector of Georgetown by the General. I was not able to find any information about the Brother.

José Bernardo de Almeida died in 1805 before they had a reply from the Father General. Some have believed that de Poirot, Grammont, Panzi, and probably Cipolla, renewed their religious vows in the re-established Society of Jesus in 1806.

Cipolla died soon after, Panzi died in 1812 and Grammont in 1812. Louis de Poirot remained alone in Peking, the last remaining Jesuit.

About the date of de Poirot's death there are two different opinions. The more common view is that he died in 1814.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Another has it that he died in 1813. According to the archive, Louis de Poirot actually died in Peking on December 13, 1813.⁽⁵⁰⁾ After he died, the Jiaqing Emperor presented him with 100 silver taels. This was quite honorable because that eminent painter Giuseppe Castiglione only got 300 liang.

Conclusion

Louis Antoine de Poirot (1735–1813) was the last of the Western painters who worked for the Qianlong Emperor after the famous Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione. Images play key roles in Qianlong's construction of universalist knowledge and in his creation of political narrative. Qianlong wove both western text and a western-inspired painting style into a traditional narrative of imperial authority; and within that narrative, he visually represented the perfection of his empire. Qianlong was an innovator in the use of visual technique to recreate or even replace "reality" and displayed even stricter control over objective "reality". Qianlong ordered documentary-style paintings with illusionistic effects to be made of almost all the marvellous creatures sent to the court as auspicious signs.⁽⁵¹⁾ For example, *Kuoerka xian xiang ma tu* 廓爾喀貢象馬圖 (The Tribute of Gurkhas) shows elephants and horses sent by the king of Gurkha (Nepal) after Qianlong conquered the country. The Qianlong court was also expert at producing perspective images showing celebrations and achievements befitting a mighty empire: for example, *Two Campaigns Suppressing* [Pingding liang Jinchuan desheng zhantu 平定兩金川得勝戰圖].

As a translator, he was the first to translate most of the Bible into Chinese and Manchu, he had already translated about fifty-seven of the seventy-three books of the Vulgate. He also translated documents between the Chinese government and foreign embassies.

As a missionary, he was only permitted to preach to the Han Chinese. He experienced the struggles of the Jesuits after suppression, and made efforts to restore the Society. Louis de Poirot was a very important Jesuit and a link between the Old Jesuits and the New. Even more, recent research on Christianity in China in Qianlong persecution of Christians period and later focused on local activities⁽⁵²⁾ while the research on activities of the

(49)

(50)

(51) Lai Yu-chih, I Translated by Philip Hand, "Images, Knowledge and Empire: Depicting Cassowaries in the Qing Court", *Transcultural Studies* 2013.1, pp.7-101. Originally published in Chinese under the title "Tuxiang, zhishi yu diguo: Qinggong de shihuoji tuihui 圖像, 知識與帝國: 清宮的食火雞圖繪," *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 29:2 (2011).

(52) See Zhangze 張澤, *Qingdai Jinjiao qi de Tianzhujiao* 清代禁教期的天主教, (Taipei: Gaungqi Chubanshe 1992). Zhang Xianqing 張先清, *Guanfu and Zongzu yu Tianzhujiao, 17-19 Shiji Fuan Xiangcun Jiaohui de Lishi Xushi* 官府、宗族與天主教-17-19世紀福安鄉村教會的歷史敘事 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2009), Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 69, 2010. Huang Xiaojuan, *Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860*, (PhD diss. Princeton University, 2006)

Jesuits based on Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein case. ⁽⁵³⁾ So the study of Louis de Poirot shed a light on the activities of the Jesuits in late Imperial China.

**中文题目：
最后在华耶稣会士：贺清泰 (1735-1813)**

刘晶晶

文华学院副教授，湖北省武汉市，jingjing0329@gmail.com, 15387025490

摘要：本文将利用中外文献研究欧洲耶稣会解散之后留华最后一人——贺清泰。贺清泰于乾隆中期来华，此时禁教已久，在华传教士已屈指可数，且仅限于内府工作，没有传教自由。耶稣会更于1773年为教宗勒令解散，直至1814年复会。贺清泰便是在这种政教内外交困情况下，留华传教。作为画家，作为译者，贺清泰都在中西文化交流史有着重要的地位。作为宫廷传教士，如何在禁教期间努力，配合他们的身份，积极化解教案支持传教，贺清泰就是一个案例。作为一个前耶稣会士，请求派遣传教士来华，申请重新加入幸存的俄罗斯耶稣会，贺清泰是新旧耶稣会的连接点。

关键词：解散；禁教；重新入会

(53) Saje Mitja, *A. Hallerstein –Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* (Maribor: Association for Culture and Education Kibla, 2009); Stanislav Južnič, *Hallerstein: Kitajski Astronomiz Mengša* (Ljubljana: Tehniška založba Slovenije, 2003).

始同终异: 近代在华天主教与基督新教的宿怨新隙^(*)

郭建斌

(西南民族大学哲学学院, 610041, 成都市, 四川省)

摘要: 近代中国, 伴随着系列不平等条约的签订, 天主教与新教为了争夺更多的传教权威、区域及话语权, 两教派纷争不断。李问渔(1840-1911)为近代天主教华籍耶稣会士, 他写了诸多涉及两派关系的著作, 以期为天主教辩护。从内容而言, 绝大部分内容均是由宗教改革所引发的教派争论在中国的延续, 主要集中于教义教规、礼仪、《圣经》等内容的讨论。对教案或侵略等传教新问题的论述涉及比例较少, 且是对他人质疑的被动回应。从辩护方法而言, 李问渔曾利用中国传统文化来类比和阐明天主教教义教规, 但内容较少, 更多的是直接通过《圣经》阐释教义。通过梳理李问渔的相关著作可知, 以李问渔为代表的近代中国天主教更多关注的是由信仰或教义上的差异导致的敌视, 而非传教中面临的新问题。

关键词: 近代中国; 天主教; 新教; 李问渔

作者: 郭建斌, 西南民族大学哲学学院讲师, 主要从事中国基督教史研究, 电子邮件: gjb858621@163.com。电话: +8618811580178

近代中国, 国势衰微。在列强坚船利炮的威慑下, 清政府与西方签订了一系列不平等的条约。伴随条约的签订, 基督宗教在中国的传教逐渐“合法”化。在传教特权保护下, 传教士的足迹几乎遍及整个中国大地。然而, 面对异域色彩浓厚的基督宗教⁽¹⁾, 在当时普通大众眼中, 基督教“挖眼剖心用以照相或掺入鸦片, 令人上瘾”、“以贿赂的手段使人入教”、“诱侮妇女”、“办育婴堂, 杀孩坏尸, 采生配药”。加之在治外法权的护佑下, 一些传教士不尊重当时中国固有的司法和习俗, “干涉词讼”, “包庇教民”, “陵砾官府”。因此在谣言以及部分传教士的不当行为之下, 导致19世纪末期, 教案频发, 其中以天主教涉案居多。

学术界对于教案史料的整理⁽²⁾及其研究, 成果颇丰。对于教案的研究⁽³⁾, 主要集中于对教案等历史事件的梳理和教案发生原因的分析, 正如吕实强把近代中国官绅反教的原因总结为“维护儒家传统”, “

(*) 本文系国家社科基金一般项目“晚清天主教徒李问渔著作的整理与研究”(17BZJ056)阶段性成果。

(1) 基督宗教包括天主教、基督新教和东正教。在中国语境下, 基督教有广义和狭义之分。广义基督教即基督宗教下的各个宗派。狭义的基督教指基督新教。本文以天主教和基督新教等名称加以区分。新教入华后, 天主教称其为辩驳教或耶稣教。

(2) 对于教案史料的整理主要有: 北平故宫博物院文献馆 Beijing Gugong Buwuyuan Wenxianguan 编, 《清季教案史料》(两册) Qingji jiaohan shiliao [Historical Materials of Missionary cases in the Qing Dynasty], (北京 Beijing: 故宫博物院出版 Gugong bowuyuan chuban [Palace Museum Press], 1937-1948) 和吴盛德 Wu Desheng 编, 《教案史料编目》 Jianan shiliao bianmu [The catalogue of Historical Materials of Missionary cases], (北京 Beijing: 燕京大学宗教学院 Yanjing daxue zongjiao xueyuan [Yenching University School of Religious Studies], 1941)。中央研究院近代史研究所 Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 编, 《教务教案档》 Jianwu jiaocardang [The archives of Missionary cases in Qing Dynasty], (台北 Taibei: 中研院近代史研究所 Zhongyanyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo [Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica], 1974-1981); 中国第一历史档案馆 Zhongguo diyi lishidangangan, 福建师大 Fu Jian Normal University 编, 《清末教案》 Qingmo jiaohan [Missionary cases in Late Qing Dynasty], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1996-2006)。

(3) 关于教案的研究, 主要有, 王治心 Wang Zhixin, 《中国基督教史纲》 Zhongguo jidujiao shigang [The Outline of History of Christianity in China], (上海 Shanghai: 上海世纪出版集团 Shanghai shiji chubanjituan [Shanghai Central Publishing Company], 2007), 对庚子教案有较为详细的描述。陈银昆 Chen Yinkun, 《清季民教冲突的量化分析(1860-1899)》 Qingji minjiao chongtu de lianghuafenxi [The Quantitative Analysis of Conflicts between People and Religion in Qing Dynasty], (台北 Taibei: 台湾商务印书馆 Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1991), 以计量方法全面分析和评估了清末教案。李时岳 Li Shiyue, 《近代中国反洋教运动》 Jindai Zhongguo fanyangjiao yundong [Anti-foreign Religion Movement in Modern China], (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renming chubanshe [People's Publishing House], 1985), 分析了教案发生的原因和性质, 他认为教案是列强侵略和人民反洋教运动的产物。顾长声 Gu Changsheng, 《传教士与近代中国》 Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo [Missionaries and Modern China], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House]

反抗外来侵略”，“官绅对自己尊严与利益的维护”⁽⁴⁾。在具体分析儒家传统与基督宗教之间的冲突时，吕实强认为中国官绅“反教言论的一项有利支持——新旧教士的相互批评”⁽⁵⁾。同时“新教既对旧教猛烈攻击，旧教自不得不辩护与还击，此种争论，因发自教中，其助长国人对基督教之误会、疑惧与反感，自势所难免。”⁽⁶⁾由于天主教与新教之间的历史恩怨下的“宿怨”，以及在中国新形势下争夺传教利益和话语权的“新隙”，二者之间的冲突势所难免。然而，目前学者对天主教和新教在中国的对话与冲突的研究相对较少⁽⁷⁾。在华天主教和新教关系研究成果中，主要从新教传教士的角度出发，探讨新教与天主教的关系及其对天主教的态度，而天主教对新教传教士的态度以及回应等内容涉及相对较少。虽然正如有学者称，近代在华新教对天主教的态度有阶段性的转变，但是天主教对新教的态度在梵二大公会议之前，没有实质性的转变。⁽⁸⁾但是，通过对天主教对新教的态度以及回应等内容研究，可以厘清哪些内容是宗教改革以来历史问题的延续？哪些内容是在近代中国特有的语境下所衍生的争论？所以本章以晚清华籍天主教神父李问渔（1840-1911）为中心，以其译著《辩惑卮言》和《真教问答》为主要材料来源，结合李问渔所作其他文章，探讨分析以李问渔为代表的天主教会在当时中国历史语境下，对基督新教的宿怨新隙有哪些具体体现？

，2004），以青浦教案和天津教案等为案列，分析了教案发生的原因有地产纠纷、强迫捐献、包揽词讼、武力干涉等。张力 Zhang Li、刘鉴唐 Liu Jiantang,《中国教案史》Zhongguo jiananshi [The History of Missionary cases in China], (成都 Chengdu :四川省社会科学院出版社 Sichuan shehuikexueyuan chuban [Sichuan Academy of Social Science Press],1987)，为学者勾勒了中国教案的基本情况。顾卫民 Gu Weimin,《基督教与近代中国社会》Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui [Christianity and the Society in Modern China], (上海 Shanghai, 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2010)，其中对清末教案进行了总括，并结合天津教案等具体个案进行分析，认为教案产生的主要原因是中西宗教礼俗的冲突。苏萍 Su Ping,《谣言与近代教案》Yaoyan yu jindai jiaoran [Rumors and Missionary cases in Modern China], (上海 Shanghai: 上海远东出版社[Shanghai Far East Publishers], 2001)，使用社会心理学的方法对近代教案进行研究，着重探讨了谣言产生的原因、流传的社会背景和传播者的心态等。赵树好 Zhao Shuhao,《教案与晚清社会》Jiaoran yu Wanqing shehui [Missionary Cases and the Society of Late Qing Dynasty], (北京 Beijing : 中国文联出版社 Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe [China federation of literary and art circles publishing house], 2001)，认为教案的产生与列强的侵略、中西文化的冲突和晚清社会问题的激生相关，教案具有反帝反封建的性质等。

(4) 吕实强 Lv Shiqiang,《中国官绅反教的原因(1860-1874)》Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin [The Reasons of Chinese Gentries against Christianity], (台湾 Taiwan : 中央研究院近代史研究所 Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo [Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica], 1985)。

(5) Ibid., p. 45.

(6) Ibid., p. 53.

(7) 关于天主教和新教在中国的对话与冲突的研究主要有，于可 Yu Ke,“基督新教与天主教的关系及其区别”Jiduxinjiao yu Tianzhuojiao de guanxi jiqi qubie [The Relationship and Differences between Protestantism and Catholicism],《历史教学》Lishi jiaoxue [History Teaching] (1982年第7期),从教义、组织形式与制度和礼仪方面比较基督新教和天主教的异同。杨大春 Yang Dachun,“晚清天主教会与耶稣教会的冲突”Wanqing tianzhuojiaohui yu yesujiaohui de chongtu [The Conflict Between Catholic Church and Protestant Church in Late Qing Dynasty],《史学月刊》Shixue yuekan [Journal of Historical Science] (2003年第2期)，通过对近代中国史籍中有案可查的42起天主教与新教冲突事件的分析，归纳两个教派冲突所具有的五大大特点，以及引起冲突的七种原因。孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang,“马礼逊时代在华天主教与新教之关系管窥”Malixun shidai zaihua tianzhuojiao yu xinjiao zhi guanxi guanlun [The Relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism in China in the time of Robert Morrison],《道风:基督教文化评论》Daofeng: Jidujiao wenhua pinglun [Logos & Pneuma-Chinese Journal of Theology] (2007年第27期)，主要通过《马礼逊回忆录》中对天主教神父、教徒、天主教传教士记述的分析，认为马礼逊在华期间，新教与天主教之间的关系不能简单的概述为充满敌意和彼此嫉恨，而是既有亲和性的同情，亦有判教式的成见。陶飞亚 Tao Feiya、田燕妮 Tian Yanni,“同为异国传教人:近代来华新教传教士对天主教的态度转变解析”[Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom : Analyses of the Changing Attitudes of Protestantism to Catholicism in Modern China],《东岳论丛》Dongyue luncong [Dongyue Tribune] (2011年第2期)，主要以1867-1941年《教务杂志》中刊登的传教士文章为依据，认为新教传教士“在传教过程中对天主教的态度，经历了由对天主教的两分法到基本否定、再到基本肯定的一个转变过程”。田燕妮 Tian Yanni,《同为异国传教人:近代在华新教传教士与天主教传教士关系研究(1807-1941)》Tong wei yiguo chuanjiaoren: jindai zaihua xinjiao chuanjiaoshi yu tianzhuojiao chuanjiaoshi guanxi yanjiu [Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom:A Research on the Relationship between Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in Modern China], (新北 Xinbei : 花木兰出版社 Huamulan chubanshe [Hua Mmulan Press],2018)，探讨了从1807年马礼逊入华到1941年西方对华传教趋于停滞这一时期，在华天主教和新教之间的关系，认为随着在华传教环境的变化，两教之间的关系有阶段性变化，二者之间既有竞争，也有合作。

(8) 陶飞亚 Tao Feiya、田燕妮 Tian Yanni,“同为异国传教人:近代来华新教传教士对天主教的态度转变解析”[Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom : Analyses of the Changing Attitudes of Protestantism to Catholicism in Modern China], 95-96.

1807年, 马礼逊 (Robert Morrison, 1782—1834) 入华后, 两派之间即已发生由于信仰或者教义上的差异导致的敌视, 或者由印刷和散发宗教著述或《圣经》译本导致的冲突。⁽⁹⁾ 鸦片战争后, 随着传教的逐渐“合法”化, 双方为了抢占更多的传教利益, 冲突在所难免。“自从19世纪中叶以来, 基督新教已经取代明清耶稣会, 成为新的文化媒介。他们与中国知识分子合作, 把最新的西学翻译为中文。作为天主教传教士的竞争对手, 新教教士虽然没有更多的关注明清传教使团, 但亦没有完全忽视这段历史。”⁽¹⁰⁾ 继马礼逊借鉴天主教中译本圣经翻译出版中文《圣经》之后, 麦都思 (Walter Henry Medhurst, 1796年-1857年) 亦对明清天主教书籍产生兴趣, 并重新出版了三本书: 《圣教要理》、《圣经史记》和《天帝宗旨论》。麦都思删除了这些书中与基督新教教义相冲突的地方, 改编之后重新出版。这个行为引起主教罗类思 (Louis de Besi, 1805-1871) 和耶稣会士南格禄 (Claude Gotteland, 1803-1856) 的强烈抗议, 他们与英国驻上海领事巴富尔 (George Balfour, 1809-1894) 交涉, 希望领事可以出面干涉。为此, 罗类思反复重申禁令, 禁止天主教徒收藏和阅读此类新教书籍, 并及时焚毁。⁽¹¹⁾ 罗类思的禁令, “被另一位在上海的伦敦会士美魏茶 (William Charles Milne, 1815-1863) 发现, 他将其英译本和中文本, 先后发表在《中国丛报》(The Chinese Repository) 上, 于是双方的矛盾进入了公众舆论的视野。”⁽¹²⁾ “在1891-1911年的20年间, 尤其是1903-1909年的7年中, 天主教和耶稣教的教会势力却有过明显的不和”, 但是这些冲突“人员以教民为主, 偶有教士卷入”, 所以两教派的互相攻击主要是“停留在合法的文字和行政手段上, 未形成公开的教派冲突。”⁽¹³⁾ 有学者在探讨1807-1941年的天主教与基督新教关系时, 认为“由于教义理解、历史渊源、文化传统以及在华历史背景等因素的差异与不同, 新教传教士在传教过程中对天主教传教士的态度, 经历了由对天主教传教士的两分法到基本否定再到基本肯定的一个转变过程。……19世纪末, 随着部分天主教传教士袒护教徒干预诉讼引起民教纠纷以及两教派冲突的增多, 新教传教士对天主教的态度趋于基本否定。”⁽¹⁴⁾ 李问渔关于两教派关系的护教著作, 基本是创作于新教对天主教趋于基本否定的时期。他积极的论证天主教为唯一“真教”, 并对新教的质疑做出积极回应。

1880年李问渔出版了《辩惑卮言》⁽¹⁵⁾, 阐明两派之间的关系与异同, 由此引发两派之间的系列争论。⁽¹⁶⁾ 《辩惑卮言》开篇阐明耶稣创立天主教会目的和教会的性质等, 主要内容是对新教质疑的一种被动回应。例如对新教认为天主教“遗失真传”、“敬礼圣像”为偶像崇拜、“教皇骄横”、“敬礼玛利亚为大

(9) 孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang, “马礼逊时代在华天主教与新教之关系管窥” Malixun shidai zaihua Tianzhujiào yu Xinjiao zhi guanxi guanlun [The Relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism in China in the time of Robert Morrison], 40.

(10) Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, pp12-13.

(11) 关于麦都思改编天主教书籍引发的两教冲突和争论, 请参考 Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, pp61-63. 陈拓 Chen Tuo, “书籍重刊与权威之争---以19世纪40年代新耶稣会士重返江南为中心” Shuji chongkan yu quanwei zhi zheng-- yi 19 shiji 40 niandai xinyesuhui chongfan jiangnan wei zhongxin [Reprinting Books and the Religious Authority: The Return of Jesuits in the 1840s' Jiangnan], (《史林》 Shilin [Historical Review], 2019年第5期), 135.

(12) 陈拓 Chen Tuo, “书籍重刊与权威之争---以19世纪40年代新耶稣会士重返江南为中心” Shuji chongkan yu quanwei zhi zheng-- yi 19 shiji 40 niandai xinyesuhui chongfan jiangnan wei zhongxin [Reprinting Books and the Religious Authority: The Return of Jesuits in the 1840s' Jiangnan], 135.

(13) 杨大春 Yang Dachun, “晚清天主教会与耶稣教会的冲突” Wanqing tianzhujiàohuì yu yesujiàohuì de chongtu [The Conflict Between Catholic Church and Protestant Church in Late Qing Dynasty], 55、57.

(14) 田燕妮 Tian Yanni, 《同为异国传教人: 近代在华新教传教士与天主教传教士关系研究 (1807-1941)》 Tong wei yiguo chuanjiaoren: jindai zaihua xinjiao chuanjiaoshi yu tianzhujiào chuanjiaoshi guanxi yanjiu [Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom: A Research on the Relationship between Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in Modern China], 12.

(15) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], (上海 Shanghai: 徐汇印书馆 Xuhui Yinshuguan [Xuhui Press], 1880)。

(16) 田燕妮 Tian Yanni, 《同为异国传教人: 近代在华新教传教士与天主教传教士关系研究 (1807-1941)》 Tong wei yiguo chuanjiaoren: jindai zaihua xinjiao chuanjiaoshi yu tianzhujiào chuanjiaoshi guanxi yanjiu [Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom: A Research on the Relationship between Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in Modern China], 87.

谬”以及“教士不娶，百弊之渐”等的反驳与回应。在1899年出版的《真教问答》⁽¹⁷⁾一书，从其内容来看，论述了天主教为传承自耶稣的真教，天主教的性质特点，以及基督新教均不符合这些性质特点。此书是对两派关系的积极回应，主动阐明天主教的立场和观点。《辩惑卮言》最初主要是针对天主教徒而作，“彼（笔者注：新教）教之理，未免脱略附会，与耶稣设教之本意，多所触背，深恐吾教中信心未固者，见异思迁，胸无定主，或致疑虑交乘，隐忧丛伏，良可惜也。爰将彼教与吾教根于一，歧而二之本末，缕析分明，特著一编，颜之曰辩惑卮言。俾吾教中人，知源流之异，当自密防闲，并不敢妄肆雌黄，好为喋喋，后人以聚讼之阶，阅者其共谅之。”⁽¹⁸⁾在光绪十年1884年重版的《辩惑卮言》中，首版序言内容大概与1880年版一致，但是略有区别，“其所传之理，大都脱畧附会，与耶稣设教本旨，多所触背。予恐天主教中有信心未固者，见异思迁，胸无定主，遂致疑虑交乘，隐忧丛伏。爰将彼教与吾教，始同终异，根是枝歧之故，缕析分明，译为一篇，颜之曰辨惑卮言。俾阅者知所审择，早为防闲。是则区区之意，可为知者道，亦可为俗人言者。”⁽¹⁹⁾在1899年版《真教问答》序言中，李问渔认为基督新教“以目混珠，不特局外无把握，每为其所欺，即我教士庶，听其言，亦有一二惑者。”⁽²⁰⁾通过材料可知，李问渔译书最初仅仅是针对天主教内人，随着书籍的再版，以及同类主题的书籍的出版，作品的不仅仅是针对教内人，而且亦包含教外人。这种转变可能是由于随着两教派冲突的增多，更多的人关注到二者的区别与对立，天主教为争夺更多的话语权和传教权益而作。

一、历史传承下的宿怨

欧洲宗教改革后，基督新教与天主教在教义、组织形式、制度和礼仪等方面均有所不同，但是随着基督宗教在中国传教“合法化”，面对异域色彩浓厚的基督宗教，当时的民众并未有区分新教和天主教意识。只有部分参与处理教案或洋务的官员从外部的社会现象中粗略地区分二者，例如同治年间，处理天津教案的曾国藩认为“自中外通商以来，各国皆相安无事，惟法国以传教一节，屡滋事端。...虽西人之耶稣教亦未尝多事。惟天主教一教，屡滋事端，非偏有爱憎也。”⁽²¹⁾江苏巡抚丁日昌认为“天主教、耶稣各教传入中国，载在条约，固不能不照章随时保护，然亦不能任听作奸犯科...耶稣一教，安分守己，与民无争，尚无他虞，至天主教虽本心并非为恶，而传教士所到之处，不择良莠，广收徒众”，“自通商后，中外商民相安已久，毫无间言，耶稣教人亦不以为怨。惟百姓言及天主教，则异口同声，恨之入骨。”⁽²²⁾光绪年间，御史陈其璋认为“窃西教之行于中国，分天主教，耶稣两门。入教之民，良莠不齐，往往因此滋事。”⁽²³⁾久办洋务的恭亲王奕訢认为“西洋传教，向无总教士名目，惟罗马教王可与有约之国专派教使，凡天主教民，悉归管辖...至耶稣教则英美两国为多，久与天主教分门别户，外洋有新教、旧教之称，其实异流同源，教规各立而已。”⁽²⁴⁾官员总的印象即为新教安分守己，天主教屡滋事端。随着两派对传教权益的争夺，加之宗教改革后两派教义论争的历史延续，天主教与新教势必在中国展开了一场谁为耶稣所立真教，谁为正统的论辩。

(17) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], (上海 Shanghai: 慈母堂 Cimitang [Cimutang Press], 1899).

(18) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 序言1b-2a.

(19) Ibid., p. 1.

(20) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 1.

(21) 中国第一历史档案馆 Zhongguo diyi lishidanganguan、福建师大 Fu Jian Normal University 编,《清末教案》(第一册) Qingmo jiaoran [Missionary cases in Late Qing Dynasty] (Book1), 920.

(22) Ibid., p. 910.

(23) Ibid. (Book2), p. 630.

(24) Ibid., p.640.

(一) 何为“真教”

李问渔对新教总体的看法为：

“(新教)道光间始入中国⁽²⁵⁾，取名耶稣教，与正教分道扬镳，以目混珠。其见于外者，亦导人行善，济困扶危，施医药以疗病，捐米粟以赈饥，糜巨帑，费精力，一视同仁，无间遐迹。惟其所传之理，大都脱略附会，与耶稣所设教本旨，多所触背。”⁽²⁶⁾

“或谓耶稣希腊等教，美举显行，争先恐后。虽天主教，多行善事，亦何足异？殊不知耶稣希腊两教，皆我教之分流。饮水思源，勿忘根本。彼教所以多行善举，仍是我教之遗风。”⁽²⁷⁾

说明其相对肯定新教传教士在中国医疗等慈善事业，不过此种慈善事业亦是源自于天主教。只是新教所传播的教理违背了耶稣创立教会的根本主旨，由此他认为两教的关系为“始同终异，根是枝歧”。⁽²⁸⁾在《重刊辩惑卮言序》中，李问渔已经明确把新教归为“异端邪说”。“自真教立于天下，邪说相淆，异端频作，历考史乘，何代无之。迨罗德禄（笔者注：路德）生而别创辩驳之教，犹其后焉者也。”⁽²⁹⁾当时亦有人认可新教教徒的品质，肯定其慈善行为，以此反驳李问渔对新教的观点，“耶稣教中人，正直公平，与人往来，很讲理性，他们施医发药，收养贫病等事，实在不少。”⁽³⁰⁾李问渔认为新教教徒的这些好的慈善行为，并非听从基督新教的道理，因为新教的教义只需要教徒信仰耶稣基督即可，无需任何善功。“他们的好不是从耶稣教来的，恰好因为他们不依耶稣教的道理，所以做许多善事，不然只有性德就够了，还有那个肯出钱施济？”⁽³¹⁾通过以上材料可知，李问渔对基督新教总体上持否定的态度，但是这一总体态度中亦有些许微妙的变化。从开始相对肯定其慈善传教，否定其教义，到直接定义为“异端邪说”，再到进而否定其慈善传教行为。从开始较为审慎的讨论态度，转变为彻底否定的决绝态度。

以李问渔为代表的天主教会，认为天主教为唯一真教，且基督新教不符合真教的所有特征和标准，那么真教有哪些特征与标准呢？“真教是传行天下的一个大会，在会的人，都信耶稣的道理，都守耶稣的诫命，都领耶稣的圣事，都听接伯多禄位的教皇的命”⁽³²⁾，“真教是至一至圣至公，从宗徒传下来的，所以凭据有四个，你看见那个教有这四个凭据，便是真教”⁽³³⁾，“按耶稣立教，道本公同，权必一统。”⁽³⁴⁾而只有天主教，是真教，“因为别的教，都不听教皇的命，不是宗徒传下的，又没有一样的道理，所以不是真教。”⁽³⁵⁾由此可知，李问渔认为真教的标准有四：至一、至圣、至公、从宗徒传承下来。至一，即耶稣创立一个统一的教会，且在教会中有统一的道理和治法，并由教宗掌管教会统一的权柄。统一的道理是“耶稣默启圣教会的道理”和“教宗尊长的命”。⁽³⁶⁾统一治法是“耶稣立教，定下许多尊长，管理教中事物，到底属于一个教皇，上下通情，一线相贯。”⁽³⁷⁾他认为基督新教教派林立，“各自做主，各信各的道理，

(25) 学界认可的新教最早入华的时间应为马礼逊入华的时间，即1807年。

(26) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 序言1.

(27) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《天主教化俗论》 Tianzhujiao huasu lun [The discussion of Catholicism Changing Customs], 参见《理窟》 Li ku, [Reason] (上海 Shanghai : 上海土山湾印书馆 Shanghai tushanwan yinshuguan, [Shanghai Tushanwan Press], 1886), 21b.

(28) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 序言1b.

(29) Ibid., p.3a.

(30) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 35b.

(31) Ibid., p.35b.

(32) Ibid., p.5a.

(33) Ibid., p.11b.

(34) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 序言3b.

(35) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 5b.

(36) Ibid., p.13a.

(37) Ibid., p.14b.

没有统管的权柄”⁽³⁸⁾, 不符合耶稣立教的宗旨, 因为“耶稣所立惟一教耳, 一教之道应归一致, 否则道歧而教亦分, 不复合为一教矣。况耶稣之道, 中正无偏, 不能自相矛盾, 借令此曰如此, 彼曰如彼, 似风马牛不相及, 则二者之间, 必一是而一非, 非者即不得为耶稣之道。”⁽³⁹⁾同时基督新教只重视《圣经》, 且每个人均有阅读圣经的权利, 并通过圣经获得上帝默启的机会。但是每个人均把自己对圣经的理解当作天主的默启, 各执己见, 不易形成统一的教义道理。“耶稣教散而无统, 没有一定的章程。几时地方官从那一教, 他的手下人也从那一教。”⁽⁴⁰⁾

在李问渔的记述中, 关于路德、加尔文创立新教的原因, 两教派的立场不同, 原因不同。从天主教来说, 路德、加尔文、亨利八世等新教领袖, 个人品行不端, 违背教律, 不服从教宗的诏谕, 在受到教宗的责罚后, 进而裂教。从个人品行而言, 路德“性情骄傲, 胆大言大, 稍不遂意, 便生气发怒。喜欢看异端教中若望伍斯的书。慢慢的潜移默化, 心思变坏, 恨罗马教的规矩章程。”⁽⁴¹⁾在违背教律和教皇诏谕方面, “教皇颁发大赦, 叫教士们宣传恩诏, 只没有用圣奥斯定会修士, 从此路德禄嫉妒, 积恨在心, 讲许多谬论。”当教宗责罚其谬妄时, 他“怒火中烧, 狂吠乱闹, 把圣教会和圣贤人的话, 都不当什么, 向众人讲异端道理。”^[42]英王亨利八世, 由于废黜正妻, 另娶新欢, 违背天主教教律, “教皇克雷孟第七位知道了, 力阻不准, 因为天主定律, 娶了一个正妻, 终身不能更改了, 亨利第八大怒, 命通国背天主教。”^[43]

从新教的角度而言, 由于天主教遗失真传, 且教宗以势压人, 凌人矜己, 不得已之下, 另立门户。新教教士认为“吾先祖本奉罗马教, 因教皇与教长, 骄奢淫佚, 多行不义, 故英王恩利格等离弃根宗, 自成一教。”⁽⁴⁴⁾“一曰教皇以势压人, 往往而是, 故西海各大邦, 不愿服从, 遂离其教, 而别立门户。一曰天主教早失真传, 与教之本旨不符, 故耶稣教挺然兴起, 斥其谬, 复其旧, 返本归原, 鼎新革故, 称复原教。”⁽⁴⁵⁾“日耳曼人路德别立新教, 各国之苦教皇虐者, 靡然应之。”⁽⁴⁶⁾在《国风报》中曾刊登《罗马教皇之将来论》, 文中“以路得喀尔温背教事, 徵教皇之强悍。”⁽⁴⁷⁾

面对新教对天主教“早失真传”的质疑, 从历史发展角度而言, 李问渔认为从耶稣之死到新教创立“相去千五百年, 其间惟天主教传行天下, 遍及万方。英国尊而从之, 亦已千载。此千载间, 英之君臣士庶, 宴然安之, 迨亨利出而忽谓天主教遗失真传, 务须整顿, 于是心裁自出, 花样一新, 将规程之难守者, 弃若弁毛。将教礼之习行者, 截然停止, 仗国主之威力, 强各省士民, 靡然易辙, 有不从者, 置之极典。”⁽⁴⁸⁾李问渔认为新教忽视历史传承, 类似于“一人于此, 茶余酒后, 岸然告人曰, 尧舜三代之事, 我能知之, 今经书所载, 皆虚语也。予将复其古, 而返其原, 子其从我是。此人之言, 无异王莽比尧舜, 谁不非笑其愚蠢。”⁽⁴⁹⁾李问渔通过圣经经文“玛窦经末章, 耶稣谓宗徒曰, 我将常在尔曹中, 直至世末。若望经第十四章, 又曰, 尔若爱我, 当守我诫, 我将求圣父赐保慰之师。永偕尔居。是即真理之圣神。据此则耶稣与圣神, 常在教中”⁽⁵⁰⁾, 证明天主教并未遗失真传。同时, 他认为, 在天主教传承过程中, 并未出现

(38) Ibid. , p.19a.

(39) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 序言3b.

(40) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 22a.

(41) Ibid. , p.19b-20a.

(42) Ibid. , p.20.

(43) Ibid. , p.22a.

(44) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 15a.

(45) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《续理窟》 Xu Liku [Sequel of Reason], (上海 Shanghai : 土山湾印书馆 Tushanwan yinshuguan [Tushanwan Press], 1915), 65.

(46) Ibid. , p.77b.

(47) Ibid. , p.87b.

(48) Ibid. , p.65b-66.

(49) Ibid. , p.66a.

(50) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 9.

任何差谬, “苟有差谬, 初行数百年, 直至罗德禄恩利格之世, 其间千数百年, 耶稣之真教灭矣。因当是时, 天主教外, 未闻别有所谓耶稣真教也。”⁽⁵¹⁾他认为新教所传教义教理均源自于天主教, 如果天主教有谬误, 或者遗失真传, 那么新教的教义又是从何而来呢? 李问渔还通过《圣经》的历史传承, 论证新教之非(下文将专门讨论此话题)。

面对新教对教宗权威的质疑, 李问渔认为教宗权力源自于耶稣, 有其存在的合理性和必要性。“玛窦经第十六章, 耶稣名其教曰天国。若望经第十章, 喻其教曰羊栈。且云尚有他羊, 未归此栈。我将援引之而羊必听我声, 乃并合于一牢一牧。夫一国之大, 其权必归于一君。一栈之盛, 其责必归于一牧。可知耶稣之意, 欲以教会全权, 付于一人, 而其教亦统属于一人也。”⁽⁵²⁾同时“一教之兴, 必有一总摄之人, 而后可以出旨意, 立规程, 施教化, 决事宜。使亿兆人, 指臂相连, 合为一体。否则领袖乏人, 散而无纪。如家无主则不齐, 国无君则不治。乌乎可? 借令十二宗徒, 无一领袖之人, 则十二徒各驻一方。劝人信道。其间无相属之制, 是十二徒立十二教矣。岂非谬甚。”⁽⁵³⁾教会权力统归于一人, 且“进真教的人, 该信一样的道理, 守一样的规矩, 行一样的礼节。若使没有总管的人, 怎么样道理规矩, 能划一不乱呢?”⁽⁵⁴⁾有人认为教会的权力应该统归于耶稣, 而不应该为其他人, 但是“耶稣已升天, 欲亲瞻之而无从, 欲问道焉而无自。虽大主至灵, 不难降世提撕。然未尝屡屡现身, 躬亲训导。则耶稣而外, 当别有元首明也。”有人为基督新教虽然教派林立, 没有统一的教宗管理教会, 但是通过他们共同信仰的耶稣基督, 亦可联合为同一教会。“如一国之有郡县, 一身之有四肢, 途虽殊而归则同, 何必别有一统权哉?”李问渔认为“国无君, 郡县不能安; 身无首, 肢体不能活。教会无统权, 教道不能流行。”“教会分歧, 莫衷一是, 所信不同, 教亦不能合一。”⁽⁵⁵⁾根据《圣经》, “伯多禄实为宗徒之长, 统摄全教之政, 后世嗣其位者, 掌握此权。”⁽⁵⁶⁾假如“伯多禄死后此权亦与俱亡, 则会必散而教必混。耶稣立教, 惟传于数十年间。有是理哉? 况耶稣曾言教会犹一国, 犹羊羣, 犹屋宇, 犹躯体, 然国无君不治, 羊无牧不聚。屋宇无趾, 坍塌可虞。躯体无头, 死亡立见。则教会中统摄之权, 亦不可一日无矣。”⁽⁵⁷⁾在伯多禄死后, 历代教宗接替其管理教会的权柄。

新教教士认为教宗以势压人, 凌人矜己, 不得已之下, 另立门户。面对质疑, 李问渔从世俗权势的角度分析, 教宗权势衰微, “英教中人, 犹藉藉于口, 谓教皇以势压人。夫压人必有力, 而教皇抚撮尔小邦, 地不过数百里, 兵不过数千人, 较诸英俄德法等国, 不啻丘陵之于泰山, 何能以势压人乎? 何能压英德等大国乎? 况二十五年前, 罗马小邦, 亦为意王所夺。则所谓依势者, 势果安在?”⁽⁵⁸⁾他认为教宗亲民, 并非“傲不可亲”, 教宗坚守教规教律, 不容他人违背, “凡国王之尊往往燕处深宫, 不与编氓相接。若教皇不然, 无论工商士庶, 俱可拜见殿廷, 亲聆圣训。谓为傲, 傲果安在? 惟教皇以传道训人为责, 以统摄教会为务, 闻人被惑, 不得不教。见人有过, 不得不规。规之不听, 则绝之教外。所谓傲不可亲者, 殆即指此。”⁽⁵⁹⁾教宗坚守教会一切规矩章程, “凡无碍于大典者, 可因时制宜, 稍为沿革, 而教律之大端, 如一男只娶一女, 虽国君之尊, 亦不能违反。无他, 耶稣立法, 教皇不得弛也。”⁽⁶⁰⁾李问渔认为天主教的规章制度皆由耶稣创立, 尤其是例如“一夫一妻”制等规章, 无论君王还是教宗, 都不准弛禁, 人人都得遵守。然后他举例亨利八世(Henry VIII, 1491-1547)宗教改革的例子, 认为亨利八世“欲出正后, 别屈私

(51) Ibid., p.10a.

