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## 卷首语 From the Editors' Desk

# **Orientalism and Reverse Orientalism in the Interactions between Christianity and Confucianism: With Special Reference to the Problem of “Immanence vis-à-vis Transcendence”**

Pan-chiu LAI

(The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

**Abstract:** Through making references to some inter-disciplinary and cross-cultural studies of “Transcendence” as well as the usage of the relevant terms in contemporary Confucianism and Christianity, especially the concepts of “transcendence” and “immanence” (which is translated sometimes as *nèi zài* in Chinese), this study attempts to challenge some of the prevalent stereotypes of Christianity and Confucianism. With special references to the historical and contemporary Christian-Confucian discourses related to the concepts of immanence and transcendence, this study argues that certain features of “orientalism” can be found in the Christian interpretations of Confucianism, especially their tendency of downplaying the transcendence in Confucianism in order to highlight that Christianity is the fulfillment of Confucianism. In contrast to the Christian interpretations, the Confucian interpretations tend to highlight the “transcendence” in Confucianism and ignore the “immanence” in Christianity. Certain “reverse orientalism” can be found at the Confucian interpretations of Christianity, especially their attempts at arguing for the superiority of Confucianism through articulating the contrast between “external transcendence” (*wài zài chāo yuè*) and “internal transcendence” (*nèi zài chāo yuè*). This study further argues that no matter whether it is orientalism or reverse orientalism, these stereotypes of the contrast between Christianity and Confucianism misinterpret not only the other’s tradition, but also one’s own, and thus hinder the communication between the two traditions.

**Key Words:** Orientalism, Confucianism, Christianity, Transcendence, Immanence

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## Introduction

In recent years “transcendence” has become an important issue for interdisciplinary dialogue in Western academia-involving not only Christian theology but also disciplines which are supposed to be relatively “secular,” including philosophy, literature, and cultural studies, which emphasizes particularly the importance of everyday.<sup>[1]</sup> There are many publications on transcendence resulted from these interdisciplinary discussions.<sup>[2]</sup> Some of them attempt to reflect critically on the modern Western notion(s) of transcendence and raise the question “do we need to transcend transcendence?” Whereas some scholars address the questions concerning re-imagining traditional transcendence, some others prefer “relocating transcendence on the plane of immanence.”<sup>[3]</sup> It is noteworthy that when discussing the concept of “transcendence”, the relationship between “transcendence” and “immanence” is inevitably involved. For example, a recent typological study of transcendence proposes four types of transcendence and the concept of immanence is involved in at least two of them. These four types are “immanent transcendence,” “radical transcendence,” “radical immanence,” and “transcendent as alterity.”<sup>[4]</sup>

It is noticeable that in addition to the critical reflections on the modern Western understanding (s) of transcendence, some scholars propose that intercultural dialogue with thinkers from other traditions can help to clarify some of the Western notions of transcendence. For example, André van der Braak proposes that according to the typology of transcendence mentioned above, the notion of “transcendence” articulated by Keiji Nishitani (1900 – 1990) of the Kyoto School belongs to the “transcendent as alterity” model and affirms transcendence in immanence without assuming the opposition between transcendence and immanence.<sup>[5]</sup> Van der Braak also mentions briefly the interpretation of Confucianism offered by Roger Ames and David Hall about Confucianism. He summarizes their argument as follow:

They argue that one of the most striking features of Chinese intellectual culture is the absence of transcendence in the articulation of its spiritual, moral, and political sensibilities. For example, in their analysis of the Chinese term *tian* 天 (translated by Jesuit missionaries as Heaven, Providence, God, Nature), Hall and Ames conclude that “the dualism that requires appeal to transcendent deity in the Western tradition has no relevance at all to Chinese culture”. They also comment that the notion of *dao* 道, which is often interpreted as an indication for a transcendent absolute, should be interpreted as a nontranscendent field.<sup>[6]</sup>

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[1] Students of cultural studies may recall Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* ([www.SinoWesternStudies.com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com)), 1-20.

[2] For example, Regina Schwartz, ed., *Transcendence: Philosophy Literature, and Theology—Approach the Beyond* (New York, London: Routledge, 2004).

[3] See: John D. Caputo and Michael J. Scanlon, eds., *Transcendence and Beyond: A Postmodern Inquiry* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007).

[4] See: Wessel Stoker and W. L. van der Merwe, eds., *Culture and Transcendence: A Typology of Transcendence* (Leuven: Peeters, 2012).

[5] André van der Braak, “Nishitani’s Rethinking of Transcendence as Trans-Descendence,” in *Culture and Transcendence*, 207-17.

[6] *Ibid.*, 209.

For van der Braak, the interpretation offered by Hall and Ames implies that it is misleading to apply the concepts of “immanence” and “transcendence” to the Chinese world, and it is better to avoid these terms whenever possible.<sup>[7]</sup> However, instead of dropping these terms altogether, he continues to use these terms in his exploration of Nishitani’s thought. This seems to indicate that, for van der Braak at least, these terms remain useful in intercultural communication, even though their applicability to the Chinese cultural world is doubtful.

In the perspective of intercultural communication, there are two questions to be taken up. First, against the advice given by Hall and Ames, the concepts of “immanence” and “transcendence” are actually among the key concepts in the dialogue between Confucianism and Christianity.<sup>[8]</sup> An interesting question is this: Can the Christian-Confucian dialogue on immanence and transcendence enrich the discussion concerning transcendence in Western academia? A related question is this: Given the typology of transcendence mentioned above, can the “dualism in the Western tradition” mentioned by Hall and Ames represent the whole Western tradition? If not, is their comment on Western culture exhibits a sort of “reverse orientalism” which can be found also in the interpretation of “Western tradition” offered by the Kyoto School?<sup>[9]</sup> In order to address these questions, it is quite necessary to review the Christian-Confucian dialogue concerning immanence and transcendence.

## Transcendence in Christian-Confucian Comparison

The issue of transcendence and immanence plays an important role in Confucian-Christian dialogue. Some Confucians, e. g. Mou Zongsan (1909–1995), tend to interpret the difference between Christianity and Confucianism in terms of “external transcendence” (waizai chaoyue) and “immanent transcendence” or “internal transcendence” (neizai chaoyue).<sup>[10]</sup> Arguing against Mou, some Christian scholars challenge the validity of this stereotype and try to show that Christianity, instead of merely understanding God as purely transcendent or externally transcendent, also emphasizes the

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[7] Ibid.

[8] For a recent discussion, see: Pakon Chan, *Chaoyue yu neizai: yi ge jidutu dui Zhongguo zhexue de fansi* [Transcendence and immanence: a Christian’s reflection on Chinese philosophy] (Hong Kong: Open Field Publishing, 2013).

[9] For a critique of the reverse orientalism in the founders of Kyoto School see Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 52-88. For a critique of the reverse orientalism in Masao Abe, see Lai Pan-chiu (= Lai Pinchao), “Cunyou yu feiyou: Dilixi, yefo duihua yu Hanyu shenxue” [Being and non-being; Paul Tillich, Buddhist-Christian dialogue, and Sino-Christian theology], *Logos & Pneuma* 43 (July 2015): 29-50.

[10] See: Mou Zongsan, *Yuanshan lun* [On Summum Bonum] (Taipei: Student’s Press, 1985).

immanence of God.<sup>[11]</sup> Mou's stereotype is also challenged by another representative of contemporary new Confucianism Liu Shu-hsien (= Liu Shuxian, 1934–2016). Liu points out that Christian theology does not necessarily understand God as externally transcendent because some trends of Christian theology, such as process theology, emphasize also the immanence of God and these theological endeavours, without doubt, are conducive to close the gap between Christianity and Confucianism.<sup>[12]</sup> In a similar vein, Mou's comrade Tang Chun-I (= Tang Junyi, 1909–1978), admits that the panentheism advocated by Alfred North Whitehead (1909–1978) and Charles Hartshorne (1897–2000) is very close to his own understanding of the relationship between Heaven/God and the world and can ease the tension between human freedom and the divine grace.<sup>[13]</sup> John Berthrong, a representative of Boston Confucianism, also endeavours to make process theology a bridge between Christianity and Confucianism and proposes to use Hartshorne's idea of dual transcendence to address the question of transcendence and immanence.<sup>[14]</sup>

It is true that some schools of philosophical/theological thought such as process theology can be inspirational to the dialogue of Christianity and Confucianism.<sup>[15]</sup> However, Mou's discussion concerning internal and external transcendence relates to his argument that Christianity, which is a "detached teaching" (lijiao), is inferior to Confucianism, which is a "perfect teaching" (yuanjiao). As a response, one has to review the Christian tradition as a whole instead of focusing only on a particular school of Christian theology, especially when the school is so philosophical that whether it

[11] For example, Lo Ping-cheung (= Luo Bingxiang), "Lun Shangdi de chaoyue: jian lun xin Rujia dui Jidu zongjiao de piping" [On divine transcendence: with a reply to new Confucians], *Jidu zongjiao yanjiu* [Study of Christianity], ed. Zhuo Xiping and Xu Zhiwei (Beijing: Social Science Documents Press, 2000), 2: 37-52; Benedict Hung-biu Kwok, "The Christian Understanding of God as Transcendence and Immanence: A Response to Liu Shu-hsien's Understanding of the Pure Transcendence of God," *Ching Feng* 42 (1999) 1-2, 35-57; Xu Zhiwei, "Jidujiao zhi Sanwei Yiti jiaoyi; neizai yu chaoyue" [The Christian doctrine of Trinity; immanence and transcendence] in *Chongtu yu hubu; Jidujiao zhexue zai Zhongguo* [Conflict and Complement; Christian Philosophy in China], ed. Xu Zhiwei and Zhao Dunhua (Beijing: Social Science Documents Press, 2000), 50-86; Lo Ping-cheung, "Shangdi de chaoyue yu linzai" [Divine transcendence and divine immanence; a comparison of God-human relationship with heaven-human relationship] in *Duihua II: Ru, Shi, Dao, yu Jidujiao* [Dialogue II: Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity], ed. He Guanhu and Edwin Hui (Beijing: Social Science Documents Press, 2001), 243-77. For a response of the above discussion, see Liu Shu-hsien, "Chaoyue yu neizai wenti zhi zai xingsi" [A rethinking of the question of "transcendence and immanence"] in *Dangdai Ruxue yu Xifang wenhua: zongjiao pian* [Modern Confucianism and Western culture; a religious perspective], ed. Liu Shu-hsien and Lin Yueh-hui (Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 2005), 12-42.

[12] Liu Shu-hsien, "Guanyu chaoyue yu neizai wenti de xingsi" [A reflection on the question of transcendence and immanence], *Dang Dai* [Contemporary Era] 96 (April 1993): 146-49 (147); Liu, "Dangdai xin Rujia keyi xiang Jidujiao xuexi shenmo?" [What can contemporary new Confucians learn from Christianity?], *Zhexue yu wenhua* [Philosophy and culture] 15 (August 1988): 513-17 (517). For Liu's introduction to process theology, see Liu Shu-hsien, "You Meiguo tese de dangdai Meiguo zongjiao zhexue" [Contemporary philosophy of religion in the United States with American characteristics] in *Dang Dai* 23 (March 1988): 48-58; Liu, "Dangdai Meiguo zongjiao zhexue" [Contemporary philosophy of religion in the United States], *Dang Dai* 49 (May 1990): 84-97. For the 20<sup>th</sup> century (especially American) discussion on the transcendence of God, see Edward Farley, *The Transcendence of God: A Study in Contemporary Philosophical Theology* (London: Epworth, 1962).

[13] Tang Jun-yi, *Shengming cunzai, yu xinling jingjie* [Life, existence, and the horizon of mind-heart] (Taipei: Student Book, 1986), 2: 19, 226.

[14] John Berthrong, *All Under Heaven: Transforming Paradigms in Confucian-Christian Dialogue* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1994), 133-64. For Hartshorne's idea of dual transcendence, see Charles Hartshorne, *Omnipotence and Other Theological Mistakes* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), 44-49.

[15] Lai Pan-chiu, "Kebu Jidulun ji shengtai shenxue yu Dangdai huaren chujing" [Cobb's Christology and ecological theology and contemporary Chinese context] in *Kebu, Pannengbo, Houhuoshi yu Dangdai huaren chujing* [Cobb, Pannenberg, Hauerwas and Contemporary Chinese Context], ed. Andres S. K. Tang (= Deng Shaoguang) (Hong Kong: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1999), 1-50 (37-47).

can represent the mainstream of Christian theology is doubtful.<sup>[16]</sup> Furthermore, Mou's critique of Christianity is based on his reading of the ethics of Immanuel Kant (1724—1804) that the existence of God is a necessary presupposition for human morality. Mou's critique concerns not only the Christian doctrine of God, especially the divine transcendence, but also the Christian doctrine of human beings, including human morality and salvation.

In response to Mou, Lai Pan-chiu argues that Christian theology affirms not only the immanence of the transcendent but also the transcendence of the immanent, namely both the immanence of God and the transcendence of the human being. Rather than deny the difference between Christianity and Confucianism, it aims to point out that one cannot simply identify Confucianism with immanent transcendence and Christianity with external transcendence. There can be plenty of rooms for dialogues between Confucianism and Christianity on the issues related to immanence and transcendence.<sup>[17]</sup> He further published some articles concerning how the Christian doctrine of human beings is to be related to the dialogue with Confucianism.<sup>[18]</sup>

Through a sketch of the Christian theological tradition, this study attempts to show that the Christian God is both transcendent and immanent. Such an idea of God is rooted in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and affirmed by the majority of Christian traditions. In other words, the idea of God as purely or externally transcendent is by no means an adequate presentation of the Christian faith. If one ranks Christianity as a kind of "detached" religion solely based on the understanding that its transcendence is purely external, this evaluation is problematic because it is based on a dubious criterion and an inadequate understanding of Christianity.<sup>[19]</sup> This inadequate interpretation of Christianity may reflect a sort of "reverse orientalism" in the Confucian response to Christianity.

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[16] Hartshorne believes that comparing with classical theism, his neo-classical theism is more faithful to the God described in the Bible. According to the Bible, God is the God of love and action, sympathetically participating in the world, hearing and responding the prayer of the human being; in neo-classical theism, the relationship between God and the world is internal and mutual dependent instead of external and dispensable. See: Charles Hartshorne, *The Divine Relativity: A Social Concept of God* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1948).

[17] Lai Pan-chiu, "Chaoyuezhe de neizaixing yu neizaizhe de chaoyuexing: ping Mou Zongsan dui Ru Ye zhi fenpan" [Immanence of the Transcendent and the Transcendence of the Immanent; On Mou Zongsan's Differentiation of Christianity and Confucianism], in *Dangdai Ruxue yu Xifang wenhua: zongjiao pian* [Modern Confucianism and Western culture: a religious perspective], ed. Liu Shu-hsien and Lin Yueh-hui (Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 2005), 43-89. Some parts of this paper are derived from this long chapter. The author would like to thank Dr. Li Bingquan, Renmin University, for his assistance in the translation.

[18] Lai Pan-chiu, "Barth's Doctrines of Sin and Humanity in Buddhist Perspective," *Studies in Interreligious Studies* 16, no. 1 (2006): 41-58; Lai, "Christian Transformation of Greek Humanism and its Implications for Christian-Confucian Dialogue," *Korea Journal of Systematic Theology* 22 (December 2008), 245-69; Lai, "Shaping Humanity with Word and Spirit: Perspectives East, West and Neither-East-Nor-West," in *Word and Spirit: Renewing Christology and Pneumatology in a Globalizing World*, ed. Anselm K. Min and Christoph Schwöbel (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 131-49.

[19] Liu Qiliang, "Yuan li zhi bian—Ru Ye zhi bijiao yu zhong xi wenhua jingshen de zai renshi" [The difference between the coherent and the separate; a comparison between Confucianism and Christianity and a rethinking of the cultural spirit of the East and the West], *Zhexue Zaizhi* [A journal of philosophy] 23 (February 1998): 94-109.

## Mou's Interpretation of Christianity

Mou's interpretation of Christianity is to a certain extent a response to Christianity's negative estimation of Confucianism that Confucianism, which is merely a matter of social ethics, does not have the transcendent dimension and needs to be supplemented by Christianity.<sup>[20]</sup> In response, Mou not only endeavours to argue that Confucianism has its transcendent dimension, but also goes further to point out that such transcendence is a kind of immanent transcendence superior to the external transcendence advocated by Christianity.<sup>[21]</sup> For Mou, the Christian idea of God, which is purely and externally transcendent without immanence is inferior to the "Infinite Mind-Heart" (Wuxian Zhixin), which combines transcendence with immanence and represents the perfect teaching advocated by Confucianism. Mou writes, "on the one hand, the Infinite Mind-Heart is absolutely universal, beyond everybody and everything, out of the reach of any empirical experience, and thus it is transcendent; on the other, it is the substance of everybody and everything and thus immanent."<sup>[22]</sup> For Mou, Christianity is a detached religion because "it denies the possibility of human beings' attaining the supreme wisdom through their own practice and thus separates the infinity from the life of the human being."<sup>[23]</sup> The distinction between the perfect teaching and the detached religion, for him, lies in whether the teaching or the religion affirms the Infinite Mind-Heart of human beings or not, that is to say, whether the finite human being is capable of becoming infinite. Christianity is a detached religion, not so much because it has no such idea as infinite wisdom but because it externalizes this Infinite Mind-Heart as a personal God, who is an objective existence. Thus, according to Mou, there is a dualistic opposition between the infinite and the finite in Christianity,<sup>[24]</sup> for it cannot simultaneously affirm the externalized the Infinite Mind-Heart (the personal God) and the internalized moral subject. For Christianity, the affirmation of the Infinite Mind-Heart of the human being is equivalent to saying that the human being can become infinite in and through the Infinite Mind-Heart, and thus God is merely a dispensable illusion.<sup>[25]</sup> In short, the reason for Christianity's being ranked a detached religion lies in its teaching that there is an absolute detachment or unbridgeable gap between finite human being and God the infinite reality.

Mou's understanding of Christianity goes deeper than an abstract concept of God and he mentions the related Christian doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. Mou considers the Father, the Son, and the Spirit as "three stages of God," namely, God in itself, for itself, and in-and-for itself.<sup>[26]</sup> He believes that the second stage (the stage of Son) of God's revelation stands for the

[20] Mou Zongsan, "Renwen zhuyi yu zongjiao" [Humanism and religion] in *Shengming de xuewen* [The learning of life] (Taipei: San Min Book, 1970), 74.

[21] Some scholars of Chinese philosophy also challenge Mou's theory of "transcendent immanence" on analytical ground. See: Fung Yiu-ming, "Chaoyue neizai" de misi: cong fenxi zhexue guandian kan dangdai xin Ruxue [The myth of "transcendent immanence": a perspective of analytic philosophy on contemporary new Confucianism] (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2003).

[22] Mou Zongsan, *Yuanshan Lun*, 340.

[23] Mou Zongsan, *Xianxiang yu wu zishen* [Phenomenon and thing-itself] (Taipei: Student Book, 1975), 453.

[24] *Ibid.*, 452.

[25] *Ibid.*, 452-53.

[26] Mou Zongsan, *Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi* [The characters of Chinese philosophy] (Taipei: Student Book, 1994), 67-69.

principle of subjectivity, which is truly united with the principle of objectivity in the third stage.<sup>[27]</sup> Nevertheless, he also believes that the process from the Father (in itself) to the Son (for itself) and then to the Holy Spirit (in-and-for itself) is a kind of returning or internalizing movement.<sup>[28]</sup> For him, at the stage of Son, the Incarnation was a manifestation of the infinite through the finite, the manifestation of God in the life of Jesus or God becoming fresh, rather than Jesus as a human being becoming infinite through the fulfilment of his Infinite Mind-Heart. Mou admits that "[t]he significance of the Crucifixion of Jesus consists in its being a fully embodiment of what God means, the manifestation of the universal love by means of sacrifice."<sup>[29]</sup> But for Mou, the life of Jesus remains merely a stage of God the Father manifesting himself, and only God is the true object of the manifestation per se. Therefore, the Incarnation is after all merely part of the work of God and thus a matter of God rather than a matter of the human being.<sup>[30]</sup> God Himself is always the centre of this manifestation or revelation throughout the whole process of the three stages, which is in itself organized by the principle of objectivity.<sup>[31]</sup> Therefore, for Mou, although the stage of Son embodies the principle of subjectivity, since this life is essentially "a matter of God," the subjectivity expressed by Jesus remains different from the Confucian principle of subjectivity, which includes the virtues of ren (benevolence), zhi (wisdom), and cheng (sincerity) to be derived from one's own life. In other words, Confucianism concerns a naturally downward completion and Christianity an extra-ordinarily upward return. For these reasons, Christianity is an imperfect or detached religion.<sup>[32]</sup>

Mou's understanding of the doctrine of Trinity, as Mou himself admits, is mainly derived from the interpretation articulated by G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831).<sup>[33]</sup> However, according to Keith Ka-fu Chan (= Chen Jiafu), Mou adopts merely the Hegelian Trinitarian terminology, such as the concepts "in itself," "for itself," and "in-and-for itself," but Mou's understanding on Trinity is substantially different from the Hegelian relational and temporal understanding of God, which assumes that the divine and the world (including particularly the human being) are related to each other particularly in the last stage of synthesis. This idea, which is not adopted by Mou, was further developed by Paul Tillich (1886–1965), who interprets the life of God as a Trinitarian dialectical process. According to Tillich, the infinite and the finite, God and human beings, the divine and the world can participate in one another without separation in a Trinitarian dialectical process. In other words, God and the world are by no means in a dualistic opposition. According to this interpretation, Christianity is not necessarily a detached religion as Mou tried to prove.<sup>[34]</sup>

Admittedly, whether Mou accurately understood Hegel's interpretation of the Trinity is a rather secondary issue. A more important issue is whether Mou's interpretation of the Trinity adequately reflects the Christian understanding of the Trinity. For Mou, an even more important question is

[27] Ibid. ,67-68.

[28] Ibid. ,62,65,68.

[29] Ibid. ,61,63.

[30] Mou Zongsan, *Xianxiang yu wu zishen*, 451-52.

[31] Mou Zongsan, *Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi*, 66.

[32] Ibid. ,65.

[33] Mou Zongsan, *Wushi zishu* [A self-account at the age of fifty] (Taipei: E Tang Press, 1989), 118.

[34] Keith Ka-fu Chan, "Yuan li zhi jian: lun Mou Zongsan yu Tian Like de Shangdiguan" [Between the coherent and the separate: on Mou Zongsan and Tillich's theism], *Logos and Pneuma* 16 (Spring 2002): 229-48.

whether Christianity embraces the possibility of the finite human being becoming infinite. For Mou, the most important reason why Christianity is a detached religion lies in its failure to establish real human subjectivity.<sup>[35]</sup> As Zheng Jiadong points out, Mou's concept of "immanent transcendence" can be finally reduced to a question about whether the finite human being is capable of becoming infinite.<sup>[36]</sup> To take Mou's critique seriously and respond to it thoroughly, it is necessary to investigate the Christian anthropology, namely, the question of the transcendence of the human being. But as we are going to see, this question may refer back to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

## Transcendence and Immanence in Christianity

In the Christian tradition, both the transcendence and the immanence of the divine have always been affirmed. In fact, this is a stance inherited from the ancient Israelite tradition recorded in the Old Testament, in which God is both transcendent and immanent and the relationship between God and the world is neither identical nor totally separate, neither monistic nor dualistic.<sup>[37]</sup> Christianity, on the one hand, retains the emphasis on the transcendence of God in the Old Testament, as well as the belief that God the Creator is the sole origin of all things and by nature different from all creatures; on the other hand, in the New Testament, it emphasizes the Incarnation of the Holy Son and the presence of the Holy Spirit in the world. As a result, there is a three-fold description of the relationship between God and the world aptly summarized in the New Testament: "One God and Father of all, who is above all (epi panton), and through all (dia panton), and in all (en pasin)" (Ephesians 4: 6), which clearly shows that the relationship between God and the world is both transcendent and immanent.

In the Greco-Roman context, Christianity appropriated the transcendent monotheism in Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, instead of the polytheistic religion in Greek-Roman culture. But at the same time, Christianity also tried to avoid thinking God merely as a transcendent God separating from the world.<sup>[38]</sup> This can be shown in the early Christian resistance to Gnosticism, which stressed the absolute transcendence of the Numinous.<sup>[39]</sup> The Gnostic emphasis on the absolute transcendence of God incurs an extreme dualism between God and the material world. It is assumed that the material world is intrinsically evil and alien from the divine, or even separated from God and out of the scope of redemption. The creation of this physical universe was done by some sorts of semi-divine being, such as demiurge, rather than the absolutely transcendent God. Some Gnostics even denied the

[35] Mou Zongsan, *Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi*, 66.

[36] Zheng Jia-dong, "Chaoyue yu 'neizai chaoyue'—Mou Zongsan yu Kang De zhi jian" [Transcendence and "immanent transcendence;" between Mou Zongsan and Kant], in *Zhongguo wenhua de jiantao yu qianzhan* [The retrospection and the prospect of Chinese culture], ed. Liu Shu-hsien (New Jersey: Global Publishing, 2001), 373, 388-89.

[37] Martin Henry, *On Not Understanding God* (Dublin: Columbia, 1997), 88-93, 306; also, Thomas Marsh, *The Triune God: A Biblical, Historical and Theological Study* (Dublin: Columbia, 1994), 20-24.

[38] For the development of the Christian doctrine of God and its relationship with the Graeco-Roman culture, see Robert Grant, *Gods and the One God: Christian Theology in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: SPCK, 1986).

[39] PHEME PERKINS, "Deceiving the Deity: Self-Transcendence and the Numinous in Gnosticism," in *Transcendence and the Sacred*, ed. by Alan M. Olson and Leroy S. Rouner (Notre Dame, IN; London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 138-58 (152).

physical body of Jesus Christ and thus the doctrine of the Incantation—God becoming flesh.<sup>[40]</sup> In short, Gnosticism tended to assume and affirm the absolute separation between God and the world and thus undermined or even denied the divine immanence in the world. Irenaeus (130-200), the most famous anti-Gnostic Church father, founds his critique of Gnosticism upon a different understanding of the transcendence of God. For the Gnostics, the transcendence of God is a matter of distance, for God and the world stand in one and the same continuum and are only separated by different levels of being. On the contrary, Irenaeus insists the absolute difference between God and his creation, which means that God, though omnipresent to every creature, does not belong to the same continuum with the world.<sup>[41]</sup> According to Irenaeus' Trinitarian theology, instead of leaving the world including human being alone, God the Father takes the initiative to shape humanity with his two hands, name God the Son and God the Spirit, who are immanent in the world in order to complete the work of salvation which includes the fulfilment of the human nature.<sup>[42]</sup>

The ancient Church Fathers laid great emphasis on the "transcendence" of God, but "transcendence" here mainly referred to the purity and the superiority of God rather than the Epicurean renouncement of the world. The Church Fathers, on the one hand, adopted Platonic-Aristotelian thesis in stressing the transcendence of God and, on the other hand, also made use of some Stoic ideas to explicate the omnipresence and the pervasiveness of God.<sup>[43]</sup> Tertullian (160-225), for example, tried to clarify the transcendence of God, especially God's being eternal, unborn, uncreated, without beginning and end, invisible, incomprehensible, heterogeneous with the creature; on the other hand, he also used the Stoic idea of Spirit to illustrate the omnipresent of God. Tertullian was not troubled by the contradiction between the Stoic idea of God with a material body and the Platonic transcendent immaterial God; the only thing concerned him was whether these discourses were suitable to interpret the biblical revelation and the Christian tradition.<sup>[44]</sup>

It is thus legitimate to summarize that "the Judeo-Christian tradition has always attempted to maintain, however uneasily and in a variety of ways, the sense of God as both transcendent being and immanent activity."<sup>[45]</sup> This is because both the immanence and the transcendence of God are indispensable with the Christian faith and practice. As is well known, the belief in the transcendence of God plays a vital role in Christian faith and ethics as well as in Western culture.<sup>[46]</sup> Nevertheless, religious behaviours such as prayer and confession in Christianity also presuppose the affinity of God with the human being, just as what St. Augustine says; God is nearer than I am to myself (interior intimo meo).<sup>[47]</sup>

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[40] Many contemporary scholars believe that despite its great influence over Christianity, Gnosticism was not a heresy internal to Christianity as many early Christians thought. It was a pluralistic religious movement whose origin preceded Christianity rather than a religious sect with unified organization and/or doctrine(s). See Kurt Rudolf, *Gnosis; The Nature & History of Gnosticism*, trans. R. M. Wilson (San Francisco: Harper, 1987); Giovanni Filorano, *A History of Gnosticism*, trans. Anthony Alcock (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

[41] Denis Minns, *Irenaeus* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), 32-34.

[42] Lai, "Shaping Humanity," 131-49.

[43] See further: G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: SPCK, 1952), 25-54 (31-34).

[44] Richard A. Norris, *God and World in Early Christian Theology: A Study in Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian & Origen* (London: A & C. Black, 1966), 91-93.

[45] Arthur Peacocke, *Creation and the World of Science; The Re-Shaping of Belief* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 205.

[46] H. Richard Niebuhr, *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1961).

[47] Augustine, *Confessions* 3. 6. It may be interpreted as: God is more inward than my most inward part.



For mediaeval theologians, there is no difficulty of understanding the non-contradictory co-existence of “transcendence” and “immanence”, for they are all under the influence of the discourses on the “simplicity” of God in classical theology, which means that there are no distinctions in God and no descriptive predicates could apply to God literally.<sup>[48]</sup> In classic Latin theology, the being of God is considered omniscientia, omnipotentia, omnisapientia, omnisufficientia, and moreover, ubiquitas and omnipraesentia, which assume the divine immanence in the world. The Lutheran theology emerged since the Reformation(s) affirmed that, even in the humiliating status (status humilationis) of becoming a human being, the humanity of Christ remains secretly or partially omnipresent (omnipraesentia intima sive partialis).<sup>[49]</sup> An idea closely related to omnipresence is “immensitas,” which literally means “without measure.” Omnipresence, implying at once the dimensions of universality and inwardness, is immeasurable, behind which is the presupposition that God, as the infinite omnipresent Spirit, cannot be measured by matter or space. In this sense, transcendence and immanence are by no means opposite.<sup>[50]</sup> If omnipresence is conceived as a kind of transcendence (not limited to any particular place), transcendence and immanence, instead of being opposite, could be mutually complementary.<sup>[51]</sup>

In Christian theology, the term “transcendence” can be traced back to two main origins. On the one hand, the concept draws its sense from the Old Testament teaching that the being of God is different from the existence of humankind; on the other hand, it is also derived from the Platonic “Good” that is “beyond” being and knowledge. As for its use in theological discourses, transcendence could refer to different forms: the ontological transcendence, namely, the otherness of God, the holiness of God in the moral sense, and God’s transcendence over the knowledge, thought, and language of the human being.<sup>[52]</sup> In all these senses, transcendence does not contradict immanence, unless one understands the ontological sense of transcendence in spatial term, which means “separate” or “detached.” Nevertheless, in the development of Christian theology, the opposition between the transcendence and immanence of God, which presupposes a spatial understanding of God’s transcendence, did not appear until the Age of Enlightenment. Such kind of spatial understanding of transcendence was deeply influenced by the rapid growth of natural sciences. Modern natural sciences, especially the Newtonian physics, presupposed a worldview of mechanical determinism, which assumed that the natural phenomena could be explained in terms of natural sciences. Therefore, God became an unnecessary assumption for the explanation of the physical universe and should be excluded from human knowledge of the natural world. The appearance of Deism again reinforced such a message that after creation God had withdrawn from the world and let

[48] Gerard J. Hughes, *The Nature of God* (London: Routledge, 1995), 34-64.

[49] Lutheran theology believes that the body of Jesus Christ is truly present in the Sacrament, and this belief assumes the presupposition that the finite is capable of the infinite (Finitum capax infiniti) rather than the Calvinistic presupposition that the finite is incapable of the infinite (Finitum non capax infiniti).

[50] For the interpretation of these Latin terms, see Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1985).

[51] Probably for this reason, Scholasticism does not further divide “transcendence” into “transcendent” and “transcendental.” See Zheng Jia-dong, “Chaoyue yu ‘neizai chaoyue’”, 374.

[52] John McIntyre, “Transcendence,” in *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Alan Richardson and John Bowden (London: SCM, 1983), 576-77.

the world run its own course without any divine intervention, no matter whether it is called providence and salvation. Thus, one can further assume that God is no longer present in the natural world and becomes a spatially detached God. However, rather than conceiving God's transcendence spatially, those great pre-modern theologians, such as Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274), Martin Luther (1483—1546), and John Calvin (1509—1564), understand God's transcendence as His absolute otherness, that is, the Triune God as a mystery beyond human categories. For them, transcendence and immanence are not a pair of contradictory concepts; on the contrary, precisely because of his radical transcendence God can be thoroughly omnipresent. <sup>[53]</sup>

## Transcendence and Immanence in Modern Theology

Many modern theologians have tried to deal with the question of the transcendence and immanence of God via different methods; the question can even be a thread with which one can link up different schools of modern theology. <sup>[54]</sup> Referring to the typology of transcendence mentioned above, one may find examples from modern Christian theologians to illustrate these four models, namely "immanent transcendence," "radical transcendence," "radical immanence," and "transcendent as alterity." <sup>[55]</sup> While "radical immanence" and "radical transcendence" may tend to assume the opposition or even contradiction between immanence and transcendence, both "immanent transcendence" and the "transcendent as alterity" are open to the compatibility between transcendence and immanence. In fact, there are many modern Christian theologians advocating the compatibility between divine transcendence and divine immanence.

John Henry Newman (1801—1890), a Catholic Cardinal and university educator of the nineteenth century, suggests that God is an invisible, intelligent Being behind the visible world, working on and through it, at once separate from the world and present everywhere at every moment, infinite yet personal, above all things but also under everything. <sup>[56]</sup> Not only material matters but all things intellectual, moral, political, and social are also from God, because human beings, with their motives, works, and languages, are from God. <sup>[57]</sup> So to speak, "all that is good, all that is true, all that is beautiful, all that is beneficent, be it great or small, be it perfect or fragmentary, natural as well supernatural, moral as well as material, comes from Him." <sup>[58]</sup> Owing to the divine providence and influence over the world, we cannot truly and fully contemplate the world without taking God into account. <sup>[59]</sup> According to Newman's dialectical discourse, God is not purely transcendent over the world but immanent in the world as well. In addition to his emphasis on the immanence of the transcendent God, Newman also highlights the transcendence of the human being.

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<sup>[53]</sup> William C. Placher, *The Domestication of Transcendence: How Modern Thinking about God Went Wrong* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 6, 9, 10, 128, 146, 215.

<sup>[54]</sup> Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, *20<sup>th</sup> Century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age* (Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1992).

<sup>[55]</sup> Wessel Stoker, "Culture and Transcendence: A Typology," in *Culture and Transcendence*, 5-26.

<sup>[56]</sup> John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, ed. Frank M. Turner (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 52-53

<sup>[57]</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>[58]</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>[59]</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

With a comprehensive understanding of the word “nature,” which encompasses also the human being and society, Newman assents to certain kind of “natural theology,” which, for him, should not merely focus on physical phenomena but should cover human conscience as its subject matter as well.<sup>[60]</sup> He believes that human conscience is the basis of natural religion. It makes the human being know that God as the law-giver of the world is a benevolent ruler who wills our happiness.<sup>[61]</sup> Newman suggests, “if, as is the case, we feel responsibility, are shamed, are frightened, at transgressing the voice of conscience, this implies that there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear... If the cause of these emotions does not belong to this visible world, the object to which [the conscientious person’s] perception is directed must be supernatural and Divine.”<sup>[62]</sup> In other words, the conscience that is immanent within the human being is directed towards a transcendent God as its origin. A similar vision of transcendence can be found in Karl Rahner (1904-1984), who is arguably the most influential Catholic theologian of the twentieth century. His vision of transcendence is summarized in terms of “the ordinary transformed” rather than “radical transcendence” or “pure immanence.”<sup>[63]</sup>

In the Anglican tradition, William Temple (1881 — 1944), who was the Archbishop of Canterbury, makes the relationship between transcendence and immanence the focus of his Gifford lectures which were delivered in 1933-34 and then published as *Nature, Man and God*.<sup>[64]</sup> The book consists of two parts: The first part is titled “The Transcendence of the Immanent,” and the second part “The Immanence of the Transcendent.” Temple makes use of the term “the Transcendence of the Immanent” to signify the freedom of the human mind in pursuit of Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Temple says, “What we have called the freedom of mind, with the kind of determination that results from it, implies also self-transcendence, and therefore a self that transcends.”<sup>[65]</sup> As for “the Immanence of the Transcendent,” it signifies the transcendence of God over the world. According to Temple, “What a true doctrine of divine transcendence will assert is not a reservoir of normally unutilized energy, but a volitional as contrasted with a mechanical direction of the energy utilized.”<sup>[66]</sup> Temple also points out, “If a personal God is to be described as immanent in the world, this must mean that the action and reaction of all parts of the world are determined at every moment by the wisdom of God.”<sup>[67]</sup> For some scholars, both “the Transcendence of the Immanent” and “the Immanence of the Transcendent” are seemingly paradoxical propositions,<sup>[68]</sup> but Temple claims that

[60] Ibid. ,51-57.

[61] Terrence Merrigan, “The Anthropology of Conversion: Newman and the Contemporary Theology of Religion,” in *Newman and Conversion*, ed. Ian Ker (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 126-29.

[62] John Henry Newman, *A Grammar of Assent*, ed. C. F. Harrold (New York: David McKay, 1947 [1870]) 83-84.

[63] R. R. Reno, *The Ordinary Transformed: Karl Rahner and the Christian Vision of Transcendence* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995).

[64] William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (London: Macmillan, 1934).

[65] Ibid. ,262.

[66] Ibid. ,284.

[67] Ibid. ,290.

[68] Transcendence is opposite to immanence, when it is defined spatially as “separate” or “detached,” but not so if transcendence is defined, for example, in terms of alterity. Even if “transcendent” is in opposition to “immanent,” it remains possible to apply these two terms to the same divine Reality. See: Lai Pan-chiu, “Buddhist-Christian Complementarity in the Perspective of Quantum Physics,” *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 12, no. 2 (2002), 148-64.

"Immanence and Transcendence are not sharply contrasted terms. It is the Transcendent who is immanent, and it is the Immanent who transcends."<sup>[69]</sup>

From a Lutheran background, Paul Tillich is arguably the most cited modern Christian theologian in Confucian-Christian dialogues.<sup>[70]</sup> His concept of ultimate concern is often used to explain the religious dimension or character of Confucianism.<sup>[71]</sup> In the first volume of his *Systematic Theology*, Tillich has recourse to the concept of God as "being-itself" to deal with God's transcendence and immanence. For him, to say God as "being-itself" does not mean that God is a being, not even the "highest being" or the "most perfect" being, but the ground of being.<sup>[72]</sup> On the one hand, as the ground or the power of being, God makes the existence of beings possible in that everything finite participates in being-itself and in its infinite, which means that God is immanent in all finite beings.<sup>[73]</sup> On the other hand, God is transcendent, because God, as being-itself, is absolutely different from finite beings and, as the power of being, transcends every being and the totality of beings.<sup>[74]</sup> Besides, Tillich also points out that God is beyond the reach of human experience and language, and even the concept of "existence" itself so that it is improper to argue whether God exists or not.<sup>[75]</sup> Such transcendence is further explicated by what Tillich calls the self-transcendent of God.<sup>[76]</sup> These aspects of Tillich's theology show that his understanding of God is both transcendent and immanent.<sup>[77]</sup> God and the world are neither dualistically separated nor uniformly identical.<sup>[78]</sup> Furthermore, in the typological study of transcendence mentioned before, Tillich is named as a representative of "immanent transcendence."<sup>[79]</sup> Given these aspects of Tillich's theology outlined above, it is also possible to classify his theology under the "transcendent as alterity" model.

Similarly, Karl Barth (1886 – 1968), who was regarded as the most influential Reformed

[69] Temple, *Nature, Man and God*, 298. With this dialectical understanding of the relationship between transcendence and immanence, Temple once considered to add a subtitle "A Study of Dialectical Realism" to this book. See: Temple, "Preface," in *Nature, Man and God*, ix.

[70] Liu Shu-hsien mentioned Tillich in many of his articles. See: Liu Shu-hsien, "A Critique of Tillich's Doctrine of God and Christology from an Oriental Perspective," in *Religious Issues and Inter-religious Dialogues*, ed. Charles Wei-hsun Fu & Gerhard E. Spiegler (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987), 511-32.

[71] See: Lai Pan-chiu, "Tillich's Concept of Ultimate Concern and Buddhist-Christian Dialogue," in *Paul Tillich and Asian Religions*, ed. Keith Ka-fu Chan and William Yau-nang Ng (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 47-67 (48-51).

[72] Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology* (London: SCM, 1978), 1:235.

[73] *Ibid.*, 1:237.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*, 1:204-5.

[76] *Ibid.*, 2:7.

[77] According to Tillich, his discussion in the Vol. 1 of *Systematic Theology* is mainly about God the Holy Father, without engaging in the discussion about Son and the Holy Spirit, so that it cannot stand for his understanding of God as a whole. See: Lai Pan-chiu, *Towards a Trinitarian Theology of Religions: A Study of Paul Tillich's Thought* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1994), 147-49.

[78] Tillich also interprets the Kingdom of God as both transcendent and immanent—transcendent in the sense of universally present and beyond empirical experience, while immanent in the sense of being the internal telos of all things. See: Lai Pan-chiu, "A Contextual Reflection on Tillich's Interpretation of Hope," *Ching Feng* 39, no. 4 (1996): 287-306.

[79] Werner Schüssler, "God as 'Depth of Being': On the Relation between Immanence and Transcendence in the Thinking of Paul Tillich," in *Culture and Transcendence*, 31-44.

theologian of the twentieth century, is often associated with the “radical transcendence” model.<sup>[80]</sup> However, considering his Christology and the resultant understanding of human being, as we are going see, it is quite possible to discern a vision of “the transcendence of the Immanent”, borrowing Temple’s expression, in Barth’s theology. Barth’s Christological understanding of the human nature and sin can be a perfect teaching which combines the characteristics of the perfect teaching advocated by the Tiantai and the Huayan schools of Buddhism. Whereas Mou’s doctrinal classification, which ranks Confucianism higher than Christianity, is based on the theory of perfect teaching advocated by the Tiantai school of Buddhism alone and in opposition to that of the Huayan school, Barth’s “perfect teaching” is arguably even better or more coherent because it combines the characteristics of the perfect teaching of both Tiantai and Huayan.<sup>[81]</sup>

Among the prominent Christian theologians of the second half of the twentieth century, John Macquarrie (1919—2007) is probably the most insistent on the compatibility between transcendence and immanence. He proposes a “dialectical theism” to correct the defects of the traditional theism that usually talks about God in a very one-sided way, e. g. emphasizing too much God’s transcendence at the expense of His immanence.<sup>[82]</sup> Macquarrie says, “‘dialectic’ is to be understood in the strong sense of the clash of opposites; for instance, God is not half transcendent and half immanent, but wholly transcendent and wholly immanent.”<sup>[83]</sup> Macquarrie believes that what he calls dialectical theism has a long history from Plotinus down to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, John Scotus Erigena, Nicholas of Cusa, Leibniz, Hegel, Whitehead, and Heidegger. Macquarrie uses a series of dialectical oppositions within God to illustrate this dialectical theism: being and nothing, the one and the many, knowable and incomprehensible, transcendence and immanence, passible and impassible, and eternal and temporal.<sup>[84]</sup>

The spatialized understanding of transcendence in terms of separation or detachment emerging after the Enlightenment was to some extent due to the rise of natural sciences and the popularity of the mechanical determinism. With the latest development of natural sciences, the worldview becomes more and more problematic. In the second half of the twentieth century, the growth of dialogue between theology and natural sciences brought forth some new understandings of the transcendence and immanence of God. For example, Arthur Peacocke (1924—2006) suggests that God is the “transcendent-Creator-who-is-immanent,” and to say that God is immanent in the world is equivalent to say that the world is immanent in God. As the transcendent Creator, God keeps on creating and revealing himself in nature, most explicitly in “the transcendence in immanence of the personal.”<sup>[85]</sup> In such an understanding, the human being is transcendent immanence and God is immanent transcendence. It is noticeable that Peacocke’s view is basically in line with Temple’s understanding of immanence and transcendence, though as a scientist-turned theologian, Peacocke is more capable to

[80] Conelis van der Kooi, “Struck by an Arrow from beyond an Impassable River: Transcendence in Karl Barth’s ‘The Epistle to the Romans,’” in *Culture and Transcendence*, 65-75.

[81] Lai Pan-chiu, “Barth’s Doctrines of Sin and Humanity in Buddhist Perspective,” *Studies in Interreligious Studies* 16, no. 1 (2006): 41-58.

[82] John Macquarrie, *In Search of Deity* (London: SCM, 1984), 14.

[83] *Ibid.*, 15.

[84] *Ibid.*, 171-84.

[85] Peacocke, *Creation and the World of Science*, 211-14.

demonstrate how this understanding of immanence and transcendence is compatible with the recent scientific developments.<sup>[86]</sup> However, his final move towards a "naturalistic faith" might make his position closer to the "radical immanence" model mentioned above.<sup>[87]</sup>

## Immanence and Transcendence of the Trinity

The above examination shows that the Christian theological tradition lays great stress on the immanence of the transcendent God. Such affirmation, as we will see, is not merely the opinions of some theologians but also deeply rooted in the doctrine of the Trinity.

The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is the core belief and the essential characteristic of Christianity. Both Islam and Judaism are monotheistic and belong to the Abrahamic religious tradition, but they do not accept a Triune God. As Barth suggests, the doctrine of the Trinity distinguishes the Christian doctrine of God from all other kinds of theism.<sup>[88]</sup> Moreover, the doctrine also serves for Christianity as a major criterion to distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy. Most of the ancient creeds generally adopted by most Christian churches are related to the doctrine of Trinity, directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly. More importantly, the doctrine of the Trinity is not simply a result of the contemplation of theologians but has its root in the experience of believers.<sup>[89]</sup> It is not only an important doctrine but also the basis of Christian worship and practice.<sup>[90]</sup>

Putting the aforementioned sentence from Ephesians into the framework of the Trinity, one will find that its three-fold description about the relation of God to the world may roughly correspond to the characteristics of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: God the Father is above or "transcends" all, whereas the Son and the Spirit are immanent in different ways—the incarnated Son lived through/ among all and was seen by many people; and the invisible Holy Spirit indwells in all things.<sup>[91]</sup> Therefore, in order to affirm the transcendence and the immanence of God, one needs not resort to Macquarrie's and Hartshorne's philosophical theology for help but can do so simply through interpreting the doctrine of the Trinity. As Adrian Hough puts it:

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[86] See further: Arthur Peacocke, *Theology for a Scientific Age: Being and Becoming—Natural, Divine, and Human*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993).

[87] See further: Arthur Peacocke, *All That Is: A Naturalistic Faith for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Philip Clayton (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007).

[88] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, bk. 1, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975), 301.

[89] See: James P. Mackey, *The Christian Experience of God as Trinity* (London: SCM, 1983). Although Mackey queries the formulation of the ancient Creeds, he avers that they were related to the experience of believers. In addition, he believes that the intention of modern humanism is to affirm the value of human beings rather than to deny God, and that transcendence could be properly understood as an essential attribute of the human being (17-18). Furthermore, a Christian response to such kind of humanism should ground itself on the belief in Trinitarian God (20-29).

[90] David S. Cunningham, *These Three are One: The Practice of Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

[91] This does not mean that the three-fold relationship described in Ephesians is identical with the three persons of Father, Son, and Spirit, nor does it say that only the Father is above all, nor does it mean that the Holy Spirit is merely immanent in all. The distinction among the three divine persons is based mainly from the viewpoint of the economic activity of the Trinity. Compared with other two persons, the incarnated Son is more appropriate to signify the character of "through all;" similarly, the Holy Spirit is more proper to indicate the character of "in all" than other two persons; as the Creator of all, the Father, from which the Son and the Holy Spirit is derived, is relatively more fitting to the description of "above all."

Christianity does not need to use new philosophical ideas to affirm the immanent presence of God or his affirmation of creation. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity protects both the immanence and the transcendence of God, through the transcendent Father, the incarnated Son, and the Holy Spirit who indwells the created order. God is thus both other than the created order, takes the created order to Himself, and can indwell both humanity and the rest of the creation, without any need to move beyond the basic Christian doctrine. Christian worship has traditionally been worship God the Holy Trinity and this should therefore be our starting point. <sup>[92]</sup>

The Trinitarian approach to God as both transcendent and immanent is specifically significant for the present study because it can show that this transcendent yet immanent understanding of God is rooted in the hardcore of the Christian tradition and stands for the mainstream of Christianity rather than merely personal opinions of some theologians. In other words, Christianity as a whole does not understand God as purely transcendent without immanence.

As Peacocke indicates, there are two important models in the history of Christian theology to hold together God's transcendence and immanence: the concept of "logos" and the model of "God as Spirit." <sup>[93]</sup> The former is related to the discourse of the incarnated Son, and the latter is elaborated in Christian pneumatology. Regarding the Incarnation, the Chalcedon Definition, which is generally accepted by the Christendom as the classical expression of Christology, the orthodox Christian faith in Jesus Christ is stated as follows:

Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all unanimously teach that men should acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same of a rational soul and body, consubstantial (homoousios) with the Father in Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in manhood, like us in all things except sin; begotten of the Father before the ages as regards his Godhead, and the same, in the "last days," for us and for our salvation, begotten of Mary the virgin, the Mother of God (theotokos), as regards his manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, made known in two natures (en duo phusesin); without confusion, without change, without division, without separation, the difference of the natures being in no way removed by the union, but the property of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person (prosopon) and subsistence (hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, only-begotten, God, Word (logos), Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets of old and Jesus Christ himself have taught us about him and the Creed of the Fathers has handed down to us. <sup>[94]</sup>

The Chalcedon Definition, on the one hand, affirms the full divinity of Jesus Christ in saying

[92] Adrian Hough, *God is not "Green;" A Re-Examination of Eco-Theology* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1997), 13-14.

[93] Peacocke, *Creation and the World of Science*, 205-6.

[94] Eric Mascall, *Whatever Happened to Human Mind?* (London: SPCK, 1980), 28.

“begotten of the Father before the ages,” which is already confirmed in the Nicene Creed; on the other, it specifically deals with another feature of Jesus Christ, namely, his human nature, including its relation to his divine nature. Besides its emphasis on the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Chalcedon Definition also insists that Jesus Christ is truly and perfectly a human being. According to Eric Mascall (1905-1993), the Chalcedon Definition assumes an idea of human being whose humanity is open to divinity, and thus there is no ultimate incompatibility between humanity and divinity.<sup>[95]</sup> In other words, the humanity revealed in Jesus Christ is open towards and could be united with divinity. Furthermore, according to the Chalcedon Definition, the relationship between the divine and human natures is characterized as “distinction without separation” and truly united in Jesus Christ. Therefore, Jesus Christ could be the perfect embodiment of the unity between humanity and divinity.<sup>[96]</sup> This understanding of the relationship between humanity and divinity is affirmed in the doctrine of deification (theosis), and echoes the idea of “unity between Heaven and humanity” (tian ren he yi) advocated by Confucianism.<sup>[97]</sup> This idea of the unity between humanity and divinity was further confirmed and elaborated in the subsequent theological development. After it was adopted in 451 CE, two more councils were held in Constantinople in 533 CE and 680 CE to uphold the Chalcedon Definition and to affirm that the crucified Jesus Christ as one of the three divine persons of the Trinity had two wills (one divine and one human, which safeguards the full humanity of Jesus Christ) but one energy (energeia).<sup>[98]</sup> Maximus the Confessor (d. 662), who played an important role in the confirmation of the monoenergism and the denial of the monothelitism, adopted pseudo-Dionysus’ idea of “one divine-human [theandric] activity” to argue that the natural energy of Jesus’ flesh is inseparable from his divine energy.<sup>[99]</sup> Furthermore, Maximus used the Greek word “perichoresis,” which can be translated as co-inherence, interpenetration, or mutual permeation, to describe the relationship between the humanity and the divinity of Jesus Christ.<sup>[100]</sup> This model of distinction without separation was further extended to the understanding the harmonious relationship between the human and divine loves in Jesus Christ.<sup>[101]</sup>

Based on the Chalcedon Definition, including its affirmation of Jesus Christ’s the full humanity with the remark that “like us in all things except sin”, Barth proposes that true humanity is based on Jesus Christ’s humanity rather than the humanity manifested in the everyday life of the ordinary people. This is to say instead of dualistically opposing each other, humanity and divinity are united in

[95] Ibid. ,35-36.

[96] Lai Pan-chiu, “A Mahayana Reading of Chalcedon Christology: A Chinese Response to John Keenan,” *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 24 (2004): 209-28.

[97] Lai Pan-chiu, “Chinese Explorations of Orthodox Theology: A Critical Review,” *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* 14 (June 2018): 27-41; an expanded version published with permission in *International Journal for the Study of Christian Church* 18, no. 4 (2018): 315-31. See also Alexander Chow, *Theosis, Sino-Christian Theology and the Second Chinese Enlightenment: Heaven and Humanity in Unity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[98] See for details Leo Donald Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 258-322.

[99] Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (London: Routledge, 1996), 12-13, 54-55.

[100] Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor* (Chicago: Open Court, 1995), 23-36.

[101] Lai Pan-chiu, “Shenai, renai yu zita bu’er, yige Hanyu Jidu zongjiao de guandian” [Divine love, human love, and non-duality of self and other; a Sino-Christian perspective], *Logos & Pneuma* 49 (July 2018): 197-222.



Jesus Christ.<sup>[102]</sup> Furthermore, if human nature is defined by the humanity of Jesus Christ, sin is not an essential part of human nature and the manifestation of humanity is in its unity with divinity and overcoming of sin.<sup>[103]</sup> Furthermore, considering Barth's affirmation of the participation of Christians in Christ, his theology exhibits certain affinities with the Orthodox doctrine of deification, which emphasizes the Christians' sharing the divine life and thus the unity of humanity and divinity in ordinary Christians.<sup>[104]</sup> These features of Barth's theology, especially his Christology, makes one wonder whether it is entirely fair to classify his theology under the "radical transcendence" model. Considering his emphasis on the otherness of God in the famous slogan "Let God be God," it is possible to classify Barth's theology as "transcendence as alterity."<sup>[105]</sup> However, considering his emphasis on the unity between divinity and humanity in Jesus Christ, his theology also exhibits certain features which should belong to the "immanent transcendence" model.

According to the Bible, the Holy Spirit is both transcendent and immanent, for it goes without limit wherever it pleases (John 3:8). The Holy Spirit is by nature inexpressible yet intimate.<sup>[106]</sup> For Tillich, the Spiritual Presence has two important characters, namely, the universal and the extra-ordinary.<sup>[107]</sup> The Holy Spirit is present not merely in individual and communal life but in all lives in the cosmos, for spirit is a dimension of life and this dimension of life reveals particularly in human beings so that one cannot know the Holy Spirit without knowing what the human spirit is.<sup>[108]</sup> Tillich is well known for his "method of correlation," but he also admits that given the distinction between human existence and essence, the method applies to human existence only, and the essential relation between the human spirit and the Holy Spirit should better be understood in terms of mutual immanence rather than correlation.<sup>[109]</sup> The mutual immanence does not mean that the human spirit can compel the divine Spirit to enter itself, but only that the divine Spirit breaks into the human spirit.<sup>[110]</sup> Tillich says:

If the divine Spirit breaks into the human spirit, this does not mean that it rests there, but that it drives the human spirit out of itself. The "in" of the divine Spirit is an "out" for the human spirit. The spirit, a dimension of finite life, is driven into a successful self-transcendence; it is grasped by something ultimate and unconditional. It is still the human spirit; it remains what it is, but at the same time, it goes out of itself under the impact of the divine Spirit. "Ecstasy" is the classical term for this state if being grasped by the Spiritual

[102] Keith Ka-fu Chan, "Karl Barth's Christological Anthropology and Christian-Confucian Dialogue," *Ching Feng*, 42, no. 1-2 (1999): 1-33.

[103] Lai Pan-chiu, "Barth's Doctrines of Sin and Humanity in Buddhist Perspective," *Studies in Interreligious Studies* 16, no. 1 (2006): 41-58.

[104] Adam Nider, *Participation in Christ: An Entry into Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009); Zhang Shaobo, "Jidu zhong de heyi, zaisi Ba Te Jidulun" [Union in Christ: Rethinking Barth's Christology], *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture* 41 (Spring 2019): 50-69.

[105] Stoker mentions this possibility. See: Stoker, "Culture and Transcendence," 8.

[106] Francois-Xavier Durrwell, *Holy Spirit of God: An Essay in Biblical Theology*, trans. Benedict Davies (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986), 1-7.

[107] Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3:115.

[108] *Ibid.*, 3:22.

[109] *Ibid.*, 3:114.

[110] *Ibid.*, 3:112.

Presence. It describes the human situation under the Spiritual Presence exactly. <sup>[111]</sup>

This is what Tillich calls extra-ordinary. According to Tillich, the ecstasy caused by the Spiritual Presence is the self-transcendence of human life rather than a destruction of human subjectivity. In other words, what the Spiritual Presence brings about is "the self-transcendence of life under the dimension of spirit." <sup>[112]</sup> The relationship between the human spirit and the divine Spirit is mutual penetration, or rather, participation without identity. <sup>[113]</sup> In other words, the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit also exhibits the model of immanent transcendence, though not in the same way as that of the doctrine of the Incarnation.

## Concluding Remarks

Using the typology of transcendence mentioned above, one may ask the question concerning which model Confucianism belongs to. It is noteworthy that in some Western scholars' interpretations, perhaps Confucianism can be classified as "radical immanence" because these interpretations tend to deny any "transcendent" in Confucianism or reduce anything seeming to be "transcendent" in Confucianism or Chinese thought to something non-transcendent. In order to highlight the contrast between Chinese and Western thought, these interpretations may tend to assume that "transcendent" must mean "radical transcendence" and thus "transcendent" contradicts squarely "immanent." Based on the sketch of Mou's exposition, Confucianism definitely rejects "radical transcendence" which, according to Mou, should be applied to Christianity. Given Confucian affirmation of transcendence, Confucianism may have reservations on the model of "radical immanence." Considering that Mou tends to emphasize the continuity or similarity rather than the difference or discontinuity between the Infinite Mind-Heart immanent in human being and the transcendent Infinite Mind-Heart, Confucianism may have reservations on "transcendent as alterity" as well. Through this method of elimination, it is quite reasonable to suggest that "immanent transcendence" may be closer than the others.

How about Christianity? Based on the analysis of Christianity, especially the Trinitarian character of Christian faith, outlined above, the Christian God is both transcendent and immanent; and it would be a serious misunderstanding if one takes the Christian God as purely external transcendent. The complexity of the relationship between God and the world exhibited in the doctrine of the Trinity makes it impossible to identify Christianity with only one of the four models. It is rather obvious that the Christian affirmation of the divine Transcendence in God the Father tends to support "radical transcendence" or "transcendent as alterity" and rule out "radical immanence." The Christian affirmation of the Incarnation of the Holy Son and the universal presence of the Holy Spirit exhibit features belonging to the model of "immanent transcendence."

Given the complexity of the Christian case, if one attempts to compare Christianity with

<sup>[111]</sup> Ibid. ,3:111-12.

<sup>[112]</sup> Ibid. ,3:96.

<sup>[113]</sup> For Tillich, there is a crucial difference between "identity" and "participation," and this is also an important topic of the Christian-Buddhist dialogue. See Paul Tillich, *Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 66-75.

Confucianism, one may find the contrast made by Mou rather misleading because the contrast neglects the Christian affirmation of the immanence of the Transcendent or the presence of the sacred in the profane or the everyday. Mou's misinterpretation of Christianity, probably due to his lack of understanding of Christianity, makes no clear distinction between Christian theology and Western philosophy. In fact, this is not an isolated or exceptional case. Even Western scholars, such as Herbert Fingarette (1921-2018), might make similar simplistic contrast between Confucianism and the Western tradition. In his rather popular introduction of Confucianism titled *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred* (1972), he makes a sharp contrast between the Confucian emphasis on "the secular as sacred" and the "Western" religious tendency of separating the Sacred from the Secular.<sup>[114]</sup> In other words, these may reflect a rather common cultural phenomenon, which may be affected by non-academic factors. For example, Mou's interpretation of Christianity and ranking Confucianism above Christianity might have been motivated by his nationalistic sentiment. In fact, viewed from the perspective of "Orientalism" in the intercultural encounter, if it is quite understandable that knowingly or not some Westerners might practice some sorts of orientalism, it is also understandable that some scholars from the "oriental" world might do something similar in reverse — "reverse Orientalism." If one finds examples of "reverse Orientalism" in the Kyoto School's interpretation of Buddhism, it is also quite understandable that Confucians in the Chinese speaking world might also practice "reverse Orientalism" in a Chinese way.

No matter whether the prevalent Confucian interpretation of Christianity can be described as "reverse Orientalism," based on the examination of Christianity outlined above, one can see that the contrast between Christianity and Confucianism is not as absolute as previously thought. If one has to characterize Confucianism as "secular as sacred," one may perhaps characterize Christianity as "sacred as secular," for Christianity tends to address the issue from the perspective of God. According to the Christian doctrine of creation, especially the classical doctrine of creation out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*), it is due to the initiative of God the Creator, a "secular" realm was brought into existence, and it is God's initiative to make efforts to reconcile the world to Godself (2 Cor. 5:18). Though Christianity affirms the Ignatian motto "find God in all things," it may highlight that the possibility of this spirituality is based on the belief concerning the divine immanence. This remains different from the Confucian approach of "secular as sacred," which tends to start with the secular or the everyday and attempt to find ultimate meaning in the secular. As both of them affirm some sorts of immanent transcendence, this crude contrast is, after all, a difference of emphasis, and there should be rooms for further dialogue between Christianity and Confucianism on the issue concerning immanence and transcendence or the relationship between the Sacred and the everyday. This dialogue may enrich the contemporary Western discussion concerning transcendence.

[114] Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

中文题目：

基督宗教与儒家互动的东方主义与逆向东方主义：以内在与超越的问题为重点

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**摘要：**透过参考对“超越”的一些跨学科或跨文化的研究、与及当代儒家及基督宗教对“超越”与“内在”等词的运用，本文尝试挑战一些现行对基督宗教与儒家的刻板定型。本文重点考察对于基督宗教与儒家的相关概念的论述，并指出在一些基督宗教对儒家的诠释中，呈现出一些东方主义的色彩、尤其在它们的轻视儒家的超越性以突出基督宗教作为儒家的成全。与此相反的是，一些来自儒家的诠释，倾向于突出儒家的超越性，并忽视基督宗教的内在性；尤其在透过构建“外在超越”与“内在超越”的对比以论证儒家的优越性，展示出一种“逆向东方主义”。本文将指出，无论是东方主义还是逆向东方主义，这些对比基督宗教与儒家的刻板定型，不仅误释他人的传统，也误释自身的传统，更会阻碍两个传统间的沟通。

**关键词：**东方主义；儒家；基督宗教；超越；内在

## Introduction to Volume 21

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In the column of Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National Studies we have published Anze LI's "The Theoretical Approach of Indigenization of Chinese Protestant Theology in the First Half of the 20th Century" and Fei QIAO's "Policy, Legality and Rule of law: The Jurisprudence Thinking for the Management Mode of Religious Affairs in China".

In the column of Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society, we have published "The Abolition and Reconstruction of a Church" by Yang CUI and Meng HE, and Weirong ZHAO's "Luther's theological understanding of the essence of music: music is a gift of God".

In the column of Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible, we have published Xiangyan JIANG's "From Jiao You Lun to Qiu You Pian: Jesuits' Discussion on Friendship and A Comparative Study with Traditional Chinese Theories" and Zhengyi MO's "The Comparison and Exploration of the Subject Difference between Lamentations and Lament of Capital Ying".

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In the column of Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies, we have published Jiaofeng HUANG's "The 'Jesus-Mozi Dialogue' In The Revival of Mohism In The Republic of China" and Minmin SHI's "Augustine on the Economy of Angels".

In the column of Reviews and Academic Reports, we have published Ruxiang LI's "A Reflection Analysis on the Martin Luther and the Third Enlightenment", "A Comparative Study of Density and Fineness in the Narratives of Chinese and Western Classical Novels" by Yanqiu ZHAO and Xu SUN, and David TAM's "A Perfect Church on Earth: The New Discovery of an Ancient Church Site of a 7-9<sup>th</sup> Century in Tangchao Dun, China".

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



# The Theoretical Approach of Indigenization of Chinese Protestant Theology in the First Half of the 20th Century

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**Abstract:** From the early 20th century, Chinese “Indigenous Theology” served as the main line in the development of Chinese Protestant theology. It represents an important orientation in the communications between Chinese and Western culture as well as the development of modern Chinese thought. Chinese Indigenous Theology was the theoretical result of the combination of Chinese and Western religious spirit and thought, with a strong background of traditional Chinese culture. Its main purpose was to interpret and develop modern Chinese Protestant thought within the frame of Chinese traditional culture, mainly Confucianism, and to construct a native Christian theology with Chinese characteristics. As will become obvious, the theoretical construction of Indigenous Theology caused Western Protestant theology, with its fundamental spirit of “Dichotomy between God and Man” and its thought pattern of “External Transcendence”, to Chinese Indigenous Theology, grounded on a “Unity of God and Man” and a “Internal Transcendence”. However, due to excessive adherence to the historical experience of Indigenization, modern Chinese Protestant theology came to lack a sufficient response to and discussion of the issues of modernization and universalization. In this paper, both the theoretical achievements and the shortcomings of Chinese Indigenous Theology will be summarized and reviewed carefully.

**Key Words:** Indigenization; internalization; cultural transformation; Chinese Protestant Theology

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Chinese Protestant theology was founded in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For the sake of integration of Christianity and Chinese culture, some Protestant theologians were committed to interpreting Christian thought based on traditional Chinese culture, mainly Confucianism. Their purpose was to construct a system of Indigenous Protestant theology. This aim manifested as a transformation from Western Protestant theology, with its fundamental spirit of “Dichotomy between God and Man” and a thought pattern of “External Transcendence”, into Chinese Indigenous Theology with a fundamental spirit of “Unity of God and Man” and a thought pattern of “Internal Transcendence”. Hence, Chinese Indigenous Theology was the theoretical result of the combination of Chinese and Western religious spirit, culture, and thought, within a strong background of Chinese traditional culture.



## I . Background and Historic Conditions

The modern Protestant missionary movement in China marked a departure from the background of its historical movement. Historically, Christianity was marked by an aggressive Western colonialist culture met by a strong resistance from the Chinese people. Its cultural exclusiveness and the colonial conquest made it difficult for Christianity to be accepted by Chinese culture. Christianity was reduced to the status of a “foreign religion”, wandering on the edge of Chinese society and culture. In order to change this situation, the Western churches reviewed and adjusted old missionary policies in response to the new situation of the era, and launched a movement called “Christianity in China”. In 1919, the Holy See formally issued a decree to initiate the plan for the indigenization of Catholicism. Pope Benedict XV stated in the decree that “Catholicism is not foreign to any country. Therefore, every country should train its own clergy.”<sup>[1]</sup> The Holy See appointed a number of Chinese priests, who came forward to preach, which greatly reduced the resistance and obstacles of missionary work, and weakened the color of the “foreign religion” among the Chinese people. In terms of theological theories, the Catholic leaders abandoned their previous position of rejecting heresy by reverting to the “Ricci Rule”, focused on interpreting Catholic doctrines with reference to Confucian classics, and showed respect and recognition to Chinese traditional culture.

In the process of Sinicization, the Protestant Church in China almost kept pace with Catholicism. Thus, the Protestant Church launched an “Indigenous movement”, whose purpose was, “on the one hand, to make Chinese believers take responsibility; on the other hand, to carry forward the inherent Oriental civilization, so that Christianity can eliminate the ugly name of foreign religion”. It declared that it would “marry the Christian Church with Chinese culture and wash away the color of the West”.<sup>[2]</sup> Protestants consciously used traditional Confucianism to interpret Christian doctrines and carried out the Chinese transformation of some original rituals. Undoubtedly, these reform measures had a certain progressive significance and fostered a golden period of Christianity’s spread in China in the following decades.

The Protestant Church launched the “Indigenization Movement” in order to cope with the challenges of the “New Culture Movement” and the “non-Christian Movement”, and to adapt to the situation of the new era.<sup>[3]</sup> The Chinese Protestant theology in the first half of the 20th century was the ideological result of this movement. Some native Chinese theologians devoted themselves to interpreting Christian thought with Chinese traditional culture, mainly Confucianism, and laid the foundation for the theoretical construction of modern Chinese Protestant theological thought. Zhao Zichen(赵紫宸), Wu Leichuan (吴雷川) and Xie Fuya(谢扶雅) were the influential representatives. Since they were proficient in both Eastern and Western cultures, they could truly understand the relationship between Christianity and Chinese traditional culture from a historical and cultural

[1] See Shanghai “Journal of Missionary Affairs”, April, 1920.

[2] See “Magazine of True Light”, the special issue for the 25th anniversary. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

[3] See Yang Tianhong: “The All-round Rise of Nationalism and New Challenges Facing Christianity”, “Christianity and Intellectuals of the Republic of China”, Chapter 5, Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2005.

perspective, and had the expertise to explore ways to combine theological ideas with the Chinese spirit. They focused on adjusting the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture and constructing a theological theory to pave a way for Christianity to take root in Chinese culture.

Although the Indigenization Movement of Christianity was a response to specific historical events in modern Chinese history and can be called the result of a historical movement in a specific era, the occurrence of indigenous theology belied a deeper motivation and historical-cultural background. The theoretical origins of the development of Indigenous Theology followed the tracts and methods of the past Catholic missionaries, such as Matteo Ricci's "Interpreting Christianity with Confucianism". That is, it used the resources of Confucianism to interpret and understand Christian theology. Therefore, Indigenous Theology could be traced back to the theological practice of missionaries in China in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, and even further (the Nestorian in Tang Dynasty began to interpret theology through the Yijing philosophy)<sup>[4]</sup>

The main purpose of Chinese Indigenous Theology was to combine Christianity with Chinese culture. It did so by combining Protestant theology with Chinese traditional culture, mainly Confucian tradition. In other words, it was the theoretical product of Christianity's "marriage with Chinese culture". The essence of the Indigenous Theology was an acceptance and digestion of Christianity by Chinese culture. Most of the representatives of Chinese Indigenous theology, such as Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Xie Fuya, followed this line of thinking. Zhao Zichen's approach of constructing "Indigenous Theology" was to interpret Christian theology from the perspective of Confucian ethical culture. In his view, Indigenous Theology would integrate the essence of Christianity with the spiritual inheritance of Chinese culture, such that theology "can get rid of the cocoon of the West and put on Chinese elucidation."<sup>[5]</sup> Thus, the Christian God, on his interpretation, was a rational, ethical and personified God. Similarly, the premise of Wu Leichuan's acceptance of Christian belief was to understand the Christian doctrine from the standpoint of Confucian traditional culture and life experience. He used Confucian terms to develop Christian theology, in order to construct a kind of Confucianized Christian theology.<sup>[6]</sup> Finally, Xie Fuya's theory of Indigenous Theology appropriated Christian faith in terms of Chinese religious terms or ideas. He interpreted Christian theology through the ideas of the Confucian tradition, the "Unity of Heaven and Human" and the "Doctrine of Mean".<sup>[7]</sup> Formally speaking, Xie expressed Christian belief and its theological concept in terms of categories, concepts and terms of Confucian philosophy. In essence, the "Indigenous Theology" generally denoted the spirit and thought of Chinese native culture creatively interpreting Christian theology. Consequently, its fundamental spirit and thought were quite different from the original Western Christian theology.

[4] See Xu Qianxin, "Notes on Nestorian Inscriptions in Tang Dynasty", edited by Liu Xiaofeng, "Tao and Language-Chinese Culture Meets Christian Culture", Shanghai: Sanlian Bookstore Publishing House, 1995.

[5] See Zhao Zichen: "Christianity and Chinese Culture", edited by Zhang Xiping and Zhuo Xinping: "A Probe into Indigenous Theology - Academic Essays on Chinese Christian Culture in the 20th Century", Beijing: China Radio and Television Press, 1998.

[6] See Li Wei: "Wu Leichuan's Eclectic Theology", edited by Zhao Shilin and Duan Qi: "Christianity in China-Wisdom of Contextualization", Chapter 3, Religious Culture Press, 2009.

[7] See Tang Xiaofeng: "Xie Fuya's Dialectical Theology", edited by Zhao Shilin and Duan Qi: "Christianity in China-Wisdom of Contextualization", Chapter 4.

## II . The theoretical Turn of “Internalization”

Insofar as Indigenous Theology was a preliminary stage of the production of a Chinese Christianity, theologians tended to use the language and terms of the native culture to understand foreign theology, often achieving an analogy and approximate interpretation of theological thinking. This was similar to “Geyi (格义) Buddhism” in history. Just as Chinese Mahayana Buddhism was the product of Chinese culture creatively incorporating Indian Buddhism through the lens of Confucianism and Taoism, simultaneously transforming Indian Buddhism, Indigenous Theology was the product of Chinese theologians reinterpreting, recreating, and differentiating themselves from Western modern theology based on traditional Chinese culture. The Western theological theoretical system was based on the other world centered on “God” and “Heaven”, and had a strong dimension of “Division of God and Man”. Often developed as an antagonism between God and Man, its transcendental spirit and thought was an “External Transcendence”.<sup>〔8〕</sup> By contrast, traditional Chinese culture was mainly an ethical and humanistic culture. Its ideological focus lay in the practical life of this world, reflecting a fundamental spirit and ideological characteristics of “Unity of Man and God”; its transcendental spirit and thought can be classified into “Internal Transcendence”.<sup>〔9〕</sup> Therefore, Indigenous Theology took on the theoretical background and the characteristic of “Unity of Man and God” from traditional Chinese culture and projected it onto Christianity.

Chinese Indigenous Theology must be consciously differentiated from Western modern theology. In fact, it represented a process of cultural transformation from a foreign culture to syncretic or “Geyi” culture. Compared with its Western origin, Chinese Indigenous Theology had evolved in terms of theoretical form, ideological content and fundamental spirit to reflect the unique characteristics of traditional Chinese culture.

In short, in the transition from Western modern theology to the Chinese modern theology, there had been a transformation from Western God-Oriented theology to Human-oriented Chinese theology. This reflected the transformation from the pattern of “External Transcendence” that emphasized the basic spirit and ideological orientation of “Dichotomy between God and Man”, to the pattern of “Internal Transcendence” which highlighted the basic spirit and ideological orientation of “Unity of God and Man”. Correspondingly, compared with its Western matrix, Indigenous Theology manifested a theoretical transformation in its ideological content. First of all, according to Western orthodox theology, God was an existence of “the Wholly Other”.<sup>〔10〕</sup> On the other hand, Indigenous Theology tended to understand “God” from the perspective of “internality”, combining “transcendence” with “internality”, and regarding God’s existence as inherent both in the real world and in practical life, i. e. , as “Internal Transcendence”.

As a result, Indigenous Theology showed a completely different outlook and style of

〔8〕 See Fang Dongmei: “Looking at Human Alienation from the Perspective of Religion, Philosophy and Philosophy of Human Nature”, Creative Creativity, Beijing: Zhonghua publishing house, 2014.

〔9〕 See Mou Zongsan, Xu Fuguan, Zhang Junmai, and Tang Junyi: “Declaration of Chinese Culture to the World People”, edited by Feng Zusheng: “Contemporary Neo-Confucianism”, Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore Publishing House, 1989, p. 15.

〔10〕 See James Livingstone: “the New Orthodoxy”, “Modern Christian Thoughts” (Volume 2), Chapter 11, Chengdu: Sichuan People’s Publishing House, 1999.

understanding and interpreting God. It is worth noting that indeed, there did exist a seed of the concepts of “Unity of God and Man” and “Internal Transcendence” in modern Western theology. It can be said that Indigenous Theology merely chose and emphasized this implicit ideological orientation. Xie Fuya identified with Whiteheadian Process Theology in his early years; while, in his later years he turned to advocate a “Neutrality Theology” in order to establish a dialectical relationship between “transcendence” and “internality”. In doing so, Xie was actually developing a creative compromise and synthesis between Chinese and Western theology on the relationship of Heaven and Human.<sup>[11]</sup>

The focus of Western orthodox theology lied on the other world centered with “God” and “Heaven”, taken as a destination. The theory of Indigenous Theology showed that it attached importance to the mundane world and practical life, instead of focusing on the other world of God and Heaven. For example, Wu Leichuan attached great importance to modern Western “social Gospel”. He pointed out that “Christianity is not just a personal Gospel, but a social Gospel. Only its Gospel can lead us to cope with the change of the current world trend.”<sup>[12]</sup> Wu Leichuan therefore declared that the “Kingdom of Heaven” of Christianity is set up conveniently to realize the ideal new society of benevolence and justice on earth.

As far as the relationship between God and Man is concerned, Western theology emphasizes God’s omniscience and omnipotence and posits an unbreakable boundary between God and Man. On the other hand, Indigenous theology emphasizes the communication between God and Man and the close relationship between them, advocating that by imitating the moral efforts of Christ, Human can obtain a personality similar to divinity and thus obtain salvation. In addition, Indigenous Theology tends to interpret Christ, who embodies the “Duality of God and Human” in Western theology, as a rational and moral existence and as a “human model”.<sup>[13]</sup> In the same way, Indigenous Theology reinterpreted other important Christian doctrines, such as Trinity, Original Sin and Resurrection, to construct a theoretical system of Chinese Indigenous Theology strongly colored by humanism.

From what has just now been said, we can see that Chinese Indigenous Theology had its significant features “with Chinese-style elucidation”, and its theoretical construction had a strong ideological and spiritual background of Chinese traditional culture. The theoretical differences between Chinese Indigenous Theology and its Western matrix in the aspects such as ideological content, theoretical form and fundamental spirit showed that Indigenous Theology was a theoretical achievement of creative synthesis, a combination of Chinese and Western religious philosophy. Therefore, it is obviously a misunderstanding to take Indigenous theology as the same as its Western matrix. To a certain extent, the view of God elucidated by Indigenous Theology reflected the deviation from the Western pattern of “External Transcendence” and its conception of “the Wholly Other” of the God as the Supreme Creator, and its convergence with the Chinese pattern of “Internal Transcendence” and its conception of “Unity of Heaven and Man”. Its thought embodied the organic

[11] See Tang Xiaofeng: “Xie Fuya’s Dialectical Theology”, edited by Zhao Shilin and Duan Qi: “Christianity in China—Wisdom of Contextualization”, Chapter 4.

[12] See Wu Leichuan: “Christianity and Chinese Culture”, Shanghai: Ancient Books Publishing House, 2008, P. 63.

[13] See Preface, edited by Zhang Xiping and Zhuo Xiping, “A Probe into Indigenous Theology—A Collection of Academic Essays on Chinese Christian Culture in the 20th Century”, p. 20.

synthesis of Western theism and Chinese traditional humanism. It emphasized the connotation of ethics and morality, attached importance to the practical life or real world, and highlighted the psychology and humanistic personality of Jesus Christ, all aspects demonstrating the profound influence of Chinese traditional culture. In short, the theoretical construction of Chinese Indigenous Theology reflected an obvious turn of “internalization”, which was fundamentally different from the original type of “External Transcendence” in Western theology. In other words, they are not the same.

### III. Several theoretical dimensions and examples

In the Indigenization Movement of Christianity, appeared a group of native theologians represented by Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan, Xie Fuya, etc. They argued that under the new historical conditions, Chinese native theology must learn from past experience and follow an ideological line that integrates Chinese and Western cultures. They realized that they must take Chinese traditional culture as the basis to accept and absorb foreign Christian culture and beliefs, in order to create Chinese Christian theology. By and large, the theoretical creation and construction of Indigenous Theology had the common feature of “Chinese-style elucidation” in this historical period. Simultaneously, it reflected the influence of individual theological thinkers and a multiply dimensional theoretical development, with a very rich ideological content.

#### 1. Combination with God and Man; Zhao Zichen's Ethical Theology

Zhao Zichen advocated that in order to integrate Christianity into Chinese culture, it was necessary to “break away from the Western stereotype” with a unique vision, and create a kind of Christian theology with Chinese features. He regarded Christianity and Chinese culture as complementary and compatible. The spiritual nature of this correlation between Christianity and Chinese culture was, according to Zhao Zichen, “the Closest Friendship”.<sup>[14]</sup> In his opinion, the deep spiritual agreement between Christianity and Chinese culture provided the ideological basis for the integration of Chinese and Western theology. He called it “Sinicized Christian theology” or “Indigenized Theology”, and described it as the theoretical possibility of a future deep integration of the universal truth and essence of Christianity into the cultural, religious, and spiritual life of the Chinese people.

The “God” interpreted by Zhao Zichen was highly rational and moral. He regarded God as the unity of morality and transcendence, or in essence, the ultimate transcendent basis of human ethical and moral practice. Zhao Zichen further proposed that “religion and ethics are two sides of the same thing, rather than two different trends. Religion is the foundation of morality, and morality is the realization of religion. Morality has no foundation without religion, and religion has no life without morality.”<sup>[15]</sup> In his view, Christianity was a real and complete ethical religion, and its religious belief was the root and foundation of ethical and moral life. Zhao Zichen stressed that the injection of

[14] See Zhao Zichen, “Christianity and Chinese Culture”, edited by Zhang Xiping and Zhuo Xinping: “A Probe into Indigenous Theology—Academic Essays on Chinese Christian Culture in the 20th Century”.

[15] Zhao Zichen, Religion and the change of environment, published by the Progress of Youth, Vol. 30, Feb. 1920, P. 31.

Christian belief could instill a moral force into the spiritual life of Chinese people and support the construction of a new broad spiritual and moral world in modern social and cultural surroundings.

Hence, the theology constructed by Zhao Zichen was not the Western orthodox theology, nor the humanism of Chinese traditional culture, but an organic synthesis of both. It is in this sense that he pointed out that “Christianity is not humanism, but the Unity of Man and God, and the Unity of Heaven and Human. Knowing this, we have the foundation of ethical religion.”<sup>[16]</sup>

## 2. “Integrating Confucianism with Christianity”: Wu Leichuan’s Confucian theology

From the standpoint of traditional Chinese culture, Wu Leichuan’s attitude towards Christianity was governed by the values of compromise and comprehensiveness. His theology involved a strong background and the characteristics of Confucian tradition. He regarded Christianity and Chinese traditional culture as a relationship between “fellow travelers” and “friends” who expressed the same truth in different ways, rather than incompatible and hostile rivals.<sup>[17]</sup> In fact, Wu Leichuan regarded Confucian tradition as a prerequisite for his acceptance of Christian faith. His interpretation of a series of Christian doctrines, teachings and theological concepts embodied the rational spirit and realistic orientation of Chinese traditional culture. Wu Leichuan attached great importance to understanding the Christian faith from the experience of Confucianism, and paid attention to seeking and discovering the similarities between the two religions’ concepts, and constructing a kind of Confucian Christian theology. He focused on using the core Confucian categories to elucidate the important concepts in Christian theology, such as “Trinity”, “Prayer” and “Heaven”.

Wu Leichuan believed that there was a common “truth” in Christianity and Confucianism. His comparative research was to seek the common ground between them and discover the common truth and spiritual essence behind the apparent differences in their thoughts, contents, words, and habits; along the same lines, he attempted to integrate Christian and Confucian scripture.<sup>[18]</sup> Finally, Wu Leichuan’s religious belief showed a strong practical orientation. Firstly, he emphasized that by imitating and following Jesus, Christians could become leaders for Chinese society. Secondly, he emphasized the contribution of Christianity to China’s social reform. Thirdly, he carried forward the Gospel of modern social reform: Wu Leichuan clearly declared that the “Heaven” of Christianity would be an ideal new society that realizes benevolence and justice on Earth.<sup>[19]</sup> In order to realize “Heaven”, he even supported Marxist historical materialism and revolutionary struggle theory, and advocated to promote social reform by violent revolution and other radical means.

In the first half of the 20th century, in the increasingly serious and urgent historical environment of China’s social crisis, Wu Leichuan changed his convictions from a Confucian to a Christian accepting the Social Gospel, afterwards seeking inspiration from Marxism. His course of Christian thought and path of seeking truth mixed many elements, but Confucianism was the main background

[16] Zhao Zichen, “New Wine”, published by Truth and Life, December, 1929.

[17] See Wu Leichuan, “A Comparative Study on Christian Scriptures and Confucian Scriptures”, edited by Zhang Xiping and Zhuo Xinping: “A Probe into Indigenous Theology—A Collection of Academic Essays on Chinese Christian Culture in the 20th Century”.

[18] See Wu Leichuan, “A Comparative Study on Christian Scriptures and Confucian Scriptures”, edited by Zhang Xiping and Zhuo Xinping: “A Probe into Indigenous Theology—A Collection of Academic Essays on Chinese Christian Culture in the 20th Century”.

[19] See Wu Leichuan, “Christianity and Chinese Culture”, p. 63.

of them all.

### 3. “Directly Exploring Jesus”: Xie Fuya’s Theology of Neutralization

Xie Fuya made Chinese Christianity a combination of the truths of Christian Gospel and Chinese culture. He devoted himself to explaining the truth of the Gospel using Chinese thought. Xie Fuya was deeply influenced by Chinese traditional culture, but he was also deeply influenced by many Western Christian theology schools, especially the inner theism of Whiteheadian Process Theology, in his early years. His organic combination of Chinese and Western religious thought gave Xie Fuya’s theology a creative, pluralistic, and comprehensive feature. In his later years Xie Fuya advocated the “Neutralization” Theology, with the purpose of establishing a dialectical relationship between “transcendence” and “internality”. As a matter of fact, it was a creative compromise and synthesis based on the integration of Chinese and Western religious spirits and philosophy.<sup>[20]</sup>

Xie Fuya’s Neutralization Theology adopted a humanistic approach, and his thought embodied the spiritual characteristics of “the Unity of Heaven and Man” of Chinese traditional culture, while also he fully absorbing and adopting the essence of Western Christianity. Xie Fuya believed that the essence of religion was nothing more than piety, and its purpose was the close relationship between God and Man. It was in the fundamental spirit of religion that Chinese and Western religions found common ground to conduct communications and exchanges.<sup>[21]</sup> More specifically, in his opinion, the fundamental spirit of theology was to achieve a close relationship between God and Man and realize the destination of “Unity of God and Man”. However, while the purpose of both was to make Human communicate with God, Confucianism in the East went from Man to God; while, Christianity in the West went from God to Man.<sup>[22]</sup> Xie Fuya adopted both the viewpoints of Eastern and Western religions, advocating that the “transcendence” and “internality” of God must be combined dialectically. His “Neutralization” Theology can also be regarded as a compromise and a comprehensive theoretical creation rooted in the shared spirit of both Chinese and Western religions.

We can see that Xie Fuya’s “Chinese Indigenous Theology” was both theological and humanistic. The humanistic orientation of his theological construction made him pay special attention to “historical Jesus”, rather than the Christian theological focus in the West. Xie Fuya believed that “the essence of Christianity is Jesus’s great personality and his real life”<sup>[23]</sup>, and took Jesus’ personality as the core of Christianity, something influenced by the Confucian tradition of emphasizing ethics and morality through a focus on the personality of sages. Xie Fuya advocated “directly exploring Jesus”, stressing the perfection of Jesus’ personality rather than the dimension of Jesus’ divinity. He further put forward that Chinese Christians should imitate and follow the spirit of Jesus’ personality and develop a Christian personality by “combining Confucius and Jesus”, and become a “true Christian” or a “Christian exemplar”.

[20] See Xie Fuya: “The Collection of Xie Fuya’s Christian Thoughts in His Later Years”, Religious Culture Press, 1986.

[21] See Xie Fuya, “Christianity and Chinese Thoughts”, Taiwan Christian Literature Publishing House, 1990, p. 8.

[22] See Xie Fuya: “The Collection of Xie Fuya’s Christian Thoughts in His Later Years”, p. 115.

[23] Xie Fuya: “Christianity and Chinese Thoughts”, p. 308.

## IV. From Comparative Perspectives

The Indigenous theologians were influenced by the historical experience of the Sinicization of Buddhism in Chinese history. As a foreign religion and heterogeneous culture, Buddhism underwent a long transitional period of cultural integration before it finally integrated as an organic part of Chinese culture.<sup>[24]</sup> The Chinese theologians used this successful historical case as their object of reference and imitation. The Sinicization of Buddhism was doubtless the result of the interpretation and comprehension of Indian Buddhism based on the categories, terms and thoughts of the indigenous religious and philosophical cultures in China, Confucianism and Taoism. Just as Chinese Mahayana Buddhism was the result of creation of Sinicized Buddhism (i. e. the Tiantai Sect, Huayan Sect, and Zen Sect), Indigenous Theology was also the crystallization of foreign Christian thought based on traditional Chinese culture, based on similar fundamental principles of interpretation. The success of the Chinese Christian theologians showed that under modern historical conditions, Sinicization of foreign culture was still an effective method for Chinese culture to absorb foreign culture. Moreover, the result, Indigenous Theology, was a rational product of the study of history as well as of the specific historical circumstances. However, the model of Sinicization was not a perfect fit for the indigenization of Christianity. Due to its over-reliance on the historical experience of the Sinicization of Buddhism, which emphasized the thematic position of Chinese culture and neglected the thematic position of foreign culture, Indigenous Theology can be said to have caused some “misreading” or “misinterpretation” of Christian spirit. Its historical limitations and theoretical problems should also be noticed and considered.

It is obvious that Indigenous Theology had a close connection with its Western matrix. However, although it focused on the Indigenization or Sinicization of Christianity, Indigenous Theology did not pay enough attention to the universalization or globalization that modern Western Christianity emphasized and promoted. Moreover, modern Western theology was itself an outcome of a long process of modification and modernization, stretching from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment and Religious Reformation several centuries later. Consequently, the operative word was modern; the spiritual character of Western Protestant theology at the beginning of the 20th century became an integral part of the modern capitalist cultural system and played a vital role in the formation and development of the modern spirit.<sup>[25]</sup> Meanwhile, although Indigenous Theology responded to the criticism of the scientific and democratic spirit of modernism in the New Cultural Movement, unlike Western theology, it did not have a cultural consciousness of the modern spirit rooted in its own historical generation. As for the issue of modernization in the development of modern Chinese theology, Indigenous Theology never discussed it much, as it claimed the project of providing an ethical and moral foundation for Chinese culture as its main mission. This is clearly shown by the fact that Chinese theologians never even demonstrated awareness of Weber’s account of the relationship between the Protestant ethic and the capitalist spirit.

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[24] See Fang Dongmei: “The Prelude to Chinese Mahayana Buddhism”, “Chinese Mahayana Buddhism”, Chapter 2, Taiwan Liming Cultural Corporation, 1984.

[25] See James Livingston: “The Enlightenment and Modern Christianity”, “Modern Christian Thoughts” (Volume 1), Chapter 1.



The “Indigenized” Protestant theology and the “Sinicized” Catholic theology both aimed to communicate and integrate the theology of Christianity with Chinese traditional philosophy, and to interpret the theological truth of Christian religion with the language and ideology of Chinese traditional culture. However, there were some subtle differences in their theological practice. This was because the Catholic Church had a unified official theological theory system: namely, “Neo-Thomism”, which served as an obligatory criterion and basis for Chinese Catholics’ theologies.<sup>[26]</sup> By comparison, Chinese Protestant theology was free from any such dogma. “Indigenized” Protestantism used the language and thought of traditional Chinese philosophy to expound the belief in and the theological concept of Christianity. At the same time, it was free to become an innovative interpretation and ideological transformation based on the spirit of Chinese culture. In practice, it meant that the basic spirit of Indigenous Theology was not completely consistent with the original Western theological ideas.

The Sinicization of Catholic theology and the Indigenization of Protestant theology totally differed in their historical development. Catholicism did allow native thinkers to use their native language, concepts, and ideological culture to interpret and elucidate the beliefs and ideas of Catholicism; for example, Ma Xiangbo (马相伯) proposed that Catholics in China should “speak Chinese”, “use Chinese to preach doctrines”, and “use Confucian words to discuss sacred matters”.<sup>[27]</sup> However, due to the existence of the unified theological philosophy of Thomas Aquinas in the orthodox thought of Catholic theology, the space available to Native thinkers to make modifications and compromises in their interpretation was limited.

It can be seen that the “Indigenization” of Christianity and the “Sinicization” of Catholicism actually represented two different ways of integrating foreign religions with Native cultures. In dealing with the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture, Indigenous Protestantism tended to digest and understand the beliefs and concepts of its theological philosophy using Chinese culture, while Sinicized Catholicism interpreted and guided Chinese culture based on the principle of the supremacy of faith, showing stronger theological consciousness and ideological tendency. Comparatively speaking, Chinese Catholic theology retained more of the inherent features of Western theology, while Chinese Protestant theology was more marked by those of Chinese culture.

## V. Evaluation and Review

In the first half of the 20th century, the theoretical practice of Chinese Indigenous Theology served as an expedient measure to meet the challenge and stimulation of the new trend of thoughts. For the sake of spreading Christianity, the Western missionaries revised and adjusted their policies and launched a Christian Indigenization Movement. They paid attention to the position of Chinese traditional culture and turned from cultural conquest and substitution to cultural adaptation and integration. The theoretical construction of Indigenous Theology promoted the in-depth exchange of

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[26] See Liu Fangtong, “New Thomasism”, edited by Liu Fangtong: “Modern Western Philosophy”, Chapter 11, Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995, p. 460.

[27] See Zhu Weizheng: “The Collection of Ma Xiangbo”, Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1996.

Chinese and Western cultures, as well as the spread and development of Christianity in China. Consequently, the ideological path of Indigenization and Sinicization of foreign cultures was progressive and rational under specific historical conditions.

Indigenous Theology did not copy Western theology. It emphasized the understanding and interpretation of Christianity based on the standpoint of Chinese culture. Indeed, it was the ideological achievement of Chinese theologians who were committed to the integration of Chinese and Western religious spirits from the standpoint of Chinese culture. It was a creative interpretation and elucidation of the Christian universal religious spirit based on historical experience and the Chinese cultural tradition, as well as a unique theological theory with the characteristics and style of the Chinese culture. While many Chinese intellectuals used modern thought to reject and attack Christianity, Indigenous Theology opened up lines of communication between Chinese and Western culture on the level of religious spirit, expressing an openness on the part of Chinese culture to foreign culture. Considering the significance that Indigenous Theology thus responded affirmatively to new trends of thought, it should also be regarded as an important facet of the development of modern Chinese culture.

Indigenous Theology was the creation of Chinese thinkers engaged in a far-reaching theoretical exploration. In fact, Indigenous Theology was the first page in the story of theoretical systems created by Chinese theologians. However, it should also be noted that due to the restriction and influence of this Indigenized or Sinicized mode of thinking, Indigenous Theology had certain inevitable theoretical limitations and deficiencies. These were determined by the inherent methodology and mechanism of Indigenization. The theoretical construction of Indigenous Theology followed the historical method taken by traditional Chinese culture dealing with Indian Buddhism. However, this theoretical model of Indigenization of foreign culture in China was merely a method to make foreign culture palatable to Chinese traditional culture. Without a thorough reflection and criticism of modernity, the method of Indigenization retained the Sinocentric attitude of medieval China. It remained premised on the foreign culture adhering to the standard of Chinese culture. There was still a long way to go from this position to an equal and reciprocal cultural exchange. Consequently, Indigenous Theology did not take up a viewpoint of mutual interpretation from the standpoint of equal and reciprocal cultural exchange. In other words, Indigenous Theology emphasized the Sinicization of Christianity, but lacked the perspective of examining and criticizing Chinese culture from the theological standpoint of Christianity. In short, due to the restriction and influence of this fixed mode of thinking of Indigenization, Chinese Indigenous Theology failed to respond to the important theme of universalization and modernization in modern Christian theology.

The changes in modern China posed a great challenge to the development of Chinese native theology. The combination of Chinese Indigenous theology and Confucianism encountered a huge theoretical problem in the modern cultural situation. The dominant Confucianism in the traditional society not only lost its position as the mainstream ideology, but faced criticism and eventual abandonment by intellectuals of the time. Due to historical inertia in cultural exchanges, one of the biggest problems in Chinese Indigenous Theology was that it could not treat foreign cultures with the principle and spirit of equality and reciprocity. It one-sidedly emphasized the thematic position of Chinese Native culture but ignored or even obliterated the thematic position of foreign cultures. While

taking Chinese Native culture as the main body to accept and understand foreign culture was an indispensable stage in the process of Chinese and Western cultural exchange, from the standpoint of theological development, it became necessary for Chinese culture to understand and accept the theological consciousness of Christianity.

Due to the emphasis on the Native consciousness of Chinese culture, Chinese Indigenous Theology met with an unavoidable problem in its theoretical construction, a partial distortion of the fundamental spirit and ideological essence of Christian theology. Insofar as the Internal Transcendental spirit of the Confucian tradition and the External Transcendental spirit of the Christian tradition are two types of transcendence developed by human culture, the comparison and integration between them can enrich and deepen the comprehension of the universal spirit of human culture. However, the one-sided emphasis on understanding Christianity based on the Internal Transcendence of Chinese culture while neglecting the foreign External Transcendence led to a certain degree of “misunderstanding” or “distortion” of the universal spirit of Christianity.

Another major theoretical problem of Chinese Indigenous Theology was its lack of modern consciousness. The focus of Indigenous Theology was the ideological connection between Christianity and native Chinese culture. It focused on the abstract doctrines and theoretical principles such as “God”, “Trinity”, and “Salvation”, which were emphasized by traditional theology and transformed them according to the interpretive morality of Chinese traditional culture. Accordingly, the thematic issues of Indigenous Theology were restrained to a very limited domain; as far as those thoughts and theoretical features were concerned, Indigenous Theology still belonged to the category of traditional theology.

The purpose of the mechanism of “Sinicization” was to make foreign religions compatible with the Confucian culture of the country’s guiding ideology. Confucianism aimed to incorporate foreign religions into the orthodox track of serving imperial power. Under the historical conditions of the collapse of the traditional dynastic politics along with Confucian orthodox culture, the mechanism of theological Sinicization was indeed unsustainable. Therefore, in the Republic of China period, Indigenous Theology embarked on a path of integrating with the Kuomintang (国民党)’s official political thought. In this fixed cultural mechanism, it was not only understandable, but also a natural process to turn from Indigenous Theology to “Three-Self” (三自) Theology.

Within the framework of Indigenous Theology, it is difficult to arrange and deal with a series of basic principles and major issues related to modernity, such as democracy, human rights, separation of church and state, science, economic development and environmental protection, etc. [28] This shows that the mechanism of Sinicization was a set of medieval cultural mechanisms. Without further rational reflection and transformation, it was incompatible with the spirit of modernity. Chinese Indigenous Theology therefore failed to address the issues of universalization and modernization for theological theories. This problem has served and will continue to serve as for the wise as a source of concern and enthusiasm for Chinese theologians’ continued exploration and innovation of the Christian religion.

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[28] See Chen Zemin, “Chinese Christianity (Protestant) Facing the Challenge of Modernization”, edited by Gao Shining and He Guanghu, “Christian Culture and Modernization”, Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1996. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* ([www.SinoWesternStudies.com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com)), 16-18.

**中文题目：**  
**二十世纪上半叶中国基督教神学本色化的理论进路**

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**摘 要:**中国本色神学是二十世纪初迄今中国基督教神学发展中的一条主线,代表了当代中西文化融合和中国现代思想发展中的一个重要方向。可以说,本色神学是中西宗教精神和思想文化相结合、相融合的理论成果,具有浓厚的中国传统文化的思想背景和底蕴。其思想主旨在于以中国传统文化主要是儒家思想和话语来诠释和发挥基督教思想,建构本色化、本土化的中国神学理论。本色神学的理论建构体现出从西方神学以“神人二分”、“神人对立”为根本精神和外在超越的思想型态向以“神人合一”、“神人和合”为根本精神和内在超越的思想型态的嬗变和转换。由于本色神学偏重中国化的历史经验,对于现代神学发展中的现代化、普世化的论题讨论和回应不够,其思想的成就和不足亟待总结和检讨。

**关键词:**本色化;内在化;文化嬗变



# 政策·法制·法治：中国宗教事务管理模式之法理思考

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**摘 要:**宗教事务的管理,有政策、法制、法治等模式。改革开放四十年来,中国的宗教管理政策具有一以贯之的内容,政策在各级政府的宗教事务管理中一直拥有最高地位。从1990年代开始,宗教管理“法制化”逐步实行,2004年《宗教事务条例》颁布施行,标志着中国宗教事务的管理模式,全面步入“依法对宗教事务进行管理”的时代。2014年十八届四中全会提出“法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设”,2016年全国宗教工作会议又提出“提高宗教工作法治化水平”,“法治”成为宗教事务管理的追求目标。“宗教法治”具有“权利保障”“政教分离”“公权制约”等要素;中国宗教事务管理需要超越“政策”“法制”等传统“人治”模式,良法善治的“法治”模式是必然选择。

**关键词:**宗教;管理;政策;法制;法治

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宗教是世界各民族、各国家都具有的文化现象,自人类自产生以来就是人类生活的一部分。对宗教事务的管理模式,不同国家、不同历史时期不尽相同。不同的管理模式及内容,会产生不同的社会效果。在信教人数约有二亿的当代中国,应当采用何种管理模式?在“法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设”的今天,何种宗教管理模式最为合适?作为一名法律学人,拟在本文就此问题作一法理思考。

## 一、宗教事务的政策之治

政策是一定的政党在一定的历史时期,为调整特定社会关系和实现特定任务而规定的路线、方针、规范和措施等行动准则的统称。用政策管理社会事务,是中国共产党的一贯做法,宗教领域自然也不例外。中共二大《关于“工会运动与共产党”的决案》,苏维埃时期《中央关于加强苏区反帝工作的决议》,红军长征时期发布的《藏区十要十不要》、《回民区域政治工作要点》、《三大禁令四项注意》、《回区十要十不要》,1944年中共中央发出的《关于重视天主教、耶稣教民工作的指示》,都是用政策处理宗教事务的重要内容。时至改革开放的当代,“政策之治”依然是中国宗教事务管理的主要方式,宗教政策的内容前后相沿,宗教政策的地位尤为凸显。

### (一)一以贯之的中国宗教政策内容

改革开放以来,政策在中国宗教事务管理中具有举足轻重的作用。自1982年19号文,至2016年4月全国宗教工作会议,承认公民有宗教信仰自由的权利,依法管理宗教事务,绝不允许宗教干预国家事务,坚持打击一切在宗教外衣掩盖下的违法犯罪活动,抵制境外势力的渗透,坚持党对宗教工

作的领导等,都是当代中国宗教事务管理政策的重要内容。

1. 承认公民有宗教信仰自由的权利。1982 年 3 月《关于我国社会主义时期宗教问题的基本观点和基本政策》(19 号文)规定:“每个公民既有信仰宗教的自由,也有不信仰宗教的自由”;“任何强迫不信教的信教的行为,如同强迫信教的不信教一样,都是侵犯别人的信仰自由,因而都是极端错误和绝对不能容许的。”“对待人们的思想问题,对待精神世界的问题,包括对待宗教信仰的问题,用简单的强制的方法处理,不但不会收效,而且非常有害。”〔1〕19 号文指出,“使全体信教群众和不信教的群众联合起来,把他们的意志和力量集中到建设现代化的社会主义强国这个共同目标上来,这是我们贯彻宗教信仰自由政策,处理一切宗教问题的根本出发点和落脚点。任何背离这个基点的言论和行动,都是错误的,都应当受到党和人民的坚决抵制和反对。”〔2〕中发〔1991〕6 号文《中共中央、国务院关于进一步做好宗教工作若干问题的通知》重申:“尊重和保护宗教信仰自由,是党和国家对待宗教问题的一项长期的基本政策。宗教信仰自由是宪法赋予公民的一项权利。公民有信仰宗教的自由,也有不信仰宗教的自由,任何国家机关、社会团体和个人不得强制公民信仰宗教或不信仰宗教,不得歧视信仰宗教的公民和不信仰宗教的公民。”2001 年,江泽民总书记在全国宗教工作会议上重申:“宗教信仰自由是我们党一项长期的基本政策,是宪法赋予公民的一项基本权利。尊重和保护公民的宗教信仰自由权利,是我们党维护人民利益、尊重和保护人权的重要体现,也是最大限度团结人民群众的需要。”〔3〕2016 年,习近平总书记在全国宗教工作会议上强调,“做好宗教工作,必须坚持党的宗教工作基本方针,要全面贯彻党的宗教信仰自由政策。”

2. 依法管理宗教事务。中发(1991)6 号文提出,“要加快宗教立法工作,国务院宗教事务局应抓紧起草有关宗教事务的行政法规。各省、自治区、直辖市也可根据国家的有关法律和法规,结合当地实际情况,制定地方性的有关宗教事务的行政法规。”“对宗教事务进行管理,是为了使宗教活动纳入法律、法规和政策的范围,不是去干预正常的宗教活动和宗教团体的内部事务。”中发(2002)3 号文进一步要求,“把对宗教事务的管理纳入法制化轨道。依法管理宗教事务,是指政府根据宪法和有关法律、法规及规范性文件,对宗教方面涉及国家利益、社会公共利益的关系和行为,以及社会公共活动涉及宗教界权益的关系和行为的行政管理。依法进行管理,就是要切实保障宗教信仰自由,保证正常宗教活动的有序进行,保护宗教团体的合法权益。依法管理宗教事务的要旨是保护合法,制止非法,抵御渗透,打击犯罪。要坚持分级负责、属地管理。要抓紧制定全国性宗教事务条例,各地要结合实际制定地方性法规和规章,把对宗教事务的管理纳入法制化轨道。各级宗教工作部门要增强依法行政意识,不断提高依法管理水平,在行使管理职能中要接受宗教界人士、信教群众和有关方面的监督。要大力开展法制宣传教育,提高宗教界人士和信教群众遵纪守法的观念。”2016 年的全国宗教工作会议,不仅要求“依法管理宗教事务”,还提出“要提高宗教工作法治化水平,用法律规范政府管理宗教事务的行为,用法律调节涉及宗教的各种社会关系。”

3. 不允许宗教干预国家事务。1982 年 19 号文规定:“绝不允许宗教干预国家行政、干预司法、干预学校教育和社会公共教育,绝不允许强迫任何人特别是十八岁以下少年儿童入教、出家 and 到寺庙学经,绝不允许恢复已被废除的宗教封建特权和宗教压迫剥削制度,绝不允许利用宗教反对党的领导和社会主义制度,破坏国家统一和国内各民族之间的团结。”中发〔1991〕6 号文指明:“公民在行使宗教信

〔1〕《新时期宗教工作文献选编》Xinshiqi zongjiao gongzuo wenxian xuanbian[Selected Papers on Religious Work in the New Period],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe[Religious Culture Press])1995,59-60.

〔2〕《新时期宗教工作文献选编》Xinshiqi zongjiao gongzuo wenxian xuanbian[Selected Papers on Religious Work in the New Period],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe[Religious Culture Press])1995,60-61.

〔3〕江泽民 Jiang Zemin:《在全国宗教工作会议上的讲话》Zai quanguo zongjiao gongzuo huiyi shangde jianghua[Address at the National Conference on Religious Work],《人民日报》Renmin ribao[People's Daily]2001 年 12 月 11 日.