(52) Ibid., p.3b-4a.

(53) Ibid., p.6a.

(54) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 2b.

(55) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 7.

(56) Ibid., p.4b.

(57) Ibid., p.7a.

(58) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《续理窟》Xu Liku [Sequel of Reason], 65b.

(59) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 19b.

(60) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《续理窟》Xu Liku [Sequel of Reason], 65a.

宠, 教皇执意不容, 逐之教外, 英王怒, 与天主教为难, 自立一门, 为英国耶稣教⁽⁶¹⁾, 所以是亨利八世破坏教规在先, 教宗逐其出教在后, 亨利怀恨在心, 自立门户, 并非教宗以势压人。对待路德宗教改革, 李问渔认为他背叛天主教的真实原因是路德“然心存傲, 争求名誉”⁽⁶²⁾, 正如材料中所言:

“路德系教中司铎·修道于奥斯定会·颇诚切·然心存傲·争求名誉·会教皇筑罗马大堂·需财孔巨·无所出·乃颁赦募捐·委他教员售券·而未委奥斯定会·路耻之·骤出谤言·初惟谤于口·既而笔于书·教皇斥之不听·愈斥而愈触其忿·于是煽动愚民·焚教堂·劫道院·无赖云徒·蔓延日广·不啻川涌堤溃·泛滥全欧·不可收拾·其初心·何尝有背教意·其所以背者·以势成骑虎·欲下不能也。”⁽⁶³⁾

从材料可以得知, 李问渔认为由于教宗没有予以奥斯定会兜售赎罪券的权力, 所以路德为求荣誉, 心生怨气, 教宗斥责, 更加愤怒, 以至于骑虎难下, 最终叛教。

至圣之教, 不仅可以颂扬天主的光荣, 而且可以引人成圣。在李问渔的视角下, 天主教均具备这些特征, 新教则反之。首先, 基督新教的创始人, 品行不端, 绝非圣人, 均违反教戒教规。路德“本是个修道人, 是天主教中教士, 后来变坏了, 品行很乖, 诱骗一个修道女子, 作他妻子, 从此荒唐至极, 不知廉耻。”加尔文“他的行为也丑恶不堪, 奸淫如同牲畜, 所以官府用煨红的铁, 刺他肩上。”亨利八世“荒淫无度, 出了一妻, 又娶一妻, 又出又娶, 直出了五个, 出后不许他们活, 用自己国王的权柄, 假托一的罪名, 发交刑部斩首。”⁽⁶⁴⁾其次, 从基督新教所传教义教理而言, 并非圣教。“路德禄写信给梅朗冻说, 你尽可犯罪, 只须坚信耶稣就够了。虽然一天杀十万人, 奸十万妇女, 只要有信德, 耶稣终不离开你。又说教士修士, 都可以婚娶, 天下没有一个人, 不能婚娶的。又说道, 天主没有造炼狱, 炼狱之说, 是邪魔的奸计。又说天上圣人, 没有转求天主的权柄, 这转求的话, 是魔鬼现出来的。”⁽⁶⁵⁾基督新教提倡“预定论”反对后天善功。“按照耶稣教的道理, 人上天堂下地狱, 都是天主预先定当, 不关人的善恶。人行善作恶, 也是天主做主, 人没有主张。既然如此, 修德行, 立功劳, 都是没用的烦文。”⁽⁶⁶⁾基督新教的慈善传教行为也并非来源于新教的教义道理。(前文已经述及。)(对因信称义和圣经至上、教士婚配、圣人转祷等的驳议, 后文将专门讨论)再次, 基督新教仅重视信德而忽视礼仪和圣事, 不符合圣教的标准。天主教士认为新教“只重信德, 说一有信德, 坚信耶稣救赎的功劳, 便可以就救灵魂, 别的都不要紧, 所以没有一定的敬礼。虽然也有礼拜堂, 到底没有祭台, 没有礼节。”⁽⁶⁷⁾天主教有七大圣事, 而新教仅重视圣洗和圣体圣事, 革除了其他圣事。“就是圣洗圣事, 也把经文改变, 所以不成圣事了。他们不信圣体圣事, 只说是面饼, 作耶稣受难的表记, 所以圣体圣事也没有。他们自信有神品圣事,经文礼节都差了。”⁽⁶⁸⁾天主教中敬礼圣像, 新教认为此种行为偶像崇拜, 李问渔认为敬礼圣像或者圣物, 并非崇敬像或物本身, 而是崇敬像或物所代表之天主与圣人。

“敬礼之义·不一而足。有敬有灵者·有敬无灵者。有灵者以其自具尊美而敬之。如敬神与敬人是。无灵者原无尊美可敬·惟以其物·表白所敬之人而郑重之。如今之敬像是。或以其物为圣人之物·而尊崇之。如敬圣人遗骸是。按此意天主教敬礼圣像·非释道二氏之比·二

(61) Ibid., p.65a.

(62) Ibid., p.87b.

(63) Ibid., p.87b.

(64) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 29-30.

(65) Ibid., p.30b-31a.

(66) Ibid., p.35a.

(67) Ibid., p.34.

(68) Ibid., p.34b-35a.

氏所敬·非造物真主·又非造物主宠爱之人。礼非所礼·其意已妄。若天主教敬圣像则不然。明知神不附像·惟敬像以敬所像之人。故验其迹·似惟敬像·而原其心则实敬天主与圣人。意向真正。有何不可。”⁽⁶⁹⁾

最后，基督新教没有圣人，也没有灵迹，说明其并非圣教。在天主教视角下，新教创始人均劣迹斑斑，违背教律，均非圣人。加尔文曾通过贿赂和欺骗的手段创造圣迹，结果反弄巧成拙。⁽⁷⁰⁾

天主教教士认为至公之教的信德道理等，亘古不变。同时，至公之教，在时间和空间上均恒常存在。在时间传承上，从耶稣创立真教，派遣宗徒外出传教，到耶稣授予其管理教会权柄的伯多禄，再到接任伯多禄权柄的历任教宗，他们所传教理教义唯一不变。从传播空间来看，上自教宗、主教，下自普通信众，他们所信仰的教义统一不变。同时，“自从立教以来，直到世界穷尽，常有真教，为救万民的灵魂。”“普天下，不拘那国，真教都该传到。”⁽⁷¹⁾基督新教从天主教分裂而出，所以从创立的时间而论，晚于耶稣立教的时间，并非公教。“耶稣希腊等教，当初本来没有，所以论时候，一定不是公的教。”⁽⁷²⁾即便基督新教创立后，其传播的广度和信教人数，逊色于天主教，且新教中有改宗信仰天主教的人。因此，从传播的空间而论，新教并非公教。“他们没有奉天主的命传教，所以传的总不广。耶稣教人数，随时增减，我不能说一定的数目，到底吾知道。天主教的人数远远的超过耶稣教的人数。……常听见耶稣教中人，进天主教的，年年有许多。从没有听说天主教中人进耶稣教的。”⁽⁷³⁾

真教为宗徒所传，体现了历史传承性，具体表现在“道理和统序”历史传承。“真教的道理该常常一样，同宗徒们讲的没有分别。教中尊长和他们的权柄，该从宗徒们起，直到如今，常常连接，没有间断的时候。”⁽⁷⁴⁾天主教的教义教理“同宗徒们的信经，一点也不差，你一代一代的往上查考，便知道天主教常常讲宗徒们的道理，没有差一点。”同时天主教会的一些称呼，如教宗叫“宗徒圣座”，教宗公使叫“宗徒使臣”，书札叫“宗徒诏谕”。天主教认为基督新教并非宗徒所传。首先，在教理方面，天主教教士认为宗徒要求人不仅有信德，而且需要善功，人一旦犯了重大罪恶，天主的圣宠也会随之消失。而基督新教只重信德，且圣宠永远不会消失。“宗徒们教训人立功劳，修德行，不要作恶。一个人有了圣宠，切不可犯大罪，一犯大罪，圣宠就失落了。耶稣教告诉人说，行善立功，都不要紧，只要有信德，必能升天堂，所以不必立什么功劳。一有圣宠，终失不了，不拘什么样作恶，圣宠常在灵魂上。”⁽⁷⁵⁾其次，从历史传承角度。天主教士认为，由于路德、加尔文等已经背教，同天主教已非一脉相承，所以他们所传福音，亦非宗徒所传福音。教会的首脑从宗徒开始代代相传，从不间断，“好比国家传祚，世世相承，才是正统。”⁽⁷⁶⁾然而基督新教创立时间晚，“在西历一千五百余年，才起头创立，在一千五百年以前，没有人说耶稣教三个字。”⁽⁷⁷⁾同时，基督新教的创始人，在天主教士眼中，劣迹斑斑，违反教规，并非圣人，亦非宗徒。

(69) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 14.

(70) 《真教问答》和《续理窟》均记载了加尔文企图创造圣迹的故事。今将《真教问答》中的相关记述摘录如下“贾尔文要做一个假灵迹，也没有做成。他贿嘱一个乡下人，约定日子，叫他假装死人，叫他妻子啼哭，到了日期，贾尔文同几个朋友出门玩耍，装作无意的样子，偶然走过那乡人的门前，听得那妇人哀哭，便问为什么哭，妇人怎长怎短，说他丈夫死的光景，都是假话。贾尔文向朋友说，这一家人全靠那家主人找几个钱儿活命。如今死了，实在可怜，我们进去求天主，赏他复活罢。说了一脚踏进门口，一直乡人床跟前，装腔作势，默祷了一会，便高声说，我靠天主的圣名，命你复活，印证我所传的教是真的。乡人不答应。贾尔文还想他睡着了，高声又说，我靠天主的圣名，命你复活。谁料仍不答应，拉开殓布一望，已经死了。那个妇人看定丈夫真的死了，便嚎啕大哭，一五一十的，把贾尔人怎样叫他装死，怎样许他银钱，在众人前，和盘托出，一点儿也不留。贾尔文没法，出许多银钱，才了结这件事。”

(71) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 37.

(72) Ibid., p.40a.

(73) Ibid., p.40.

(74) Ibid., p.41.

(75) Ibid., p.44.

(76) Ibid., p.45a.

(77) Ibid., p.45b.

(二) 对《圣经》的讨论

天主教和新教对待圣经的态度不一。两派均认为《圣经》为天主或上帝的默启，但是天主教不仅重视圣经而且重视圣传、教宗诏谕、公会议决议等，而新教唯《圣经》至上，“圣经所是，我亦是之。圣经所非，我亦非之”⁽⁷⁸⁾，“你自己看圣经，凡你懂的到想的到的，就是天主的默启”“路德禄说，把圣经作凭证，不是够了么？不拘那个人念了圣经，可以讥笑教皇主教，和一总公会议，就是说有了圣经，别的都不要紧了。”⁽⁷⁹⁾李问渔依据圣经成书的历史，逐一论证新教观点之非。

从圣经成书的历史来看，圣经新约创作的目的是为了辅助宗徒传教，以解决在传教过程中由于时空所造成的传教困难，便于基督教更进一步的传播。“只因为宗徒们不能教训一总人，亦不能到一总地方去，所以圣史写新经，叫人传扬开去，给一总人看，容易传扬圣教。”⁽⁸⁰⁾耶稣是通过口传而训导宗徒，宗徒们亦是透过口传的形式四处传教，在口传的过程中，新约逐渐成书，“玛窦经著于耶稣死后第八年，玛尔谷经著于第十年。路加经著于五十一年。若望经著于九十八年。先是福音未录，徒赖口传。”⁽⁸¹⁾因此，新约没有囊括基督教的所有道理，基督教的道理不仅包括记录在圣经上的道理，而且包括宗徒们的圣传。⁽⁸²⁾如果仅仅依据圣经，容易造成“有经而后有教，无经即无教矣”⁽⁸³⁾，造成基督教历史的错误与混乱。同时，唯圣经至上，不符合圣经的道理，不仅容易造成圣经教义的多样性，进而违背真教的至一性原则，而且也容易造成在灵魂救赎方面的不公平现象。首先，圣经中没有授予普通教徒阅读圣经的权利。“耶稣立教，教宗徒们分行天下，教训万民，并没有说你们快把圣经给一总人看。”⁽⁸⁴⁾其次，教义是唯一不变的。“救灵魂的法子，该为一总人是一样的。”⁽⁸⁵⁾“圣神至圣至灵，不能自相矛盾，不能默启人做相反的事。”⁽⁸⁶⁾“圣经无二，即圣经之旨亦无二。圣经之旨无二，即天主启示个人，亦必同然一致，先后无殊。”⁽⁸⁷⁾可是，基督新教各教派，关于圣事，圣礼“议论纷纷，莫衷一是，岂同是圣经一部，而其义有矛盾者耶？”^{〔88〕}基督新教仅重视个人信德，教徒自己阅读圣经，但是“任凭个人解说圣经，是把个人的意思，当作天主的意思。既然各执一见，什么样能划一呢？”^{〔89〕}最后，如果只阅读圣经，容易造成救赎的不公平现象。李问渔认为读书人花大量的时间阅读圣经，依旧有不懂之处，况且“世之瞽聋残疾，婁人子，愚夫妇，未入学塾，不识之无者，皆不得入教救灵矣。有是理乎？又如斐洲黑蛮，侏离陋俗，文教未行，既不能批阅圣经，亦将坐视其沈沦矣。可乎否？”^{〔90〕}只有通过圣传，才能解决这一问题。

基督新教谴责天主教遗失真传，但是从教会的发展历史来看，新教的圣经源自于天主教圣经。“一部旧约，有了已经几千年了。一部新约，有了亦一千八百余年了。耶稣教创立以来，不过三百余年，请问谁拿了圣经授给你的？岂不是路德从天主教里偷出去的么？”⁽⁹¹⁾“耶稣教之圣经，何自得之？得之天主教

(78) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 12a.

(79) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 21a.

(80) Ibid., p.51.

(81) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 12.

(82) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 51b.

(83) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 12a.

(84) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 31a.

(85) Ibid., p.32a.

(86) Ibid., p.33a.

(87) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 13a.

(88) Ibid., p.13b.

(89) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 21b.

(90) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 12b.

(91) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《真教问答》 Zhenjiao wenda[Questions and Answers about Real Religion], 32b.

乎?彼以天主教为不可信而背之。安知天主教之经,不杂谬妄之说?”⁽⁹²⁾“惟英教从圣经真旨,盖英教之圣经,即天主教之圣经也。英教本无圣经,其所有者,受之于天主教也。苟天主教已失真传,英教何得以圣经为凭。况圣经奥邃,端赖注释,若天主教不得其旨,敢问后起之英教,何自得圣经真旨乎?”⁽⁹³⁾由此可知,从教会发展历史和圣经传承的历史,天主教会认为自身独得真传,以驳斥新教之非。

(三) 对“独身制”的讨论

对于天主教传教士独身制等教规,新教教士认为“天主教不娶之律,实属无谓,且为百弊之渐。不若耶稣教中人,皆婚娶之为愈。”⁽⁹⁴⁾“天主教强人不娶,岂非大拂人情乎?”⁽⁹⁵⁾

首先,李问渔认为天主对独身和婚姻均予以鼓励,但婚娶之事是为了侍奉父母,而独身却是为了更好的侍奉天主,正如“上主降生斯世,勸人伦嘉贞静,其教旨谓娶妻固善,而不娶更妙。娶之所以事父母,继后嗣,备内助,节情欲,氏族繁昌,家庭和乐。不娶则清心洁志,绝色守贞,以负气之形躯,法天神之高品,俯仰自如,衾影无愧……百福自来,从事功修,前程易进,此守贞真旨。”⁽⁹⁶⁾教士独身可以更好的专务天主事情,使灵魂与肉体都得以成圣,正如“未婚者务天主之事,身与灵皆得成圣。然则不婚,即所以清心寡欲,成德立功。”⁽⁹⁷⁾有人以中国传统的“五伦”观念质疑教士独身制,认为其违背了中国传统“无后为大”孝道观念。李问渔认为“如必以五伦为重,则娶妻而不生育,又必纳宠以期举子。吾恐耶稣教中人,亦未必出此言也。无子而可听其自然,无妻亦可以不甚惜。”⁽⁹⁸⁾

其次,他认为传教士的职责为“日奉圣祭,诚心祷主,慰人忧,扶人患,训诲愚蒙,广扬教道”。⁽⁹⁹⁾在传教过程中“虽在八蛮四夷之外,五洲万国之遥。凡有人未认真主,俱都蹈险梯航,前往敷教。”⁽¹⁰⁰⁾但是传教士“己不明道,何以教人?”⁽¹⁰¹⁾因此,有志于成为传教士的人,“自幼读书,年将弱冠,文字颇通,斯攻格物,超性,教律,经传,推算,性理诸学,首尾数十年……费尽精神,始克竣事。”但是能够数十年的坚持学习,“犹幸形单影只,无室家之累,乱其寸衷;否则画眉齐案,意已分歧,学奕无心,观鸿有志,谁肯弃妻子而笃志于道学?”⁽¹⁰²⁾同时,对五洲万国的人民传播福音,势必远涉重洋,异国行教,期间难免蹈险梯航,困难重重,然而已婚者易于被世俗事物所牵绊,难以见危受命,完成远洋传教的事业。正如“谋虑世事,思所以悦妻之心,于是注意货财,致怀物欲,远道动相思之念,米盐增琐屑之烦,身在外而心在家,复何能远涉重洋,见危授命。即或挈眷偕行,亦无可。然携眷则资费繁,家事累,又何能行止自由乎?”⁽¹⁰³⁾在外邦传教,并非一帆风顺,如果遇到传教危机等事情,教士首先想到的是自己的家庭而非传教事业,这将不利于传教事业。“偶尔风鹤生疑,此邦不谷,则他事尚可缓,而内子郎君,亟宜迁徙,其不便于新教,从可见矣。”⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

(92) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 13b.

(93) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《续理窟》 Xu Liku [Sequel of Reason], 66a.

(94) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 19a.

(95) Ibid., p.20a.

(96) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,“教士不娶论” Jiaoshi buqu lun [Discussions of unmarried Missionaries],《天津益世主日报》Tianjin yishizhu ribao [Tianjin Yishizhu Daily] (1936年第25期), 16.

(97) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 19b.

(98) Ibid., p.20b.

(99) Ibid., p.19b.

(100) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《客问条答》 Ke wen tiaoda [Questions and Answers], (上海 Shanghai: 土山湾印书馆 Tushanwan yinshuguan [Tushanwan Press], 1896), 29b.

(101) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,“教士不娶论” Jiaoshi buqu lun [Discussions of unmarried Missionaries], 16.

(102) Ibid., p.16.

(103) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 19b-20a.

(104) 李问渔 Li Wenyu,《理窟》 Li ku, [Reason], 31b.

最后, 李问渔认为天主教士的独身, 是自愿默祈上主的自由选择结果, 并不具有强制性, “天主教士, 必先修省数年, 默祈上主, 阅历既久, 明知能守其身, 然后矢志不娶, 非敢鲁莽从事也。”⁽¹⁰⁵⁾虽然伯多禄等宗徒曾经婚娶, 但是在他们成为宗徒之后, 均与妻子分离, 或者妻子早已去世。“天主教定例, 人欲为教士, 必须贞身不娶。然为教士与不为教士, 任人自主, 无相强之理。则娶与不娶亦人自主之, 非强之然也。”⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

(四) 对“圣母玛利亚”崇拜的讨论

对圣母玛利亚崇拜的讨论是两教派的历史分歧在中国的延续, 李问渔在讨论中融入了中国传统的政治秩序观念和孝道观念。基督新教否定圣母的神性, 认为玛利亚为人, “敬天主可, 敬人则不可”⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, 圣母的代祷功能亦是对天主全能的一种否定, “天主教以玛利亚为大慈大悲, 救苦救难, 是玛利亚视耶稣更能怜人矣。不知耶稣全权在握, 有求必应, 以玛利亚为中保, 乃后人虚诞之词。”⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

李问渔认为圣母为圣人, 天主教敬礼天主和圣人有不同的含义。敬礼天主是为了感谢其造物之恩典, 而圣人亦是受造于天主, 不可与天主并驾齐驱, “惟其成圣升天, 品味超乎凡类, 并能转求天主, 施佑世人, 故敬之以祈其代祷。”⁽¹⁰⁹⁾他以中国传统政治秩序为例, 规劝崇敬耶稣之母, “犹之敬皇上, 必敬其太后, 敬皇上不敬太后, 非所以敬皇上也。”⁽¹¹⁰⁾对圣母的崇敬也符合孝爱之道, “孝爱之道, 又在扬亲之名, 则耶稣必愿人敬礼圣母, 以示孝爱之意。”⁽¹¹¹⁾李问渔列举《圣经》中, 玛利亚转请耶稣, 清水变酒的故事, 论证玛利亚代祷的功能。

二、历史语境下的新隙

基督宗教在近代中国传教合法化之后, 天主教和新教两派在传教权益和话语权方面, 展开新的竞争。在中国传教的新形势下, 以李问渔为代表的天主教教士, 对新教态度如何? 以及如何回应新教对于天主教的质疑?

(一) 对教案善后问题的讨论

严复曾在报刊发表《论教案及耶稣军天主教历史》一文, 其中曾提及天主教与新教两教派与教案之间的关系。“教案固新旧二宗所互有, 而出旧宗天主教一派者为多, 其侵吾地方官吏之权为重, 且事起之后, 其弥缝收拾, 亦较他宗为难。”⁽¹¹²⁾李问渔认为造成此种情况的原因因为“天主教民多于耶稣教民六倍, 人数既众, 交涉自烦。”⁽¹¹³⁾且教士并未干涉词讼, 而是教民受到不公正待遇, 教士为教民请命。“平民一入天主教, 其邻族戚友, 百计阻之。或强其拜祭祖先, 或令其捐资修庙, 或派其给费迎神, 或革其名于家谱, 或

(105) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《辩惑卮言》 Bianhuo zhiyan [Distinguish right from wrong], 20a.

(106) Ibid., p.20b.

(107) Ibid., p.17a.

(108) Ibid., p.18.

(109) Ibid., p.17a.

(110) Ibid., p.17a.

(111) Ibid., p.17b.

(112) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, “驳严又陵先生教案论” Bo Yan Youlin xiansheng jiaohan lun [Against Yan Fu's Discussions of Missionary Cases], 《汇报》Huibao [Hui Bao], (1901年第28期), 442.

(113) Ibid., p.442.

且吊打之，骂辱之，必欲其出教而后已。教士以传教为心，出首理论，论之不谐，则鸣官请究。”⁽¹¹⁴⁾他认为教案发生后，天主教士要求赔款是合乎情理，情有可原。天主教较新教“弥缝收拾”比较困难的原因为“耶稣教士，岁得西国捐资，五倍于天主教，用度则少于天主教，故慷慨豁免，鲜索赔偿，洵有足多者。天主教士，进款无多，经费反巨，其索偿所失，情有可原。”⁽¹¹⁵⁾

(二) 对教堂礼仪的讨论

《万国公报》曾刊登了雍阳逸士车铭的文章《弭闹教堂之患说》，李问渔曾对此篇文章进行回应。文章提及：

“天主耶稣之教·传来可以默化其心.....本以正理为宗·尊天为贵·不以利诱·凡彼邪说之所为·皆此教之所必禁·可以辅朝廷教化之所不及·而并为朝廷作育多少人才·所以朝廷许之而不禁也.....今之扰教堂者·盖有故也。一则始于毁谤之无禁；一则始于疑惑之多端。试观洋务教案一册·大抵皆天主堂之案居多。其案之所以起·皆由于匿名揭帖四路粘出·皆谓其教中有挖眼剖心·淫乱等事。凡此无根之言·乡愚最易信从。由是枝叶互添·举国若见·遂群其而攻毁之。溯其原·皆匪徒簧鼓斯民·使之内讷而彼乘间而肆其劫。然究其揭帖·何以无故而肆其毁议·则盖由天主堂中规条·不准外教人入堂·恐其扰也。”⁽¹¹⁶⁾

由于《万国公报》的基督新教背景，可知此篇文章是在基督新教的视角下，讨论教案问题。从文章可知，当时新教肯定天主教和新教对朝廷教化，培育人才的积极作用，同时也较为客观的分析了无稽谣言产生的原因为匪徒造谣生事，借机掠夺财物等。通过材料可知，文章作者对天主教抱有一种同情理解，赞同其教化的积极态度。但是李问渔对文章中“天主堂中规条，不准外教人入堂”导致揭帖肆虐的说法，持坚决的反对态度。

首先，李问渔认为天主教士，四处传教，积极著书立说，即是为了宣扬教道，让更多的人信仰基督教。教堂设有讲道厅，有专门的工作人员，等教外人到来时，讲授教理。“教士以传道为心，甚愿人知其理，见其礼，守其诚，同臻胞与之仁。共享身后之福。惟恐身后不能周知也。立说著书，分布遐迩。又复于教堂之侧，设立讲道之厅，雇用司事，终日兀坐，俟外人抵至，笑语相亲，与言教理。”⁽¹¹⁷⁾由此，教堂对外人开放，并非紧闭。其次，如果遇到教堂行礼，“不便直至中央，必令其站立一隅，从旁纵目，其或设椅请坐，俟礼毕而后出。”⁽¹¹⁸⁾最后，李问渔认为进入教堂后，应该遵守教堂规则，“苟有人贸贸然来，不修雅度，直入长驰，随意喧嚷，甚有蓬头跣足，酒肉醺醉，执持烟管，反手于背，闯至妇女之旁，近立祭台之侧。如是者请其出外，不准久留。”⁽¹¹⁹⁾

雍阳逸士在《弭闹教堂之患说》中提及“耶稣教每逢礼拜日，开堂宣讲，绝不禁人来听，而人亦无一有异言者。”李问渔认为既然没有异言，也不会有扰乱教堂之事，但是“武穴、金陵、宜昌闹事，耶稣教堂亦被焚掠也。将毋谓天主教累之乎”，⁽¹²⁰⁾以此论证雍阳逸士言论之非。

(114) Ibid., p.442.

(115) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, “驳严又陵先生教案论一续” Bo Yan Youlin xiansheng jiaohan lun yi xu [A Sequel of Against Yan Fu's Discussions of Missionary Cases], 《汇报》 Huibao [Hui Bao], (1901年第29期), 457.

(116) 雍阳逸士 Yongyang Yishi, “弭闹教堂之患说” Minao jiaotang zhi huan shuo [Discussions of preventing harassing churches], 《万国公报》 Wanguo gongbao [Multinational Communique], (1891年第34册) 3-4.

(117) 李问渔 Li Wenyu, 《续理窟》 Xu Liku [Sequel of Reason], 60a.

(118) Ibid., p.60a.

(119) Ibid., p.60b.

(120) Ibid., p.61a.

(三) 小结

通过对李问渔关于两教派关系等作品的创作时间和背景的考察, 结合相关学者的研究可知, 李问渔的这些著作均创作于新教对天主教全面否定的时期。在这一时期, 李问渔通过阐明两教派关系为天主教进行辩护, 在态度和内容上存在一些转变。对新教的态度从肯定其慈善传教, 否定其教义等较为审慎的讨论态度, 转变为定义新教为“异端邪说”彻底否定的决绝态度。在内容方面, 从消极被动的回应新教对其的质疑到积极主动的阐明天主教教义教规的转变。从具体内容而言, 无论是对新教的被动回应, 还是积极辩惑, 李问渔对天主教的辩护绝大部分内容均是欧洲历史上宗教改革所引发的两教派的争论在中国的延续, 也主要是集中于教义教规、礼仪、《圣经》等内容的讨论, 即所谓的“宿怨”。在辩护过程中, 李问渔也曾利用中国传统文化来类比和阐明天主教教义教规, 但比例较少, 更多的是直接从《圣经》出发的教义阐释。在中国历史处境下, 两教派在争夺传教权威、市场和话语权的纷争中, 面临许多复杂的传教状况。李问渔虽然对教案和侵略等新问题有相关的论述, 但均为一种被动保守的消极回应, 并没有主动的关注和解决新的传教问题。由此可知, 李问渔对两教派关系的辩护, 对“宿怨”给予更多的重视, 而对于“新隙”, 仅仅是一种消极的回应。这种态度, 也体现了以李问渔为代表的天主教会的保守性。根据相关的研究可知, 在“《马礼逊回忆录》中, 凡涉及二者之冲突的事实, 不外以下两项: 有信仰或教义上的差异导致的敌视, 由印刷和散发宗教著述或《圣经》译本导致的冲突。前一类的敌视, 实际上并不多见。”⁽¹²¹⁾而在华天主教更多关注的是前者。在基督教在近代传教“合法化”之后, “新教传教士一方面汲取天主教经验教训, 以更有效地推动新教在华传教事业, 这显示出新教传教士务实的一面; 另一方面新教与天主教传教士之间为争夺正宗地位而展开护教性论辩, 这显示出西方传统两教派关系对他们的影响。”⁽¹²²⁾两教派在华关系的整个过程中, 新教不仅关注教义正统的论辩, 而且具有务实精神, 关注现实的传教事业。以李问渔为代表的天主教会, 更多的关注教义教理的正统性, 务实性上相比新教稍逊一筹。这对两教派的传教势头和活力造成一定的影响。

English Title:

The same Origin and different Roads: the old and recent hatred between Catholicism and Protestantism in Modern China

Jianbin Guo

Lecturer, School of Philosophy of Southwest Minzu University, Chengdu, Sichuan, China, 610041. Tel: +8618811580178, Email: gjb858621@163.com

Abstract: In modern China, with the signing of a series of unequal treaties, there were constant disputes between Catholicism and Protestantism in order to fight for missionary authority, missionary regions and discourse power. As a modern Catholic Chinese Jesuit, Li Wenyu (1840-1911) had written many works on the relationship between the two denominations to defend for Catholicism. In the terms of the content, most of the works are the continuation of the sectarian argument triggered by the Reformation, concentrating mainly on the discussion of doctrines, rituals, the Bible and so on. However, few researches are concerned about new missionary issues such as Missionary cases or a type

(121) 孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang, “马礼逊时代在华天主教与新教之关系管窥” Malixun shidai zaihua Tianzhujiao yu Xinjiao zhi guanxi guanlue [The Relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism in China in the time of Robert Morrison], 40.

(122) 田燕妮 Tian Yanni, 《同为异国传教人: 近代在华新教传教士与天主教传教士关系研究(1807-1941)》 Tong wei yiguo chuanjiaoren: jindai zaihua xinjiao chuanjiaoshi yu tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi guanxi yanjiu [Both for Christ in the Middle Kingdom: A Research on the Relationship between Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in Modern China], 105.

of inseparable connection between missionaries and Western Powers and they are just a kind of passive response to other people's queries. In the way of Apologetics methods, he once used traditional Chinese culture to explain the doctrines of Catholicism whereas it only occupied a little part. On most occasions, he interpreted doctrines through the Bible directly. By reviewing the relevant works of him, it can be seen that the modern Chinese Catholicism represented by Li Wenyu paid more attention to the enmities caused by differences in beliefs or doctrines instead of new problems arose in missionary work.

Keywords: Modern China, Catholicism, Protestantism, Li Wenyu

比较宗教文化研究

Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies

The Economic Ethic in Chinese Society: Differences from and Similarities to the Western Economic Ethic from the Perspective of Social Cooperation^(*)

Rui PENG

(Department of Philosophy, Humanity School, Nanchang University)

Abstract: Using game theory and transaction cost theory, religion or the religious ethic is converted to a system that provides ethical support and interpretation for various types of social cooperation and supports their equilibrium either partially or completely. From the perspective of the social cooperation ethic, the economic ethic of modern society may be viewed as a “partial equilibrium” that comprises the horizontal cooperation ethic (commerce or market) and the vertical cooperation ethic (the internal power in an enterprise). In this regard, Weber strongly interpreted the causes and processes of the differentiation and independence of the modern economic ethic of the West as “partial equilibrium” from “overall equilibrium.” However, the economic ethic in Chinese society has been different and has always maintained a close association with “overall equilibrium,” and its expression and symbolism have undergone a change in process from the local god of *Sheji* (社稷神, god of state) to local *Chenghuang* gods (城隍神, city gods) to nationwide popular general gods.

Keywords: Social Cooperation, Social Cooperation Ethic, Economic Ethic, Weber Proposition Social Changes

Author: Rui PENG, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, School of Humanities, Nanchang University, Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, China, 330031

Tel: +8613817696448, Email: pengrui2013@pku.edu.cn

Introduction

The economic system and religion system are important components of a society. In response to the assertion of Karl Marx that the economic base determines superstructure, from the perspective of Western civilization, Max Weber observed a special affinity between the spirit of capitalism and Protestant ethic, and further universalized capitalism to the economic model of human rationality and to the proposition of modernity, in light of which, he examined the relationship between the world’s religions and economic systems (or society).

Under this influence, with the economic miracle of East Asia, belonging to the Confucian civilization circle, emerged in the second half of the 20th century, scholars such as Yu⁽¹⁾ and Redding⁽²⁾ have been committed to exploring or reflecting on the spirit of business or capitalism in Confucianism in accordance with the logic of the “Weber proposition”. After entering the 21st century, China’s economic rise also prompted the exploration and study of the business or economic ethic in traditional Chinese culture (primarily Confucianism) in China. The phrase “Confucian businessmen” (occasionally “Buddhist businessmen” or “Taoist businessmen”) has frequently

(*) This article is a phased result of the project “A Comparative Study on the Relationship between Religious Ethics and Economic Ethics in China and the West” (19BZJ012), which is supported by The National Social Science Fund of China.

(1) Yu Yingshi 余英时, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士与中国文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 2013); *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen* 中国近世宗教伦理与商人精神 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2014).

(2) Gordon S. Redding, *the Spirit of Chinese Capitalism*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 1990).

been mentioned in academic and business communities.⁽³⁾ However, the above efforts at research or interpretation that vigorously explored the business ethic or the spirit of capitalism of Confucianism⁽⁴⁾ (or Confucian religion) have significantly deviated from true Chinese history and society because of the dominance of the “Weber proposition,” largely weakening the academic significance of those efforts.

On the one hand, the pattern of religions in Chinese society is “three-religion harmony” of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism (三教圆融) or “diversity in unity” of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and popular religion (多元一体). Although Confucianism is the core of this complex religion structure as the organizer and leader in Chinese history-society, the guardian and symbol of the economic ethic has focused on popular religion (folk religion), not Confucianism, Buddhism or Taoism. For example, the worship of *Guandi* (关帝) and *Mazu* (T’ien Hou, 妈祖或天后), the most all-embracing gods of trades, gods of commerce unions, gods of business, or gods of wealth in Chinese society has long been prevalent. However, in studying the relations between Chinese religion and society, Weber paid special attention to the study of Confucianism but viewed Taoism carelessly as a heresy of Confucianism and completely ignored the widespread presence of popular religion in Chinese economic fields.⁽⁵⁾ It should be mentioned that Weber and his contemporary adherents focused on the relation between Confucianism and the economic ethic and blindly adopted the path of interpreting the relationship between Christianity (exclusivity or uniqueness) and capitalism, which seriously deviated from Chinese historical facts.

Conversely, China’s economic production mode has generally been based on family or a clan community,⁽⁶⁾ and economic organizations other than the clan community have always been modeled into clan structures.⁽⁷⁾ This indicates that compared with Western societies, the relationship between economic system and marriage-family system (and even other social systems such as political and religious organizations) in Chinese society has been tangled.⁽⁸⁾ Thus, the study of the relationship between religion and economic ethic in Chinese society must address the relationships among the social systems from the perspective of the society as a whole, which is exactly the research path emphasized by Durkheim.⁽⁹⁾

China has experienced economic prosperity in different historical periods, and the market economy has been widely present in Chinese history.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, why has the economic ethic in Chinese society been primarily

(3) For example, Zhejiang University established the “Research Center of Confucian entrepreneurs and East Asian civilization” in 2006; the Peking University Institute of Advanced Studies in Humanities sponsored five consecutive symposia on “Confucian Entrepreneurs’ Discourse” since 2013 (jointly sponsored by the Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business since 2015).

(4) Although there remains a debate in academia regarding whether Confucianism is a religion, for the sake of discussion, in this paper, Confucianism and the Confucian religion are treated as equals.