仰自由权利的同时,必须履行自己的义务。任何人不得利用宗教反对党的领导和社会主义制度,危害国家统一、社会稳定和民族团结,不得损害社会、集体的利益,妨碍其他公民的合法权利。任何人不得利用宗教干预国家行政、司法、学校教育和社会公共教育,不得利用宗教进行妨碍义务教育实施的活动,不得恢复已被废除的宗教封建特权和压迫剥削制度。”中发〔2002〕3号文又指出:“我国实行政教分离的原则,任何宗教都没有超越宪法和法律的特权,都不能干预行政、司法和教育等国家职能的实施。不能以宗教信仰自由和政教分离为借口,放弃或摆脱政府对宗教事务的管理。”2016年全国宗教会议强调:“必须坚持政教分离,坚持宗教不得干预行政、司法、教育等国家职能实施,坚持政府依法对涉及国家利益和社会公共利益的宗教事务进行管理。”

4. 打击一切以宗教名义实施的违法犯罪活动。1982年19号文指出:“坚决保障一切正常的宗教活动,同时就意味着要坚持打击一切在宗教外衣掩盖下的违法犯罪活动和反革命破坏活动,以及各种不属于宗教范围的、危害国家利益和人民生命财产的迷信活动。对于披着宗教外衣的反革命分子和其他刑事犯罪分子,必须依法给以严厉的制裁。”中发〔1991〕6号文,就“坚决打击利用宗教进行的犯罪活动”作专条说明:“在依法保护公民宗教信仰自由权利和正常宗教活动的同时,必须依法坚决打击利用宗教进行破坏活动的反革命分子和其他刑事犯罪分子。各级公安部门要采取有力措施,坚决制止借宗教问题煽动群众闹事,扰乱社会治安,破坏国家统一和民族团结。对触犯刑律的要依法处理,对勾结境外敌对势力、危害国家安全的首恶分子,要从严惩办。对非法宗教组织要坚决取缔。对从事违法活动的宗教场所,情节轻微的要批评教育,限期改正,屡教不改或情节严重的要依法处理。”中发〔2002〕3号文规定:“国家依法对宗教事务进行管理,保护正常的宗教活动和宗教界的合法权益,制止和打击利用宗教进行的违法犯罪活动。”“任何人不能利用宗教反对党的领导和社会主义制度,破坏民族团结、社会稳定和祖国统一;不能利用宗教损害国家、集体利益,妨碍其他公民的合法权益;不能利用宗教进行违法犯罪活动。”2014年5月,习近平总书记在第二次中央新疆工作座谈会上强调,“要坚持党的宗教工作基本方针,坚持保护合法、制止非法、遏制极端、抵御渗透、打击犯罪”。

5. 抵制境外势力的渗透。1982年19号文指出:“国际宗教反动势力,特别是帝国主义宗教势力,包括罗马教廷和基督教的‘差会’,也力图利用各种机会,进行渗透活动,‘重返中国大陆’。我们的方针,就是既要积极开展宗教方面的国际友好往来,又要坚决抵制外国宗教中的一切敌对势力的渗透。”中发〔1991〕6号文开篇就陈明:“境外敌对势力一直利用宗教作为其推行‘和平演变’战略的一个重要手段,不断对我进行渗透和破坏活动。民族分裂主义分子也利用宗教煽动骚乱闹事,攻击党的领导和社会主义制度,破坏祖国统一和民族团结。”在阐述依法管理宗教事务时,强调“保护信教群众正常的宗教活动,防止和制止不法分子利用宗教和宗教活动制造混乱、违法犯罪,抵制境外敌对势力利用宗教进行渗透。”中发〔2002〕3号文阐明其基本政策:“抵御境外敌对势力利用宗教进行渗透,不允许境外任何宗教组织、团体和个人干预我国宗教事务。”特别强调,“利用宗教进行渗透历来是西方反华势力的一个重要伎俩。对宗教渗透抵御、防范不力,也是某些共产党领导的国家丢失政权的一个惨痛教训。各级党委和政府必须深刻认识做好抵御渗透工作的复杂性、迫切性和极端重要性,进一步加强领导,将抵御宗教渗透工作纳入议事日程。”2016年4年全国宗教工作会议指出,“要坚决抵御境外利用宗教进行渗透,防范宗教极端思想侵害。要高度重视互联网宗教问题,在互联网上大力宣传党的宗教理论和方针政策,传播正面声音。”

6. 坚持党对宗教工作的领导。1982年19号文指出,“加强党的领导,是处理好宗教问题的根本保证。党对宗教的工作是党的统战工作和群众工作的重要组成部分,涉及社会生活的许多方面。这就要求我们各级党委,一定要有力地指导和组织一切有关部门,包括统战部门,宗教事务部门,民族事务部门,政法部门,宣传、文化、教育、科技、卫生部门,以及工会、共青团、妇联等人民团体,统一思想,统一认识,统一政策,并且分工负责,密切配合,把这项重要工作切实掌握起来,坚持不懈地认真做好。”



中发〔1991〕6 号文第六部分专门论述党对宗教工作的领导：“党对宗教工作的领导，主要是政治领导，掌握政治方向和重大方针政策。各级党委和政府要把宗教工作列入议事日程，定期研究分析宗教工作形势，认真检查宗教政策贯彻落实情况，及时解决存在的问题，动员全党、各级政府和社会各方面进一步重视、关心和做好宗教工作，使宗教同社会主义社会相适应。”中发〔2002〕3 号文第十部分专题论述：“各级党委、政府要从战略和全局的高度认识宗教工作的重要性。加强党的领导，是做好新世纪初宗教工作的根本保证。重视并善于做宗教工作，是各级领导干部政治上成熟的重要表现，也是我们党提高领导水平和执政能力的必然要求。各级党委和政府要以高度的政治责任感，把宗教工作列入重要议事日程。要加强宗教领域的调查研究，全面掌握情况。要定期研究解决重大问题，完善有关政策措施，提高工作水平。”2016 年全国宗教工作会议也强调，“处理我国宗教关系，必须牢牢把握坚持党的领导、巩固党的执政地位、强化党的执政基础这个根本”。

## （二）政策在宗教事务管理中拥有最高地位

无论在理论还是实践中，许多人都认为政策比法律法规更重要，政策在宗教事务管理中居于首要地位。这在各级政府的宗教工作中，有着鲜明的体现。中共中央关于宗教工作的文件、历年全国宗教工作会议精神，是最重要的“宗教政策”内容，各级行政机关的宗教工作，首先考虑的就是如何执行这些政策。

1. 政策在城镇的宗教工作中居于首要地位。如 2014 年 5 月 27 日安徽寿县保义镇人民政府《关于依法开展基督教私设聚会点专项治理工作的实施方案》“指导思想”部分，是“以党的十八大和十八届三中全会精神为指导，以党的宗教工作方针政策和国家相关法律法规为依据，以‘保护合法、制止非法、抵制渗透、打击犯罪’为总要求，依法治理基督教私设聚会点，打击打着基督教旗号进行的违法犯罪行为，抵御境外利用基督教进行的渗透活动，规范基督教活动，教育和团结广大信教群众，全面实现对基督教的依法管理，维护我镇基督教领域的和谐稳定。”〔4〕治理私设聚会点的专项宗教工作依据，就是党的会议精神和工作方针政策。2016 年浙江温岭石塘镇开展宗教法规培训：“为切实贯彻全国宗教会议精神，依法管理宗教事务，提高宗教界人士的法律意识和安全意识，8 月 2 日上午，石塘镇举办宗教法规暨安全知识培训会，全镇 35 家正式场所，12 家民间信仰场所和 18 家拟登记民间信仰场所的负责人、安全员等 120 余人参加了培训。台州市委统战部原副部长、民宗局原局长杨岳富，温岭市民宗局局长周根祥以及石塘消防中队队长颜海燕应邀授课，石塘镇人大主席陈匡根主持会议。”〔5〕与宗教事务管理有关的各部门负责人，一起组织众多宗教人员与团体进行“法规”知识培训，贯彻的是全国宗教“会议精神”。贯彻宗教会议精神是最重要工作目标，“依法管理”宗教事务也是为了落实“会议精神”，“法律意识”的提高是基于“会议精神”的落实，而“会议精神”就是该年的具体“宗教政策”。显然，贯彻“宗教会议精神”的工作方法，属于宗教事务管理的“政策之治”。

2. 政策在县市级政府宗教工作中也居于首要地位。如 2016 年浙江德清县的宗教专项整治工作，“县委副书记杨卫东要求，要深入学习贯彻全国、全省宗教工作会议精神，切实增强责任感和使命感，深刻认识宗教工作重要性、面临的形势和问题，深刻把握宗教工作方式方法；要坚持依法管理宗教事务，切实助推平安护航 G20，扎实开展安全排查行动，限期整改，依法加强对宗教事务和场所的管理；要加强党对宗教工作的领导，形成合力，维护宗教界和谐稳定”〔6〕“全国、全省宗教工作会议精神”是该县宗教专项整治的依据，政策的落实位居“依法管理”之前。又如 2016 年浙江台州的宗教工作部署：“市委书记王昌荣在会上强调，要认真学习贯彻全国、全省宗教工作会议精神，进一步强化政治担

〔4〕 <http://www.shouxian.gov.cn/openness/detail/content/547c7ff3592c20a46f79a952.html>, 2016-10-21.

〔5〕 <http://wlnews.zjol.com.cn/wlrb/system/2016/08/04/020650918.shtml>, 2016-10-21.

〔6〕 [http://www.deqing.gov.cn/art/2016/7/19/art\\_346\\_717314.html](http://www.deqing.gov.cn/art/2016/7/19/art_346_717314.html), 2016-10-21.

当,把握政策、讲究方法、突出重点,全面贯彻党的宗教工作基本方针,切实做好我市新形势下宗教工作。……市四套班子领导出席会议。……王昌荣指出,习近平总书记在全国宗教工作会议上的重要讲话,深刻阐明了宗教工作的一系列重大理论和实践问题,明确提出了中国特色社会主义宗教理论。全省宗教工作会议又对我省宗教工作作了全面部署。全市各级干部要充分认识宗教工作的重要性、长期性和复杂性,充分把握党的宗教工作的基本方针、基本政策,充分理解宗教工作的本质是群众工作,准确把握全国、全省宗教工作会议的精神实质。要聚焦认识上的‘短视症’、政策上的‘狭隘症’和行动上的‘恐惧症’,增强政治责任感,掌握做好新形势下宗教工作的基本方法,提高依法办事的能力和做群众工作的能力,把工作抓得更主动、更积极、更有效。……接下来,我市将全面深入排查宗教领域短板,开展五大专项整治行动。王昌荣强调,要以专项整治行动为抓手,紧盯重点人群、重点场所、重点区域,切实解决突出问题。在抓重点人群教育转化上,要认真践行群众路线,坚持政治上团结、信仰上尊重、感情上贴近、生活上关心,深入细致地做好团结教育和服务引导工作。在抓重点场所管理上,要依法依规、分类处理,违规的宗教和民间信仰活动场所要依法清理,合法的宗教活动场所要严格规范管理。……各级党委政府要强化主体责任,切实加强领导,健全宗教工作领导体制和工作机制,加强宗教工作干部队伍建设,确保形成宗教工作合力,不断提高新形势下宗教工作的能力和水平。”〔7〕该市的宗教工作部署,涉及到对宗教工作的认识、工作的内容、工作的方法、工作的组织等宗教事务管理的各个方面,是非常具体的宗教工作部署与动员,其工作依据是“全国、全省宗教工作会议精神”,“政策”在宗教工作中居于主导地位。

3. 政策在省级政府宗教工作中依然位居首要地位。2015年14—16日,贵州省“全省依法治理基督教私设聚会点工作现场推进会”在毕节大方召开;该会议对全省2014年的宗教专项工作进行总结:“根据省民宗委《深化宗教事务治理体系改革总体方案》及《依法治理基督教私设聚会点工作专题方案》等有关文件精神,大方县被确定为全省依法治理基督教私设聚会点试点。自2014年8月开展基督教私设聚会点依法治理工作以来,大方县治理试点工作按照‘疏堵结合、区别对待、分类处理、纳入管理’和‘合法一批、过渡一批、取缔一批’的工作原则,在抓好‘疏’与‘堵’相结合、常规管理与创新方法相结合、集中阶段治理和建立长效机制相结合、政府职能部门的主导作用和宗教团体、宗教活动场所的积极作用相结合的同时,创新提出了‘五条治理路径’,即对该县52处私设聚会点根据前期摸底及疏导工作情况,分别认定为家庭聚会点、审定为合法活动点、指定为临时活动点、确定为教堂带管点、决定为依法取缔点,并采取相应治理措施,除依法予以取缔或责令停止活动的7处外,其余45处私设聚会点通过治理全部纳入了依法管理范围,并构建6项长效管理机制,为形成科学的管理模式进行了积极探索。”该会议同时对当年的宗教工作进行了详细部署:“当前和今后一个时期,我省治理基督教私设聚会点工作要以此次推进会为起点,坚持以习近平总书记在中央新疆工作座谈会上提出的处理宗教问题‘保护合法、制止非法、遏制极端、抵御渗透、打击犯罪’的基本原则为指导,严格贯彻实施国务院《宗教事务条例》和《贵州省宗教事务条例》及相关法律法规,按照‘疏堵结合、区别对待、分类处理、纳入管理’及‘三个一批’原则,积极稳妥地开展治理工作,有效遏制基督教私设聚会点的蔓延势头,促进基督教活动的规范有序。要加强领导,分工合作;要把握环节,精心组织;要区别情况,分类施策;要依法治理,讲究策略;要有破有立,疏渠引流;要团结群众,维护稳定;要巩固成果,防止反弹。全省要按照一年试点、两年示范、三年推进的思路,慎重稳妥、态度坚决地开展好基督教的依法治理工作。”〔8〕该省民宗委负责人同时强调,“依法治理一是要搞清楚其成因;二是要充分认识治理工作的必要性和复杂性;三是要严格遵循治理工作的基本要求。……做到点摸清、人摸透、情况明、底数清,有

〔7〕 [http://www.taizhou.com.cn/news/2016-06/21/content\\_3017905.htm](http://www.taizhou.com.cn/news/2016-06/21/content_3017905.htm),2020-10-12.

〔8〕 <http://dzb.gzmbz.com/P/Item/21855>,2015-10-19.

效遏制基督教私设聚会点蔓延势头, 促进基督教活动规范有序。”<sup>[9]</sup>无论是上年的工作总结, 还是当年的工作部署, 该会议都涉及到宗教工作的宏观目标、微观的工作方法、工作策略, 非常详尽。所有的宗教工作, 都是基于该省民宗委的两个“文件”, 行政法规、地方性法规的执行是在领导人“讲话”精神的指导之下。

4. 国家宗教事务局的工作, 同样是以执政党的政策作为最高依据。2014 年该局进行工作总结, “我局深入学习贯彻党的十八大和十八届三中、四中全会精神, 深入学习贯彻习近平总书记系列重要讲话精神, 按照中央关于宗教工作的决策和部署, 坚持稳中求进工作总基调, 凝神聚力、开拓进取, 全面贯彻党的宗教工作基本方针, 依法加强宗教事务管理, 努力促进宗教领域和谐稳定, 切实保障信教群众的宗教信仰自由权利和合法权益, 充分发挥宗教界人士和信教群众在促进经济社会发展中的积极作用, 积极开展宗教方面重大问题调查研究, 各项工作取得显著成效。”<sup>[10]</sup>作为宗教事务管理的最高行政机关, 其各项工作成效, 是学习贯彻党中央“会议精神”、领导人“讲话精神”的结果。关于“推进宗教工作法治建设”, 该局“深入学习贯彻党的十八大和十八届四中全会精神, 组织力量开展宗教工作法治建设专题研究, 形成了《关于宗教工作法治建设的研究报告》, 全面回顾改革开放以来宗教工作法治建设取得的重大进展, 深入分析存在的主要问题, 提出了进一步加强宗教工作法治建设的思路和举措。”<sup>[11]</sup>也就是说, 宗教领域的法治建设, 是在全会“会议精神”的指导下开展的。2015 年初, 该局对新一年的工作做出要求, “深入贯彻党的十八大和十八届三中、四中全会精神, 深入贯彻习近平总书记系列重要讲话精神, 深入贯彻中央关于宗教工作的决策部署, 以法治的方式推进宗教工作, 以创新的精神推动解决宗教领域突出问题, 以中国梦的伟大理想凝聚广大信教群众力量, 努力为全面建成小康社会、全面深化改革、全面推进依法治国营造团结稳定的社会环境”;<sup>[12]</sup>“全会精神”、“讲话精神”位序在“法治”之前。

## 二、宗教事务的法制化管理

### (一) 宗教政策的法制化

1978 年十一届三中全会汲取了“文革”十年浩劫之教训, 提出“为了保障人民民主, 必须加强社会主义法制”, 其基本内涵是“有法可依, 有法必依, 执法必严, 违法必究”的十六字方针。中发[1991]6 号文第二部分, 出现了“依法对宗教事务进行管理”的内容, 其主导思想是宗教事务之管理逐步由“政策”手段逐步转变为“法制”方式。“依法对宗教事务进行管理, 是指政府对有关宗教的法律、法规 and 政策的贯彻实施进行行政管理和监督。政府依法保护宗教团体和寺观教堂的合法权益, 保护宗教教职人员履行正常的教务活动, 保护信教群众正常的宗教活动, 防止和制止不法分子利用宗教和宗教活动制造混乱、违法犯罪, 抵制境外敌对势力利用宗教进行渗透。对宗教事务进行管理, 是为了使宗教活动纳入法律、法规 and 政策的范围, 不是去干预正常的宗教活动和宗教团体的内部事务。”该文对“宗教法制”的必备内容有清晰规定: “我国宗教团体和宗教事务坚持独立自主自办教会的原则, 不受境外势力的支配。应在平等友好的基础上积极地正确地开展宗教方面的对外交往, 坚决抵制境外宗教敌对势力控制我国宗教的企图。不允许任何境外宗教团体和个人干预我国宗教事务, 在我国设立办事机构, 建立寺观教堂, 进行传教活动。对来自境外的宗教书刊、音像制品和其他宣传品, 由政府有关部门制

[9] <http://www.gzwm.gov.cn/index.php? m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=28&id=16909>, 2016-10-21.

[10] [http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/15/content\\_2804620.htm](http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/15/content_2804620.htm), 2020-10-12.

[11] [http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/15/content\\_2804620.htm](http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/15/content_2804620.htm), 2020-10-12.

[12] [http://www.fjnet.com/zfgz/201501/t20150115\\_227223.htm](http://www.fjnet.com/zfgz/201501/t20150115_227223.htm), 2020-10-12.

定管理办法,加强管理;凡有煽动反对四项基本原则、反对政府等反动内容的,要依法收缴。任何人不得接受来自境外的、以渗透为目的的宗教津贴和传教经费。我宗教团体和寺观教堂接受境外宗教组织和宗教徒的大宗捐赠,要经省一级人民政府或国务院宗教事务局批准。宗教团体邀请境外宗教组织和宗教人士来访或应邀出访,需经省一级人民政府或国务院宗教事务局批准,重大涉外活动,需报国务院审批。非宗教团体邀请或接待有宗教背景的各种团体和有重要影响的宗教人士来访、旅游,要向宗教事务部门通报。经贸、科技、文化、教育、卫生、体育、旅游等部门对外开展交流与合作,涉及境外宗教组织及其附属机构或个人,签订有关合作项目,不得带有传教、设立宗教机构、建立寺观教堂等宗教内容的条件。”对于“宗教法制”的创立,该文也作了明确要求:“要加快宗教立法工作;国务院宗教事务局应抓紧起草有关宗教事务的行政法规。各省、自治区、直辖市也可根据国家的有关法律和法规,结合当地实际情况,制定地方性的有关宗教事务的行政法规。”

2001年12月,江泽民总书记在全国宗教工作会议中,就“依法治理宗教事务”作出明确要求:“要依法治理宗教事务,这是我们实行依法治国方略的必然要求。依法进行治理,就是要切实保障宗教信仰自由,保证正常宗教活动的有序进行,保护宗教团体的合法利益。我国实行政教分离的原则,任何宗教都没有超越宪法和法律的特权,都不能干预国家行政、司法和教育等国家职能的实施。宗教方面涉及国家利益和社会公共利益的事项和活动,必须纳入依法治理的范围。不能以宗教信仰自由和政教分离为借口,放弃或摆脱国家对宗教事务的治理。”中发〔2002〕3号文进一步提出“把对宗教事务的管理纳入法制化轨道”。对宗教的法制化管理,即“依法管理宗教事务,是指政府根据宪法和有关法律、法规及规范性文件,对宗教方面涉及国家利益、社会公共利益的关系和行为,以及社会公共活动涉及宗教界权益的关系和行为的行政管理。依法进行管理,就是要切实保障宗教信仰自由,保证正常宗教活动的有序进行,保护宗教团体的合法权益。依法管理宗教事务的要旨是保护合法,制止非法,抵御渗透,打击犯罪。要坚持分级负责、属地管理。”对宗教活动场所,也作了制度的管理要求:“设立宗教活动场所,要严格审批。宗教活动场所要依法登记,接受政府宗教工作部门的行政管理。宗教活动场所要建立民主管理组织,建立健全各项规章制度,实行民主管理。宗教活动场所也要进行爱国主义、社会主义教育,宣传党的宗教政策,增强信教群众的法制观念。宗教活动场所兴办公益事业,要遵守国家有关规定。”该文再次对宗教事务法制化作了立法、执法要求:“要抓紧制定全国性宗教事务条例,各地要结合实际制定地方性法规和规章,把对宗教事务的管理纳入法制化轨道。各级宗教工作部门要增强依法行政意识,不断提高依法管理水平,在行使管理职能中要接受宗教界人士、信教群众和有关方面的监督。要大力开展法制宣传教育,提高宗教界人士和信教群众遵纪守法的观念。”“依法行政”、“依法管理”等法律概念开始出现在文件之中。正是在此文件的要求与指导下,2004年国务院宗教事务局完成了《宗教事务条例》的起草,将以往的宗教政策内容,转化为法规的系列条款。《条例》共七章四十八条,最终以国务院426号令形式颁布,2005年3月开始施行。该《条例》的实施,标志着中国的宗教事务管理,开始全面步入“法制”轨道。

(二)宗教事务管理的“法制化”,体现的是“权力本位”,仍属于法律工具主义范畴

政策可以转化为不同的法的形式,如宪法、法律、行政法规和地方性法规等;2004年的《宗教事务条例》,是宗教政策“法制化”的结果,其法律位阶,在法律体系中属于“行政法规”。以法理视之,“政策”转变为“法规”具有历史进步意义,但《条例》自身的制定程序与实体内容却仍有缺憾。首先,《条例》的制定违反了立法的权限范围。当时的《立法法》第3条规定了“立法应当遵循宪法”的基本原则,第4条规定立法“依照法定的权限和程序”之原则;第56条就行政法规的制定作了具体规定。任何行政法规的制定必须“根据宪法和法律”,并且所涉及的事项如果是应当由全国人大及其常委会制定法律的事项,则国务院必须先取得全国人大及其常委会的授权,否则会因擅自制定而无效。该《条例》的制定并未得到立法机关授权,无疑不合《立法法》;同时,也违背《宪法》89条关于其职权的规定,因此存

在程序性缺陷。其次,《条例》的制定也违背了立法的民主原则。当时的《立法法》第 5 条规定:“立法应当体现人民的意志,发扬社会主义民主,保障人民通过多种途径参与立法活动”;第 58 条规定:“行政法规在起草过程中,应当广泛听取有关机关、组织和公民的意见。听取意见可以采取座谈会、论证会、听证会等多种形式。”中国现有调整宗教关系的规范形式,主要是国务院行政法规及其部门规章;这些法规、规章,主要是由宗教行政管理部门主持完成的。<sup>[13]</sup>《条例》的制定也是如此,缺乏广大宗教信仰众的有效参与。为方便对宗教事务进行管理,行政部门自己起草宗教法规,自己执行。孟德斯鸠认为,“当立法权和行政权集中在同一个人或同一个机关之手,自由便不复存在了”,<sup>[14]</sup>如此“法制化”管理,体现的依然是“权力本位”,公民的宗教“权利”未能得到充分尊重。

从实体内容来看,该条例权力本位色彩也很明显。中国宪法明确将宗教信仰自由列为公民基本权利的一部分;《宪法》第 5 条第 3 款规定:“一切法律、行政法规和地方性法规都不得同宪法相抵触。”宪法在法律体系中是效力位阶最高的法,其他任何法律、行政法规的内容、精神都不得与宪法的原则和规定相抵触;否则,就会因违宪而无效。《条例》的价值取向重在限制、控制宗教的自由发展,而不是保障公民的宗教“权利”,即以权力控制、秩序维护为本位,而不是以权利保障为本位。例如,关于颇具争议的基督教“家庭聚会”问题,《条例》之前的政策、法规都给予一定程度的承认和保护。中共中央 1982 年 19 号文件明确规定:“在宗教活动场所内以及按宗教习惯在教徒自己家里进行的一切正常的宗教活动,如拜佛、诵经、烧香、礼拜、祈祷、讲经、讲道、弥撒、受洗、受戒、封斋、过宗教节日、终傅、追思等,都由宗教组织和宗教信徒自理,受法律保护,任何人不得加以干涉。”1994 年 4 月国务院宗教事务局对《宗教活动场所管理条例》“其他固定处所”的解释,“是指那些不是寺观教堂,而信教群众经常进行宗教活动的简易活动点”,允许信徒进行宗教活动。1997 年 10 月,国务院新闻办发布的《中国的宗教信仰自由状况》白皮书,明确表示“对基督教教徒按照宗教习惯,在自己家里举行以亲友为主参加的祷告、读经等宗教活动(中国基督教习惯称之为“家庭聚会”),不要求登记。”但在 2004 年的《条例》中,这种“家庭聚会”的权利只字未提,从而使过去这种得到承认的小规模聚集的宗教权利随时可能成为“非法”,从法律价值论来看,偏离了法应“权利本位”的时代精神,体现行政权力的“国家控制”色彩趋浓。又如,针对宗教活动空间范围的规定,《条例》[2004]甚至比过去的一些地方性法规还有所缩小。如有的地方法规规定:“应信仰宗教的公民要求,宗教教职人员可以按照宗教教义、教规和传统做法,在宗教活动场所、医院、殡仪馆、墓地举行婚礼、终傅、追思、祭奠等仪式。信仰宗教的公民可以按照宗教传统在本人住(居)所内过宗教生活。”<sup>[15]</sup>而《条例》[2004]第 20 条限定:“非宗教团体、非宗教活动场所不得组织、举行宗教活动,不得接受宗教性的捐献”,第 43 条更是明确:“非宗教团体、非宗教活动场所组织、举行宗教活动,接受宗教性捐献的,由宗教事务部门责令停止活动。”即过去按照宗教习惯或传统在医院、殡仪馆、墓地等处进行的宗教活动,在《条例》[2004]颁布后将成为“非法宗教活动”,随时都有被取缔的可能,宗教活动的合法空间大为缩小。

就法理而言,宗教事务管理的“法制化”,属于“法律工具主义”范畴。法律工具主义认为法律只是实现一定社会目标的工具和手段,自身不具有任何目的和价值意义,其隶属于“人治”的理论基础,同依法治国的目标背道而驰。“宗教法制”,是将执政者的主观意志条文化、规范化,用相对固定的“法

[13] 参见刘澎 Liu Peng:《中国宗教法治化的历程》Zhongguo zongjiao fazhihua de licheng[The Progress of Rule of Law of Chinese Religion],2008 年中国社会科学院世界宗教所 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo[World Religion Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]“当代宗教问题研讨会”论文 Dangdai zongjiao wenti yantaohui lunwen[Paper for Seminar on Contemporary Religious Issues].

[14] 孟德斯鸠 Baron de Montesquieu:《论法的精神》Lun fa de jingshen[On the Spirit of Law](上册 Shangce[Book 1]),张雁深 Zhang yanshen 译,(北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan[Commercial Press])1982,156.

[15] 参见《山东省宗教事务管理条例》Shandongsheng zongjiao shiwu tiaoli[Shandong Religious Affairs Regulations](2000)第三章“宗教活动”第二十一条[Chapter III “Religious Activities” Article 21].

制”而不是过于灵活的“政策”管理宗教事务。法制仅是执政者管理、控制宗教势力的手段,其本质是工具性、服务性的,既没有至上地位,也没有独立的价值,体现的是“权力意志性”,是将对宗教的管理和控制合法化、制度化而已。这种“法制化”,也与历代中国对宗教的“法制化社会控制”相一致。传统中国关于“法”的理解,就是工具性的“规矩”、“绳墨”、“权衡”。《管子》就认为“尺寸也,绳墨也,规矩也,衡石也,斗斛也,角量也,谓之法”;“法律政令者,吏民规矩绳墨也。夫矩不正,不可以求方;绳不信,不可以求直。”《墨子》认为,“百工为方以矩,为圆以规,直以绳,……故百工从事,皆有法所度。”法作为“规矩、绳墨、权衡”,就是国家统治、社会管理的工具,“限制”、“禁制”、“约束”是法的主要功能,“国家本位主义”、“权力本位主义”是传统中国法的价值追求。在宗教管理方面,中国具有“宗教法制”的悠久传统。曹魏时期的鸿胪寺、北魏的监福曹、北齐及隋朝的昭玄寺、唐代的崇玄署、宋代的鸿胪寺、元代的宣政院、明清的僧道录司,都是专司宗教事务管理的国家机关,对宗教进行制度化的管理和控制。其涉及的“宗教法制”,有僧道出家考试制度、度牒捐买制度、出家名额限制制度、寺观创建制度、僧道度授制度、僧道敬君父督责制度、僧道违戒及非法行为及活动的监控制度、僧道财产的禁限制度等。这种用“法制”管控宗教的方法代代相传,成为一种“集体无意识”,深深铭刻于中国人的心灵深处,在当代面临相似问题时,自然会再次成为宗教事务管理的一种手段。中发〔2002〕3号文就明确表示,宗教事务管理的“法制化”,就是“对宗教方面涉及国家利益、社会公共利益的关系和行为,以及社会公共活动涉及宗教界权益的关系和行为的行政管理”。众所周知,“行政管理”是国家运用权力对社会事务进行管理的一种活动,通过管理社会公共事务,实现统治的政治职能。这一“法制”思维,也可谓千年历史习惯在当代的继续。

### 三、宗教法治

1997年9月,中共十五大提出“依法治国,建设社会主义法治国家”。1999年3月,通过宪法修正案形式,将“依法治国,建设社会主义法治国家”的基本方略写入宪法。2014年十八届四中全会提出“法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设”,深化了法治建设的要求。

#### (一)“法制”不是“法治”

“法治”的提出,给包括宗教在内的社会事务管理提出了新的挑战。前文所述的“法制”,与“法治”虽有关联,但二者在性质、价值取向等方面有着巨大差异。

“法制”是法律制度、法律体制、法律体系的简称,是工具性概念,属于工具操作范畴,仅仅表明社会中存在独立于其他制度的法律制度,法律仅仅是权力所运用的一种工具,是控制国家与社会的手段。法制强调秩序价值,并不一定建立在正当性基础上。历史中,法律也的确长期被权力拥有者用作维护自己统治的工具。“法制”自身是中性的,既可以为民主政治服务,也可以为专制政治服务。专制政体下,法制仅为社会控制、政治统治、行政管理的一种工具,其价值取向主要是统治者的政治秩序,自身并不具有独立性。而在民主政体中,法制则为人民意志的体现,其价值取向是人民的权利保障,法制自身具有独立性。

“法治”,英文为 Rule of Law,意为“法的统治”,即“法在国家与社会生活中是统治权威和行为基准,居于支配一切的地位;任何人、任何组织,都必须遵守法律,在法律面前人人平等,不得有超越法律的特权。”<sup>[16]</sup>法治是一种治国方略,也是一种价值追求,旨在保障公民权利与人权、自由之实现。对于社会主义法治国家的基本特征,学界普遍认为应具备人民主权、法律至上、法制完备、依法行政、司法

[16] 郭道晖:《法理学精义》Falixue jingyi[The Essence of Jurisprudence],(长沙 Changsha:湖南人民出版社 Hunan renmin chubanshe[Hunan People's Publishing House],2005),340.

公正、权力约束、权利保护、人权保障、社会自治等特征。<sup>[17]</sup> 国家的主权属于人民, 人民通过科学、民主的方式, 将人民的意志或主张形成完备的法律, 法律在整个社会规范体系中, 具有至高地位, 任何自然人、法人都必须遵守法律, 任何人或组织都不能享有违法的特权。至上的“法律”一定是“良法”, 是合乎自然法、人心本性之法, 合乎国际公约与世界通行规则。任何公权力的拥有和行使都必须具有法律依据, 立法、行政、司法权力的运行, 必须接受法律的约束与规范, 如此才能保障人民包括宗教权利在内各种权利的实现。

## (二) 宗教事务管理法治化的应有内涵与实然图景

“宗教法治”的实现, 有其内在的诸多要素构成要求, 其中最重要的是“权利保障”“政教分离”“权力制约”三个方面, 其法理内涵及实际状况分述如下。

1. 宗教权利保障。“权利本位”是法治国家的本质要求, 以权利为本还是以义务为本, 是法治国家与人治国家的重要区别。人类悠久的历史业已证明, “宗教性”是人之为人、有别于动物的核心本质之一, 宗教信仰、宗教活动是人本性的必然要求, “宗教权利”即宗教信仰自由的权利, 是人与生俱来的人权, 和衣食住行等日常生活一样, 是公民不可或缺的“私权利”的一种。需要特别指明的是, “其他所有的自由均脱胎于信仰的自由”;<sup>[18]</sup> 因此, 和人的其他权利相比, 宗教权利的保障更为基础和重要。

现实生活中, 对公民宗教权利的侵害、减损事件时有发生。就减损的权力类型而言, 宗教权利的减损可分为“立法性减损”“执法性减损”“司法性减损”。从作为与否来看, 对宗教权利的减损可分为“作为性减损”与“不作为性减损”。立法领域作为性的减损有: 宗教权利在《宪法》中存在矛盾的价值取向, 《宗教事务条例》存在抽象保障但具体限制等问题。不作为性减损体现在, 没有宪法法院, 没有违宪审查机制, 保障公民宗教权利的《宗教基本法》尚缺位。行政执法领域主要体现为作为性减损; 由于立法的缺陷, 导致大量的正常宗教活动成为“非法宗教活动”, 拘留、罚款、禁止、限制宗教权利的现象时有发生。司法领域, 主要体现为不作为性减损, 许多涉及宗教事务的案件法院不予受理, 宗教权利缺乏有效救济。这些现象, 与权利保障的法治要求背道而驰, 有待未来逐步改善。

2. 政教分离。“政教分离”是法治国家应对政教关系的基本原则, 也是发达国家处理政教关系的成功经验, 是国家保护公民宗教权利的基本前提。“政教分离”并非意味着政治和宗教彻底割裂, 而是指作为公权力的政府组织与作为社会力量的宗教组织之间的分离, 其内涵包括五个方面: 其一, 保护宗教内部事务不受世俗权力的干预, 如宗教人员免受官员干预, 宗教财产免遭政府侵占, 宗教的规则、仪式免遭政治的强迫与控制等, 以维护宗教的独立性和纯洁性。其二, 该原则同时强调宗教也不能干预世俗权力事务, 是政府抵御宗教控制的手段。政府和宗教组织具有截然不同的功能, 如果二者结合在一起, 对两者的纯洁性和有效性都会产生危害, 宗教拥有世俗权力将腐化政府, 政府拥有宗教权力将玷污宗教。其三, 该原则保护个人良心自由免受政府和宗教势力的干预。公民的宗教权利是个人化且不可剥夺的, 它不能、也不该被留给社会整体意志去支配, 无论该社会整体是教会或国家。其四, 该原则保护地方宗教事务免于中央政府或联邦政府干预; 宗教是地方性的, 中央或联邦政府不对地方宗教组织的正常运行加以干涉。其五, 该原则保护社会及其成员免于被迫支持和反对宗教, 强制宣誓、强制参加或强制禁止参加宗教仪式、强制登记财产等, 都与“政教分离”原则相左。<sup>[19]</sup> 历史证明, 实行“政教分离”的结果, 国家、宗教、公民个人的权利与自由都能得到实现和保障。

[17] 参见张文显主编 Zhang wenxian:《法理学》Falixue[Jurisprudence](第三版[Third Edition]),(北京 Beijing:高等教育出版社 Gaodeng Jiaoyu chubanshe[Higher Education Press],2007),403-407.

[18] [美]约翰·范泰尔 John Van Til:《良心的自由》Liangxin de ziyou[Liberty of Conscience],张大军 Zhang Dajun 译,(贵阳 Guiyang:贵州大学出版社 Guizhou daxue chubanshe[Guizhou University Press],2011),英文版序[Preface].

[19] 参见[美]小约翰·威特 John Witt Jr.:《宗教与美国宪政经验》Zongjiao yu meiguo xianzheng jingyan[Religion and American Constitutional Experiment],(上海 Shanghai:上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian[Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore])2011,71-76.

中发〔2002〕3号文正式提出宗教事务管理的“政教分离”原则。“我国实行政教分离的原则,任何宗教都没有超越宪法和法律的特权,都不能干预行政、司法和教育等国家职能的实施。不能以宗教信仰自由和政教分离为借口,放弃或摆脱政府对宗教事务的管理”;政教分离是“政教双方的分离,不是宗教与世俗政权单方的分离”,<sup>[20]</sup>中发〔2002〕3号文虽然提出了“政教分离”的概念,具有进步意义,但其具体内容规定的是宗教与国家职能的单向分离,缺乏公权力与宗教分离的另一向度。2016年的全国宗教会议继续强调,“必须坚持政教分离,坚持宗教不得干预行政、司法、教育等国家职能实施。”但与此前不同的是,其后出现了“坚持政府依法对涉及国家利益和社会公共利益的宗教事务进行管理”之表述,也就是将公权力对宗教事务的管理,限定在“涉及国家利益和社会公共利益上的事务”范围内,实际上是对政府宗教事务部门对宗教团体“无所不管、事事过问”旧管理模式的否定。而且,第一次在宗教领域明确提出“法治”模式:“要提高宗教工作法治化水平,用法律规范政府管理宗教事务的行为,用法律调节涉及宗教的各种社会关系。要保护广大信教群众合法权益,深入开展法治宣传教育,教育引导广大信教群众正确认识和处理好国法和教规的关系,提高法治观念。”同时,明确表示“支持各宗教保持基本信仰、核心教义、礼仪制度”;公权力与宗教的分离向度,在观念、政策层面得到一定程度的彰显。

3. 公权力约束。国家对公民宗教权利进行限制,是行使国家权力的一个方面。法治国家中,权力的行使应严格遵循“法无授权皆禁止”原则,否则就是越权或权力滥用。因此,国家权力对宗教权利的干预或限制,在法理上其自由度非常之小。<sup>[21]</sup>

在对宗教权利实施干涉或限制时,国际通行的标准是同时满足“法律限制”“合理目标”以及“必要性”三个要素,才能证明该种干涉为正当。<sup>[22]</sup>《公民权利和政治权利公约》(ICCPR)18条第3款,“表示自己的宗教或信仰的自由,仅只受法律所规定的以及为保障公共安全、秩序、卫生或道德、或他人的基本权利和自由所必需的限制”,除此之外,宗教权利不应受到干预或减损。联合国人权委员会曾对ICCPR第18条第3款的类似规定做过一般评论,其核心内容是,对公约中的限制性条款的内容应该予以严格解释:“即使这些限制可以针对公约保护的其他权利(例如国家安全)提出,但是对宗教自由的限制不能基于该条没有指明的原因而提出。限制的施加只能基于预先设定的目标,而且必须与其依赖的特定需求直接相关且相称。不能为了歧视性的目的或者采用歧视性的方式施加限制”。<sup>[23]</sup>在司法实践中,欧洲人权法院、欧美各国普遍采用“比例分析法”,即限制措施是否与“合理目标”具有合理联系,对权利或自由的造成的损害是否最小,是否存在实现此目标的更小限制方案等。<sup>[24]</sup>发达国家之所以在此问题上谨小慎微,因为宗教自由权是人类权利中最为重要的权利之一,是公民个人尊严中不可或缺的元素。<sup>[25]</sup>

中发〔1991〕6号文“对宗教事务进行管理,是为了使宗教活动纳入法律、法规和政策的范围,不是去干预正常的宗教活动和宗教团体的内部事务”,在“政策”层面对公权力的行使作了一定限制。中发

[20] 刘澎 Liu Peng:《中国需要宗教法:走出中国宗教管理体制的困境》Zhongguo xuyao zongjiaofa: zouchu zhongguo zongjiao guanli tizhi de kunjing[China needs Religious Law],《宗教与法治》Zongjiao yu fazhi[Religion and the Rule of Law],2014,创刊号 No. 1.

[21] 国内学者认为,权力对权利的限制应遵循“正当性”、“不贬损”、“最低性”等原则;参见汪太贤、艾明 Wang Taixian, Aiming:《法治的理念与方略》Fazhi de linian yu fanglue[Concept and Strategy of Rule of Law],(北京:中国检察出版社 Zhongguo jiancha chubanshe[China Procuratorial Press],2001),125-128.

[22] W. Cole Durham, Brett G. Scharffs, Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives, 2010 Aspen publishers, New York, p232-233

[23] General Comment N0. 22(48) on Article 18, U. N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev. 1/Add. 4(1993).

[24] W. Cole Durham, Brett G. Scharffs, Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives, 2010 Aspen publishers, New York, p245, 250.

[25] W. Cole Durham, Brett G. Scharffs, Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives, 2010 Aspen publishers, New York, p249.



[2002]3 号文“依法进行管理,就是要切实保障宗教信仰自由,保证正常宗教活动的有序进行,保护宗教团体的合法权益”,同时又提出“依法管理宗教事务的要旨是保护合法,制止非法,抵御渗透,打击犯罪”,其宗旨是“把对宗教事务的管理纳入法制化轨道”,其“法制”意识较为明显,而“法治”特征并不鲜明。2016 年的全国宗教会议,明确提出“提高宗教工作法治化水平,用法律规范政府管理宗教事务的行为”,法律规范、制约公权力的“法治”原则在“政策”层面开始得到表述。然而遗憾的是,2017 年修订、2018 年施行的《宗教事务条例》,未能很好贯彻 2016 年全国宗教会议开始倡导的“法治”精神,其不仅存在既往的程序性瑕疵,而且在宗教院校的设立、外籍宗教人员的聘用、宗教培训的开展、宗教活动场所的设立、宗教活动的进行、临时活动地点的申请及其活动、教职人员的认定、宗教活动的地点、宗教教育的进行、宗教会议与培训的出境参加、大型宗教活动的举行、宗教出版物的入境、宗教网络信息服务、宗教捐赠、宗教财务管理等方面,相对于以往,更加强化了监管及限制力度。其后果是,大大降低了众多宗教组织合法化的可能性,许多宗教组织极易被定性为非法组织,正常宗教活动极易被定性为非法活动,进而面临各种惩治。修订后的《条例》共 77 条,“不得”字样达 26 次之多,其中大多为限制性内容。总体而言,修订后的《条例》“权力管控”愈加强化,“权利保障”愈加淡薄。

## 结语

处理、处置包括宗教等社会问题的具体手段,或谓“应对机制”,有政治方式、行政方式、法治等三种形式。用“政策”管理宗教事务,主要体现为“政治方式”,采用“法制”依法管理宗教事务的方式,属于“行政管理”方式,两者都属于“人治”而非“法治”范畴。中国在 1980 年代关于“人治与法治”问题的大讨论中,已经确认“从人治到法治”具有历史必然性与必要性。中共十五大正式提出“依法治国,建设社会主义法治国家”,随后又将这一治国方略纳入宪法,实际是郑重宣示并承诺:从此摒弃“人治”治国模式,实行“法治”治国模式。建设法治国家、法治社会,宗教领域自然不能例外。“政策”“法制”与“法治”虽然有关,但“政策”“法制”并不是“法治”。“政策”若要上升为“法治”意义下的“法制”,应当是把经过实践证明行之有效、符合客观规律、保障公民权益、需要长期贯彻执行的政策,通过法律形式固定下来,使之定型化、条文化、规范化。只有保障公民权利、合乎时代要求的政策,其条文化、系统化后形成的法律,才是法治得以运行的制度根基。要将几十年“全面贯彻党的宗教信仰自由”的政策要落到实处,中国需要摆脱对宗教过于敏感的心态,制定一部涉及诸种宗教社会关系的《宗教基本法》,这是宗教“法制化”的要求,也是实现“宗教工作法治化”的前提。诚然,未来中国的《宗教基本法》必须以宗教“权利保障”为价值取向,尊重宗教自身的传统与特点,并与相关国际人权公约接轨。唯有如此,“宗教法治”才有可能;否则,我们只能在“宗教法制”的历史惯圈中继续循环。

**English Title:**

**Policy, Legality and Rule of law: The Jurisprudence Thinking for the Management Mode of Religious Affairs in China**

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**Absrtact:** The management of religious affairs has the mode of “Policy”, “Legality”, “Rule of Law” and so on. In the past reformed 40 years, China’s religious management policy has a consistent content, and the policy has always held the highest position in the management of religious affairs at all levels of government. Since the 1990s, religious administration has been “legalized” gradually. The implementation of the Religious Affairs Ordinance issued in 2004 marked the management mode of religious affairs in China entered the era that managing religious affairs according to regulations. In 2014, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPP Central Committee proposed “Integration Building for Rule of Law Country, Rule of Law Government and Rule of Law Society”. In 2016, the National Conference on Religious Work proposed “Improving the Rule of Law in Religious Work”, Rule of Law has become the goal of religious affairs management. Rule of law in religion has factors such as “Rights Protection”, “Separation of Church and State”, “Public Power Restriction” and so on. The management of religious affairs in China needs to go beyond the traditional mode such as “Policy” and “Legality”. The “Rule of Law” mode of Good Law and Good Governance is the inevitable choice.

**Key Words:** Religion; Management; Policy; Legality; Rule of Law



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



# The Abolition and Reconstruction of a Church

## A Case Study of Christian Localization in Nu Village within the North Sino-Myanmar Boundary<sup>[1]</sup>

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**Abstract:** The church is an important place for Christians to practice their faith. It has also become an important symbol to highlight the history memory of the village in the ethnic areas of the North Sino-Myanmar Boundary. Christianity was introduced into Nu people for nearly one hundred years, Christian faith has become an important part of its cultural tradition. A history of the construction of the Christian church is the history of the Christian faith. To explore the process of the construction, abolishment and reconstruction of the Christian church is to reveal the dynamic change process of the Christian faith from the outside to the native. Taking the Christian church in Laomudeng which is a village of Nu people as an example, this paper aims to explore the Socio-cultural implications of “Christian localization” by presenting the religious practices of Nu Christians in building churches in different history periods.

**Key Words:** Laomudeng Church; Nusu; Christian; The holy spirit

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## I . Question Proposal

Before Christianity was introduced into the middle and upper reaches of the Nu river, the Nu people (怒族) who lived there believed in the primitive religion with “Animism” as its core. According to this concept, the sacred space and landscape of the region mainly refer to the natural

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[1] Fund Projects: 2017 National Social Science Fund Major Bidding Project, Research on the Problems of Rural Christianity under the Background of Sincization 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 Sincization 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).

objects and natural landscapes. In the religious experience of Nu people, sharp exposed peaks and luxuriant trees are often regarded as inhabited by the spirits. When Christianity as a foreign religion, was introduced, the church formed another artificial sacred space and gradually participated in and shaped the landscape of the village. Like many villages of different ethnic groups along the northern border of Sino-Myanmar, the distribution of villages centered on churches has become a common feature in the villages of the Nu people.

The significance of church to Christianity needs no further explanation. On the one hand, it is an important place to carry out various religious activities, and its shape and interior decoration are indicative of the differences between the holy and the vulgar. On the other hand, the church is also a space of communion for believers who worship God and listen to the oracle. One Nu Christian use a metaphor, offered an excellent interpretation about this: "The church are limbs of God, and we are limbs of Jesus Christ. If the church is the root of the grape, we are the branch of the grape. If it is gone, it will have no grapes. Because of this, we need to go church with our brothers and sisters to listen and share God's word."<sup>[2]</sup>

From the perspective of representation theory of anthropology, as a symbol of Christian faith, church not only shows the religious identity of believers, but also is closely related to the history memory of religion groups, which can show the dynamic process of the Christian faith from the outside to the native. Looking back the Christianity history of Nu people, political interference with religion always started with "confiscating the Bible" and "tearing down the church". However, in the researches of religion anthropology on the topic of "Christianity localization", there are only a few cases that focus on the history memory of a specific church. This paper can be regarded as an attempt from this research perspective. The author hopes to explore that how the dynamic process of "Christianity localization" is reflected in the activities of continuously church-building in a Nu village.

## II . Location and Object

Laomudeng (老姆登) Village belongs to Pihe Nu Xiang (匹河怒族乡), Fugong County, Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province. Located in the hinterland of Nu River valley, Laomudeng village based on the west mountainside of Biluo Snow Mountain (碧罗雪山), across Nu River from the Gaoligong Mountain (高黎贡山) which is the northern border area between China and Myanmar. To the east, the village is adjoining Lanping Pumi and Bai Autonomous County (兰坪普米族自治县) that is also affiliated Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture. While the village is adjacent to Shawa village (沙瓦村) (Pihe Nu Xiang) and Zhiziluovillage (知子罗村) (the former site of Bijiang County government) in the north and south, respectively. The total population of Laomudeng village are 1338 (2018), of which the Nu population accounts for 84%. There are different branches of Nu people. The Nu people in Laomudeng call themselves as "Nusu (怒苏)".

[2] Interviewee: Pu Yunhai 浦云海, the Christian from Laomudeng 老姆登 village. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

Nusu is the most populous branch of the Nu people. The Nusu people have their own language, which belongs to the Yi language branch of the Tibetan-Burmese language family. However, the name of the village was actually named from Bai language (白族话). Laomudeng, in Bai language, means “a land of purple bamboo”. Nevertheless, Nusu people in Laomudeng call their village as “chada”, which means a place surrounded by a fence. Laomudeng is a village with long history. According to ethnic groups survey in the 1950s and 1960s, the elders in the village could recall their family trees of 64 generations based on their patronymic linkage system<sup>[3]</sup>.

Before the national government formally put this place into administrative management, the area where Laomudeng located was led by the chieftains who lived in Lijiang, but they were led under Jimi system<sup>[4]</sup>. Locating the threshold between Nu river valley and Lancang river (澜沧江) valley, therefore, villagers here were influenced by Han people and Bai people earlier than other branches of Nu people. In 1912, an official border management team stationed in Nujiang valley area. This team called Nu Qiu Zhi Bian Dui (怒俅殖边队), which was originally set up in Yingpan Zhen (营盘镇), Lanping county. The team instituted a Zhiziluo Administrative Committee (知子罗行政委员会). In doing so, this indicated that government had directly and officially governed over this border area since then. At that time, Laomudeng was also controlled under Zizhiluo government. Later, Zhiziluo Administrative Committee was renamed as Bijiang Shezhiju (碧江设治局)<sup>[5]</sup>. Laomudeng was affiliated with Zhiziluo until the end of the 1980s.

Christian was introduced into Laomudeng in the 1920s. Since then, it has gradually developed into the religious belief of the vast majority of those villagers. So far, Christian has a history of nearly a hundred year here. Although it was once interrupted for political reasons, Christian has been becoming one of the most important beliefs of villagers, and now the proportion of believers accounts for about 80% of the total population. For the earliest Christian followers in the village, four generations of their families have engaged in Christian. There are three churches in Laomudeng village—Laomudeng church, Yueliangtian church (月亮田教堂), and Bulai church (布莱教堂). They are all under the administration of the Pihe Xiang Christian Church. The most famous of the three churches is the Laomudeng church. The existence of Laomudeng church not only reflects the village's century-old Christian culture, but also has become one of brand tourist site of Nujiang valley, attracting countless tourists.

### III. The Laomudeng Church before the 1950s

It is not clearly about the exact time when Christianity was introduced into the Nu people from the history records, but it can be generally inferred that it was not later than the 1920s. Before the 1950s, the Nu Christians were respectively affiliated to three Christian missions in the upper and

[3] This system is common among Tibeto-Burmans. Under this system, the last one or two syllables of the father's name are the first one or two syllables of the son's name.

[4] Jimi system was an autonomous administrative and political organization system that the central authorities of different China dynasties used to govern ethnic areas. In this context, it means chieftains of Lijiang let Nu people manage their area.

[5] Shezhiju was a special management system during the Republic of China period and early of the People's Republic of China period. It is similar to a governing council, and also can be seen as county-to-be government.



middle reaches of the Nu River. From north to south successively were: Disciples of Christ (基督会) preaching in Gongshan County (贡山县); The Assemblies of God (神召会) which occupied the middle and north of today's Fugong County (福贡县), and China Inland Mission (中华内地会) which controlled churches in the north of Lushui City (泸水市) and the south of today's Fugong County. China Inland Mission was the earliest one arrived the Nu River among the three missions mentioned above. In 1926, when Allyn Cooke (杨思慧), an American missionary from China Inland Mission, preached in Muchengpo (木城坡) of Luxi (潞西), he sent a group of Lisu (傈僳) preachers to Lisu Villages in northwest Yunnan. It is recorded that in this early missionary activity, "Job, Luka, Jesse and other Lisu preachers from Muchengpo met the nephew of Bo zhanga (波章阿), who married from Bijiang Daluo (碧江达罗) to Lushui Shangjiang (泸水上江), then the nephew of Bo zhanga brought them to Daluo village where the Lisu and Nu ethnic groups mixed for preaching."<sup>[6]</sup> If this is true, the time of the Nu people's conversion can be backtracked to 1926. According to the records of priest Zacchaeus; the conversion to Christianity of Laomudeng village started in 1927, Job and other Lisu pastors were the first one to arrive here.<sup>[7]</sup> It can be seen that the Laomudeng's Christian faith was closely related to the early missionary activities of China Inland Mission. From the perspective of the Nu people as a whole, the Nusu branch mainly distributed in Bijiang county should be the first group of Nu contacting with Christianity.

Before the 1950s, there was no doubt that China Inland Mission had great influence on the establishment and construction of churches in various regions and ethnic groups in Bijiang County. The Laomudeng village was no exception. In 1933, the American priest Of China Inland Mission, Allyn Cooke, established the central church in the village of LiwuDi (里务底) on the west bank of the Nu River, and was responsible for coordinating and managing religious affairs throughout Bijiang county. Although the church's main base was in the village of Liwudi, priest Cooke spent him 16 years preaching from village to village. For he and his companions, Nusu and Lisu people were both the target groups of their followers. Today, there are many witnesses of his preaching in the villages of Sede (色德), Miangu (棉古), Laomudeng and Shawa which belong to today's Pihe Nu Xiang.

According to the memories of the Laomudeng pastors, the Cooke Couple had visited the village many times, but considering that their location was close to the Bijiang county government, they did not stay long. Their main duties in the village were to teach Christian classics, train local pastors, and then establish the Laomudeng Church: "Cooke couple spent more than a month in Liwudi which is located on the west bank of the Nu River. Then they came to stay at Ximapi's (希马匹) house in Daluo village. A little later they came to our Laomudeng. Those who had attended the church called the congregation together to hear them preach the Bible. They followed the Bible and said what could be done, what could not be done, what could be eaten, and what could not be eaten. At that time (Christianity) began to spread bit by bit."<sup>[8]</sup>

[6] 史富相 Shi Fuxiang,《傅能仁、巴东和杨思慧夫妇》Fu nengren Badong he Yangsihuihufu [Fraser, Ba Thaw and Mr and Mrs Cooke], 史富相 Shi Fuxiang 主编:《史富相文集》Shi Fuxiang wenji [Shi Fuxiang Essays], (怒新出(2006)准印字 16 号 Nu xin chu (2006)zhunyinzil6hao [Nu Jiang Press and Publication Bureau], 2006), 189.

[7] 桑鲁斯 Zacchaeus,《老姆登教会简史》Laomudeng jiaohui jianshi [The brief History of the Laomudeng Church] (Unpublished, 2009), 1.

[8] Interviewee: Matthew, Former head of Pihe xiang church.

In addition to preaching religious doctrines and instructing rituals, priest Cooke also introduced the church's self-sustaining mode with dedication as its core to Laomudeng believers, stressing that "dedication" must be voluntary, no coercion was allowed, and there was no specific stipulation on the amount of "dedication". It can be seen that in the process of missionary work, missionaries from China Inland Mission also inculcated the intention of mission to their followers. "China Inland Mission founded in the second half of the 19th century was a kind of Faith Mission. They depended "not on great learning or sufficient funds, but only on complete faith in God…… In economy, it neither asked for money nor for donations, but simply relied on God through faith and prayer. It attracted all kinds of devotions from different sects and complete the mission in China mainland."〔9〕

Since Christianity was introduced into the Laomudeng Village, with the joint support of Cooke couple and the Lisu and Nu pastors, the number of believers had been increasing day by day. Between 1927 and 1928, the number of believers was more than 150 people and the Laomudeng church had been established at the same time. Pu Ji, the grandfather of Elijah who is the elder of Pihe Xiang church, and La Hua, the father of priest Zachaeus, were the first pastors in the history of the Laomudeng Church. Before there was a church, all religious activities were held in the houses of the pastors. Pu ji and La hua's houses were used as preaching and lodging places for the Christian missionaries including Cooke couple. As the Number of believers grew, Puji and other pastors planned to build the first church in Laomudeng.

The first church in Laomudeng was built between 1928 and 1929 in a different location from the present one. It was located on the ground at the foot of the Sacred Mountain named Qiudi (虬迪) which lied to the east of the village. The locals called it Jiongtong church.〔10〕(囧筒教堂) The form of church was "Mingda yao".〔11〕 There were two types of traditional houses in Nusu area; one was "Zen Yao" written in Chinese literature as the "floor room with a thousand feet". (千脚落地房)〔12〕 It was characterized by the pillar as the load-bearing structure of the house, which was very suitable for the Nu Jiang mountain area where flat land was scarce. During construction, a portion of the pillar needed to be buried underground. The other was Mingda Yao, which was different from the Zen Yao. Although it also supports the load by pillars, it can be built directly on the ground. Compared with Zen Yao, Mingda Yao had the advantages of large building volume and less materials, but it had higher requirements on the flatness of foundation. Not only in the village of Laomudeng, but almost all the early churches of Nu villages took the shape of Mingda Yao. This was partly due to the poverty of the Nu people at the time, and partly due to the notion claimed by the China Inland Mission that the missionary should be close to the lives of the faithful and involve in that. China Inland Mission was an exception among the Protestant sects in China. In order to promote its missionary work, many new missionary strategies were invented: including wearing Chinese clothes, emulating the Chinese way of life, actively going into the lower class of China to preach and so on.

〔9〕 郭熹微 Guo Xiwei,《试论中华内地会的产生及特点》Shilun zhonghuaneidihui de chansheng ji tedian [Discussion on the emergence and characteristics of China Inland Mission],《世界宗教研究》Shijie zongjiao yanjiu [Studies in World Religions] 1996, (2).

〔10〕 Jiongtong is a vocabulary from Nu people. The meaning is that flat ground has come to an end.

〔11〕 Yao is a vocabulary from Nu people. The meaning is house used for people living.

〔12〕 Zen is a vocabulary from Nu people. The meaning is pillar.

About the experience of building the first church in Laomudeng, elder Matthew recalled: "As more and more people joined into our church, until more than 70 or 80 people, we decided to construct a church building. We managed to get all of the building materials for the church! At that time, the situation was that you cut down bamboos and I made up rafters, then others joint preparation of making fences etc. The church was built up by our team work!"<sup>[13]</sup>

However, soon after the completion of the Jiongtong church, it was forced to be demolished by the Government of the Bijiang county. The Christians of Laomudeng who were not content with that rebuilt it on the same site, but it was torn down immediately again. The irate government had detained several people, including Pu Ji and La Hua for their involvement in building the church. This incident was also revealed in the Bijiang County Annals, which was compiled in the 1980s: "In 1932, Dong Fen (董芬), who controlled the Bijiang government, ordered the detention of Job, a Lisu missionary of the Liwudi Church, and confiscated the Bible, demolishing all Christian churches except the Liwudi."<sup>[14]</sup> The incident shows the intensification of the conflicts between the growing Christian church and the county government. Under this situation, priest Cooke negotiated with the county government through letters, and protested to the national government of Yunnan Province, finally ending up with the county government's compromise. The detained pastoral staff such as Job and Pu Ji were also released. After this incident, the national government had no longer interfered in the construction of Christian churches in the Nu Jiang valley.

With the acquiescence of the national government and the patronage of foreign missionaries, Christianity in Bijiang county entered its most rapid development in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as reflected in the church building in Laomudeng. In the 12 years between 1933 and 1945, because of the massive increase of the number of believers, two churches were built in Laomudeng. One was at the site of the old Church, the other was located on the Lakongjiong (拉孔囡) at the bottom of the village which was built to accommodate the believers who live there. According to the writings of Zacchaeus: "In 1945, the Christians from all over Bijiang gathered at the Church of Lakongjiong for the Christmas day celebration, and the Cooke couple also made a speech on that day. The Christians were very happy in Laomudeng."<sup>[15]</sup> However, the Laomudeng church, with two churches, had unexpectedly split since then. It was priest Cooke who stepped in at the crucial moment to stop the internal dissension within the church. Former elder Matthew recalled the scene and said, "Priest Cooke told us that there is only one sun and one moon in the sky, so as the Wusa."<sup>[16]</sup> Two churches should be merged and there could only be one king."<sup>[17]</sup> Under the mediation of priest Cooke, the decision was made to merge the two churches, with plans for a new site in the middle of the two churches. The site was very close to the present Laomudeng Church. The fourth Laomudeng Church was built next to a pool. It was not a Mingda Yao, but an adobe house to accommodate more

[13] Interviewee: Matthew, Former head of Pihe xiang church.

[14] 云南省怒江傈僳族自治州地方志编纂委员会: YunNan sheng nujianglisuzuzhizhoushidafangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui [The Editorial Committee of YunNan Provincial Nujiangzhou Chorography]《碧江县志》Bijiang xianzhi [Bijiang County Annals], (昆明 Kunming: 云南民族出版社 Yunnan minzu chubanshe [Yunnan minzu Press] 1994), 445.

[15] 桑鲁斯 Zacchaeus, 《老姆登教会简史》Laomudeng jiaohui jianshi [The brief History of the Laomudeng Church] (Unpublished, 2009), 4.

[16] Wusa is a vocabulary from Lisu language. The meaning is God.

[17] Interviewee: Matthew, Former head of Pihe Xiang church.

believers. The completion of the new church brought the church back together and made the priest Zacchaeus very delighted. As he wrote: “The Holy Spirit filled and moved us again, and the congregation became more and more numerous.”<sup>[18]</sup>

By reviewing the past of the Laomudeng Church in the first half of the 20th century, the Nu’s Christian believers and the establishment of the church were inseparable from the support of foreign and Lisu and Nu missionaries. Missionaries not only spread the doctrines and rituals of Christianity to the Nu people, but also help them to establish the self-sustaining church mode with the characteristics of China Inland Mission. “Self- sustaining” was the key to the localization of Christian churches. Although the Lisu and Nu Christians living in the border area between China and Myanmar were very poor, the missionaries of China Inland Mission still insisted that the believers bear all the expenses of the church and oppose any behavior that was not conducive to the self- sustaining of the church.<sup>[19]</sup> Such a localized church undoubtedly made it have the ability to resist the changes of external environment and survive in the subsequent social changes. It should also be noted that the Nu Christians of Laomudeng were constantly assimilating and internalizing the Christian doctrines and rules of church organization. During this period, a group of faithful Christian families emerged, represented by Pu Ji and La Hua’s family, whose descendants we will see in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century completed the construction of Laomudeng Church in adversity.

#### **IV. Laomudeng church after 1949**

In June 1949, the whole area of Bijiang were peacefully liberated. Foreign missionaries who had long been lived in the Nujiang Valley had also been ordered to leave the country within a limited time. In the late summer or early fall of 1949, missionary Cooke held the last Bible study class in Shangmiangu Village(上棉古村), Nusu Area. Then fled out the country from Sede Village, Pihe Xiang to Myanmar, and never returned back. All Christian churches based on Nujiang Valley have broken contact with foreign missionaries who were actually in charge of those churches. In 1950, under the premise of fully guaranteeing the freedom of religious belief of the citizens, the new regime proposed a “three-autonomy policy (San Zi Fang Zhen)” to manage religion issues within the country. “Three-autonomy policy” means religion believers have autonomy of managing their religion affairs, arranging the missionary works, sponsoring their religions, which really related to the Christian believers. As a result, “the various Christian churches and sects in China had been united together, and there was no longer sectarian conflict caused by belief in the same god”.<sup>[20]</sup> But this free atmosphere for religion only lasted until 1958. Since then, Christian in China had experienced huge setbacks.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the whole country was permeated through a turbulent political atmosphere and this atmosphere quickly spread to the ethnic minorities of the southwestern border

[18] 桑鲁斯 Zacchaeus,《老姆登教会简史》Laomudeng jiaohui jianshi [The brief History of the Laomudeng Church] (Unpublished, 2009), 5.

[19] 申晓虎 Shen Xiaohu,《怒江傈僳族内地会研究》Nujiang lisuzu neidihui yanjiu [The Study of Nujiang Inland Mission in Lisu], (北京 Beijing: 光明日报出版社 Guangming ribao chubanshe [Guangming Daily Press], 2014), 45.

[20] Interviewee: priest Zacchaeus, priest of Fugong county church.

area of China. The believers in Bijiang County spent their Christmas in 1957 where is today called Nananjian Village (南安建村), Jiakedi Xiang (架科底乡), and that was the last Christmas before 1978. Religious activities on the Nujiang valley were completely banned, and churches and church properties in villages were successively demolished and confiscated. Under the political environment, most pastors had been criticized and persecuted because of their beliefs and even been forced to receive labor reeducation. In Laomudeng village, previous followers of missionary Cooke such as Pu Ji, La Hua, Stephen (the son of Pu Ji) etc. were implicated. They were treated unfairly because of their “double guilt” of being rich peasants and believing in Christianity. Elijah and Zacchaeus, who were born in Christian families, were also forced to give up their faith, with one joining militia, and the other working as a surveyor on the construction site of the Wabi road (瓦碧公路).<sup>[21]</sup> The old Laomudeng church, formerly sacred space, was also occupied for pig and chicken farms, and was used as house for imprisoning people who had prayed there.

In the eight years from 1958 to 1976, although there was a four-year period of restoring freedom of religious belief in the early 1960s, in generally, the Christian faith was still suppressed. This situation was not completely changed until 1978. After 1978, religious belief restriction was gradually lifted. According to Elijah who is the elder of Church in Pihe Xiang: “In 1985, cross-village religious activities were permitted again by the state. Despite the improvement on the general political environment, the Laomudeng church split again at this time, which ended with the exodus of some believers to Myanmar”.<sup>[22]</sup> Faced the hard situation of the Laomudeng Church showing troubles internally and externally, Pu Ji’s grandchildren Elijah decided to resurge the beliefs by building a larger church than the old one, and try to revive the faith that had been shaken by the split church. Hence, in 1994, Elijah began to lead believers to rebuild the Church, which was the fifth time of building a church in Laomudeng.

The fifth construction process of Laomudeng church can be regarded as a localized practice of Christian spiritual belief and church self-sustaining mode. From the understanding of believers of Nu people in Laomudeng, the practice of building a church is not only a civil engineering project, but a holy cause dedicated to Jesus Christ. The localized practice can be understood from the following aspects.

First is the selection of location of the church. Since the 1980s, all the land in Laomudeng village (included the land of former church site) had fixed output quotas by each household.<sup>[23]</sup> At that time, the country has not yet issued relevant regulations regarding the approval for construction of churches. But in order to get as close to the old site as possible, Elijah decided to dedicate a piece of his assigned paddy field to God, where is the site of nowadays Laomudeng church.<sup>[24]</sup> Elijah, who had offered the paddy fields, thought it was the holy spirit in him who was doing the work. His dedication greatly affected the believers of Laomudeng villagers.

[21] Wabi Road was from WaYao to Bijiang County. The Construction began in 1962.

[22] Interviewee: Elijah, the elder of church in Pihe Xiang.

[23] Fixed output quotas by each household was a policy of China government. In mandarin, the policy is called “Bao Chan Dao Hu”.

[24] The size of the piece of the paddy land is the area produced by two water buffalo plowing in a day. Roughly equivalent to 1.3 Mu (about 877 sq. m.).

Second, Elijah set an ambitious goal at the beginning of the planning and design of the church, and he hoped to recreate the reputation of Laomudeng as a gospel shrine through rebuilding the church. Thus, the entire church was designed to accommodate 1040 people, which was the same number as the total population of the Laomudeng village in 1994. The expectation of Elijah was in the near future, all villagers would believe Christian. Certainly, to complete this ambition, it is necessary to solve the finance problem of church construction. However, government had no policy to fund the construction of the Christian church. Villagers could only find funding through their own ways for building the church. According to priest Zacchaeus's statistic afterword, the cost of the construction was over 80,000 Yuan. Except for the 10,000 yuan funded by Yunnan Theological Seminary, and the donation of 1,000 yuan from a choir in Shanghai, the rest of the funds came from the dedication of the believers in Laomudeng village during the three years of building the church. <sup>[25]</sup>

Third, the construction materials of the church had almost achieved localization. The church, built in 1994, was made of brick and wood. And villagers used slaked lime and sand to instead cement. The timber for the church was logged from the forests of Laomudeng area. Believers trekked to the mountains in their spare time, which is based on the Nu people's tradition of finding woods to build their houses in the winter. The blue bricks used for building the church originated from the abandoned bricks left by the Bijiang county government, it was repealed due to the landslide in 1986. Elijah specially organized a tractor transport team to transport the waste construction materials from the old county buildings. As Elijah's description, the process of getting lime is full of magic. The lime used to build the church came from Qiu Di sacred mountain of Dehuasu clan (德华苏氏族) of Nu People. <sup>[26]</sup> There is a mystical story of the sacred mountain. In the collective memory of Nu people, in 1958, a construction team from Bijiang county wanted to bomb the mountain for exploiting limestone. However, when the construction bombed the sacred mountain, one of the team members went mad suddenly. Hence, the work of the team was forced to terminate. In the meanwhile, when the believers of Laomudeng village exploited limestone from the mountain, nobody was hurt by the sacred mountain. Believers see it as the result of divine providence. The sand for building the church was donated by a Christian believer who contracted a fish pond. In addition, during the construction period, the donor also actively gave up the fish farming, and emptied the fish pond to store the materials for building the church.

In addition to the above, the successful completion of Laomudeng Church also benefited from the selfless dedication of believers in the village. According to statistics, the construction of the whole church took three years, from the preparation in 1993 to the completion in 1996, in total 2,110 man-hours. This massive amount of work was completed by believers in Laomudeng village during their agricultural slack season. Generally speaking, they prepared for construction works after the autumn harvest, and started to do works after October each year. In the tradition culture of Nu people in Pihe area, the social reciprocity of helping villagers to build house is common value of Nu people. In Nu

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[25] 桑鲁斯 Zacchaeus,《老姆登教会简史》Laomudeng jiaohui jianshi [The brief History of the Laomudeng Church] (Unpublished, 2009), 10.

[26] The Nusu people in Laomudeng are made up of six clans, Dehuasu is one of them.

language, they called the reciprocity principle as “Mian A Bai”.<sup>[27]</sup> Also in Nu people’s folk narrative song “Welcome the bride (Ying Qin Diao)”, there is lyrics of praising this kind of social reciprocity—“Men build up wood structure, women make up that ch roof”.<sup>[28]</sup> The mutual assistance and cooperation of Nu people Christians in the process of building the church could undoubtedly be traced to the above cultural roots, but since Christian been spread to Nu villages, “mutual assistance” in their traditional culture has been translated as the connotation of “mutual assistance and dedication” with the core meaning of worshiping God. Taking the process of logging as an example. The mountains on both sides with the Nu river are covered with dense primeval forest. It was not difficult to find proper woods, but the road to find woods and transport timbers was very hard to pass. That is to say, suitable timbers for building church was usually located in the high mountains with altitude over 2900 meters. The believers needed to cut through thorny bushes for breaking a path as climbing mountain carefully. The path to Shua Deng (刷登) wood farm<sup>[29]</sup> was very narrow, and anyone who made the slightest mistake while climbing would fall off the cliff and lost life. Elijah, as charger of the church project, was always worried when believers went to transport timbers. Because the construction works were organized by believers themselves rather than a formal engineer project, there were no insurance measures and legal protection been take to ensure the safety of building workers. Therefore, the consequences would be unbearable once any danger occurred. Fortunately, a logging team of 63 men with using eight wheelbarrows had returned on schedule. At the night when the team came back successfully, villagers prepared a big mutton feast for celebrating this. Some believers donated two fat goats for making the feast. Elijah said emotionally as recalled the event: “When we were transporting those timbers, our bodies were filled with the holy spirit. God was moved by our faith, and we came back safely because we trusted the Lord wholeheartedly.”<sup>[30]</sup>

In 1990s, the overall standard of living of the villagers in Laomudeng was still in poverty. However, the church survived with very little assistance from outsiders and had effectively completed the integration and deployment of church resources. The building of the church exemplifies the excellent organizational ability of the local church. In addition, it also manifests the intergenerational inheritance of the Christian faith in the families of those early evangelists. Those families such as Elijah family encountered many hardships during the period of collectivization, but the inheritance of their faith shows resilience of believing rather than stopping the religion. Once they meet the right time, the power of faith will burst out and transform into powerful actions. As Elijah said: “In 1994, it happened to be a loose point of (religious) policy. I consulted the village committee in advance about building the church, they did not oppose, and the production team (Sheng Chan Dui) leader did not express their views. So I boldly organized people to do the construction. Formerly, that type of

[27] 《怒族简史》编写组 Nuzu jianshi bianxiezu, 《怒族简史》修订本编写组 Nuzu jianshi xiudingbenbianxiezu [The Editorial Committee of A brief history of Nu people], 《怒族简史》Nuzu jianshi [A brief history of Nu people], (北京 Beijing: 民族出版社. Minzu chubanshe [Minzu Press], 2008), 65.

[28] Ying Qin Diao collected by Cui yang from La Ji, an old man of Laomudeng.

[29] Shua Deng wood farm located on the high mountain at the altitude over 2900 meters, and it was located on the way to Shawa Village.

[30] Interviewee: Elijah, the elder of church in Pihe Xiang.

land (paddy field) could not be used as building site easily, and it should be managed by the bureau of land management. But at that year, the policy was completely loosed.”<sup>[31]</sup>

## V. Conclusion

The Laomudeng church, built in the 1990s, has now become a famous scenery for tourism development in the Nu River Valley. Together with the Qiudi sacred Mountain and Youzer (友则) sacred tree, it constitutes a composite landscape of the village's history memory. For the Nu people of Laomudeng, the presence of the Christian church has become an important part of their cultural tradition. The construction history of Christian church is the development history of Christian faith in Nu villages. A hundred years ago, the foreign missionaries not only brought the Christian faith here, but also opened the process of Christianity localization. They made the locals adopt the Spiritual belief derived from the religious concepts of China Inland Mission and learn the “self-sustaining” church mode with dedication at its core by preaching the scriptures with ethnic languages and characters, and cultivating the native pastors. The internalization of religious concepts and recognition of the church organization for the faith subjects was reinforced by the experiences that the church had been built for four times before 1949, and it was converted into a kind of consciousness of religious identity. This kind of self-identity consciousness from external to internal also made the church show its tenacious vitality in the subsequent political movement, so that the Nu Christians regarded Christianity as its own religion and constantly promoted the process of Christianity localization.<sup>[32]</sup> Since the restoration of religion freedom in the late 1970s, the church organization based on a sense of self-identity has come into life. As a witness of this, whether in its material form or in its construction process, the new church shows that the localization of foreign religions is a kind of socio-cultural construction that continuously transcends specific time and space, continuously acquires “local knowledge” and “local characteristics” and then realizes the traditionalization of religious faith.<sup>[33]</sup>

In addition, the construction of the Laomudeng Church reveals the important power of the special group composed by the early evangelists' families. The common of this group is that their elder generation who were native pastors trained by foreign missionaries acted as intermediaries in the process of the fusion and adjustment of Christian faith and local culture. As a result, they had accumulated personal prestige and family influence, which was clearly passed onto the descendants of their families. Although the families suffered setback when encountering the crisis, after the restoration of religion freedom, the families' successor had quickly become a local church leaders and

[31] Ibid

[32] 徐祖祥 Xu Zuxiang,《消解、交融与嬗变:云南少数民族基督教本土化实践的动力与路径分析》Xiaojie, jiaorong yu shanbian: Yunnan shaoshuminzu jidujiao bentuhua shijian de dongle yu lujing fenxi [Dissolution, Blending and Transformation: An analysis of the Driving force and Path of the Practice of Christianity localization of Minority in Yunnan],《宗教学研究》Zongjiaoxue yanjiu [Religious Studies], No. 2, 2018), 14-21.

[33] 张桥贵、孙浩然 Zhang Qiaogui, Sun Haoran,《论云南少数民族基督教的本土化》Lun Yunnan shaoshuminzu jidujiao de bentuhua [Discussion On the Christianity Localization of Minority in Yunnan],“北京论坛(2015)文明的和谐与共同繁荣——不同的道路和共同的责任”Beijing luntan (2015) wenming de hexie yu gongtong fanrong [The Harmony of Civilizations and Prosperity for All—Different Paths with Common Responsibilities], (北京 Beijing, 2015).



decision makers, and continue to play an important role inherited from their ancestors, and hence become a key role of religion revival in the new social context.

Finally, the author hopes to find a new orientation about the research of Christian localization practice. This orientation will focus on a specific case of religion practice localization from a micro perspective, and then explore the evolution of the same practice in different history context, so as to present the rich connotation of the dynamic process of “Christianity localization”.

**中文题目：**

**一座教堂的废止与重建——来自中缅北界怒族村寨的基督教本土化实践个案**

**摘要：**教堂是基督徒信仰活动的重要场所，在中缅北界跨境民族地区，它又成为彰显村落历史记忆的重要象征。在基督教传入怒族近百年的历史中，基督教信仰已成为其文化传统的重要组成部分。一部关于基督教堂的建造史就是基督教信仰的发展史，考察基督教堂从兴建到废止再到重建的过程，亦是揭示基督教信仰从外来到融合，进而扎根本土的动态变化过程。本文以怒族村寨老姆登的基督教堂为例，旨在通过呈现不同历史时期怒族基督徒营建教堂的宗教实践，来考察“基督教本土化”这一社会文化行动的历时脉络。

**关键词：**老姆登堂；怒苏；基督教；圣灵

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# 路德对于音乐本质的神学理解：“音乐是上帝的赐予”

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**摘要:**相比较其他的宗教改革的同伴和后继者,路德的音乐观更为积极和宽容。“音乐是上帝的赐予,不是人的赐予”是路德音乐观的基石,也是他对音乐本质的神学理解。路德对音乐本质的神学理解具有相当的独创性,与路德对恩典、恩赐以及创造的理解密切相关。在路德看来,上帝创造世界和万物是藉着世界万物在言说和自我阐释祂自己,宇宙万物发出自己的声响与和谐,即它们的音乐,上帝透过祂的赐予分享祂的神性和永能。本文试图从路德的创造论和对恩典和赐予的神学理解。

**关键词:**路德、音乐、上帝、赐予、创造

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“伟大的音乐确实是神圣的赐予(恩赐)(Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum);是上帝最伟大的礼物(optimum Dei donum)”。<sup>[1]</sup>

——马丁·路德《桌边谈话录》

对比其他的宗教改革者,路德发展出“一种更为积极的对音乐的神学理解”<sup>[2]</sup>。路德把音乐看作是“上帝卓越的赐予”<sup>[3]</sup>。“音乐是上帝的赐予,不是人的赐予”,这个命题是路德音乐观的基石,也是路德对音乐本质的神学理解。

路德对音乐的阐述分散在许多文献里,其中有几篇文献是公认的路德最重要的关于音乐的文献。其一是一篇未完成的题名为《论音乐》(“On Music”,1530)的大纲。在这篇草稿里,路德开头即明确说“我热爱音乐,不会因狂热分子的谴责而不高兴。因为“[音乐]是上帝的赐予,而不是人的赐予”<sup>[4]</sup>。在路德阐述音乐的另一篇重要文献《音乐的乐趣》的拉丁文序言[1538](Preface to Symphoniae jucundae)中,开头第一句话即说“我当然想全心全意地赞美音乐,把它当作上帝的赐予(恩赐)并把它

[1] 就此请参见 Miikka E. Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music*. (Degruyter, Berlin, 2013), 70. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

[2] 就此请参见 John Terrell & Stanley Sadie, eds., *The new grove dictionary of music and musicians*, second edition, Vol. 15, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001). S. 366.

[3] 就此请参见 Ibid; 转引自 LW, Iiii, S. 321; LW, xv, S. 247; WA, Tischreden, no. 4441.

[4] Robin A. Leaver, "Luther on music", *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XX, (2006), 126.

推荐给每一个人”。〔5〕

“音乐是神的赐予,不是人的赐予”这句路德音乐神学的基本思想和阐述,路德虽然多次在他的著述和书信中提到,但最清楚的表述是来自一篇未完成的命题草稿《论音乐》。正像因信称义的教义一样,路德并没有写过一篇完整的论文或著作来全面具体地阐述他对音乐的神学理解。在他的 1530 年关于翻译的公开信中,他提到计划写一篇关于音乐的论文,但是他没有真正完成这样一篇关于音乐的神学讨论的论文,仅仅写了一篇关于音乐的神学理解的大纲。〔6〕这篇关于音乐的神学理解的纲要和草稿,被认为是理解路德的音乐神学最重要的文献,也是解开他对音乐的神学理解的钥匙之一。这篇关于音乐的大纲被认为与路德写给友人和作曲家路德维希·森弗,(1486—1542)的信是同一年,写于 1530 年,早于他的另一篇极为重要的音乐神学文献《音乐的乐趣》的拉丁序言(1538)。这份关于路德音乐神学的大纲一部分使用希腊文写成的,题目是《论音乐》(“On Music”,1530),只有对所研究问题的指向性的概括。

下面是路德的《论音乐》的引文:

我喜欢音乐。

狂热分子对它的指责令我不悦因为

1. [音乐]是上帝的赐予,而不是人类的赐予。
2. 因为它创造快乐的心
3. 因为它能驱走魔鬼
4. 因为它造成单纯的喜乐,除去忿怒、悖逆和其它一些过度的行为。

我把音乐置于神学之侧(仅次于神学)。

这是众所周知的例子,从大卫和所有的先知,他们都产生了诗歌和歌曲。

5. 因为[音乐]在宁静和谐的时间里成为主宰。

我们很难保持这些令人愉快的技能,因为它们是和声的。巴伐利亚的公爵们应该在这一点上受到赞扬,因为他们尊重音乐。在我们的撒克逊公爵中,武器和大炮很受尊敬。〔7〕

为什么路德在他不同时期的不同文献中一直强调音乐是上帝的礼物或创造,不是人类的礼物或创造呢?这与我们通常对音乐的理解是不同的。一般看来,音乐虽然是属于少数有天赋的人的创作或者表演活动,但音乐同文学、绘画、雕塑、建筑、书法等等其它人文艺术的门类一样,是一种人类的文化成果和现象。人创作音乐或者进行音乐的艺术实践即表演是人的才能和禀赋的体现。显然,路德一直生活在宗教音乐的传统和氛围中,但为什么他会独抒己见坚持音乐是神的礼物而不是人的礼物?这个极富神学创造性的观点,在过往的神学家关于音乐的思想中并未看见与之类似的想法。下面我会进入到他的一个著名的关于音乐的文献中,去考察他这个最重要的音乐神学思想。

关于路德对音乐的理解最重要的文献之一是他在 1538 年出版的《音乐的乐趣》的拉丁序言(“Preface to Symphoniae jucundae”)。这个文献有多个的德文翻译版本。魏玛版的编辑们认为,第一个译本是由约翰·沃尔特(Johann Walter)出版的,作为《赞美音乐的第二首长诗》(Lob und Preis der Himmlischen Kunst Musica)的序文出版(Wittenberg, 1564);魏玛版本包括 1538 年的拉丁文本与

〔5〕 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., Music in the Western World: A History in Documents. (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 101. ; LW 53:321-23.

〔6〕 就此请参照 Ibid, S. 125-126. ; Robin A. Leaver, Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications. (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2017). S. 85-86.

〔7〕 就此请参见 Robin A. Leaver, “Luther on music”, Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. XX, (2006), 126.

1564年沃尔特的德语文本。第二个德语版本作为沃尔夫冈·菲古卢斯的《圣餐》的序言出现。primi tomi decas prima(纽伦堡,1575年)。第三个译本由约翰·雅各布·格雷夫(Johann Jakob Greiff)完成,并发表在1734年发行的《路德作品莱比锡版》(Leipzig edition of Luther's works)的最后一卷(第22卷)。

雅各布·兰巴赫(August Jakob Rambach)在十九世纪初提出了一个问题,也许是路德最初用德语写的,这意味着被认为可能是沃尔特的德语翻译,但实际上是路德的原文。<sup>[8]</sup> 兰巴赫在其书的正文中提出拉丁文版本是原文。早期的一个译本被引用为劳乌1538年选集《音乐的乐趣》的拉丁文前言,另一个是同年的另一个序言。卡尔·安东在标题下给出了沃尔特的翻译文本,标题是“音乐的乐趣维滕堡,劳乌,1538”,然后在标题下加上格雷夫1734年的译文。<sup>[9]</sup>

## 一、音乐作为创世之初的造物无所不在

首先,在路德看来,音乐不是有了人类之后才有的造物,而是上帝创世之初就已经存在了。路德在《音乐的乐趣》拉丁序言中开篇即说,“看看音乐本身,你会发现,从世界之初起,它就被灌输和植入所有的生物,无论是个体还是群体。”<sup>[10]</sup> 在路德看来,音乐是创世之初,上帝就赐予的礼物,在人类出现之前就已经存在了。《诗篇》第19篇“造化的荣耀”第3-4节说“无言无语,也无声音可听。他的量带通遍天下,他的言语传到地极”。<sup>[11]</sup> 路德认为,所有的造物都在言说,发出声响与和谐,这本身就是上帝的恩典,赐予整个被造的世界,而受造界发出的声响与和谐既是对上帝的赞美,也是上帝启示的显现。路德在《罗马书》书8章32节里说“上帝岂不也把万物和他一同白白地赐给我们吗?”在《哥林多前书》三章21至22节中他说,“因为万有全是你们的。”<sup>[12]</sup> 上帝通过受造的万物言说祂的荣耀,在被造的万物的美善与和谐中启示人类各样的知识和理性。所以《诗篇》19篇里说“诸天述说上帝的荣耀,穹苍传扬他的手段。这日到那日发出言语;这夜到那夜传出知识”。<sup>[13]</sup>

在《音乐的乐趣》拉丁序言的第一段,路德热情地赞颂音乐,“我确实想全心全意地赞美音乐,把它当作上帝的恩赐,并把它推荐给每一个人。但是我被它的美德和益处的多样性和重要性所淹没,以至于我找不到我论述的起点、终点和方法。”从这句话看来,路德比他的宗教改革同伴们更深刻地意识到音乐的美善和丰富以及对人的重要性。路德惊讶于上帝所创造的人声之美妙和丰富以及难以形容。他说“我们最仁慈的造物主的慷慨和智慧如此丰富和难以理解。哲学家们一直努力解释人类声音这一神奇的乐器”。<sup>[14]</sup>

音乐的丰富性和复杂性以及重要性,远远超过我们人所能理解和分析的范围。路德感叹说“尽管我很想赞美它(音乐),但我的赞美肯定是不充分的,谁能理解这一切? 即便你想囊括所有的内容,你

[8] 就此请参见 Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2017), S. 11.

[9] Ibid.

[10] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*, (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 101.

[11] 就此请参见中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会 & 中国基督教协会,《圣经》,(南京,南京爱德印刷有限公司,2013),第522页.

[12] 就此请参见路德文集中文版编辑委员会主编,路德文集1,(上海,上海三联书店,2005)第157页.

[13] 就此请参见就此请参见中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会 & 中国基督教协会,《圣经》,(南京,南京爱德印刷有限公司,2013),第522页.

[14] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*, (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 102.

似乎什么也抓不住”。<sup>[15]</sup> 音乐是时间的艺术,没有像绘画、雕塑、建筑那样的物质载体,但是又能更加进入到人的内心和情感的深处。在路德看来,音乐充满了不可思议的力量和奇妙。

其次,路德对音乐定义的范围要远远大于我们现在一般对音乐的定义。

现在一般对音乐的定义是人的一种艺术形式和文化活动,是一种及时安排声音的艺术,通过旋律、和声、节奏和音色等元素来创作,音乐的一般定义包括诸如音高(控制旋律和和声)、节奏(及其相关概念,速度、拍子和清晰度)、力度(响度和柔和度)、以及音色和音乐织体的音质(有时称为音乐的“色调”)。不同风格或类型的音乐可能会去强调或省略其中一些元素。音乐是用各种各样的乐器和声乐技巧来表演的;有单独的器乐作品,单独的声乐作品(如没有器乐伴奏的歌曲)和结合歌唱和乐器的作品。音乐(music)这个词源自希腊语“Mousike”,缪斯女神的(艺术)。

但是,路德对音乐的定义远远大于一般对音乐的定义和范围。路德把音乐当作神所创造的万物所发出的声音(sound)与和谐(harmony),不仅包括人类的声音,也包括动物和植物发出的声音,甚至空气这种“不可见”和“无法察觉”的事物运动时产生的声音。音乐作为上帝的礼物(赐予)和造物,无所不在。在路德看来,创造和重新创造一样,都是上帝无条件的恩赐或者说礼物。罗马书四章十七节“那叫死人复活、使无变为有的神”指出上帝是从无创有的神,世界本没有做过什么就诞生了,一切都是上帝的赐予和礼物,包括无所不在的声音与和谐——万物之中的音乐,这些都是纯然出自上帝的意志和仁慈。在路德的音乐神学中,音乐作为上帝的造物无所不在,远远超出了人的创造范围。从这个音乐的定义范围来说,也印证了路德在《论音乐》中的关于音乐本质的论断:“音乐是上帝的礼物,不是人的礼物” (“[music] is a gift of God, not of man.”)<sup>[16]</sup>

路德之所以这样理解音乐,是因为路德认为任何事物都有声音与和谐,音乐就蕴藏在所有的事物之中。在这篇《音乐的乐趣》的拉丁序言中,路德特别列举了空气这种“既没有声音也没有语言,所有事物中最不具有音乐性的”事物作为例子。路德这样描述空气中的音乐,即空气的声响与和谐,“当它开始运动时,就会变得铿锵有力,听得见和容易被了解。当它开始运动时,圣灵在这里暗示了奇妙的奥秘”。<sup>[17]</sup> 即便是空气这样无声也无形象的物体,路德仍然在它的被造中听见独属于它的音乐和声响。路德惊叹于上帝所创造的万物的和谐,包括远到人肉眼几乎看不见的天体,在路德看来,天体也是奇妙的音乐。路德在关于《创世纪》的讲演中说“对于创造所赋予无数其他的礼物,我们没有惊叹,因为我们已经变成聋子,听不见毕达哥拉斯用恰当的术语所概括的奇妙的、最为可爱的音乐——产生于天体和谐的运动。”<sup>[18]</sup>

关于圣灵与造物之间的关系,路德在《桌边谈话录》里明确谈到圣灵有两个职责,第一个职责是神的恩典和恩赐之灵,它让上帝的恩典降临到万事万物之上,并为着耶稣基督的缘故,接受信徒作蒙上帝喜欢的孩子。圣灵的第二个职责是祷告之灵,为整个世界祷告,让所有的邪恶远离,让所有的善和益处降临。<sup>[19]</sup> 可见,圣灵的一个重要的职责就是让神的恩典和恩赐降临到所有的事物之上。因此,路德认为,圣灵是创造主之灵(spiritus creator),正如路德改编的一首著名的中世纪的赞美诗《来吧,造物主圣灵》或译为《求造物主圣神降临》(Veni creator spiritus)。这首赞美诗原为格里高利圣咏,通常被作为五旬节(圣灵降临节)的圣诗。这首古老的圣咏是中世纪向圣灵祈祷的圣咏中最古老的和

[15] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 101.

[16] 就此请参见 Robin A. Leaver, “Luther on music”, *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XX, (2006), 126.

[17] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 101.

[18] 就此请参见 Carl F. Schalk, 《马丁·路德论音乐》,柏峻霄译,《金陵神学志》,第 3 期,(南京,南京市地方志编撰委员会, 2009), 第 90 页;转引自 LW1:126.

[19] 就此请参见马丁·路德:《桌边谈话录》,林纯洁译,(北京,经济科学出版社,2013),第 107 页.

最为人喜爱的的一首，有许多改编的版本。在路德写这首众赞歌之谦，这首赞美诗已有7个德语版本。马勒第八交响曲的第一乐章即采用了这首圣咏的歌词。

接下来路德又指出，音乐在有生命的事物中更为美妙，尤其在有高亢的嗓音的鸟类中。路德以圣经经文为依据，所有的王中最精通音乐的大卫王，被誉为上帝的吟游诗人，“在最深的惊奇和精神的欢欣中”，赞颂了惊人的艺术和鸟儿之歌的轻松愉悦。大卫在《诗篇》第一百零四篇中说，“天上的飞鸟在水的旁边有了自己的居所，它们在树枝间歌唱”。<sup>[20]</sup>这篇圣经的诗文也被称为创造颂，耶和华发出祂的灵，万物便受造，祂使整个受造世界更换为新。

路德继续阐述他关于音乐的思想。路德认为，这些生物界美妙的声音如果跟万物之灵、按照上帝的样子创造的人类的声音相比，几乎不配称为音乐。在人类所创造和演绎的音乐中，我们最仁慈的造物主的慷慨和智慧极其丰富和难以了解。路德自己也对人所创造出的音乐之美妙难以理解，他惊讶于上帝给人类的这个奇妙的恩赐，困惑于这种奇妙的现象的产生和变化以及持存。路德写道，“哲学家们一直在努力解释人类声音这一神奇的乐器：舌头的轻微运动和喉咙的更轻微的运动所投射的空气，怎么能产生声音和语词的这种无限变化和清晰度呢？而这个声音，在意志的指引下，怎么能发出如此有力的和强烈的声音，以至于它不仅仅能被广大地区和每个人听到，而且也能被理解？”<sup>[21]</sup>

## 二、上帝就是赐予

路德关于“音乐是上帝的赐予”的论断基于路德的一个基本神学观点：“上帝就是赐予”。作为一个神学家，上帝赐予（给予）的概念对路德来说是至关重要的。正如一段经常被引用的定义神性的路德的口述：“但这就是上帝存在的意义：不是（把人）带到善的领域，而是赐予善（Not to take good but to give it）并由此以善报恶”。<sup>[22]</sup>简而言之，路德的神学可以被描述为一个赐予（给予）的神学，上帝就是赐予。甚至于，路德“被当作一个给予的神学家”（Luther as a Theologian of the Gift）<sup>[23]</sup>。在整合称义教义的过程中，结合以称义为基础的创造神学，路德发展出了一种明确以给予者为导向的神学，涵盖了他后期作品中所有的宗教文献。<sup>[24]</sup>

上帝“用祂自己的存有浇灌我们。”祂把祂所是的赐予我们。在路德看来，上帝把自己赐予世界和万物、并且分享自己的永能和神性是“上帝就是上帝”这一事实的最高表现。在路德看来，上帝是一位自我给予的上帝（the self-giving God）<sup>[25]</sup>。也即是说，上帝在祂的自我赐予中向世间万物和人类自我启示祂自己。而万物与人类唯一正确的方式就是感恩和领受上帝的恩典和赐予。

从上帝与有生命的万物之间的关系来看，上帝的创造是纯粹的赐予、保存和保护。用奥斯瓦尔德·拜耳（Oswald Bayer）的话来说，上帝的给予和创造是“不讲条件的恩赐”。<sup>[26]</sup>上帝在自我赐予中呈现祂自己，展示祂永恒的大能和美善。上帝始终如一和不停顿地赐予万有和保存万有。上帝的赐予

[20] 就此可参见《和合本圣经》，狄考文、富善、鲍康宁、文书田、鹿依士、邹立文、王元德等译，（香港，香港圣经公会，2006），第984页。

[21] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 101-102.

[22] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 559. ;转引自“Lectures on the Psalms”(1513—1515), LW II :403; WA 4:269, 25-26.

[23] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 559.

[24] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 564.

[25] Ibid, S. 564.

[26] 就此可参见拜尔，《路德神学当代解读》，邓肇明译，（香港，道声出版社，2011），第119页。



和保存即是祂的创造活动和事工。

在路德看来,即便是人的理性,也是上帝对人的赐予。理性是上帝给人的最重要的恩赐之一。路德在注释《以赛亚书》时说“理性是上帝伟大的赐予”。“Reason is a very great gift of God.”<sup>[27]</sup>也就是说,理性是被赐予的礼物,是人对神的恩典的领受,并不是一种本于自己的产物。在路德看来,人的生命和存活是一种不配的、纯粹出于神的恩典的生命和存活。问题是:世界的存在是由人的活动(包括创作)所保证,还是人在世上所有的活动和存活都是因着上帝的赐予和在人身上的工所赐。亚里士多德在他的《政治学》里,认为人是有说话能力的生物。路德生活在经院哲学的时代,他对理性的理解是,“理性”这个字是让人听出来的,理性是听得见的理性,没有语言作为中介,理性是不可能的。所以,他认为语言理性(Sprachvernunft)依赖于听觉,所以是以被动的方式传给人的。<sup>[28]</sup>在路德看来,所以,即使是人的理性,路德也不认为“它是人本身的构建物(Konstrukt),甚至也不是人的所有,而是用语言传给人的的一份礼物”。<sup>[29]</sup>在路德看来,人在堕落之后,上帝并没有夺去人的理性,理性尤其是受到启示的理性是可以帮助人理解《圣经》和上帝的道。在这个意义上,路德说理性是“最有用的工具。— 理性、修辞和语言有助于信仰。”<sup>[30]</sup>

理性从本质上说是上帝形像在人身上的显现,它不是人自己创造出来的产物。路德非常重视理性这份恩赐,认为理性是上帝赐给人的最基本和最主要的福分,是“最好的和在某种意义上最神圣的”。<sup>[31]</sup>因为正是理性使人作为一种生物与其他一切造物区分开来。并且,在路德看来,上帝赐予“理性和我头脑里的所有才能”<sup>[32]</sup>,包括艺术和音乐的才能,这些才能和理性一样都是上帝的赐予,而艺术作品和艺术表演是这些上帝的恩赐的显现,或者说它们产生于上帝给人理性的恩赐和各种艺术的恩赐。所以,路德在他的《关于人的争论》里说,“人的智慧和理性产生了律法,它决定什么是正确的,正如我们拥有的其他艺术一样产生于人的天才和理性。”<sup>[33]</sup>

在路德看来,人的生命、气息、恩赐、天才、工作、创作皆是上帝的赐予。路德认为,人的生命本身就是神的恩典和赐予,人的存在即是恩典和赐予,人的每一次呼吸也是恩典和赐予。人的所是都是神的恩典和赐予,本于祂,依靠祂,人的恩赐如某方面的天赋和才华也都来自神的恩典和赐予。作曲家、演奏家以及他们的音乐创作和表演皆是上帝给人的最好的赐予。比如公认的最有音乐天赋的莫扎特,他本人的生命和其创作皆是上帝的最美好的赐予。为什么说“本于祂,依靠祂”,因为在路德的神学中,上帝是万物的根源和来源(“God is the source of everything”).<sup>[34]</sup>在路德看来,任何实在和存在,哪怕是最少见的恩赐,都不可能没有上帝的临在而被理解和领会。

### 三、上帝的创造是一种言说和应许

对路德来说,受造的世界是上帝应许和赐予的世界,天地万物都是上帝应许和赐予的。正是这位

[27] 笔者注: Martin Luther, Lectures on Isaiah, (1543), LW 16.

[28] 就此可参见拜尔,《路德神学当代解读》,邓肇明译,(香港,道声出版社,2011),第 193 页.

[29] 同上.

[30] 就此可参见保罗·阿尔托依兹,《马丁·路德的神学》,段琦、孙善玲译,(南京,译林出版社,1998),第 66 页,注释 38;转引自 WA, TR3, 2938.

[31] 同上,第 60 页.

[32] 就此可参见保罗·阿尔托依兹,《马丁·路德的神学》,段琦、孙善玲译,(南京,译林出版社,1998),第 60 页;转引自 WA 30 I, 248; BC, 345.

[33] 同上,第 64 页,注释 3;转引自 WA 39I, 175; LW34, 137.

[34] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 573.

上帝要把祂自己的所是和所有的一切，完完全全地给予我们各人。父将自己连同天地万物交给我们，好叫它们必须为我们服务，对我们有益。这就是路德的创造观。路德是在《罗马书》1章20节（“自从造天地以来，神的永能和神性是明明可知的，虽是眼不能见，但藉着所造之物就可以晓得，叫人无可推诿”）和《歌罗西书》2章9节（“因为神一切的丰盛，都有形有体地居住在基督里面”）中体会到上帝的永能和神性虽眼不能见，但存在于祂所创造的世界和万物中间。<sup>[35]</sup>

路德认为，世界和万物都在呼叫，让我们能够藉着天地万物，以感恩、领受和转送的心使用，以及与邻人在爱中分享上帝赐予的天地万物。但由于人的悖谬和刚硬，“即使全世界和万物呼叫，又有上帝藉之亲自应许，我们就是听不到。”<sup>[36]</sup>在路德看来，“我们的房子、庭院、田地、花园和一切事物都满有圣经（的话）。上帝不仅藉着这些地方传扬祂的奇妙作为，也轻叩我们的眼睛，打动我们的感官，犹如照亮我们的内心一样。”<sup>[37]</sup>一切事物都满有圣经里神的话语，天地万物都在呼叫，都在对人说话，人也在向自然界一切生长的万物说话，但是只有凭着信心才能听见上帝藉着万事万物对他（她）说话。

在路德看来，“全世界充满说话”。<sup>[38]</sup>在路德看来，人是否能够听见神在藉着万事万物对他（她）说话，就在于他的信与不信。如果人愿意敞开心灵而不是闭锁心灵，他才能听见神说话的声音，而大自然的音樂，也即自然界发出的声响与和谐正是神藉着音乐诉说祂的全能、美善和意志。在路德看来，这种由不信转向信的过程正是向万物回归。而向万物回归正是在聆听神的“声音”中归向造物主，因为在这声音中我们可以透过万物听到祂，而上帝也透过祂所创造和赐予的万物对我们说话。

甚至于，在路德看来，上帝创造世界和万物是一桩语言事件。（Sprachgechehen）<sup>[39]</sup>整个世界和万物都是由上帝可靠的话语所创造和保存的。对路德来说，人所信靠的上帝的话语——祂的应许不仅在圣礼和证道中显现，在祂创造的世界万物中同样显现出来。神在藉着祂创造的世界万物对人说话。在路德的理解中，创造在根本上是语言事件，从他翻译赞美造化的《诗篇》第三十三篇中就可以看出“因为祂的言语真实；凡祂所应许的，祂就坚守。”拜尔认为路德的这句翻译极富创造性，因为在希伯来文的圣经中，这一句是名词子句，说的是上帝的“工作”，是“在信实中”进行的。路德创造性的翻译证实上帝作为造物主的工作不仅仅是创造万物的事工，而且是向万事万物和人说话的事工。上帝的事工是一种为自己的美善和意志言说的事工，是自我阐明（sui ipsius interprets）的创造和事工。这种言说是作工的话语——上帝的信实用祂的事工来言说，所以祂的工作和创造也是一种应许。

#### 四、音乐恩赐与天才的显现

在路德看来，“做上帝和创造是同一回事。上帝就是上帝，因为只有他，而且只有他创造”。<sup>[40]</sup>上帝活生生地、积极地、不停地临在于一切实在之中作工和创造。路德在论圣餐的著作中特别有力地阐述了关于上帝创造性地临在于一切实在之中。路德的理由在于，正如信经里所说的那样，上帝通过祂的全能和智慧创造、产生并维持万物的存有。路德认为，上帝如果要创造或维持其创造物的存在，就必须临在于、创造于、维持于其最内在和最外在的各个方面。所以，上帝必定临在于每一个受造物中，包括其最内在和最外在的存在之中。<sup>[41]</sup>

[35] 就此可参见保罗·阿尔托依兹，《马丁·路德的神学》，段琦、孙善玲译，（南京，译林出版社，1998），第115页，注释1。

[36] 就此可参见拜尔，《路德神学当代解读》，邓肇明译，（香港，道声出版社，2011），第134页；转引自WA 495, 4f.

[37] 同上，第135页；转引自WA 26, 505, 38-41.

[38] 就此可参见拜尔，《路德神学当代解读》，邓肇明译，（香港，道声出版社，2011），第129页。

[39] 同上，第123页。

[40] 同上，第98页。

[41] 同上，第99页。

路德尤其惊讶于上帝在分配祂的音乐恩赐给各人时是如此不同。“造物主在分配音乐的恩赐方面证明了自己是多么的丰富和多样化,人们在声音和说话方式上有多么的不同,以至于一个人惊人地胜过了另一个人”。<sup>[42]</sup> 路德从来不舍于赞美一个人的音乐恩赐。在他 1530 年 10 月 4 日写给作曲家森弗的那封著名的谈音乐的信中,开头即写道,“在音乐才能上,我看到上帝赐予了你丰富的天赋”。<sup>[43]</sup> 路德对若斯坎的推崇人所共知。路德对法-弗兰德乐派(Franco-Flemish)的复调音乐非常推崇,尤其推崇若斯坎·德·普雷(Joaquin·Des·Prez, 1450-1521)的作品。关于若斯坎的音乐恩赐,路德有一句名言,“若斯坎是音符的主人,音符都服从于他的意志,而别的音乐家不得不服从音符的意志。”<sup>[44]</sup>

在 16 世纪初路德所处的那个时代,作曲家被认为是创作性的天才,音乐是人创造力的体现。路德在若斯坎的音乐创作中体验到创造的自由是一个作曲家天才,也即上帝藉着圣灵赐下音乐恩赐的表现。上帝按照祂自己的意志和个人领受恩赐的信心和能力的大小分配赐予各人。每个人在恩典中领受的恩赐和信心及自由的宽广度、深度及细腻的程度都不一样,所以,这就是为什么无法解释其他作曲家做他们能做的,而若斯坎则是做他想做的。若斯坎可以让音符和音乐的规则服从他的指挥。路德为此惊叹不已。

“如有神助”常用来形容艺术创作。艺术作品的创作和完成需要创作者和实践者的天赋或者说是天才,这是一般公认的事实,尤其在音乐的领域,天赋和天才显得尤为重要。创作、创造和艺术实践存在着不可知和不可预测的领地,甚至连艺术家本人在创作和艺术实践之前,也不知道会有什么结果。拉尔夫·瓦尔多·爱默生在《灵魂》中这样阐述灵感和天才的显现,“蕴藏在你身上的力量实际上非常新奇,因此除你之外,谁也不知道你有什么本领,而且不经过尝试,连你自己也不知道”。凡是要归功于天才和灵感而不是归功于方法技巧的地方,一般公认的事实就是艺术家具有某方面的天赋(gift)或者说是恩赐。艺术作品是艺术家们天才的显现或者创造。但是,为什么在创作音乐作品和演奏时,会有天赋和天才体现出来?这是一个极为重要的关于艺术的发生学和阐释学的问题。这个重要的问题,许多大哲学家和美学家如康德、谢林、黑格尔、伽达默尔都尝试做过阐释。

伽达默尔在阐述《艺术经验中的真理问题》时,说艺术家通过对审美理念的表现无限地扩充了所给定的概念,“并且使感受力的自由活动富有了生气——好像这些理念参与了已经起了主导作用的概念,如同神的属性参与了神的形象一样”。<sup>[45]</sup> 伽达默尔提到两点,一是创作者的感受力的自由活动富有生气,二是谈到审美理念参与主导概念时的不可言说性,伽达默尔用“神的属性参与了其形象”来比喻。

创作中天才和趣味是建立在一种游戏状态中,这种游戏状态包涵了富有生气的情绪状态,创作者的活泼的、愉悦的、有力的、能动的情绪状态和可感性,在路德看来正是神赐予人的恩典,改变和激活我们心中的一切。路德在谈论恩典时有着非常丰富和深刻的表述,“上帝的恩典是伟大的、强有力的和能动的。这不是梦中的牧师所能想象的那种在灵魂中沉睡的东西,就像一个涂上色彩的板携带其色彩一样。不,根本不是这样。它承受、引导、激励、想象、改变和激活我们心中的一切,以便它能被真

[42] 就此请参见 Piero Weiss & Richard Taruskin, eds., Music in the Western World: A History in Documents. (Schirmer & Thomson Learning Inc, Belmont, 1984) S. 102.

[43] 就此可参见 E. G. Rupp & Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1970), S. 143.

[44] 就此可参见 J. Peter Burkholder & Donald J. Grout & Claude V. Palisca, A history of western music (seventh edition), (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), S. 203-204.

[45] 就此可参见汉斯·格奥尔格·伽达默尔,《真理与方法:哲学诠释学的基本特征》上卷,洪汉鼎译,(上海,上海译文出版社, 2004),第 67 页。

正地感知和经验。它是隐藏的，但它的事工是可见的。它的事功和道向我们显示了它在何处”。<sup>[46]</sup>这段对恩典的描述与音乐创作者在创作和实践中的整个体验极为相似。上帝的恩典和引领是不可见的，但藉着人的音乐创作和实践显示了祂的临在和启示。在路德看来，“上帝恩典的临在从来不是以一种静止的方式存在的，而是一种鲜活的、活跃的、和有效的精神；没有上帝的恩典，也不可能藉着神的绝对大能而出现一种友善的行为”。<sup>[47]</sup>“一种友善的行为”指的是创作者或表演者作为接受恩典和恩赐的那一方，接受了上帝之临在这个美善和友好的礼物。

在基督教的传统和西方的文化传统中，“圣灵被理解为存在于个别信徒身上的神圣礼物”。<sup>[48]</sup>这个神圣的临在往往指的正是圣灵的临在。如果恩典是被隐藏的，无法来到人的面前，那将无法使任何人受益。因此，圣灵降临在人的身上并把祂自己完全地赐予人。并且，圣灵会藉着祷告教导人去认识这份奇妙的恩典和祝福，并帮助人去领受属于祂的恩赐。

在恩赐和创造性的显现中，一般来说，情感和意志的重要性超过理性和理智的重要性，也就是为什么常常可以听到说创作是不可预知的。“我们无法控制——对于音乐和音乐制作来说，这也是正确的”。<sup>[49]</sup>因为对于意志和情感来说，只有在没有规定或限制的情况下，意志才是整全的；而理智恰恰相反，需要不断把概念分类并作出限制，才能求得最精确的定义。

同时，这种对美和艺术创作的不可理解性维护了艺术与某种不能看见和分析的力量和源泉之间的关系。里尔克在一首诗中，形象而精确地描述了人以自己的能力去创作时不过是匠工之技，而作为一个被给予者去接住神在一个特定的时间抛给他的东西时才算是本领。而且，里尔克强调，这并不是人的本领，而是一种来自某个世界的隐藏的力量，只是在人接受给予他的恩赐时才显现出来。这首诗与路德的音乐神学有相当类似的地方。<sup>[50]</sup>

这是因为在路德看来，从根本上来说，哪怕是无法解释的音乐的恩赐，只要是受造之物都是上帝用来为自己自主的、自由的工作服务的工具，是祂掩藏自己的活动的面具而已。“一切被造之物皆是上帝之面具和伪装；他允许他们和祂一道工作并帮助他创造各种各样的东西——即使没有他们的合作，他也能创造而且的确在创造”。<sup>[51]</sup>在路德看来，人的恩赐是“受庇护的存活”，或者说是一个蒙恩的存活，一个领受恩典和祝福的存活。所以拜尔认为，“对创造主上帝的信仰给予有限者知觉和品味”。<sup>[52]</sup>

再有，人的恩赐还可以制止人滑向虚无。<sup>[53]</sup>作工即是一种创造，人使用自己的恩赐去做上帝赋予的工作，可以使人远离无聊，避免滑向虚无。路德的天职观认为，“帮助信徒认真对待已被创造的真实世界，并让爱在我们自身的角色（即我们各人的恩赐）中发现具体的对象，而不是限定于模仿基督或独特的基督徒伦理”。<sup>[54]</sup>我们每个人的恩赐可以帮助我们找到上帝造我们的意义，找到自己独特的

[46] 就此可参见保罗·阿尔托依兹，《马丁·路德的神学》，段琦、孙善玲译，（南京，译林出版社，1998），第59页；转引自WA 10 I.1.P114.

[47] 就此可参见 Timothy F. Lull, eds, Martin Luther's basic theological writings, (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1989), S. 17.

[48] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 564.

[49] 就此可参见 Ibid. P. 31.

[50] 就此可参见汉斯·格奥尔格·伽达默尔，《真理与方法：哲学诠释学的基本特征》上卷，洪汉鼎译，（上海，上海译文出版社，2004），扉页：“你若接住自己抛出的东西，这只是匠工之技，算不上什么本事；只有当你迅速接住，命运女神以准确的弧线，以那种神奇的拱桥形弧线恰好抛向你的东西，这才算得上一种本领，——而且，这并不是你的本领，而是某个世界的力量”。（M. 里尔克）

[51] 就此可参见保罗·阿尔托依兹，《马丁·路德的神学》，段琦、孙善玲译，（南京，译林出版社，1998），第100页；转引自WA 17II.192.

[52] 就此可参见拜尔，《路德神学当代解读》，邓肇明译，（香港，道声出版社，2011），第207页。

[53] 就此可参见同上，第210页。

[54] 就此可参见林纯洁，《马丁·路德天职观研究》，（北京，人民出版社，2013），第11页。

价值,在真实的生活中去工作和体现出各自的价值所在,同时也是履行对邻人的责任和义务。路德认为,人在做工的时候不仅可以帮助约束肉体的欲望和怠惰,还可以帮助人培养为他人服务,为求他人益处的心,从而可以藉着做工去寻找神在人身上的恩典。

路德在《海德堡论辩》推论的第 18 条里写道,“如果恩典是赐予凡尽己所能做工的,那么,人就可知自己是处于恩典之中。要证明这点,可通过下述方法:人或者知道他是否尽己所能作工,或者不知道。如果他知道的话,那么他就知道自己有恩典,因为人们常说,上帝之恩典必然会赐给那些尽己所能作工的人”。<sup>[55]</sup> 凡尽己所能做工的人,这样的状态让人知晓自己是处于恩典之中。巴赫和海顿,都说过自己是极为勤奋的话,甚至说如果谁像他们这样勤奋,也会做出他们那样杰出的工作。<sup>[56]</sup> 可见,恩典的赐予正如路德所说,是给予尽己所能做工的人,神喜悦把自己的能力、努力和责任尽力体现出来,受神的引领和为邻人服务的人。在路德之前,在陶勒关于《以弗所书》第四章的讲道(Basler Australia, f. 117 v),是用“Buff”而不是“Beruf”来指称纯粹世俗劳动,说道“农夫若老实勤奋于自己的 Ruff,那么比起怠忽自己 Ruff 的僧侣往往更加成功”。<sup>[57]</sup> 路德的宗教改革唤醒了个人作为主体独自面对上帝时应该承担的责任和义务还有良心。人在上帝给予的处境面前,必须要严谨勤奋地工作,控制自己的懒散和怠惰,以及过多的享受和欲望,努力呈现出自己最节制和最虔敬的状态去投入工作,这本身是责任也是恩典。

并且,路德的天职观还强调“不求自己的益处”,因为路德认为如果工作是为了求得今生的利益,包括为神工作,这样“就会伤害信心”。<sup>[58]</sup> 对信心的伤害,会阻挡上帝的恩典降临到人的工作中,尤其在创作的领域,影响是非常大的。创作的广度和深度,尤其是深度,与创作者的信心息息相关。而在路德看来,信心是人领受的神的恩典,工作是人的恩赐和信心一起作用的结果,所以,在创作中完全的领受需要创作者有一个不求自己益处的心,以完全的信靠和爱来对待自己的工作。正像路德提到使徒在《哥林多前书》13 章 5 节中说“爱不求自己的益处”。创作中的非功利化和不给自己设限是创作中信心领受的前提。

路德强调信仰作为对上帝的仁慈的信心,这种信心表现在自我奉献和自我给予中。路德在他最钟爱的《加拉太书注释》中说“信心本身是上帝在我们心中的恩赐与工作”。<sup>[59]</sup> 要想从一个善意的给予者那里认可赐予是一份美善的恩典和恩赐,就需要接受者对赐予者(上帝)的意图的强烈信任和感动。从上帝赐予音乐创作者恩赐和天赋的角度来看,“应许”必然被理解为信心——对赐予者的美善意志的信念和强烈的感受力,以及对应许实现的强烈愿望。创作者即被给予者的信心要求赐予者(上帝)的意图得到明确的揭示。对路德来说,这个启示发生在基督与人的联合,发生在它道成肉身和十字架神性的自我给予中。<sup>[60]</sup> 因为在基督教的传统中,圣子自我给予的神学思想仍然乃是神学的基石。

## 结语

路德从很小的时候就体验到音乐对人情感的巨大影响和抚慰。路德对音乐理解始于他从小在家

[55] 就此请参见路德文集中文版编辑委员会主编,路德文集 1,(上海,上海三联书店,2005)第 56 页。

[56] 就此可参见汉斯·亨里希·爱格布雷特,《西方音乐》,刘经树译,(长沙,湖南文艺出版社,2005),第 476-477 页;Johann Nikolaus Forkel & Charles Sanford Terry, Johann Sebastian Bach: His life, Art and Work, (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), S. 196.