(5) Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, Trans., Kang Le, Jian Huimei. (Guilin: Guangxi Shifandaxue chubanshe, 2010)

(6) Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: The Athlone Press, 1958), pp.13-21; Huang, C.C, *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in The Yangzi Delta, 1350-1988* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.44. <https://libgen.pw/item/detail/id/620633?id=620633>

(7) Zhuang Jifa 庄吉发. *Zhenkong jiangxiang: Minjian mimi zongjiaoshi yanjiu* 真空家乡：民间秘密宗教史研究 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 2002), pp.475-6.[hereafter ZKJX]

(8) I consider marriage-family, politics, economics, and religious organization (distinguished from religion) as four important social systems whereas “metaphysical” religion and its theological philosophy provide ethical support for social systems from the perspective of society as a whole.

(9) Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. Qu Dong (Beijing: Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2000); Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Qu Dong and Ji Zhe (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2011).

(10) William G. Skinner, “Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, Part I.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 24 (1964):3-43; Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Geng Sheng. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2004), pp.168-90.[hereafter BICS]

expressed and constructed through popular religion rather than through the more mainstream Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism? What are the implications of the expression ways of the economic ethic in China for sociological studies of religion? In this regard, researchers have not yet found the answer and may even be attempting to seek answers in the wrong direction. There are two reasons for this situation: first, the complexity and uniqueness of China's religion-society configuration have significantly increased the difficulty of observing China's economic ethic; second, the existing research tools or paradigms are unable to offer consistent interpretations of both Chinese and Western complex religion-society forms, so researchers accustomed to relying on the "Weber proposition" to interpret the economic ethic of Chinese society.

Ignoring various bits and ends of arguments, the methodology and paradigm of the sociology of religion may be expressed in two research paths: individual rationality and collective rationality (social rationality).⁽¹¹⁾ In general, both Marx and Durkheim assumed the analytical position of collective rationality (Marx's collective rationality had class meaning), and Weber took the analytical perspective of individual rationality. The functionalism and other sociological theories of religion after the 20th century may be perceived as various efforts to bridge the gap between these two perspectives, such as the theories developed by Talcott Parsons, Robert K Merton, Niklas Luhmann, and Jeffrey C Alexander.⁽¹²⁾ However, the particularity of religion (or the religious ethic) is that it often presents individual rationality and collective rationality simultaneously. Thus, the endogenous interpretation of religion requires simultaneous interpretations of individual rationality and collective rationality, and consistent interpretations of the connotation (nature or function), diversity and evolution of religion. With regard to the sociology of religion, it is necessary to provide consistent interpretations of the diversity, change and path dependence of the form of religion-society. In light of Evolutionary Game Theory, the endogenous interpretation of religion or religion-society may be regarded as follows: "the equilibrium selected will be a function of the equilibrating process by means of which it is achieved."⁽¹³⁾

Obviously, functionalism and the subsequent sociological theories of religion exhibit more or fewer limitations in simultaneously interpreting individual rationality and collective rationality and remain unable to simultaneously explain the diversity of the religion-society configuration and its evolution. Therefore, in interpreting Chinese religion and society, which are exceedingly complex, existing theories invariably create such dilemmas that for Western scholars and those who are familiar with Western theories, China appears to be an exception to all existing principles.⁽¹⁴⁾ To address this dilemma, we adopted Game Theory, Evolutionary Game Theory, and the Transaction Cost Theory of modern economics to try to create an analytical tool for "social cooperation" or the "social cooperation ethic"⁽¹⁵⁾ that is conducive to placing different religion-society configurations on the same comparison basis, which helps to advance sociological studies of religion.

Next, we applied the tool of social cooperation (ethic) to analyze how the economic ethic in Chinese society is constructed in the religious structure of "diversity in unity." We observed a vast difference between the

(11) Peng Rui 彭睿, "Xiandai jingjixue zai zongjiao shehuixue zhong yingyong zhi zouyi" 现代经济学在宗教社会学中应用之刍议. *Zongjiao shehuixue* 宗教社会学 4 (2016): 283-319.

(12) Same as note 11.

(13) Ken Binmore, Preface for Weibull, J. W. 1995. *Evolutionary Game Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995), p. 5.

(14) Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, *Xiangtu Zhongguo Shengyu zhidu Xiangtu chongjian* 乡土中国·生育制度·乡土重建 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2011), p.369.[hereafter XTZG]

(15) Same as notes 11.

Chinese economic ethic and its Western counterpart, and both change processes can be explained within the same framework.

Change of Economic Ethic and the Weber Proposition from the Perspective of Social Cooperation

A Brief Introduction to Social Cooperation and The Social Cooperation Ethic

Game Theory explains that individuals will opt for “cooperation” to get out of the “prisoner’s dilemma” in repeated games, which is one of the great achievements of Game Theory.⁽¹⁶⁾ Ignoring the diversity of “cooperative strategy,” it may be simply stated that “cooperation” is exactly achieving the unity of individual rationality and collective rationality, which has inspired us to appropriately expand the concept of “cooperation” and introduce it into the analysis of religion and society. In economics, cooperation normally refers to synchronic cooperation, while “cooperation” in the religious sense can be expanded to “social cooperation” that includes both synchronic cooperation and diachronic cooperation. There are five types of basic social cooperation: human-nature cooperation, intergenerational cooperation, vertical cooperation, horizontal cooperation, and individual self-cooperation. In simple terms, human-nature cooperation addresses the issues of how humans understand, adapt to and use nature and involves the cooperative relationship between mankind and the natural world. “Intergenerational cooperation” is a type of cooperation that spans generations and is primarily the cooperation between living individuals and those of the past (and the future) and the accumulation and inheritance of human experience, knowledge, and moral norms between generations. “Vertical cooperation” and “horizontal cooperation” are two types of synchronic cooperation in economics; the former may be perceived simply as the principal-agent relationship within a system (e.g., an enterprise) or a division of labor and power structure of a hierarchy system, whereas the latter is a market-oriented division of labor and cooperation with characteristics of exchange and the market. “Individual self-cooperation” is the individual’s own cooperation at different times. Thus, human activities are a “social cooperation system” that includes both diachronicity and synchronicity whereas human society is a “social cooperative community” that includes both diachronicity and synchronicity.⁽¹⁷⁾

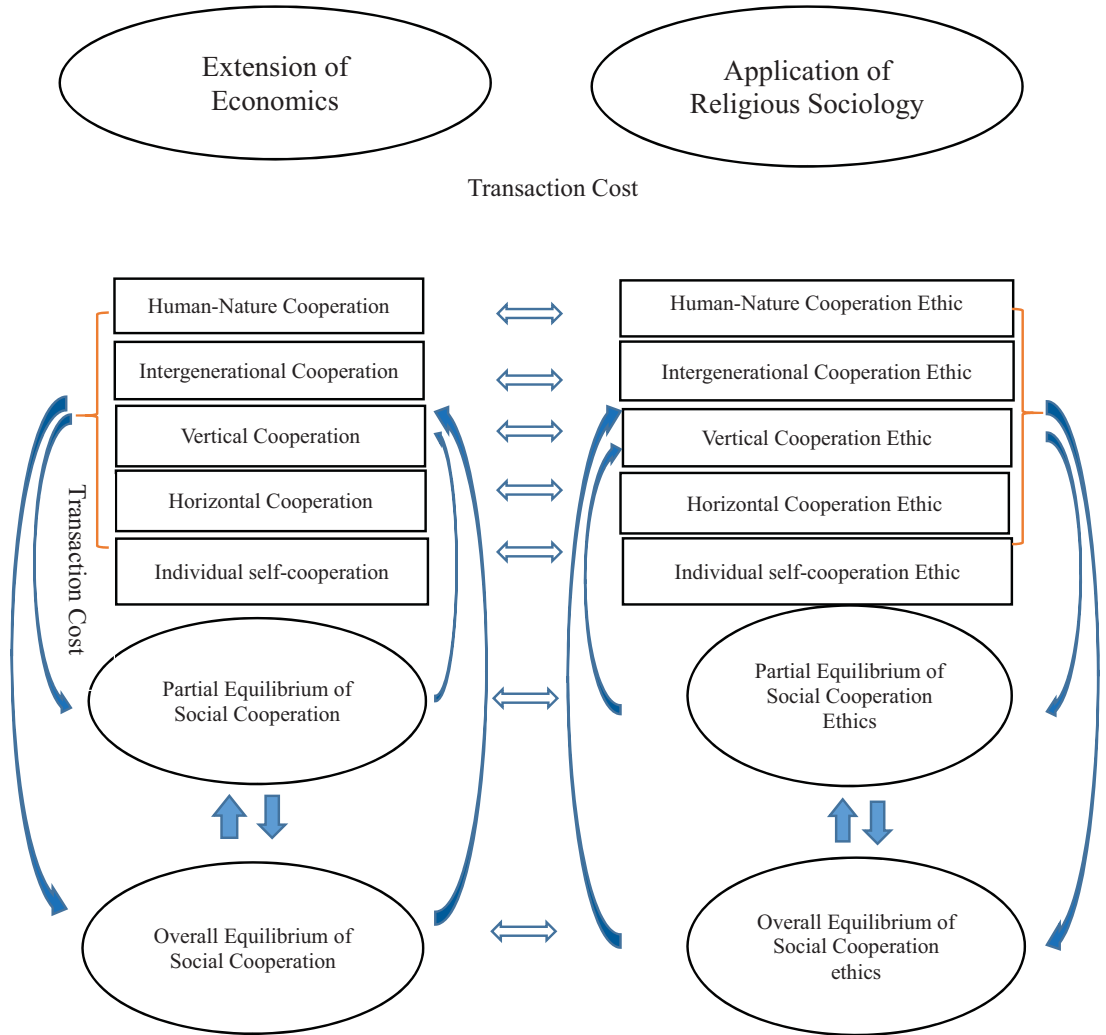
Transaction Cost Theory inspires us to associate the religious ethic with the reduction of the transaction costs of social cooperation and thus convert and decompose the religious ethic (system) to a number of types of “social cooperation ethic.” The “Coase Theorem” demonstrates that an equilibrium forms between the market (horizontal cooperation) and enterprises (vertical cooperation) because transaction costs always exists. In equilibrium, the costs of the two types of cooperation are identical and they can replace each other.⁽¹⁸⁾ By extension, within a sufficiently long observation period, the cooperation costs of the five types of social cooperation should also be equal, capable of reaching “an equilibrium of social cooperation”. Correspondingly, religious ethics should

(16) Zhang Weiyang 张维迎, *Boyi yu shehui* 博弈与社会 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013), p.128

(17) As note 11

(18) Ronald H. Coase, *The Firm, the Market, and the Law* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp13-4. The economics expression of the Coase Theorem is as follows: under the zero transaction costs condition, if the rights of the various parties are well defined, the allocation of resources would reach equilibrium (i.e. the Pareto optimality) no matter what are the initial rights. Or, under conditions of complete competition, private costs will be equal to social costs.

Figure 1. Religion and society from the perspective of modern economics



also construct “an equilibrium of social cooperation ethics” to interpret the former equilibrium (See Figure 1 for details).

The analytical framework of social cooperation (ethic) contains core contents of the following two aspects:

(1) Social cooperation and its equilibrium occur at the level of social activities. Human activities are broken down into five types of social cooperation that include diachronicity and synchronicity, which achieve “equilibriums of social cooperation” due to the existence of transaction costs. The “overall equilibrium of social cooperation” that includes all types of social cooperation is the unity or equilibrium of individual rationality and collective rationality in the sense of society as a whole and social optimality or Pareto efficiency,⁽¹⁹⁾ manifesting

(19) In general, equilibrium is the optimal solution that is obtained based on the individual’s rationality, and Pareto efficiency (Pareto optimality) is a concept that is used to refer to society as a whole. In traditional economics, it is accepted that only the equilibrium achieved under a perfectly competitive market is Pareto-optimal whereas modern economics includes factors such as property rights and institutions in the discussion; thus, the equilibrium is generally Pareto efficiency. Because religion (ethic) directly portrays collective rationality, for the sake of ease of discussion, the concepts of equilibrium, collective rationality, social optimality, and Pareto efficiency are hereby used interchangeably.

as the overall institutions of the society. Social systems such as marriage-family, economy, politics, religious organizations, are “partial equilibriums of social cooperation” achieved by some but not all of the types of social cooperation. Once formed, these partial equilibriums achieve partial collective rationality of social systems and manifest as specific institutions such as marriage-family institution, economic institution, political institution and religious (organizational) institution.⁽²⁰⁾

(2) The social cooperation ethics and their equilibrium occur at the level of the religious ethic. The religious ethic is converted and organized into five types of social cooperation ethic, and all types of social cooperation ethic also reach “an equilibrium of social cooperation ethics.” The metaphysical theological philosophy is an intensive interpretation for all types of “social cooperation ethic” and “the overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics.” It provides the metaphysical interpretation of all types of “social cooperation ethic” and the “overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics” with consistency, self-consistency and holism. Theological philosophy and the religious ethic system also provide the “partial equilibrium of social cooperation” of each of the various social systems with the support of the “partial equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics,” which manifests as the marriage-family ethic, the economic ethic, the political ethic, and the religious organization ethic.

Moreover, because cooperation strategy (game strategies) and equilibrium are diversified, Evolutionary Game Theory further explores their stability and adaptability issues,⁽²¹⁾ which are also the evolutionary mechanism of the “social cooperation (ethics)” and the “equilibrium of social cooperation (ethics).”

In short, using Game Theory and Transaction Costs Theory, the connotation and function of religion can be converted into the interpretation and support system for each type of “social cooperation ethic” and “equilibrium of social cooperation ethics,” which opens the “black box” of religion-society relations and thus becomes a powerful tool for static and dynamic analyses of the sociology of religion. Here, the analytical tool of “social cooperation” and the “social cooperation ethic” allows researchers to maximally avoid the interference brought about by subjective consciousness (for example, “Western-centrism” or “Oriental centrism”) and interprets the diversity and change paths of the religion-society form from a more objective and rational perspective.

Economic System and The Economic Ethic from The Perspective of Social Cooperation

As the religious ethic can be converted to the social cooperation ethics and then further to social cooperation, religious forms and social forms have an endogenous relationship, both evolving simultaneously during the course of history.

First, with social development, the types of social cooperation are constantly diversifying; the importance of each type of social cooperation (or cost-benefit level) is also in flux, and its corresponding social cooperation ethics and overall equilibrium are also changing constantly. Second, with the expansion of the social cooperation community, the diversification of the type of cooperation and the increasing clarification and sophistication of the theological philosophy and religious ethic, some social systems (and their ethics) in the social community will gradually split off. This split will result in the manifestation of various relatively independent institutions and ethics such as marriage-family system, politics, economy, and religious organization. Third, as the cost-benefit level of each of the various types of social cooperation changes, the partial equilibrium of each of

(20) Here, we distinguish between religion and religious organization (or religious system), of which religion (theological philosophy in particular) provides ethical support and explanations for all social systems whereas religious organization (or institution) is only one of many social systems.

(21) Same as note 13.

social system, just as overall equilibrium, will also change. In other words, the types of social cooperation (ethic), the partial equilibrium, and the overall equilibrium are linked, mutually embedded, and co-evolving (Figure 1).

Here, the economic system (economic ethic) has always existed in human society; however, the economic system being an independent system, as a “partial equilibrium of social cooperation (ethics)”, is associated with the change in the type of social cooperation (ethic) and with the expression and construction of the “overall equilibrium of social cooperation (ethics).”

In early societies, “gift exchange” fulfilled important economic and social functions and could be considered the economic system of the early era, which has occupied the majority of human history. Compared with the “commodity” of the modern market economy, “gift” has a strong personality attribute as well as a strong natural attribute or spirituality. In general, “gift exchange” means the creation and continuation of certain debtor-creditor relationship as well as the conversion of power and obligations.⁽²²⁾ Therefore, “gift exchange” was not just related to the use value of the goods themselves, but was more associated with other social needs, such as nature worship and power, in the early times. The “gift exchange” mode obviously included various types of social cooperation such as “human-nature cooperation,” “intergenerational cooperation,” and “vertical cooperation.” Admittedly, “gift exchange” among tribes includes “horizontal cooperation,” but this cooperation type didn’t focus on individuals, and so was concealed by other types of social cooperation generally.

It should be noted that the connotation of “gift exchange” has been constantly changing. In the earliest simple societies, “human-nature cooperation” and “intergenerational cooperation” were the two most important types of social cooperation, constituting the “overall equilibrium of social cooperation.” Then, “gift exchange” also demonstrated these two types of social cooperation; for example, the gift contained the significance of spirituality and inheritance from generation to generation.⁽²³⁾ Later, as the importance of “vertical cooperation” (power or royal power) increased, gift exchange gradually contained the components of “vertical cooperation” (power). For example, the “tribute” of the Zhou Dynasty and the subsequent “tribute system” clearly reflected the sovereign of empire. So gift exchange was often blended with the political system although it was obviously different from the political system. In other words, each of the various systems of society began to take shape as a partial equilibrium but did not significantly deviate from the overall equilibrium.

Therefore, differing from pure communication function of gift exchange in modern society, the “gift exchange” mode of pre-capitalism was an important part of social cooperation; it was not only an important economic form but also deeply embedded in the overall system of society. In other words, the “gift exchange” mode has not yet been fully differentiated to be an independent economic system and cannot form a “partial equilibrium.” In this sense, gift exchange has never exited from a stage of history and has even continued to play or has re-played an important role today in many places and societies, especially in the case of being in major crises or incomplete markets.⁽²⁴⁾

(22) Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, trans. Ji Zhe (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp.22-23. [hereafter *The Gift*]; M.Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift*, trans. Wang Yi (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 2007), p.5. [hereafter *EOG*]; Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*. (Chicago & NY: Aldine-Atherton, Inc, 1972), p.150. [hereafter *SAE*] <https://libgen.pw/item/detail/id/799657?id=799657>

(23) Mauss, *The Gift*, pp.25-7; Godelier, *EOG*, pp.216-7; Sahlins, *SAE*, pp.165-8.

(24) Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. *Gifts, Favors and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China*, trans., Zhao xudong and Sun min (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2009), pp.80-6.

As the types of social cooperation are diversified and horizontal cooperation becomes more and more important, economic system is gradually differentiates and independent from the “overall equilibrium” of the social community. Even so, people’s perception of the economic system is also changing. In other words, the establishment of economics is precisely the product that the economic system becomes an independent social system. Therefore, people’s perception of the economic system is reflected in the development of economics.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, with the Grand Geographical Discovery and development in other social areas, the importance of commerce and trade increased significantly, resulting in the prevailing mercantilist theories. From the mid-17th century, economists such as William Petty, Adam Smith, and David Ricardo developed classical (political) economics, enabling the study of economics to expand from circulation areas to production areas, in other words, the value of the commodity as the core. At the end of the 18th century, economics focused on market and price, which were dismissed by Marx as “vulgar economics”.⁽²⁵⁾ It was not until 1936 when Ronald H. Coase pioneered the study of the nature of enterprises⁽²⁶⁾ that modern Western economics gradually regarded enterprises and markets as different contractual arrangements among individuals or elements⁽²⁷⁾ and interpreted economic systems as “an equilibrium” between enterprises and markets (Coase Theorem). Since then, economics has paid more attention to the study of institutions and technological changes and New Institutional Economics is emerging (for example, North).⁽²⁸⁾ From the perspective of social cooperation, mercantilist only addresses “horizontal cooperation” (commerce and trade) whereas classical political economics simultaneously addresses “horizontal cooperation” (market and trade) and “vertical cooperation” (enterprises and production). At the end of the 18th century, economics reverted to the emphasis on “horizontal cooperation” (market and price), regarding enterprises as self-fulfilling production entities, and Coase turned economics back to the study of “horizontal cooperation” and “vertical cooperation.” Afterwards, the new institutional economics realized the close tie between economic systems and whole society (institutions). As a result, in the sense of technological, institutional, and social changes, North regarded Marx as a pioneer to integrate the limits and constraints of technology with those of human organization.⁽²⁹⁾

The gift exchange ethic and the capitalist (or market economy) economic ethic are quite different under the perspective of the social cooperation ethic and its equilibrium. The gift exchange ethic contains more diverse types of the social cooperation ethic and has not yet fully differentiated itself and become independent from “the overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics.” But the economic ethic of modern society--the market economy ethic or capitalist economy ethic, is prone to simply be regarded as only the business ethic or market ethic (the horizontal cooperation ethic) by mercantilist and vulgar economics dismissed by Marx. Only in classical political economics and the economics of Coase, the economic ethic is “an equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics” comprised of the enterprise ethic (the vertical cooperation ethic) and the business or market ethic (the horizontal cooperation ethic) whereas the new institutional economics further recognizes that the economics ethic is only

(25) Karl Marx, “Capital” in *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, V.1, bk 5, ed. Bureau of Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2009), p.98.

(26) Coase, “The Nature of the Firm.” *Economica*, 4 (1937): 386-405.

(27) Coase, *The Firm, the Market, and the Law*, pp.115-6

(28) Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

(29) North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, p.132

a “partial equilibrium” and closely associated with the “overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics”, in other words, social institutions as a whole and their changes.

The “Weber Proposition” from The Perspective of Social Cooperation

Basically, the vertical business ethic is reflected in areas such as leadership, obedience, loyalty, and execution whereas the horizontal business or market ethic is reflected in areas such as equality, honesty, freedom, and justice. These two types of social ethic are designed to reduce transaction costs in the two types of social cooperation. Here, the economic ethic is a “partial equilibrium” reached by these two types of ethic. Therefore, in terms of the social cooperation ethics and their equilibrium, Weber’s interpretation on the affinity between Protestantism and capitalism⁽³⁰⁾ is in fact the illustration of how the Protestantism express the vertical cooperation ethic and the horizontal cooperation ethic and how facilitate the two to reach an agreement and to build the economic ethic of capitalism, a type of “partial equilibrium”. Consequently, the process promotes or responds to the differentiation and the independence of economic systems from society as a whole, forming the rational capitalism.

According to Weber, the “calling” of Protestantism and the spirit of asceticism rendered the division of labor and the generation of profits legitimate (dissociated from morality), and the production organization process of rational capitalism was a gradual process of “Entzauberung”.⁽³¹⁾ Weber’s conclusion can be interpreted as that the Protestant ethic weakens the traditional “human-nature cooperation ethic” and “intergenerational cooperation ethic” (Entzauberung) and regards vertical cooperation and horizontal cooperation as certain homogeneous divisions of labor. The homogeneity highlights the legitimacy of both the “vertical cooperation ethic” and the “horizontal cooperation ethic,” and reflects their consistency (the Calling and asceticism). Therefore, through the “vertical cooperation ethic” within an enterprise and the “horizontal cooperation ethic” of the external market, the “partial equilibrium of social cooperation ethics,” i.e., the capitalist economic ethic (spirits) is achieved. Consequently, the capitalist economic system (ethic), as a “partial equilibrium”, gradually differentiated and became independent of the overall equilibrium of traditional society.

Although Weber’s observation on the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism was sharp and insightful, he failed to fully appreciate that there is a more complex inherent relation between the partial equilibrium of economic system and the overall equilibrium of society, and that various religions-society’s “overall equilibrium” and the changes are diverse and path-dependent. Therefore, Weber generalized his observation on the differentiation and independent process of the modern Western economic system to a rational economic mode and the modernity proposition. Based on this, he further examined the relationship among various religions in the world and economics (or society). This method has great limitations and has been questioned by many people. For example, Weber argued in “Religions in China” that the main reason that China failed to successfully develop “rational bourgeois capitalism” was the lack of a special religious ethic as an indispensable inspirational force.⁽³²⁾ However, throughout history, China has always had

(30) Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans., Kang Le, Jian Huimei (Guilin: Guangxi Shifandaxue chubanshe, 2010)

(31) Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p.139; Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 119-32.

(32) Yang Qingkun 杨庆堃, Weibo Zhongguo de zongjiao de daolun 韦伯《中国的宗教》的导论 in *Religion in China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Guilin: Guangxi Shifan chubanshe, 2010), p. 330.

its own economic model and economic ethic and its own processes of change that were not directed toward capitalism in Weber's sense.

The Horizontal Cooperation Ethic in Chinese Society and its Evolution

Early Chinese economic activities were also dominated by the "gift exchange" mode, which even plays an important role in today's China.⁽³³⁾ However, after entering civilized society, in different historical periods, China has experienced economic prosperity and developed various economic models, indicating that historically, China have had its own economic system and economic ethic constructions as well as its own paths of change and path-dependence. Since the economic ethic in modern society is a "partial equilibrium" comprising the horizontal cooperation ethic (business or market) and the vertical cooperation ethic (internal power of enterprises), in Sections 3, 4 and 5, we analyze China's economic ethic in the order of "horizontal cooperation ethic," "vertical cooperation ethic," and "partial equilibrium."

God of *Sheji* (社稷神, God of state) in The Zhou Dynasty and The Impact from Mohism

From the perspective of social cooperation, the "gift exchange ethic" in primitive societies was built through clan or tribe totem belief systems, mostly concerning "human-nature cooperation" and "intergenerational cooperation". During the Zhou Dynasty, the Chinese society as a whole was a natural farming economy under the clan system and already has a fairly mature state and social institutions. In the natural economic model of the clan community, the primary social cooperation types were "human-nature cooperation," "intergenerational cooperation," and "vertical cooperation"; and the economic system was the "partial equilibrium" constructed by these three types of social cooperation. However, the boundary among various "partial equilibriums" (economic system, political system and the marriage-family system) was rather ambiguous, so was the boundary between these partial equilibriums and the "overall equilibrium". Thus, Zhou Dynasty established various institutions of politics, clan marriage, and economy, but they were highly integrated, such as the patriarchal clan institution and feudal institution.⁽³⁴⁾

Certainly, "horizontal cooperation" was also present in the clan economic community of the Zhou Dynasty although it was relatively insignificant, limited to the local level or communities and lacking the characteristics of universalism. In other words, horizontal cooperation in the Zhou Dynasty did not exhibit its own significance and was mostly embedded in the "overall equilibrium" (overall wellbeing) at the local level. Thus, in terms of religious institutional arrangements, the "horizontal cooperation ethic" of the Zhou Dynasty was not built independently but was manifested in the construction of the God of *SheJi*, which was a symbol of overall wellbeing at the local level.

The God of *She* (社, land) and The God of *Ji* (稷, grain) originated in the "human-nature cooperation" ethic (and function), which were later merged into the God of *Sheji* to become the symbol of local communities (vassal states in particular). The God of *She* was derived from the worship of the land whereas the God of *Ji* was derived from the worship of grain. The emperors and princes of the Zhou dynasty had their own Gods of *Sheji* in their territories, and those gods were gradually associated with the ancient characters, which were matched with the princes in the hierarchy, some of whom might be ancestors of the princes (e.g., the people of the Principality of

(33) Yan, Yunxiang, *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui, *Gifts, Favors and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China*

(34) Wang Guowei 王国维, "Yin Zhou zhidu lun 殷周制度论," in *Guantanglin ji 观堂林集*, Vol. X (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp. 451-80.

Chu were offspring of the God Zhurong); thus, the princes' worship of these Gods of *Sheji* was also the continuity and extension of ancestor worship.⁽³⁵⁾ The Gods of *Sheji* gradually acquired multiple functions and the ethics of "human-nature cooperation," "intergenerational cooperation," and "vertical cooperation," and became symbols of the local communities (principalities), indicating the overall wellbeing (equilibrium) of the local communities. The "horizontal cooperation" at local level was naturally included in the local "overall equilibrium".

With the ever-increasing significance of "horizontal cooperation" (also including "vertical cooperation"), the social cooperation system of the Zhou Dynasty was gradually unable to meet the needs of the times. In this sense, "the Contention of a Hundred Schools of Thought" in the period of Warring Kingdoms was a grand discussion on issues of various types of social cooperation (ethic) and their equilibriums represented by different schools of thoughts. Among them, Legalists (法家) emphasized the "vertical cooperation" of royal power, Taoists focused on the "human-nature cooperation", and Confucians inherited the tradition and emphasized "vertical cooperation" and "intergenerational cooperation"; the Mohists (墨家) focused on "horizontal cooperation."

Mohists, who originated from the lower warrior class and were good mechanics and artisans, emphasized "all-embracing love" (兼爱) and believed that "God existed; that he loves mankind; and that His Will is that all men should love each other". They did not avoid talking about "benefit" (利), advocated utilitarianism, and believed that "so-called righteousness was nothing but benefit" (义, 利也), in other words, righteousness and benefit are consistent and prove the correctness of universal love from the utilitarian perspective. Notably, Mohists also advocated the achievement of universal love and harmony through the state's political authority and regulations, and the discipline within Mohist groups was also quite strict. The head of the group was called "Juzi" (钜子), who had a life and death authority over all members of the group.⁽³⁶⁾ Thus, Mohism represented the social cooperation concepts of the middle and lower non-farming strata, emphasizing equality and mutual benefits and highlighting the "horizontal cooperation (ethic)." At the same time, Mohists also emphasized the "vertical cooperation ethic" that included absolute authority, which appeared to contradict the "horizontal cooperation ethic" but in fact reflected the needs of the real society to achieve certain equilibrium by "horizontal cooperation" and "vertical cooperation" (the Coase Theorem).

Mohists' territoriality-transcending and universalistic "horizontal cooperation ethic" dealt a huge shock to the traditional society of that time. Regarding this, Mencius once said, "The words of *Yang Zhu* and *Mo Di* are spread over all the places, and the words that reach every corner of the world are always from *Mo Di*'s if not *Yang Zhu*'s." ("杨朱、墨翟之言盈天下, 天下之言, 不归于杨则归墨。") (Menzi Teng wengong, 孟子·滕文公下). However, the "vertical cooperation" within a group advocated by Mohism was not fully coordinated with the "vertical cooperation" at the monarchy or national level and neglected the "intergenerational cooperation" of the patriarchal system that was based on ritual culture and kinship. In addition, although Mohists mentioned the Emperor of Heaven and the ghosts and gods, in general, they obviously ignored "human-nature cooperation". Therefore, Mohism underscored the "horizontal cooperation" and "vertical cooperation" within a group while relatively weakening "intergenerational cooperation" and "human-nature cooperation" and being unable to adapt to the monarchial "vertical cooperation"; these ideas were too "modern" for that farming society with clans at its

(35) Li Shen 李申, *Zhongguo Rujiaoshi* 中国儒教史 Vol. 1, (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp.36-7; Ding Shan 丁山, *Zhongguo gudai zongjiao yu shenhua kao* 中国古代宗教与神话考 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2011), pp.45-8.

(36) Fung Yu-Lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp.49-59.

core. Thus, despite its once great impact on traditional society, the “horizontal cooperation ethic” advocated by Mohists ultimately faded.

Chenghuang Gods (城隍神, City gods) after the Han Dynasty and the Impact of Buddhism

In “Contention of a Hundred Schools of Thought”, Confucianism gave the most comprehensive interpretation of the social cooperation ethics and their equilibrium. First, Confucianism strongly emphasized the inheritance of the traditional ethic system, which mainly included vertical cooperation and intergenerational cooperation. Second, Confucians proposed ethical interpretations consistent with the reality of society; e.g., Confucians’ class-blind education (“Dao of Teaching” 师道) was a breakthrough in kinship-based intergenerational cooperation, and *Dong Zhongshu*’s (董仲舒) ideology of “heaven-human induction” (天人感应) included “human-nature cooperation” in the Confucian system. Third, a significant feature of Confucianism was that it viewed the “overall equilibrium” as a physical existence (“Heaven”) and the maintenance of the overall wellbeing of the community as a solemn responsibility (“World View”). Based on these, Confucianism eventually attained an official religious status in the Han Dynasty: “the Monopoly by Confucianism” (独尊儒术). Since then, various sacrificial systems officially established and perfected by Confucianism, such as *Jiaosi* (郊祀 outskirts sacrifice), *Fengshan* (封禅 sacrifice to heaven), royal ancestor worship ceremonies, sacrificial ceremonies for the gods of heaven and earth, sacrificial ceremonies for Confucius, sacrificial ceremonies for important loyal and valiant officials and for folk ancestors,⁽³⁷⁾ can be understood as providing ethical support for vertical cooperation, intergenerational cooperation, and human-nature cooperation (in other words, “*Shen Dao She Jiao*” 神道设教, instructing people through religion). Obviously, in the grand ethical system of Confucianism, support for the horizontal cooperation ethic was rather weak. For example, among Confucianism’s “five relationships ethics” (五伦), the elaboration on the ethic of “friend”, which represents horizontal relations, was the weakest. In fact, the “horizontal cooperation ethic” of Confucianism remained embodied in the overall wellbeing (overall equilibrium) of the local community, manifesting in the construction of the City god or Land God, not pertaining to kinship.

After the monarchy system of the Qin and Han Dynasties, the kinship-based relationship between the Gods of *Sheji* and local communities was gradually eliminated, causing these gods to return to their natural god attributes of the early period.⁽³⁸⁾ However, with the continuous diversification of the type of social cooperation in the local civil society, personified gods were conducive to the expression of a cooperation ethic richer in content; thus, the personified City God and Land God came into being. The City God (or Land God) originally belonged to folk beliefs, a nature god at the very beginning, and was gradually assumed to be human ghosts beginning in the Han Dynasty (some believed that this belief began in the Sui and Tang Dynasties). Their functions were extended to blessing and protecting local residents, dispelling disasters, punishing evil, appeasing ghosts, penalizing evil people and promoting the good, supervising officials, deterring criminals, etc., thus becoming a new symbol of the overall wellbeing of the local community. Later, to adapt to the needs of imperial politics, the City Gods was included in the National Sacrificial Ceremony during the Song Dynasty and further became a complete imperial hierarchical worship system during the Ming Dynasty.⁽³⁹⁾ Thus, the City God gradually changed from the original

(37) Li Shen, *Zhongguo Rujiaoshi*

(38) Li Shen, *Zhongguo Rujiaoshi*, p.37.

(39) Zheng tuyou and Wang xianmiao 郑土有、王贤淼, *Zhongguo chenghuang xinyang* 中国城隍信仰 (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian shanghai fendian, 1994), pp.75-124.

local protective nature gods to a personified social god possessing various social cooperation functions, a symbol of the overall equilibrium of local communities. Through the overall equilibrium, the City God acquired the function and the ethic of the “horizontal cooperation” of local communities. In particular, it is worth noting that the human ghost manifested by the City God generally had no kinship with local officials and local residents, or the kinship was not the focus, indicating the construction of a god that transcended local clans. Therefore, the construction of the horizontal cooperation ethic of Chinese society changed from the *God of sheji* that was embedded in kinship-based relations to the City God that was embedded in non-kinship-based relations, which clearly had a certain universal significance although the change remained limited to the local level.

As the Grand Unification advanced, the cost-benefit level of the cross-regional or universal “horizontal cooperation” was increasing. Coupled with technological development, horizontal cooperation became increasingly more important; thus, the “horizontal cooperation ethic” in a universal sense (or market sense) was about to emerge. However, Confucianism was generally regulated by its “structure of grade” (差序格局)⁽⁴⁰⁾ and imperial politics ethic, and the universal “horizontal cooperation ethic” has always been under certain degrees of suppression, manifesting in the policy tendency of “prioritizing farming and inhibiting commerce (industry)” in every dynasty. Moreover, the Taoism based on the traditional society tended to view the “horizontal cooperation” (usually an unfamiliar force) as the factor triggering an “abnormal” social order. Regarding “abnormal” or “non-ordinary” horizontal forces (for example, demons and devils), Taoists believed they are a reasonable part of a society (one of the changes of Dao) and impossible to eliminate or defeat; therefore, in Taoist prayer and charming ceremonies, they were exposed to their original forms or expelled by a divine power so that tragedies, disasters, diseases, evils and demons were avoided or overcome, achieving peace and wellbeing in a specific community (generally a community of acquaintances).⁽⁴¹⁾ Thus, regarding “horizontal cooperation”, Taoism generally promoted active defensive thinking, rendering it difficult to effectively construct the “horizontal cooperation ethic” in a universal sense. In fact, in the early imperial era, the greatest shock to the “horizontal cooperation ethic” of Chinese society came from Buddhism, which had originated in India.

Although Buddhism advocates emptiness (Kong, 空), in practice, it is quite practical in that all measures can be taken to deliver all sentient beings from torment and requires theism to construct its social cooperation ethic. Therefore, in practice, mainstream Chinese Buddhism ultimately adopted the Nirvana Buddha-nature treatise of “wonderful existence” (妙有) rather than choosing the wisdom of *prajna* (般若) that uses *Nihsvabhava* (the absence of intrinsic nature) to demonstrate that all phenomena in the world are empty⁽⁴²⁾ because the former helps construct various social cooperation ethics. Therefore, it is the “wonderful existence”, not the “emptiness”, and the concrete “minds” and “nature,” not the Buddha as an abstract noumenon, that enable Buddhism to be better associated with the social cooperation ethic and thus disseminated. For example, Buddhism’s early dissemination in China was based on supernatural powers (theurgy), and its popular teaching doctrines and styles were similar to those of China’s then Huanglao witchcraft. During the Han Dynasty, Buddhism was viewed as one of the magic power practices,⁽⁴³⁾ which suggested “human-nature cooperation”; early Buddhism had fiercely resisted

(40) Fei xiaotong, *XTZG*, p.15

(41) Li fengmao 李丰楙, *shenhua yu bianyi: yige “chang yu feichang” de wenhua siwei* 神化与变异: 一个“常与非常”的文化思维 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), pp.12-3; Fu qinjia 傅勤家, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中国道教史 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2011), pp. 92-3.

(42) Taixu 太虚, *Fuxue changshi* 佛学常识 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), pp.77-80; Lai yonghai 赖永海, *Zhongguo foxing lun* 中国佛性论 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2012), pp272-7.

(43) Tang yongtong 汤用彤, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* 汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), p.95.