[57] 韦伯,《新教伦理与资本主义精神》,康乐 & 简惠美译,(桂林,广西师范大学出版社,2007),第 245 页。

[58] 就此请参见路德文集中文版编辑委员会主编,路德文集 1,(上海,上海三联书店,2005)第 424 页。

[59] 就此可参见马丁·路德,《加拉太书》注释,李漫波译,(北京,三联书店出版社,2011),第 40 页。

[60] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 563-564.

里和拉丁学校所感受到的以及作为唱诗班的男童歌手对音乐的体验，这个经历和体验同时也是信仰形成的过程[生命表达](Lebensäußerung)。<sup>[61]</sup> 这种体验的记忆和精神力量是如此强大，以至于终其一生路德都坚称：音乐是他一生的挚爱。“Musicam semper amavi — I have always loved music.”<sup>[62]</sup>

在路德看来，音乐的力量可以撼动人的情感深处，这是其他的艺术所无法比拟的。当上帝的话语即经文与音乐结合被唱出来的时候，这两者的结合深深地打动了人的理智和情感。信仰的虔诚藉着神的话语和音乐的力量使人进入一个被新创造的存在，人的生命在神的话语和美妙的音乐中得到了更新。音乐是他生命里的安慰和快乐的来源，也是他宗教改革和传福音的良伴。

对路德来说，音乐是上帝的恩赐和礼物。一方面上帝赐予这个世界和万事万物声响与和谐，这些声响与和谐即音乐是上帝透着世界万物在言说祂自己。另一方面上帝也藉着人的音乐恩赐带给生命更多的美善和平安，人们凭着信心领受恩赐并创作出美妙的音乐，上帝藉由祂赐予的音乐显现祂在创作者和聆听者身上的恩典和应许。对于路德来说，一切皆是赐予，一切也皆是领受，无论是音乐、创作还是生命本身。上帝是所有的创造者、持有者、给予者和设计者，人凭着信心领受属于自己的恩赐，创作和天才的显现是恩典和信心的结合。在这个意义上，创造即称义，称义即创造。

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[61] 就此可参见 Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*. (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2017). S. 22.

[62] 就此可参见 Derek R. Nelson & Paul R. Hinlicky, eds., *The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, Vol. 1, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2017) S. 19.

**English Title:**

**Luther's Theological Understanding of the Essence of Music: Music is A Gift of God**

**Weirong ZHAO**

中西经典与圣经

**Chinese and Western Classics  
and the Bible**





# 从《交友论》到《速友篇》 ——耶稣会士的友论与中国传统友论的比较

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**摘要:**本文以文化相遇的“互动和交流类”框架分析《交友论》和《速友篇》,通过对两个文本的考察,表明利玛窦的文本显示了中西传统相融相汇的特征,呈现了一条文化创新的路径;卫匡国则为友论引入基督教的核心概念“爱”,区分儒耶的“德怨”论,明确了以耶补儒的传教策略。他们对西方友论的引介犹如一种催化剂,加速了明末清初中国士人人伦观念的现代化。

**关键词:**《交友论》《速友篇》中西友论

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在明末清初中西文化交流的大背景下产生了中西文化结合的各种题材和类型的文本。《交友论》和《速友篇》都是由十六、十七世纪欧洲入华传教士创作的友论著述,前者作者是利玛窦(Matteo Ricci,1552—1610),后者作者是卫匡国(Martino Martini,1614—1661),两位作者都是意大利籍耶稣会士,先后入华传教数十年,都在中国逝世并埋葬在中国。虽然两部作品都是关于友论的写作,内容上也明显表现出了前后延续的特征,两者在中国士人中的接受程度却不尽相同:前者被收入多个文集,在中国士人中广为传诵,士人纷纷对之加以揄扬和引用,而后者则只有1661年的一个版本,其流传仅限于比较狭窄的士人圈子。由于题材和内容的一致性,1677年甚至出现了《交友论速友篇合录》(又称《交速合录》)的手抄本。<sup>[1]</sup> 本文拟用钟鸣旦提出的中西文化相遇的“互动与交流类”框架<sup>[2]</sup>分析两文,考察中西友道在这两篇文章中的呈现,它们的互动与交流、融汇与沟通、流变与创新,以及在文化传播上的意义。

## 创作背景

《交友论》和《速友篇》的创作背景十分相似。《交友论》创作于1595年。利玛窦自1582年在澳门登陆,1583年与罗明坚进入广东肇庆,艰辛开教,后被王泮知府逐出肇庆,转而到韶州开教,再从韶州

[1] 具体数据参引自比利时鲁汶大学汉学系 CCT 电子资料库: Ad Dudink & Nicolas Standaert, Chinese Christian Texts Database (CCT-Database) (<http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct>)。最近访问日期:2016年4月6日。

[2] Nicolas Standaert, Methodology in View of Contact Between Cultures; The China Case in the 17th Century, (Hong Kong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, The University of Hongkong, 2002), 23-47.

北上南京, 继而又被徐大任逐出南京, 后辗转来到江西南昌。对在华十多年来饱受挫折的利玛窦来说, 南昌似乎是他传播福音的“福地”。晚明的南昌是江右王学的胜地, 聚集了一批热爱谈文论道、对人生哲学有着浓厚兴趣的文人, 尤其是白鹿洞书院主讲章潢, 更是与利玛窦结成了志趣相投的朋友。在南昌, 利玛窦还受到了明王朝两位王爷建安王朱多爚(1573—1601 在位)、乐安王朱多煊(1561—1573 在位)的特殊礼遇。当两位王爷向利玛窦询问欧洲人对于友谊的看法, 利玛窦便回忆少时所学, 从他的记忆宫殿里“调”出欧洲名人论交友的格言名句, 撰成《交友论》一文。由于利玛窦在南昌所结交的上层阶层人士和知名文人甚广, 已经建立了良好的名声, 故此文一出, 广受中国文人的认可。《利玛窦中国札记》里记载, “这本书……到处受到知识阶层的赞许, 并往往被权威作家在其他著述中引用。”〔3〕1599 年当利玛窦从南昌到达南京, 这篇《交友论》成为把利玛窦和中国文人士大夫联系起来的媒介, 使他赢得多名上层知识分子的支持和帮助。〔4〕已有的研究表明, 在传教士关于友道的著述中, 利玛窦的《交友论》影响力最大, 其所引起的评价“多属正面”。〔5〕

与此相似, 《逮友篇》的创作也是来自耶稣会士与中国文士对友论的探讨。卫匡国 1643 年来华后在杭州和南京一带传教; 1644 年四月, 明崇祯帝自缢于景山公园, 清军占领北京, 战火很快烧到了中国南部地区。1645 年六月, 清军占领南京, 八月攻占杭州。唐王朱聿键(1602—1646)在福建建宁登基, 建元隆武, 当时卫匡国就在附近的福建延平。1646 年七月, 受隆武帝之托, 卫匡国在战火中前往浙江温州, 一路躲过清军的追杀, 于次年六月到达浙江兰溪的耶稣会驻地。在兰溪灵岩, 卫匡国见到了当地的中医学者祝石(字子坚), 两人一起探讨友道, 因而撰成《逮友篇》。〔6〕

可见《交友论》与《逮友篇》的创作背景十分相似, 都是两位耶稣会士与中国文士谈论友道的结果; 同时, 两者的创作方式也是十分接近的, 可以说是与中国文士合作的结果, 不过《逮友篇》的合作性质更为明显, 基本上是由卫匡国口述, 祝石笔录。

### (一) 中国传统里的友论

中国古籍里最早出现“朋友”一词的是《周易》。《兑卦》曰: “君子以朋友讲习”, 君子注重与朋友进行交流, 以求共同长进知识和学问; 这是理性和知性的友谊。稍后, 《诗经》唱出人类交友是一种自然的行为: “嘤其鸣矣, 求其友声。相彼鸟矣, 犹求友声。矧伊人矣, 不求友生? 神之听之, 终和且平”(《小雅·伐木》)。到了《论语》, 关于交友的论述就更多了: “有朋自远方来, 不亦乐乎?”(《学而》)还提出益友和损友之分: “益者三友, 损者三友。”(《季氏》), 又提出交友的准则: “与朋友交, 言而有信”(《学而》)。《论语》透露交友具有一定的“功利性”目的, 朋友有助于成就君子的仁德。曾子说, “君子以文会友, 以友辅仁”(《颜渊》)。

孟子继承了孔子对友谊的重视, 以“信”为交友之准则, 同时还更进一步, 将朋友列入五伦, 即五种基本的人际关系: “使契为司徒, 教以人伦: 父子有亲, 君臣有义, 夫妇有别, 长幼有序, 朋友有信”(《孟子·滕文公上》)。《中庸》称: “天下之达道五, 所以行之者三。曰: 君臣也, 父子也, 夫妇也, 昆弟也, 朋

〔3〕 利玛窦、金尼阁 Li Madou, Jin Nige: 《利玛窦中国札记》Li Madou zhongguo zhaji [The Journals of Mathew Ricci], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1983), 301-302.

〔4〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 346 页。You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

〔5〕 李爽学 Li Shixue: 《中国晚明与欧洲文学——明末耶稣会古典型证道故事考论》Zhongguo wanming yu ouzhou wenxue: Mingmo yesuhui guidian xing zhengdao gushi kaoquan [European Literature in Late-Ming China: Jesuit Exemplum, Its Source and Its Interpretation], (北京 Beijing: 生活·读书·新知三联书店 Shenghuo dushu xinzhishi sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company], 2010), 275.

〔6〕 白佐良 Bai Zuoliang: “卫匡国生平及其著作 Wei Kuangguo shengping jiqi zhuzuo” [On the life and works of Martino Martini], 《把中国介绍给世界: 卫匡国研究》Ba zhongguo jieshao gei shijie: Wei Kuangguo yanjiu [Introducing China to the World: A Study of Martino Martini], (上海 Shanghai: 华东师范大学出版社 Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe [East China Normal University Press], 2012), 12-40.

友之交也,五者天下之达道也。”朋友作为五伦之一已成为一种制度化的社会关系。

尽管朋友关系是一种重要的社会关系,是五伦之一,在中国传统社会里,朋友始终是一种附属的、相对次要的人际关系和社会结构,人际关系的主流和基本结构仍然是家族和血缘关系。正如《诗经·小雅·常棣》所说的:“常棣之华,鄂不韡韡。凡今之人,莫如兄弟。”“结义兄弟”正是通过“结拜”这个形式将朋友关系以“兄弟”关系巩固下来,正好体现在中国传统社会,兄弟血缘关系重于非血缘的朋友关系。

自汉代以来,“交友论”或“论交友”逐渐成为一个专门而独特的文题。东汉朱穆(100—163)始作有《绝交论》,蔡邕(133—192)继而作《正交论》,南朝刘峻(463—521)有感于朱穆的《绝交论》写了《广绝交论》。北宋欧阳修亦曾撰写《朋党论》以区分君子之真朋与小人之伪朋。这些“交友论”都对计较利益得失、形如商贾贸易的世俗友谊进行了针砭和批判,斥其为“伪朋”,认为这样的友道已失去友道的本义。

明末清初,一方面,社会上文人结社风气长盛不衰,东林党、复社、几社等明末文人社团都可以说是一批志同道合的文人交友的方式。崇祯十五年(1642),复社曾举行盛大的虎丘大会。当时,“虎丘山下,从江苏、安徽、浙江、江西、湖北、山西、福建聚来数百条船,千余车轿。几千人一起诵诗作文,寻找情趣,交换朋友”,<sup>[7]</sup>可见当时以文交友、“以朋友讲习”风气之盛。而另一方面,正如徐尔觉在《迷友篇序》中所说,自《广绝交论》后,世俗均视朋友如仇寇,五伦已“失其一”,批判当时友道风气已经败坏;事实上当时朋党之争加剧,官僚阶层腐败现象日趋严重,整个晚明社会已病入膏肓、岌岌可危,处于崩溃的边缘。在这样一个时代,显然亟需一种新的声音来唤醒久被蒙蔽的人心,来匡正世俗流弊。

## (二)西方传统里的《交友论》和《迷友篇》

在古代欧洲,交友首先是一个哲学和伦理学的话题。为交友留下名言的古代欧洲人多为哲学家、伦理学家,如古希腊时代的柏拉图(著有《李思篇》)和亚里士多德(著有《尼各马可伦理学》),文艺复兴时代的思想家、哲学家蒙田、培根等也都写过专门论述友谊的篇章。亚里士多德说,“好的立法者对友谊比对公正更关心”。<sup>[8]</sup>蒙田把友谊区分为五种:血缘的、社交的、待客的、男女情爱的以及真正的友谊,<sup>[9]</sup>第五种才是本文所论述的友谊。

在内容上,《交友论》和《迷友篇》对西方友论传统的继承是基本一致的,这主要表现在两个方面:第一是诉诸于古希腊罗马的友道传统。利玛窦在《交友论》的引言“友论引”中提出了西方友论的一个基本观点:“吾友非他,即我之半,乃第二我也”,<sup>[10]</sup>朋友就是另一个自己,这个观点乃出自古希腊哲学家毕达哥拉斯,他最早提出论友谊的名言“朋友乃另一个我”<sup>[11]</sup>,后来这句名言广为世人传颂,如亚里士多德说“朋友是另一个自身”,<sup>[12]</sup>古罗马哲学家西塞罗则说“一个能拥有一个真正朋友的人,就像拥有了另一个形影相随的自我”。<sup>[13]</sup>

与此相似,《迷友篇》同样将友道传统诉诸于古希腊罗马,谓“真友之实犹二身相离,一心同在。尔

[7] 李天纲 Li Tiangang:“早期天主教与明清多元社会文化 Zaoqi tianzhujiao yu mingqing duoyuan shehui wenhua” [Catholicism and the multicultural society in Ming and Qing China],《史林》Shi lin [Historical Review], No. 4, (1999), 48.

[8] Michel de Montaigne:《蒙田随笔全集》(上卷) Mengtian suibi quan ji (shang juan) [Essays by Michel de Montaigne (first volume)], (南京 Nanjing:译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe [Yilin Press], 2002), 206.

[9] 同上书 Ibid, 第 206-207 页.

[10] 利玛窦 Matteo Ricci:《交友论》Jiao You Lun [On Friendship],《利玛窦中文著译集》Li Madou zhongwen zhu yi ji [The Chinese Works of Matteo Ricci], (上海 Shanghai:复旦大学出版社 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University Press], 2007).

[11] 同[5], 第 273 页.

[12] 亚里士多德 Yalishiduode (Aristotle):《尼各马可伦理学》Nigemake lunli xue [Ethika Nikomachea], (北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2003), 268.

[13] 西塞罗 Xisailuo (Cicero):《友谊责任论》Youyi zeren lun [On Friendship and Duties], (北京 Beijing:光明日报出版社 Guangming ribao chubanshe [Guangming Daily Press], 2006), 16-176.

室,我为第二尔,我室,尔为第二我”,<sup>[14]</sup>并引用了更多古人论友道的名言名句和更多古希腊罗马的友道故事,如父命子试友的故事,以朋友为最有价值的可继承遗产;宫女与皇女争相为对方赴死的故事等。这些欧洲古代的友道论述和故事表明:在实行城邦制的古希腊罗马,城邦里的成员都是彼此平等的公民,也都对城邦的公共事务负有责任;故对古希腊罗马人来说,公共空间和事务的重要性超过家庭等私密空间和事务,具有第一要义;与此相应,在古希腊罗马社会,建立在平等概念上的朋友关系位于人际关系的第一位。如果借用中国传统中五伦的概念,那么在五伦中,朋友是第一伦,是最基本的人际关系,而血缘关系、君臣关系、僚属关系都是排在其后的,不能与朋友关系同日而语。

这样的友谊观体现了一种基本的平等观念。朋友双方并不依赖于血缘或者僚属关系,也无关双方地位的高下,而只是志同道合、相互平等;就像《速友篇》里逻辑总王玛耳谷对友人卑刺满强调的:“尔实在朕心中,朕实在尔心中,二身一心,朕亦一尔,尔亦一朕”,君臣同心。中国古代同样有君“思贤若渴”而结交贤士的传统,比如燕太子与荆轲,比如孔融(153-208)曾作《论盛孝章书》向曹操力荐盛孝章,认为重用之可弘友道,因为君臣之间实可结成亦君臣亦朋友的关系,他所谓“友道”实乃君主“求贤之道”。不过在中国传统里,君臣之间建立起来的这种友谊关系并不违背五伦,“君臣之道”依然是优先于“朋友之道”的。

《交友论》和《速友篇》都诉诸的另一个西方传统是基督宗教,两者相较,《交友论》对这一传统的引用甚少,文中仅有两处提到“上帝”两字:“各人不能全尽各事,故上帝命之交友,以彼此胥助。”“上帝给人双目、双耳、双手、双足,欲两友相助,方为事有成矣。”与《交友论》相比,《速友篇》更多、更直接地引入了《圣经》所言友论,即基督宗教的友道。如以下一则:

《圣经》曰:爱爱汝者最易,虽恶人亦能之。止能是,何报于上主乎?汝当仁爱仇汝者,加惠恶汝者,乃为上主之子也。

### (三)《交友论》:倚重于儒学的中西融合

《交友论》和《速友篇》在论述友道时,在对中西两种友道传统的交流和互动中,对中西传统做出了不同的反应。利玛窦在《交友论》里提出“朋友就是另一个我”,当视友如己,从而把朋友关系置于人际关系的第一位,这对当时的中国士人来说是一个全新的见解,他们对此的反应是亦惊亦奇。如当时的著名学者焦竑(1540-1620)如此称道利玛窦的朋友观:“西域利君言:‘友者,乃第二我也。’其言甚奇,亦甚当。”<sup>[15]</sup>为了适应中国国情,为了让中国文士更容易接受,利玛窦在展开论述时,尽可能地接近和融合中国的儒家传统。

首先,建立在“友即我之半”原则之上的友论,与孔子论友道一样具有世俗功利性。利玛窦说:“各人不能全尽各事,故上帝命之交友,以彼此胥助。”“独有友之业能起。”“上帝给人双目、双耳、双手、双足,欲两友相助,方为事有成矣。”交友是为了成就事业。又说,“交友之旨无他,在彼善长于我,则我效习之;我善长于彼,则我教化之。是学而即教,教而即学,两者互资矣。”交友之旨是学习对方的长处,这与《易经》所说的“君子以朋友讲习”旨意也基本一致。利玛窦撰写《交友论》时,正在南昌与建安王朱多燦、乐安王朱多煥交友,同时也经常与南昌文人们谈文说道,互相切磋和辩驳学问,故能体会到这种风气与古希腊索伦等立法者文艺聚会的相似性。<sup>[16]</sup>

其次,与孔子一样,利玛窦也认同以“信”为朋友相处的准则:“交友之后宜信。”《论语》提出对朋友

[14] 卫匡国 Wei Kuanguo (Martino Martini):《速友篇》Qiu You Pian [On Making Friends],《明清之际西学文本》(第二册) Ming Qing zhi ji xixue wenben (di'er ce) [Texts of Western Learning in Late Ming Early Qing China (Volume Two)], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2013), 817.

[15] 焦竑 Jiao Hong:《澹园集》下册 Danyuan Ji (xia ce) [A Collection of Danyuan (second volume)], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1999), 735.

[16] 同[3],第302页.

的要求有三:“益者三友……友直,友谅,友多闻,益矣。”(《论语·季氏》)利玛窦则提出,“直言独为友之责”,认为“直言”是为人友者的职责,朋友若真爱友人,必定不能忍友人之恶,不怕“忠言逆耳”,也不怕朋友“蹙额”,必“直言”“谏之”。再有,利玛窦将一个人朋友的多寡与其德行的盛薄联系在一起:“视其人之友如林,则知其德之盛。视其人之友落落如晨星,则知其德之薄。”古罗马的友谊论原本就与德行密切联系在一起,比如西塞罗认为美德是真正友谊的基础。<sup>[17]</sup>孔子也认为友谊与德行密切相关。《论语》指出有完美道德者方为“君子”,而“君子”何患无友,对君子德行最大的肯定和证明就是“四海之内皆兄弟”。

总之,为了更多地吸引中国读者,利玛窦在《交友论》中尽可能地淡化宗教色彩,并在文中尽可能地向着中国人所熟悉的儒家友论传统靠拢。钟鸣旦指出,在中西文化相遇时,影响和接受即传播是双向的。<sup>[18]</sup>利玛窦写作《交友论》是为了向南昌的两位王爷介绍西方友论,然而在中国十多年的生活已经使他不知不觉地接受了儒家的友论,这使得在《交友论》里,中西两种友道传统的互动和交流表现出了较多相协调的色彩和较高相融合的程度。

#### (四)《速友篇》:倚重于天学、超脱于儒学

利玛窦和卫匡国都是天主教神父,也都是人文主义者,青年时代在耶稣会主办的罗马学院接受过人文主义教育的利玛窦和卫匡国身上都流淌着人文主义者伊拉斯谟(Desiderius Erasmus, 1466-1536)的血;他们通过自己的中文著述宣扬了文艺复兴的人文主义精神,《交友论》和《速友篇》所论述的友道体现了文艺复兴的人文主义精神,<sup>[19]</sup>“散发出欧洲人文主义气息”。<sup>[20]</sup>

尽管同样是论交友,卫匡国《速友篇》的创作主旨与《交友论》有所不同。《速友篇小引》表明卫匡国创作此篇的宗旨,其“九万里东来本意”,乃“愿入友籍者咸认一至尊真主为我辈大父母”,故在此“陈速友之道”,“所愿勿为假友,共作真朋”。<sup>[21]</sup>这是说他阐述速友之道的宗旨乃在劝勉在华所结交友人真心认同那唯一的“至尊真主”、“我辈大父母”,这才是“真交之本”。其传教之主旨非常鲜明。卫匡国的匠心独运之处在于巧妙地将这一主旨与“友”“爱”主题联系起来。他从“爱”这一概念出发探讨友道,以“爱”释“友”之真义,开篇即谓“友者,爱之海,最难游也”,宣告本文论友道的重点在于阐明“爱”之真义——这可谓《速友篇》的关键句,与《交友论》开篇的“吾友非他,即我之半,乃第二我也,故当视友如己”一样振聋发聩。卫匡国提出“信”与“爱”是交友的两大基本原则:交友之人乃由信生信,由爱生爱,真交即建立在此基础之上。

乘着这样的写作宗旨,在与“他者”友道传统的交流上,《速友篇》的表现与《交友论》区别开来。在《速友篇》里,在基督宗教背景的观照下,古希腊罗马的友道传统成为了“他者”:当卫匡国借用这一传统时,他已经极大程度地将其基督宗教化了。利玛窦论朋友为“我之半”、“第二我”,朋友之间乃“二身一心”,故当视友如己;卫匡国则认为不但应视友如己,而且应视友“尊于己”,甚至可为朋友牺牲自己的生命:“宁死己而生友”,为友献身已经包涵基督的献身精神在内,卫匡国所引用的古罗马世俗友道故事(如阿肋德和比辣得的故事)、友论名言(如柏拉图、塞内加等人论友谊)也都透露出浓郁的宗教色彩。

卫匡国在著述中如利玛窦一样注重将自身的西方传统与中国传统结合起来。卫匡国在文中主要

[17] 同[13],第46页。

[18] 同[2],第24页。

[19] 张西平 Zhang Xiping:“利玛窦和卫匡国‘友论’初探 Li Madou he Wei Kuangguo ‘you lun’ chutan” [A Preliminary Study on Discussion of Friendship by Matteo Ricci and Martino Martini],《把中国介绍给世界:卫匡国研究》Ba zhongguo jieshao gei shijie: Wei Kuangguo yanjiu [Introducing China to the World: A Study of Martino Martini], 133-142.

[20] 沈定平 Shen Dingping:“适应性策略的传承与卫匡国的历史贡献 Shiyingxing celue de chuancheng yu Wei Kuangguo de lishi gongxian” [On the inheritance of the accommodationist policy and the historical contribution of Martino Martini], 同上书 Ibid, 第63页。

[21] 同[14],第807-828页。

引介基督宗教的友道,同时也注意结合中国儒家的友道进行探讨。有的基督宗教友道教义与儒家友道异曲同工,如《圣经》曰当责友之不善,而儒家也认为,“朋友之道,……善则久要不忘平生之言,恶则忠告善诲之”;<sup>[22]</sup>有的教义则与儒家伦理区别开来,如《圣经》曰“汝当仁爱仇汝者,加惠恶汝者”,不过儒家并不主张“以德报怨”,而只是称“以直报怨,以德报德”(《论语·宪问》)。卫匡国在文中借得勒国兄弟之口对此作了专门的探讨:

或曰:报仇不可,然以直报怨足矣,何必以德报怨邪?曰:以直报怨,匪罪亦匪功;以德报怨,甚感天主之心而成大勋也。以直报怨,不为彼仇;以德报怨,不但解仇,且化为友,俾其改过矣。……故报怨之德,甚于报德之德也,难行,其功更丰。

这实际上是将基督宗教“以德报怨”的教义与儒家“以直报怨”的观点进行了比较,借此特意将友道导向神主,以上主或天主为统御友道的标尺,将世俗友论引向神学论述,赋予世俗友道以神学内涵,对中国传统的友论而言可谓来自“他者”的一种“异化”,同时也是一种深化。对《速友篇》的作者而言,与儒家友论的交流表现出了两种态度:一是接受和吸收(与自身文化相符的部分),另一种是带保留意见(与自身文化相异的部分);作者借此强化了对自身文化的认同。

## 结语:晚明西士友论的传播及其意义

《交友论》和《速友篇》为晚明社会引进西方的友谊观,一个积极作用首先就是强调了作为五伦之末的朋友的重要性,唤起晚明士人对朋友的加倍重视,同时自然地将平等观引入晚明士人的认识中,推动了晚明社会士人思想意识的进步和发展。两文所共同引介的西式友论观于无形中植入明末清初文人的认知之中,使他们的友谊观乃至世界观潜移默化地发生了变化。1676年,“清初六大家”之一吴历(1632—1718)作为比利时耶稣会士鲁日满的传道员赴江苏太仓访问道友转函,归而创作《湖天春色图》以志此事,这幅青绿山水画描绘了一派青春而浪漫的春天景象,象征着吴历因沐浴温馨友情而倍感振奋的精神世界,一种人际平等、欣然喜悦的气氛跃然画上:是新的友谊和世界观为吴历带来了转变。<sup>[23]</sup>后来,吴历在给同乡名画家王翬(石谷)的一封信中将王翬称为“半我”,也显示了清初文人所受《交友论》的影响。<sup>[24]</sup>

从《交友论》到《速友篇》,利玛窦既积极引介西方古典和近代的友道传统,又广为吸纳中国的友道传统,友论文本充分显示了他融汇中西传统的努力,并自然地呈现了一条文化创新的路径;卫匡国如利玛窦一般带着中国传统文化深深的烙印,同时在对西方近代传统的引介上比利玛窦走得更远,为友论直接引入基督宗教的核心概念“爱”和“德怨”论,明确以耶补儒的传教策略。他们的写作既丰富了交友论这一题材的中文写作,其在明末清初士人中的传播对匡正世风、移风易俗、救治时弊也起到了一定的作用。利玛窦、卫匡国等人对西方友论的引介犹如一种催化剂,加速了明末清初中国士人人伦观念的现代化。

[22] 邓安生 Deng Ansheng:《蔡邕集编年校注》(上)Cai Yong ji biannian jiaozhu(shang) [A chronologically annotated works of Cai Yong (first volume)],(石家庄 Shijiazhuang:河北教育出版社 Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hebei Education Press],2002),73.

[23] 蒋向艳 Jiang Xiangyan:“吴历《湖天春色图》研究 Wu Li ‘hutian chunse tu’ yanjiu” [A study on Wu Li’s painting “spring comes to the lake”],《汉学研究》Hanxue yanjiu [Chinese Studies],(北京 Beijing:学苑出版社 Xueyuan chubanshe [Xueyuan Press],2012),280-287.

[24] 吴历 Wu Li:“致王石谷尺牍 Zhi Wang Shigu chidu” [A letter to Wang Shigu],《吴渔山集笺注》Wu Yushan ji jianzhu [the Annotated Works of Wu Yushan],(北京 Beijing:中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company],2007),526.

**English Title:**

**From Jiao You Lun to Qiu You Pian: Jesuits' Discussion on Friendship and A Comparative Study with Traditional Chinese Theories**

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**Abstract:** This article makes an analysis of Matteo Ricci's *Jiao You Lun* (On Friendship) and Martino Martini's *Qiu You Pian* (On Making Friends) starting from the theory of the interaction and communication framework of contact between cultures. The analysis shows that Ricci's text has a characteristic of convergence and integration of Sino-West traditions which paves the way for culture creation; while Martini introduces the concept of "love" —the core concept of the Christian doctrines, makes a distinction between Confucian and Christian treatment on disputes, and clarifies the strategy of complementing Confucianism with Christianity. Their introduction of the western theories on friendship is a catalyst which accelerates the modernization of the concept of human relationships among the Chinese literati in late Ming early Qing China.

**Key words:** Jiao You Lun; Qiu You Pian; Sino-West theories on friendship





# 《哀歌》与《哀郢》主体差异性的比较与探源

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**摘要:**《哀歌》与《哀郢》分别是古希伯来文学传统和中国古典文学传统中“城市哀歌”的典范。对两者的比较研究表明,《哀歌》与《哀郢》存在着显著的主体差异性,前者是群体性的作品,其形成与传承是犹太民族面对过去、现今与将来一切苦难的情感表达,反映出他们对作为超越者的上帝的无限信仰;相比之下,后者是屈原个人的创作,它受到了君子以德行承担天命的影响,诗歌以骚体的文学手法表达出诗人的哀痛,它的传承与体验也主要是个体性的。《哀歌》与《哀郢》代表了两种不同的哀歌传统,两者间的主体差异性“轴心时期”的古希伯来文明和华夏文明在人与超越者的关系上不同演变的结果,反映出中希两种文学传统迥异的价值取向。

**关键词:**《哀歌》;《哀郢》;主体差异性;比较;探源

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自古以来,悲伤与困苦是人类的最基本生存经验之一,因此在世界各主要文化中都逐渐发展出一种叫哀伤诗歌的特殊文体,简称哀歌,用来抒发和宣泄人们内心的困苦之情。其中,《哀歌》和《哀郢》就是古希伯来文学和中国古典文学中具有经典意义的哀歌,它们的写作年代可以追溯到公元前6世纪到公元前3世纪之间。《哀歌》是希伯来圣经中篇幅最短的作品之一,以公元前586年犹太王国都城耶路撒冷被巴比伦军队攻陷、圣殿被毁为背景写成。《哀郢》则源自中国古代浪漫主义诗歌总集《离骚》中的《九章》,一般认为写于公元前278年,当时楚国郢都被秦国大将白起所攻陷。<sup>[1]</sup>这两首诗歌反映出在远古的希伯来文化与中国文化传统中,已出现了“城市哀歌”这样的文学表达,传递出国都沦陷背景下诗人的哀伤、痛苦的生存体验。

之前学术界发现这两首不同文化传统中的诗歌在历史背景、诗歌形式、主题思想和作者情操等方面的相似与共鸣之处,并且作了相关的研究。比如老一辈学者李荣芳、朱维之运用骚体来翻译《哀歌》,这是一种处境化的尝试。另外,还有一些比较《哀歌》和《哀郢》的文章,其中以两者的跨文化阅读最为典型。<sup>[2]</sup>本文在借鉴前人研究成果的基础上,另辟蹊径,比较《哀歌》与《哀郢》在作者身份、使用

[1] 关于《哀郢》Ai Ying [lament of capital Ying]的形成背景见本文第一部分中的讨论。

[2] 如钟志清 Zhong Zhiqing:《希伯来经典学术史研究》Xibolai Jingdian Xueshushi Yanjiu [A Study of the History of Hebrew Classics Studies]第四章:《哀歌》Aige [lamentations]与《哀郢》lament of capital Ying的跨文化阅读,(译林出版社 Yilin Chubanshe [Nanjing Translation Press],2020年);宋旭红 Song Xuhong:中西方“城市哀歌”之比较——以《耶利米哀歌》lamentations 和《哀郢》lament of capital Ying 为例,载《江海学刊》Jianghai Xuekan [Journal of Jianghai]2006年第3期;林文琛 Lin Wenchen:泣血为诗,千古绝唱——《耶利米哀歌》lamentations 与《哀郢》lament of capital Ying 比较,载《宁波大学学报(人文科学版)》Ningbo Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Ningbo University Human and Social Sciences Edition],1996年,第9卷第1期。

主体及诗歌表现方式等方面的差异,并结合“轴心时代”的古希伯来文明与华夏文明在人与超越者关系上的不同发展轨迹,来探讨造成这些差异的深层次原因。

## 一、群体作者与个体创作

对《哀歌》和《哀郢》的作者身份的探讨是本文比较两者主体性差异的一个切入点。《哀歌》的作者身份并不确定,也难以考证,它很有可能是由多位作者经过漫长时期的编订才完成的,而《哀郢》基本上被确认为出自中国先秦时期的屈原之手。两首诗歌在亡国与受苦的主题上表现出一些共同特征,但抒发的却是民族情感与个人情感的差异。

《哀歌》取名自希伯来文书名的首个单词(אִיכָה),它是一个表达哀号的虚词,意为“为何”之意。希腊七十士译本首次确立了《哀歌》的书名并认为耶利米先知是该书的作者。这一传统为拉丁武加大译本和英译本所继承,后者取名为 Lamentations,中文和合译本《耶利米哀歌》沿用了希腊文和拉丁文的表述,从而与希伯来文的原意产生了偏差。根据犹太-基督宗教传统,《哀歌》一向被认为是由先知耶利米所写,或至少是由他所编,但这一观点近来受到学术界的质疑,原因在于:首先,希伯来文标题并未给出《哀歌》的作者身份。其次,根据《历代志下》35 章记载耶利米为阵亡的约西亚所作哀歌,但它性质不同于以神人关系为背景的“哀歌”,<sup>[3]</sup>而且它写于约公元前 609 年,和写于公元前 586 年之后的《哀歌》相差至少 23 年,明显两者不可能是同一部作品。<sup>[4]</sup>第三,当犹太大王西底家被俘时,耶利米被囚禁在地牢中,因此他不可能详细地描述西底家被捉的场景。最后,《哀歌》与《耶利米书》在主题观点、语言和文学表达上也截然不同。<sup>[5]</sup>总之,当代的研究通过许多例证排除了耶利米是《哀歌》的作者。

许多学者认为整首《哀歌》是由五首各自独立的诗歌汇集而成,每一章分别对应一首诗歌。其中除了第五章,前四章都是字母离合诗(acrostic);第一章离合诗字母的排序与第二、三、四章不同<sup>[6]</sup>;第三章的文类体裁又明显不同于其它的离合诗,这些暗示出每首诗歌很可能有不同的作者。<sup>[7]</sup>这情形类似于《诗篇》,它是由一百五十首诗歌组成的合集,而并非是由某一位作者单独完成的。学者欧康纳认为很可能是若干匿名作者编订了《哀歌》中的集体唱诵哀歌,背景是幸存者在圣殿遗址悲悼民族遭

[3] 希伯来传统中的哀歌(lament)广义上包括了挽歌与哀歌,挽歌(dirge)是表达对死亡者的哀悼与纪念,通常是世俗性的,比如亚伯拉罕对亡妻撒拉的哀悼(《创世记》Chuangshiji [Genesis] 23: 2),大卫对押尼珥的哀悼(《撒母耳记下》Samuerji Xia [2 Samuel] 3: 33-34)等,耶利米为约西亚所作的其实是挽歌;而哀歌则将人的不幸与困苦与上帝联系起来,寻求脱离悲哀的环境,并盼望上帝带来重建。比如《诗篇》Shipian [Psalms]中的许多哀歌,《阿摩司书》Amosi [Amos] 5: 2 等,而《哀歌》Aige [Lamentations]也是属于这一种,见 Li Zhichang; You Bin 李炽昌,游斌:《生命言说与社群认同:〈希伯来圣经〉五小卷研究》Shengming Yanshuo Yu Shequn Rentong; Xibolai Shengjing Wuxiaojuan Yanjiu [Discourses and Community Identity: A Study of the Megilloth in the Hebrew Scripture],(北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press], 2003 年),第 175 页-177 页。

[4] Li Zhichang; You Bin 李炽昌,游斌:《生命言说与社群认同:〈希伯来圣经〉五小卷研究》Shengming Yanshuo Yu Shequn Rentong; Xibolai Shengjing Wuxiaojuan Yanjiu [Discourses and Community Identity: A Study of the Megilloth in the Hebrew Scripture],第 171 页。

[5] 唐佑之 Tang Youzhi:《耶利米哀歌注释》Yelimi Aige Zhushi [The Commentary on Lamentations],天道圣经注释,(上海 Shanghai: 上海三联书店 Shanghai Sanlian Shudian [Shanghai Sanlian Press], 2017 年),第 5-6 页。

[6] 《哀歌》Lamentations 中离合诗的字母出现了两种排法,第一章中希伯来字母  $\text{y}$  排在字母  $\text{d}$  之前,而在第二章、第三章和第四章中  $\text{y}$  排在  $\text{d}$  之前,表明当时存在着两种排法且都被接受,见 Elie Assis, “The Alphabetic Acrostic in the Book of Lamentations,” Catholic Biblical Quarterly, vol. 4, (2007), 710.

[7] R. B. Salters, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentations, (London: T&T Clark International, 2010), 7.

受到的大灾难,从以色列传统中也有女性扮演哀悼者来看,《哀歌》的作者中可能也有女性。<sup>〔8〕</sup>也有学者认为诗人的身份跟先知、祭司相关。<sup>〔9〕</sup>总之,《哀歌》的作者具体人数及身份已无法确切考证。从《哀歌》中多次提及犹太和耶路撒冷/锡安,却只字未提巴比伦来判断,它应创作于犹太。

此外,《哀歌》的形成也是一个漫长的过程,且其中各章的成文时间也充满了争论。阿尔索普通过希伯来原文比较论证了《哀歌》与《以西结书》的紧密相似之处,指出前者应形成于公元前586年至公元前520年之间,即亡国后至后流放晚期,这一结论得到了学术界的广泛支持。<sup>〔10〕</sup>许多学者认为第二章和第四章最早形成,第三章最晚形成;<sup>〔11〕</sup>也有观点认为第五章的集体哀歌最晚要到马加比时期才完成;<sup>〔12〕</sup>鲁道夫却认为第一章最早形成,应完成于耶路撒冷陷落之前。<sup>〔13〕</sup>

相较之下,《哀郢》为屈原所作已成为中国文学传统的基本共识。屈原名平,字原,战国末期楚国人(约公元前340年-前278年),是中国古代著名的浪漫主义诗人和影响深远的政治家、教育家。他创立了“楚辞”文体,著述甚丰,传诗27篇,以《离骚》、《九章》、《天问》等最为著名。屈原出身皇族宗亲,任过左徒、三闾大夫等要职,早年蒙楚怀王信任曾参国事决策,在楚国的内外事务中发挥过重要作用。他力主与东方诸国联合的“合纵”政策来对抗秦国。在屈原的努力下,楚国的国势有所增强。但后来因遭到权贵的谗言和亲秦派的离间,逐渐被楚怀王疏远。公元前304年,因反对楚怀王与秦国结盟,屈原被逐离郢都。之后,他又于公元前294年被楚襄王放逐,在接下来的十六年间,屈原郁郁不得志,创作了包括《哀郢》在内的大量文学作品,。

关于《哀郢》的创作背景有多种观点,如汉代王逸认为该诗歌是屈原被流放时哀念故国而作,<sup>〔14〕</sup>宋代朱熹提出了放逐与战乱的结合说。明末王夫之的白起拔郢说最具有代表性,即公元前278年,秦国大将白起率军南下,攻破郢都,并将楚国百姓迁之东方,屈原亦在此之列,他在悲愤与哀怨中写下了《哀郢》。<sup>〔15〕</sup>王夫之的观点为本文所接受,成为本文比较《哀郢》与《哀歌》的基础。

## 二、集体哀歌—宗教性与个人哀诗——文学性

《哀歌》和《哀郢》面对的是国殇城陷的相同历史事件,但两者却是以集体哀歌与个人哀诗迥然相异的方式予以回应。

《哀歌》的抒情主体和叙述视角都相当复杂。整部诗歌中第一、第二和第三人称交替使用,随感情流向而转换,且每一人称的所指也随着内容的变化而改变。第一章是以个人哀歌为主,以“我”为主词,其中的前半部分则是明显的“葬礼哀歌”(dirge);第二章是集体哀歌,以“我们”和“他们”为主词;

〔8〕 Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe, eds. *Women's Bible Commentary*, (Louisville, Kentucky: WJK Press, 1998), 187. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* ([www.SinoWesternStudies.com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com)), 1-20.

〔9〕 Jannie Hunter, *Faces of A Lament City*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 46-48.

〔10〕 F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Evidence for Dating of Lamentations", *JANES*, vol. 26(1998), 36.

〔11〕 R. H. Pfeiffer, O. Eissfeldt, C. Westermann, cited by F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Evidence for Dating of Lamentations", 3.

〔12〕 S. T. Lachs, cited by F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Evidence for Dating of Lamentations", 3.

〔13〕 W. Rudolph, *Die Klagelieder*, (KAT 17, Stuttgart, 1962), 209 cited by R. B. Salters, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentation*, 7.

〔14〕 王逸 Wangyi:《楚词章句》Chuci Zhangju 转引自朱东润 Zhu Dongrun:《中国历代文学作品选》Zhongguo Lidai Wenxue Zuopin Xuan [Selected Works in Chinese Literature] 上编第一册, (上海古籍出版社 Shanghai Guji Chubanshe [Shanghai Classics Press], 1979年), 第256页。

〔15〕 曹大中 Cao Dazhong:《论哀郢》Lun Aiying,《社会科学战线》Shehui Kexue Zhanxian [Social Science Front], No. 3, 1987年第3期, 第272-273页。

第三章的叙述视角则经历了从“我”(1-39 节)、“我们”(40-54 节)、“我”(55-63 节)到“我们”(64-66 节)的不断转换;第四章和第五章都是集体哀歌。个人哀歌是个人在苦难中向上帝发问,是个体经验的反映;集体哀歌则将国家和民族的历史置于以色列神人关系下来进行反思。<sup>[16]</sup>在《哀歌》中,个人哀歌与集体哀歌常常互相结合,两者间的转换也往往是跳跃性的。需要指出的是,个人哀歌中的“我”可被视作一个集合单数,它把群体的经验拟人化了,因而表达的是集体的哀伤。在此意义下,它也能被理解为集体哀歌。因此,《哀歌》之哀具有强烈的群体性或公共性。

从内容上看,《哀歌》的第一章从女性化的拟人手法通过今昔对比来描述耶路撒冷被毁之后的惨象。第二章描写耶路撒冷因罪愆招致上帝的惩罚,并以锡安女子的口吻呐喊、抗议并抒发哀痛之情。第三章将以色列历史上的苦境转换为信仰表达,暗示上帝对以色列的应许并未完结,盼望依旧存在。第四章透过今昔强烈的反差来突出耶路撒冷遭劫之后的恐怖景象,并谴责领袖的罪行。第五章在集体哀歌中祈求复兴。

与群体性紧密相关的是《哀歌》的宗教性。诗中出现的大量的呼告、悔罪、祷告等传递出浓重的信仰气氛。全诗运用多种文学修辞手法来展现希伯来宗教的内涵,如对耶路撒冷的女性拟人化处理:“寡妇”(1:1;5:3)的比拟是以圣经中耶和与以色列人之间的亲密夫妇的关系为背景的;“不洁的妇女”(1:8,9)则指代整个城市的犯罪;耶路撒冷还以“伤心的母亲”(2:20-21)的身份对丧子之痛发出哀祷。将耶路撒冷比喻为“以色列的角”(2:3)则传递出以色列作为选民的身份的观念。诗歌中字母离合诗的手法既象征着锡安之难的空前毁灭性,也象征着诗人无限的哀恸。此外,《哀歌》中对耶路撒冷今昔之遭遇的强烈对比则体现出一种信仰上的张力:一方面锡安被称为上帝之城,可以抵御任何灾难;<sup>[17]</sup>另一方面,现实的结果却是城市彻底被毁,百姓空前遭难。在此逆境中,《哀歌》第三章透过希望神学传递出上帝的公义、慈爱和信实(19-33 节),成为全书希望之所在。

与《哀歌》相似,《哀郢》作为一首长诗也大致可分为五段。第一段是从“皇天之不纯命兮,何百姓之震愆”至“心絷结而不解兮,思蹇产而不释,”它痛陈国都沦陷,百姓离散流亡之惨状。第二段是从“将运舟而下浮兮,上洞庭而下江”至“哀州土之平乐兮,悲江介之遗风,”表达了诗人在逃亡江夏之时的哀愁。第三段从“当陵阳之焉至今,森南渡之焉如”至“惨郁郁而不通兮,蹇侘傺而含戚,”抒发诗人遭流放九年以来的愁绪。第四段从“外承欢之沟约兮”到“众踈蹠而日进兮,美超远而逾迈,”诗歌对照谗人得势而忠贤遭谤,揭示楚败亡的原因。第五段是从“鸟飞反故乡兮”至结尾,诗人再表重返故都的强烈愿望,强调自己的清白。<sup>[18]</sup>

与《哀歌》的群体性相比,《哀郢》表现出强烈的个体性特征。全诗主要以第一人称写成,也有少部分如开头的四句以第三人称出现。但无论是用第一人称还是第三人称,诗歌的抒情主体始终是屈原本本人。全诗开始以诗人替受难百姓质问皇天开始,然而作者并未将自己转化成集体身份,而是仍以第一人称描述自己在流放途中思君、恋国、忧民的悲痛和迷茫惆怅的心境,营造出长路漫漫、哀伤绵绵的艺术氛围。至第四段始,诗歌转离流亡哀伤的主题,转而以第三人称以漫画般的笔法对比了“忠心的人”与“众多的嫉妒者”、“尧舜”与“众谗人”,并以第一人称总结楚亡国的原因。最后,诗歌借用鸟回

[16] Li Zhichang; You Bin 李炽昌,游斌:《生命言说与社群认同:〈希伯来圣经〉五小卷研究》Shengming Yanshuo Yu Shequn Rentong: Xibolai Shengjing Wuxiaojuan Yanjiu [Discourses and Community Identity: A Study of the Megilloth in the Hebrew Scripture],第 178-179 页。

[17] 这一观点在圣经中有多处显现,如《诗篇》Shipian [Psalms] 46:4-5 这样描述耶路撒冷的神圣性和坚不可摧:“这城就是圣高者居住的圣所。上帝在其中,城必不动摇;到天一亮,上帝必帮助这城。”《列王记下》Liewangji Xia [2 Kings] 19:34:“耶和与华因为自己的缘故,又为大卫的缘故,必保护拯救这城。”另外,《诗篇》48 篇也通篇表达了这一主旨。

[18] 这一分法参见朱东润:Zhu Dongrun:《中国历代文学作品选》Zhongguo Lidai Wenxue Zuopin Xuan [Selected Works in Chinese Literature]上编第一册,第 260 页,转引自钟志清 Zhong Zhiqing:《希伯来经典学术史研究》Xibolai Jingdian Xueshushi Yanjiu [A Study of the History of Hebrew Classics Studies],第 248 页。

巢与狐向穴的比喻,再以第一人称表达诗人对故都的怀念,并自明清白。虽然诗歌在某种程度上道出了惨遭国殇之祸的楚国人民的普遍哀伤,具有一定的群体性意味,但它首先还是屈原个人的情感表达。即便将诗歌视为后世仁人志士在遭逢国难剧变时的深刻悲痛与反思,它也还是个体性的表达,我们未曾见到象《哀歌》那样的群体性吟诵。

《哀郢》的个体性抒情表达是通过骚体的文学手法予以呈现。全诗两句一韵,上句末用“兮”字作语助词,形成了骚体中最典型的语法风格,下句末用韵字,典型结构为“前六兮后六”,其中处于两句之间的“兮”起到加强咏叹作用,表达出诗人悲怆、慷慨、凄婉和愤懑之情。<sup>[19]</sup>同时,“兮”也是结构的枢纽,确定了诗句之间的对应关系及基本节奏。此外,这一表现手法也确保了全诗以两两相对的偶句形式出现,促成了句子结构的平衡,体现出汉语中的均衡美。<sup>[20]</sup>如“去故乡而就远,遵江夏以流亡”、“背夏谱而西思,哀故都之日远”等。然而有时“兮”字前后的字数并不相等,如第一段结尾的“楫齐扬以容与兮,哀见君而不再得”(前六后七),第三段中的“曾不知夏之为丘兮,孰两东门之可芜”(前七后六),结尾处的“鸟飞反故乡兮,狐死必首丘”(前五后五)。这样的安排反映出诗歌在表达复杂的哀伤情感时,具有一定的灵活性,显得既规整又不呆板。全诗配曲吟诵,句中的前后字数不等则通过吟诵时的语音缓急来调节达到平衡。

### 三、对诗歌主体差异性的探源

《哀歌》和《哀郢》在作者、诗歌诵唱主体及诗歌特征上表现出很大的不同,接下来本文将探讨产生这些差异的深层原因。

《哀歌》是希伯来宗教发展到特定时期的产物,反映了以色列民族对特殊历史事件的理解与解读。古代以色列与两河流域及迦南的其他民族一样,有“原始一神崇拜”的特点,即将某个神尊为民族神加以崇拜,但并不排斥和否定其他神的存在,甚至加以崇拜。因此,这是一种混合性的崇拜(syncretism)。<sup>[21]</sup>当发生战争、饥荒等危机事件时,人们会转向“暂时性的尊一神崇拜”,即放弃对其他神的崇拜,专心向民族神求助,希望获得拯救以度过危机。这种“暂时性的尊一神崇拜”很可能是“独敬耶和华运动”的原型。<sup>[22]</sup>北国以色列长期面临内部社会危机和外部的军事威胁,这种长期的危机状态促成了“独敬耶和华运动”并使之常态化。此外,耶和华神与迦南众神无本质关联,他无形无像亦无亲缘关系,易与迦南众神产生对立,这也促进了以色列人一神观的形成。<sup>[23]</sup>“独敬耶和华运动”最初由以利亚为代表的少数派先知发起,主要是反对巴力神的斗争。最早的文献可见于公元前八世纪初的《何西阿书》,该运动主张只崇拜耶和华一神,废除有异神崇拜色彩的庙妓制度,并用律法来规范以色列人的群体生活。<sup>[24]</sup>北国灭亡后,少数派先知们逃到南国犹大并带来了律法,他们在约西亚宗教改革中起到了重要的作用。比如,他们参与并推动了律法文本的编修和申典历史的编撰。由此,“尊一神”(monolatry)信仰和“约”的观念开始形成。最后,在巴比伦流放时期,耶和华独一神信仰

[19] 廖序东 Liao Xudong: 释“兮”及《九歌》Jiuge 句结构的分析,载《徐州师范学院学报(哲学社会科学版)》Xuzhou Shifan Xueyuan Xuanbao [Journal of Xuzhou Normal University Philosophy and Social Sciences Editions] No. 2, 1994 年第 2 期,第 108 页。

[20] 参周秉高 Zhou Bingao:《楚辞解析》Chuci Jiexi [Interpretation of Chuci],(内蒙古大学出版社 Neimenggu Daxue Chubanshe [Inner Mongolia University Press], 2003 年)中的屈原作品部分。

[21] Mark S. Smith, The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel, (Michigan: Eerlmanns Publishing Co. 2002), 126-137.

[22] Bernhard Lang, Monotheism and The Prophetic Minority, (Sheffield: Almond Press), 1983, 33.

[23] Ibid., 35.

[24] Ibid., 29-42.