China's imperial power, and the development of some extremist ideas among the lower classes of society even triggered a series of rebellious riots by the monks,⁽⁴⁴⁾ which indicates “vertical cooperation.” However, theurgy of Buddhism tended to mix with witchcraft in the lower classes of society and be abused and even incite rebellions, which were bound to subject it to the government's suppression. Therefore, in its Chinalization process, Buddhism gradually weakened its theurgical aspects and slowly subdued itself to China's “imperial power” and “filial piety” regarding “vertical cooperation” and “intergenerational cooperation”.⁽⁴⁵⁾ However, in terms of the “horizontal cooperation (ethic)”, the influence and shock of Buddhism on traditional Chinese society nevertheless peaked during the Tang Dynasty.

The notion that “all sentient beings have Buddha nature”, initiated by Daosheng (355-434), was the mainstream of China's Buddhist connotation,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch of Zen (638-713), introduced Buddhism to the general public, which was instrumental in breaking the hierarchy system of Confucian etiquette and law and developing horizontal relations in society. According to Zürcher's analysis, the monks depicted in *Gao Seng Zhuan* (高僧传 *Biographies of Master Monks*) were mostly from the lower classes of society because monasteries or sangha during that time assumed the functions of academic and educational institutions and had a tremendous appeal to people of humble origin. Therefore, Buddhism made a special contribution to the destruction of the inherent hierarchy in ancient China.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Moreover, Gernet analyzed the relationship between Buddhism and the economy (before and after the Tang Dynasty). First, Buddhism recognition of equality among people, alms-giving and charity activities, industrial and commercial activities and the lending activities of monks and monasteries, and official tax preferential policies for religion rendered Buddhism a great promoter of economic activities and even engendered powerful financial services institutions such as the *Wujingcang* Monastery pertaining to the *Sanjiejiao* connotation (三阶教无尽藏). Second, the expansion of Buddhist economic forces gradually affected the entire society. For example, in the course of operations, the classes of farmers and agricultural workers moved toward the employer-employee relationship, personal interests, and a monetary economy, which had a huge impact on the traditional social structures that also triggered reactionary forces against the Buddhist movement. Moreover, although the accumulation of wealth demonstrated certain charitable Buddhist behaviors, a more conspicuous tendency was the indulgence of grandiose monastery temples and excessive overhead, particularly in the upper classes. Therefore, Gernet argued, “ Under the Tang, however, a new mentality, which can be qualified as commercial, began to gain ground. It made its appearance precisely in those milieus that had shown greatest fervor: among monks and the families of wealthy lay followers. Avarice broke down the old systems of relationships, led to the isolation of the social classes, and hence undermined the very foundations of the religious movement”.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Buddhism's appeal to people at the bottom levels of society in education and Buddhist organizations' promotion of economic development embodied the idea of equality advocated by Buddhism and the universal “horizontal cooperation ethic”. However, it was impossible for Buddhism to construct a type of “horizontal

(44) Ma xisha and Han bingfang 马西沙、韩秉方, *Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), pp.44-8.

(45) Zhangjian 张践, *Zhongguo gudai zhengjiao guanxi shi* 中国古代政教关系史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2012), pp. 716-18, pp.551-79.

(46) Lai yonghai 赖永海, *Zhongguo foxing lun*, pp.2.

(47) Zürcher, Erich, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaption of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 7-11

(48) Jacques Gernet, *BICS*, pp.3-5, pp. 294-99, p.305.

cooperation ethic” that enabled its complete integration and coordination into traditional society. For example, when individual economic organizations develop vertical cooperation structures (like employer-employee relation), how to achieve consistency with the official vertical structure of the traditional society (imperial politics) and the vertical structure of patriarchy (paternity or clan authority) is a dilemma. Another dilemma is when the individual economy succeeds, how to link it to the overall welfare of the secular society rather than spend it on extravagant and wasteful appearances. In these areas, Buddhism seemed to be at a loss, which led to conflicts with the traditional society and governmental suppression. Regarding these conflicts, Baizhang Huaihai (?-814) formulated the “Baizhang Commandments” (百丈清规) advocating the small-size Buddhist temple model in which complete equality among monks within a temple regardless of rank was implemented. In these temples, all monks were required to labor together and living expenses were equally allocated, the large expenditures for building Buddhist statues were denied, and a farming-Zen mode that was self-reliant and self-sufficient was further developed, enabling Buddhism to adapt and return to the traditional Chinese agricultural society. Therefore, the “Baizhang Commandments” were also considered a symbol of Buddhism’s organizational accomplishment of the Chinalization process.⁽⁴⁹⁾

In summary, because the inherent tendency of the Buddhist philosophy is “emptiness” or because the counterforce against the impact of Buddhism’s “horizontal cooperation ethic” on traditional society was too strong, Buddhism eventually retreated and gave up the interpreting opportunities brought about by the “horizontal cooperation ethic,” turning to adapt to China’s traditional agricultural society. Thus, in its Chinalization process, Buddhism sequentially abandoned various ethical constructions such as “human-nature cooperation”, “vertical cooperation”, “intergenerational cooperation”, “horizontal cooperation” and ultimately adhered to the “individual self-cooperation ethic”, which has become its dominant social cooperation ethic. The influence of Buddhism’s “reincarnation” and “karma” on Chinese people has been second to none, and its ritual of “soul salvation” has occupied a certain dominant position in the Chinese funeral ceremony,⁽⁵⁰⁾ reflecting the “individual self-cooperation ethic” supported by Buddhism. In particular, the purpose of becoming a Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism was to deliver all sentient beings from torment (self-delivery also delivers others), and this type of social “Great Love” that extends beyond the life cycle also fits the ideal of realizing one’s self-value in society in traditional Chinese thinking.

Integration through Popular Gods After the Song Dynasty

Three mainstream religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, were all intended to provide various types of the social cooperation ethic for Chinese society. However, during the long competition and integration of the three religions, the dominant ethic of Confucianism was gradually reflected in “intergenerational cooperation”, “vertical cooperation”, and the social “individual self-cooperation” whereas Taoism focused on “human-nature cooperation” and Buddhism on “individual self-cooperation.” Thus, various social cooperation ethics after the Tang and Song Dynasties were provided separately by Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, exhibiting a “menu-styled” pattern. On this basis, under the dominance of the official Confucianism, the three religions worked together to build the

(49) Zhangjia, *Zhongguo gudai zhengjiao guanxi shi*, pp.778-82; Xie chongguang 谢重光, *Zhongguo fojiao sengguan zhidu he shehui shenghuo* 中国佛教僧官制度和社会生活 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2009), pp.283-90.

(50) Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 99-104.

“overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics” with their respective advantageous ethics in “three-religion harmony.”

It is noteworthy that after Buddhism retreated from the “horizontal cooperation ethic”, the support from the three religions for the “horizontal cooperation ethic” in a universal sense became relatively weak. However, the “three-religion harmony” strengthened the “grand unification” society of imperial politics, which stimulated the demand for universal “horizontal cooperation (ethic)” of cross-region and cross-community. As a result, since the Song Dynasty, Chinese society has formed a unique manner of constructing the “horizontal cooperation ethic”, which is the title-granting (敕封) movement of popular gods jointly promoted by folk society and the central government. Of these, the title-granting of *Guandi* and *Mazu* were the most representative.

Guandi (*Guan Gong*, *Guan Yu*) beliefs and *Mazu* beliefs were originally local folk beliefs, primarily originating from the worship of “devil ghosts” or “unnatural deaths.” Soon, however, they acquired the features and functions of the City God or community god and became the symbol of the overall equilibrium (well-being) of local society and included the function of the “horizontal cooperation ethic” at local level. From the perspective of social cooperation, the reason that *Guan Yu* and *Mazu* beliefs were able to spread from the local community to a large region and even the entire country is that from their own nature, e.g., the “righteousness” (义) of *Guan Yu* and the “kindness” (慈) of *Mazu*, they tended to build a “horizontal cooperation ethic” in a universal sense. The god of folk worship that had the greatest potential to construct a “horizontal cooperation ethic” was most likely to develop into regional and even national worship and thus became a universal god or almighty god (but not the supreme god) possessing all the functions of the social cooperation ethic. Therefore, Hansen observed that the dissemination of folk deities during the Song Dynasty was tightly connected to the development of commerce and trade (the “horizontal cooperation ethic”).⁽⁵¹⁾

Significantly different from the Mohist and Buddhist “horizontal cooperation ethic”, the “horizontal cooperation ethic” that developed through popular religion did not conflict with traditional society. In addition, the *Guandi* and *Mazu* beliefs originating in the folk society have enjoyed continuous title-granting from the central government for one thousand years since the Song Dynasty, being included in official sacrificial ceremonies and widely worshiped in folk society, and have become the nationwide worship. Therefore, after the Song Dynasty, *Guandi* and *Mazu* increasingly became the most prominent gods of trades, gods of commerce unions, gods of business, or gods of wealth, bringing in a particularly prosperous temple fair economy.

The rise and success of popular religion (particularly the worship of the popular gods of the general public) after the Song dynasty are attributed to popular religion’s very special constructions: the underscoring of the “horizontal cooperation ethic” that was commonly neglected by Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism through the “three-religion harmony”. Understandably, during the Tang and Song Dynasties when the respective advantageous social cooperation ethic of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were ascertained, to acquire the stability and disseminability of functional expansion, popular gods originating in local and folk society often created their own images by utilizing the advantageous social cooperation ethic of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism or theological resources. For their own competitive needs, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were also willing to actively furnish these gods with theological philosophical support, for example, by bestowing titles to incorporate the gods into their own shrine systems. Thus, the “human-nature cooperation ethic” of popular gods came most often from Taoism, the “intergenerational cooperation ethic” and the “vertical cooperation ethic” came from

(51) Valeri Hansen, *Changing Gods In Medieval China*, 1127-1276, trans., Bao Weimin (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp2,72-.

Confucianism, and the “individual self-cooperation ethic” came from Confucianism or Buddhism. It is worth noting that even the “horizontal cooperation ethic” that best represented the nature of the popular gods of the general public, despite initially originated from some qualities of popular gods themselves, the ultimate theological support came from Confucianism (for example, the “righteousness” of *Guandi*), Buddhism (for example, the “kindness” of *Mazu*), or even Taoism (for example, *Xu Zhen Jun* (许真君) worship in *Jiangxi* Province). Thus, popular gods themselves were a form of the “three-religion harmony”, highlighting the “horizontal cooperation ethic” that was originally implied in Confucianism or Buddhism (or even Taoism) but often overlooked by mainstream (upper echelon) society.

Therefore, the “horizontal cooperation ethic” in Chinese society after the Song Dynasty was primarily provided through popular religion. The rise of popular gods in the Song Dynasty was an endogenous outcome of Chinese religion and society, having an affinity with traditional society. At this time, popular gods, as independent deities, were deficient in their own theological philosophy despite attempting to provide all of the types of social cooperation ethic as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism previously had; thus, people were more inclined to regard the horizontal cooperation ethic as the dominant ethic of the popular gods. It is worth emphasizing that although the “horizontal cooperation ethic” was the dominant ethic of popular religion, its source was in fact diverse. Popular gods can come from different places, and their theological support can also come from Confucianism or Buddhism (or even Taoism). Therefore, in Chinese society after the Song Dynasty, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and popular religions built a broader “menu-styled” pattern of the social cooperation ethic together and further formed the religion and society pattern of “diversity in unity” on the basis of the “three-religion harmony.”

The Vertical Cooperation Ethic in Chinese Society and Its Evolution

Olsen demonstrated that because of opportunism among individuals and “free-riders” in collective activities, individual rationality couldn’t automatically achieve collective rationality (in other words, Pareto efficiency); therefore, with the increasing collective scale, the emergence of organizational structure and internal organizational power was a necessary condition for achieving collective rationality. A large-scale collective organization’s deficiency in power structures and a “vertical cooperation ethic” will lead to the disorder of social cooperation and the decline of social wellbeing.⁽⁵²⁾ Thus, with increasing social development and division of labor, the expanding community and various social organizations must inevitably build internal power structures and a “vertical cooperation ethic.”

In Western societies, Christianity, which has a monopoly, has provided all types of social cooperation ethic including the “vertical cooperation ethic”. In principle, Christianity does not deny the existence of a “vertical cooperation ethic” within secular government outside churches, for example, “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s”. However, Christianity often tended to underscore the sacredness or validity of the church organization in vertical cooperation that allowed the medieval churches to interfere their authority over secular society, resulting in conflicts with the government over secular jurisdiction, in other words, the conflict between religious power and political power. However, during the Protestantism era, this type of church-government conflict gradually shifted to favoring secular organizations. In particular, the connotation of the Calling emphasized by

(52) Mancur Olsen, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and The Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1971), p.46. <https://libgen.pw/item/detail/id/397507?id=397507>

Weber in the Protestant ethic provided a more solid foundation for the “vertical cooperation ethic” within secular enterprises.

In Chinese society, things have been different. The Chinese imperial system originated in the early clan system: both emperors and princes should be *Da Zong* (大宗 the principal wives’ eldest sons) who led other sons.⁽⁵³⁾ Thus, the legality of power in vertical cooperation was mostly derived from the traditional kinship-based intergenerational cooperation (the hereditary institution). Especially in the earliest times, vertical cooperation and kinship-based intergenerational cooperation were even in unity, manifesting as the patriarchal institution and the feudal institution in the Zhou Dynasty. After the Qin System replaced the Zhou System, things changed, and the vertical cooperation originating from the kinship-based intergenerational cooperation remained intact in clan or family in the forms of “filial piety” (孝), “Fathers have fathers’ morals, and sons have sons’ morals” (父父、子子), patriarchy and clan authority. However, the vertical cooperation ethic of the imperial power of the empire emphasized the monarch-courtier ethic: “monarchs have monarchs’ morals, and courtiers have courtiers’ morals” (君君、臣臣) or “loyalty” (忠). Although “loyalty” and “filial piety” overlap to some extent (e.g., “*Xiao Jing*” 孝经), “dilemmas of loyalty and filial piety” have been widely present. Therefore, with regard to the vertical cooperation ethic, certain tensions existed between the clan (or family) and the empire. Certainly, however, imperial politics had the primacy and thus the overwhelming power.

From the perspective of equilibrium, Chinese imperial politics may be understood to be a “partial equilibrium” constructed by “vertical cooperation” and “intergenerational cooperation”. The imperial power (leader) has always been a kinship-based intergenerational inheritance whereas the bureaucratic class (executor) changed from kinship-based intergenerational inheritance to open-styled intergenerational inheritance, in other words, *Menfa* politics (门阀政治 aristocracy politics) of early times was transformed into the imperial examination system after the Tang and Song Dynasties. Obviously, the imperial examination system was conducive to the consolidation of imperial politics. In the “menu-style” pattern of the social cooperation ethic, Confucianism was precisely the provider of the “vertical cooperation ethic” and the “intergenerational cooperation ethic”. Therefore, Confucianism had a close affinity with imperial politics, manifested in the union of politics and religion or in the union of politics and sacrificial system.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In this ethic and institutional arrangement, only the Son of Heaven (the emperor) had the power to offer sacrifice to Heaven. Therefore, the “vertical cooperation ethic” of China’s imperial power enjoyed a supreme status in both the religious realm and secular society and was exclusive and monopolistic. Similarly, patriarchal and clan authorities were manifestations of kinship-based intergenerational cooperation, so they had in common with imperial power and remained as a “vertical cooperation ethic” in families and clans.

However, the members of general social organizations such as associations, societies, trade unions and business unions generally had no kinship with one another; thus, the vertical cooperation (power) relationship required by these social organizations was different from clan or imperial politics. Because the “vertical cooperation ethic” of imperial power (or patriarchal and clan authorities) was dominant and even exclusive in Chinese society, it was difficult for general social organizations to construct an independent and universal “vertical cooperation ethic” on their own, and they had to obtain assistance from the popular gods to invoke imperial power or patriarchal and clan authority. That is, the “vertical cooperation ethic” within general social organizations could not conflict

(53) Wang guowei, *Yin Zhou zhidu lun* Vol.10, p. 451.

(54) Ren jiyu任继愈, *Xu*序 in *Zhongguo rujiao shi*, pp.1-7; Zhangjian, *Zhongguo gudai zhengjiao guanxi shi*, pp.37-43

with imperial politics and was generally converted into clan-like power structures such as teacher-student, mentor-apprentice or employer-employee relationships comparable to father-son relationships.

Therefore, one conspicuous function of the popular god title-granting movement was the absolving of the tension between imperial politics and general social organizations brought about by the heterogeneity of the “vertical cooperation ethic”. On the one hand, the Confucian government took the initiative to export the “loyalty” of imperial vertical cooperation and the “filial piety” of intergenerational cooperation to the image of popular gods; conversely, the local society and folk organizations took the initiative to seek the source of legitimacy of the “vertical cooperation ethic” from central government.

The Economic ethic in Chinese Society: Construction of “Partial Equilibrium”

The Chinese Economic Ethic and Its Changes

As discussed above, the horizontal cooperation ethic in Chinese society was mainly embodied in the kinship-based Gods of *Sheji* during the Zhou dynasty, in the non-kinship-based City God (or Land God) in the early days of the imperial era, and in the nationwide popular gods in the late days of the imperial era. The horizontal cooperation ethic was influenced by Mohism in the late days of the Zhou Dynasty and by Buddhism during the Tang Dynasty. Superficially, it seemed that these two effects both failed; however, from an evolutionary point of view, they were properly absorbed. For example, the non-kinship-based city gods absorbed the effect of Mohism on the kinship-based horizontal cooperation whereas the cross-region popular gods absorbed the horizontal cooperation concept of equality from the effect of Buddhism.

The vertical cooperation ethic in Chinese society, originally from the kinship-based intergenerational cooperation (patriarchal and clan authorities), was subsequently increasingly reflected in imperial politics. Because imperial power had affinity for patriarchal power (or clan power), they were the most explicit vertical cooperation ethic in Chinese society. As a result, the vertical cooperation within general social organizations generally followed the vertical cooperation ethic of imperial power and patriarchal power (or clan power). It was exactly the title-granting movement for popular gods jointly promoted by the folk society and the central government that communicated and relieved the tension of the vertical cooperation ethic between imperial politics and general social organizations.

In modern society, the economic ethic is the partial equilibrium of the horizontal cooperation ethic (the commercial ethic) and the vertical cooperation ethic (the enterprise ethic). From this perspective, because China’s horizontal cooperation ethic and vertical cooperation ethic were always changing, their corresponding economic ethic constructions were inevitable changes as well. However, unlike the case in the West, we can observe that the official and folk society have two different types of economic systems and economic ethics in Chinese society under the grand unification. What was discussed above only focuses on the economic ethic of the folk society.

In the Zhou Dynasty, The “Heaven” or “God” is the supreme god and a symbol of the overall equilibrium of the society as a whole (“the world”). At that time, nationwide official economic activities were primarily the “tribute” tax levied on the princes by the emperor.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This type of official economic system and ethic may be understood to be the gift exchange and ethic in the form of “tribute” under the overall equilibrium of “Heaven”,

(55) Zhou ziqiang周自强, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi*中国经济通史 (Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2007), Vol. QinHan秦汉, pp. 727-47.

only containing a very small number of horizontal cooperation components. In the sense of the economic ethic, the “collapse of the ritual society” (礼坏乐崩) during the late Zhou Dynasty indicated the collapse of the gift exchange economic system between the central government and local communities. However, for local communities, the God of *sheji* was the symbol of local overall equilibrium, not only containing the local horizontal cooperation ethic but also reflecting the kinship-based vertical cooperation ethic in the feudal system. At this time, the local economic ethic (“partial equilibrium”) comprising horizontal and vertical cooperation was embedded in the construction of the God of *sheji* that reflected local “overall equilibrium”.

In the period of *Menfa politics*, “Heaven” was gradually suspended as a symbol of overall equilibrium. Imperial politics as the partial equilibrium (political system) of vertical cooperation and kinship-based intergenerational cooperation in fact fulfilled the function of the “overall equilibrium” of the entire society. Imperial power had become a real symbol of “overall equilibrium” by monopolizing worship to Heaven. At that time, official economic system tended to have the central government or royal franchise or monopoly on items such as salt and iron,⁽⁵⁶⁾ which directly reflected the vertical cooperation of the imperial power. However, in local economic systems, the horizontal cooperation ethic was embedded in the non-kinship-based City gods, and the administrative hierarchy of City gods also reflected the political ethic of the imperial power. Therefore, the local folk economic ethic, as a type of partial equilibrium, was embedded in the construction of city gods that reflected local overall equilibrium.

In the era of the “three-religion harmony” and imperial examination institution, the government strove to construct the local overall equilibrium into a national system through the administrative hierarchy of the city gods system. However, this approach was unable to satisfy the economic and ethical needs of over-regional folk society. First, in the government led “three-religion harmony”, the construction of a universal horizontal cooperation ethic was lacking. Second, because the royal franchise economy was low in efficiency and unsustainable by itself, non-governmental forces gradually formed a national market and even became the main player in the governmental economy (for example, water transport of grain to the Capital, salt industry). In this case, the title-granting movement of popular gods jointly pushed by the government and the civil society that initially began in the Song Dynasty increasingly revealed the great significance in constructing the universal economic ethic of Chinese society.

First, the construction of these popular gods was rather unique, which integrated the ethical advantages of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism; possessed a full range of social cooperation ethic structures; and became a symbol of “overall equilibrium”. The “overall equilibrium” notably contained the universal horizontal cooperation ethic, which was different from both the government’s “overall equilibrium” of the “three-religions harmony” that neglected the horizontal cooperation ethic and the local “overall equilibrium” in the city gods system reconstructed by the government’s administrative hierarchy. Second, popular gods were officially title-granted, which meant the government officially recognized and endorsed the social cooperation ethic and equilibrium of popular gods; thus, the two types of “overall equilibrium” (the official and folk society) reached a consensus: popular gods were the “re-equilibrium” of the two types of overall equilibrium. Third, popular gods contained both the universal horizontal cooperation ethic and the vertical cooperation ethic of the imperial politics (imperial power and patriarchal or clan authority); therefore, the economic ethic (partial equilibrium) could be developed within the popular gods although this type of “partial equilibrium” of the economy remained embedded in the “overall equilibrium” of the popular gods themselves.

(56) Qi tao 齐涛, *Zhongguo gudai jingji shi* 中国古代经济史 (second version) (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp. 247-82.

For example, in national ceremonies as of the late Qing Dynasty, among gods of historical figures, Confucius was first, followed by *Guandi* and then *Mazu*.⁽⁵⁷⁾ *Confucius worship was officially conducted and participated in only by Confucians belonging to an official system rather than being a popular religion. However, in the late Qing Dynasty, after the accumulation of millennial title-granting, the final title of Guan Yu was “忠义神武灵佑仁勇威显护国保民精诚绥靖翊赞宣德关圣大帝 (Zhongyi Shenwu Lingyou Renyong Weixian Huguo Baomin Jingcheng Suijing Yizan Xuande Guan Sheng Da Di)”*, at 26 characters, nearly the longest posthumous title ever bestowed.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The cumulative title of *Mazu* was “护国庇民妙灵昭应弘仁普济福佑群生诚感咸孚显神赞顺垂慈笃祐安澜利运泽覃海宇恬波宣惠导流衍庆靖洋锡祉恩周德溥卫漕保泰振武绥疆嘉佑天后 (*Huguo Bimin Miaoling Zhaoying Hongren Puji Fuyou Qunsheng Chenggan Xianfu Xianshen Zanshun Chuici Duhu Anlan Liyun Zeqin Haiyu Tianbo Xuanhu Daoliu Yanqing Jingyang Xizhi Enzhou Depu Weicao Baotai Zhenwu Suijiang Jiayou T'ian Hou*)”, a total of 62 characters, far beyond the normal rule and the longest title in Chinese history.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the final titles of *Guandi* and *Mazu*, expressions of various types of the social cooperation ethic and equilibrium may clearly be observed (table 1 and 2).

Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that the titles of *Guandi* and *Mazu* expressed all types of social cooperation ethic and overall equilibrium, including the universal horizontal cooperation ethic and the vertical cooperation ethic of the imperial power (partly patriarchal or clan power). Therefore, the economic ethic constructed by these two types of social cooperation ethic was also embedded in the construction of the overall equilibrium manifested by popular gods. The construction of the economic ethic (particularly the horizontal cooperation ethic) through popular religion was lacking in the construction through the “three-religion harmony” of the government and mainstream society; thus, popular gods that were officially enshrined became the symbol of the economic ethic in late imperial China.

Characteristics of Chinese Economic Ethic

In summary, compared with the economic ethic of Western society, the economic ethic of China and its changes have exhibited four important characteristics.

First, under China’s social pattern of grand unification, there were two systems (one official and another folk) of the economic ethic as a partial equilibrium, both having noticeable internal change processes that changed with the changes in the horizontal cooperation ethic and the vertical cooperation ethic. The official and folk types of the economic ethic have always been embedded in their respective “overall equilibriums of the social cooperation ethic”, and their respective evolution of partial equilibriums and overall equilibriums has been synchronous. In other words, whether it was the government or civil society, collective rationality (or overall equilibrium) has been emphasized in Chinese society.

Second, the symbol of the official overall equilibrium has been “Heaven” or “God”, which was specifically presented and realized through the “integration of religion and politics” of imperial politics. Thus, in the official overall equilibrium, the vertical cooperation of imperial power was prominent while the horizontal cooperation was relatively overlooked; correspondingly, the horizontal cooperation ethics has lagged behind in the official

(57) Xu xiaowang徐晓望, *Mazhu xinyang shi yanjiu*妈祖信仰史研究 (Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe, 2007), p.237.

(58) Hu xiaowei胡小伟, *Guangong xinyang yanjiu xilie*关公信仰研究系列 (HongKong: Kehua tushu chubanshe, 2005), Vol. 4, p.522; Wang shoukuan汪受宽, *shifa yanjiu*法研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), p.6.

(59) Xu xiaowang, *Mazhu xinyang shi yanjiu*, p.315.

economic ethic. Nevertheless, the official economic system has also undergone a change from gift exchange to franchise economy and then to a market economy. The symbol of the overall equilibrium of the folk society evolved from local Gods of *Sheji* to local city gods and then to nationwide popular gods, and the overall equilibrium and economy ethic of folk society earlier manifested the emphasis on the horizontal cooperation ethic that had undergone the sequential process of changing from local and kinship-based to local and non-kinship-based and then to national and universalist. Notably, having been affected by Mohism and Buddhism, Chinese society after the Song Dynasty gradually achieved the unity or re-equilibrium of the two types (the official type and the folk type) of overall equilibrium by continuous title-granting of popular gods (for example, *Guandi* and *Mazu* were promoted to “Heavenly Emperor” and “Heavenly Empress”). At that time, the popular gods could be viewed as the symbol of the overall equilibrium and economic ethic of the entire society.

Third, the popular gods of the late imperial period were the product of the “three-religion harmony”, had an affinity for traditional society, and were the economic ethic symbol of Chinese society through endogenous development. However, they lacked a monopoly in their diversity, and the connotations of the equilibrium of various popular gods also varied. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the constructions of *Guandi* and *Mazu* spanned all types of the social cooperation ethic but with different weights. Therefore, the paths and results of overall equilibrium of the folk society were diversified and had distinct regional features. For example, in the image of *Guandi*, the components of the vertical cooperation ethic were more abundant; however, in the image of *Mazu*, the components of the human-nature cooperation ethic and horizontal cooperation ethic were more prominent. This difference likely reflects the various characteristics of *Guandi* and *Mazu* that, respectively, corresponded to the mainland economy and the marine economy. Therefore, although individual popular general gods all achieved the unity of the official and folk types of overall equilibrium, given the diversity of popular gods, it remains rather difficult to use a certain popular god to represent the entire Chinese society. Because of this, although popular gods were symbols of overall equilibrium, the perception of the general public of popular gods remained focused on their horizontal cooperation ethic and economic ethic. Many popular gods have become nationwide or cross-regional gods of trades, gods of commerce unions, gods of business, or gods of wealth that jointly protected the Chinese economy. But they were also simply regarded (or regarded by witchcraft) as gods of wealth.

Fourth, superficially, the changes in the official system (including the overall equilibrium and partial equilibrium of the economic system) have lagged behind changes in the folk system, demonstrating some kind of slowness and conservatism. However, the slowness in the official system may avoid the serious consequences of the differentiation and independence of the social system (such as the shock caused by Mohists and Buddhism). Such consequences were likely engendered by folk society moving too fast, and imposed slowness acted as an important mechanism to ensure that various types of partial equilibrium (even the local overall equilibrium) did not deviate from the overall equilibrium of the entire society. It was only after the Song Dynasty that the local folk society and the central government properly found the unifying approach (the title-granting of popular gods) to achieve the unity of the two. In this sense, the official Confucianism of the central government played the important role as the leader and organizer of China’s civilization pattern of “diversity in unity”. This role in the historical processes of the complex interactions and evolution of the social cooperation ethic, partial equilibrium and overall equilibrium at the official and local folk levels of Chinese society allowed addressing and absorbing various effects, which has not only maintained the unity of the social community but also ultimately identified the endogenous solution.

In short, the Chinese economic ethic not only had a clear construction but also its own evolutionary logic, having maintained both the unity of society as a whole and its diversity during the changes. Therefore, Chinese society has not only maintained unity and integrity but has constructed the diversity of the economic system in that unity and integrity. Here, we are able to interpret some of the features that were presented in the economic activities in the late imperial days of Chinese society.

(1) The origin of popular gods was diverse. As the restriction of imperial politics in this regard and limited title-granting, there remained a variety of gods that were not enshrined by the government. Some of those gods were implicitly accepted by the government, such as the gods of various trades,⁽⁶⁰⁾ and some heterogeneous to imperial power and were severely prohibited and even cracked down on by the government, such as the gods of various secret religions.⁽⁶¹⁾ Nevertheless, economic activities and economic organizations such as trade unions, commerce unions, firms and temple fairs (also including secret associates) in China were closely tied to popular religions or popular gods. For example, *Guandi* was also an important god of many secret sects.⁽⁶²⁾

(2) The fact that the economic ethic exhibited diversity and was embedded in the overall equilibrium means that the “vertical cooperation ethic” and “horizontal cooperation ethic” in economic activities were also mixed with the “human-nature cooperation ethic” and “intergenerational cooperation ethic”. For example, the various feats of efficaciousness of *Guandi* and *Mazu* were existed widely. At the same time, a large number of gods with other functions, such as gods manifesting “human-nature cooperation”, frequently appeared in economic activities (such as commerce unions and temple fairs). Thus, the Chinese economic system was extremely tolerant of all types of gods, and economic activities and groups were accompanied by strong religious (witchcraft) touches.

(3) Because “vertical cooperation” and “intergenerational cooperation” were generally intertwined in traditional society, they may have been manifested both in general social organizations inexplicitly recognized or accepted by the Confucian government and in underground secret organizations not tolerated and suppressed by the Confucian government. In either case, the internal structures of social organizations inevitably borrowed the value system of the “pan-familism” of China’s Neo-Confucianism, and groups that originally were without consanguinity became a “virtual clan” through the appearance of kinship as an integrating factor.⁽⁶³⁾ For example, what the mentor-apprentice relationship simulated was the vertical cooperation between father and son, and what the sworn brothers simulated was kinship-based horizontal parallelism. These social organizations include not only general social organizations inexplicitly recognized or accepted by the Confucian government, but underground organizations or secret societies not tolerated and suppressed by the Confucian government.

(4) The traditional Chinese economy was certainly a self-sufficient peasant economy; however, the market economic activities were abundant and effective. Based on natural economy, domestic market economy size was large and the market structure and order of the corresponding market economy was formed.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Moreover, in global trade, China was able to obtain a huge trade surplus⁽⁶⁵⁾ and without involvement in economic colonization

(60) Li qiao 李乔, *Hangyeshen chongbai: Zhongguo minzhong zaoshen shi yanjiu* 行业神崇拜: 中国民众造神史研究 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2013), pp.22-3.

(61) Ma xisha and Han bingfang, *Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi*.

(62) Daniel L Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p.10.

(63) Zhuang jifa, *ZKJX*, pp.475-6.

(64) William G. Skinner, as note 10.

(65) Andre Gunder Frank, *Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, trans., Liu Beicheng (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2017), pp.108.

phenomena as occurred Western countries. The horizontal cooperation ethics with diverse origins is powerful support for these activities.

(5) Because of the lack of support from a consistent and universal horizontal cooperation ethic and vertical cooperation ethic in china society, imperial politics assumed the role of organizer and keeper of the “overall equilibrium of the social cooperation ethics”. This led to the vertical cooperation ethic of imperial power substituting or suppressing the horizontal cooperation ethic while suppressing the development of an independent vertical cooperation ethic within general social organizations. Consequently, although the development of the economic system never deviated from the pattern of “overall equilibrium”, the tendency to “prioritize agriculture and suppress commerce (industry)” has been consistently prevalent, which has postponed the emergence of business organization and a market economy in the Western sense. Moreover, this situation also led to the involution of the Chinese economy: surplus labor was concentrated on limited land.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In addition, the royal franchise (or special services) economy never withdrew from this stage of history whereas China and its client states maintained the “tributary” trading system with the gift exchange nature.

Conclusion

From the perspectives of social cooperation and its equilibrium, we explained various characteristics and the changing paths presented by the Chinese economic ethic and the Western economic ethic. Simply put, compared with Western society, China’s economic system and economic ethic have always been closely associated with the overall equilibrium, and because of this, China’s economic system has not been distinctively separated from other social systems. Two different economic ethic models of China and the West have developed by searching for the social optimum of their own religion-society forms, thereby becoming path-dependent.

Although Weber claimed himself a product of modern European civilization, he had some concerns regarding the modernity and the instrumental rationality of the West.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The underlying causes of Weber’s concern were that the independence and differentiation of social systems (particularly economic system) will destroy the original overall equilibrium but are unable to achieve a new overall equilibrium. In this sense, Marx’s critique of capitalism moving to its own opposite is quite sharp, and Durkheim’s call for a return to the level of society as a whole and advocacy for social solidarity are historically insightful.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Since the 20th century, faced with the various problems and calamities of Western society brought about by modernity, such as environmental and economic crises and wars, many Western scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss followed Durkheim’s path to find solutions in a “primitive society”, largely because “overall equilibrium” is one of the most profound features of the “primitive society.” In other words, it is more likely for a “primitive society” to reach “overall equilibrium” because of the limited types of social cooperation. However, China is a “complex society,” even more complex than Western societies. Economic system (the economic ethic) tightly linked to and inter-coordinate with the “overall equilibrium” which has always been the focus of the government and the folk society throughout the change process, demonstrating that Chinese religion and society have embodied rich, unique and effective content

(66) *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in The Yangzi Delta, 1350-1988*, pp.11.

(67) Max Weber, *Academy and Politics*, trans. Qian Yongxiang 钱永祥 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2010), p265-70.

(68) Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*.

and logic. Therefore, taking the perspective of social cooperation to view the differences between China and the West would inspire us to reflect on many more aspects of this phenomenon.

First, civilization or the social cooperation community is diverse, and the evolution of any given civilization is endogenous and path-dependent with regard to its own “overall equilibrium”. Various types of social cooperation and “partial equilibrium” (and changes) in the society are associated with and dominated by the “overall equilibrium” (and changes). This also reminds us that exchange and integration in a civilization may lead to failure if we only borrow or introduce a single social system, such as a political or economic system, but ignore social cooperation and its effective integration or consolidation at the level of overall equilibrium (for example, the temple economy of Buddhism during the Tang Dynasty). Moreover, when encountering internal challenges or shocks from alien civilizations, a civilization should respond and absorb under the framework of “overall equilibrium” so that a new “overall equilibrium” may evolve. Therefore, in the face of internal or external changes or shocks, a vigorous civilization must coordinate and adapt at the three levels of (official and folk) social cooperation, partial equilibrium, and overall equilibrium. For alien civilizations, a localized adaptation or correction process is inevitable.

Second, from the perspective of subliming the Western experience to universal theory, it may be a mistake to assume that the evolution or change in Chinese society was backward; for example, the Chinese economic system (the economic ethic) has not been fully differentiated and independent and has not completed the “disenchantment” mentioned by Weber to become “rational” capitalism. However, from the perspective of the “overall equilibrium” of a social community, such a statement may be dogmatic and imprudent. First, from the perspective of diversity and the path dependence of overall equilibrium, we cannot assert that the evolutionary path of one civilization is bound to move toward the situation that has been presented by another civilization. Second, when various types of civilizations in the world have fully formed an unprecedented community of human destiny on a larger scale, it would indicate that a completely new type of “overall equilibrium” should be the common vision of the future. Therefore, various civilizations should learn from each other, draw on their respective strengths, and achieve the construction of a new global “overall equilibrium” with their own path dependence and their own “overall equilibriums” although the final appearance is not yet accomplished and cannot accurately be predicted. In this sense, in the long process of pursuing the new global “overall equilibrium”, the inconsistent endogenous paths and paces of various civilizations as well as the resulting unpredictable conflicts are major difficulties and dilemmas that are facing the world.

Third, the root cause of the problems engendered by the modernity of the West is that various social systems cannot effectively reach a new “overall equilibrium” after their independence and differentiation. Here, the Chinese history sample, which emphasizes the coordination of social cooperation type, partial equilibrium and overall equilibrium, may demonstrate particularly important universal values. As far as the economic system (ethic) is concerned, in Chinese history, after successively resolving or absorbing the internal shock from Mohism and the external shock from Buddhism, the coordination of the economic system and overall equilibrium was achieved through the special structure of popular gods. Certainly, modern Chinese society has been greatly affected by Western civilization (Protestantism in particular), and if Chinese society is able to continue to effectively resolve and absorb the shock in accordance with its own endogenous path and construct a new social cooperation ethic system and overall equilibrium, then this process will be extraordinarily significant.

Fourth, instrumental rationality is more inclined to relate to specific types of social cooperation and partial equilibrium whereas value rationality is more inclined to relate to overall equilibrium. Relative to the other social

systems such as marriage-family system and political system, economic system are “partial equilibrium” that are easier to differentiate and easier to become independent. Therefore, among the humanities and social sciences, economics always behaves the most rationally (instrumental rationality) and has been involved in studies on other social systems and the entire society in an “economics imperialist” manner. However, even the New Institutional Economics has embarked on examining the complex relationship between economic system and the entire society, it still always being generally conducted from the partial perspective of the economy. The history of changes in the Chinese economic system (ethic) shows complex interactive relationships and coordination among social cooperation, partial equilibrium and overall equilibrium; and interpretations from the economic perspective alone have significant limitations. In this sense, studies on the relationship between the economy and society should not ignore Marx’s political economics and Durkheim’s perspective of society as a whole. From a wider perspective, historical samples of China and West have the own meaning in learning from one another.

Finally, needless to say, many arguments made in this article remain inadequate, some too simplified and requiring dedicated extended discussions. Moreover, the methodology and investigation described here are only tentative and exploratory, and their arguments rely heavily on some pre-assumptions without adequate proof. For example, whether the substitution of various types of social cooperation is present and if so, how, is related to whether and how the overall equilibrium or partial equilibrium of social cooperation can be constructed. That is crucial to the conclusion of this study and cannot be offered with strong evidence here. Therefore, we hope to have opportunities to conduct in-depth studies in the future.

中文题目： 中国社会中的经济伦理：从社会合作视角看与西方经济伦理的异同

彭睿

南昌大学人文学院哲学系副教授、硕士生导师，主要从事宗教社会学研究。电子邮件：pengrui2013@pku.edu.cn；电话：+8613817696448

摘要：借助于博弈论和交易费用理论，宗教或宗教伦理可转换为一种对各种社会合作、及其局部均衡和整体均衡提供伦理支持和解释的体系。从社会合作伦理角度看，近现代社会中的经济伦理是横向合作伦理（商业或市场）和纵向合作伦理（企业内部权力）所构成的“局部均衡”。因此，经济伦理与社会合作伦理类型变化、“社会合作伦理的整体均衡”变迁密切相关，其构建和表达存在多样性和路径依赖。在此，韦伯有力解释了近代西方的经济伦理——作为一种“局部均衡”——从“整体均衡”中分化和独立的原因与过程。然而，中国社会中的经济伦理则不同，始终与“整体均衡”保持密切关联，其表达与象征经历从地方性社稷神到地方性城隍神再到全国性大众普遍神的变迁过程。

关键词：社会合作、社会合作伦理、经济伦理、韦伯命题、社会变迁

课题项目：本文系国家社会科学基金项目“中西方宗教伦理与经济伦理之关系的比较研究”（19BZJ012）的阶段性成果。

An Analysis of the Multiple-interaction Characteristics of Christian Indigenization in the Ethnic Minority Areas of Southwest China⁽¹⁾

—A Case Study of the Lahu Funeral Ceremony in G County of Southwest Yunnan

YU Yan'e

(Faculty of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Kunming University of Science and Technology, Kunming 650504, Yunnan)

Abstract: Christian indigenization in the ethnic minority areas of Southwest China is part of the culture change of the ethnic minorities. There appear in the Lahu funeral culture the changes of cremation and ground burial being practiced in parallel, erecting a cross and at the same time building a tomb and setting up a tombstone of typical Han style. Furthermore, the traditional Lahu concept of “the souls returning to the land of the ancestors” is found being replaced by or mixed with concepts of “the souls going to heaven” and “the souls residing in the tomb”. These changes reflect that Christian indigenization in the ethnic minority areas of Southwest China is not a two-way interaction of Christianity and the culture of a specific ethnic minority, but the multiple interaction and fusion of Christianity, the culture of the ethnic minority and cultures of the surrounding peoples.

Keywords: Christian indigenization; multi-interaction; funeral culture; the Lahu people;

Author: YU Yan'e, Lecturer, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Kunming University of Science and Technology, Ph.D. candidate in ethnology, School of Ethnology and Sociology, Yunnan University. Address: 727 South Jingming Road, Chenggong District, Kunming, Yunnan, 650504; M: +86-159-1258-9679; E-mail: yuyane1013@163.com.

Introduction

Indigenization is an important topic for the study of ethnic minorities' Christianity in Southwest China. Most of the existing studies describe indigenization as a two-way interactive process of collision, conflict and integration between Christianity and the culture of the specific ethnic minority under its influence. Such two-way interaction has produced some in-depth and focused researches on the process of cultural blending of Christianity and the culture of ethnic minorities. However, considering the interlaced distribution pattern of the ethnic minorities in Southwest China and the social and cultural reality of them being closely interrelated because of their interaction and mutual influence over a long period of time, the two-way interaction mode seems too idealistic to reflect the real process of Christian indigenization.

(1) Fund Projects: 2017 National Social Science Fund Major Bidding Project, *Research on the Problems of Rural Christianity under the Background of Sinicization of Christianity in China* (No. 17ZDA231); First-class Discipline Construction Project of Ethnology of Yunnan University; 2020 Project of National Religious Affairs Administration, *Research on the Practice of Sinicization of Christianity of the Cross-border Ethnic Groups in Yunnan and the Existing Problems* (No. FX2004D); 2018 National Social Science Fund Project, *Research on the Multi-religion Interaction in Regions between Southwest China and the Neighboring Countries and its Influence on the Construction of the “Belt and Road”* (No. 18CZJ027). 项目基金: 2017年度国家社科重大招标项目“基督教中国化背景下的农村基督教问题研究”(项目编号: 17ZDA231); 云南大学民族学一流学科建设项目; 2020年国家宗教事务局招标科研项目“云南跨境民族基督教中国化实践及其存在问题研究”(项目编号: FX2004D); 2018年国家社科基金项目“中国西南与周边国家交界区域多元宗教互动及其对‘一带一路’建设的影响研究”(项目编号: 18CZJ027)。

Funeral culture is an important embodiment of and a carrier for a people's traditional culture. The change of funeral culture can reflect the change of the religious belief of the people and the change of their core culture, too. The Lahu people was originated from the ancient Di and Qiang ethnic groups and are now mainly populated in Lincang and Pu'er of the Lancang River Basin in Yunnan, and there are a few living in the nearby prefectures of Xishuangbanna, Honghe and Yuxi. According to the 2010 National Population Census, there are now over 485,000 Lahu in China.⁽²⁾ At the beginning of the 20th century, Christianity was introduced to the Lahu people China, and quite a few converted to it. Around 1950, the number of Lahu Christians accounted for 10% of the total population of the Lahu at that time.⁽³⁾

Taking the Lahu among those ethnic minorities in Southwest China who are greatly influenced by Christianity as an example, the study of the funeral ceremonies⁽⁴⁾ of the Lahu in G County of Lincang is conducted to analyze the changes of the Lahu funeral culture and the causes behind, so as to reflect the multiple-interaction characteristics of Christian indigenization in Southwest China.

A Funeral Ceremony of M Village of G County, Southwest Yunnan

An overview of M village

G County is an autonomous county of ethnic minorities, but the population of Han is the largest. Among the ethnic minorities, Dai and Wa are the most populous, while the Lahu population ranks the third. M village is mainly populated by Dai and Lahu. The Lahu live in the upper part of the village, and there are 40 households and the population is over 180. The Dai live in the lower part, and the number of households and the population are basically the same as the Lahu group. There is a path in the middle marked a clear separation between the two groups. M village was formed around the 1950s with only a few Dai households. In 1957, three Lahu households moved from another village and settled around those Dai people after obtaining their permission. Later, due to the arrival of their relatives and marriage with other villages, the Lahu population grew larger and larger. They moved to the mountain slope, eventually forming the village pattern of the Lahu living in the upper and the Dai living in the lower.

There are altogether 14 groups of villagers in the administrative village which M belongs to. Except the Lahu group of the upper M village and one Han group, the other 12 groups are all Dai. During the People's Commune Movement, the Dai and the Lahu worked together. Lahu villagers above 50 years old or so can speak Dai language, and Dai villagers of the same age can also speak the Lahu language. After that, since the beginning of the household contract system, the two ethnic groups have been working separately until now. The younger generations can only communicate with each other in the local Chinese dialect and only know a few words of the other's language. The Dai live in the lower and flat part and occupy more land, two mu (a unit of area) per capita; The Lahu live in the mountain and have only a few land for upland rice, one mu per capita land.

(2) <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>.2020-06-10.

(3) 韩军学 HAN Junxue, 《基督教与云南少数民族》*Jidujiao yu Yunnan shaoshu minzu* [Christianity and Ethnic Minorities in Yunnan], (昆明 Kunming : 云南人民出版社 Yunnan renmin chubanshe [Yunnan People's Publishing House], 2000), 87.

(4) The study only focus on the Christian Lahu villages and involves the non-Christian Lahu villages only when it is necessary. And the funeral ceremony discussed refers only to those of the normal death, not those of the abnormal death.

The villagers depend mainly on planting of sugarcane, tobacco and corn. Since 2010, the number of young people working outside in other provinces has increased year by year. In addition, the Lahu villagers are also famous for weaving bamboo baskets, which are often purchased by Han and Wa traders. Almost every adult in the upper village can weave baskets. During the slack season, every household would weave baskets at the gate from morning till night. When the upper village used up their bamboo, they would buy some from the Dai people in the lower village for 20 yuan a piece. Before 2010, there were no intermarriages between the two groups. Now a Dai man married a Lahu woman and live with her in the upper village and a Lahu woman married a Dai man and live with him in the lower village.

The Dai villagers believe in Theravada Buddhism and had once built a temple, which was demolished due to the lack of monks. Therefore, the villagers usually go to temples not far from M village. The Lahu villagers believe in Christianity and there is a church with 8 clergy. Among the first three Lahu households to move in, two were Christian before moving in, and the male owner of one household was the “Boguan” (a Lahu Christian pastor) of the original village. Christianity in the original village was introduced by William Young, an American Baptist missionary, and some others before the foundation of PRC. In the 1980s, as the Religious Freedom Policy restored, the Lahu villagers began to restore their Christian faith gradually. At that time a man named Zhake who knew Lahu written language and had learned in a Bible school in Myanmar returned China to seek refuge in relatives and got married in M village. The villagers thus learned the Lahu language and hymns around the fire pit in his house until the first church of M village was built in 1985. According to one deacon, excluding those under 18 years old, almost all families of the upper village, except a very small number, believe in or believed in Christianity. More than eighty people were baptized, and about fifty were “serious believers”, that is, those who were baptized and still attend church and take communion. However, when the church celebrate Thanksgiving and New Year’s Day, the whole upper village, Christians and non-Christians, will make contributions and join in. A speech-impaired Dai girl and her mother in the lower village often went to church. When there is a wedding or a funeral, the upper village and the lower village also invite and dine with each other or go to offer condolences. Prior to the 1990s, both the Lahu and Dai villagers of M village were cremated. The cremation site is located not far from M Village in the “cremation field”. Although the cremation fields of the upper village and the lower village are connected together, there is a clump of bamboo in the middle as a separation marker.

A Funeral Ceremony of M Village

On January 5, 2020, an elderly woman of the upper village died. Born in 1933, she was in her 80s. In addition, she has been ill for nearly a month and has been unable to eat anything for nearly a week. Her family has been prepared for the fact that she would pass away soon. It had been nearly a month since her two daughters, who were married and live in the very distant Shandong province, returned to the village to take care of her. During the time she was in serious illness, her eldest son invited two coffin masters from another village to make the coffin for her. And her second daughter-in-law went to the market to buy white cloth and clothes for her. At about 8 o’clock on the night, she fell into a dying state. Her granddaughter was sent for the village “Sala” (a Lahu preacher or teacher). Her sons and daughters had been watching her all night long for several days, but she still kept her eyes open. Thus the village “Sala” was invited to pray for her, though she was not a Christian herself. The “Sala” came and said prayer in Lahu which means: if the old lady was doomed to pass away, please God take her away; if she can be healed, please God heal her.

After the prayer, the old lady closed her eyes at about 9 o'clock. Her family set off firecrackers immediately. Her sons and daughters scrubbed her body with some artemisia branches, cut off her hair, and dressed her with Lahu clothes prepared in advance, of which the buttons were cut off. The body was then placed in a white cloth bag sewn beforehand. The coffin were placed in the main room and before putting the body into it, the inside was swept with artemisia branches. Then, the body is placed in the coffin, head inward and feet outward. Inside the coffin were two new suits of clothes and some torn money. When the coffin was closed, a red blanket was put over it, and then a red quilt cover over the blanket, both newly bought. A bundle of obcordate raspberry root stalks is placed on the outer surface ready for use in the burial. In front of the coffin was a red plastic bag which contained an earthen pot, two bowls and a pair of chopsticks used by the old lady during her lifetime. Everything she had used, including clothes, bed, sofa, electric stove and curtains, was taken into the yard and put into a pile. Besides there were a new bamboo table and a new bamboo pack basket. The former was requested by the old lady herself, and in the back basket were her slippers, sickles, and a newly made Lahu bag.

Hearing the sound of firecrackers, the villagers understood that the old lady had passed away and came to her house one after another. That night they kept a vigil at her house. Some of them sat around the coffin in the main room, drinking, smoking and chatting. Some were chatting around a brazier in the courtyard; others chatted around the fire pit in the kitchen. The old lady's family, mainly her youngest daughter and her second daughter-in-law, discussed about the menu for the next day in the kitchen. The number of dishes must be single, not double. That night, the villagers at the vigil were served chicken porridge.

The burial was on the second day. The coffin still stood in the main room, head inward and feet outward. Someone placed four cigarettes at the foot of the coffin. The villagers kept coming to pay their respects, leaving some cash on the surface of the coffin. An old Dai lady of the lower village came and immediately squatted down on the right side of the coffin, holding a small square piece of white cloth in her right hand and a pair of white wax sticks in her left hand. She raised the wax sticks above her head and then placed them on the surface of the coffin. The white cloth was put over the coffin, facing the old lady's head. Then she took out some money and put them under the white cloth. While the Dai woman were doing all this, an old Lahu man by her side spoke a few Lahu words saying that the money would be used to buy the old lady water on her way. In the yard, the old lady's children and grandchildren were busy placing all her things into a tractor. Among the items were nine thin green bamboo sticks, about 1.2 meters in length. It is said that the bamboo sticks were to be used as walking sticks for the old lady. In front of the yard, some villagers had killed a pig and a cow and were shedding their hair. On the other side, seven or eight villagers were helping to cook food.

The burial was planned to start at 11:00 o'clock, but for some reason, when it was the time, her eldest son refused to allow the coffin to be carried out of the house, insisting it be held until 15:00 o'clock. Someone advised him that there was no reason for such a late burial, and that it would be inconvenient to do the burial and entertain the guests at the same time. The old lady's three daughters stroked their tears and tried to persuade their brother, but he persisted. It was under the harsh rebuke of the village head, he finally gave in. The coffin was immediately carried out into the courtyard and a very big and thick bamboo was tied to it, still with the head turned inward and the feet turned outward. At this point, the coffin was clearly visible with a white cross painted in the middle of the top. The eldest son led three or four men in front of the house, burning a fire of chopped bamboo and dry wood, doused it with gasoline, and lit a torch made of bamboo pieces. A total of five people carried the coffin up, her two grandsons in front, there in the back, the old lady's youngest son-in-law, the tomb master invited from the other village and one villager of M village.

The eldest son led the way with the torch, and the other people followed him carrying the coffin, which passed over the fire and out of the yard. Her daughters, daughters-in-law, relatives and other villagers followed carrying her belongings. The tractor carrying all the large items at the end. Close to the cemetery, the torch was thrown on the roadside under a bush of bamboo, where all the belongings were lit, and the coffin continued to move forward. Arriving at the cemetery, the coffin was placed next to the grave dug in advance by the village church clergy and a few other villagers. The old lady's grave was just next to her husband's. Her husband died in 2013 when only a rectangular earth grave with a door of three stones was built. Before the burial, one guy went down into the pit and placed three round sticks respectively in the front, the middle and the back. Another guy took the bundle of obcordate raspberry root stalks, which lay on the coffin, and made a symbolic sweep of the pit.

Then the coffin was lowered into the grave with the help of a rope. Her youngest son-in-law went down into the pit, and took up the red blanket and the red quilt cover on the coffin, and people beside the grave took them and spread the four corners over the grave. The eldest son also went down into the grave. They opened the coffin and adjusted her head and body. Her eldest son took a 100 yuan note out of his bag, tore it up a little and put it in the coffin. Her children and grandchildren gathering around the grave offered money to the coffin. The money from the previous condolences was also placed in the coffin. The white cloth bag was lifted to reveal the upper part of the body, and the children could take the last look at her. After the coffin was covered, the square white cloth brought by the Dai lady was still spread on the cover facing the old lady's head, and the blanket and quilt cover were removed. After the two guys climbed out of the grave, the old lady's children, grandchildren and relatives squatting by the sides of the grave grabbed earth with their left hands and spilled onto the coffin, then some people began to dig earth with a hoe to fill in the pit. Everyone present left at once except the diggers. After the earth was covered and pressed, the youngest son-in-law took the earthen pot, the bowls and the chopsticks out and put them in front of the grave. He then broke the bottom of the earthen pot with a sickle, and offered her a cigarette and a glass of alcohol.

Everybody left, and everything, including the sickle, remained in front of the grave. When they returned to the door of the old lady's house, the fire was still burning, and behind it was a basin of water with artemisia branches soaked in it. People returned crossed over the fire, washed their hands in the basin, and entered the house. The night, the villagers kept a vigil at the old lady's home. Two old men who smoked and drank in the main room took out their gourd pipes and played with them.

On the third day, a tomb was built and the tombstone was set up. "If we don't do it on the third day, we can only do it on the Tomb-sweeping Day." Under the lead of the two tomb masters, the old lady's younger brother, sons, grandsons, daughters, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one or two relatives and villagers, kept on working from the morning until dinner time and finally finished the tomb and tombstone. It was a couple tomb for the old lady and her husband. The tombstone was completely of Han style, not only with the images of a red sun, dragon and phoenix, but also with the Chinese respectful titles for the dead. The names of children and grandchildren were inscribed on the stone according to their positions in the family and their ages, except for those of the two devout Christian daughters-in-law. It was difficult to tell whether it was a tomb for a Han or a Lahu without the traditional "Za" (the Lahu name used for males) and "Na" (the Lahu name used for females) in the names.

The two tomb masters were from another Lahu village, one was Han and the other Lahu. The Han master was born in Mengku of Shuangjiang County, and his wife was a Lahu. Under his influence, the family of his wife became the first Lahu family in their village to build a tomb and set up a tombstone. In his view, "To build a tomb for the deceased old is to show our filial piety to them and they will bless their children and their future generations

so that they can buy a car and a house and live a good life.” Among those who help was one clergy of another Lahu village, who said he did not approve of the tomb building and tombstone erection, but had to help because his father-in-law was the old lady’s younger brother and his younger brother was her son-in-law. Before leaving, I heard people murmuring to the deceased as they walked, “Your house was built, and now you can go in peace.” “Be happy, be united!”

The Changes of the Lahu Funeral Culture and the Causes behind

The above is just a common funeral ceremony of Lahu villages in G County. However, it not only contains both the discontinuities and continuities of traditional Lahu culture, but also shows the existence of Christian culture and the surrounding peoples’ cultures explicitly and implicitly, showing the distinct characteristics of cultural hybridity of the Lahu funeral ceremony. The following is a further analysis of the changes of the Lahu people’s funeral culture and the causes behind based on the literature and the author’s fieldwork records in G County.

From “no funeral nor burial” to the parallel practice of cremation and burial

The funeral tradition of the Lahu people underwent a transition from “no funeral nor burial” to cremation, and then to the parallel practice of cremation and ground burial. Historically, the Lahu had been in the state of hunting and migration for a long time, and they had no fixed residences, nor did modern funeral activities and ceremonies develop. A local Chronicles of Qing Dynasty recorded, “Luohei (Lahu)...once someone deceased, held no funeral or burial, left directly and chose to live elsewhere.” After the 17th century, experiencing the process of “regionalization” and “feudalization”⁽⁵⁾, the Lahu developed from a migratory hunting people to a settled agricultural people and gradually developed their own funeral culture.

Cremation is one of the characteristics of the Di and Qiang culture.⁽⁶⁾ The Tibetan, Yi, Naxi, Lahu, Hani, Pumi, Nu and other ethnic groups that are originally related to Qiang also have the cremation custom, which are still practiced in some areas.⁽⁷⁾ In the history, cremation was practiced universally among the ethnic minorities in Southwest China. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, cremation was gradually reduced as the rulers strictly prohibited it. In particular, during the Reign of Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing Dynasty, due to the large-scale implementation of the reform of bureaucratization of native officials and the establishment of official structures, the economic and cultural exchanges between ethnic groups increased greatly. Under the influence of the Han funeral culture, most ethnic groups changed to earth burial. In the late Qing Dynasty, ground burial became the main method of burial in Southwest China. Still, cremation prevailed in areas where Qing rule did not extend directly. The parallel practice of cremation and burial has become a tradition of the Lahu funeral culture in Southwest China.

(5) 钱宁QIAN Ning, 《厄莎·佛祖·耶稣——拉祜族的宗教信仰与社会变迁》Esha·Fozu·Yesu—Lahuzu de zongjiao xinyang yu shehui bianqian [G’ui Sha-Buddha-Jesus—Religious belief and social changes of the Lahu people], 《思想战线》Sixiang zhanxian [The Ideological Front], 1997(04), 32-39.

(6) 李昆声LI Kunsheng, 《从云南考古材料看氏羌文化》Cong Yunnan kaogu cailiao kan DiQiang wenhua [Analyzing the Di and Qiang culture from the Archaeological materials of Yunnan], 《思想战线》Sixiang zhanxian [The Ideological Front], 1988(04), 61-66+60.

(7) 邓宏烈DENG Honglie, 《羌族丧葬礼仪论略》Qiangzu sangzang liyi luelun [On the Funeral Rites of Qiang], 《世界宗教研究》Shijie zongjiao yanjiu [Studies in World Religions], 2012(06), 158-167.

In G County, non-Christian Lahu villages practice both cremation and ground burial; Christian villages practiced only ground burial. In addition, the cremation custom is still very strong in some villages far away from the towns and maintaining traditional Lahu religion. M village used to practice cremation, but after the restoration of Christianity in the 1980s, the village began practice ground burial instead of cremation until now. LS, who died in 1992, was the first to be buried in M Village. The villagers planned at the beginning to bury him in the cremation field of M village, but was revisited strongly by the Dai villagers who practice cremation. Some Dai villagers even held machetes waiting there, threatening to kill if the Lahu villagers dare to bury LS there. Things got so uncontrollable that the police were called out. LS was not buried in the cremation field but a piece of land specially shared by the family of the village “Sala”. In January 2020, I was able to see his grave covered in wild weeds and miscellaneous trees. It was a rectangular mound of earth about 30 centimeters above the ground, with three stones in front to form the tomb door, and a wooden cross at the back. However, exposed to the sun and rain for so long a time, the transverse wood of the cross could not be found, and the Lahu words on it disappeared completely. Since 1992, M village changed to practice burial for all villagers, no matter Christians or non-Christians.

N village is a Lahu village near the county town. The villagers briefly embraced Christianity around 2000, but soon abandoned it due to the lack of guidance and their weak faith. Now only one household in the village adhere to the Christian faith, and they go to the village church to attend service on Sunday. The village practices traditional cremation. In January 2020, when I was doing fieldwork in the village, an old man in his 70s passed away. N village has been relocated, and the cremation field is still in the original site. The old man had been ill for a long time and had told his family before he died that he wanted to be buried in his sugarcane field. So, after he died, the “Moba” (Lahu spirit master) “threw eggs” in his sugarcane field and chose a place to cremate him.

From practicing cremation to practicing cremation and burial in parallel, in addition to the above mentioned strong government ban and the influence of Han funeral culture, there were also changes brought about by Christianity. There were both cremation and burial for the Lahu people in Banli village of Donghui District, Lancang County. After Christianity was introduced, the “Sala” said, “The soul belongs to God, while the body belongs to earth, so it should be buried in the ground. Cremation is not healthy...” and ground burials have been practiced since then.⁽⁸⁾ Before the founding of PRC, the Lahu in Nuo Fu village, where the Lancang Christian center was located, practiced ground burial without building tombs, and with a “Sala” praying before the funeral.⁽⁹⁾ Regarding why Lahu Christians should practice ground burials, Lahu Pastor L of G County also explained that, “Christians, no matter in what way we die, are buried in the earth. It is what the Bible says, ‘you are dust, and to dust you shall return’.”

The coexistence of “cross-erection” and “tomb-building and tombstone-erection”

In addition to the parallel practice of cremation and burial, “cross-erecting” and “tomb-building and tombstone-setup” also appear at the same time in the Lahu funeral culture. The cross is a symbol of Christianity. At the beginning of the 20th century, Christianity was introduced into the areas where the Lahu populated in China, and

(8) 《中国少数民族社会历史调查资料丛刊》修订编辑委员会Zhongguo shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha ziliao congkan xiuding bianji weiyuanhui编，《拉祜族社会历史调查（一）》Lahuzu shehui lishi diaocha (yi)[A Social History of the Lahu People Volume 1],（北京Beijing：民族出版社Minzu chubanshe [The Ethnic Publishing House], 2009），73。

(9) *Ibid.*, p32.

some of them converted to Christianity. The Lahu Christians have gradually accepted the cross as a status symbol and thus it has become part of their daily life. In the funeral ceremony of Lahu Christians, the practices of “holding a cross to lead the way” and “erecting a cross behind the tomb” have appeared. Sala J of Village B says, “In the past, it was a torch to lead the way in the funeral ceremony, and a cross has been used instead after we converted to Christianity.” The cross is usually inscribed in red paint Lahu words like “The road of the Cross, Rest in the Lord”, and sometimes the name, the birth and death dates of the deceased. After the funeral, the cross was left to stand behind the grave.

The Lahu funeral culture has also been influenced by the Han funeral customs. A typical example is the practice of building a tomb and setting up a tombstone, and there are also practices of tomb visiting, kowtowing and sacrificing on Tomb-sweeping Day. Among the Lahu Christians of G County, there even appears the practice of carving both dragon and phoenix pattern and the cross on the tombstone, as well as the practice of building a tomb with a tombstone setup and setting up a cross behind the tomb in the meantime. The practice of building a tomb with a tombstone setup in G County first appeared among the Lahu living around the township. M village is only one kilometer from the township, and the first household to build a tomb with a tombstone was in 2012 there. In addition to the dragon and phoenix pattern carved on the tombstone like those of the Han people, a bright red cross was also carved onto it just in the center of the dragon and phoenix pattern. Although no cross could be found on the tombstone set up for the elderly by another household in 2015, there is a wooden cross standing behind the tomb. There are four households to build tombs and erect tombstones for their deceased family in M Village.

The same phenomenon appeared in B village, another Christian Lahu village, about 10 kilometers away from the township. Sala J’s family is the first household to do so for the deceased elderly. His mother died in 2009 and his father in 2011. In 2012, the family built them a tomb and erected a tombstone, at the same time a cement cross was built behind the tomb. In addition, there were three other households to do so in the village. However, G village is with higher altitude and the farthest distance from the township, and a Christian Lahu village, and there has been no such practice so far.

T administrative village is directly subordinate to the town where the county seat is located. The Lahu in this village are even more influenced by the Han in funeral customs. One Sala of the village said, “Since the 1990s, more and more villagers have been visiting the graves of their deceased family on Tomb-sweeping Day, both Christians and non-Christians. Non-Christians would bring food (chicken killed and cooked, tobacco and alcohol, pork, fruit, etc.), incense, fake money, etc. at the grave after offering and eating, then leave, while Christians just pull out weeds and repair the graves. In 2000, some Lahu households began to build tombs and erect tombstones for the deceased, just like the Han people, Christians and non-Christians alike. The main concern was the will and the economic ability of each household. The Lahu tombstones are also carved with Chinese characters. Now the whole village erect tombstones.” Thus it can be seen that to build tombs and erect tombstones has now become a funeral custom for the Lahu people in G County. Furthermore, among the Lahu Christians, the practice of combining tomb-building and tombstone-erecting with the cross-erecting has also appeared.

The discontinuities, continuities and hybridity of Cultures

What behind the parallel practice of cremation and ground burial and the coexistence of “cross-erection” and “tomb-building and tombstone-erection” are the discontinuities, continuities and hybridity of traditional cultures.

“Soul-sending” and “Soul-separating” are important rituals of the Lahu traditional funeral ceremony. “The Lahu people believe that after the normal death of an elderly, the most important thing is to make arrangement for the soul’s destination and to provide the soul with the materials necessary for his/her production and living, otherwise the soul will return home and cause illness and other misfortunes to the family.”⁽¹⁰⁾ In the funeral ceremony mentioned above, things such as to put the torn money into the old lady’s coffin s to “buy herself water to drink on the road”, to incinerate all articles and tools of production used by the elderly, as well as the bamboo table and back basket that she loved, to slaughter chickens, pigs, cattle and other livestock, and to leave an earthen pot, bowls and chopsticks in front of the grave, were done in order to “send the soul” in a better way. While in order to “separate the soul” successfully, the children and grandchildren must use their left hands to grab and spill the earth, and those who returned from the cemetery had to step over a fire and wash their hands in the water with artemisia braches before entering the house. All these can be regarded as the continuities of the traditional Lahu culture.

In addition to preparing the above materials for the dead, in order to better “send the soul”, in the traditional Lahu funeral ceremony, a “Moba” should be invited to recite the traditional funeral songs for the dead to guide his/her soul. The main content is to send the soul from the place where he/she now lives to the land of their ancestors to reunite with them one site by another along the migration route.⁽¹¹⁾ The Lahu people believe that, for the person who dies a normal death, “his soul must be sent back to the underworld where his ancestors live to be reunited with their souls, which is the highest ideal of soul destination for the Lahu people”.⁽¹²⁾ This kind of “soul-sending” ceremony is very common among the ethnic minorities in Southwest China, which is related to their frequent migration experiences in the history. In fact, it reflects a soul concept of “souls returning to the origin of the ancestors”. However, there is no “Moba” in M Village, nor is any part of the funeral ceremony mentioned above related to the return of the soul to the land of ancestors to be reunited with their souls. Discontinuities of the traditional culture are therefore quite visible.

Those discontinuities are closely related to the introduction of Christianity. After the conversion, based on the requirements of Christianity, Christians will inevitably make changes to the original funeral rites. For Christians, believing in Christianity means eternity for the soul, after the body perished, “the soul goes to God, and the dust returns to dust”. According to Pastor L of G County, when a Christian Lahu died, the pastor or preacher will go to the deceased’s home to pray for him/her and comfort his/her family. Before the prayer, people present sing a memorial hymn. After the prayer, the coffin would be carried out to the cemetery. There, people sing a hymn for meeting again and the pastor prays again, then after finishing the burial, the funeral ends. Prayers and hymns have replaced the traditional funeral songs and elegies for the dead. The old idea of the soul returning to the land of ancestors and living in the world of the dead as the living persons was replaced by the Christian idea of “dust returning to dust” and “the soul going to heaven”. In other words, the concept of “the soul returning to the land of the ancestors” was replaced by the Christian concept of “the soul going to heaven”. That’s why the villager who showed me the first earth grave in M village had no qualms about stepping on the grave, which to Christians is nothing but dust and the soul has long since reached heaven.

(10) 政协澜沧拉祜族自治县委员会Zhengxie Lancang Lahuzu zizhixian weiyuanhui 《拉祜族史》Lahuzu shi [Lahu History], (昆明Kunming : 云南民族出版社Yunnan minzu chubanshe [Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House], 2003), 240.

(11) *Ibid.*, p360.

(12) *Ibid.*, p367.

Those discontinuities also have something to do with the influence of surrounding peoples' cultures. In the above funeral ceremony, the children of the deceased hired a master to "build a house" (build a tomb and erect a tombstone) for her, hoping to be sheltered by her. This is obviously influenced by the ancestor concept of the Han people. It can be said that the past concept of "the soul returning to the land of the ancestors" has been replaced by the concept of "the soul residing in the tomb". As a result, the practice of "feeding the deceased" or visiting the grave on Tomb-sweeping Day or Chinese New Year, has become increasingly popular. An old man in T village described to me that, "The songs sung when someone died would start from his life from the birth to the death, (his soul) to the place of Yan-Wang-Ye (the king of Hell in Chinese mythology), and go on to guide the souls of the living persons back to the table side." The change of sending the soul to "the place of Yan-Wang-Ye" instead of "the place of ancestors" reflects the change of the Lahu funeral custom under the influence of the Han concept of funeral.

Hence, we see strong hybridity of the Lahu funeral culture. Most of the children of the deceased lady are Christians or had been Christians. Thus, although the old lady was not a Christian herself, her funeral was mixed with elements of Christian culture. Those obviously seen include that the village "Sala" was asked to pray for her before she passed away, and a big white cross was clearly seen painted on the top of her coffin. While the facts that the two daughters-in-law with strong Christian faith chose not to have their names carved onto the tombstone, and the clergy who usually dominate the Christian funerals only played the role of ordinary villagers in digging the grave, and even the tradition of ground burial of M village, all implicitly revealed the presence of Christianity.

In the funeral ceremony, the use of coffin, the sacrifice of cooked rice, alcohol and cigarettes, the eldest son's authority shown in his insisting on postponing the burial time and his carrying the torch to lead the way, and the building of tomb and the setting up of tombstone on the third day, were all obviously influenced by Han funeral customs. As for Dai culture, there seems to be no trace of the influence of the Dai culture, except for the Dai lady carrying white cloth and wax sticks. As a matter of fact, the communication between the Dai and the mountain peoples was much earlier than the entry of the Han people, and the entry and of Christianity. The Lahu must have absorbed a lot of Dai culture elements in their funeral customs and thus records about the funeral customs of different ethnic minorities in Southwest China show great similarity. Not to mention M Village, a village of Dai and Lahu, the villagers themselves may not be able to tell the difference clearly. The Lahu funeral culture is a mixture of their traditional culture, cultures of the surrounding peoples and Christian culture, which shows great hybridity of many cultures mixed together.

In the words of the Lahu villagers of M village, "It's not the Han custom, nor the Lahu custom. We cannot tell what it is!"

Discussion and conclusion: the multiple interactive characteristics of Christian indigenization reflected in the change of the Lahu funeral culture

The change of cremation and ground burial being practiced in parallel, the change of erecting a cross and at the same time building a tomb and setting up a tombstone of typical Han style, and the change of the traditional Lahu concept of "the souls returning to the land of the ancestors" being replaced by or mixed with concepts of "the souls going to heaven" and "the souls residing in the tomb" show that the form and content of Lahu funeral culture are both different that of the past. It is not a complete rupture of the traditional Lahu culture, but continuities go hand

in hand with ruptures. It is not from a single cause, but many causes including changes due to the conversion to Christianity, and changes because of the interaction between the Lahu and their surrounding ethnic groups. As a result, the funeral culture of the Lahu people shows great hybridity.

Seeing Christian indigenization in the ethnic minority areas of Southwest China from the changes of the Lahu funeral culture, we can say that the process of Christianity entering the ethnic region and colliding, conflicting and integrating with the culture of the ethnic minorities is also part of the process of the changing of the ethnic minority's culture. It is not the complete assimilation of one culture to another. The change of the Lahu funeral culture discussed above is not the complete Christianization of the Lahu culture, and vice versa. This process is not the two-way interaction between the so-called foreign culture and the ethnic minority's culture. In addition to the discontinuities and continuities of traditional Lahu culture and the introduction of Christianity, the above-mentioned change process is also influenced by and mixed with the cultures of the surrounding Han and Dai peoples. Therefore, it can be said to be a process of multi-cultural interaction and integration in essence.

In a word, Christian indigenization in the ethnic minority areas of Southwest China is not a two-way interaction of Christianity and the culture of a specific ethnic minority, but the multiple interaction and fusion of Christianity, the culture of the ethnic minority and cultures of the surrounding peoples, especially the Han and Dai.