形成, 申典历史完成了编撰, 以十诫为代表的约则明确了以色列民族与上帝的关系。<sup>[25]</sup>

这其中, 公元前 586 年的耶路撒冷事件是一个重要的转折点, 它对原有的希伯来宗教提出了巨大的挑战。就《哀歌》而言, 它受到南国犹大大卫神学与锡安神学的影响, 如一神信仰(5:19), 以色列选民的身份(3:40; 5:20; 21b), 圣约关系(1:18a; 3:42; 5:7a; 16b), 耶路撒冷作为集中崇拜的场所(2:7), 安息日和节期(2:6), 对锡安的拣选(2:7)。然而, 亡国与城毁的严酷现实必然要求突破希伯来宗教中的这些原有解释体系。<sup>[26]</sup>《哀歌》中的大部分诗歌完成于城毁之后不久, 是以色列人对遭难的回忆。当整卷诗歌编撰完成时, 它提供了一种“罪-罚-盼望”的解释模式, 由于以色列民族的背约犯罪(《哀歌》1:8; 4:6), 招致耶和华的惩罚(1:12-15, 20b; 2:1-9; 4:1-11, 16; 5:2-4, 8-16), 但因着上帝的守约与慈爱, 必会有复兴之日, 因此盼望犹存(3:19-33)。<sup>[27]</sup>这一解释模式将耶路撒冷事件纳入到上帝支配历史的背景之下, 并在耶和华与以色列人“约”的框架中展开解决, 从而客观的历史事件被赋予了主体性和意义, 希伯来宗教的神学观念也得到更新, 希伯来信仰没有因民族灾难而减弱, 反而得到了强化和深化。由此, 《哀歌》在原有的信仰基础上揭示出希伯来宗教在流放时期的发展路径, 具有承先启后的作用。

《哀歌》的编撰是当时的以色列群体透过希伯来宗教更新后的神学观念来理解和解释耶路撒冷事件, 并产生集体记忆。这一集体记忆也成为后世的以色列人的共同回忆。比如传统上犹太人在过圣殿节时要诵读《哀歌》, 以纪念圣殿被毁的日子。<sup>[28]</sup>又如中世纪犹太人饱受迫害, 近代的俄国屠杀以及纳粹大屠杀都使得哀歌传统更深地得到传承。一方面, 通过对《哀歌》的不断诵唱, 过去、当下和将来的一切由苦难而带来的悲痛得以宣泄; 另一方面, “耶和华主宰历史”的信仰和“立约之民”的身份得以延续, 并结合新的生存处境, 形成犹太传统的重要部分。从此意义上来看, 《哀歌》的编撰与传承始终是民族性的, 诗歌中的个人哀歌与集体哀歌都代表了一种“集体人格”(corporate personality), 因此, 《哀歌》群体性的主体特征就得以凸显了。

相较之下, 《哀郢》中鲜明的个体色彩则是春秋战国时期个人以德行承担天命的观念的反映。殷商时期, 中国古人具有至高位格神的观念, “巫君合一”则是当时的统治形态。上古的原始首领同时也扮演着祭司的角色, 与作为超越者的神/天沟通。因此, 天地、政治、人事、鬼神等事务由他来掌握, 而祭祀得当才能获得天的佑护。<sup>[29]</sup>自西周始, 这一传统经周公旦的“制作礼乐”发生了人文理性化的本质性转变。除了外在合理的祭祀, 巫君所拥有与神明交通的内在神秘力量变为要后世天子所具有的内在道德品质与操守。<sup>[30]</sup>即天子须“以德配天”才能被天采纳, 延长天命, 才能更长久地治理国家, 教化百姓。在这一由“巫而史”的转变过程中, 王权压倒并最终取代了神权, 通天人的“巫”逐渐被边缘化与职业化, 成为从属附庸于“王”的辅臣。<sup>[31]</sup>此时的天命还是具有人格化和德性化特征, 且是由宗族

[25] 田海华 Tian Haihua:《希伯来圣经之十诫研究》Xibolai Shengjing zhi Shijie Yanjiu [Study on the Decalogue of the Hebrew Bible], (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin Chubanshe [The People's Press], 2012 年), 第 148-171 页。

[26] 犹大王国晚期的申命运改革又深受南国传统的影响, 强调上帝对大卫王室的拣选和对锡安的保障, 见 Mark Leuchter, “Why Is The Song of Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy,” *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 57, (2007), 297-306 和 Jeffery C. Geoghegan, “Until This Day and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 22(2003), 201-227. 然而犹大王国与耶路撒冷最终被毁的严酷现实对流放之前的希伯来神学提出了新的挑战。

[27] 虽然 20 世纪晚期对《哀歌》Lamentations 的研究出现了“反神义论”的新路径, 但历史-神学的研究仍然是其最基本的范式。

[28] 圣殿节是犹太立法的 5 月 9 日, 这是个哀伤的日子。据传第一圣殿和第二圣殿分别于公元前 586 年和公元 70 年的这一天被焚毁。此后流散世界各地的犹太人, 不断地将新的历史经验加入到此节日中。由此, 圣殿节成为犹太民族的整个历史苦难的回忆与纪念。《哀歌》Lamentations 的诵读也得以跨越特定的历史场景, 转化为犹太民族对哀伤情感的普遍表达。

[29] 李泽厚 Li Zehou:《说巫史传统》Shuo Wushi Chuantong [On Shaman Tradition of China], (上海 Shanghai: 上海译文出版社 Shanghai Yiwen Chubanshe [Shanghai Translation Press], 2012 年), 第 8-10 页。

[30] 同上, 第 17 页。

[31] 同上, 第 10 页。

而非个人来承担的。至春秋战国时期,随着礼乐崩坏,天命的人格化和意志化明显淡化转而走向宿命化和命运化,它变成了借着不期然而然的事件而降临的“不速之客”。天命国运的政治本位逐渐变成了天命德性的道德本位,承担天命的主体由宗族转向了个体的圣贤或君子。这样,天命所蕴含的“天意”需经过作为个体的圣贤或君子对“人事”,即对社会、政治等因素的诠释才能明白。<sup>[32]</sup>这在《哀郢》中就非常明显,屈原一开始以“皇天之不纯命”指代楚国亡国灭都的悲惨结局,感叹天命的变化无常,在诗歌第四段则揭示出亡国的原因与楚王亲近小人,听信谗言,疏远贤臣,导致朝纲混乱相关。

因而,天命被视为个人道德追求的终极依据,以个人道德生命对天命作出回应,以达圣人道与天道的合一。于是,以个人人格境界为目标的道德实践生活得以确立,个体道德的自我完善与社会责任紧密地相联结,个人的道德生活要为治国安民的社会目标服务,这是自孔子以来便开始具有的一种理想主义精神。<sup>[33]</sup>自春秋起,具有地域文化特征的楚国逐渐受到中原文化和礼制的影响,忠、孝、节、义等伦理观念日益形成。至春秋末期,楚文化在很大程度上与中原文化接轨,楚国以诗、书、礼乐之邦自居其贵族已经精通了诗、书、礼、乐。<sup>[34]</sup>屈原生活在社会大动荡的战国后期,作为一名贵族后裔,他的超越个体和群体利益得失,为构建和实现理想社会的报负之士人特性显露无遗,这在很大程度上受到了儒家的修、齐、治、平的思想的影响。比如整首《哀歌》中就充满着忠君(“哀见君而不再得”)、恋国(“顾龙门而不见”,“何须臾而忘反”,“曼余目以流观兮,冀一反之何时”)、忧民的情怀(“何百姓之震愆”,“民离散而相失兮”)。此外,在诗歌的第四段提到尧和舜的高尚的品德也能反映出周之文教的印记。事实上,屈原始终将天下大治的“善”政理想寄托在尧舜般的“贤君”的政治人格上。<sup>[35]</sup>总之,屈原怀着高尚的品德(“修美”、“美超”)和济世之志为君王献计,为社稷效力,以期实现“美政”(“忠湛湛而愿进”),这一责任显然非普通百姓能够履行。<sup>[36]</sup>最后,当治国安民的理想破灭后,屈原悲叹自己遭放逐而不能回朝效力(“惨郁郁而不通兮,蹇侘傺而含戚”),因而只能退回到以持守个人道德操守为依归的状态(“信非吾罪而弃逐”)。

需指出的是,屈原的君子以德行承担天命的意识同时伴随着楚国“巫”传统的遗风。东周末期的楚国虽然受到儒家文化的影响,但由于地域、自身文化等因素仍然保留着较强的“亲鬼好巫”传统,天地人神混为一体,这与中原文化中的“敬鬼远神”形成了明显差异。<sup>[37]</sup>这一传统也反映在屈原的作品

[32] 刘耘华 Liu Yunhua:《诠释的圆环——明末清初传教士对儒家经典的解释及其本土回应》Quanshi de Yuanhuan—Mingmo Qingchu Chuanjiaoshi Dui Rujia Jingdian de Jieshi Jiqi Bentu Huiying [The Circle of Interpretation: Missionaries' Interpretation of Confucian Classics in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties and The Local Responses], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing Daxue Chubanshe [Beijing University Press], 2005 年), 第 170 页。

[33] 余英时 Yu Yingshi:《士与中国文化》Shi Yu Zhongguo Wenhua [Scholars and Chinese Culture], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe [Shanghai Renmin Press], 1987 年), 第 35 页。

[34] 见李玉洁 Li Yujie:《楚史稿》Chu Shi Gao [On the History of Chu State], (开封 Kaifeng: 河南大学出版社 Henan Daxue Chuabanshe [Henan University Press], 1988 年), 第 116-124 页, 183 页, 转引自黄颂 Huang Song, 严亚明 Yan Yaming: 竭忠诚以事君, 伏清白以死直——屈原政治人格初探, 载《天津师范大学学报》Tianjin Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Tianjin Normal University], 1997 年, 第 5 期。

[35] 如屈原在《离骚》Lisao 中的表达:“昔三后之纯粹兮, 固众芳之所在”, “彼尧、舜之耿介兮, 既遵道而得路”, “汤、禹俨而求合兮, 挚、咎繇而能调。”

[36] 在儒家的观念中, 响应天道和管理社会是君王和他的大臣们的职责, 普通百姓则被排除在外, 他们不具有矫正不义和消除苦难的义务, 见 Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Trouble with Confucianism, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1991), 20-21. 当然, 古代中国民间也存在着反映底层社会的疮痍、呼吁社会公义的批判的声音, 如白居易 Bai Juyi 的《卖炭翁》Mai Tan Weng、柳宗元 Liu Zongyuan 的《捕蛇者说》Bushezhe Shuo 等, 但其目的并非为向统治者进言, 事实上这些声音也无法达到统治者那里。

[37] 典型的例子如《太平御览》Taiping Yulan [Taiping Royal View] 卷五二六引东汉桓谭 Heng Tan 的《新论·言体》Xinlun Yanti [New View: Words and Style]: 昔楚灵王骄逸轻下, 简贤务鬼, 信巫祝之道, 斋戒洁鲜, 以祀上帝。礼群臣, 躬执羽绂, 起舞坛前。吴人来攻, 其国人告急, 而灵王鼓舞自若, 顾应之曰: 寡人方祭上帝, 乐明神, 当蒙福佑焉, 不敢赴救。而吴兵遂至, 俘获其太子及后姬, 甚可伤。



中,如《九歌》是楚国民间祭神时的演唱与表演,是一组带有“巫风”的迎神、颂神、娱神、送神色彩的祭歌。在《离骚》中,屈原也展现出一种巫的气质,精神上包含着对上天下地神灵等终极问题的追问。<sup>[38]</sup>这种巫传统的遗风也流露在《哀郢》的字里行间,一开篇的“皇天之不纯命兮,何百姓之震愆”既是屈原的自我感叹,也可以视为他代表遭难的百姓向终极者皇天发问,暗示出他具有祭司的品质。又如诗歌第四段中的“灵魂”原指相对于体魄的非实体存在,它与神鬼、生死、祸福、善恶等休戚相关,并能借着恰当的祭祀得以回归。而“灵魂归兮”的表述则引申为屈原的心灵回归故土。此外,他所强调的传统楚国的风尚如(“悲江介之遗风”)必然包含了“巫”这一重要传统,甚至连尧舜具有的高尚德行(“尧舜之抗行”)也是与他们作为巫君与天的神秘沟通为前提的。受楚国“巫”传统的影响,贵族出生的屈原作为王臣的同时具有祭司的宗教气质,这也使他有责任并敢于直谏君王,要求后者改正错误,这一责任显然也与普通大众无关。

总之,无论是以贤臣还是以祭司的身份,屈原都是从他个人的角度来履行献计献策、劝谏君王的责任的。然而楚主昏庸,屈原身遭斥逐,眼见国事日颓,竟至都城陷落,百姓流离,理想自此破灭,其痛苦之深可想而知。《哀郢》从形式到内容都传达出这种强烈的个体性哀痛。

## 结语

希伯来文明与华夏文明是“轴心时期”各主要文明中的重要代表,就在这一时期,人与超越者关系的不同演变使得这两种文明的发展走向了截然不同的方向。就希伯来文明而言,位格性的独一神信仰得以确立,同时作为超越者的上帝也进入以色列历史,成为了整个民族无限信靠的对象,约的关系和选民的身份使得犹太民族成为一个有别于其他民族的特殊群体。《哀歌》赋予了耶路撒冷事件主体性与意义,它的形成与传承始终是群体性的,它成为历代犹太民族的命运及饱受迫害的现实处境的反映,也是他们获得盼望的心声。而华夏文明自周朝起对天命观的改造转向了对人自身美德的要求,从此成为了儒家文化的核心价值诉求。就《哀郢》来说,由于受个人以德行承担天命观的影响,其“亡国之音”“哀以思”主要是作者个体性的表达,它主要体现在两个方面:坚守节操、独善其身和忠君爱国。这一影响传递给后世产生了如南朝庾信之的《哀江南赋》和清初夏完淳的《大哀赋》等个体性哀伤作品,从而形成了另一种不同于希伯来哀歌的哀歌传统。此外,《哀郢》中隐含着“巫”传统遗风表明楚文化在融合中原文化的同时,仍残留自身的特殊性,反映出华夏文明在转型过程中其内部情况十分复杂,具有明显的地域性差异。

[38] 杨鹏 Yang Peng:《“上帝在中国”源流考:中国典籍中的“上帝”信仰》Shangdi Zai Zhongguo Yuanliukao Zhongguo Dianji Zhong de Shangdi Xinyang [A Textual Research on the Origin of “God in China”: The Belief in “God” in Chinese Classics], (太原 Tai Yuan: 书海出版社 Shuhai Chubanshe [Shuhai Press], 2014 年), 第 194 页。

**English Title:**

**The Comparison and Exploration of the Subject Differences between Lamentations and Lament of Capital Ying**

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**Abstract:** Lamentations and lament of capital Ying are models of city lament in ancient Hebrew-and Chinese classical literary traditions respectively. A comparative study shows that there are significant subject differences between lamentations and lament of capital Ying. Lamentations is the collective works, and its compilation and inheritance function as emotional expression of sufferings of the past, present and future of the Jewish people, reflecting their infinite belief of transcendent God. In contrast, lament of capital Ying is the creation of Qu Yuan, and under the influence of the sage's commitment to the mandate of heaven by his individual virtue. The poem expresses Qu Yuan's personal grief through a special literary technique and its succession and experience in later generations are mainly individual. The subject differences of two poetry is a reflection of different development trajectories of the humans-transcendent relationship in Hebrew-and the Chinese civilizations of the Axial Age.

**Key Words:** lamentations; lament of capital Ying; differences of subject; comparison and exploration



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



# The Ideological Emancipation of Chinese Women and Its Idealistic Pursuit in the May 4th Movement

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**Abstract:** The May 4th Movement of 1919 is a significant period of ideological change in Chinese modern history, and in it is during this time that the ideological enlightenment of modern Chinese women made its debut. Led by modern intellectuals, they, from all angles, criticized the traditional social structure, traditional etiquette and feudal family system hindering the liberation and development of women, and further discussed the emancipation of women in terms of ideological education, economic independence, family status, freedom of marriage, ethics, social communication, as well as other relevant social issues. The intense exchange of ideas influenced public opinion, provoking enormous responses from all sections of society, particularly from women. Based on real educational and economic issues concerning women, combined with theories, real thoughts and practices, and carried out with a series of practical social reform activities, the ideological emancipation of women in the May 4th Movement of 1919 laid a solid foundation for the transition of traditional women to modern women, thus becoming the source of ideological emancipation of modern women in China.

**Key Words:** the May 4th Period; Chinese women; ideological emancipation

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## Introduction

At present, research into issues related to Chinese women is far from sufficient. Although in the 1980s and 1990s there was a boom in small-scale discussions focused on women in China, as of today discussions of women's issues from an academic perspective in Chinese academia were still a drop in the bucket.<sup>[1]</sup> Researches into issues concerning Chinese women were and still are to a large part related to or attached to larger research schemes in literature, sociology and history; specialized books are too few while collections are too fragmentary (the majority of research findings on women both in China and abroad were published between the late 1980s and the early 1990s). The insights within the existing literature are more or less restricted to this short period of time and the existing materials are often too general and unreliable. In addition, there are relatively few academics in the field of Women's Studies, further compounding the issue.<sup>[2]</sup> It seems to be necessary to reevaluate and reconstruct the method of judging the transition of female ideology more objectively.

Consequently the emerging discipline of Women's Studies and the research into female issues has a long way to go before it can be considered comprehensive. The status of women has undergone great changes from feudal society to modern society and gives the impression that the image of women today is more diversified. Thus there is a broad and deep range of Chinese women's issues worth researching. The origin of its theoretical study can be traced to the May 4<sup>th</sup> Period, a turbulent time of transformation from the old to the new in the beginning of the twentieth century when numerous ideologies were generated.

### 1. The Imprints of the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement on Issues Concerning Chinese Women

To accurately understand the ideological movement that aided in liberating Chinese women during the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, we must gain a general understanding of the period and the time. Chinese modern history is marked by domestic trouble and foreign invasion, and the entire lives of the intellectuals during this time were dedicated to two words—"national salvation,"<sup>[3]</sup> which was the greater mission of the era.

Starting from the late Qing Dynasty, numerous attempts were made to achieve national salvation; the Hundred Days' Reform, a reform trying to improve the traditional system from top to bottom; the Self-Strengthening Movement, an attempt made by government officials and private entrepreneurs to save the nation by engaging in industry; the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement,

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[1] The origin of the study of Chinese women's issues can be traced back to the women's liberation movement driven by the democratic revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century. Until the period of reform and opening-up in the 1970s, the issues of women's living conditions and development prospects were raised by scholars and were identified as an academic event. A meaningful shift occurred when women's studies and gender studies were finally established as recognized specialties in 2004. See Wang, Jinlin, "Female research in the perspective of Sociology: the construction and development of fifteen years", *Sociological Study*, 2000, No. 1.

[2] References to women and women's issues are often relegated to the footnotes of academic papers, and research is drawn from literary fiction and other unreliable historical information. Materials are often very complicated, inaccurate, and overly broad.

[3] "National Salvation": Afraid of becoming permanently controlled and colonized by foreign powers, Chinese people worked fervently to keep China an independent country. The slogan of National Salvation was raised by intellectuals in the early 1900s, with the intention to galvanize people to save the nation from colonization and strive for its autonomy.

a movement started and organized by peasants; the Yihetuan Movement, an attempt to collectively defend the imperial city; and the most westernized revolution, the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the monarchy. Despite the fact that they occurred one after another and all achieved short-term results, they failed to achieve the ultimate goal, to resist foreign enemies and save the nation from subjugation. Even though the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the monarchy and established the Republic of China, its “democracy” was only in name and not in practice, which dashed the aspirations of people of vision who had adopted western ideologies and deeply believed in democratic systems. It was this very failure to institute an actual democracy that made intellectuals reach out and shift their attention from political reforms to ideological ones. Thus, the May 4th Period occurred so as to save China and establish a true republic.

The May 4th Period does not refer exclusively to the activities on May 4, 1919, rather, it refers to the time span of about ten years before and after it. Currently, it is commonly acknowledged that this period’s starting point was marked by publishing of Youth Magazine, established by Chen Duxiu, on September 15, 1915. The magazine, which was renamed New Youth later, served as a platform for intellectuals to air their own views. It ignited a new social ideological trend by attacking feudalistic ideology. The May 4th Period is a time that has had a lasting impact on Chinese modern history.

This shows that the special nature of issues concerning Chinese women in the May 4th Period was determined on the one hand, by the fact that it was simply the first time Chinese women were regarded as independent individuals by intellectuals (mainly males), which promoted the development of feminism and was the beginning of research into women; on the other hand, by the fact that this initial exploration into women’s issues occurred due to the May 4th Movement and thus is bound to the movement and its ideology. Therefore, women’s issues, in this article refer to the specific women’s issues raised in the May 4th Period.

The May 4th Period was a critical stage of ideological reform and an essential element in China’s struggle for national salvation. During this time the common view as to how to achieve national salvation evolved into a complete campaign of “anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism”. The New Culture Movement and its subsequent reforms and the enactment of these reforms were thus naturally characterized by “anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism”. It is not difficult to find the appeal for Chinese intellectuals in exploring women’s status. Women had long suffered from feudal ideology and their daily lives were living examples and proof of its existence, thus it is only logical that women’s issues became a part of the framework to support the greater campaign.

The discussion of issues regarding women in the May 4th Period was in itself a significant breakthrough considering that China had long been a feudal and male-dominated society. However, this was only a small topic within the New Culture Movement. The real meaning of the ideological emancipation movement in the May 4th Period was not restricted to women and the women’s movement. People who raised the question entirely for the sake of women accounted for just a small fraction of the whole, and many who raised the issue were less concerned with the actual status of women and more with their end goal, that is, to promote ideological reform and combat imperialism and feudalism.



## 2. Destruction before Construction, Women's Reform Measures in the May 4th Period

Although the May 4<sup>th</sup> Period was marked by “anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism”, and was used like a tool, it didn't affect women. However, in the long run, the most important and direct influence of the movement was that it started to erode the conventional system and conventional thinking employed in the consideration of women issues.

The status of women in ancient China was not entirely unimportant. In the Han and Tang Dynasties, there was a culture of respecting the honor of women, and even in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, a period in which women were more restricted and low-positioned, there were still notions of the ideal of gender equality. Yu Zhengxie, a scholar of the Qing Dynasty wrote in his *On Virtuous Widows*: “as a widow shall not marry a second time, so shall a widower”<sup>[4]</sup>, demonstrating that he attached equal importance to the virtues of widows and widowers. In terms of the chastity of marriage, this perception was still in line with the traditional notion of chastity<sup>[5]</sup>, but he gave men and women equal status and wrote that “to demand too much of a woman is partial justice”, which made him advanced in comparison to his contemporaries. This statement also served to contradict the notion embedded in the well-known line “a man shall marry a second time while a woman shall not”, from *Stories about Famous Women*—a book commonly regarded as a model listing the codes of conduct for traditional Chinese women<sup>[6]</sup>. He openly opposed the feudal orthodox ethics regardless of the fact that his thoughts were considered heretical.

Though these progressive assertions were popularized they were still considered heretical and were rarely referenced in the books written by Yu Zhengxie, Cao Xueqin, Li Ruzhen, and other writers of the time. They were somewhat preserved on an ideological level and may have inspired the ideological reforms that occurred generations later, but to say they pervaded, were a part of institutional reforms, or were the catalyst for related activities would be an overstatement. Kang Youwei (one of the two leaders of the Hundred Days' Reform), who made many attempts to improve the social system of China, drew a blueprint for a “world of universal harmony”, and preached emperor-subject equality and gender equality in his one of his essays, saying “even the emperor and his subjects are treated on equal terms, let alone males and females”, but his plan had flaw. His blueprint failed to achieve the goal of a “world of universal harmony”, and his blueprint's aim to construct a “world of universal harmony”—which is similar to the idea of all living creatures are equal and communism—does not focus at all on issues related to gender.

[4] Yu, Zhengxie, *Manuscripts of Gui Si* (Shenyang: Liaoning Education Press, 2003). You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* ([www.SinoWesternStudies.com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com)), 1-20.

[5] The traditional notion of preserving one's chastity is an integral value in traditional Chinese culture, and one that should never be violated. Women should be virgins before marriage, couple only with their spouse, and maintain chaste thoughts. If a woman lost her virginity before marriage it was considered a great shame on her family, and many recommended suicide as a way to abnegate the shame.

[6] This sentence is from “Biography of Women” (Chapter 74) in “*Hou Han Shu*” (Vol. 84). It was said that a man could remarry others while a woman may not, since the husband was the wife's “Ti'an”, the ruler she must follow once married. A woman had no right to leave her husband even if he died, according to the traditional feudal moral codes.

New intellectual groups (not individuals) whose members had learned about different kinds of western ideologies paid attention to the issue of women's liberation and decided to do something to improve the situation of all women in China, as they had been long deprived of their individual and intellectual rights. However, these groups had many obstacles in their way. To completely reverse the gender inequality typical of feudal society they had to directly confront the traditional system and modes of thinking, namely, women themselves lacked self-awareness. Changing this took a three step process: firstly, women's self-awareness needed to be aroused on an ideological level; second, women had to break into male-dominated society; and thirdly, women had to obtain basic survival skills, not just fancy ideologies.

Ideologies, systems, and societal networks were all inter-connected, so to solve these issues the new intellectual groups had to face all kinds of obstacles. The intellectuals freely expressed every idea they thought of that called for change, and the resulting discussions covered a wide and unconstrained range. In a few short years, assumptions in terms of women's education and liberation, views of chastity, socializing of men and women, women's participation in politics, marriage and family, the education of children, the occupations of women, and population issues like birth control, bans on prostitution, and maidservant liberation, etc., popped up like mushrooms after rain.

As a result, new ideologies in the May 4th Period were considered advanced and trendy while at the same time radical. To establish a new model in line with western democracy and transition into it, intellectual groups, on a large scale, attacked the "old ways" (feudalism and imperialism) and made various attempts to establish a new cultural system. This was a period highly praising "the new" (a new society operating in a modern way and a new world order), which directly resulted in overthrowing "the old". To establish "the new" (a new society operating in a modern way, a new world order, a new kind of literature), was the goal while breaking the old was a necessary path, so during that period, breaking from tradition and outdated values (hereafter called "to break"), was what intellectuals advocated. In terms of women's liberation, "to break" accounted for a major part of the ideological transformation of the times. Because women suffered under the rule of a male-dominated society for over two thousand years, they held a sword that was sharp and powerful enough to cut through the ingrained gender roles and change society at large.

### **3. Ideology and Bread, Two Cores in the May 4th Women's Liberation Movement**

The May 4th ideological reform researched broad and various aspects relating to women, with the core being ideological and material concerns, specifically the issues of education and economic autonomy. Addressing these two elements was necessary for all measures seeking to forward the women's liberation movement in the May 4th Period.

First, on the ideological level, a vital concern was women's education and broadening women's sense of autonomy and self-awareness. The main efforts made were to lobby for equal education opportunities so that women be allowed to attend university, thus equalizing men and women. In May of 1919 Deng Chunlan wrote to Cai Yuanpei, president of Beijing University at the time, asking for the cancellation of the ban on women's education. In her short essay published in *The Journal of*

Youth China Deng proposed the following order of “school — vocation — regime — and beyond”. According to this order, women’s education must be addressed before solving problems related to their vocation. At the very least, this would equip women with basic survival skills. The “regime” according to Deng, refers to political institution’s and society’s recognition of women. Deng argued “once the ground is set, maidservant liberation, the banning of prostitution and reforms of the marriage system will be a cinch”<sup>[7]</sup>. The priority given to education was not just her personal view, it was acknowledged by all to be of utmost importance. Chen Duxiu pointed out in 1916 that “the final awakening of consciousness”<sup>[8]</sup> should be the awakening of ethics<sup>[9]</sup>, which was a most distinct feature of new culture in the May 4th Period. The intellectuals dominated the May 4th Period, and they endowed it with significant values on the ideological level. Hence the education industry was considered a key way to reform and liberate women. When Zhou Binglin talked about the issue of women’s liberation, he pointed out that women’s liberation lies in education<sup>[10]</sup>. It is not only a means to have restrictions against women released so they can receive a contemporary western education, more importantly, it is for equal educational rights for females and males and open education for females. Education is a tool to change society. Advocating for education for the education of women would create access to the contemporary Western education system, and more importantly, create equality in education for men and women.

Deng Chunlan’s letter—Chunlan’s Letter to President Cai—in which she displayed her admiration for gender equality and appealed the Affiliated High School of Beijing University to add classes for women, and advocated the implementation of men and women in the same class from primary school to university, was the start of an important dialogue.<sup>[11]</sup> She wrote another letter—Call on Journalistic Circles to Send This Message to Women Graduated from Middle and Primary Schools For Girls—which aimed to unite female intellectuals nationwide, caused widespread social repercussions. In response to these letters and their social repercussions, in October of the same year, Hu Shi, an influential scholar in academic circles, wrote On Issues Concerning the Abolishment of the Ban on Women’s Education, where he proposed a program which allowed women to audit classes in the college without formal student status and helped schools to officially recruit female students. In the following spring, Deng Chunlan, Wang Lan and seven other women successfully applied to be the first batch of women to audit classes at Beijing University. In autumn of the same year they became regular students through an entrance examination and thus became the first female students at national university in China.

This served as the beginning of the women’s education movement, which started in Beijing University and spread to universities nationwide. According to a survey conducted by the Chinese Education Improvement Association, within two years, six hundred and fifty five women had made it into the advanced education system. Although the proportion of men and women was still greatly

[7] See Deng, Chunlan, “My personal approach to women’s liberation”, *The Journal of Young China*, Vol. 1, 1919, No. 4.

[8] Chen, Duxiu, *The Academic Research of Du Xiu* (Hefei: Anhui People’s Publishing House, 1987).

[9] Luo, Jianqiu, “Family ethics and the May 4th women’s liberation movement”, *Collection of Women’s Studies*, 1997, No. 1.

[10] Zhou, Binglin, “The education with the women’s liberation”, *The Journal of Young China*, Vol. 1, 1919, No. 4.

[11] See Zhu, Youhuan, *The Historical Records of Chinese Educational System in the Modern Period* (Shanghai: East China Normal University Press, 1992).

imbalanced, it was still a significant achievement. The reform of the education sector enabled women to gain equal access to higher education, which, to Chinese women, was undoubtedly a valuable opportunity to expand their knowledge, understand their own independent personality, and obtain independent survival skills. At the very least, it offered them an opportunity to explore new possibilities and a much wider world. Although education reforms started late and had a weak foundation, the establishment of Chinese modern education and the transition to educational equality between men and women underwent a process of implementation. In just a few years, it swept across the country, removing barriers to higher education for Chinese women. This special phenomenon may correlate to the radical spirit of the intellectuals in the May 4th Period.

Although the abolishment of the ban on women's education was implemented swiftly and effectively, and achieved satisfactory results, it took a great deal of time before mixed-sex education was popularized. Early in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties schools for girls began to emerge. In 1907, women acquired the same education rights as men did alongside the release of Women's Elementary School Constitution and Women's Normal School Constitution. But it was separated according to gender: after the implementation of the abolishment of the ban on women's education, men and women could be in the same school, but the teaching methods and the contents taught were still different. The fact was that real gender equality in education faced more tough problems once put into practice.

A historical problem regarding discrimination against women's education has to be mentioned when clearing up the causes why this attempt to promote women's education developed quickly but imperfectly during that time. Women's education was highly restricted by feudal governments for centuries, as many literally believed the statement "a woman without talent is virtuous."<sup>[12]</sup> This statement is false as there were women who were to some extent educated, but the content of their education was limited by many factors. While in male-dominated societies, men demanded women be dutiful rather than develop her own talents, illustrating that women's educational status was in many ways decided by men. Books advocating family needlework, for example *Commandments on Women* and *Stories about Famous Women* are examples of educational restrictions imposed by male-dominated society. At the same time, women lacked an arena outside of the home to display their abilities, thus determining that the content of women's education could only be very narrow since according to popular opinion they need only about things related to the family and management of the home, not about subjects in fields only open to males. The differences in the depth and breadth of men's and women's level of education were huge. Coupled with the fact that male-dominated society has in itself a tradition of discriminating against women, discrimination against women became increasingly prevalent over time. In 1915 minister of education Tang Hualong, still proposed in his essay "On Reforms of Educational Programs" that the aim of women's education is to train understanding wives and loving mothers.<sup>[13]</sup> Thus Normal Schools for Women established according to this rule could in no way educate women about democracy and equality, and equal access to

[12] Chen Jiru said: "Women who are educated to know clearly what is right and proper are virtuous but rare. If they are just interested in songs, operas and novels which do no good for their virtue, it would be better that they don't received education at the beginning and only need to know their position. It is a truth that ignorance is a woman's virtue."

[13] Liang, Hualan, "On women's education", *La Jeunesse*, 1917, No. 3.

education could not be achieved. The ideology had to be changed in the minds of both men and women before people could consider a woman able to go outside the area of “home”. This is why the abolishment of the ban on women’s education took a much longer time before it was openly discussed even though it had bypassed the conventional perception of “it is improper for men and women to touch each other’s hand in passing objects” according to Confucian rules of etiquette, and it was proposed, debated over, experimented and implemented only after the May 4th Movement.

The abolishment of the ban on women’s access to higher education became an important breakthrough in the process of China and Chinese women’s ideological liberation. As The May 4th Period directly enabled women to obtain a new self-awareness and ideologies, women began to develop the ability to think independently and freely express their opinions. Owing to the ideological liberation, much progress was made within various aspects of society at large. For example, women began to have their own perceptions of marriage and love, social relationships between men and women were made public, and there were more appeals for political and economic rights. For a time in the first half of the 20th century, ideological liberation was fashionable and widely acknowledged; almost every field of society followed the trend of ideological liberation, which in turn led to practical reforms.

Second, on the economic or material level, women paid attention to the financial skills needed for a woman to live independently. They started to lobby for women’s inheritance rights, and sought employment equality for women.

Driven by the movement for equal education rights, women found a new way to learn about western ideologies, and this to some extent made some women less ignorant and more outspoken. Influenced by this, younger women instinctively began to pursue their freedom and independence, particularly around the issues of free love (freedom to choose whom to love and marry) and arranged marriage. But it was these most practical obstacles that made women faced with economic threats when trying to liberate themselves.

If ideological liberation was the foremost concern of intellectuals during the May 4th Period, then in the aspect of economy, their assessment of the situation depended on specific practicing methods resulting from ideologies. Li Da pointed out in his *On Women’s Liberation* that the real emancipation of women must rely on the material form of human freedom: “Only when women’s desire for the material form of freedom becomes their top priority can their prudent desire for freedom automatically develop. Then and only then can women acquire real freedom.”<sup>[14]</sup> Women have long been subordinates in China’s society; they have to obey their fathers before marriage, obey their husbands after marriage, and obey their sons after their husbands die. This is called the “three obeys” of Chinese women<sup>[15]</sup>, thus their existence was entirely dependent on men. Therefore, to shake off the absolute control of male-dominated society, and to promote new ideologies, they proposed “economic independence” based on the fact that in traditional families women are absolutely dependent on their husbands. The slogan of the movement encouraged women to “lead an

[14] Li, Da, “On women’s liberation”, *Liberation and Reconstruction*, Vol. 1, 1919, No. 3.

[15] Women in ancient China had the rule of ‘Three Obediences’. A woman should obey her father before marriage, her husband when married, and her sons in her widowhood. See Confucianism, “The biography of Zi Xia”, *Mourning Apparel in Ceremonial Etiquette*.

independent life instead of a dependent one, lead a self-sufficient life instead of a parasitic one"<sup>[16]</sup>. The slogan's intention was to awaken women's individual consciousness through becoming economically independent, making them able to support themselves and have survival skills necessary for the new era.

There soon emerged self-organized Women's Unions, organized by young women. Examples include the Guangdong Women's Federation established in 1919, and the Changsha Women's Federation of Hunan Province, established in 1921<sup>[17]</sup>. Both organization's regulations or manifestos highlighted their determination to "enable women to gain economic independence", "improve women's employment situations", "reduce their dependability on men", and other similar assertions pushing for women's economic liberation.

After the May 4th Period, women began to actively pursue employment rights and appeal for equal employment opportunities; the courage to do this was in itself a substantial leap forward. In terms of equal employment rights, feminists of the May 4th Period divided their campaign into two aspects: equal employment rights and equal treatment by employers. The initial focus on the most basic equal employment opportunities created more jobs for women during this process they discovered concurrent issues such as equal pay for equal work, excess physical labor, and equal treatment of, for example, labor insurance (including items such as insurance, rewards, well-beings, awards, etc). A lot of time was focused on working on issues related to the treatment of women at their place of employment. We could say that. These efforts worked together to gain equal employment rights for women throughout China.

In 1921, Guangsan Railway recruited about 40 women as its ticket collectors and sellers, salesclerks, buyers, court clerks, inspectors, and for other various positions. Then other enterprises such as banks and department stores in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai began to recruit female employees. Among these enterprises, the banking industry was the most prominent; the Savings Bank of Shanghai National Bank, the American-Oriental Banking Corporation, and Bank of Shanghai successively appointed female employees as accountants and court clerks. The 151 Department Store in Beijing even adjusted the gender allocation of service personnel; they hired over 20 women as accountants, cashiers and salesclerks, which, in the long run had a significant influence on the gender allocation of service personnel in all Chinese department stores. By the mid-twentieth century it was no longer strange that women worked in studios, translation bureaus, offices, post offices and other professional fields, in fact, it was quite prevalent. This development marked the beginning of the equal employment opportunities and it symbolized that the basic foundation of equal employment opportunities had been established.

Almost simultaneously there were movements demanding women receive be treated the same as men in the workplace. Organized by female workers, strikes about wage increases, reduced working hours, the changing rules regarding women in the workplace and other regulations frequently broke

[16] Chen, Wentao, "Advocate the independence of female employment", *The Woman*, Vol. 7, 1921, No. 8.

[17] On January 27th, 1921, the "Declaration of the establishment of the Changsha Women's Federation" was published in *Republic Daily*. In August of that same year, the Shanghai Women's Federation also issued the "Declaration and the transformation of Shanghai Chinese Female Federation Constitution". See *Women's Studies Institute of China, Historical Materials on Chinese Women's Movement* (Beijing: People Publishing House, 1986).

out. They demanded labor protection laws and an eight-hour workday. In 1924 the Kuomintang Ministry for Women, in the name of the national government, paid close attention to the movement fighting for women's vocational equality, and in February 1931, the Ministry promulgated a new "Factory Act" and "Civil Law of the Republic of China", officially confirming the eight-hour workday for female workers and equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, thus establishing the basic framework of equal treatment for Chinese professional females. These new laws acted as a tipping point, and once they were passed much greater numbers of Chinese women began to enter the workforce.

Nevertheless, the road to equal employment has not been an easy one, and it continues still. In hindsight we often view it as a simple transition, but in actuality the transition of women into the workplace has been affected by generations of ingrained beliefs about women, and the reforms took place simply because women had no other choice.

The inspiring effects of the slogan "economic independence" became increasingly prominent, which meant that to achieve ultimate economic independence, the whole private ownership of the whole society should be broken.<sup>[18]</sup> And here—in the concrete context—all they could do was to own a certain amount of personal disposable asset. To achieve this, women had to acquire their own disposable income. Women with a certain amount of personal disposable assets means their confidence, sense of safety, personal dignity, other people's recognition as well as family status which gives them a say in family matters. This demonstrates that economy plays a significant role in women's lives, and sometimes, economy can be a measurement of the value of their existence. This straightforward outlook on material things or money by Chinese modern women or "new women" can in some situations create female gold-diggers. Thus to some extent it reflects the fact that women have long been dependent on material resources since the feudal society. Despite financial independence, women still use material things to measure their worth, thus often relying on men to provide this material wealth. So, despite advancements on women's employments rights, in some ways women are still caught in a modern feudal system.

When in the translations of Henrik Johan Ibsen's *A Doll's House* came to China in 1918 the image of runaway Nora caused a big stir among teenagers. Hereupon Hu Shi adapted it into *Once in a Lifetime* in which rebellious young lovers resisted an arranged marriage and preserved their free will to choose whom they loved. Ibsen's *Nahla* and Hu Shi's rebellious, individualistic *Nahla* jointed hands to set off a heated discussion concerning the freedom to love and divorce from 1922 to 1923. At this time, Lu Xun put forward a proposition in Beijing Female Higher Normal College during a lecture: "how is *Nahla* after she left home", and seeing her fight, he raised the cruel question: besides an awakened heart, what had she brought with her? As a play, a story, *Nahla*'s climax is the sound of slamming doors when she left home—the sound shocked Europe and awakened the Chinese intellectuals of the May 4th Period. However, once the curtains close, how is *Nahla* make a living? Lu Xun saw the miserable ending awaiting her after the expensive and awakening sound of slamming doors—"she has to be more rich, to have more material things, and to be more straightforward, she has to have enough money". Money is a vulgar item, and books written by young intellectuals

[18] Li, Hanjun, "How can women achieve economic independence", *Republic Daily*, Vol. 8, 1921, No. 17.

despising money abound, but money is a practical actuality and necessity of the material world. “You can’t buy freedom with money, but you may sell it for money”<sup>[19]</sup>, and without enough money, Nahla has only two options: to degenerate from grace or return to the traditional family model<sup>[20]</sup>. By and large, Nahla is still an image created by poets to eulogize lofty but impractical ideals.

Lu Xun’s *Grieve over the Deceased* is a drama written influenced by *A Doll’s House*, but is both serious and ironic. In *Grieve over the Deceased*, Zi Jun and Juan Sheng freely choose to love one another, and this is in line with the beautiful ideals of young people of the times who believe in “free love.” But the relationship does not go well, it ends up in a seemingly absurd tragedy: Zi Jun is eventually disliked and abandoned by her husband Juan Sheng. The images of both Zi Jun and Juan Sheng are typical of the “enlightened” young people of the May 4th Period, as they’ve both received the “new education”<sup>[21]</sup>, both acted of their own free will, pursued love and fought for it undauntedly, formed a family, and for some time lived a happy life. This situation is just like the sound of the slamming doors behind Nahla—an ideology and belief is stood for, but at the same time it still results in tragedy. The tragedy may be accounted for in that after all the lofty ideals are spoken and enacted, the mundane actualities of life still remain and must be lived. Affected by the chauvinistic and feudal ideologies and culture of China’s male-dominated society, Juan Sheng gradually grows bored of his marriage while Zi Jun is satisfied with it. She had to leave her family she once depended on—her father and brother—only to again depend on another family, another man. The blind pursuit of love and freedom, and the willingness to “go out” or break from ones family and traditional ideals often ended with these ideals being torn to pieces. Ideals like love and freedom are nothing but empty beliefs if there is no greater culture or acceptance of them from society at large. Without a foundation and support system they are just empty dreams that cannot be realized.

Fictional dramas aside, there are many modern women in the world who are stuck in real-life dilemmas just because of money. One famous case that was widely discussed was the story of Li Chao. Her parents died when she was young and a cousin inherited the family estate. The young Li Chao devoted herself to learning, but her family refused to finance her and even cut her off from all sources of money while trying to persuade her to abandon learning and get married. Against all odds, Li Chao left home and studied on her own. Embittered by her situation, she questioned the ideology running her family and society: “The estate is from our parents, all my brothers can use it freely, why can’t I? And they call it unnecessary, judging from common sense, what kind of equal thing is it?” Her inquiries reflected the questions of many Chinese women, who were helpless in the face of the traditional property inheritance system that only allowed men to inherit. Eventually physical and mental exhaustion led to her death, a death far from home, and her own brother not only refused to

[19] Lu, Xun, *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* (Beijing: People’s Literature Publishing House, 1956).

[20] Yang, Lianfen, “Individualism, power and gender”, *Journal of Sun Yat-Sen University* (Social Science Edition), Vol. 4, 2009, No. 49.

[21] “New education” general speaking is a term referring to a modern type of education influenced deeply by western education in the 1900s. Intellectuals in that era tried to accept western education spread into China and at the same time tried to combine the new western knowledge with traditional Chinese culture. They judged western knowledge after Industrial Revolution, including the topics of education, the arts, technology, the cash economy and so on, as “new” modern knowledge and wished that they could strengthen the motherland with this new information. The phrases like “new culture”, “new arts”, and “new education” blossomed during the “the new culture activity” in the 1900s.



make arrangements for a funeral, he even mocked her. After Hu Shi learned this, he lamented over Li Chao's short life: "her life is a portrait of the life of countless women, and can be used to research further into the Chinese family system"<sup>[22]</sup>. He wrote her biography to commemorate her life and the many others like her. Li Chao's leaving home, to some extent, is similar to that of Nahla's in that they all demonstrated their self-awareness, autonomy, and courage to shake off the chains of family bonds. Li Chao's ending is just a realistic portrait of Nahla's leaving home without any substantial support; she neither "degenerate from grace" nor "returned to the traditional model", but instead died suddenly, much to the lament of the people. Li Chao's death and her ordinary and short life became a symbol of young Chinese females' struggle against the traditional economic system and family system, and the bitterness, embitterment and helplessness in it awakened women's consciousness of and desire for economic independence. It was not until 1962, in the 'Resolution Bill of the Women's Movement', that the first-ever law allowing women to inherit property was passed.<sup>[23]</sup>

The deaths of each of these well-known women, be it Nahla, Zi Jun or Li Chao, were passionate, marked by a fighting spirit, and served to attack the system that imprisoned youth in the May 4th Period. These stories drew people back from their false illusions and made them realize that all wonderful beliefs and ideals should be based on practical realities. Ideological leaps and breakthroughs are the prerequisites of progress, essential to our very existence as humans.

The women's liberation movement is broader than the topics discussed here, and there is a wide field of issues worth researching. However, the majority of the research conducted in China thus far has focused on two things: ideological liberation and economic liberation. As education rights shook off the ideological bonds and chains of the past and paved the way for the popularization of new ideologies, and employment rights gave women a means to secure their basic needs, the largest and most influential movement for women's rights was given full play and made its debut in an explosive way. Marriage autonomy, social liberation, women's political enlightenment, and women's ability to studying abroad gradually actualized one after another. They were considered incredible at first, accepted by a handful of people later, and then became normalized.

#### **4. Conclusion and Comments on Women's Enlightenment in the May 4th Period from a Contemporary Perspective**

The women's ideological liberation movement during the May 4th Period achieved a lot of historical breakthroughs, and initiated the transformation of traditional women to modern women.

[22] Hu, Shi, "The biography of Li Chao", *The Renaissance*, Vol. 2, 1919, No. 2.

[23] On January 16th, 1921, the resolution on the Women's Movement was approved by a committee within the Chinese Nationalist Party's Second National Congress. The committee consisted of Song Qingling, He Xiangning and Deng Yingchao. "The National Government should confirm the principle of equality between the two genders regarding the aspects of law, economy, education and society as soon as possible, as based on article 12 in domestic policy, so as to promote the development of feminism". The regulations contained the law on equality between two genders, the women's inheritance law, the women's labor law based on the principle of equal pay for equal work, and the women and child labor protection law, etc. See Women's Studies Institute of China, *Historical Materials on Chinese Women's Movement* (Beijing: People Publishing House, 1986).

The movement itself has three attributes: it was radical in its approach, it was male-dominated, and it though initially just a means to achieve national salvation it has had a lasting impact.

The anti-feudalism focus of the movement within this period utilized women's issues as a way to achieve its greater goal, so that women's liberation issues were all addressed with the distinct aim to break or overturn all feudal etiquette. Women's issues were never just a matter of gender, but rather they were used as a kind of social resource for the greater goal to construct a modern national state.<sup>[24]</sup> Moreover, the new theories championing women's liberation finally led to the realization of other political objectives like democratic revolution or a communist society, not just feminist aims. In this sense, the "women" who are under discussion in the May 4th Period may be best interpreted as "the women in the eyes of enlightened intellectuals". One could also consider the "woman" or "women" under discussion were an idealized or imaginary version of reality created by enlightenment thinkers, or even the merging of the image of Chinese women of the time and that of the troubled and subjugated country China as a whole (China is a small weak "woman" struggling to free herself). China's women's liberation movement was not an outcome of purely feminist movement, but rather the "direct outcome of the victories of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution"<sup>[25]</sup>. In other words, the women's liberation movement was in itself a result of China's modern national-democratic revolution.

Ergo, the intelligentsia contrasted the western ideological trend with Chinese traditional culture and decided which side was favored, which new cultural and ideological system was better or worse, and which system could promote the development of new things. They did that to use the new against the old and abolish the old while establishing the new, so the ideologies in the May 4th Period were radical in comparison to those of the past. This kind of contrasting was simple and abrupt, but on the other hand, in a time of national peril and dire need for change, this was effective—they were able to establish a completely different system very quickly. In this way, it's easy to understand the aggressive nature of the movement within its historical context. However the greater context must also be evaluated.

The aggressiveness of various attempts to break from the old was the main driving force of new culture, which injected new vitality into Chinese ideology, but "to break" was not fully supported by all, and thus they were unable to establish "the new". Intellectuals who raised these arguments did not fully support breaking from the old ways. Neither did people later. They just "break old" but were not able to "create new". In the arena of women's issues, there were numerous opinions targeting women's issues in the May 4th Period from different perspectives. However, these opinions simply raised without the actual intention to change anything. They raised one point or another in order as a practical method to oppose the old ways, however once efforts were made to affect actual change, the topic fell silent. So, though research into women's ideologies began in the May 4th Period, which injected vitality and inspiration into this research, the subsequent development of the movement was no longer as vigorous as in the May 4th Period. Research began in the May 4<sup>th</sup> period,

[24] See Zhang, Wencan, "Enlightenment predicament in the perspective of social gender: a case study of May 4th new women in the New Culture Movement", *Journal of National Women's University of China*, Vol. 4, 2013, No. 2.

[25] Shaanxi Research Association for Women and Family, *The Contemporary Thinking of Women's Issues* (Xian: Shanxi People's Publishing House, 1988).

but was not pursued afterwards as there was no deeper intent to create lasting change or something along these lines.

At the same time, this radical mainstream of thinking way caused a lasting effect. In modern times, the high efficiency shown in the process of abolishing the ban on women's education and the swiftness of women's transformation has been astonishing. The women's liberation movement was a bi-product of the anti-feudalism movement, and this stemmed from the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement. In society today there are many things which reflect the psychological states of modern women, for example, the happiness index, the balance between the responsibilities of occupation (income) and family (housework), as well as the social phenomenon of "Regard women as men labor when working", and the statement by many women that "I prefer to be a man in my afterlife". Opposite of the industrious and educated woman, the idea of female gold-diggers and material girls has triggered conversations on whether women are too dependent on material things. Because of this it is important to rethink the radical elements that were a part of the women's liberation movement in the May 4th Period. With the passage of time, the goals of equal employment rights and women's economic independence have been achieved, but the problems above raise another question: was the ideological liberation movement in the May 4th Period too radical? For instance, with regards to the attitude towards women's employment, it's no longer necessary to add "women shall seek jobs independently" to the existing principles. As women now have equal rights as men, the way we treat women should be slightly changed since the way of treating women back to the May 4th Period was just a measure. The most significant thing for today's women may be their free will to choose their social roles on their own.

In addition, the women's liberation movement was initially male-dominated, as only men were in academic or other positions of power where this conversation could be initiated. There is much evidence that despite many advances, one could argue that society at large is still controlled by men, and thus so is the issue of women's liberation. The women's liberation movement was initially male-dominated, as only men were in academic or political positions of power. There is much evidence that despite many advances, one could argue that society at large is still controlled by men, and thus is the issue of women's liberation. Male voices to some extent still dominate the researches into women's issues, for example, in thinking about the problem of women's liberation and family, Zhang Weichi proposed that women should "regard family as society"<sup>[26]</sup> and take a single skill as professional, a concept of family similar to that of the communist society. Although it was a positive mode of constructing new families, it still defined women as a vulnerable group, which indicated that men's set perception of women had not really changed. This kind of thinking in the May 4th Period was preliminary and naive, and was mainly promoted by westernized men while modern women gradually began to adjust and change their perceptions and behaviors. After this, the most important part of the women's liberation and women's rights is that they have to rely on themselves—they should fight for everything on their own. Amidst this debate Xu Yanzhi raised an important question: Is it men who don't liberate women or women don't liberate themselves?<sup>[27]</sup> Women should keep in mind that

[26] Zhang, Weici, "Women's liberation and family reorganization", *Weekly Review*, 1919, No. 34.

[27] Xu, Yanzhi, "Men and women at Peking University", *The Journal of Young World*, Vol. 1, 1919, No. 7.

it is their own duties to fight for basic social rights in space, politics, education, economy and the like. If we say that the women's issues in the May 4th Period, although dominated by men, enabled women to realize that women are also mankind. The next step is to make women aware of "women being women", and that they have to rely on themselves.

The significance of the research into women's issues in the May 4th Period and the heated discussions in this field are unique throughout the history of China. Almost all contemporary studies of the ideologies of Chinese women can be found in the ideological emancipation movement of the May 4th Period. This movement, which can be defined as a Chinese feminist movement bearing the characteristics of enlightenment and modern culture<sup>[28]</sup>, culminated the self-awakening of the personality of Chinese women, and to be more accurate, the awakening of the consciousness of Chinese women's personality, a new stage of "obscurity to reason" and "spontaneity to consciousness"<sup>[29]</sup>.

The women's ideological liberation movement of the May 4th Period built a sound theoretical basis for women's emancipation while taking into account practical problems of survival, thus paving the way for social revolutions in the real world. Based on the economic independence movement and ideological education activities, the feminist movement in the May 4th Period had a way to develop itself, and finally showed us a vigorous state of development and reform. The Chinese female image from the beginning of the era of change, at the same time, also for the further liberation of Chinese women's thinking, laid a solid foundation. From then on, the historic transformation of the image of Chinese women began, and at the same time, it paved a smooth way for further ideological emancipation of Chinese women. However, the real influence this movement exerted on the women group, on the other hand, is still complex and difficult to be judged on one-side. It is do be a great movement in the modern history of China, changing the lifestyle and thinking pattern of Chinese people, liberating the Chinese—not only women but also men, and even promoting to a huge extent the cultivation of modern Chinese politics and cultures, while it also seems to put up another obstacle for women themselves who should have played the lead. It leaves scholars later plenty of issues to be researched as there are still many bumps in the road and things that have not been accomplished, and at the meanwhile, it requires to keep a clear head while being aware of the issues on women as the arguments in the May 4th Period were too powerful to pursue the others although they might be extreme.

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[28] The essence of the movement of thought during the May 4th period is a cultural Enlightenment which emphasizes the new ideas, new ethics, new literature and new art that gained large amount of nutrients from modern western society to improve the Chinese culture and to merge into the modern society of capitalism. So, the characteristic of modernity was very conspicuous in the intellectuals' artistic temperament in this period. They showed a radical way of thinking against tradition and distinct behavior preference characterized by a disdain for authority to pursue personality, truth and freedom. While this feature became less important and gradually faded with the growing popularity of collectivism under the national revolution. To a certain extent, discussions on women also presented the focus of the theory and trend in this period.

[29] Huang, Aiyong, "Awakening of female's consciousness of personality in the New Culture Movement", *Studies in Ethics*, Vol. 4, 2015, No. 3.

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中文题目：

## 五四运动与中国妇女的思想解放

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**摘要：**五四运动是中国近代史上一个思想变革的重要时期, 正是在这个时候, 中国近代女性的思想启蒙运动首次亮相。在现代知识分子的引导下, 他们从各个角度批判了阻碍妇女解放和发展的传统社会结构、传统礼仪和封建家庭制度, 在思想教育、经济独立、家庭地位、婚姻自由、女性伦理、社会交往以及其他相关的社会问题等方面探讨了妇女的解放问题。妇女解放思想影响了公众舆论, 引起了社会各阶层的强烈反应。五四运动中的妇女思想解放以妇女的教育和经济问题为基础, 结合思想、理论和社会实践, 开展了一系列有助于女性解放的社会改革活动, 为传统妇女向现代妇女过渡奠定了坚实的基础。

**关键词：**女性主义; 五四运动; 中国妇女; 女性解放



# Health, Hygiene and Diets: Medical Missionaries and the Daily Life of Shanghai Residents (1870—1938)

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**Abstract:** Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, China was the main area of western medical missions. Medical missionaries, one of the largest cross-cultural groups, left a wealth of records in a foreign land. In this article the author explored how the housing, environment, drink and diets habits of British medical missionaries in China spread the western medical knowledge, and how the medical missionaries constantly recognized, interpreted and improved the health concept toward Chinese in their daily life. The intercultural communication of medical knowledge between China and the West enriched the western public health theory on the one hand, and promoted the establishment of modern public health system in China on the other hand.

**Key Words:** Medical Missionary; Intercultural Communication; Shanghai Hygiene; Diets and Health; Daily life

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## 1. Introduction

Christian religion had a strong cosmopolitan tendency since its birth, and adhered to a basic purpose, that is, the birth of Jesus Christ was not only to save the fate of Israelis, but also to save the fate of mankind. The preaching history of Christianity experienced a space-time process from past to present from individual behavior to group ministry. Before the Industrial Revolution, missionary activities were greatly limited by geographical barriers, traffic restrictions and language barriers. Only from the late eighteenth century to late nineteenth century, with the rise of capitalism, the improvement of transportation, the prosperity of commerce and trade, and the reforms within the church, the Evangelical Revival of Christianity (including Pietism in Germany, the Great Awakening in North America, and the Evangelism in UK) inspired the enthusiasm of Protestant Christianity to preach abroad. It was against this background that British medical missionaries came to China.

During this Global Evangelism movement, Christian missionaries made many contributions in education, publishing and medical services. The western medical missions of protestant missionaries occupied an important position in the history of Christianity and of medicine in modern China. Since the introduction of western medicine by missionaries, both colonist and indigenou people have greatly changed their epistemic configurations of Chinese medicine. According to a survey by the



China Medical Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1916, Protestant missionaries supported 265 hospitals, 386 dispensaries, 420 physicians, and 127 nurses in China.<sup>[1]</sup> It means that most missionaries to China were medical missionaries. Foreign medical missionaries became the dominant organizing force in modern medical education and health services in China in the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>[2]</sup> Missionaries believed that help China with medical reformation is the best way to carry out their mission.

However, the academic researches always limited by the previous research perspectives. Previous studies of the Christian medical missionary activities were mainly focused on three themes: biographies of several famous medical missionaries,<sup>[3]</sup> the medical enterprises of missionary society (i. e., hospital, dispensary, medical school),<sup>[4]</sup> and modernization issues of Chinese medicine during the introduction period of western medicine.<sup>[5]</sup> Most Chinese researchers could not read the Primary English sources left by the missionaries. Thus, their analysis lacked the following points: the experiences and living environments of medical missionaries after coming to China, the attitude of all social strata in China towards western medicine, and the question of how medical missionaries reconciled the differences and conflicts between Chinese and western medicine.