中文题目：

西南少数民族地区基督教本土化多重互动特征分析——以滇西南G县拉祜族丧葬仪式为个案

余艳娥，昆明理工大学外国语言文学学院讲师；云南大学民族学与社会学学院民族学专业博士研究生；通讯地址：云南省昆明市呈贡区景明南路727号·650504；联系电话：+86-159-1258-9679；电子邮箱：yuyane1013@163.com。

提要：西南少数民族地区基督教本土化是少数民族文化变迁的一个部分。拉祜族丧葬文化中出现了火葬与土葬并行，“立十字架”与“修坟立碑”共举的变化，以及“魂归祖源地”与“灵魂上天堂”“魂居埋葬地”等观念的杂糅。从拉祜族丧葬文化的变迁反观基督教本土化过程，发现西南少数民族地区基督教本土化并非基督教与少数民族文化的双向互动，而是基督教、少数民族文化及其周边民族文化的多重互动与融合。

关键词：基督教本土化；多重互动；丧葬文化；拉祜族；

书评与通讯

Reviews and Academic Reports

论犹太人的 Havruta 学习法

于晓东

(上海外国语大学贤达经济人文学院商学院, 200081 上海)

摘要:我国注重应试教育, 强调教师的知识分发和传递过程中的作用, 课堂授课以注入式为主, 公立教育缺少对人文通识类的设置。学生以竞争升学为核心, 属于竞争独立学习型的模式, 强调个人对知识的积累以增加个人的竞争力。本文对犹太人学习方法进行研究, 对犹太人的学习法研究有不同的角度, 本文限定于对犹太人的Havruta学习法的理论进行研究。本文从考察Havruta学习法最初的应用范围开始, 给出Havruta学习法的定义、构成要素、展开与实施, 同时展示运用该教学法在教学过程中进行的教学设计和实施。根据研究我们建议, 在现行的应试教育为背景下, 以升学竞争型的个体学习为手段的学校教育、以强化应试为主的课堂知识的课外补习班、以及一味追求分数的功利性家庭教育都需要引入Havruta学习法, 以促进学生的德育养成、智慧培养、批判思维的建立。

关键词: 学习方法研究; Havruta; 伙伴式学习法;

作者: 于晓东, 上海外国语大学贤达经济人文学院商学院讲师, 经济学博士。通讯地址: 上海市虹口区东体育会路390号, 200081。电子邮箱: 124489556@qq.com。电话: 17702129856

在多种社会统计指标中, 犹太人的创造性之高被广为人知。犹太人在美国人口占比为3.5%, 在全世界的人口占比仅为0.2%。不仅仅在美国, 他们在政治、文化、金融、法律、舆论传播、制造业和学界等部门都占有重要的位置。作为为人类的进步做出杰出贡献的最高荣誉诺贝尔奖获得者中犹太裔占据了约20%。然而一项由联合国经济合作与发展组织(Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD)于2000年发起的作为世界上最具有影响力的教育测评项目PISA(国际学生评估项目)评价中以以色列学生得分仅在中位偏下徘徊, 该评估项目每三年进行一次, 我国最早在2009年参加该项目评估, 到2018年共参加了4次。以亚洲代表性国家和以色列的排名对比, 见表1 历年以色列、中国、日本、韩国和新加坡学生间PISA测试分数排名表(R:阅读、M:数学、S:科学)。从表中我们可以看到, 以色列学生的平均分数并不是非常高。而亚洲四个国家的分数都非常靠前。那么, 我们不禁要问, 是什么原因促成了犹太人的创造力?文化决定论领域并未给出满意的答案。虽然犹太教的律法性自然的造就了这个民族数千年文盲接近为零, 那么又是什么原因使他们孜孜不倦的沉浸于知识的获得, 又使他们对智慧的追求如痴如醉。我们发现PISA进行的三项测评项目: 阅读、数学和科学都倾向于对知识积累程度和知识应用的测评, 该测评适合于集中式的教师主导型和独立学习的模式, 是对知识积累程度的一种测评, 很难体现学生的创造性思维和批判性思维。并且该测评主要以15岁的中学生作为测评对象, 对其他年龄段的测评并未有权威机构进行。根据公告2021年PISA将会把“创造性思维”纳入测评指标体系。

表1 历年以色列、中国、日本、韩国和新加坡学生间PISA测试分数排名表

年度项目 国家	2006			2009			2012			2015			2018		
	R	M	S	R	M	S	R	M	S	R	M	S	R	M	S
中国	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	6	10	1	1	1
日本	15	10	6	2	9	5	4	7	4	8	5	2	16	6	5
韩国	1	4	11	8	4	6	5	5	7	7	7	11	10	7	7
新加坡	-	-	-	5	2	4	3	2	3	1	1	1	3	2	2
以色列	40	40	39	38	42	42	34	41	41	37	40	40	38	41	42
参评国家数	57			65			65			70			78		

根据联合国经济合作与发展组织官网数据整理⁽¹⁾

(1) <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/>

Havruta学习法是犹太文本研究的传统学习方法。该术语本身具备了Havruta作为合作伙伴参与的共同学习活动:研究文本并与合作伙伴学习并展开讨论。Havruta学习法过去局限于传统的犹太人,仅限于对《塔木德》、《托拉》和旧约《圣经》的研究。最近Havruta学习法进入了各种专业和非专业学习环境中,反映了犹太人学习世俗学问的新社会现实。Havruta学习法作为犹太人特有的宗教文本学习与辩论的方法,该方法虽然已历史悠久,但最近在韩国却越来越受欢迎。然而对于犹太人的Havruta学习法却很少受到国内学术界的关注。本文对犹太人学习方法进行研究,也即Havruta学习法理论进行探讨。本文从考察Havruta学习法最初的应用范围开始,给出Havruta学习法的定义、构成要素、展开与实施,以及展示一项运用Havruta学习法在教学过程中的设计与实施。

Havruta学习法的国内外研究现状

使用Havruta作为主题的关键词进行检索,通过中国知网、万方数据、读秀学术搜索以及韩国教育学术情报院提供的检索服务进行搜索下载全部期刊文章和学位论文。中文期刊关于主题包含“Havruta”和“海沃塔”只收录了3篇,分别为尹玲等的《“Havruta”学习方法在急诊科护士心肺复苏培训中的应用价值研究》、吴桂卓等的《浅谈犹太人“Havruta”式学习法》和刘宁的《关于尝试开展“海沃塔”式教学模式的思考》。外文期刊中,英文期刊为54篇,在检索过程中发现有以Hevruta (Havruta和Hevruta在不同文献出现)包含在主题里的英文期刊5篇。韩文期刊文章76篇、学位论文104篇,单行本为154篇。韩国对Havruta学习法的研究开始于2012年,之后持续保持着高产出,并且在学校教学和社会教学应用中也正快速的发展着。

(一)国内关于Havruta学习法的研究

中文期刊以“Havruta”和“海沃塔”作为主题关键词检索仅检索到三篇文章,并且国内学界对“Havruta”单词并未进行术语标准化,目前使用最多为“海沃塔”。尹玲等(2019)通过“Havruta”学习方法应用在急诊科护士心肺复苏培训中得到的结果显示:处置组实习生的病例分析主观题及总分和应急操作能力明显优于控制组。⁽²⁾吴桂卓等(2016)对犹太人“Havruta”式学习法与我国现行的教育方法做比较认为我国无论是家庭教育还是学校教育,均需引入“Havruta”式学习法,并且认为该学习法能提升人的创造性思维。⁽³⁾刘宁(2019)在培训教学模式上介绍了“Havruta”式学习法,他认为“Havruta”式学习法是一种品格教育和生活方式。⁽⁴⁾张平(2016)在研究中华文明与犹太文明间的跨传统对话和翻译犹太教经典文本过程中总结和提出了犹太思维-以辩论为基础的“求经式思维”。⁽⁵⁾国内学术界对该学习法的关注和研究非常稀少,即便是对该学习法的介绍性论文也仅此数篇。宗教学对犹太教的研究仅从宗教学出发,对犹太教文本特有的学习方法处于被忽略的状态。

(2) 尹玲、徐娜娜、李刚平 Yin ling, Xu nana, Li gangping:《Havruta”学习方法在急诊科护士心肺复苏培训中的应用价值研究》Havruta xuexifa zai jizhenke hushi xinfei fusu peixun zhong de yingyong jia zhi yanjiu,《中外医学研究》Zhongwai yixue yanjiu【Chinese And Foreign Medical Research】,No.17.6(北京 Beijing:2019),100-101

(3) 吴桂卓、吕丽梅、农小献 Wu guizhuo, Lv limei, Nong xiaoxian:《浅谈犹太人“Havruta”式学习法》Qian tan youtairen “Havruta”shi xuexifa,《教育》Jiaoyu【Education】,No.5,(太原 Taiyuan:山西出版传媒集团 shanxi chubun chuanmei jituan【shanxi publishing media group】2016),295

(4) 刘宁 Liu ning,《关于尝试开展“海沃塔”式教学模式的思考》Guanyu changshi kaizhan “hai wo ta”shi jiaoxue moshi de sikao,《中国培训》Zhongguo peixun【China training】,No.5(北京 Beijing:中国职工培训和职业教育协会 Zhongguo zhiye peixun he zhiye jiaoyu xiehui,2019),50-51

(5) 张平 Zhangping,《平行逻辑 思者无敌——中国要补的一课》Pingxing luojizhi wudi-zhongguo yao bu de yike,《北大商业评论》Beida shangye pinglun【Pku business review】,No.1(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社Bei jing daxue chubanshe【Peking university press】,2016),106-113

(二) 国外关于Havruta学习法的研究

目前国外学者的研究主要集中在Havruta学习法的实证研究和应用研究, 对于理论性的研究主要集中于犹太裔的学者之间。Jeong Seonyeong (2015) 把32名大学生均分为处置组和控制组, 通过14周6个主题在线Havruta讨论和一般性在线讨论发现: 处置组的讨论能力和社会问题解决能力明显优于控制组, 具体表现为批判性思维、理解能力、社会问题的定义和针对问题的建设性提案能力。⁽⁶⁾Kang, Ji-na (2016) 通过对韩国某市93名小学生分为处置组和控制组, 对使用Havruta学习法和以教师为中心的学习进行实证研究发现: 在逻辑思维、对科学的相关态度和学习满足感上处置组显著优于控制组。⁽⁷⁾Esty Teomim Ben-Menachem和Zohar Livnat (2018) 通过21个 Havruta式对话, 对犹太人女性研究《塔木德》文本进行分析认为参与者间知识结构相似、谈话支配地位相同情况下分歧是受欢迎的, 并不是所有分歧都受参与者欢迎。⁽⁸⁾根据该研究结伴共同学习的学习者属性和个体间的差异是能够构成该学习的一项因素。Rebecca Shargel (2019) 对本科一年级学生作为研究对象, 发现使用Havruta学习法提高了被研究对象的表达能力, 开阔了被研究对象的视野, 但是存在不平衡的参与和对分歧而引起不适感。⁽⁹⁾Mindy M. Gold (2019) 探讨了使用Havruta学习法和文本研究在以持续的合作伙伴关系为基础对融合技术学习的影响, 并且得到了显著性的支持。⁽¹⁰⁾Orit Kent (2010) 以犹太经典文本作为被解释和讨论的对象进行观察, 分析了Havruta学习法下参与者互动的影像资料 and 成绩单, 提出了Havruta学习理论, 并总结了Havruta学习理论的构成: 倾听与叙述、好奇与专注、支持与挑战三部分, 并阐述了Havruta学习法的时间和产生的方式。⁽¹¹⁾Elie Holzer (2011) 对Havruta学习法的因素、结构、情景和组织元素的关联性做了研究, 并介绍了犹太文本研究的传统学习模式。⁽¹²⁾Orit Kent和Allison Cook (2012) 对一所犹太附属学校做了为期一年的研究提出了伙伴式解释和讨论文本的Havruta启发教学法的框架, 该框架是由结构、立场和实践构成。他认为这种教学法不仅适用于两人一组, 也适用于超过两人的小组。⁽¹³⁾Aliza Segal (2013) 对民族社区服务的教育机构进行研究发现Havruta学习活动中语言和语境是主要特征, 并提出了认知挪用概念, 研究认为Havruta学习法在不同民族不同宗教背景下的学习都具有可行性。⁽¹⁴⁾Oh Daeyeong (2014) 通过访谈法对犹太人创意性的社会文化背景从文化立足、鼓励创造性思维、自由的质疑、多样性和开放性做了研究。⁽¹⁵⁾韩国现有文献中50%集中于Havruta在实践教学中的研究。英文文献中多集中理论探究和实证研究相结合进行研究。其中Orit Kent是作为Havruta学习法的论文数和被引用数最多的学者之一。

(6) Joung Sunyoung & Choi Hyun Jung, The Effects of Online Discussion Activities based on Israeli's Havruta Style on Discussion Ability and Social Problem-Solving, (Seoul : The Korean Association for Educational Methodology Studies, 2015), vol.27 No.1, 59-61

(7) Kang Ji-na & Lee Hyeong-cheol, The Effect of Science Class based on Havruta Learning on the Logical Thinking and the Science Related Attitude of Elementary Students, (Journal of the Korean society of earth science education, 2016), No.3, 309-320

(8) Esty Teomim Ben-Menachem & Zohar Livnat, Desirable and undesirable disagreements: Jewish women studying the talmudic texts, (Journal of Pragmatics, 2018), Vol.138, 30-40

(9) Rebecca Shargel, Havruta Goes to University: Havruta-style Text Study in a College Education Class, (Journal of Jewish Education, 2019), Vol.85 No.1, 4-6

(10) Mindy M. Gold, Relational Learning as a Foundation for Professional Development in Technology Integration for Jewish Educators, (Journal of Jewish Education, 2019), Vol.85 No.2, 164-166

(11) Orit Kent, A Theory of Havruta Learning, (Journal of Jewish Education, 2010), Vol.76 No.3, 215-217

(12) Elie Holzer and Orit Kent, Havruta: What Do We Know and What Can We Hope to Learn from Studying in Havruta?, (International Handbook of Jewish Education, 2011), Vol.5, 407-416

(13) Orit Kent & Allison Cook, Havruta 1 Inspired Pedagogy: Fostering An Ecology of Learning for Closely Studying Texts with Others, (Journal of Jewish Education, 2012), Vol.78 No.3, 227-230

(14) Aliza Segal & Schooling a Minority: The Case of Havruta Paired Learning, (Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education, 2013), Vol.7 No.3, 149-155

(15) Oh Day Young, Sociocultural Background of Israel Jew's Creativity, (The Journal of Educational Research, 2014), Vol.12 No.2, 103-131

(三) 研究现状述评

纵观已有的国内外研究成果,存在以下不足:一是我国对该问题的研究文献非常匮乏,对犹太人的研究多集中于历史、文化和宗教的研究,并未从中衍生出对犹太人特有的学习方法做出研究。二是国外现有研究集中于实证研究,其中犹太裔学者的研究倾向于对Havruta学习法用于犹太经典文本学习的实证研究,而非犹太裔学者的研究倾向于Havruta学习法用于一般科目的教学实证研究。三是以往研究并未对Havruta学习法的起源和发展以及最初的应用形式作出研究,并且Havruta学习法在犹太人教育中的应用范围研究比较局限。Havruta学习法的使用是否和犹太的经典文本具有不可分割性,Havruta学习法作为犹太人的传统学习法是如何促进犹太人的创造性思维而提高的,该方法是否适用于不同语言、不同语境、不同民族和不同宗教信仰的其他团体,这个问题将会作为本研究后续的研究方向。本研究致力于阐述以上提出的问题。

二、Havruta学习法的语源出处和定义

(一) Havruta学习法的语源出处和含义

为了研究Havruta学习法需要清晰的归明其定义,才能够更好的揭示该学习法的本质。尽管学界都对Havruta学习法做出了定义,对于Havruta学习法的最原始概念尚未有统一认可的概念,该学习法不仅仅是结伴式的讨论学习,需要使用语言学⁽¹⁶⁾理论对其最初的语源和其表现形式做充分文献研究的基础上给与清晰的界定。根据语源学的研究方法,我们把Havruta单词回溯到希伯来语中去,通过解读古代文本来比较该词的含义。Havruta从语源学上去追踪,最初的含义为“朋友”、“伙伴”的含义,该词起源于亚拉姆语⁽¹⁷⁾,和希伯来语⁽¹⁸⁾“חבר” (朋友)的语源相同。该词的含义是指在犹太人的教育机关YESHIVA里,两人一组结伴通过提问、对话、讨论和辩论的方式学习。⁽¹⁹⁾Havruta的希伯来语为חברותא,而作为“朋友”之意的希伯来语为“חבר”,我们发现最早出现“חבר”单词是在在希伯来旧约《圣经》的《士师记》、《诗篇》和《雅歌》里,其含义为特指男性间的友情,可翻译为“伴”、“伙伴”和“朋友”。以下的单词都是特指男性间的朋友之意。

《士师记》20:11 于是以色列众人彼此连合如同一人,聚集攻击那城。

《诗篇》45:7-8 你喜爱公义,恨恶罪恶。所以神,就是你的神,用喜乐油膏你,胜过膏你的同伴。

(16) 语言学是以语言为研究对象的科学。它研究的对象是人类语言,它的任务是研究、描写语言的结构、功能及其历史发展,揭示语言的本质,探索语言的共同规律。就此可参见,王京平Wang jingping,《德语语言学教程》Deyu yuyanxue jiaocheng【Linguistik für germanistikstudium】,(北京 Beijing:外语教学与研究出版社 Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe【Foreign language teaching and research press】),2003.4

(17) 亚拉姆语一般指阿拉米语,属于同义词。阿拉米语(中文又译为亚兰语、阿兰语、阿拉姆语、阿拉美语)是阿拉米人的语言,也是旧约圣经后期书写时所用的语言,及被认为是耶稣基督时代的犹太人的日常用语,新约中的马太福音(玛窦福音)即是以此语言书写。一些学者更认为耶稣基督是以这种语言传道。它属于闪米特语系,与希伯来语和阿拉伯语相近。根据百度百科整理: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E9%98%BF%E6%8B%89%E7%B1%B3%E8%AF%AD/9710484?fromtitle=%E4%BA%9A%E6%8B%89%E5%A7%86%E8%AF%AD&fromid=8545656&fr=aladdin>

(18) 希伯来语已经有3000年的历史,属于闪米特语系,被公认为世界上最古老的语言之一。希伯来语经历了繁荣的岁月,但后来又度过了数个年代的萧条,当时仅被用于《圣经·旧约》的经文中。直到19世纪末,埃泽尔·本·耶胡达复兴了希伯来语,使她重新成为活的语言,今日她已成为以色列的官方语言。希伯来语是犹太人的母语。犹太人的祖先使用希伯来语可以追溯到3000多年前。犹太历史上的重要事件都是用希伯来语记录下来的,犹太人的圣经—《塔纳赫》(基督教圣经·旧约)的蓝本就是用希伯来语写成的。从100多年前开始,古老的希伯来语发生了很大的变化,现代希伯来语剔除了古希伯来语中一些繁琐的规则,原有词汇的词义扩大,并创造了数以千计的新词。1948年以色列国建立,希伯来语成为以色列国语。参见:阮项Ruan xiang,《外教社简明希伯来语汉语——汉语希伯来语词典》Waijiaoshe jianming xibolaiyu hanyu—hanyu xibolaiyu cidian,(上海 Shanghai:上海外语教育出版社 Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu chubanshe【Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press】),2007

(19) Orit Kent, Interactive text study and the co-construction of meaning: Havruta in the DeLeT Beit Midrash, (Doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University),2008

《诗篇》119:63 凡敬畏你, 守你训词的人, 我都与他作伴。

《雅歌》1:7 我心所爱的阿, 求你告诉我, 你在何处牧羊, 晌午在何处使羊歇卧。我何必在你同伴的羊群旁边, 好像蒙着脸的人呢?

《雅歌》8:13 你这住在园中的, 同伴都要听你的声音, 求你使我也得听见。(20)

(二) Havruta学习法的定义

古代希伯来的男性需要行割礼, 并且在举行成人礼时需要背诵律法中的经文, 也被称作示玛教育(Shema)。(21)分布在世界各地的犹太人会堂为犹太男性提供学习《托拉》(摩西五经), 研读《塔木德》等犹太经典文献并二人结伴形成一组传统聚集场所。所以狭义的Havruta学习法仅特指成年犹太男性聚集于犹太会堂, 两人结成伴大声朗读犹太教相关文本:希伯来《圣经》、《托拉》、《塔木德》以及相关联的犹太教经典文献, 相互提问、相互讨论和辩论的文本学习过程。

作为一种研究形式Havruta学习法是成对的学习者对犹太文本的研究, Havruta学习法是从该学习过程中提取该词并应用于现代语境中, 在该语境下人们学习一系列文本。两人结伴坐在一起, 一起阅读文本, 讨论文本的意义, 还可以探讨文本中提出的关于生活中更广泛的问题。Orit Kent认为尽管Havruta最常用于犹太语境, 但它有时也用在其他语境中, 其中参与的伙伴对文本的参与是中心。作为文本学习的一种形式, Havruta学习法为学习者提供了培养解释性、社会性和伦理性参与的机会, 因此对不同背景、不同学习目标的人都具有巨大的潜力。(22)该学习法与20世纪70年代兴起的合作学习理论(Cooperative learning)(23)有一定的相似之处, 不同之处就在于合作学习没有参与者的限定、没有学习文本的限定和组员可由2到6名成员组成。以目标结构理论为基础的合作学习理论把目标结构分为三种类型:合作促进、对抗竞争和个体化。Havruta学习法和该理论结构中的合作促进型具有极强的相似之处。随着研究的不断深入, 在过去几十年里Havruta学习法被用于美国犹太教神学院的拉比培训上, 并且作为美国布兰迪斯大学的研究项目DeLeT的一部分, 以及以色列《犹太教育杂志》众多学者的参与被广泛应用于基础教育领域和高等教育领域。韩国2012年开始Havruta学习法的理论研究和应用成为韩国学界的研究热点, 在社会化教育也展开了一系列的举措。所以我们认为Havruta学习法存在着更为广泛的概念:即以学习者为中心, 两名或数名学习者结成伴, 对同一学习文本展开共读-提问-回答-讨论-辩论的学习过程。所学习文本多集中于社会伦理、道德、法律、文学、逻辑学等抽形型文本, 自然科学文本学习也可以尝试使用Havruta学习法。

Havruta学习法的构成要素和实施过程

(一) Havruta学习法的构成要素

Havruta学习法的构成要素是该学习法的重点。最早的Havruta学习局限于犹太男性对犹太教文本的研读-讨论-质疑-辩论的过程, 来传承学习并进一步激发对犹太教文本的学习。也就是说作为学习的文本构成了

(20) 就此可参见《和合本圣经》《旧约》

(21) 示玛教育(Shema): 是指犹太成人需要背诵的经文《申命记》6:4-9、11:13-21;《民数记》15:37-41

(22) Orit Kent, A Theory of Havruta Learning, (Journal of Jewish Education,2010), Vol.76 No.3, 215-216

(23) 合作学习(cooperative learning)是20世纪70年代初兴起于美国, 并在70年代中期至80年代中期取得实质性进展的一种富有创意和实效的教学理论与策略。由于它在改善课堂内的社会心理气氛, 大面积提高学生的学业成绩, 促进学生形成良好非认知品质等方面成效显著, 很快引起了世界各国的关注, 并成为当代主流教学理论与策略之一, 被人们誉为“近十几年来最重要和最成功的教学改革。自20世纪80年代末、90年代初开始, 我国也出现了合作学习的研究与实验, 并取得了较好的效果。就此可参见:陈琦、刘儒德 Chen qi、Liu rude, 《当代教育心理学》Dangdai jiaoyu xinlixue【Contemporary Psychology of Education】, (北京 Beijing:北京师范大学出版社 Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe【Beijing Normal University Publishing Group】),2007

传统Havruta学习法的最初也是最核心的要素。有学者断言是犹太教的文本塑造了这个民族,而非这个民族塑造了犹太教,那么显而易见作为学习者以相同的宗教情感连接的文本是该学习法能够实现的首要因素。Havruta学习法在新兴的其他领域应用的可操作性也和选择的文本及其类型都有着密切的关系。如犹太教的拉比在教导犹太人的《塔木德》中对《托拉》的学习建议可见一般。

《托拉》大于王权,也大于祭司权,因为王权得以三十项特权,祭司权得以二十四项,而《托拉》则得以四十八件事:以学习,以倾听,以出声诵读,以用心理解,以用心领悟,以惶恐,以敬畏,以谦卑,以快乐,以服侍贤哲,以与同伴们的细致研讨,以与学生们的答辩,以静思,以《圣经》,以《密施拿》,以俗务适度,以享乐适度,以享受适度,以睡眠适度,以闲谈适度,以玩笑适度,以持久忍耐,以好心,以坚信贤哲,以承受苦难。(24)

据考证犹太教的《塔木德》是对希伯来《圣经》作出解释的不同拉比和学者们的见解而作出的记录,包含了共约73本12000多页,需要不间断的学习,并需要每日坚持而花掉数年的时间,而犹太教的安息日又加持了犹太人通过伙伴学习的方式去学习犹太文本,以致于犹太民族数千年来的识字率之高也是世界少有的奇迹。那么构成Havruta学习法的第二要素为:参与伙伴学习者间共同熟知和持续学习的系统性文本。Havruta学习过去局限于传统的犹太经学院,仅限于对《塔木德》的系统学习和研究,最近它进入了各种专业和非专业的学习环境,反映了犹太学习上产生的新的社会现实。(25)

Havruta学习法的第三构成要素则是参与学习的学习者,以及学习者之间关系的确立。传统的Havruta学习法集中于男性之间,更有年龄相仿认知结构相似的倾向,但除此之外拉比们作为对讨论难以持续进行的问题,起到了调节与仲裁的作用,以确保分歧被接纳以及讨论和学习能够持续进行。该学习法强调学习过程中学习伙伴之间关系的维系,稳固的共同学习关系的确立,可以提高彼此学习的兴趣,提高相互的学习效率。Rebecca Shargel在研究把Havruta学习法引入到世俗大学课堂发现,参与学习的学生对伙伴学习的经历总体上都有积极的反思,也发现在实施过程中出现了明显的不利因素,包含了参与不平衡,对不同意的不适以及导致停滞的学习。(26)应试教育为主的学习模式是以个体间的竞争来完成知识的积累,交流和互动多限于师生之间,且以教师分发知识为主导,在选拔型的升学考试中多倾向于对已有定论知识和公理的强化,这有利于新技术的应用和普及,但对于创造性帮助不大。而通过Havruta学习法建立起来的伙伴之间的关系,对未知领域或开放性问题的探索会促进相互之间见解的互补,有利于对新的认知打开一个缺口,这虽不能全部作为解释犹太人的创新能力之高的原因,但可以间接找到一些佐证。

Havruta学习法的第四构成要素是该学习法使用的学习环境。早期未正式形成伙伴学习之前,犹太人的学习和讨论的地点集中于犹太人的会堂。南犹太于公元前587年亡国后,犹太教的敬拜中心由耶路撒冷转向被掳的巴比伦,此时他们开始第一次使用会堂。新约《圣经》使徒保罗宣教旅行时提到了撒拉米会堂、安提阿会堂、以哥念会堂、:

《使徒行传》13:5 到了撒拉米、就在犹太人各会堂里传讲 神的道·也有约翰作他们的帮手。

《使徒行传》13:14-15 他们离了别加往前行、来到彼西底的安提阿·在安息日进会堂坐下。读完了律法和先知的书、管会堂的叫他去、对他们说、二位兄台、若有甚么劝勉众人的话、请说。

《使徒行传》14:1 二人在以哥念同进犹太人的会堂、在那里讲的叫犹太人、和希利尼人、信的很多。(27)

(24) 转引自阿丁·施坦泽兹Adin Steinsaltz,《阿伯特:犹太智慧书》A bote: youtai zhihuishu【AVOT:The Wisdom of Our Fathers】张平Zhang ping译,(北京Beijing:中国社会科学出版社Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe【China Social Sciences Press】,1996,87-88。

(25) Elie Holzer & Orit Kent, Havruta:What Do We Know and What Can We Hope to Learn from Studying in Havruta?,(International Handbook of Jewish Education,2011),Vol.5,407-416

(26) Rebecca Shargel, Havruta Goes to University: Havruta-style Text Study in a College Education Class, (Journal of Jewish Education, 2019), Vol.85 No.1, 4.

(27) 就此可参见《和合本圣经》

可以窥见在新约时期犹太人的会堂已经遍布于他们居住的各个城镇。犹太人的会堂具备了四种功能：教育场所（学习犹太教文本）、宗教场所（举办宗教仪式）、社交活动、仲裁机构。其中教育场所为Havruta学习提供了空间和场所。美国犹太人建立的叶史瓦大学⁽²⁸⁾的Beit Midrash就是实施Havruta学习的一种空间。一些机构为Havruta学习分配了一个特定的空间，通常被称为Beit Midrash，字面意思是书房。Beit Midrash的设计通常是为了让Havruta学习者能够面对面或坐在一起，以便于一对一的交流，尽管有许多其他人共享相同的学习空间。Elie Holzer等(2011)认为方便地获取书籍（和相关的电子数据库）可能会影响Havruta的学习。这些额外的资源有助于鼓励学习者独立探索他们所学习的文本与其他各种文本之间的联系。⁽²⁹⁾以韩国为例，韩国的读书房都是用三面板把自己的学习空间同他人隔离开来。即便是我国虽然少有这种隔开的学习空间，但是也都是独立学习的环境设置，少有结伴学习并可供大声阅读和讨论的空间。韩国的基督教教育和部分教堂的结组学习开始使用该学习法进行《圣经》的学习。现在Havruta学习法的应用环境更为广泛：家庭、学校设置空间、在课堂上展开。Havruta学习法在不同环境产生的影响也是本研究后续研究的一个方向。

其他学者总结了Havruta学习法的其他要素：Elie Holzer and Orit Kent (2011)在学习分配时间、文本类型、学习任务类型：开放式和定向式学习任务，以及在课堂中的作用做了研究；⁽³⁰⁾Miriam Raider Roth和Elie Holzer (2009)研究了Havruta学习法的文本设计的精心程度、Havruta搭档的信仰和价值观等因素；⁽³¹⁾辩论或者使用对抗性言辞的比较，以及修辞学对Havruta学习法实施时的语言分析也是学者们研究的因素之一，如何减少因为意见的不同而导致学习者之间关系的破裂。

（二）Havruta学习法的实施过程

Havruta学习法的实施首先是搭档两人为一组，选定相同的文本共同阅读。从文本上找出一方的观点并加以陈述，另一方注意倾听，并做出回馈或提问。相互的陈述与提问找到对某一问题的看法，展开讨论和辩论。通过倾听和讨论可以打开另一个视角，重新审视自己的观点，拓宽自己的认知和视角。在研究犹太教经典文本出现分歧时，犹太教的会堂可以请教于拉比或教师，当然即便是拉比或教师也不一定能够给出各方都满意的答案。所以就有了对犹太教《托拉》的解释不断被记录形成了今天的《塔木德》。在这个实施过程中学习者间说服不了对方是被接纳的，这种情况常有发生，和最早的苏格拉底式对话⁽³²⁾非常相像。苏格拉底在对话中，没有教授任何知识，而是盘根问底，检验自己或他人观点的正确性，让那些自以为有真知的人最后发现自己所自豪的信念根本站不住脚，或者发现哪些信念是经过证成的真实的值得相信的信念。

(28) 叶史瓦大学 (Yeshiva University)，1886年建于美国纽约，是一所国家级研究和教学的综合性学院，以超强的学术能力闻名遐迩。1886年在曼哈顿下东城建立了一座犹太儿童宗教学校式的小学，名字叫做Etz Chaim Yeshiva。在这座学校建立之前在美国犹太人只有犹太会堂组织的补充学校。Etz Chaim的意思是“生命之树”的意思，它来自《摩西五经》中的《箴言》，常被用来作为会堂或者学校的名称。它是美国的第一座全时的犹太塔木德学校（叶史瓦）。本科设有五个学院：叶史瓦学院、Stern女子学院、商学院、犹太教学院和亚不拉汗木以色列学院，研究生学院设有爱因斯坦医学院、Cardozo法学院、Azrieli犹太教育与管理学院、Revel犹太学习学院、Ferkauf心理学学院和Wurzeiler社会工作学院6各学院。根据该学校的学院设置可以推断其犹太系的教育特色。根据百度百科整理：<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E8%80%B6%E5%B8%8C%E7%93%A6%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6/56104690?fromtitle=%E5%8F%B6%E5%8F%B2%E7%93%A6%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6&fromid=8443059&fr=aladdin>

(29) Elie Holzer & Orit Kent, *Havruta: What Do We Know and What Can We Hope to Learn from Studying in Havruta?*, (International Handbook of Jewish Education, 2011), Vol. 5, 410

(30) Elie Holzer & Orit Kent, *Havruta: What Do We Know and What Can We Hope to Learn from Studying in Havruta?*, (International Handbook of Jewish Education, 2011), Vol. 5, 408-409

(31) Miriam Raider-Roth & Elie Holzer, "Learning to be Present: How Hevruta Learning Can Activate Teachers' Relationships to Self, Other and Text", (Journal of Jewish Education, 2009), Vol. 75 No. 3, 216-236

(32) 苏格拉底式对话是一种采用对话的方式，以澄清彼此观念和思想的方法。苏氏认为透过对话可使学生澄清自己的理念、想法，使谈论的课题清晰。尤其他认为只要一直更正不完全、不正确的观念，便可使人寻找到“真理”。这种对话模式，犹如戏剧，拥有无比的张力。尤其穿插轻松、诙谐的语调，屡屡让人陷入推理的自我矛盾中，达致澄清的效果。

追随苏格拉底的人, 不是因为苏格拉底能够教给他们什么知识、智慧或德性, 而是因为他是一个睿智、讲真话的对话同伴; 不是他能够给予真知灼见的答案, 而是他的发问总是能引导人发现自己的谬误。在对话探究中, 教师与学生作为同伴或朋友, 通过质疑与检查意见相互合作, 寻求真理之教诲, 共同置身于真理的教导之中。苏格拉底的对话探究, 本质上是一种关怀灵魂并教导灵魂向善的艺术。⁽³³⁾所不同的是Havruta学习法是对犹太教的文本进行思辨、讨论并构建和修正自己对犹太文本的认知, 犹太文本也具备了追求智慧、真理、道德、灵魂的条件, 而苏格拉底是通过生活中的对话去探求事务的本质, 例如什么是正义、什么是爱、什么是智慧。Segal (2003) 简要回顾了Havruta学习法的历史, 借鉴当代教育文献, 将Havruta与合作学习进行了比较, 她概述了Havruta学习法提供潜在学习益处的三个领域——情感、认知和社交。⁽³⁴⁾那么我们可以预见Havruta学习法是以社交为载体的结对学习而展开实施的, 结伴而学共同的文本, 不断地在实施过程中建立起对文本的深入解读, 通过该学习法会促进彼此之间的学习兴趣, 有利于培养自己终身学习的习惯, 对自己关心的领域进行持之以恒的挖掘。

笔者在教学过程中设计和实施了使用Havruta学习法组织《国际商务》教学的实施过程。分为三个阶段。第一阶段: 对互动文本设计、分组原则、座位安排以及教师的角色定位进行设定。第二阶段: 以各组得到的不同文本展开组内讨论、组间交叉问题的提问、质疑、回应、以及教师与各组以及全体教学对象的互动, 以对话的形式展开对课程内容的共同分析和探索。第三阶段对授课的全部文本结合授课大纲做回顾, 对使用该方法授课的效果进行考察, 对产生的学习效果进行分析。

本次使用Havruta学习法的授课实现了教师、学生个体、学生组内以及学生组间都以文本为中心展开的探讨, 有别于传统的教学方式, 全体学生都进入到参与和互动中, 提升了课堂的学习气氛。这其中对于教师设计文本提出了挑战, 所设计的文本需要结合教学任务、学生的认知、文本对于学生参与思考的兴趣度进行精心设计。

教师在组织过程中具有在认知积累多、经验丰富、对课程体系整体的认知度高等因素基础上, 有利于以该学习法建立教师、学生、授课内容三者之间的基本关系维度。使用Havruta学习法进行教学的实证研究也是本研究的后续研究。

结论

综上所述, Havruta学习法的狭义层面是从最原始的犹太人在犹太会堂研习犹太教的经典文本, 到逐渐形成以犹太人成年男性学习犹太教的律法文本形成的两人一组的Havruta学习法。传统的Havruta学习法仅限于对律法经典文本的研读, 并多在犹太会堂或研究犹太教的律法机构中使用。而广义的Havruta学习法可认为是进入了更多的高等教育机构和不同专业和非专业领域的环境下的应用。其具体构成要素为: 参与学者之间共同认知的文本、参与学习的学习者属性和形成学习者之间的关系以及参与该学习法的构成环境。犹太人的Havruta学习法促进了犹太人的创造性思维, 这在文献研究和犹太人在现实社会不同领域取得的成绩可以得到间接的证明。特别是该学习法对于文本的深入挖掘, 对问题的深入思考都无疑促进了他们的阅读广度和深度, 为终生学习打下了基础。纵观我国的教育是以应试教育为主, 以选拔升学为中心

(33) 金生钰 Jin shenghong, 《苏格拉底的“不教”之教》 Sugeladi de “bujiao” zhi jiao 【The Teaching Art of Socrates within his Not-teaching】, 《教育发展研究》 Jiaoyu fazhan yanjiu 【Research in Educational Development】 , (上海 Shanghai : 上海市教育科学研究院 Shanghai shi jiaoyu kexue yanjiuyuan 【Shanghai Academy of Educational Sciences】 , 2018), 38(06).1

(34) Segal, A. Havruta study: History benefits and enhancements, (Jerusalem: ATID.2003)

强调学习者之间的竞争, 且我国教育以公立学校教育为主体, 教授的知识以定论性知识的强化为主, 在教育机构中对德育和智慧教育都存在着一定的缺失, 不利于学生们的批判性思维的发展和认知能力的提高。本文对Havruta学习法的研究对于中共中央国务院发布的《关于深化教育教学改革全面提高义务教育质量的意见》中提出的突出德育实效、提升智育水平、着力培养认知能力、促进思维发展、激发创新意识、突出学生主体地位、注重保护学生好奇心、想象力、求知欲、激发学习兴趣、提高学习能力、优化教学方式、重视家庭教育的改革方向有较强的借鉴和指导意义。我们在后续将会结合教学来展开对Havruta学习法的实证研究和Havruta学习法在培养高阶思维和批判思维的作用机制。

English Title:

On the Jewish Havruta Learning Method

Yu Xiaodong

Lecturer of Shanghai international studies university xian da school of economics and humanities, Doctor of economics. Mail address: No. 390, Dongtiyuhui Road, Hongkou District, Shanghai, P.R.China. Email: 124489556@qq.com, Tel.+8617702129856

Abstract: China pays attention to test-oriented education and emphasizes the role of a teacher as a knowledge distributor. Thus, the classroom teaching is mainly based on the injection of knowledge, while our public education is lacking in setting general education courses for Arts and Humanities. Taking competitive advancement as the core, our students complete the independent learning model in the traditionally competitive way and emphasize the accumulation of personal knowledge to increase personal competitiveness. This article studies the Jewish learning method, that is, the Havruta learning method theory. This article starts from investigating the initial application scope of the Havruta learning method. Then it gives the definition, constituent elements, deployment and implementation of the Havruta learning method. Meanwhile, it demonstrates how to set in the process of teaching to make use of the teaching method. According to the research, we suggest that it is rather necessary for us to introduce the Havruta learning method in order to promote the students' moral education, cultivate their wisdom, and establish the way of critical thinking, especially under the current test-oriented education for schools that uses competitive individual learning as a means of entering a higher education, extracurricular tutoring classes that focus on strengthening test-oriented classroom knowledge, and utilitarian families that blindly pursue scores.