The London Missionary Society sent its first Protestant missionary to China in 1807, and regarded medical missions in China as an important way of evangelism. Along with Protestant Christianity, the social charity affairs were also an important activity of the Catholicism in China. "It is estimated that by 1937, there were more than 70 French Catholic hospitals in China, with 5,000 beds."<sup>[6]</sup> In order to focus on the main topic, this dissertation only takes the Protestant missionaries as the research object. To examine Chinese concepts of hygiene and health in a broad transnational context. It aims to provide rich intercultural histories about the comparative concept of daily health.

[1] Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, *Neither Donkey nor Horse: Medicine in the Struggle over China's Modernity*, 47.

[2] Lei, *Neither Donkey nor Horse*, 47.

[3] Dugald Christie, *Thirty Years in Moukden, 1888-1913. Being the Experiences and Recollections of Dugald Christie*, C. M. G (London: Constable and Company, 1914); W. Arthur Tatchell, *Healing and Saving: The Life-Story of Philip Rees* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1914); J. C. Keyte, *Andrew Young of Shensi: Adventure in Medical Missions* (London: The Carey Press, 1924); W. Arthur Tatchell, *Booth of Hankou: A Crowded Hour of Glorious Life* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1915).

[4] Rev. W. Arthur Tatchell, Hon. E. H. Fraser, *Medical Missions in China; in Connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church* (London, Robert Culley, 1909); Cui Dan, "The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missions to China's National Development During the 1920s" (PhD diss., University of LSE, 1998); Shing-ting Lin, "The Female Hand: The Making of Western Medicine for Women in China, 1880s-1920s" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015)

[5] 梁其姿 Angela. K. C. Leung, 《医疗史与中国“现代性”问题》Yiliaoshi yu Zhongguo xiandaixing wenti [History of Medicine and China's Modernity], 《中国社会历史评论》Zhongguo shehui lishi pinglun [China Social History Review], no. 8, (2007): 1-18; 杜丽红 Du Li-hong, 《世界现代公共卫生史的兴起与近代中国相关问题的研究》Shiejie xiandai Gonggongweisheng de xingqi yu xianguan wenti de yanjiu [The Booming of Modern World Public Health History and Relevant Issues in China], 《河南大学学报》(社会科学版) Henan daxue xuebao shehuikexue ban, [Journal of Henan University (Social Science Version)] 57, no. 6 (2017): 50-59.

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## 2. Three Important Stages of Medical Missionary Studies About China

As the medical activities of protestant missionary societies in China gradually developed over time, the academic research on the Protestant medical missionaries in China also showed different characteristics in different stages. The first stage (the middle and late 19th century) was the early stage of medical missionary research. In this stage, medical missionary researchers were mainly missionaries themselves or experts in the study of church history. This part of the studies was mostly comprised of accounts, reports or recollections of historical facts. The Chinese Repository, founded in 1832, published reports on hospitals founded in China and articles about missionary medical services for local people. Many newspapers and periodicals in bilingual editions (both in Chinese and English version) run by missionaries in the early period, such as Chinese Monthly Magazine, Eastern Western Monthly Magazine, The Chinese Recorder and The China Medical Journal, etc. The early medical missionaries shared their studies, thoughts, feelings with other colleagues in those journals and newspaper. These primary sources provided rich information for us to understand this group. The above publications included integrated records of missionary medical practices in China during that period. Most of these works were historical records. The contents related to the church's medical enterprise which focused on its contributions to evangelization or dissemination of professional medical theories, and was sufficient for recording the unique functions of Chinese herbs, folk treatments, etc. So, the works in this period showed us many primary sources. People can figure out the difference between Western modern medicine and Traditional Chinese Medicine. Moreover, people can explore how different culture understand “advanced” and “backward”.

The second stage (the first half of the 20th century) saw the emergence of relatively professional academic studies of Christian medical history. Donald MacGillivray, for example, published numerous investigations and reports on his field trip to China, including some translated works. He described different protestant denominations in China, including the history of their propaganda activities, medical and health services, publishing business, education works and some detailed recordings.<sup>[7]</sup> Kenneth Latourette made a comprehensive and in-depth study of the history of Christian Missionaries in China.<sup>[8]</sup> He discussed the medical undertakings of Christianity and Catholicism in China in different periods. W. A. Tatchell specialized in medical enterprise studies. With a humorous writing style, he showed the development of missionaries' medical careers in different regions of central, eastern, southern and northern China. He also thought that history should be made up of living stories, and that missionaries should do their best to ‘add flesh and life’<sup>[9]</sup> in writing history.

Some scholars in this period also devoted themselves to the introduction of missionary hospitals. William Cadbury<sup>[10]</sup> wrote a book which introduced the hundred-year-old history of Canton Hospital.

[7] D. MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929).

[8] K. Latourette, *A History of Christian Mission in China*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929).

[9] A. Tatchell, *Medical Missions in China; In Connexion with The Wesleyan Methodist Church*, (London: Robert Culley, 1909), introduction, 11.

[10] W. W. Cadbury, *At the Point of a Lancet: One Hundred Years of the Canton Hospital, 1835-1935*, *JAMA* 108, no. 4 (1937), 327.

During the period of the Republic of China, the English version of History of Chinese Medicine written by C. Wong and L. W was an important book of introducing Chinese medical science to the West. Here, the authors made full use of the literatures of church and other historical sources to systematically describe the developments and changes of the church medical career<sup>[11]</sup>. Similarly, B. X. Chen's Medical History of China, was the core text exploring the standard of church medical education at that time.<sup>[12]</sup> However, these two books focused on the knowledge of medicine and neglect the history of the church and its influence on China<sup>[13]</sup>. One of the earliest historians to connect Christian missionaries with medical development was Z. X. Wang, who was a Christian.<sup>[14]</sup> He argued that China has been a country with many religions coexisting since ancient times. Since Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism can all exist and develop in China, Christianity would certainly survive in China.<sup>[15]</sup> The above works introduced the development of Chinese medicine in modern times and served as the basis of case studies of the history of health and hygiene in Shanghai.

By contrast, medical enterprises of protestant missionaries were relatively more studied outside the mainland China, which is the third phase of research (since the 1980s). In the framework of cultural exchange, infiltration and adjustment, these scholars tried to interpret the cultural, ideological and institutional changes caused by medical activities in China'.<sup>[16]</sup> Li discussed the influence of Christianity on the image building of China in the context of globalization by combining religious studies and sociology.<sup>[17]</sup> From the angle of pedagogy, Hu thought that the missionaries who came to China in modern times provided various guidance and ideas for China's educational reform, which objectively played a role in spreading advanced scientific and cultural knowledge for Chinese people.<sup>[18]</sup> The existing primary sources about Chinese medicine mainly come from local chronicles, dynastic annals, private poems/notes, medical books. Most of their authors were not professional doctors, and moreover when these archives were used by scholars of 'non-historical' background, as a result, the descriptions of 'disease' were often replaced by a rough narrative of social panic, social tragedy of mass deaths, or all kinds of rumors and mysterious superstitions among the patients. In other words, humanists may lack the objectivity of naturalists' description of things. The value of Traditional Chinese Medicine in Chinese history was easily overlooked.

[11] 李传斌 Li Chuanbin,《20 世纪基督教在华医疗事业研究综述》Ershi shiji jidujiao zaihua yiliao shiye yanjiu zongshu [The Summary of the research of Christian Medical Enterprise in China],《南都学坛》Nanduxuetan [Academic Forum of Nandu], no. 4 (2006), 34.

[12] Ibid., p. 34.

[13] Ibid., p. 34.

[14] 王治心 Wang Zhixin,《中国基督教史纲》Zhongguo jidujiao shigang [The Outline of Chinese Christian History] (上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnianxiehui shuju [Youth Association Book Company], 1940), 323-338.

[15] 徐以骅 Xu Yihua,《教会史学家王治心和他的〈中国基督教史纲〉》Jiaohuishi xuejia he tade Zhongguojidujiaoshigang [Church historian Wangzhixin and his Outline of Chinese Christian History],《中国现代史论文集》Zhongguo xiandai shi lunwenji, [Essays on Modern Chinese History], ed. CCNU (Wuhan: CCNU press, 2005), 550.

[16] 陶飞亚, 杨卫华 Tao Feiya, Yang Weihua,《基督教与中国社会研究入门》, Jidujiao yu zhongguo shehui yanjiu rumen [Introduction to Christianity and Chinese social studies], (上海 Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University, 2009], 101.

[17] 李向平 Li Xiangping,《社区信仰方式: 教会与社会的双重建构》[The Bidirectional Construction of 'Church' and 'Society': The Problem of Socialization of Christianity in Contemporary China], <https://www.christiantimes.cn/news/34302/%E2%80%8B>

[18] 胡卫清 Hu Weiqing, 民族主义与近代中国基督教教育 Minzuzhuyi yu jindaizhongguojidujiaojiaoyu [Nationalism and Christian Education in Modern China],《石河子大学学报》Shihezhidaxuexuebao [Journal of Shihezi University], no. 2 (2001): 12.

Before the birth of bacterial theory in the 1860s, due to the cultural differences, the dissemination and acceptance of other technology always requires a process. ‘Bedside medicine’, which was based on the patient’s life history, remained an effective method commonly used by medical missionaries in late twentieth century of China. In this case, due to the different habits of observation, thinking and writing style between the western people and Chinese people, western records were more specific and extensive, and they paid more attention to all levels and aspects of society, which supplementing the deficiencies in Chinese sources. The description of every ‘medical case’ wrote by way of ‘Beside medicine’ provided plenty of details patients’ diets, drinks and other living habits.

In the past ten years, more scholars have examined how Traditional Chinese medicine played an active role in promoting the development of western medicine theory (i. e. ,healing practice). That is to say, the communication between China and the West is a process of two-way interaction. Traditional Chinese Medicine is not only a carrier, but also as a receiver, so is Western medicine. Bridie Andrew astutely noted that Chinese medicine was almost more clinically efficacious than Western medicine during most of this period. <sup>[19]</sup>

There are plenty of Christian missionary archives such as the mission reports, conference records, historiography of Protestant activities, autobiographies and diaries, which are all stored in the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and scatters in other printed publications, such as Medical Reports of Customs Gazette, The China Medical Journal, The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal and The Medical Missionary Record. Descriptions of missionaries’ daily life in those archives can reflect complex relationship between the overseas headquarters of the mission society in the UK and the branch of indigenous church in China. Clarifying the context of British missionaries’ activities in China, alongside an evaluation of their activities, provides a more nuanced understanding of the Christian medical services in China at that time.

### 3. Housing and Health

In the early nineteenth century, ‘public health’ in Britain was a matter for radicals for British. <sup>[20]</sup> Edwin Chadwick, the leading figure of British public health movement, thought that the relationship between disease and poverty presented vicious relations. In other words, the deterioration of the social or natural factors (food, water, clothes and housing) was easy to increase the possibility of illness. So, he believed that the government should not only improve medical technology, but also the level of social management (by improving ventilation, cleaning cookware and equipment, and concentrating waste treatment to improve housing conditions), so as to prevent the spread of diseases among the working population.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the most important contribution of medicine was the establishment of ‘germ theory of disease’, through the work of Louis Pasteur of France and Robert

[19] Bridie Andrews, *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850-1960*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 213-217.

[20] Roy Potter, *The Cambridge Illustrated history of medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 319.

Koch of Germany. <sup>[21]</sup> Hence, if the 1930s was the ‘era of public health’, then this period would be the ‘era of laboratory’. <sup>[22]</sup> It was an remarkable sign of the development of medicine to use experimental means, technological innovation and natural science research results to reveal the mysteries of the human body and explore pathology to prevent diseases.

In the last decades of thenineteenth century, the laboratory discovered a new pathogenic microorganism every few months. The new discoveries were introduced and translated into China in a very short time by medical missionaries, which attracted the attention of some Chinese doctor colleagues. Although the germ theory was born in the West, Chinese society had its own experience in disease preventions and hygiene practices. Many Chinese traditional festival customs were related to epidemics prevention, such as burning *Atractylodes lancea*<sup>[23]</sup>, drinking or spraying realgar wine (Wine mixed with arsenic sulphide, people drink it to protect themselves from illness), eating onions, ginger, garlic and so on. Cleaning, bathing and changing new clothes to keep personal hygiene was also needed in some important festivals. In the middle and late nineteenth century, Chinese people had almost no concept of bacteria. John Dudgeon once wrote, ‘They (farmers who lived in villages) often kindle a large fire in the Kang (or the bed platform was made of the earth in the North of China. ) to destroy or drive away the poisonous air’. <sup>[24]</sup> Obviously, the cognition of disease in China was very similar to the miasma theory in the West. Dudgeon also recorded that smallpox broke out in winter because fur or cotton gowns were redeemed from pawn shops, where they have been stored since spring, and toxic substances were also stored in warehouses. <sup>[25]</sup>

Another missionary of London Church in the UK, John Macgowan, came to China in the late Qing Dynasty and lived and traveled around for about 50 years. He said:

Almost every Chinese can become a doctor with some medical knowledge he has mastered. In fact, when you find that someone can modestly claim to know little about medical skills, it will surprise you. A Chinese with a dirty and oily face, clothes covered with dirt, and so dirty that you don’t want to touch them with a pair of hands, has attracted your attention. He is an ordinary laborer, without superhuman intelligence, and it is easy for you to dismiss and not want to get along with him. But at this moment, someone will whisper in your ear that he is a famous amateur doctor and has cured many people’s diseases! <sup>[26]</sup>

As late as the 1880s and 1890s, knowledges of bacteriology were simply confined to professional medical journals, and the general public avoided disease only based on custom in China. The relationship between housing and health has already been recognized and studied before World War

[21] Ibid, p. 263.

[22] 姬凌辉 Ji Linhui,《清末民初细菌学的引介与公共卫生防疫机制的构建》Qingmominchu xijunxue de yinjie yu gonggongweisheng fangyi jizhi de goujian [Introduction of Bacteriology and the Construction of Public Health and Epidemic Prevention Mechanism in Late Qing Dynasty and Early Period of China] (Master. Thesis. ,CCNU,2015), 24-26.

[23] Chinese herb, used for disinfection and sterilization by folks.

[24] Dr. John Dudgeon’s Report on the Health of Peking for the half year ended 31<sup>st</sup> March 1871, Medical Reports, 6.

[25] Ibid. , p. 6.

[26] 皮国立 Pi Guoli,《近代中西医的博弈》Jindai zhongxiyi de boyi [Game between modern Chinese and western medicine] (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Chinese Publishing House, 2019), 276-282.

II, but the research of germ theory in China fell behind that of the West.

What about the public health knowledge in western countries? In the 1840s, the living conditions of the working class in Glasgow were described as extremely poor. For example, the back courts did not possess the stinking open drains common in other cities; refuse and excrement piled up in a general midden until the private contractors thought it worth taking away. Other descriptions of the environment can be found in Crowther's study:

I did not believe, until I visited the wynds county of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed on one spot in any civilized country. It is hard to prove whether Scotland's urban poverty was, in fact, the worst in Britain... its housing stock never kept pace with demand. Even workers in regular employment were more overcrowded and poorly housed than in any other British city, and this persisted well into the twentieth century... Since unemployment and ill-health often went together, few medical officers were anxious to test an applicant's destitution to the limits of starvation. [27]

In 1850, Glasgow had a population of over half a million; and there were only 21 poor houses in Scotland with accommodation for 6058 paupers. By 1900 there were 65 operational poorhouses, with accommodation for 15509, but only half that number of inmates. [28] As for protestant preachers, frugal lifestyle appealed to their moral sentiments of their Protestantism upbringing. Compared with the house of the working class in UK, the living conditions of missionaries in China were much better:

Missionaries generally live at first in native houses, altered and fitted up in some degree in accordance with our ideas of comfort and convenience—putting in a few glass windows in place of the paper ones, and substituting boards for the flooring of a few rooms in the place of cement or brick. As soon as practicable, permanent houses are built somewhat after our own style of architecture. Our mode of living is similar to that at home. Most missionary families have an American cooking-stove. A great deal is said in some quarters about the luxurious manner in which missionaries live in the East, occupying 'palatial dwellings. . . [29]

The nineteenth century was an era when European Imperialism was strong and white people's sense of racial superiority was rising. Many missionaries except John Dudgeon criticize everything from the perspective of European center, such as the issue of Housing. They thought Chinese people are weak because of poor accommodation conditions. However, John Dudgeon wrote extensively on housing of the Chinese and their implications for health. He argued that China's lifestyle and urban conditions were superior to those in Europe; 'this duty is all but co-extensive with the adoption of obvious hygienic measures—the avoidance of putrid drain emanations, the supply of pure water, and regard to ventilation both in private houses and, on

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[27] M. A. Crowther, "Poverty, Health and Welfare," in *People and Society in Scotland (1830—1914)*, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (1990), 266-268.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[29] John Livingston Nevius, *China and the Chinese; A General Description of the Country and Its Inhabitants* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1869), 317.

the large scale, in cities by the prevention of over-crowding. <sup>[30]</sup> Dudgeon's observations in China, combined with his views on deteriorating economic conditions and heightened social tensions in Scotland, resulted in his critical reflections on British metropolitan culture and lifestyle. <sup>[31]</sup> Dudgeon criticized competition in Scottish society, 'We seem to live as if our bodies were valueless immortal, and as if it were no concern to husband our strength or nourish our powers'. <sup>[32]</sup> He praised the pace of Chinese life in 1880s benefit to health, 'Walking is slow, measured and dignified. Work is slow and steady. Periods of rest are frequent and highly valued. There is also mental repose.' <sup>[33]</sup> Dudgeon thought the 'civilized life' of westerners had deprived them of their 'nature power' of resistance to diseases. <sup>[34]</sup> Health condition in the cities was much worse, and overcrowding was an obvious feature of daily lives for the poor in Edinburgh and Glasgow. <sup>[35]</sup> A study showed that twelve to sixteen people to live in a room was common in the poorer areas in two cities in 1860s. <sup>[36]</sup> The miasma school represented by Edwin Chadwick believed that the cause of disease was not simply due to bad housing and contaminated drinking supplies but ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene. Unfortunately, two cities met both conditions at same time.

Was the situation in Shanghai really as Dudgeon described? With the development of urbanization and industrialization, Shanghai became the most important industrial and commercial city in Republic of China in 1920s. There were also many poor people living in the city. Probably due to famine or war, farmers were forced to flock to Shanghai from Anhui province and northern Jiangsu province. They can only engage in coolie work, such as being ricksha pullers, wharf coolies, etc. It was difficult to determine the exact number of this class of laborer, but Ricksha pullers alone number over 80,000 and their dependents about 240,000. Most of these unskilled laborers lived in grass huts, of which there were about 30,000 scattered all over Shanghai. <sup>[37]</sup>

In 1929, Wu The-chen, Mayor of the city of Government of Greater Shanghai, declared this year was a 'social reconstruction year' for Shanghai <sup>[38]</sup>. It aimed to improve housing conditions and help the poor. <sup>[39]</sup> According to the project, each village in the suburb would have a large playground for children as well as adults, a school building, a cooperative store a tea-shop, a nursery, public toilets and public bath houses. With such features, these model villages should become a target of a drive for

[30] Dr. Alexander Jamieson's Report on the Health of Shanghai for the half year ended 31<sup>th</sup> September 1874, Medical Reports, 18.

[31] Shang-Jen Li, 'Discovering 'The Secrets of Long and Healthy Life': John Dudgeon on Chinese Hygiene, Social History of Medicine 23, No. 1 (2010), 21-37.

[32] John Dudgeon, "Diet, Dress, and Dwellings of the Chinese in Relation to Health" in Health Exhibition Literature, XIX, (London: William Clowes), 471.

[33] Ibid, p. 474.

[34] Shang-Jen Li, "Discovering," 28.

[35] WW Knox, A History of the Scottish People Health in Scotland, 1840-1940, Chapter. 3, p. 2, [https://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2\\_3Health.pdf](https://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2_3Health.pdf).

[36] Ibid, p. 2

[37] "Toward Better Housing for Shanghai Workers", Chinese Recorder, vol. LXVII, no. 1 (Jan 1936), p. 31.

[38] 'The Greater Shanghai Plan' was a 1927 plan for the city of Shanghai, China, drawn up by the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China in Nanking. Please see 'The Greater Shanghai Plan' terms on Google, last modified on March 30, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater\\_Shanghai\\_Plan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Shanghai_Plan).

[39] The housing project was probably the most important. These houses were terraced with five or six in a row. Each house would have a living room (about 13×11 ft.), kitchen, toilet and sleeping accommodations. All the houses were fireproof and waterproof with plenty of sunlight. Please see, "Toward Better Housing for Shanghai Workers", 31.

many hard-working but poverty-stricken people who were their prospective tenants.<sup>[40]</sup> The aim of ‘The Greater Shanghai Plan’ was to build another modern, multi-functional city center in the Chinese community under the condition of the existence of the Shanghai International Settlement<sup>[41]</sup>. Unfortunately, the plan was interrupted by the invasion of Japan before it could be put into practice. The government realized reduction in disease and other unhealthy factors was results from rising living standards and life qualities. Officials have replaced the intervention of missionaries in public health in modern China. It reflects the progress in the health history of the housing theme.

#### 4. Hygiene, Environment and Drink

Shanghai was Chinese largest treaty port, located on the East China Sea coast during the nineteenth century, the global expansion of British Empire promoted the development of the tropical hygiene. Tropical Medicine (or Tropical hygiene) is an interdisciplinary branch of medicine that deals with health issues that infected by malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, cholera or other epidemics in tropical regions. British troops, businessmen, officials and immigrants often encountered different climates and serious diseases in India, Africa and China. So, observing and studying the local environment and hygiene conditions became a subject of medical missionaries or medical officials in Customs. The London Missionary Society (LMS), founded in 1795, was the first one in the UK to promise medical missionary work. In order to increase the support for the medical affairs in China, LMS openly recruited volunteers to work as medical missionaries in China in 1838. In 1838 and 1839, both William Lockhart and Benjamin Hobson were sent by the LMS to explore medical missionary opportunities in China.<sup>[42]</sup> In 1860, the LMS sent James Henderson, a Scottish medical missionary to Shanghai. Henderson earned a Ph. D. in medicine and surgery from the University of St. Andrews, and worked in a church hospital launched by William Lockhart.<sup>[43]</sup> James Henderson (1830—1865), one of the most famous medical missionaries sent by LMS to Shanghai, was also the first doctor to systematically discuss the influence of Chinese climate on European health.

Only one year after Henderson arrived in Shanghai, he and his fellow missionaries in Shanghai met with considerable setbacks and difficulties. Previous missionaries to Shanghai before were sent to other places because of health problems.<sup>[44]</sup> Dr. George Johnson expressed:

[40] Ibid, p. 31.

[41] The Shanghai International Settlement was rented by British and American citizens who enjoyed extraterritorially and consular jurisdiction under the Unequal Treaties signed in the nineteenth century with the Qing government. Many other Europeans except the British lived in this area.

[42] The Christian as the exotic religion was not very attractive to Chinese people in nineteenth century, but the Chinese people were very interested in the magical curative effect of western surgery. Therefore, many western churches such as LMS sent as many medical missionaries as possible to set up hospital outpatient clinics and train local medical assistants in China, and find opportunities to evangelize and declare in the process of treating diseases.

[43] 李尚仁 Shang-jen Li,《气候、节制与健康:韩雅各论欧洲人在上海的卫生之道》Qihou jiezhi yu jiankang hanyage lunouzhounen zaishanghaide weishengzhidao [Climates, Temperance and Health: James Henderson on the Hygiene of Europeans in Shanghai],《成大历史学报》Chengdalishixuebao [Cheng Kung Journal of Historical Studies], vol. 55, (2018):161.

[44] Ibid, p. 163.



“In a very large proportion of cases, there is as close a relation between diphtheria and insanitary conditions as exists between typhoid fever and similar insanitary conditions”, “we never know enough of the diseases prevailing among the Chinese to enable us to assert that the water drawn from the river and creeks is not probably so contaminated. What we do know is that at all events it is very impure, and that in nine cases out of ten no sufficient means of purification are adopted.”

As reflected in Johnson’s records, British imperial ideology made British colonist to think that Chinese were stagnant.<sup>[45]</sup> ‘Imperial ideology prejudiced the otherwise objective and empirical rationality of British medicine in China’<sup>[46]</sup>, and dismissed the Chinese as ‘in great poverty, poor, weakly, scrofulous children are the rule and not the exception; and miserable, unhealthy, overcrowded, unventilated habitations are too common.’<sup>[47]</sup>

People who lived near marshes and creeks were easy to get sick, because these places tend to be low-lying, constantly damp and dark, and people living here cannot get enough sunlight, so they were easy to get sick. Putrefying food, waste, corpses, rotting vegetable remains, and other filth may produce toxic gases, which would make people sick or even die if inhaled by human body. So, in order to let the Europeans who settled in China know which places were suitable for settlement and which places were not, there were so many descriptions of living conditions and natural environment in the writings of medical missionaries and medical customs officers. For example, Dr. Alexander Jamieson, editor-in-chief of Medical Reports, reported: “Although the temperature was at no time very high, the air was during the half year constantly laden with moisture, and with ground exhalations.”<sup>[48]</sup>

Medical officials in Shanghai Customs paid attention to Climate and disease as Shanghai’s unique status in China. First, because of the harsh climate in Shanghai (at least from the perspective of Europeans), epidemics such as malarial fevers, diarrhea, and an inflammatory diarrhea approaching dysentery were prevalent among foreign residents.<sup>[49]</sup> Second, after the signing of the Treaties of Nanking (1842), which made Shanghai one of the first five treaty ports, the urban population of Shanghai was rapidly growing. Third, in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, foreign factories were set up one after another, creating a large labor demanding market, and Chinese people flooded into the Shanghai Concession in large numbers. Large-scale population did not have to necessarily lead to the emergence of various environmental and health problems. However, when other factors (policy, technology) remain the same but except population, the greater the population, the greater the need of air, water and food. This may lead to a greater strain on environmental and health resources, which a direct impact on the phenomenon such as hunger, disease and environmental destruction.<sup>[50]</sup>

[45] Stephanie Villalta Puig, “James Henderson’s Shanghai Hygiene and the British Constitution in Early Modern China,” in *Discourses of Disease: Writing Illness, the Mind and the Body in Modern China*, ed. Howard Y. F. Choy (Boston: Brill, 2016), 19.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[47] Dr. John Dudgeon’s Report on the Health of Peking for the half year ended 31<sup>st</sup> March 1871, *Medical Reports*, 10-11.

[48] Dr. Alexander Jamieson’s Report on the Health of Shanghai for the half year ended 30<sup>th</sup> September 1874, *Medical Reports*, p16.

[49] Dr. Alexander Jamieson’s Report on the Health of Shanghai for the half year ended 30<sup>th</sup> September 1874, *Medical Reports*, p16.

[50] 彭善民 Peng shanmin, 《公共卫生与上海都市文明》Gonggongweisheng yu shanghai dushi wenming [Public Health and Modern Shanghai] (上海 Shanghai: 人民出版社 renming chubanshe [People’s Publication], 2007), 23-24.

Similarly, there was not modern germ theory in the medical experience of ancient Chinese medicine at the beginning either. Most Chinese people thought that human body's illness may be caused by excessive inhalation of a gas called 'Zhangqi'. The 'Zhangqi' was a poisonous gas produced by rotting animals and plants in tropical primeval forests. If the dead animals/human bodies were not buried or burned, the 'Zhangqi' would be produced especially with help of high temperature in tropical areas. It was convinced by well-educated social groups such as Chinese doctors, Daoist, government officials. Among the well-educated people, they thought there were two ways to avoid inhale 'Zhangqi'. First, staying away from the wilderness, because Traditional Chinese Medicine believed that tropical areas can produce toxic gases, and they can cause diseases as well; second, keeping physical fitness. A strong body can resist the invasion of outside poisonous gas. From the second point, they used 'hygiene' from the traditional meaning of 'protecting life' or 'nourishing life'. People mentioned above often use 'yangsheng' to refer to the meaning of 'hygiene'. The 'yangsheng' text mainly originated from Chinese Daoist classics, which means to prolong personal life by strengthening physical fitness.<sup>[51]</sup> Therefore, in the concept of TCM, 'hygiene' referred to 'yangsheng', and 'yangsheng' means to prolong one's life by strengthening one's physique fitness, and thus to be healthy. In the New English-Chinese Dictionary published in early 1911, the word of 'hygiene' was added to the definitions of 'health'. Although the original words such as 'protecting one's health' and 'protecting one's health' were retained, the prominent position of 'health' has been fully demonstrated.

The American seminal figure in public health, Charles-Edward Amory Winslow (1877—1957), argued 'Public health is the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment.'<sup>[52]</sup> 'The community reflects that hygiene is based on the public unit rather than personal affairs. Public health was developed to prevent the spread of infectious diseases among people. However, the hygiene in Chinese life experience was deemed private, and had nothing to do with the public health, so the environment in public sometimes was dirty. The observation of William Lockhart in Shanghai in 1845 told a similar story:

The average of public health in the city of Shanghai, which may be taken as a type of Chinese cities, has often been to foreigners, especially during the summer months, a matter of surprise. The sewerage is, moreover, of the most imperfect kind. The drains are no better than a continuous cesspool, where filth of all varieties is allowed to accumulate and pollute the air. Ordinarily, however, the nasal organs of the Chinese seem wanting in sensitiveness; for while the foreigner is almost prostrated by the offensive odors which assail him on every side in a

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[51] The history of yangsheng has a long and complicated history in China. It was widely published and have circulated continuously from the early years of the Ming dynasty (1392—1644). For a clear explanation and summary, please see H. ,Chen, "Nourishing life, cultivation and material culture in the late Ming," *Asian Medicine*4, no1 (2008) 29-45; Seung-Joon Lee, "The Patriot's Scientific Diet: Nutrition science and dietary reform campaigns in China, 1910s—1950s," *Modern Asian Studies*49, no. 6(2015)1808-1839.

[52] C. E. A. Winslow, *The Untilled Fields of Public Health* (Toronto: The Canadian Red Cross Society, 1920) 10.

Chinese city, the natives care little for them either at home or abroad. <sup>[53]</sup>

But the “terrible” living environment unintentionally formed a unique drinking habit of Chinese people: the Chinese had a strong prejudice against cold water, either taken internally or applied externally, and they were surprised by foreigners who took cold showers or drank cold water. For example, warm tea was a kind of popular drink in China. ‘No water should be drunk that has not been boiled, and filtered by alum at first, as it is most probable that the contagion of disease is communicated by water.’ <sup>[54]</sup> There was even a popular saying that goes like this: A man who drinks water simply drawn from alongside the ship is seeking his death. <sup>[55]</sup>

The acceptance of tap water by Shanghai residents had a long and tortuous history. Dr. Alexander Jamieson organized a long-term test of the water quality of Wusong River in 1875. He came to the conclusion finally: ‘Ordinary Shanghai drinking water after filtration, unobjectionable from a chemical point of view, but swarming with bacteria and vibrio, and therefore to be regarded as suspicious if no danger.’ <sup>[56]</sup> Under the residents’ Pressure of hygiene living in the International Settlement, Dr. Jamieson suggested: ‘Invest in a water plant that will eventually prove it has the same high value as the sewer construction.’ <sup>[57]</sup> After repeated discussions by the Board of Directors of the Ministry of Industry and Technology to raise capital in the UK, in November 1880, Shanghai Water Supply Co., Ltd. was formally established in London, England. Therefore, the water company was often called ‘British Shanghai Water Supply Company’. <sup>[58]</sup>

At the beginning of the business of the British water company, most Chinese people expressed various concerns about whether tap water can be drunk. Rumor had it that tap water was toxic and not drinkable. <sup>[59]</sup> The proper propaganda in promoting public health education and water supply was important. It led the tap water company advertised successively in Shenbao since February 15, 1884, publicizing that its tap water is of good quality, mellow and delicious. The company also declared the rumor that the water was toxic and unhealthy was not true. Now it has been checked here and it was extremely clean. Tap water can be taken at any time, and it was inexhaustible. It was clear and cheap, and residents can avoid disasters and epidemics by using it. <sup>[60]</sup> This official announcement played a very positive role in promoting the tap water business of the tap water tower in Shanghai. Gradually, more and more Shanghai residents realized tap water brings people daily cleanliness, hygiene and convenience.

With the advancement of urbanization, the public health awareness was further deepened, and

[53] William Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China: A Narrative of Twenty Years' Experience* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861), 36-37.

[54] Dr. John Dudgeon's Report on the Health of Peking for the half year ended 31<sup>st</sup> March 1871, *Medical Reports*, 13.

[55] Dr. Alexander Jamieson's Report on the Health of Shanghai for the Half Year Ended 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1876, *Medical Reports*, 255.

[56] Dr. Alexander Jamieson's Report on the Health of Shanghai for the Half Year Ended 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1875, *Medical Reports*, 82-82.

[57] Alexander Jamieson's Report on the Health of Shanghai for the Half Year Ended 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1874, *Medical Reports*, 33-34.

[58] Kerrie L. MacPherson, *A Wilderness of Marshes: The Origins of Public Health in Shanghai, 1843-1893* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 90-97.

[59] 《闸北市民请督促改良自来水》Zhabei shimin qing ducu gailiang zilaishui [Zhabei citizens asked government departments to urge the improvement of tap water]《申报》[Shenbao], 1926年4月10日, 第4版。

[60] 《推广禁止谣言说》Tuiguang jinzhi yaoyanshuo [On the prohibition of rumor propaganda]《申报》[Shenbao], 1884年2月16日第1版;《接水入城》Jieshuirucheng [Drawing the water into the city]《申报》[Shenbao], 1884年5月25日第2版。

people were increasingly dependent on tap water at that time. In the early twentieth century, tap water was widely used beyond the International Settlement area, and the demand of Chinese local residents promoted the establishment of the indigenous Water Company in 1902, which was controlled by Chinese themselves.<sup>[61]</sup> In July 1929, Shanghai Water Supply System was broke down for excessive work, people were panicking over the lack of water. As a result, ‘The residents holding wooden barrels waiting for water pumping, stood on the street with anxiety and irritability, worried about water shortage and caused riots.’<sup>[62]</sup> Tap water entered people’s daily life and became their daily necessities. The efficiency and quality of tap water supply are important events related to urban public health.

To sum up, the setting and management of tap water was beneficial to urban public health. Shanghai Residents experienced a process from surprise, incomprehension to welcome. The demand of the masses formed a huge water market in Shanghai in modern times, and waterworks were set up. Natural water, which people used to take for granted in the past, has become valuable and popular after some treatment. Shanghai citizens’ public health benefits greatly from the modern public health facilities and management concepts in the International Settlement. Under the influence of national consciousness, Shanghai citizens gradually launched the festival-clearing and epidemic prevention campaigns, which also reflected the growth of Shanghai citizens’ consciousness and was the awakening of Chinese national health consciousness.<sup>[63]</sup> The public health concepts were brought over from the European continent by Scottish medical missionaries. Those Scottish missionaries also experienced a process from contemptuous, curious to positive. They regarded the Chinese as a stereotype of unhealth people who did not understand health science, and rigidly apply medical experience of the West to understand China’s climate, sanitary conditions and drinking habits. When they set foot on the land of China and conducted an ethnological survey on the daily life of the Chinese people, they found that the Chinese people’s health concept had their rational factors. Hence, the colonial cultural superiority of the British Empire felt challenged, and the ecumenical values of Christianity such as, love, benevolence and sympathy work again. From this point, both sides are beneficiaries of cultural exchanges.

## 5. Diets and Health

Modern nation-states have long recognized and launched a campaign about the moral capacity of food-related health systems.<sup>[64]</sup> Western food is like a window to observe western heterogeneous culture, which reflects the western material culture and the concept of hygiene. It has become an important part of Chinese

[61] 邢建榕 Xing Jianrong,《水电煤:近代上海公用事业演进及华洋不同心态》*Shuidianmei jindai shanghai gongyong shiyeyanjin jihuayang butong xintai* [Water, Electricity and Gas: The Evolution of the Public Utilities in Modern Shanghai and Different Psychologies Between Chinese and Foreigners],《史学月刊》*Shixueyuekan* [Journal of Historical Science] no. 4 (2004):95-102.

[62] 《南市居民之水慌》*Nanshi jumin zhi shuihuang* [Water shortage of Nanshi residents yesterday],《申报》[*Shenbao*],1929年7月29日第15版.

[63] 彭善民 Peng shanmin,《公共卫生与上海都市文明》*Gonggongweisheng yu shanghai dushi wenming* [Public Health and Modern Shanghai] (上海 Shanghai:人民出版社 renming chubanshe [People’s Publication],2007),111.

[64] Melissa L. Caldwell and Angela Ki Che Leung,“Food and Health:Fortification and Modern Asian State Making,” in the *Moral Food: The Construction of Nutrition and Health in Modern Asia*,ed. Angela Ki Che Leung (Hawaii:University of Hawai’I Press,2019),1.

people's understanding and acceptance of western food etiquette and hygiene. As China launches 'Clean Plate' campaign to combat food waste in August, 2020, different labels and advertisements appeared in every restaurant, bearing signs that read 'clean your plate' or 'be thrift and diligent'.<sup>[65]</sup> In today's China, the Chinese citizens have already accustomed to combining their diets habits and public health policies together. However, the 'habit' has not been formed for a long time. It began to form in the late nineteenth century and it was through the missionaries that the concept of nutrition and health became the leading role in the history of Chinese food.

Before many theories and ideas, such as, environment protection and nutrition support the idea of vegetarianism became a fad among westerners, ancient vegetarians was mainly based on ethical reasons.<sup>[66]</sup> Plato condemned meat eating as he thought that consuming animal foods would not lead to true health but to a culture of sickness, disease, land disputes, lawyers and doctors.<sup>[67]</sup> In Medieval Period, the famous Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas claimed the idea of the uniqueness of human beings and said, 'there is no sin in using a thing for the purpose for which it is... Wherefore it is not unlawful if men use plants for the good of animals, and animals for the good of man.'<sup>[68]</sup> The ideology, organization and social environment of early nineteenth century in UK all provided the basis for the development of vegetarianism; Mainstream evangelicalism played an indispensable role within the mid-nineteenth-century vegetarian movement. The Industrial Revolution in UK brought about serious environmental deterioration problems, poverty, bad sanitation, food adulteration, and personal moral degradation. All these social problems were closely related to diet. Generally speaking, whether it was diet or vegetarianism alone, the topic of food and health in Britain was gradually formed by continuous improvement and self-correction based on the development of social economy and the theoretical contributions of many ideologists in its history. There was a mature theoretical system behind it.

It was slightly different in ancient China. First, agriculture production was the main pillar of the economy in ancient China, which determined that most of cattle and horses were used for cultivation and carrying goods. Moreover, Chinese people tended to emphasize the diet control, especially in meat eating. As early as Han dynasty (B. C. 202 — A. D. 8), because of the psychological cultural superiority of the ruling class, one of the Confucian classics named The Tso Chuan claimed that only 'barbarians' would eat meat without restraint, while civilized aristocratic stratum would consciously control their diet.<sup>[69]</sup> Thus, animals were not used for food. In general, the diet structure of ordinary people (farmers) mainly consists of plants instead of meat.<sup>[70]</sup> After the tenth century, rice

[65] Ben Westcott and Nectar Gan, "In Authoritarian China, eating freely is a cherished activity. Now a food Waste campaign wants to control meals, too", CNN, last modified August 29, 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/28/asia/china-xi-jinping-clean-plate-campaign-dst-intl-hnk/index.html>

[66] 欧阳昱 Ouyang Yu, 《西方文化中素食主义的伦理与实践》Xifang wenhuazhong sushizhuyi de lunli yu shijian [Ethical and Practical Justification of vegetarianism in western cultures], (西安 Xi'an: 西安外国学与大学硕士论文 Xi'an waiguoyu daxue shuoshi lunwen [Master dissertation in International Studies University], 2014), 7-13.

[67] T. M. Campbell, T. C. Campbell, The China Study, Benbella Books, 2005, p345.

[68] Ouyang, "vegetarianism", 8.

[69] 邓永芳、刘国和 Deng yongfang, Liuguohu 《中国先秦时期的素食观》Zhongguo xianqinshiqi sushiguan, [Vegetarianism in Pre-Qin Period of China], 《南京林业大学学报》(人文社会科学版) Nanjin linye daxue xuebao [Journal of Nanjing Forestry University], no. 2 (2020): 28.

[70] 张吾愚 Zhang wuyu 《素食主义在宋代的昌盛》Sushizhuyi zai songdai de changsheng [Prosperity of vegetarianism in Song Dynasty] 《深圳特区报》Shenzhen tequ bao [ShenZhen Special Zone Daily] (2017 年 12 月 26 日), 第 7 版.

cultivation technology had been gradually improved in Yangtze region; fourteenth to sixteenth century, three high-yield American cereal crops; maize, sweet potato and potato, were introduced into China, which greatly alleviating the problems of food shortage. Affected by soil and climate of different localities, rice was the great staple for food in the south, and wheat and millet in the north. At the same time, people's non-staple food types were also diverse; the bureaucratic class of meat consumption was mainly lamb, followed by pork, and the common people's consumption was mainly pork, supplemented by chicken, duck and aquatic products. The vegetables of China are numerous, including many varieties with which westerners were not familiar. The sweet potato was found in all the provinces. Carrots, turnips, leeks, and garlic were very common, also cucumbers, water-melons, and musk-melons. Peas were cultivated to some extent, and beans in great varieties and large quantities. In the north of China beans took the place of oats with Europe, as the principal hearty food for horses, mules, and donkeys. They were always cooked, and animals liked them, and thrived on them wonderfully. Grapes, peaches, and apricots in the north, and oranges and bananas in the south, compared favorably with the same fruits in Europe. <sup>[71]</sup>

After the opening of China to the outside world in the nineteenth century, British physicians came to China with quite different opinions about how European should eat, and whether Chinese food and their diets habit were healthy. Due to their curiosity about the diet of different civilizations, their professional medical knowledge background, and their habits of observation and recording, we have the opportunity to understand the relationship between the concept of food hygiene and the living habits of the Chinese at that time. For example, the British medical missionary Alexander Jamieson once reported a way of feeding that he had never seen before in the Report on the Health of Shanghai (1872):

‘The native mother before putting the food into the infant's mouth, carefully chews it into a soft and uniform bolus, by which process, unconsciously but most wisely, transforms all the starch into grape sugar. In this condition the food is readily assimilated, and hence the rarity amongst Chinese children of those convulsive affection which would infallibly follow the extensive use of farinaceous food among foreign infants.’ <sup>[72]</sup>

That was a meaningful personal experience for Dr. Jamieson, and revealed his strong dislike of the way of Chinese maternal and infant feeding. However, due to his professional medical training, he could still rationally analyze and affirm the merits of this feeding method. These complex feelings were a common phenomenon for Western medical missionaries on the first visit to China. On the one hand, it was true that the cultural arrogance of aristocratic class led them to despise the northern nomadic civilization (Ancient Mongolian tribes, etc.) who advocated meat; On the other hand, the living conditions of most farmers in the farming civilization were indeed poor, which made them unable to afford to enjoy meat at every meal, such as mutton, beef, fowl. What Jamieson recorded this time was the real diet of the bottom people. Some people agreed that economic status often

[71] M. H. Medhurst, *The Foreign in Far Cathay* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1873), 38.

[72] Dr. Alexander Jamieson's Report on the Health of Shanghai for the Half Year Ended 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1872, *Medical Reports*, 92.

determined the ‘healthiness’ of the diet consumed and foods were usually purchased in accordance with family budgets rather than its advantages to health.<sup>[73]</sup> In fact, this view was not completely correct, because the poor also had their own wisdom to satisfy their need of food or drinks.

The diet habit that lasts for a long time in China was praised by American nutritionist named William H. Adolph (1890—1958). In order to figure out what exactly most ordinary Chinese eat every day, he made a survey in the rural areas of northern China in the Summer of 1926. The report reflected that the dietary of the typical family in north China consists of: bread and cereals 66%, fruit and vegetables 28%, meat 2%, fats and sugar 1%, eggs, milk, and other foods 3%.<sup>[74]</sup> The ‘frugal eating habits’ of Chinese people brought obvious benefits unintentionally—they were not addicted to the meat-eating. Meat can be replaced by eggs, and eggs in China were not expensive. He finally concluded that: ‘China approaches very nearly to the status of a vegetarian country... the vegetarian habits of China, it should be noted, have meant the inclusion in the diet of a considerable amount of roughage, it is this which has insured the oriental against digestive lassitude and serious digestive disorders.’<sup>[75]</sup> The severely unreasonable diet structure had caused Chinese farmers to lack calcium and protein. The reason of it lied in the high economic cost: feeding the cows with grains, the cows convert the grains into milk, then people drink the milk; but it was not worthy of it for Chinese farmers who were living in a difficult life. They chose to eat grains directly. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, Westerners found some valuable principles that should be learned in the diet, as Dudgeon stated: the Chinese, notwithstanding their ignorance of Western science, had admirably suited themselves to their surroundings, and enjoyed a maximum of comfort and health and immunity from disease which Westerners should hardly have supposed possible.<sup>[76]</sup>

Before the theory of nutrition was introduced to China, Chinese people did not realize that some parts of their diet were very healthy. They were just used to it. Fortunately, many missionary doctors were keen observers of Chinese dietary customs and discussed extensively the healthiness.<sup>[77]</sup> They didn’t just observe, they compared the differences between China and the West. At the end of eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth century, the eating habits of the West and Chinese began to blend to blend, which had a two-way influence on the change of nutrition knowledge in modern times. Moreover, the diets closely related to health and nutrition. It highlighted the perceptual and rational characteristics of Chinese and Western cultures on health issues.

As soon as these missionaries arrived in China, they observed Chinese society from a doctor’s unique perspective very soon. They soon realized that China provided an unparalleled opportunity for

[73] Leanne Dunlop, “Unhealthy City? Public Health in Interwar Glasgow, 1919-1939” (PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2012), 316.

[74] William H. Adolph, *Composition and Nutritional Value of Chinese Food* (Shanghai: China Science Press, 1926), 15-19.

[75] William H. Adolph, “What shall we eat?”, *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 56, No. 7 (1925), 434.

[76] John Dudgeon, “Diet, Dress, and Dwellings of the Chinese in Relation to Health” in *Health Exhibition Literature*, XIX, (London: William Clowes), 258.

[77] Shang-Jen Li, “Eating well in China: British Medical Men on Diet and Personal Hygiene at Nineteenth-Century Chinese Treaty Ports,” in Ki Che Leung and Charlotte Furth (eds.), *Health and Hygiene in Modern Chinese East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming), 109.

the study of Western pathology and bacteriology.<sup>[78]</sup> Jamieson complained that Europeans settled in Shanghai lived in an extremely luxurious life without restraint, which was directly related to the high death rate from heart disease.<sup>[79]</sup> He said, ‘It is perfectly absurd to think that a man can enjoy good health through the hot season, if he eats six, eight, or ten different dishes during a meal, which is frequently done here’, and suggested ‘never to eat unless we are hungry; and never to drink unless we are dry.’<sup>[80]</sup> After Adolph’s third visit to China, he taught in the Department of Chemistry at Yenching University, and he published *Vegetarian China* in 1938. In this book, he explained vegetarian diet of China was cereal diet, which mainly consist of wheat, millet, corn, and sorghum.<sup>[81]</sup> He also said Chinese did not rely on milk and meat to supplement protein and calcium, but they have achieved this nutritional balance over the centuries. He thought the fact that Chinese people can achieve a balanced nutrition without relying on milk and meat was worth studying.<sup>[82]</sup> He said China’s long history of food culture was like ‘China herself has been carrying on a large scale dietary experiment on the feeding of her large population’, so he believed there were many experiences accumulated by them over such a long period of time are worth of study.<sup>[83]</sup> Additionally, there was a wealth of natural food materials in this empire which many Occidentals has left untried. In the realm of green vegetables, the Qing empire presents a far greater variety than the vegetable market in England or America.<sup>[84]</sup> He explained this further, and thought that this might be due to Chinese people’s abstemious living habits and light eating habits. In contrast, Europeans were not so peaceful, and they ate too much irritating food such as alcohol and so on.

If the poor ate vegetables and coarse grains because they were forced by life, the rich chose them was a positive choice based on health. First of all, the difference in the quality and expense of the food of the rich, as compared with that of the poor, consists principally in the kinds of ‘relish’ eaten with the rice or millet.<sup>[85]</sup> The rich had pork, fowls, eggs, fish, and game, prepared in various ways. Before each chair was placed an empty bowl and two chop-sticks, while the dishes containing meat, vegetables, fish, etc., occupy the center of the table, the food which they contain being cut up in small pieces.<sup>[86]</sup>

Second, the introduction of Western-style food helped the Shanghai well-off residents understood the European’s lives and culture. Because of the commercialization of social atmosphere and the psychology of blind worship, enjoying the western food is regarded as a fashioned trend in China. Cooking books became an important way to introduce western diet. At the end of the nineteenth century, as wedding gifts of the middle class in Europe, most cooking books were brought

[78] 何小莲 He Xiaolian,《西医东渐与文化调试》Xiyidongjian yu wenhua tiaoshi [Western medicine spreading eastward and the adjustment of eastern and western cultures], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Classics Publishing House], 2006, 149.

[79] Shang-Jen Li, “Eating well in China: British Medical Men on Diet and Personal Hygiene at Nineteenth-Century Chinese Treaty Ports,” in Ki Che Leung and Charlotte Furth (eds.), *Health and Hygiene in Modern Chinese East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming).

[80] James Henderson, M. D., *Shanghai Hygiene*, (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission press, 1863), 7-22.

[81] William H. Adolph, “Vegetarian China,” *Scientific American* 159, no. 3(1938): 133-135.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 134

[83] William H. Adolph, “What shall we eat?,” *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 56, No. 7(1925), 433.

[84] *Ibid.*, 434.

[85] M. H. Medhurst, *The Foreign in Far Cathay* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1873), 244.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 244.



to China along with their evangelical footprints. The *Foreign Cookery in Chinese*, published by the Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, was a very useful cooking book in Chinese, prepared by Mrs. Crawford<sup>[87]</sup>. The Preface told readers that it was designed to help both foreign house-keepers and native cooks. ‘The works opens with instructions to cooks in regard to cleanliness, and dispatch. Then follow two hundred and seventy-one recipes, the most of which are selected from standard authors on the culinary. It also has an English and also a Chinese Index.’<sup>[88]</sup> In the Index the recipes were numbered both in English and Chinese figures, so that a person unable to speak Chinese has only to point out the number of any article desired, and the cook would find directions for its preparation. The book especially emphasized the principle of hygiene, pointing out that if the tableware was not washed or wiped, it was easy for the family to get sick. Three kinds of towels used to wipe hands, tableware and dust must be ‘distinguished separately’. For westerners, the food environment was important as the cookery, and even in China, it deserved to be emphasized to make Chinese servants gradually familiar with and bore in mind the ‘cleaning principles’ of kitchen. So, the kitchen hygiene was the most important content in this book.

## 6. Conclusion

Both Chinese culture and western culture have their own logics of development in the long history. When the Western medicine theories were translated from Western world to China, it showed the conflict of two ways of thinking between two heterogeneous civilizations. With the interweaving of resistance and acceptance, reflection and introspection, adaption and innovation, and moreover medical preachers were at the front of cultural communication between China and the West. Due to the European imperialism and white ethnocentrism in the nineteenth century, most of the medical missionaries who came to China adopted an attitude of disregard and contempt for Chinese sanitary theories. In other words, medical practice of those missionaries played a role of strengthening racial boundaries and confirming European supremacy.<sup>[89]</sup> Only missionaries who jumped out of racism and colonialism can realize the value of oriental culture and were willing to accept and learn it with an open mind.

Different systems are actually complementary to each other, because a single system cannot adequately meet the health care needs of the whole population.<sup>[90]</sup> The Chinese could have resisted European ideals/beliefs/practices. Likewise, the Europeans could have refused to adopt either of China’s approaches. But, as I have pointed out, in many cases, their beliefs and practices were combined. The trend changed the lives of Shanghai residents and Europeans. First of all, UK had experienced the industrial revolution. Overcrowding,

[87] Martha Foster Crawford, the wife of Baptist missionary Tarleton Perry Crawford, 1821-1902.

[88] 黄薇 Huang wei, 《劝说与规训: 基督教与近代上海社会风尚》Quanshuo yu guixun jidujiao yu jindai shanghai shehui fengshang [Persuasion and Discipline: Christian Church and the Changes of Social Life in Modern Shanghai] (上海 Shanghai; 上海大学博士论文 Shanghai daxue boshi lunwen [Ph. D. dissertation in Shanghai University], 2019), 107.

[89] Shang-jen Li, “Moral Economy and Health: John Dudgeon on Hygiene in China,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 76, no. 3 (2005): 499.

[90] Yuet-Wah Cheung, “Missionary Doctors VS Chinese Patients: Credibility of Missionary Health Care in Early Twentieth Century China,” *Social Science & Medicine* 21, no. 3 (1985): 312.

environmental pollution, and poverty of the working class were all negative effects of the booming Capitalism. In contrast, China was still in the feudal agricultural economy, and the problems of urbanization was less serious than that in Britain. This illusion created a wonderful dream for missionaries coming to China. Because of this, they can find each other's beauty from the perspective of bystanders. Second, in terms of living environment, the tap water system entered the daily life of Shanghai people for the first time, which improved people's sanitary environment and reduced the probability of infection with epidemics. Third, in terms of diet, Chinese cooking and eating habits had widely influenced the daily life of Europeans, vice versa, Chinese people's staple food of whole grains was inspired by the vegetarianism in modern western society.

The 'new experience of modern civilization' brought by Europeans living in Shanghai was only the beginning of China's transition from traditional society to modern society. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, people generally recognized the responsibility of society and the state for health, but because of the lack and weakness of national and local health administration, they often emphasized the importance of personal hygiene. In Chinese understanding of the causes of diseases, there was a lack of public health. All kinds of health care measures never rose to the public affairs. We cannot find 'hygiene' when reading the Chinese histories with the western terms and logics, because they were scattered in every corner and played an invisible role in safeguarding health from different dimensions.<sup>[91]</sup> It wasn't until the modern Western medical missionaries came to the East that anyone thought to combine them.

The important signs of medical modernization are the professionalization of doctors and the systematization of healthcare.<sup>[92]</sup> Medical missionaries were a special group who had unique advantages in contacting and understanding Chinese society. Because of medical practices, medical missionaries had extensive contacts with all sectors of Chinese society. They made many investigations on epidemics all over the country. Everywhere the missionary doctors went, they never stopped the observing, researching and investigating medical records.<sup>[93]</sup> As a famous Chinese medicine historian said, 'The advances in medicine over the past century were largely due to the widely scattered efforts of foreign missionaries and their Chinese assistants using Western methods to treat patients, and in attempting to inculcate a spirit of tolerance towards modern ideas.'<sup>[94]</sup> Since the twentieth century, China has gradually become a modern health country.

[91] 于庚哲 Yu gengzhe,《中国中古时期城市卫生状况考论》Zhongguo zhonggu chengshi weisheng zhuangkuang kaolun [A Study on Urban Hygiene in Middle Ages of China]《武汉大学学报》人文科学版 Wuhan daxue xuebao [Wuhan University Journal], no. 3 (May, 2015): 74-75.

[92] 高晞 Gaoxi,《德贞传:一个英国传教士与晚清医学近代化》Dezhenzhuan: yige yingguo chuanjiaoshi yu wanqing yixue jindaihua [J. Dudgeon's Early Chinese Medical Modernization] (上海 Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University Press], 2009), 455.

[93] 何小莲 He Xiaolian,《西医东渐与文化调试》Xiyidongjian yu wenhua tiaoshi [Western medicine spreading eastward and the adjustment of eastern and western cultures], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Classics Publishing House], 2006, 169.