Keywords: Study of learning methods; Havruta; Partner learning method

On the Much-Debated Remarriage Case of Li Qingzhao

Liu Xiaoyi

(School of Literature, Shandong University)

Abstract: This article examines Li Qingzhao's much-debated remarriage case. Rumor had it that the preeminent female *Ci* lyric writer once remarried to a corrupt minor official Zhang Ruzhou after her husband's death. However, by closely studying Li's biographical records and evidence unearthed by Qing textual researchers, we argue that Qingzhao was attacked primarily because of her satirical literary criticism; she was simply ill-tolerated by a male-dominant society.

Keywords: Li Qingzhao, Remarriage, Zhang Ruzhou

Author: Liu Xiaoyi is a research fellow at the School of Literature, Shandong University, China; she is also a research fellow at Westminster College, Fulton, MO, USA. Tel: 15589916538; email: liuxiaoyi@sdu.edu.cn

Introduction

Li Qingzhao 李清照 (styled Yian 易安, A.D. 1093- 1136?), of the Song Dynasty, was one of the greatest *Ci* writers of Chinese literary history. By the voluminous works she bequeathed to this world, she had attained considerable fame. Nonetheless, her literary criticism, as was of a satiric style, had been ill-tolerated by the male-dominant society. A sizable group of Southern Song scholars and their disciples, often with scorn, recorded that Li Qingzhao had remarried to a corrupt minor official Zhang Ruzhou 张汝舟 after her husband's death. These records are often seen in sketchy notes. Due to the "weedy and scrambled" 芜杂 nature of the Song sketchy writings, represent-day researchers tend to deposit little faith on the creditability of these works, if not directly labeling them "fake." The situation calls for later scholars, especially those of the Qing Dynasty, to use textual criticism to defend her. Their impetus came mainly from an orthodox notion that an elite woman like Li Qingzhao, in a rigid new-Confucian society like the Song, should not and would not choose to remarry at all.

This author, too, is inclined to believe that the Southern Song statements about Li Qingzhao's remarriage were misleading and mistaken. Still, this judgment does not come from the ground of ethical consideration. It is now a well-established view that the Song people were relatively open-minded to women's chastity issues, while the Ming and Qing societies did impose strict moral codes upon women. To put it simply, verifying Li Qingzhao's status as a chaste widow will not result in any emotional fulfillment for this author. The zeal of Qing textual researchers in purging Qingzhao from the so-called "stigma" of remarriage is not shared by this author, for she does not see this event, should it have happened, as a "stigma." The study only intends to render some historical facts regarding the argued case.

Nevertheless, this author should like to unearth the underlying mechanism to impose moral judgments upon Li Qingzhao from a cultural perspective.

Hardly upon any English resource this paper can rely. Two crucial English works on Li Qingzhao, Hu Pin-Ch'ing's *Li Ch'ing-Chao* and Kenneth Rexroth's *Li Ch'ing-Chao: Complete Poems*, both deal with her literary

achievements and talk very little about the remarriage case. Therefore, this paper will primarily reference Chinese sources, and pay attention to the discrepancies in her biographical records.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first gives an outline of the life of Li Qingzhao; the second traces the origin of the slanderous records about her remarriage; the third examines the gender issues in traditional Chinese society, especially that of women's remarriage.

Family Background and Conjugal life

Li Qingzhao was born to a prestigious official family in Jinan 济南, Shandong province, in 1083. Her father Li Gefei 李格非 (styled Wenshu 文叔), Minister of Rite 礼部侍郎, was a *Jinshi* degree holder as well as a classicist. The literary grace demonstrated in his essay, *The Renowned Gardens of Loyang* 洛阳名园记, earned him fame and celebrity in the Song elite circles; he engaged in literary correspondence with Su Shi 苏轼, one of the greatest poets of the Song. Qingzhao's mother, nee Wang, who also composed poems and essays, was the granddaughter of the *Zhuangyuan* 状元 scholar Wang Gongchen 王拱辰. Both her parents being erudite and lettered, Li Qingzhao, the first and the most favorite child of the couple, was provided with the best education available to a girl in Song China.

The reformative measures initiated by Wang Anshi 王安石, Prime Minister of Emperor Shen Zong 神宗, caused a fierce bipartisan rivalry which was later to be known as China's worst dynastic strife. A steady member of the Conservative Party and antagonistic to Wang Anshi's Reformative Party, Li Gefei nevertheless married his beloved 18-year-old daughter to Zhao Mingcheng 赵明诚, the third son of Zhao Tingzhi 赵挺之, a backbone figure of the Reformative Party. In 1102, the second year of the wedding, Zhao Tingzhi was promoted to the office of vice-Prime Minister, his boss being the notorious Cai Jing 蔡京. Meanwhile, Li Gefei and 16 other conservative officials were expelled from the capital. In the climax of the political struggle, righteousness and concern for her father goaded Qingzhao to write a series of poems to admonish her father-in-law. One of them reads: "Your fingers are eager while your heart chills" 炙手可热心可寒. This statement shows Qingzhao's integrity and political awareness.

The marital life of Zhao Mingcheng and Li Qingzhao was delightful. They loved each other so profoundly that any temporary separation was unbearable. Qingzhao wrote a sizable amount of *Ci* poems to express her affectionate yet sentimental feelings when her husband was away from her; some became classics as love lyrics. The young couple were deeply devoted to poetry, painting, music, and antique collection. The following is an attempted translation of her account about their harmonious life, quoted from her *Jinshi Lu Houxu* 金石录后序:

My husband was twenty-one then, studying at the Imperial Academy. Neither the Zhao nor the Li family was wealthy. We modestly led our lives. On the first and the fifteenth days of each month, when leave of absence was granted, my husband would pawn his clothes for five hundred copper coins to buy fruit and rubbings of stone inscriptions from the market Xiangguo Sanctuary 相国寺. He brought them home, and we'd take delight in studying the rubbings while eating the fruit. We called ourselves the People of Ge TianL, the Ancient Ideal Land 葛天氏之民.⁽¹⁾

In 1121 Mingcheng was appointed to be the Magistrate of Laizhou 莱州, and then to various local magistrate posts in Shandong. He continued to exhaust his stipend to enlarge and enrich his collections.

(1) Li Qingzhao "Jinshi Lu Houxu 金石录后序," in *Li Qingzhao Ji Jiao Zhu* 李清照集校注, ed. Xuechu Wang (1979), 176-77.

A national catastrophe befell Northern Song Dynasty in 1127. The Jurchens, who had long been menacing the Empire from the north, looted the Song capital Bian Liang 汴梁, captured Emperor Hui Zong 徽宗, Emperor Qin Zong 钦宗 and the majority of the Royal family. The rest migrated south of the Yangtze. This year Mingcheng went to Jiankang 建康 (present-day Nanjing 南京) to take care of his mother's funeral, bringing with him the most valuable portion of their collections. Before long, Qingzhao was also forced to flee to the south because the Jurchen troops began to plunder Laizhou. Antiques, curio, and paintings went up in flames in the amount of ten storage rooms. In 1128 Mingcheng was appointed to the office of the Magistrate of Jiankang but soon got dismissed. In 1129 he was dispatched to Hu Zhou 湖州. On his way to the new post, he fell sick. About one month after Qingzhao managed to travel to his side, in the August of 1129, he died. After Mingcheng's burial, Qingzhao continued to flee south, following the route of the fleeing court. She encountered numerous annoyances and frustrations, most of their collections scattered or stolen during the journey. In 1132, the second year of Shao Xing 绍兴二年, at the age of 49, she finally settled down in the temporary capital Lin An 临安 (present-day Hang Zhou 杭州). It was during this year that the most argued case of her supposed remarriage happened.

The Controversial Case of Qingzhao's Remarriage to Zhang Ruzhou

Although the quantity of her *Ci* writings remains overwhelming, Li Qingzhao was, unfortunately, not a prolific prose writer who continuously narrated her personal experience in detail. Apart from the *Jinshi Lu Houxu*, the postscript for her husband's *Critical-Analytical Studies of Metal and Stone Inscriptions*, she penned very little on her life after she fled to the South. The insufficiency of her autobiographical details, along with the vagueness of Song dynastic history, availed an opportunity for sketchy-note writers to distort specific facts about her.

Of the Southern Song scholars who delivered the remarriage story, Hu Zi 胡仔, Zhao Yanwei 赵彦卫, and Li Xinchuan 李心传, were the earliest and should be held most responsible. The rest simply adopted their versions, sometimes reiterating the entire statements.

Hu Zi's *Shao Xi Yu Yin Cong Hua* 苕溪渔隐丛话 was completed in 1149 (the 18th year of Shaoxing 绍兴十八年), by which time Li Qingzhao probably had already died.⁽²⁾ Hu's note reads:

Among recent-year literary women, Li Yi'an 李易安 had written many elegant words. Unfortunately, Yi'an got remarried to Zhang Ruzhou, and they soon broke up. Her *Letter to Qi Chongli* 致綦崇礼启 reads: "I was deeply disgraced to be matched to this deteriorated little man at this advanced age." 猥以桑榆之晚景, 配兹赧侏之下材. None of those who had read this passage could refrain from laughing at her."⁽³⁾

In the same book, Hu Zi attacked Li Qingzhao's bitter literary criticism. He even quoted Han Yu's poem to denigrate her as "a ridiculous bug who overestimates its ability to shake a great tree." 蚍蜉撼大树, 可笑不自量⁽⁴⁾

(2) The year of Li Qingzhao's death is still uncertain. Zhou Mi 周密 noted in his *Hao Ran Zhai Ya Tan* 浩然斋雅谈 that at the Duan Wu 端午 Festival of 1143 (The 13th year of Shao Xing 绍兴十三年), Qingzhao submitted to the Southern Song court a *Ci* poem, "Tie Zi Ci" 帖子词, which was the last seen of her works when she was alive. By the time she was 61, and after that, no voice of her had been heard of. Li Qiqing and Zhou Mi, *Wen Zhang Jing Yi* (1975).

(3) "近时妇人, 能文词如李易安, 颇多佳句.....易安再适张汝舟, 未几反目, 有《启示》与綦处厚云: '猥以桑榆之晚景, 配兹赧侏之下材。' 传者无不笑之。" Hu Zi, *Shaoxi Yu Yin Cong Hua* 苕溪渔隐丛话 (Taipei: Shi jie shu ju, 1961). Vol. 60.

(4) "易安评诸公歌词, 皆摘其短, 无一免者。此论未公, 吾不凭也。此意盖自谓能擅其长, 以乐府名家者。退之诗云: '不用群儿愚, 哪用故谤伤。蚍蜉撼大树, 可笑不自量。'" Ibid., II, Vol. 3.

She always pinched on defects (of other *Ci* masters of the Song), and none ever escaped her censure. Her remarks were unfair, and I don't think I agree with her. She might feel that she was so consummate that she should be regarded as the only *Ci* master.⁽⁵⁾

Two other works came out in a later time: Zhao Yanwei's *Yun Lu Man Chao* 云麓漫钞⁶ in 1206 (the 2nd year of Kaixi of Ning Zong's reign 宁宗开禧二年) and Li Xinchuan's *Jiyan Yilai Jinian Yaolu* 建炎以来系年要录⁷ around 1253 (the Bao You Reign of Emperor Li Zong 理宗宝佑年间). Obviously, Qingzhao did not live long enough to witness the initial appearance of these attacks. The fact that she died without an heir or close relatives enhances the chance that these statements didn't get corrected even they were mistaken.

Yun Lu Man Chao made public the letter of Li Qingzhao addressing Mr. Qi Chongli 綦崇礼, a remote relative of the Zhaos and a crucial politician in the settled court of Southern Song. If the letter were not fictitious, the following information should get our attention:

1. Li Qingzhao got remarried to Zhang Ruzhou because of the pressure from the Southern Song government.
2. The marriage lasted for 4 or 5 months, during which time Zhang had verbally and physically abused her.
3. Li Qingzhao initiated a lawsuit against Zhang and pleaded for a divorce, which was granted, but she was also imprisoned for nine days.
4. Under Mr. Qi's help, she was spared of further detention, for which she was highly appreciative.
5. She felt ashamed about the whole thing.

According to *Jiyan Yilai Jinian Yaolu*, Zhang Ruzhou was a minor military official convicted of guilt because Li Qingzhao raised a lawsuit against him. She accused him of appropriating funds.⁽⁸⁾ As a result, an imperial edict was conferred concerning this financial crime: Zhang was sent into exile, his name removed from the official list. But, strangely enough, neither their divorce nor Qingzhao's imprisonment was recorded.

However, we have plenty of reasons to suspect the credibility of these documents. First, from all the existing works of Qingzhao written after 1132, the year of her supposed remarriage, there was no hint that she had lost her status as "the Zhao's widow," the term she always used to address herself. Secondly, from the works of her contemporaries, we find no clue that she had remarried. For example, Zhu Xi 朱熹, the Neo-Confucian master of Southern Song, once commented on Qingzhao, praising her literary expertise without mentioning her marital status. For all his famous intolerance towards women's remarriage, should Qingzhao fall in the category, Zhu Xi would not have talked about her in an appreciating manner.

Xie Ji 谢汲, son-in-law of Mr. Qi Chongli, in one of his articles in 1141 (the 11th year of Shao Xing 绍兴十一年), came across Li Qingzhao and her writings. He addressed her as "Zhao's wife, surnamed Li" 赵令人李⁽⁹⁾. By the time Li Qingzhao was already 59, she was still known to the world as "the Zhao's widow." If Mr. Qi Chongli had handled her divorce case personally, how could his son-in-law, obviously on familiar terms with Qingzhao, not know it at all?

(5) Ibid.

(6) Zhao Yanwei, *Yunlu Man Chao* 云麓漫钞, 15 vols. (Taipei: Shang wu chubanshe, 1980).

(7) Li Xinchuan, *Jiyan Yi Lai Xi Nian Yao Lu* 建炎以来系年要录, 4 vols., Guo Xue Ji Ben Cong Shu. (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1937).

(8) "右承奉郎监诸军审计司张汝舟属吏, 以汝舟妻李氏讼其妄增举数入官业。其后有司当汝舟罪徙, 诏除名, 柳州编管。十月己酉行遣。李氏, 楮非女, 能为歌词, 自号易安居士。" Ibid. Vol. 58.

(9) "赵令人李, 号易安。其《祭湖州文》曰: '白日正中, 叹庞翁之机捷; 坚城自堕, 怜杞妇之悲深。' 妇人四六之工者。" Xie Ji, *Si Liu Tan Chen* 四六谈尘, vol. 1 (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1983).

According to the Song code, a widow was required to mourn her deceased husband for three years before getting remarried. Zhao Mingcheng died in the August of 1129, while the supposed divorce of Li Qingzhao and Zhang Ruzhou happened in September of 1132. Given that the marriage lasted for 4 or 5 months, Qingzhao must have gotten married to Zhang around the April or May of 1132, by which time the requirement of the “three-year mourning period” 三年之丧 was not fulfilled. Although the “three-year mourning period” requirement sometimes did slacken, it was unlikely that Li Qingzhao, daughter of the Minister of Rites and daughter-in-law of the Vice Prime Minister, should risk breaking the law at her advanced age of 49.

We learn from *Jinshi Lu Houxu* that after Zhao Mingcheng’s death, Qingzhao was greatly perplexed by a slanderous charge that her husband and she once had a piece of precious jade kettle sent to the court of the Jurchens. Should the forged accusation, known as “Yu Hu Ban Jin”(玉壶颁金, “contributing a jade kettle to the Jurchen court”), prove true, Qingzhao could have been executed under the charge of treason. Mr. Qi Chongli, then an influential minister, helped Qingzhao remove the charge; the latter was then very grateful to him. She wrote him a letter, thanking him for clearing her name and saving her from the potential imprisonment.

We only have scattered information about how this letter and Mr. Qi’s reply were initially written. The two letters seemed to have provided her opponents an excellent opportunity to slander her. How ideal to have something written in her own hand to reveal a failed marriage! It would serve best to ruin her reputation. After all, for a woman in traditional China, nothing was more serious than losing her chastity. Therefore, on the content of Qingzhao’s original letter, they tampered and kept the format untouched to retain some fidelity.

Qing scholar Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 pointed out that the writing style of *Letter to Qi Chongli* was ungraceful, mixed with erotic vocabulary. Considering the flourishing colloquial literature the Southern Song witnessed, it might be reasonable to surmise that the original forger, while forging the letter, may have had some erotic romance set in his mind. He did not mind borrowing clichés that Qingzhao would not have used in her writings. Yu Zhengxie also pointed out that Li Xinchuan, author of *Jianyan Yilai Jinian Yaolu*, had been previously found to be a forger of historical documents. Not only did he falsify the account about Han Zhongmiu 韩忠缪, but he also once counterfeited an article under the name of Xin Qiji 辛弃疾⁽¹⁰⁾.

That Li Qingzhao had received intensive attacks after her death might be attributed to various reasons, the most important one being her lampoons to her literary peers. For example, she teased the new *Jin Shi* scholar Zhang Jiucheng 张九成 by quoting his famous “the laurel fragrance is flowing” 桂子飘香,⁽¹¹⁾ causing the latter and his *Jin Shi* classmates to be deeply annoyed.

Under the prevailing social context “women’s virtue lies upon her ignorance” 女子无才便是德, the more talented a woman, the more she might be seen as lacking virtue. That Li Qingzhao was not defamed on her literary enterprise, but the side of her marriage status, indicates that a tightening patriarchal ethos was picking up in the Southern Song.

(10) “读云麓漫钞所载谢崇礼启，文笔劣下，中杂有佳语，定是篡改本……李心传建炎以来系年要录，采鄙恶小说，比其事为文案，尤恶之。后读齐东野语，云李心传在蜀，去天万里，轻信记载，疏乖固宜。又谢枋得集亦言，系年要录为辛弃疾造韩宅胄寿词，则所言易安文案谢启事可知。” Yu Zhengxie, “Yian Jushi Shi Ji 易安居士事辑,” in *Gui Si Lei Gao* 癸巳类稿 (1957).

(11) “张子韶对策，有‘桂子飘香’之语。赵明诚妻李氏嘲之，曰‘露花倒影柳三变，桂子飘香张九成。’” Lu You, *Lao Xue an Bi Ji* 老学庵笔记, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1979).

Women's Remarriage and Morality

Numerous records, legal and historical, show that Song women enjoyed a significant degree of freedom in remarriage. Patricia Ebrey, in her *The Inner Quarters*, remarks on the air of tolerance:

It was perfectly legal in Song times, as earlier and later, for a woman whose husband had died or to divorce her to marry again. Remarriage was undoubtedly the younger the widow, the fewer her children, and the greater the difficulties posed by staying where she was. Remarriage of widows was probably more common lower down on the social scale, but it certainly was not confined to the poor or uneducated.⁽¹²⁾

Despite the abovementioned, Ebrey acknowledges that an “emotional force of feelings against it” still existed. In the light of the social climate to disgrace remarried women, she comments, “Many felt that there was something intrinsically shameful, impure, or demeaning in leaving the family they have entered through marriage to enter a sexual union with a second man.”⁽¹³⁾

This was precisely the opinion most premodern scholars held towards Li Qingzhao. Having been discussed by historians, literary critics, and moralists for almost a millennium, her remarriage case had evolved into an intensified controversy about educated women. Readers and literary critics alike were more interested in poking around her anecdotes than appreciating her writings; moralists cannot wait to denounce her for her “moral blemish.”

Accordingly to Song scholar Wang Zhuo 王灼:

From the perspective of literary grace, (Li Qingzhao) was undoubtedly the Number One among women of our Dynasty. But, unfortunately, after Mr. Zhao's death, she remarried someone and got divorced from him through a lawsuit. As a result, her integrity in her later years was diminished... I never know any elite woman, from the highest antiquity on, has been as shameless as she was.⁽¹⁴⁾

Cai Yan 蔡琰 (styled Wen Ji 文姬) of the Eastern Han dynasty, another talented woman of Chinese history, married three times during her life, the second time as the consort of the Vice Attila 匈奴左贤王. After giving birth to two sons with the Vice Attila, she was taken back to China by Cao Cao, the then hegemon, and was remarried by the latter to a man surnamed Dong 董. She devoted the rest of her life to completing historic works unfinished by her father Cai Yong 蔡邕, an erudite historian. Ming scholar Lang Ying 郎瑛 compared the deeds of these two talented women and lamented, “(Qingzhao's virtue) was far away from that of Cai Yan!”⁽¹⁵⁾ Lang Ying delivered a tirade to present his logic: Cai Yan's second marriage was forced; leaving her “barbarian” husband to return to China, she made herself worthwhile to the writing project of Han history, which somehow alleviated her “blemish” of the third marriage. In contrast, Qingzhao's supposed remarriage and divorce were seen as no more than a laughable stock.

(12) Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) “若本朝妇人，当推文采第一。赵死，再嫁某氏，讼而离制。晚节流荡无归.....自古缙绅之家能文妇女，未见如此物顾籍者。”Wang Zhuo, *Biji Man Zhi* 碧鸡漫志 (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1927).

(15) “呜呼，去蔡琰几何哉！”Lang Ying, *Qi Xiu Lei Gao* 七修类稿, Di 1 ban ed., Li Dai Bi Ji Cong Kan (Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian chu ban she, 2001). Vol. 17.

Concluding of this paper, we shall like to turn to a certain modern view on this much-debated case. Li Ao, a Taiwanese scholar of radical inclination, in his textual research on the same topic, once commented:

For a woman (like Li Qingzhao), getting remarried or keeping her widowhood was merely her business. Nobody has the right to assault her in the name of moral terms, to say nothing making slanders. There is nothing wrong with getting remarried. However, if she did not get remarried but was rumored so, the whole matter was entirely wrong.⁽¹⁶⁾

Bibliography

- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Hu, Zi. *Shaoxi Yu Yin Cong Hua* 苕溪渔隐丛话. Taipei: Shi jie shu ju, 1961.
- Lang, Ying. *Qi Xiu Lei Gao* 七修类稿. Di 1 ban ed, Li Dai Bi Ji Cong Kan. Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian chu ban she, 2001.
- Li, Ao. *Qie Cong Qing Shi Kan Qing Lou* 且从青史看青楼. Yuan liu 2 ban. ed. Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban, 1988.
- Li, Qingzhao. “Jinshi Lu Houxu 金石录后续.” In *Li Qingzhao Ji Jiao Zhu* 李清照集校注, edited by Xuechu Wang, 1, 6, 376 p., 1979.
- Li, Qiqing, and Mi Zhou. *Wen Zhang Jing Yi*, 1975.
- Li, Xinchuan. *Jianyan Yi Lai Xi Nian Yao Lu* 建炎以来系年要录. 4 vols, Guo Xue Ji Ben Cong Shu. Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1937.
- Lu, You. *Lao Xue an Bi Ji* 老学庵笔记. Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1979.
- Wang, Zhuo. *Biji Man Zhi* 碧鸡漫志. Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1927.
- Xie, Ji. *Si Liu Tan Chen* 四六谈尘. Vol. 1. Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1983.
- Yu, Zhengxie. “Yian Jushi Shi Ji 易安居士事辑.” In *Gui Si Lei Gao* 癸巳类稿, 5, 3, 19, 616 p., 1957.
- Zhao, Yanwei. *Yunlu Man Chao* 云麓漫钞. 15 vols. Taipei: Shang wu chubanshe, 1980.

论颇具争议的李清照再婚一案

刘晓艺

山东大学文学院教授；亦兼美国威斯敏斯特学院(密苏里州富尔顿)研究员

电话: 15589916538; 电子邮件: liuxiaoyi@sdu.edu.cn

提要：本文分析了颇具争议的李清照再婚一案。据传言，这位杰出的女词人曾在其夫死后改嫁给一位叫张汝舟的小官员。然而，在仔细探研李清照生平资料及清代文献考据的证据之后，我们认为，李清照之受攻讦，主要还是由于她曾写下过尖锐讽刺的文学批评；她无法被一个男性占主导地位的社会所容忍，如是而已。

关键词：李清照、再婚、张汝舟

(16) “一个女人，再嫁也好，守寡也罢，都是她个人的私事，别人没有用范道德的字眼乱骂的权利，更不可造谣。再嫁并没有什么不得了，可是没再嫁却硬说她再嫁，这就太不对了。” Li Ao, *Qie Cong Qing Shi Kan Qing Lou* 且从青史看青楼, Yuan liu 2 ban. ed. (Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban, 1988).

文化狱：两重高墙里的救赎 ——阿石《朵儿》阐释

刘光耀

(湖北文理学院 教授, 461000襄阳, 中国)

提要: 基于男女性别隐喻的家国同构和阴阳一体的文化理念, 制造了一隐一显两个相互叠合的政治文教织体, 从而筑起了一个难以逾越的文化监狱。由于这种隐喻划除了男女夫妻结合之中的精神情感质素, 即“人异于禽兽者几希”之中的“几希”, 这使得在这个基础上建立的政治文教制度成为一种非人性地压制人性的制度, 制造了充满血泪的人间苦难。由于该制度双重的封闭性, 置身其中便没有逾越的可能。逾越只能来自两个“外在于”这种织体的力量的推动: 一, 唤醒人之人性自觉、主体意识的启蒙性文化观念的熏染; 二, 更根本的, 对精神、自由终极源泉的天国圣音的聆听和委身。阿石篇幅不大的小说《朵儿》, 宛如一部史诗一样, 沉重而平静、且又令人震撼地描绘出了文化狱中的残酷, 讲述了不幸落入狱中者骇人的痛苦, 并令人悲伤而又悲壮昂扬地呈现出来: 苦难由对精神和自由的爱而来, 并且是人胜过苦难, 得获救赎, 达乎爱的天国之路。

关键词: 《朵儿》 文化狱 圣乐 苦难 救赎

作者: 刘光耀, 湖北文理学院 退休教授

电子邮箱: Liuguangyao06@163.com

1

在根据斯蒂芬·金 (Stephen King) 小说改编的好莱坞电影《肖申克的救赎》(The Shawshank Redemption) 里, 主人公安迪成功逃出监狱, 得到了他的“救赎”, 即自由。这当然不易, 但相对却是容易的。因在囚禁他的监狱之外便是自由世界, 他只要逃出监狱就可以了。可若一个人所生活的整个世界本身就是座监狱, 无监狱之名却有监狱之实, 他不在监狱之中却无时不在监狱中, 监狱于他如影随形, 到哪儿都蜗牛般背负着监狱高墙。试想: 这样一个人, 他如何越狱得自由呢? 肖申克生活于其中的地方有监狱, 但狱外就是自由的海洋, 可若一个人生活其中的国度本身就是个全封闭的监狱, 她的文化堪称监狱文化, 那文化所建造起来的不过是个可名之曰“文化狱”⁽¹⁾的东西, 一个让四海之内皆监狱有自由的地方, 那么他的救赎如何可能、如何实现呢?

2

阿石的小说《朵儿》⁽²⁾的主人公, 故事开始的中学生姑娘朵儿, 就是这样一个人哟! 那是1952年末, 她年方20 (136)。

3

朵儿是被她母亲一手推进这监狱的。那时“朵儿还是县女子中学的学生” (137), 母亲自作主张, 把朵儿给白老三做了妾。这是母亲的文化。她自己就是给人做妾的, 那时她丈夫死了, 她也将不久于人世。她相信女

(1) “文化狱”概念系吾友杨春先生在一次聊天中提出。他说文字狱诚然可拍, 但更可怕的是文化狱, 即整个文化就是个监狱。杨兄未及详言, 吾试言之。记之以谢并乞指教。

(2) 阿石 A Shi · 《朵儿》 Duor 【Flower】, 载刘光耀 Liu Guangyao、章智源 Zhang Zhiyuan 主编《神学美学》 Shenxue meixue 【Theological Aesthetics】 No. 6 (上海 Shanghai : 上海三联书店 Shanghai Sanlian Shudian 【Shanghai Sanlian Publishing House】, 2018), 132-172。以下关于该小说的引文只随以括号标注页码, 不再另注出处。

儿只有给白老三做妾, 才会生活有“依靠”(137)。这和陀思妥耶夫斯基(F.M.Dostoevsky, 1821-1881)“宗教大法官”的文化倒如出一辙: 为粮食交出自由。⁽³⁾白老三虽有妻儿, 仍纳朵儿做了小老婆。为何不? 有财有势的男人娶小老婆, 不正是白老三浸润其中的悠久文化吗? 而且白老三还有更熟稔的文化: “打江山, 坐江山”, 如今他即打江山的功臣。“江山”何为? 不就是享用天下女人身体、男人劳力和平原山川出产的权力吗? 否则何故要“普天之下莫非王土, 率土之滨莫非王臣”⁽⁴⁾呢? 白老三虽非打下江山的皇帝, 但他用“两个哥哥的性命和自己的一条腿换来了白家的荣耀”(139), 一妻加一妾正其所配得! 这也是白老三家白果村乡亲的“文化”: “大官都是三妻四妾, 那叫派头”(137)。白果村支书的文化是: 有两个老婆尽管不合法, 但作为功臣、英雄, 白老三却应该“特殊一点”(147)。这种文化狱文化博大精深, 博大到生活的一切畛域, 精深到每个人的骨髓血液: 当朵儿被白老三的儿子白俊祥污蔑试图与人私奔(165), 而那时她虽已与白老三离婚, 却仍被村人视为白老三的私产, 几乎所有人都义愤填膺参与了白老三对朵儿的“家法”, 硬生生捶碎了她的膝盖骨, 这种“文化”在白果村早“文化”了几百年绵延不绝(167)。支书马潮勇作为基层官家完全可以阻止, 但他却像在盆子里洗洗手, 将耶稣交到犹太人手中的彼拉多⁽⁵⁾那样, “在鞋上磕了磕烟锅”, 将朵儿交与白老三行刑(164)。连镇医院护士为朵儿行医也是草草了事, 因其之“文化”要她们蔑视这种破鞋。朵儿从此成了污秽不祥之物, 自囚于屋里。但社员们的“文化”认定她就是狐狸精、妖精。否则, 怎么十几年后她一出门见了白老三的正房马菊, 马菊就死了(169)? 支书马潮勇也是见了朵儿后, 望着朵儿的背影而突然死了的(136)。依白果村人的“文化”, 他们的死不归罪于朵儿又归于谁(152)呢? 所有这些人岂不都是囚禁朵儿的狱卒、牢头?

4

典狱长是白老三。将朵儿囚在那里, 施加各样折磨、且使得各种折磨得以施行的, 是白老三——“白老三文化”。当然, 白老三从没宣说过他的文化。白老三只是享用践行之, 正如小说里各色人等不说而行一样。

5

白老三文化有两个关键词: 性事/性统治权, 权事/政治统治权, 可简言曰性权、政权。

6

作为男性, 白老三的性权自是统治或占有女人身体。白老三身上只一条腿, 另一条在朝鲜战场丢掉了, 靠拄拐杖走路。他剩下的这条腿已不再像条腿, 却像他阳物的象征。他拐棍的棍、那条棍一样的腿、裤裆里做淫乐的阳具之棍, 名三实一, 是同一个性事之棍、性权之棍。何为“性事”? 对白老三来说除却“性上的事”, 岂不更是“以性为事”? 小说中白老三所有的事情不过即以手中的政权力量行使裆中对女性的性权, 以政治权力保障他不分昼夜、不择场合、不顾廉耻, 在柴堆里、灶台边、“田间、地头、沟里渠里”到处随性之所至, 裹压在朵儿身上发出“粗鲁的喘息声及肮脏的汗臭味”(162)。和那些进了城便抛弃黄脸老婆, 换下女学生或别人年轻性感姨太太的某些首长类似, 白老三朝鲜战场归来把朵儿压到了胯下。所不同的是他还保留了老婆马菊做正房, 以及对马菊的尊重——却又何尝不是种“统治”? 马菊给他生了三个儿子, 还仆人一样“屋里地里, 全靠她一个人”。如果说朵儿是他性统治来泄欲的, 马菊则是其性统治生育的, 两个女人分别执

(3) 《费·陀思妥耶夫斯基全集》第十五卷·Fei.Tuosituoyefusiji Quanji 【The Complete Works of Fyodor Dostoevsky】No.15, 《卡拉马佐夫兄弟》·Kalamazuofu xiongd 【The Brothes Karamazov】, 臧仲伦 Zang zhonglun 译(石家庄 Shijiazhuang: 河北教育出版社 Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 【Hebei Education Press】)·399-405。

(4) 《诗经·小雅·谷风之什·北山》·Shijing.Xiaoya.Gufengzhishi.Beishan 【Shijing.Xiaoya. The Tenth of Gufeng, North Moutain】参 陈子展 Chen Zizhan: 《诗经直解》Shijing zhijie 【ShiJing Traslation and Notes】·(上海 Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社·Fudandaxue chubanshe 【FuDan University Publishing House】)·1773。

(5) 太 Tai 【St. Matthew】27:24-26。

行着女人的两种性功能。白老三是家长。他如何是“家长”？不正是以若不从部队“回来，也是个师长旅长什么的”（137）官长（zhang）之长，即以春药一样的政权力量使他成为家中性具之“长（chang）”吗？政权之长（zhang）保障了他的性具之“长”（chang）。政权若云，性权若龙，两者相得益彰，堪为白老三文化。

7

这种文化不用说不是白老三创造的，他只是享用者。创造者自然是文化先贤。该文化的奠基表述非《易·序卦传》莫属：“有天地然后有万物，有万物然后有男女，有男女然后有夫妇，有夫妇然后有父子”。在其看来，天在地之上，男在女之上，正是这种天然的、与天地同构的性别上的优位性，奠定了男人对女人的性权根基，赋予了男人因性具之长（chang）而成为一家之长（zhang）的冠冕。故白老三文化也就是男性性具/阳物文化，是男性性优势的直线延伸，是所谓文化先贤们编织华夏文化织体的“经线”。

8

当然，仅凭性的自然优势，无疑不能牢固建立男性对女性的统治。因虽整体说男人对女人的性优势是稳定的，但就具体男女来说则千差万别、变动不居，男人对女人稳定的性统治是不可能的，除非人类完全堕落为猴子、猩猩。

更重要的是，由于人类存在的社会性，男性对女性的性权力或曰家庭霸权一根线，无论其如何强韧，若没有社会性、政治性权力做纬线的横向交织，其对女性的性统治便无疑无从建立。因人既为社会性的，男性性权的建立、维护便需要社会性、政治性力量的介入。也许是有鉴于此，《易·序卦传》给出了自然性经线之外的社会性纬线。即以将基于男女性事的“家”的秩序/结构，与基于政治统治的“国”的秩序/结构，描绘为家、国同构叠合的方式，将男性性权与政权治权强韧地编织起来。即在天地、万物、男女、夫妻、父子之后加上了“有父子然后有君臣，有君臣然后有上下，有上下然后礼义有所错”。这样，一方面，凭借着男女夫妇在性秩序结构与政权秩序结构之同构，男人性权获得了政权加冕；另一方面，政权则被男性性权加冕，因后者来自于天地万物男女夫妻等之“天”秩“天”道，而“天”则至高无上。

9

这样，通过男性权与政权的这种连环加冕，或者说相互附体，即国附体家上，家附体国上，一道封闭严密的权力监狱高墙成焉。家的夫妇之道编织体为国的君臣之道编织体加冕以神圣天道，君臣之道编织体为家的夫妇之道编织体加冕以政权不可违拗的暴力和威严。这两条编织体的合围，将家、国合拢成为一座四围严丝合缝的监狱，从而使得每个人天生都要成为被其囚禁的罪人、犯人。《易·序卦传》实可为这种文化狱的政治神学、政治哲学、政治宪章，亦可曰其之狱政神学、狱政哲学、狱典典章。

10

朵儿的不幸就在于她成了这样的文化狱的囚徒。白老三能将她几十年压在胯下，恣肆施暴，凭借的正是政权或“国”对“家”或性权的相互加冕、附体。当国加冕、附体了家，政治权力加冕附体于男性性具之际，后者也就同时附体到了前者身上，既以其身或家为国作伥，也同时假国之威而作家之虎。白老三能奴役朵儿，能做“白果村的皇帝”，不因别的，端因其打江山功臣的冠冕与其之阳物套在了一起，其性权与政治权力之合一。

11

不言而喻，政治权力的利维坦是种物的、非人性的力量。性的自然性、动物性也离物性、非人性最近，足以令人害羞。⁽⁶⁾恰如陀思妥耶夫斯基研究者N.P.斯特劳斯所说，“残酷的性欲会带来邪恶的男性追随者和残

(6) 创Chuang【Genesis】3:10-11。

酷的政治”；“陀思妥耶夫斯基强调了男性对女性和爱的无知才是小说中人性泯灭的根源”。⁽⁷⁾小说中有这样一个情节：后来与朵儿成亲的憨儿本来是个正常人，只因5岁时捉迷藏时无意“看见邻家的大伯子哥和弟媳抱在一起”，被那男人一巴掌打成了傻憨儿(140)，夺去了憨儿作为男性之男性。白老三的大儿子白俊祥之所以当红小兵就游街折磨秦润禾，纵火要将秦润禾烧死，便起自于他对秦润禾得朵儿爱的性嫉恨。白老三对公社革委会主任英武的战斗，也不过是要争夺对朵儿的性占有权。小说对畸形、“残酷的性欲”之非人性的揭露着实是令人震撼的。这使我们理解，为什么白老三对朵儿的性暴虐充满了非人性的野蛮无耻。皇帝们凭借政权恣意“宠幸”天下女人，他们眼中的女人只不过系女人之性。白老三除了只是地方的小皇帝，比皇帝“小”了一点之外，在泯灭人性的残酷上与之如出一辙。他强行拆散朵儿与秦润禾，强迫朵儿嫁给傻子憨儿，并在朵儿与其离婚之后，仍公然强暴朵儿，皆缘于他是连公社革委会主任也畏惧几分的“功臣”、“英雄”。非止此也！所有的权力机构、制度，作为政权力量，也一起为白老三帮凶。秦润禾要带朵儿逃到县城，却是无从逃离，因他在县城本有的房屋被街道居委会霸占。朵儿除了在白果村有个社员身份，离开了白果村就没有户籍，无以立足和糊口。这种非人性的政权力量与白老三非人性的性力合围，这种非奴隶制的奴隶制，将朵儿围在了比监狱还要野蛮的监狱，遭受了多少非人的折磨和凌辱！

12

那么，朵儿的救赎之路何在？她有获得自由的可能？

13

也许需救赎的不只是被迫做了白老三妾的朵儿，应还包括他的结发妻马菊。因马菊虽然对白老三鞠躬尽瘁，临死前还操心着“我走后老三这一日三餐咋办”(168)，但当朵儿答应马菊死后为白老三做饭后，马菊便“不想再见白老三他们父子”，而要朵儿“无论如何把秦润禾牧师找来”(169)，见牧师自然与救赎相关。

14

但与朵儿不同，马菊不仅不与这种男权与政权交织的文化相龃龉，而且应还是该织体背后的深层织体，即由儒家和道家分别且亦是共同论述的阴与阳的交织。如果说男权政权交织是文化狱的表层建筑，那么道儒及更在其先的易经即整个中国哲学奉为圭臬的阴阳说，则是该文化狱的深层织体。马菊被这种根基压迫，却也是其之砖石。

15

描述马菊对白老三，最妥帖的词也许应是爱恨交织。当“新中国建立后的第四个年头”的一天，马菊与“白果村和马鞍村的男女老少”都激动前来迎接从县城养伤回来亦即抗美援朝归来的“令他们感到骄傲的英雄白老三”时，马菊为白老三“领个小老婆回来”就“撕心裂肺”地“疼痛”，“第一次骂白老三不是个东西”(137)，并后来对白老三一直贪恋朵儿的身子深恶痛绝，“真真确确想和他离婚”(152)。但她的恨却又实实在在地同爱相交织，从来不曾使她像朵儿那样心生异志。她和白老三原有两个孩子，朵儿随白老三来了之后，还又生了一个，同白老三实在是血肉相连，二体合一的。她对白老三的厌烦只是夫妇两口无关宏旨、酸甜交织的嗔痴恨怨，而非两个独立个体间的相互区分与对抗。马菊不仅吃苦耐劳，勤劳持家，还谦和温柔，容让大度，体贴人情，通晓世故，富于同情，深明夫妻妻妾之大理。她不仅忍痛接纳朵儿为白老三妾，还大

(7) [美]尼娜·珀利堪·斯特劳斯 [mei] Nina Polikan Sitelaosi 【Nina Pelikan Straus】：《陀思妥耶夫斯基与女性问题》，Tuosituoyefusiji yu nvxing wenti 【Dostoevsky and Women Question】，宋庆文Song Qingwen、温哲仙Wen Zhexian 译，（长春Changchun：吉林人民出版社 Jilin renmin chubanshe 【Jilin People Publishing House】，2003），124-5。

姐般照料朵儿的生活，关怀朵儿的生命境遇，尽其所能为朵儿命运的改善尽心尽力。温和、包容、舍己、不与人争，功成不居，进退有度，传统女性所有的理想德性，马菊几乎无所不具。

16

不过，应当看到，正是这种德性，显得马菊与白老三一起成了构筑男权政权文化狱经纬合围的深层织体，也就是那种阴阳互别互依、互斥互吸、互异互补、互隔互渗的阴阳鱼、太极图。并且，恰如“反者道之动，弱者道之用。天下万物生于有，有生于无”⁽⁸⁾的道家“常道”那样，⁽⁹⁾白果村表面显得白老三是权威的皇上，最显赫的“有”，马菊无官无职，“道隐无名”般隐没在白果村政治风云背后，似乎是不存在的“无”，但却恰是马菊的这种存在，给白老三提供了家庭屏障，不显山露水却敦厚扎实的人情力量。马菊走后，白老三便跌下神坛般若枯骨朽木了。小说一开始便让读者看到，白果村大队以白果村为名，村头“像一把巨型伞”枝叶繁茂地屹立于千年的白果树，像是权力的王冠一样，傲然宣示着白老三龙王般性与政交织的威权；马菊娘家的马鞍村则像树下冬眠的“小青蛇”，伴着白水河“无声无息从它脚下绕过”（132），俩村庄构成了副天然的太极阴阳图。马菊和名义是支书实际上却是白老三附庸的马鞍村人马潮勇一样，实在刚好是偎依着男权-政权化身的“阳鱼”白老三的一条“阴鱼”。

17

因此，如果说马菊这条“阴鱼”最后游离了“阳鱼”白老三，只能意味着阴阳图的破裂，意味着那阴-阳/家-国织体文化狱的破裂、颓废，只是表征了这种男权和政权连环闭合织体无可奈何的黄昏。马菊想要得到解救的意绪是微弱和模糊的。她只是彻底厌倦了，她的生命最终被阳鱼所耗尽，即被那阴阳鱼所吞噬，她即使想望却根本无从游离阴阳鱼难分难解的高墙。但她知道自己要死了，她向牧师的神求救，尽管她并不真的认识上帝，也没有因着上帝的缘故而争战或挣扎，上帝的救恩是否与她有份呢？她在阴阳鱼里死了，埋了，她的死为“阴鱼”她自己、也为她的另一半“阳鱼”行了葬礼、挽歌。也许殉葬者对上帝的默默呼求也有幸蒙听？但马菊终究是有福了，因为基督教教堂在马鞍村毕竟“17世纪中叶”已然建造，且建在马鞍村，尽管马鞍村小青蛇样在白果树下默然蜿蜒，但“教堂房顶上的十字架却像傲视这令白果村人骄傲的白果树一样，高高地耸入天空”（132）。对那些马菊那样担当劳苦重担的人，耶稣基督的十字架也许天然地就是一种的呼召？愿神怜悯！受苦的人易于注目受苦的神，因为他们易于在神身上看见自己的苦楚？

18

救赎问题是由基督教而来的。因为救赎的本质是解除奴役，恢复自由，使“被掳的得释放，……叫那受压制的得自由”。⁽¹⁰⁾世界剥夺了耶稣基督自由，判他为罪人，钉死了他；但耶稣基督出死入生，复活胜过了世界，重回他本有的自由。依俄罗斯二十世纪伟大的哲学家、神学家别尔嘉耶夫（N.Berdyayev, 1874-1948），是原初的自由，“自由就是上帝自身”。⁽¹¹⁾小说主人公朵儿的救赎问题，发轫于基督教，因基督教给了她灵魂的自由；其救赎也成于基督教，因她与白果村教堂牧师秦润禾以极为凄惨的苦难，坚守了灵魂自由。

(8) 老子Laozi【Laozi】，No.40。参于培林 Yu Peilin：《生命的大智慧——老子》Shengming de dazhizhui——Laozi，【Great Wisdom of Life——Laozi】，（石家庄Shijiazhuang：河北人民出版社 Hebei renmin chubanshe【Hebei Renmin Publishing House】，1988），78。

(9) 老子Laozi【Laozi】，No.1。Ibid，3。

(10) 路Lu【St.Luke】，4:18-19。

(11) [俄]别尔嘉耶夫 Bicerjiayefu【[Russia] Berdyayev】：《末世论形而上学》Moshilun xingershangxue【Eschatological Metaphysics】（张百春Zhang Baichun译，北京Beijin：中国城市出版社Zhongguo chengshi chubanshe【Zhongguo City Publishing House】，2003），114。

19

马菊是白果村本地人。与之不同, 朵儿是来自60里之外的县城的“外来人”。而且朵儿第一次踏上的白果村土地, 就在外国人所建的白果村教堂前。不知道作者是否有意安排朵儿出身地、落脚地的这种“外来性”, 但这种解读对小说来说却无疑顺理成章的。这种“外”诠释了朵儿的命运的根源。

20

朵儿的父亲是县城富商, 妻妾成群, 母亲是其第六个姨太太(137), 朵儿五三年嫁白老三前是县女子中学学生。这显然意味着, 朵儿小学所受的是民国教育, 中学虽已民国不再, 但以富商之家居于县城, 民国启蒙文化的流风余绪对其潜移默化的浸润当不言而喻, 这些自然赋予她不同于马菊在偏僻白果村千百年传统中浸润出来的文化素质。这些素质融之于她活跃、敏感、细腻、柔弱、好奇(139骑马)的个体心性, 使其在对基督教的感觉、认知、承接上, 更具有亲和性、内在性, 更易于奔向天国的呼召。这里的原因是明白的: 民国启蒙新文化与传统“孔家店”文化的最大不同, 就是对自由的呼唤, 对人主体意识、个体人格、意志自由的张扬与呼唤。虽然那时非基运动颇炽, 许多人并不晓得自由之源非上帝莫属, 但既然自由源于上帝, 便自然与上帝声气相通。故得到启蒙文化熏染滋养的朵儿的耳朵, 不会更敏于上帝自由的呼唤吗?

21

这就是我们所看到的: 朵儿第一次走进教堂, 第一次听到那位法国老牧师妻子弹的教堂琴声:

“她突然发现那个老妇人的眼里流出了泪水, 她不由自主地走向她, 站在她的身边。她突然沉醉在老妇人弹的音乐中, 觉得一下子被这曲子感染, 仿佛发现了生命的真谛就在这首曲子中。她的泪不由自主地流了下来。在哀伤中, 她觉得自己弱小的生命被放进了一团光里头。她在那里挣扎、扭动、哭泣。小牧师也走了过来, 站在她的身旁, 随着老妇人的音乐唱起了歌。小牧师的歌高亢而热烈。在另一边忙碌的老牧师也停止了手中的活儿唱了起来。她突然被一种莫名其妙的情绪所感染。她不知道这情绪到底是什么, 她只觉得只要有可能, 她愿意一辈子都活在这样的情绪里。”(145)

22

在当代基督徒作家里, 关于圣乐对人的感召, 恐怕没有谁比阿石的描绘如此震撼、如此奇妙、也如此富于戏剧性了! 我们不敢说却又不得不说, 就在圣乐在教堂里流泻、回旋的短暂瞬间, 朵儿已然完成了对上帝的全然委身, 她的灵已然被上帝的灵全然俘获。在那一刻, 朵儿一次也终身完成了与上帝的会见, 上帝的灵一次也终身与朵儿的灵同在。因为在那个瞬间朵儿完全进入来说精神矜域, 心和身一起获得了前所未有的自由。如果说上帝是精神、自由, 那么, 在圣乐里精神飞升、心灵自由的朵儿, 岂不是也在圣乐里完成了与上帝会见?“人与上帝不是相会于人们用概念加以思考的存在之中, 而是相会于精神中, 相会于精神经验中。……只有精神中的会见才是自由中的会见。只有在精神中和自由中与上帝的会见才是戏剧性的事件”。⁽¹²⁾“以色列啊, 你要听!”⁽¹³⁾虽然这个“听”狭义上指的不是圣乐意义上的听, 但岂不也是指对上帝“天音”的听吗? 不是指不含文字的天音、圣乐完全存在吗? 否则, 莫扎特(W.A.Mozart, 1756-1791)、贝多芬(L.v.Beethoven, 1770-1827)……的音乐又会从哪里来、到哪里去呢? 《朵儿》对聆听圣乐的描绘, 可为圣乐神学的宝贵篇章吧!

(12) [俄] H.A. 别尔嘉耶夫 H.A. Bicerjiayefu 【[Russia] H.A. Berdyayev】: 《精神王国与凯撒王国》Jingshen wangguo yu kaisa wangguo 【The Kingdom of Spirit and the King of Caesar】(安启念 周靖波 An Qinian、Zhou Jingbo译, 杭州Hangzhou: 浙江人民出版社 Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 【Zhejiang Renmin Publishing House】, 2000,) 18。

(13) 申Shen 【Deuteronomy】6:4-5。

23

我们说朵儿在对圣乐的聆听中心和身俱得自由，关于身，我想说的是，与在圣乐中感受到神圣的爱同时发生的，是朵儿朦胧不自知的对小牧师秦润禾的爱。“他们的关系便是在那日建立起来的”（145）。虽然这爱在看不见的心底深处初初萌动，甚至朵儿也未必清楚，但爱已在心田。天国临近的“好消息”，让“被掳的得释放”的声息，如何会不拨动她的心弦？她内心自由的生命之流，如何会不仿佛天然地循着圣乐隐秘的呼召，欢畅激越地涌向天国海洋？朵儿，岂不是苦风凄雨中漂泊的云朵、心向自由的花朵、向往天音的有灵的耳朵？她们一起在圣乐的聆听里自由开放着了！

24

在朵儿这里，对天国圣爱的感知、对天国的爱意与尘世爱意的萌动是同时发生的，而且尘世爱意的意中人刚好是天国的尘世使者。天国之爱与爱天国使者、圣乐之感召与尘世爱人面容之光辉，诗意盎然交互辉映，显现上帝对人性的祝福。就“爱”的一般情状来说，只有当爱者在被爱着身上看到自身的存在，在映入眼帘的异性存在者身上看到了自己的存在，即在与自己相异之人的身上看到了自己的影子，在自己的相异者或异性者身上看到了自己的“形象和样式”时，爱意才会生涌。毫无疑问，上帝是无限，人是有限，人与上帝互为异“性”。这岂不意味着，上帝爱人本身不便是神人双性的，不便含蕴了人对上帝的爱吗？与此相应，人对上帝的爱，仔细分辨，不刚好也会是双性的，神人性的吗？也就是说，不仅有精神、灵魂的委身，也同时有肉体的委身吗？当彼得、保罗等走上十字架时，朋霍费尔（D.Bonhoeffer，1906-1945）走上绞架时，当西蒙娜·薇依（S.Weil，1909-1943）在贫病劳苦中辞世时，不正是神魂与身体两方面的侍奉吗？在圣乐旋律中，朵儿对天国之音的爱，与对天国的仆人秦润禾朦胧而又确定的爱一同发生，不是完美地演绎了上帝对人和人对上帝连环、双向的爱吗？

25

然而，朵儿、秦润禾这时都是无形监狱即文化狱里的囚犯。被监禁的身体如何能自由地爱呢？上帝将自由之爱与剥夺自由和爱的身体与灵魂放在监狱，不会让他们身心俱遭戕害吗？朵儿的膝盖骨被敲碎了；被活生生同秦润禾分开了；被作为不洁不祥之物自囚于居处，与之同居一室的人虽不失朴实却与自由与爱风马牛不相及。秦润禾不仅房产被夺（152），容貌被烧毁，“形儿是鬼一样狰狞”（电影《夜半歌声》插曲语），而且随时会工资停发，失去饭碗（158）。这个性权、政权织体层层合围的文化狱如此。朵儿“是热切地想和秦润禾融为一体的，她不止一次地想她就是她身上的那根肋骨，她不回到他身上，他的生命就不健全，而他的生命就不安稳”（158）。但为了恋人的生命安全，她躲开秦润禾，与憨儿结婚，默默一次次接受白老三的蹂躏，唯一仿佛能洗去她身上之耻辱、污秽的，唯有从恋人听来的《莫斯科郊外的晚上》，那甜蜜、欣乐、充满盼望而又深含忧郁，透着忧伤的来自遥远异国他乡的歌曲。但有一天她的耻辱被爱人撞见，她骤然羞耻自己配不上哪怕在心里偷偷爱她的爱人，投河自溺，虽然她记得他的牧师爱人说过，人没有资格自杀，要在上帝与魔鬼的博弈中盼望上帝得胜（154）……秦润禾将她从死神手里救了过来，秦润禾“那令她魂牵梦绕的男中音”又轻唱出《莫斯科郊外的晚上》：“多么幽静的晚上，我的心上人坐在我身旁，悄悄看着我我不声响。我愿对你讲不知怎样讲，多少话儿留在心上。长夜快过去天色蒙蒙亮，衷心祝福你好姑娘……”身体受难，心灵蒙福。上帝之爱浸润其中的爱令朵儿肉体撕裂，但灵魂的狂喜却升入云霄：“朵儿在膝盖破碎的那一刻感觉心脏也如膝盖一样嘣地一声裂破了，《莫斯科郊外的晚上》优美的词句也刹时冲上了云霄，而她却坠向了没有一丝光亮的深渊。”（167）

26

此后，朵儿活死人般把自己关在屋里，连秦润禾来也未开门（167），直到文革结束，包产到户，才又走出院子。“她在走出院子的第一天碰见了秦润禾”，“他的腰弯了，被驼背了，头发花白，原是英俊的半边脸上

堆满了皱纹”。她一边飞快逃离,一边热泪滚滚,“早已忘却的歌词又都跳跃出来:衷心祝福你姑娘,但愿今后你我永不忘……”(168)。朵儿幽居时曾拒绝秦润禾看望,在秦润禾弥留之际,得绝症多年的朵儿闻讯匆忙赶来,在绘着耶稣受难像的教堂,一只腿跪在秦润禾床前。这位牧师,苦难终身的恋人“憋了好多年的话”终于说出:“朵儿,我爱你!”;“一股幸福的暖流溢上朵儿的面颊。她把脸贴在秦润禾怀里,秦润禾也尽自己最大的力气搂紧她。朵儿像她第一次到教堂里听到老妇人弹的音乐一样,感觉自己弱小的生命被放进了一团光环中,在那里她微笑着闭上了眼睛。”(172)

27

人死了,爱成了,自由了。文化狱里的救赎,是这样的“出死入生”吗?也许吧。

28

法国老牧师夫妇是在复活节的前一天,即耶稣受难周的最后一天,离开白果村的。匪夷所思的革命运动在这块产生文化狱的土地上又一波波展开,灾难将至。老牧师离开并非躲避受难,离开正是受难的一部分。没受难如何会有复活呢?受难是复活前的脚踪。受难离复活相隔非远。耶稣基督复活与其受难之间隔了三天。老牧师夫妇离开前的日子离复活节也才只一天。这个情节也许象征着对文化狱中人来说,苦难将过,监禁将破,自由将来。小说的后头,文革结束了,白果村教堂由教堂变为学校,学校变为党支部,今重又恢复为教堂。“大海航行靠舵手”变成了“外婆的澎湖湾”,连小魔王白俊祥也装模作样地穿上了圣袍。“流泪撒种,欢呼收割”,两位一生不能拥抱自己“骨中骨,肉中肉”⁽¹⁴⁾的人,两位爱的骑士,终于在生命即将结束之际补足了生命的残缺,在教堂里终成一家。

29

我禁不住想:在这个家国同构的文化狱织体里,朵儿、秦润禾,他们有家吗?以及——有国吗?他们有“男女”之身,却没有“夫妇”之“家”,因为“国”野蛮暴虐,横加阻挠。“国”按照自己的权力需要,只允许他们是男是女,有男身女身,但不允许他们有心灵呼声、灵魂渴求,不允许他们有个人格:一言以蔽之,不允许其有主体的精神、自由。《易·序卦传》的政治秩序以男女、夫妇为根基,实似是而非。因并非任何一对男女皆会组成夫妇,这中间起决定作用的是两人的价值认同。“人之所以异于禽兽者几希”,包括“仁义”⁽¹⁵⁾等在内的精神、价值抉择等岂不正是这“几希”?依别尔嘉耶夫,“上帝是精神”,⁽¹⁶⁾精神决定了人之为人。《易传》无视精神、价值而单以男性女性、男身女身论夫妇,不刚好是化“人”为“禽兽”吗?阴阳之说亦然,因阴阳之为阴阳者,正建基在男性女性之隐喻上。这样抽去了“几希”,变人非人,然后才能构筑非人地监禁、迫压人的家国一体文化狱。一种所谓文化,却先要抽去、刈除人之为人的“几希”,除了称其为以“文化”之名将人间弄成吃人魔窟,复何言哉!在此人何以家为,何以国为?

30

因此,朵儿、秦润禾没有国。他们在地上的国不是他们的国。
地上无国的人儿,何其不幸!

(14) 创Chuang, 【Genesis】, 2:23。

(15) 杨伯峻Yang Bojun 编著:《孟子译注》Mengzi yizhu 【Traslition and Notes of Mengzi】(北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju 【Zhonghua Publishing House】, 1980), 191。

(16) [俄] H.A.别尔嘉耶夫 [Russia] H.A.Bieerjiayefu 【[Russia] H.A.Berdyayev】:《精神王国与凯撒王国》Jingshen wangguo yu kaisa wangguo 【The Kingdom of Spirit and the King of Caesar】(安启念 周靖波 An Qinian、Zhou Jingbo译,杭州Hangzhou:浙江人民出版社 Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 【Zhejiang Renmin Publishing House】, 2000,)18。

但地上无国的人儿又何其之幸运啊，他们有国在天上，他们有天国。

因为唯有他们听到的来于天国的声音，才给他们爱怜、珍惜、抚慰、搀扶，才引导、伴随他们的良善、爱意、诗情、浪漫奔向天国，沐浴天光般的声音。是的，他们的国在天上，在上帝身旁。

可是啊，宝贵的岂是容易得到的？岂不是要花重价的？也许圣子耶稣基督升天的轻盈，必需十字架的沉重？别尔嘉耶夫指出，“这个世界上的恶与痛苦、苦难证明这个世界的缺陷和非最后性，证明了另一个世界和上帝存在之不可避免。在这个世界里没有可苦难则导致证明这个世界是最终的。不过，苦难仅仅是人走向另一个世界，走向超验世界的道路”。⁽¹⁷⁾文化狱的囚徒，如果不愿堵塞倾听圣音的耳朵，不愿错过天国递来的爱之手指，朵儿们——也就是我们——拥抱苦难，方有救赎！

Culture Prison: The Redemption Within Two Walls ---An Interpretation of Ashi's *Duor*

Guangyao Liu
Emeritus Professor,

Hubei Wenli College, Xiangyang, Hubei Province, P.R. China
Email: Liuguangyao06@163.com

Abstract: Based on the gender metaphor of man-woman difference, the cultural concepts of “home-country isomorphism” and “the unity of male and female” have produced one hidden trend and one manifest trend that have overlapped and formed a piece of political, cultural and educational fabric. In this way, an unsurpassable culture prison is established. The gender metaphor of man-woman difference exterminates the spiritual and emotional elements within conjugal union, namely, the “rare” in “How rare it is that human is different from beasts”, thus makes the political, cultural and educational system an inhuman and oppressive system, which has caused human sufferings full of tears and blood. Due to the double closedness of this system, it is impossible to transcend it once being placed in it. The transcending force can only come from outside the fabric: first, it comes from the constant influence of enlightenment to awaken the consciousness of humanity and subjectivity within human persons; second, more fundamentally, it comes from the listening to the holy voice from heaven, which is the final source of spirit and freedom. The short novel “*Duor*” by Ashi is like an epic, which heavily, peacefully and shockingly describes the cruelty within the culture prison, narrates the agony of the ones unfortunately have fallen in it. Sadly but solemnly and holily, this novel reveals that suffering comes from the love for spirit and freedom, and suffering is the way human persons defeat suffering, obtain redemption and finally reach the heaven of love.

Keywords: *Duor*, Culture prison, Music from Heaven, Suffering, Redemption

(17) [俄]尼·别尔嘉耶夫 [Russia] N. Bieerjiayefu 【[Russia] H.A.Berdyayev】：《自我认识》Ziwo renshi 【Self-Realization】（雷永生 Lei Yongsheng 译，桂林 Guilin：广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifandaxue chubanshe 【Guangxi Educational University Publishing House】，2001），27。

《国学与西学：国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

投稿须知

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

“人学、神学与国学”(人学乃启蒙运动以来强调理性的学术, 神学乃关于上帝及研究基督教的学术, 而国学则指中国精神体系之研究);

“实践神学与中西教会和社会”(实践神学乃现实中基督教实践之研究, 中西教会/社会乃指中国与欧美等传统上以基督教为信仰和精神体系的基督教会与社会);

“中西经典与圣经”(中西经典乃中国及西方的宗教、人文经典, 而圣经则指基督宗教的圣经);

“教会历史与中西文明变迁”(教会历史乃基督教会之历史, 中西乃中国与欧美等传统上以基督教为信仰和精神体系的社会);

“比较宗教文化研究”(比较宗教文化研究乃中国、欧美等西方国家的宗教与文化之比较研究);

“书评与通讯”(书评乃对主题为国学与西学的新书之述评, 而通讯则指同样主题的学术动态与新闻)。

1·本刊欢迎下列类型的稿件:(1)研究性论文(Research Articles):国学、西学研究、及国学和西学比较的原创性学术论文。(2)书评(Book Reviews):对近来出版的相关学术专著的评价。(3)会议综述和报道(Conference Reports):对相关学术会议的深入报道。

2·本刊全年公开征稿, 凡与本刊内容相关的学术论文均欢迎各界人士投稿, 但内容必须是首次(特例另加说明)发表的原创性学术研究成果。

3·中英文文稿均被接受。以中文投稿的研究论文需附英文摘要和关键词;以英文投稿的稿件需附中文的摘要和关键词。原则上, 论文含注释中文稿件为8000至12000字为宜, 论文含注释英文稿件以不超过12000字为宜, 书评及会议报道每篇一般以3000字为限, 特殊情况另论。

4·研究论文的撰写格式及顺序如下:

(1)首页:中英文题目、作者联系方式(中英文姓名、职务及职称、通讯地址、电话、电子邮件等联系方式)。

(2)中英文摘要(各以200-700字为宜)、关键词(以5个词为限)。

(3)正文含注释(正文及注释撰写请勿透露作者的相关信息, 引用作者本人的文献时请不要使用第一人称, 中文稿件的注释请遵照《国学与西学:国际学刊》的《注释体例及要求》撰写)。

5·来稿请寄打印清晰的稿件两份, 并以电子邮件或其他方式寄交原稿件的Word文档的电子版一份。

6·本刊在收到寄交的论文后, 本刊编辑委员会先进行匿名初审, 初审后再请两位同领域的学者专家复审, 复审者意见不同时将邀请第三位学者评审;并于稿件收到后三个月内回复作者。逾期未接到通知者, 可自行处理稿件。本刊概不退稿, 作者请自留底稿。稿件随收随审, 一经审稿通过即寄发同意刊出函告知作者。经决定采用的文稿, 须依本刊体例修改论文格式, 编辑部有权对稿件酌情删改(不愿者请投稿时说明), 且需作者亲校最后文稿, 修改过后始由本刊编辑委员会另行决定与何期刊出。

7· 著作人投稿本刊, 经收录刊登后, 同意授权本刊再授权其他本刊接受之资料库进行重制, 通过网络提供服务, 授权用户下载、打印等行为, 并可酌情修改格式。

8· 本刊所刊登的文稿, 作者文责自负, 一切立论不代表本刊观点, 版权则归本刊所有。

9· 稿件已经刊登, 本刊将于出版后赠送该期刊物两本作为酬谢, 不另付稿酬。

10· 本刊的征稿、评审、编辑与发行等事宜, 皆依照《国学与西学: 国际学刊》的“刊行及编审办法”办理。

11· 来稿或意见, 请寄:

《国学与西学: 国际学刊》编辑部 收

Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland.

电子文档请寄至: ijofsws@gmail.fi

Tel. + 358-40-836-0793

www.SinoWesternStudies.com

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies

Notes for Contributors

1. *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* (IJS) is published semi-annually every June and December by the Nordic Forum of Sino-Western Studies (members from Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) and sponsored by the University of Helsinki, Peking University, and Jilin University. It covers areas in

Humanities, Theology, and Chinese *guoxue* (National Studies),
Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society,
Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible,
History of the Church and State in the West and in China,
Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies,
Reviews and Reports on Academic Conferences.

2. The types of work we prefer to publish:

- a. Research Articles: Original articles related to the topics mentioned above.
- b. Book Reviews: Reviews on books or articles that are related to our themes.
- c. Academic News: In-depth reports on conferences or other academic news related to our themes.

3. IJS welcomes the submission of texts throughout the year; it is required that the text is original and has not been previously published.

4. The text can be written in Chinese or in English. An English article should have a Chinese abstract, and vice versa. The length of a Chinese article should be between 8,000 and 12,000 Chinese characters, including footnotes. An English article should have no more than 12,000 words, including footnotes. A book review or a report on academic news is usually limited to 3,000 words. Exceptions will be decided separately.

5. Articles should follow the following format:

- a. Both a Chinese and an English title, the author's occupation, position, and contact information; see the Article Submission Cover Page.
- b. A 200-700-word abstract and the maximum of 5 keywords in English and Chinese should be included.
- c. Full information on publications should be included in the footnotes.

Footnotes must follow the style stated in our Footnote Format and Requirements. For the purpose of an anonymous review, please refrain from revealing the author's identity in the article; when citing the author's own work, please refrain from using the first person pronoun.

6. Please submit two paper copies of the article by mail and one in an electronic form through email. The electronic file should take the Microsoft Word format.

7. Article submitted to IJS will be peer-reviewed first by the editorial committee, then by two scholars of a relevant field, and if necessary a third scholar will be invited to review. The author will receive the decision within three

months after submitting the article. The editorial committee has the right to ask for a revision of an article and will thereafter decide whether the article will be published.

8. The author shall agree to authorize IJS the right to the reproduction of the article either electronically or in print.

9. The author is solely responsible for the content of the article, and any viewpoint expressed therein does not necessarily reflect the opinion of IJS. After publication, IJS reserves the copyright of the article.

10. The author will receive two copies of the IJS in which the article is published, no fees or royalties are paid to the author.

Please send your article or suggestion to:

Editorial Committee

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies,

Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland

Email with attachment to: ijofsws@gmail.fi

Tel. + 358-40-836-0793

www.SinoWesternStudies.com

注释体例及要求

Footnote Format and Requirements

一、总则 **General Principles**

- 1、采用页下注(脚注)，从文首至尾依次加注。

Use continuous footnotes from the start to the end of your article.

- 2、一般情况下，引用外文文献的注释仍从原文，无须另行译出。

Use original literature when the reference is in a language other than the article, a translation of the citation is not required.

- 3、文章正文后不另开列“参考文献”。

Independent bibliography is not required.

- 4、所引资料及其注释务求真实、准确、规范。

Please use authentic, accurate, and standard literature references.

- 5、非汉语语言以英文为例。

We use English as an example of all the non-Chinese languages.

二、分则 **Detailed Rules**

1、专著 **Monograph** :

黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, 《汉语学术神学》*Hanyu xueshu shenxue* [Sino-Christian Academic Theology], (北京 Beijing : 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press], 2008), 155 - 159.

Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 88-89.

2、编著 **Compiled works** :

罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia、黄保罗 Huang Baoluo主编, 《基督宗教与中国文化》*Jiduzongjiao yu zhongguo wenhua* [Christianity and Chinese Culture], (北京 Beijing : 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 2004), 155。

Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 3.

3、译著 **Translated literature** :

麦克·阿盖尔 Maiké Agaier, 《宗教心理学》*Zongjiao xinlixue* [Religious Psychology], 陈彪 Chen Biao译, (北京 Beijing : 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China]), 2005, 30。

Fung Yulan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. by Derk Bodde, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 150.

4、外文稿件引用中文资料 Chinese literature in non-Chinese articles :

Liang Qichao, *Gushu zhenwei jiqi niandai* [The Genuinity of Chinese Ancient Books and their Dates], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1923), 20.

5、文集中的文章 Articles in collections :

张敏 Zhang Min, “基督徒身份认同——浙江温州案例” *Jidutu shenfen rentong* ---- Zhejiang Wenzhou anli [The Personal Identity of Christians], 张静 Zhang Jing主编:《身份认同研究:观念、态度、理据》*Shenfen rentong yanjiu : guannian · taidu · liju* [A Study on Personal Identity], (上海 Shanghai :上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People’s Publishing House], 2006), 101-105。

Zhuo Xiping, “Comprehensive Theology: An Attempt to Combine Christianity with Chinese Culture,” in Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 185-192.

6、报纸中的文章 Articles in newspapers :

曹曙红 Cao Shuhong, 《信仰之旅 慈善之行——上海玉佛禅寺觉群慈爱功德会参访团西藏行纪实》*Xinyang zhi lu, Chisan zhi xing* ---- Shanghai Fochansi Juequn ciai gongdehui canfangtuan Xizang xing jishi [The Trip of Faith and the Travel of Charity], 《中国民族报》*Zhongguo minzubao* [The Newspaper of Chinese Ethnic Minorities] (2011年8月23日), 第5版。

David E. Sanger, “U.S. and Seoul Try to Ease Rift on Talks with the North,” *New York Times*, (11 June, 2005).

7、期刊中的文章 Articles in journals :

李炽昌 Li Chichang, “跨文本阅读策略:明末中国基督徒著作研究” *Kuawenben yuedu celue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* 【The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings】, 《基督教文化学刊》*Jidujiao wenhua xuekan* 【Journal of Christian Culture】, No. 10, (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 【The Press of Renmin University of China】, 2003), 168。

J. R. Carrette, “Religion and Mestrovic’s Postemotional Society: The Manufacturing of Religious Emotion,” *Religion*, vol. 34, (2004), 271.

8、会议论文 Conference papers :

田海华 Tian Haihua, “汉语语境中的“十诫”:以十九世纪基督新教的诠释为例” *Hanyu yujing zhong de ‘Shijie’: Yi shijiu shiji jiduxinjiao de quanshi wei li* [The Ten Commandments in the Chinese Context], “第四届‘基督教与中国社会文化’国际年青学者研讨会” *Disijie ‘Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui wenhua’ guoji qingnian xuezhe yantaohui* [The Fourth International Young Scholar Conference on Christianity and Chinese Social Culture], (香港 Xianggang, 香港中文大学 Xianggang zhongwen daxue [Chinese University of Hong Kong], 2008年12月5-9日), 3。

John Barwick, “Liu Tingfang, Chinese Protestant Elites, and the Quest for Modernity in Repu Xinping Republican China”, presented in “The 4th International Young Scholars’ Symposium on ‘Christianity and Chinese Society and Culture’,” (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 5-9 December, 2008).

9、学位论文 Dissertations :

刘家峰 Liu Jiafeng, 《中国基督教乡村建设运动研究(1907—1950)》*Zhongguo jidujiao xiangcun jianshe yundong yanjiu* [A Study on the Movement of Chinese Christian Countryside Construction], (武汉Wuhan : 华中师范大学博士论文 Huazhong shifan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph.D. dissertation in Central China Normal University], 2001), 55.

Nathan C. Faries, *The Narratives of Contemporary Chinese Christianity*, (The Pennsylvania State University, PhD dissertation, 2005), 22.

10、互联网资料Internet source :

<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/wilson03.doc>,2005-03-27.

11、重复引用 Consecutively repeated citations :

同上书, 第19页。

Ibid., pp. 73-75.

12、转引 Quotation from a secondary source :

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

Stanley A. Erickson, “Economic and Technological Trend Affecting Nuclear Nonproliferation,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 8, no.2, 2001, p. 43, quoted from Michael Wesley, “It’s Time to Scrap the NPT,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 59, no. 3, (September 2005), 292.

13、华人姓名写法 Writing of Chinese personal names :

如果华人拥有外文名字, 则按西文方式名前姓后, 如: Paulos Huang ; 若只有中文名字, 则按中国方式姓前名后, 如: Zhuo Xinping等。If a Chinese person uses the Westernized first name, his name can be written in this way: Paulos Huang; but if he ONLY uses the Chinese name, it must be written in the Chinese way, for instance: Zhuo Xinping, etc.

14、其他 Others :

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui [The Editorial Committee of Hebei Provincial Chorography] 编: 《河北省志·宗教志》 Hebei sheng zhi . Zongjiaozhi [Hebei Provincial Chorography. Religions], (北京 Beijing : 中国书籍出版社 Zhongguo shuji chubanshe [Chinese Books Publishing House], 1995), 224.

U.S. Agency for International Development, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, (Washington, D.C., 2002), 1.

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies

国学与西学 国际学刊

Sanovan Press, Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland.

Email: ijofsws@gmail.com. www.SinoWesternStudies.com/

Order Form 订购单 (From Issue No. ___ to No. ___, 由第___期至第___期)

(Please tick your choice 请勾选) (Tax and postage included 含税及邮费)

Printed Version 纸质版

Region 地区	Asia (euro € or RMB ¥) 亚洲 (欧元 € 或人民币 ¥)		Europe 欧洲		Other Area 其他地区	
	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空
Mail Category 邮寄方式	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空
Price for individuals (per year/2 issues) 个人(每年2期)	35 € (350 ¥)	40 € (400 ¥)	50 €	60 €	40 €	50 €
Price for individuals (2 year/4 issues) 个人(两年四期)	60 € (600 ¥)	70 € (700 ¥)	90 €	100 €	90 €	100 €
Price for institutions (per year/2 issues) 团体/机构(每年2期)	80 € (800 ¥)	90 € (900 ¥)	90 €	100 €	80 €	90 €
Price for institutions (2 year/4 issues) 团体/机构(两年四期)	150 € (1500 ¥)	170 € (1700 ¥)	150 €	170 €	110 €	130 €

PDF electronic version 电子版订购单

Please pay the fee (in US dollars) to the Account below. Then please fill in this form and the webmaster will send you the full texts soon.

One Paper: 1 US \$

Five Papers: 3 US \$

All Papers of One Issue: 8 US \$

Method of Payment 付款方法

网上付款 www.SinoWesternStudies.com/全文购买full-texts/

人民币账户: 中国建设银行长春市分行吉新支行 6227 0009 4256 0079 382 (账户名: Huang Paulos Zhan Zhu). International payment outside China: Bank Account : Nordea Bank, Helsinki, Finland, Account number FI44 1378 5000 1315 41. Paulos Huang, Sanovan Press Company.

Please send my journal to 期刊请寄至

Name 姓名 _____

Tel. 电话 _____ Fax. 传真 _____

Email 电子邮件: _____

Address 地址: _____