[94] 王吉民、伍连德 K. Chimin Wong, Wu Lien-TEH,《中国医史》History of Chinese Medicine (上海 Shanghai: 上海辞书出版社 Shanghai cishu chubanshe [Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House], 1936), 'Introduction', xxiv-xxviii.

**中文题目:**

**健康、卫生与食物: 医疗传教士与上海日常生活(1870—1938)**

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**摘要:** 整个 19 到 20 世纪的西方全球传教运动中, 中国是其医学传教最主要的地区。作为最大跨国群体之一的医疗传教士留下了大量关于异乡生活的观察和记录。本文从跨文化视角出发, 集中考察居住空间、环境卫生、饮水和食物对来华英国医疗传教士的健康关注如何促进了其在华传播与流动, 以及医疗传教士如何在日常生活中对中国人健康观念进行不断认知、解读和完善的。中西医学知识的跨文化交流一方面丰富了西方公共卫生理论, 另一方面促进了中国现代公共卫生体系的建立。

**关键词:** 医疗传教士; 跨文化交流; 上海卫生; 饮食健康; 日常生活

比较宗教文化研究

**Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies**



# 民国墨学复兴思潮中的“耶墨对话”

——以张亦镜、王治心、吴雷川为例

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**摘要:**“耶墨对话”是民国墨学复兴思潮中的一股潜流。近代以来,知识界多以基督教为墨家之“理型模板”,论及基督教在中国传统文化中之最佳参照物,亦多以墨家为例证,这些在墨学研究领域已有人论及。然则过往人们尚少措意教会界如何看待墨家以及中国基督徒之“耶墨对话”,是为缺憾。本文试以张亦镜、王治心、吴雷川论墨学、“墨教”之诸般观点为例以为探讨,期以对这部分相关“耶墨对话”的成果给予明确的文献定义和学派归属划分。

**关键词:**墨学复兴;耶墨对话;墨学发展史

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近人论墨,凡涉墨家宗教部分,屡见以“耶教”(基督教)为比较对象,盖以二者教义相似、建制相仿,且创始人耶稣与墨翟之人格相类之缘故。同时文化境遇之相似,亦拉近了两者之间的距离——汉代以后,儒家一教独尊,墨家退出历史舞台。此后在以儒家为主流代表的中国传统文化中,墨家就长期居于小众地位。至于基督教,自其由域外传入以来,因在诸多地方与中国文化、中国社会格格不入,则未能完成像佛教那样的本土化进程。故二者之历史命运,可谓“殊途同归”。自孟子时代开始,墨家已被儒者称为“邪说”而被力辟之;清末及至民国,国人又多以基督教为“非我族类,其心必异”的“洋教”,由是教案频发。是故耶墨二教这两大“异端”在近代中国的相遇,形成了中国思想史上一大奇观,此“耶墨对话”之肇由也。近代以来,知识界多以基督教为墨家之“理型模板”,论及基督教在中国传统文化中之最佳参照物,亦多以墨家为例证,这些在墨学研究领域已有人论及。然则过往人们尚少措意教会界如何看待墨家以及中国基督徒之“耶墨对话”,是为缺憾。有鉴于此,笔者尝试在本文中加以申说。

## 1. 墨耶相遇:“夺朱之紫”,抑或“他山之石”?

晚清以至民国,中国社会上层建筑几经转易,面临“三千年未有之大变局”。中国知识分子的核心问题意识在于寻索中国传统文化中可资救亡图存、富国强民的文化思想资源。洋务运动提出“师夷长技以制夷”,在“中学为体,西学为用”的指导方针下,推动器物层面的革新。维新变法则主制度层面的改革,维新思想家论证先王或孔孟的圣意改制与君主立宪的历史发展潮流合辙,以古学包装新说,走“托古改制”、“以复古为解放”的渐进主义改良路线。辛亥革命及至五四新文化运动,中国固有政治体制之鼎革虽已成事实,然半殖民地半封建社会的社会性质并未被彻底改变,于是又有“全盘西化”、“打

倒孔家店”的文化革命呼声,集中体现为“是今非古”、“扬西抑中”,具有“全盘性反传统”的文化激进主义思想特征。

今人梳理这一阶段的知识分子思想演进史,一般概括为由主张器物技术革新,进展至强调政治制度更化,再至文化心理革命的思想纵贯线索。不过此种概括又有化约之嫌,因为知识分子提出的在“器物”、“制度”、“文化”三方面的改革主张并非截然互斥,洋务运动、维新变法、辛亥革命及五四新文化运动,其所关注的核心议题固然有所侧重,但亦绝非只及一点不及其余。最显明的例证,就是清末民国前后几代学人均注意到的“西教”问题。

“西教”即“耶教”。自聂斯托利派于唐贞观年间入华以来,基督教在中国的福传历程,迭经唐代大秦景教、元代也里可温教、明末清初天主教、1840 年以后来华的基督教,共四个阶段,尔来将近一千多年历史。基督教因其教义和建制上的排他性以及相对与中国传统文化的异质性,使得其在中国的本土化进程不像同为域外宗教的佛教那样顺利。尤其近代以来,基督教是随着通商口岸的打开而进入,教会在内地的建立受到相应传教条款的保护,具有强制性,一定程度上给予“基督教是帝国主义侵略中国的先锋”的印象,由是激起包括知识分子在内的国人的抗拒心理。外来文明的猝然输入,一方面对中国文化中心主义产生了极大冲击,引起民族主义的逆反情绪;另一方面亦促使中国知识分子思考,“西教”既然作为西方世界组织秩序和文化心理的核心并造就其强大,那么“西教”中有何种积极因素可资借鉴来振济中国社会与中国文化。

在此思想脉络下,墨学成为近代中国知识界介入“西教”问题探讨的一个重要中介。学人“以墨论耶”,其中一个思路,就是“耶教墨源说”。清末及至民国,墨学地位上升,西学地位强势,儒学权威不再,这个现实使得学人开始注意到在中国传统文化中居于非主流地位的墨学和在中国社会中居于异端位置的基督教,此二家在教义、建制、理念上的相似处。通过比较他们发现,在儒家之外,尚有墨家作为参照物,可代表中国文化来同基督教进行沟通过话。彼时学人的文化心态是“古已有之”,解释路径为“以中化西”。谭嗣同尝云:

世之言夷狄者,谓其教出于墨,故兼利而非斗,好学而博不异。其生也勤,其死也薄。节用,故析秋毫之利。尚鬼,故崇地獄之说。夏夏日造于新,而毁古之礼乐。景教之十字架,矩也,墨道也,运之则规也……故其教出于墨。<sup>[1]</sup>

谭嗣同外,尚有诸如黎庶昌、张自牧、薛福成等,皆谓耶教源出墨教,神学本于墨学。<sup>[2]</sup>然则这并不意味着彼时学人全然肯定耶墨二教均具有正面价值,比如宋育仁认为耶墨二教相仿,然正因为耶教取法墨教,故背离周孔,流弊同归;<sup>[3]</sup>郭嵩焘认为耶教“爱人如己”的教训就是墨家“兼爱”之宗旨,但同时又指出耶墨二教远不如孔孟儒学广大精微,属下愚之教,不足惑上智。<sup>[4]</sup>此皆以耶墨各擅其长,

[1] 蔡尚思 Cai Shangsi, 方行 Fang Xing 主编,《谭嗣同全集》Tansitong Quanji [Tan Sitong Complete Works], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua Shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1981), 233.

[2] 黎庶昌云:“墨道,夏道也。今泰西各国耶稣天主教盛行尊天、明鬼、兼爱、尚同,其术本诸墨子”;张自牧云:“耶稣其教以煦煦为仁,颇得墨氏之道。耶稣二大诫,一曰全灵魂爱尔祖,即明鬼之旨也;二曰爱邻如己,即兼爱之旨也”;薛福成云:“余常谓泰西耶稣之教,其原盖出于墨子,虽体用不无异同,而大旨实最近”。转引自郑杰文 Zheng Jiewen 主编,《墨学对中国社会发展的影响》Moxue Dui Zhongguoshehui De Fazhan [Mohism's Influence on China's Social Development] (济南 Jinan: 山东人民出版社 Shandong Renmin Chubanshe [Shandong People's Publishing House], 2011), 页 235-242.

[3] 朱维铮 Zhu Weizheng 主编,《郭嵩焘等使西记六种》Guosongtao Shixiji Liuzhong [Guo Songtao and Other Envoys Recorded Six Kinds of Western Stories] (北京 Beijing: 生活·读书·新知三联书店 Shenghuo Dushu Sanlian Shudian [Life Xinzhi Sanlian Bookstore], 1998), 397.

[4] 杨坚 Yang Jian 编,《郭嵩焘诗文集》Guosongtao Shiwenj [Collection of Guo Songtao's Poems] (长沙 Chang Sha: 岳麓书舍 Yuelu Shushe [Yuelu Press], 1984), 202.

然儒家与这两家相比更为优越。由之可见，“耶教墨源说”在很大程度上仍难脱离以儒家为衡量准绳的言说传统，墨学在这种中西文化比较中的身位止于充当儒家的替代物，其所谓“比较”自然也容易流于牵强附会。一如近代中国思想史上的“西学中说”，“耶教墨源说”背后潜隐着同样的民族主义情绪，即谓西学源出中学，西教源出中教，西方文化不如中国文化。

此后，“耶教墨源说”的影响渐由知识界扩展至教会界，中国基督徒开始投注精力研治墨学，产生了一批“耶墨对话”的思想成果。不过这并不意味着，中国基督徒完全接受基督教乃源出于墨家、甚至墨家足以和基督教等量齐观的设定。由于历史上儒家正统天然排斥墨家，视之为异端邪说，加之明清以来西洋传教士如利玛窦(Matteo Ricci)、马里逊(Robert Morrison)、艾约瑟(Joseph Edkins)、李提摩太(Timothy Richard)等人的文化福传事工以“耶儒对话”为主流，使得中国基督徒在从事“耶墨对话”的时候，多多少少还是拘守孟荀“辟杨墨”的遗传，不敢对墨家墨学有所亲近。<sup>[5]</sup> 例如清末基督徒黄治基在其著作《耶墨衡论》中录有一事：“余忆童时，从师受举业。师敬某教士为人，撰句为赠，援墨之兼爱为比。某教士怒，欲兴舌战而报复焉。余亦私怪吾师既敬其人，何乃相侮若此”。<sup>[6]</sup> 其友方鲍参在该书序言中亦言到：“我国士大夫，闭目不视，掩耳不听。始以孔教为胜，继以墨子为东方之耶稣。岂不谬哉！”<sup>[7]</sup> 黄治基所记和方鲍参所言，体现了教会人士在面对墨学时的复杂心态——西洋传教士并不悦被人以墨家信徒来相比拟，中国基督徒亦认为此举有拔高墨家贬低基督教之嫌。

秉持这种立场的基督徒往往具有原教旨主义的倾向，他们所做的“耶墨对话”工作多有辩道卫教的色彩，即以基督教的标准来评判墨学，并对“耶教墨源说”所产生的“耶墨同源”甚至“是墨非耶”的观点做出来自教义神学方面的反击和回护。例如有中国教会护教先锋之称的张亦镜在其著作《耶墨辨》中开宗明义指出“耶墨之辨，与耶儒之辨同，皆在神人分别也”、<sup>[8]</sup>“墨子亦一生徒也”，<sup>[9]</sup>耶稣与墨翟是神人天渊之别，师生高下之分，完全不可等量齐观、同日而语；又谓墨翟及其学说，“一篇中有一二笔极有其师之精到也，余则瑕瑜不掩，而未能竟体一致”；<sup>[10]</sup>且坚持基督教本位主义立场，“以较其师所择，自首自尾，无懈可击者，相去为壤。则吾辈择师而从，将师其徒乎？抑师其师乎？此不待智者而决矣”，墨学之优胜已为基督教充量包含，基督徒追求真理无须假墨学为援手，不为耶墨间似是而非的相类处所动摇。<sup>[11]</sup>

由之可见，基督教与墨家的“相遇”过程，并非一帆风顺。西洋传教士和中国基督徒欲通过文明对话的方式使基督教适应中国文化和中国社会，其首选可资进行对话的对象，习惯性倾向儒学。限于对墨学的了解以及墨家为“异端”的既定印象，使得他们对“耶墨对话”之态度，常常有所保留。这种成见

[5] 明末以来，基督教自西徂东传入中国，产生了一批以儒家背景信仰基督教的中国基督徒，如徐光启、李之藻、杨廷筠等。这些基督徒奉教以先，都是儒者出身，多遵循“补儒易佛”的“利玛窦方法”，甚至于将耶儒并举。在这些“儒家基督徒”眼中，渗入佛道的宋明理学为儒学歧途，信仰天教(基督教)即廓清儒家圣贤之道。在这此言说传统影响下，不少传教士和中国基督徒，也都把墨学目为等同于佛道、宋明理学的异端。他们大多认可孟荀辟杨墨。在“耶教墨源说”兴起之前，中国基督徒在从事基督教与中国文化对话，不乏对墨学持贬斥态度之学者。例如清中叶基督徒张星翟就将自己皈依天主教的认信经历比拟为朱子辟佛老和孟子辟杨墨。在其著作《天教明辨》中，他言到：“世之儒者，皆儒名而墨行者也，以其皆从佛也。予归天教，是弃墨而从儒也。孔子尊天，予亦尊天；孔孟辟异端，予亦辟佛老。奈世之人不知天教之即儒耶，又不知天教之有补于儒也”。转引自吴莉苇 Wu Liwei,《中国礼仪之争——文明的张力与权力的较量》Zhongguo Liyi Zhizheng——Wenming De Zhangli Yu Quanli De Jiaoliang [The Dispute of Chinese Etiquette——The Tension of Civilization and The Contest of Power](上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 [Shanghai Classics Publishing House], 2007), 82.

[6] 黄治基 Huang Zhiji,《耶墨衡论》Yemo Henglun [Comparison Between Mohism And Christianity](上海 Shanghai: 中华书局 [Meihua Press], 1912), 2.

[7] 同上书 Ibid, 第 2 页.

[8] 张亦镜 Zhang Yijing,《耶墨辨》Yemo Bian [Discrimination between Mohism and Christianity],《真光丛刊》Zhenguang Congkan [Zhenguang Series](上海 Shanghai: 中华浸会书局 Meihua Jinhui Shuju [China Baptist Press], 1928), 35.

[9] 同上书 Ibid, 第 42 页.

[10] 同上书 Ibid, 第 42 页.

[11] 同上书 Ibid, 第 42 页.



及至当代在中国教会界仍有所反映。例如当代著名神学家何世明先生即坚持认为,基督教信仰与墨子之学绝无任何兼容之处:<sup>[12]</sup>

至于墨家之徒,既倡兼爱之说,又道明鬼之论,其说最易与基督教之信仰混淆不清。而就事实言之,则墨子之说,亦未可谓其于基督教绝无近似之点。然而墨家者流,动辄言利,而且必言大利,甚至为此大利之原因,不惜尽闭天下之心声,而倡言非乐,此与基督之不忽乎小子中之一而而以天国之生长,喻之谓芥菜之种籽的那一种知其不可而为之博爱仁厚之情怀,其相去之远,实诚不知其几千万里。至其所明之鬼,其目的只在于赏贤而罚暴,而绝无与其所言之兼相爱,且所言之鬼,又为山川鬼神之鬼,是以墨子虽亦言天志,言上帝,但其在上帝之外,又另有多神之观念,盖甚显明。是以我们若真欲随墨子之后以寻求上帝,则我们所寻得之上帝,必如墨子之流,既刻薄而寡恩,又精打而细算,开口言小利,闭口言大利之上帝。而由此更进一步,则更有陷于多神论之危机性。

可见,以黄治基、方鲍参、张亦镜、何世明为代表的神学立场偏向保守的中国基督徒群体,其思想处境无疑具有护教卫道的面向。近代兴起的“耶教墨源说”固然引起教会界人士的关注,然而在这些基督徒看来,“耶教墨源说”及其衍伸的“耶墨对话”的认知图景,在很大程度上可能破坏基督教教义的完备性和真理性,使得中国基督徒在神学认知上出现严重偏差。无论是推崇“耶教墨源说”的教外人士还是反对将耶墨等同的中国基督徒,他们在处理基督教与墨学之关系时都遵循着相同的思维逻辑,即秉持一种“以我为主”的文明对话模式。于前者而言,是要使基督教墨学化,以回应西学的冲击。以墨证耶的本质是扬墨抑耶、扬中抑西;于后者而言,是要使墨学基督教化,其目的乃出于回应“耶教墨源说”及“耶墨对话”中的谬种流传,以证明基督教为普世唯一真理,从而为福音叩开中国磐石预备道路。

当然,并非所有基督徒都存门户之见。对墨学持有相对包容态度的基督徒,就有王治心、吴雷川等。王治心著有《墨子哲学》,该书将墨学分为关涉宗教道德的“爱”(墨学十论)与关涉哲学知识论的“智”(《墨经》)两个部分进行探讨。对于墨学之“智”,王治心给予了高度赞赏,以之为墨学中最有价值的内容。<sup>[13]</sup>对于墨学之“爱”,王治心亦不乏褒扬之词,他认为“墨子的学说很近于宗教”,<sup>[14]</sup>整个“墨学十论”全都出于墨家“宗教上爱的精神”,<sup>[15]</sup>且耶墨二家“爱观”相近,“有普爱人类而无差别的,一如耶稣之博爱,墨子之兼爱,一切平等而无分别”;<sup>[16]</sup>吴雷川著有《墨翟与耶稣》,他在书中指出“墨耶二圣心理相同”,<sup>[17]</sup>墨翟人格与耶稣人格最近,墨翟学说和耶稣教训合辙,耶墨二家之联系在宗教和社会主义。<sup>[18]</sup>他又认为“墨耶一派能应付现今中国的需要”,<sup>[19]</sup>二家在社会改造的主张上并行不悖。国人能效法耶墨二人的宗教人格来从事心理建设,追随耶稣墨翟的社会主义理想来变革社会制度,以拯

[12] 何世明 He Shiming,《从基督教看中国孝道》Cong Jidujiao Kan Zhongguo Xiaodao [Viewing Chinese Filial Piety from Christianity](北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press], 1999), 107.

[13] 王治心 Wang Zhixin,《墨子哲学》Mozi Zhexue [Mozi philosophy](南京 Nanjing: 宜春阁印刷局 Yichunge Yinshuaju [Yichun Pavilion Press], 1925), 3.

[14] 同上书 Ibid, 第 18 页.

[15] 同上书 Ibid, 第 18 页.

[16] 同上书 Ibid, 第 18 页.

[17] 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《墨翟与耶稣》Modi Yu Yesu [Mo Di and Jesus](上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnian Xiehui Shuju [Youth Association Press], 1940), 166.

[18] 同上书 Ibid, 第 151 页.

[19] 同上书 Ibid, 第 175 页. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

时弊。相较于前述持卫道主义的基督徒，张纯一、王治心、吴雷川的“耶墨对话”无疑具有相对开放的跨界视角，他们对墨学抱有一定的同情与理解，没有将墨学简单目为是基督教进入中国文化的阻碍者或耶稣福音落地中国社会的前驱预备，甚至在某种程度上肯定了墨学有利于基督教的自我更化，从而避免以基督教为唯一“判教”标准衡量墨学价值的狭隘立场。

普世诸宗教文明处理自身与他者之间关系的范式，大体而言无非包容或者排他。宗教认信个体及宗教认信群体既根据自身传统来评判他者传统，又藉由介入他者传统来调整对自身传统的认知。中国基督徒在面对墨家的历史传统、在处理墨学经书文献的时候，就体现了这种既要进入又须出离的复杂心态。在某些时候，外部社会环境的影响，或个人思想的转变，都有可能造成对自身传统及他者传统的认知迁移。如黄治基、张亦镜、何世明等深度委身自身信仰的基督徒，则其“耶墨对话”的范式就偏向保守而排他；如王治心、吴雷川等对墨学持开放心态的基督徒，则其“耶墨对话”的范式就在一定程度上兼顾多元共在。相较于前者，后者希望在保守基督教要义的基本前提下尽最大善意去理解墨子学说，则更体现具有认信背景的宗教信徒在从事客观学术研究时的“混杂心态”。

何言“混杂”呢？中国基督徒的“耶墨对话”，的确对基督教和墨家做了“别分同异”的工作。有的侧重在“异处”（如保守立场的基督徒），有的侧重在“同处”（如开明立场的基督徒）。<sup>〔20〕</sup>若以今天人文社科领域的“比较研究”范式进行考量，则大可将之归为“比较哲学”中的“跨文化比较”范畴；同时，中国基督徒的“耶墨对话”，又不仅仅是旁观性、还原性的“平行比较”。他们对中国墨学的诠释和阐发，往往带着来自自身信仰的“前见”，故“开明派”基督徒的“耶墨对话”，除了《圣经》和《墨子》的文本比较工作外，还在神学和墨学之间做了互相印证、互相发明、互相光照（Reciprocal Illumination）的工作。墨子墨家墨学在他们的“耶墨对话”中还充当了宣教布道之工具和福音落地中国之预备的角色，这种对话模式一定程度上又接近“宗教对话”中的“宗教间的诠释学”。

在中国基督徒从事“耶墨对话”的过程中，完全可能出现这样一种情况，即在某些地方，墨学被他们看作是基督教的阻碍，两者绝对异质、不可通约，所谓“恶紫之夺朱，恶郑声乱雅”；又在某些地方，墨学可被他们引为基督教的盟友，可作奥援，并互相对话，所谓“他山之石，可以攻玉”。“混杂”来源于“对话”，“对话”又加剧了这种“混杂”，客观研究和宗教情感绞缠在一起，神学与墨学彼此交汇。故当我们考察这种不免带有相当主观性的墨学研究时，犹须措意何者为他们对墨学的学术观点，何者为他们借墨论耶的神学言说。毕竟中国基督徒对耶墨二家教义孰为殊胜、耶墨人格何者更高所做出的任何断言，多少都与他们自身的宗教信仰背景和宗教信徒身份有关联。无论其观点多么开放，或多么保守，究其然不会脱离“宣教”“护教”的意识形态考量。

学界对“耶墨对话”的讨论历来缺乏。究其原因，大体有二。其一是在汉语神学和中国教会史领域，学者主要注目于“基督教与中国文化相适应”、“基督教如何与中国社会相适应”等相关议题，“耶墨对话”往往被“儒耶对话”、“佛对话较”、“道耶对话”等更为主流的议题所遮蔽；其二是在墨学研究领域，学者一般不将“耶墨对话”的著作视为“墨学作品”，而是目为“神学作品”。故基督徒论墨之成果，多被置于近代中国墨学发展史的潜流地位，未能给予恰当关注。笔者则认为，中国基督徒以基督教来理解墨学并评判墨学的论墨成果，也应被视为“墨学作品”，或者一种“基督徒墨学”，其所呈现出来的

〔20〕 笔者在此指出，这样的比较，当然原则上应该是同异并重。因为就比较研究的出发点而言，一般会有两种情况：一是被比较的双方的相同点已被普遍认识，其差异性有待揭示；二是被比较的双方之区别已被普遍认识，相同点正待揭示——即所谓“同中求异，异中求同”。对“耶墨同源”“耶墨等同”进行驳斥，就侧重在揭示“异处”，如张亦镜。但又由于《圣经》和《墨子》确为本来不存在太多关联的“异者”或“互为他者”，且相比明末以来已有百年历史的、由西洋传教士和中国儒生共同开发出来的“儒耶对话”之路径和经验，“耶墨对话”几乎是一个完全陌生的新课题。这又造成了中国基督徒在比较基督教与墨家、《圣经》与《墨子》、耶稣与墨翟时，也须注意两者相通的地方。这一方面固然是为了客观了解何为墨学的学术需要，一方面也可借由揭示“耶墨相通”之处来配合基督教在华的文化福传策略，此方面的代表有吴雷川。

墨子墨家墨学之面貌形象, 自当与梁启超、胡适、郭沫若、方授楚等教会外学者的论墨成果中所呈现出的墨子墨家墨学之面貌形象有所不同。

民国以来, 凡涉墨家宗教之维的探讨, 学者历多以基督教为墨家在宗教上的“理想形态”(Ideal Model), 或以墨家为基督教在中国文化中的最佳参照物和比较对象。故考察中国基督徒对墨子墨家墨学之省思和问题意识, 有利于拓展中国墨学发展史的研究范畴, 并丰富墨学在文明比较和现代性诠释等领域上的思想资源。下文中, 笔者将以“耶墨对话”中最具代表性的三位基督徒——张亦镜、王治心、吴雷川为例展开研讨, 期以厘清“耶墨对话”中所涉“耶墨关系”“耶墨异同”的不同致思路径, 并藉此归纳从事“耶墨对话”之基督徒所认为的耶墨二家的“重叠共识”部分和本质相异部分。

## 2. 选择性审判——以张亦镜《耶墨辨》为例

张亦镜(1871—1931)是近代中国教会史上最有文字建树的“护教士”, 他发表过大量“辩道卫教”的文章, 曾在社会上产生很大影响。张亦镜以《真光》(后为《真光杂志》)、《大公时报》等基督教刊物为阵地, 其文字工作主要集中于为基督教之教义、组织作辩护, 澄清世人对基督教的误解, 反击反教人士对基督教的指控。张亦镜撰有《耶墨辨》, 专门辨析墨家与基督教的不同。该文见刊于1911年《真光》第112册, 后收录进上海浸会书局发行的单行本《真光丛刊》。《耶墨辨》开宗明义即言:

耶墨之辨, 与耶儒之辨同, 皆在神人上分别也。中国士子, 贵儒而贱墨。其对于耶教, 自不免抑使异所贵而同所贱。然而耶教自有真, 固不在人之所贵而始贵, 亦不因人之所贱而遂贱。兹微论其与墨实大有不同; 就令果有同点, 亦何害其为耶。负曝是温, 围炉亦是温, 其为温虽同, 究之日自日, 炉自炉, 不能以炉日同能温, 而遂曰炉即日, 日即炉也。<sup>[21]</sup>

张亦镜认为, 孟子以道统自任厚诬墨子实出于嫉妒, 后儒又循孟子遗传, 实不可取。<sup>[22]</sup> 张亦镜的观察确有其理。由于“贵儒贱墨”的历史惯性, 中国人视耶如墨, 以为大有通约之处, 实际上是将二者一同贬抑。后世儒家士君子在面对外来异质文明冲击的时候, 例如在“三武一宗”或明清教禁中, 都不免将佛教、基督教目为类同墨家的邪说加以排斥, 以维护儒家意识形态的正统地位。因悖逆儒家言说传统而一同沦为在中国主流文化中的弱势群体, 基督教在近代中国的遭遇和墨家在先秦时代的遭遇形成一种奇妙的呼应。

当然, 张亦镜同情墨学不代表就认可“墨耶等同”。其实在上段引文中, 他已经指示到, 由于“贵儒贱墨”的历史惯性, 中国人视耶如墨并以为大有通约之处, 实际上是借贬墨来抑耶——“抑使异所贵而同所贱”。在1910年写作的《耶儒辨》中, 张亦镜已提出“耶儒之别犹日与月”、“月光之受之于日也”的观点, 用“日与月”之关系来比喻耶儒之间关系;<sup>[23]</sup> 在《耶墨辨》中, 他又言“耶墨之辨, 与耶儒之辨同, 皆在神人上分别也”。<sup>[24]</sup> 神人之区别已为基督教与中国文化划分出天壤——耶自耶, 墨自墨, 儒自儒, 即便各自有优胜、美善, 终究层级不同, 此即张亦镜“炉日之喻”的用意。张亦镜批评时人因墨耶爱观相类而以为“崇墨无异于信耶”, 实犯了以生徒为老师的错误。其言:

[21] 张亦镜 Zhang Yijing, 《耶墨辨》Yemo Bian [Discrimination between Mohism and Christianity], 《真光丛刊》Zhenguang Congkan [Zhenguang Series] (上海 Shanghai: 中华浸会书局 Meihua Jinhui Shuju [China Baptist Press], 1928), 35.

[22] 同上书, 第40页。

[23] 张亦镜 Zhang Yijing, 《耶墨辨》Yemo Bian [Discrimination between Mohism and Christianity], 《真光丛刊》Zhenguang Congkan [Zhenguang Series] (上海 Shanghai: 中华浸会书局 Meihua Jinhui Shuju [China Baptist Press], 1928), 26.

[24] 张亦镜 Zhang Yijing, 《耶墨辨》Yemo Bian [Discrimination between Mohism and Christianity], 《真光丛刊》Zhenguang Congkan [Zhenguang Series] (上海 Shanghai: 中华浸会书局 Meihua Jinhui Shuju [China Baptist Press], 1928), 35.

或曰：墨子之兼爱，既不可毁如是，而又已与耶教爱人如己之训若合符节，则崇墨即无异于信耶，何子于开端一段，乃谓其实大不同？曰：所谓神人之别也。神犹师，万国圣贤犹生徒，墨子亦一生徒之一耳。墨子兼爱之能类耶教爱人如己，譬生徒为文，一篇中有一二笔极肖其师之精到也，余则瑕瑜不相掩，而未能竟体一致。以较其师所择，自首至尾，无懈可击者，相去云壤。则吾辈择师而从，将师其徒乎？抑师其师乎？此不待智者而决矣。<sup>〔25〕</sup>

张亦镜用“神与人”、“日与月”、“师与生”的比喻来定义基督教与中国文化之间的关系，自有深意。在他的信仰认知图景中，基督教真理如同太阳本自具足，光照普世诸宗教文化。包括孔、墨在内一切伟大文明至多不过是人的智慧，如果没有上帝的特殊启示断不可能主动转向耶稣基督。或有一二道理主张彼此偶合，也应归属于上帝普遍恩典的范畴，本身不能发光发亮，需要基督教真理的介入和救拔。在他看来，孔墨虽为圣贤，仍须奉耶稣为老师。儒耶、墨耶之间层级不同，不在程度上区别，而在本质上相异。故若谓墨有其善，得耶之一体则可；谓墨子无异于耶稣，耶稣是中国之墨子，则绝不可行。

张亦镜以墨耶绝不可等同，最显见的例证，当属其依《圣经》之理批评墨子“天鬼观”。他认为相较耶教，墨子“言天则多蒙”。<sup>〔26〕</sup>何以“多蒙”？张亦镜首先批评到，墨子祭祀先人乃为“合欢聚众”，“明鬼”态度不算诚敬，有功利主义色彩，故“见解卑下乃至此，乌得与耶教同日而语”；<sup>〔27〕</sup>其次，墨子不明鬼、魂之区别。耶教以人死有“魂”，墨子则以人死为“鬼”。耶教中之所谓“鬼”，特指恶灵邪鬼污鬼，死人之魂灵断不称“鬼”；再次，根据耶教教义，“信者得救，不信者定罪，故不设祭死人礼。墨子不明此理，作明鬼以保护其祭先质典，此益与耶教背驰”；<sup>〔28〕</sup>最后，他指出，“耶教以爱神爱人为律法先知之纲领，墨子则多事鬼一条”。<sup>〔29〕</sup>墨子不但多事鬼，还常将“天鬼”连用，以之为等同，“此乃于山川鬼神上，别称天鬼，则明明是以鬼称上帝。上帝而可名以鬼，屈使与山川之鬼、人死之鬼平等，其悖谬至此甚，曾是类耶稣者，而有是言乎？”<sup>〔30〕</sup>张亦镜意墨子以山川鬼神匹配至尊上帝，僭越了造物主和造物之间的位分，不为基督教教义所能容忍。

在今天看来，“尊天事鬼”为墨学核心义理，体现了墨家神义论和酬报神学的独特看法。借用鬼神威吓伸张正义——“善必得赏，恶必得罚”，是墨子解决现世“德福不一致”之伦理困境的手段。后世之所以对墨子“天鬼观”有争议，焦点就在于墨子张扬天鬼，究竟是出于规劝君王教化人心的实用主义考量；还是墨子真的相信天鬼能赏善罚恶，并将之信奉为一种有神论的宗教信仰。若是前者，则墨子和孔子一样都是人文主义者，可以因应具体处境的不同自由选择“六合之外存而不论”或“圣人以神道设教”，那么以基督教教义来评断则无甚必要；若是后者，则必然考量墨子“天鬼观”在普世诸宗教文明的神论体系中，究竟应该归属一神论式的、多神论式的还是自然神论式的，以防止因某些观念上的似是而非而造成信仰上的含混与疑难。从张亦镜对墨子“天鬼观”的评断中可见，他是将墨子视为一个持有有神论的宗教信仰者，因此从基督徒的标准出发论断墨子僭越，就是理之必然了。然则他对墨子“天鬼观”的评断，主要是基于基督教教义，而非《墨子》原典义理，这是我们应当注意的。

不过，张亦镜也没有全盘否定墨学的价值。在《耶墨辨》中，他提出墨家至少有三处可取。其一为“尊天”，墨家主张天志是行事为人的唯一标准，君亲师皆不可以为法。此与基督教凡事必以天主典章

〔25〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 41-42 页。

〔26〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 37 页。

〔27〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 37 页。

〔28〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 38 页。

〔29〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 37 页。

〔30〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 38 页。

律令为依归十分接近。墨家之“从天所欲”，正是基督教“遵天父旨意”；<sup>〔31〕</sup>其二为“修身”，耶墨二家对贤人的要求是一致的。在个人修身上，都主张不杀、不怒、不伤害人。在家庭价值观上都主张禁欲节制、一夫一妻。在外在事功方面，都主张强力从事、积极救世，使饥者得食、寒者得衣、乱者得治；<sup>〔32〕</sup>其三为“兼爱”，张亦镜引韩愈“孔墨相为用”之论以指出，“兼爱”实与儒家恕道无异，亦与耶稣“爱人如己”之教训合辙。孟子等人谤“兼爱”为无父毫无道理，理应“为墨子一伸其二千年来不白之冤”。<sup>〔33〕</sup>苟能发扬此精义，就能消除世界纷乱，达成天下大治——“全地球至精至有用，至可保国和平永远无极之道，无能出此范围”。<sup>〔34〕</sup>

纵观《耶墨辨》所论，可以发现张亦镜论墨的一个特点，即以墨学中非直接关涉宗教的内容为可取，如“兼爱”和“修身”；而以墨学中直接关涉宗教的内容为不可取，如“明鬼”。这一思路即由前文所述“神人之别”而来。此种倾向表明，张亦镜并不认为墨家的宗教观念可为基督教所包容，且从谨严的护教立场出发，墨家的不少宗教观念甚至是需要被极力辟斥的。由此可见，张亦镜乃是站在基督教的立场上评判墨家宗教思想之得与失。他们辨别耶墨同异、厘清耶墨关系之用意乃在“辩道卫教”，不在对二家做思想上的平行比较。其论墨言说充满个人主观色彩，更接近基督宗教之护教学理路，不似学者谨严的学术研究。此种致思路径，笔者以为张亦镜在《耶墨辨》一言，实为最佳注脚：

吾辈幸生于斯时，获见其所欲见而未见，闻其所欲闻而未闻之万国唯一良师，耳目实有福于过去圣贤。过去圣贤而所是或非是，所非或非非，吾辈对于此，亦唯尽吾天职，举所得于保惠师所示之真理，以指其非彰其是，使众知由是以仰企乎基督焉，乃吾辈当务之急也。<sup>〔35〕</sup>

在此一致思路径之下，包括墨子在内的往圣先贤偶有一二可取之处，也无非是在多大程度上逼近耶稣、肖似基督教而已，其瑜已在基督教中被充分揭示，其瑕则待基督教来审判并启蒙之。墨学并不能作为基督教教义的全然替代，它的身位至多是基督教真理光照的投射物，绝不是基督教整全真理的替代物。也正因为墨学相比其他中国文化与基督教更加接近，所以辨别二者似是而非处，乃为了不让这种表面的相似而掩盖了基督教真理的独特性。依此推论下去，则不但基督教墨学化毫无必要，甚至基督教中国化也毫无必要了。通过上文分析可见，表面上张亦镜的确做到了对墨学是其所是，然而其判定墨学价值的唯一标准是这些价值是否符合基督教教义。诚如张亦镜所言的，“辨别耶墨”之“当务之急”，在使人“仰企乎基督”，寓宣教传道于辩道卫教。至于墨学之原始真义，本不是他们措意的地方。

基督教学者林荣洪先生将张亦镜的这种文化对话模式概括为“以基督教来改造文化”，也就是说任何一个文化中都能看到神的作为，然而任何一个文化都不能免于接受神的审判。<sup>〔36〕</sup> 这种类同上个世纪 70 年代的天主教梵蒂冈第二次会议精神——即谓普世诸宗教文明中均内含神普遍恩典的一丝光照然又犹待神特殊启示加以成全的文化对话价值取向，在开放性上比之完全拥抱社会福音或者异教文化的自由主义神学，后退了一步，在基要性上比之基督教原教旨主义者持世俗文化全然败坏、个人福音与社会福音无法调和的“福音文化二元观”保守立场，又进了一步。<sup>〔37〕</sup> 即便如此，我们仍然不

〔31〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 35 页。

〔32〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 36 页。

〔33〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 38 页。

〔34〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 39 页。

〔35〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 42 页。

〔36〕 林荣洪 Lin Ronghong,《风潮中奋起的中国教会》Fengchaozhogn Fenqi De Zhongguo Jidujiaohui [The Rising Tide of Chinese Churches](香港 Xianggang: 天道书楼[Tien Dao Publisher], 1980, 119.

〔37〕 同上书, 第 115-117 页。

能将张亦镜简单目为是一个在基督教与中国文化中纯然取“中道”的“双面人”角色。从其将墨翟视为耶稣门下“生徒”、将墨家视为基督真光之反射等言说中可见，张亦镜的“耶墨对话”仍是谨守辩道护教的基本立场的。纵谓张亦镜之“耶墨对话”是为“合墨”与“补墨”（即所谓以基督教改造中国文化），然根据他“耶墨对话”之特性，只要对话进一步推展下去，也必然会陷入“反墨”的境地。<sup>〔38〕</sup>由张亦镜之论墨言说看其对中国文化之态度，笔者以为林先生所概括的张亦镜之文化对话模式，尚有欠缺之处。至少对张亦镜的“耶墨对话”并不适用。

范大明先生指出，张亦镜对中国文化诸家的态度，不是全然否定，而是甄别优劣的“选择性审判”。<sup>〔39〕</sup>张亦镜虽然是以基督教作为标准来衡量中国传统文化的价值，然其论述并非始终采取一个静态的、不变的文化审判图景。<sup>〔40〕</sup>例如他对儒家“辟墨”就持批判态度，《耶墨辨》中即批评孟子以墨学为邪说并褒奖韩愈的“孔墨相为用”之论；对居于中国传统文化之异端小众地位、与基督教有某些地方相近的墨家，则给予一定宽容。笔者赞成范先生是论，然有一点须提出补充：张亦镜“选择性审判”的前提，仍然是以基督教来审判中国文化，而非主张基督教与中国文化相互融通或者基督教成全补完中国文化。在这个基础上，无论张亦镜是扬墨或者抑儒，终究不过是在基督教信仰的标准之下判定哪种宗教、学派、文化所沾染的罪性更少，更具有和基督教对话的空间。如果一个学派、宗教的创始人人格更接近耶稣基督，其核心思想更类似基督教教义，并能昭示上帝对中国的普遍恩典的启示及神的作为，那么它就更容易得到张亦镜的同情与理解。相应地，也就在他以基督教审判中国文化的位阶中，居处更值得投之关注并报以适当同情理解的位置。

### 3. 存异甚于求同——以王治心《墨子哲学》为例

王治心(1881—1968)，近代中国著名教会史学家。其幼受庭训，接受传统儒家教育，少即研习四书五经，国学功底深厚。于1900年皈依基督教。曾担任南京金陵神学院中国哲学教授、中华基督教文社主编、《金陵神学志》主编等职务。王治心治学横跨国学和神学，犹擅教会史，有《中国宗教史大纲》、《中国基督教史大纲》以名世。著有《墨子哲学》一书，该书是他在南京金陵神学院教授中国哲学科目时的讲义教材，后整理为单行本，于中华民国十四年十一月初版（即1925年）在南京宜春阁印刷局出版，为彼时为数不多的由基督徒撰写的墨学通论性质著作。

《墨子哲学》取宗教（爱）与哲学（智）分置并立的结构，于后者部分完全不涉“耶墨对话”；于前者部

〔38〕 范大明 Fan Daming,《耶墨对话——张亦镜的耶墨观》Yemoduihua: Zhang Yijing De Yemoguan [Yemo Dialogue-Zhang Yijing's Views on Christianity and Mohism],《理论月刊》Lilun Yuekan [Theoretical Monthly](长沙 Changsha: 理论月刊出版社 Lilun Yuekan Chubanshe [Theoretical Monthly Press], 2012)51.

〔39〕 范大明 Fan Daming,《审判与选择：寻索基督教与中国文化的关系》Shenpan Yu Xuanze: Xunsuo Jidujiao Yu Zhongguowenhua De Guanxi [Trial and Choice: Searching for the Relationship between Christianity and Chinese Culture],《世界宗教研究》Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu [Studies In World Religions](北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所 [Institute of World Religions, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 2014), 141.

〔40〕 同上书 Ibid, 第 141 页.

分则将墨家与基督教加以比较, 衡论二者同异与优劣。<sup>[41]</sup> 王治心最赞赏墨学的哲学价值, 认为墨子为“吾国一大哲学家”,<sup>[42]</sup>“墨学不但在中国学术界中有高尚的地位, 即列于世界哲学界, 亦不后于他人”。<sup>[43]</sup> 他在书中指出, 时人论墨, 重“爱”而轻“智”, 重宗教而轻哲学, 仅以墨学中粗糙肤浅的类宗教言说来定是非, 是谓取粗舍精, 取易舍难, 陷墨学真正价值于隐而不彰的地位, 诚乃误区。<sup>[44]</sup> 依王治心之意, 墨学的最高成就是涉及知识论的哲学, 即“智”的部分; 至于关涉宗教道德论的“爱”, 则无同等价值, “他属于爱的思想, 不难研究; 因为他的宗教思想很肤浅, 若用基督教的眼光去研究他, 不见得有非常的价值”。<sup>[45]</sup> 故其有关“耶墨对话”的内容, 主要在论述墨子宗教思想的章节。《墨子哲学》开篇即曰:

他所主张的兼爱天志明鬼非攻节用非命等, 都是出于宗教上爱的精神。因为凡宗教都是以爱为出发点, 不过所以爱的范围广狭不同罢了。有专爱灵魂而不爱躯体的, 如印度九十六种外道; 有卧辙饲虎以求速死的; 有爱自己而不爱他人的, 即所谓利己主义, 如中国之杨朱, 希腊之伊壁鸠鲁; 有分亲疏而施爱的, 如儒家之“亲亲而仁民, 仁民而爱物”的有等差的爱; 有爱及众生的, 如佛家的慈悲不杀; 有普爱人类而无差别的, 如耶稣之博爱。墨子之兼爱, 一切平等而无分别。所以墨子的学说, 很近于宗教。<sup>[46]</sup>

基督教作为普世宗教的道德精神和组织模式, 是众所周知的。墨家作为先秦中国诸子百家之一的思想学派, 其宗教性历有纷说, 犹待揭示。因此要进行“耶墨对话”, 无论求同还是存异, 都需要一个底层共识或曰探讨基础使得二者能够相联结。王治心认为是宗教上的“爱的精神”使得耶墨二家有了相互联结处——“兼爱是墨子学说的根本思想, 孟子说墨子兼爱摩顶放踵以利天下为之, 实在是包括墨子的主义; 其他一切主张, 如天志明鬼非攻节用等, 都是从它演绎出来的”。<sup>[47]</sup> 正因耶墨爱观近似, 兼爱“大旨与基督相同”,<sup>[48]</sup> 墨家才得称有“宗教思想”, 也因此具备和基督教进行比较的资格。

当代从事王治心研究的学者, 惯以“文化调和”来定义王治心的神学思想和他对中国文化的态度, 论及王治心“耶墨对话”时, 一般也倾向以“耶墨相若”(或耶墨相仿)来概括他的“耶墨观”。<sup>[49]</sup> 似乎王治心在做的是一种非护教性的文化会通工作。其实不然。如前文所述, 王治心早已言明, 哪怕以基督教的角度来研究墨学, 墨学中的宗教内容也不见得有非常的价值, 倒是与宗教毫无关系的墨学中的哲

[41] 《墨子哲学》由四个部分组成, 为: “墨子的生平及其学说”、“墨子的宗教思想”、“墨子的智识论”和“附载”。“墨子的生平及其学说”章节为一般性通论; “墨子的宗教思想”章节, 除尚贤、尚同等墨家政治哲学未有单独论列外, 基本上把墨家十论义理都分别加以论析; “墨子的知识论”章节, 则较为详细的讨论了墨辩条目及其演绎方法、墨家知识论的构成以及墨学中所具有的科学知识和科学精神; “附载”章节包括“因明学论略”和“农家学说”两部分, 涉及印度因明学与墨辩逻辑学、农家学说与社会主义、墨学、诸子学之间的文明比较。该书论述有一特色, 即“墨子宗教思想”(爱)和“墨子的知识论”(智)这两部分占据全书的大部分篇幅。之所以如是布局, 乃因王治心考察时人墨研究成果之后认为, “爱”与“智”最可代表墨学全体, 其所采的是梁启超在《墨子学案》中对墨学的分类意见。见王治心 Wang Zhixin, 《墨子哲学》Mozi Zhexue [Mozi philosophy] (南京 Nanjing: 宜春阁印刷局 Yichunge Yinshuaju [Yichun Pavilion Press], 1925 年), 3.

[42] 同上书 Ibid, 第 1 页.

[43] 同上书 Ibid, 第 1 页.

[44] 同上书 Ibid, 第 3 页.

[45] 同上书 Ibid, 第 3 页.

[46] 同上书 Ibid, 第 18 页.

[47] 同上书 Ibid, 第 19 页.

[48] 同上书 Ibid, 第 28 页.

[49] 褚丽娟 Chu Lijuan, 《文明碰撞与爱的重构——墨子兼爱与耶稣之爱的学术史研究(1858-1940)》Wenming Pengzhuang Yu Aide Chonggou [The Confrontation of Civilizations and the Reconstruction of Love: A Historical Review of the Encounter of the Principles of Love in Mohist and Christian Thought(1858-1940)] (东京 Tokyo: 白帝社 [Baidishe Press], 2017), 114.

学思想被认为是最有价值的部分。墨学中中与基督教最可资进行比较的宗教内容，在王治心看来并无太大可观之处。即谓“耶墨相若”，也仅是“爱”观上的相若，不可谓全体相若。事实上，王治心以宗教性的“爱”作为“耶墨对话”的出发点，以宗教性的“爱”来诠释墨家在政治经济文化上的主要主张，这种化约式的“前理解”造成了对墨学的肢解性诠释。例如“墨学十论”，按《墨子·鲁问》所言，是谓“择务而从事”，为具体问题具体分析处境考量和现实对策。而在王治心的理解中，则全为墨子宗教情感所激发。概言之，王治心最为激赏的墨学优秀价值，与基督教并无直接关联；王治心论及与基督教有所关联的墨学内容，则局限于宗教性“爱”观的一隅。综上所述，我们恐怕并不能得出王治心对墨学特别高看一眼，甚至在其“耶墨对话”的前理解中乃以“墨子为本”的结论。<sup>[50]</sup> 笔者认为，《墨子哲学》中“存异甚于求同”的潜隐的“护教性”，为过往从事王治心研究的学者所忽略。下文将就就此做简要论析。

王治心认为墨家的兼爱与儒家罕言利害与亲疏有别的爱观不同，是实行的爱和平等的爱，其大旨与基督相同，故给予较多肯定。<sup>[51]</sup> 他反对孟子谓“兼爱”为“无父”的论调，并指出孟子之言“纯是一种偏狭的门户之见”。<sup>[52]</sup> 王治心把墨家兼爱说解释为犹如基督教“上帝乃爱”，是推本于天的价值观——“天既爱人，人当体天之爱以爱之，爱人即所以爱天，亦即所以自爱”，<sup>[53]</sup> 二者皆能因爱而杀身成仁。<sup>[54]</sup> 然其所论，也非一味取同，《墨子哲学》中有曰：

墨者不怕死的精神，甘为教义牺牲；假若与基督易地而处，怕也不辞十字架之苦。不过基督之死，是替人赎罪，救人灵魂，是体天帝之爱，这是墨子所未知的。墨子未尝讲到人的灵魂，专从功利方面、祸福方面，讲到爱利。这是与基督教根本不同的地方。

王治心自言耶墨二家之爱观“两方面的道理，固甚相仿。但是他俩的出发点不同，所以结论也自然有别”。<sup>[55]</sup> 王治心似乎倾向认为，墨学中既乏灵魂永生之观念又专事以鬼神祸福恫吓人，这种建立于人趋利避害之心理基础上的兼爱比之基督教的博爱，在形式上流于肤浅，在格调上稍落下乘。他又举《圣经》经文以指出基督教爱观之内容约有九者：其一，上帝是爱，基督为上帝爱之大者，当体斯爱以爱神爱人；其二，牺牲之爱；其三，爱能完全律法；其四，人要彼此相爱；其五，要爱仇敌；其六，爱贫苦者；其七，爱大于信望；其八，爱及亡羊；其九，爱及万民，<sup>[56]</sup> 似暗示墨家“兼爱”之意涵，远不如基督教来得深远丰富。<sup>[57]</sup> 此虽然探讨的是耶墨爱观之不同，实则已言明二者在宗教上的本质差异。

从王治心所论列的耶墨二家爱观思想之异同，已可见其对耶墨二教孰高孰低之立场。除对耶墨

[50] 同上书，第114页。

[51] 王治心 Wang Zhixin,《墨子哲学》Mozi Zhaxue [Mozi philosophy] (南京 Nanjing: 宜春阁印刷局 Yichunge Yinshuaju [Yichun Pavilion Press], 1925), 20-21.

[52] 同上书 Ibid, 第11页。

[53] 同上书 Ibid, 第19页。

[54] 同上书 Ibid, 第28-29页。

[55] 同上书 Ibid, 第30页。

[56] 同上书 Ibid, 第30页。

[57] 此意在王治心对比耶墨二家之和平主义观念时也有暗示。他认为倡导非攻精神的墨家与作为和平宗教的基督教，在“反战”的立场上十分接近，“墨子的非攻主义，是以兼爱为立足点。惟其兼爱，所以视人之国若其国，谁攻”。他论证墨家非攻基于三个理由具有合理性与合法性，且与基督教主张的和平主义相符合：第一是攻国不义，第二是劳民伤财，第三是反天之意。就“非攻”是否与“诛暴”相矛盾，王治心也给予自己的解释——墨家非攻不非守，吊民伐罪诛一夫与非攻精神无违。墨家此项主张，固然引得王治心的佩服，但同时他亦指出，基督教的和平主义尚有“爱仇主义”这一端。虽未直言耶墨“和平观”的异同，却也已在此诠释中区分了二家之分野——墨家由“兼爱”推导出的“非攻主义”，尚须动用到刀兵，实不及基督教之“爱仇主义”更为彻底。从王治心对十字军东征和第一次世界大战之成因（其言“这不是基督教的罪咎，正是不能同心归向基督的缘故”）的解析来看，似乎他倾向达致和平的手段应为基督教式的人道劝说，即不从事乎动用刀兵的、纯乎精神的“圣战”。见王治心 Wang Zhixin,《墨子哲学》Mozi Zhaxue [Mozi philosophy] (南京 Nanjing: 宜春阁印刷局 Yichunge Yinshuaju [Yichun Pavilion Press], 1925), 59, 68.



二家爱观做辨析外,《墨子哲学》一书中,凡直接关涉宗教核心观念的内容,如“上帝观”、“灵魂观”、“祸福观”等,王治心皆不惮笔墨,别其同异,以证墨家似耶而非耶,即或有相近于基督教处,仍不可等量齐观同日而语。因为这些内容正是耶墨二家最容易被人混同的地方,犹须特别加以区分对待。此类言说颇多,见诸《墨子哲学》各处。例如关于墨家“明鬼”的宗教思想,王治心就评论到:

他的明鬼,本来从天志推演出来。他对于鬼的观念,无异于天的观念。不过他没有把祂的所以然说个明白,不从学理上求答案,只从肤浅的经验上答案。举出许多鬼神作祟的事情来作证据,无非引导一般,入于无理智的迷信之徒罢了。<sup>[58]</sup>

由上可见,王治心基本否定了墨子依据“三表法”推演出来的论证鬼神存有的经验主义方法论,斥之为一种迷信。并举诸国史上义人受难、恶者亨通的案例,责墨家“鬼神有明”、“善恶必赏”的立论在逻辑理路和实践果效上根本不能成立。王治心质疑墨家的“祸福观”和酬报神学,他认为墨家“纯以恫吓驱人为善,他的动机,未免太低”,<sup>[59]</sup>相比之下,基督教虽然也讲祸福报应,但更强调道德责任。众善奉行,诸恶莫作,不是为了获取或逃避鬼神的奖惩,而是自己应当如此行的道德责任,此乃墨家所未能及的。<sup>[60]</sup>王治心更言“基督教是否认报复主义的,墨子鬼神为祟的思想,当然为基督教所不许”,<sup>[61]</sup>借用超自然界的力量恫吓人行善去恶,等于导人人走向趋利避害的功利主义。

王治心进一步指出,墨家所事之“天鬼”,始终未能在神格阶层的问题上给予确切的定分,因此相较基督教能溯源由来并明确归宿的“上帝观”,可谓表面似是实则有别。如其论耶墨“鬼神观”时即言,墨子以“天”为高高在上之定理,不免使得天人悬隔,而基督教之上帝则作用于人心,乃有感于人之能的“灵体”。<sup>[62]</sup>他又认为墨子是“超神论者”,<sup>[63]</sup>言天言鬼,语多含混:<sup>[64]</sup>

墨子说天常以鬼字并称“天鬼”。在明鬼篇里说明有天鬼者、有山水鬼神者、有人而为鬼者。这样,不但称谓含混,也是觉得天是多元的、与基督教的“上帝唯一”不同。基督尊父为上帝,为天父,为真神,皆视为至尊无对。非墨子所能及到。

持平而论,王治心之判定合乎基督教护教学对上帝位格、上帝主权、上帝权能的定义。天鬼信仰归属宗教神论,若以墨家言天来比拟基督教言上帝,毫无疑问墨家的天鬼论述是降低了上帝的位分。按《天志》篇的说法,天志是规矩,为一超乎万有之上的客观规律,其人格神的意味比之基督教的上帝,自然有所不如;按《明鬼》篇的说法,山川鬼神有灵,人死后为鬼。以普世一神教或曰亚伯拉罕诸教的神论谱系为标准,墨家之“天鬼”甚有泛神论的多元主义倾向,显然又不符王治心心目中的一神论教义。

“祸福观”、“鬼神观”之外,王治心还批评了墨家缺乏灵魂观念。他认为墨家只言人死后为鬼,未提及灵魂永生,是为缺憾。也因此缺憾,导致墨家的刻苦主义不得久传——“凡宗教必讲永生,这永生就是安慰快乐之所。没有永生的希望,岂有牺牲肉体的快乐”。<sup>[65]</sup>而基督教则相信有灵魂有天堂,

[58] 同上 Ibid, 页 45.

[59] 同上 Ibid, 页 36.

[60] 同上 Ibid, 页 42.

[61] 同上 Ibid, 页 49.

[62] 同上 Ibid, 页 44.

[63] 同上 Ibid, 页 44.

[64] 同上 Ibid, 页 44.

[65] 同上 Ibid, 页 43.

“基督徒最大的希望，是灵魂的永生，所以甘心忍受肉体的困苦”，<sup>[66]</sup>故相比墨家既无设置彼岸指望又要剥夺现世享受的“非乐主义”，自然更能长久。王治心所论，乃从基督教立场出发，固有其理。然于今观之，若以灵魂之存有、死后之永生、天国之享乐来鼓励人刻苦肉体、牺牲奉献，是否也会堕入传教机会主义的泥潭，埋下勾引人入教的隐患？从某种程度上说，此论与王治心自己所反对的墨家“祸福观”同归功利主义价值话语。

墨家的宗教思想中，最被王治心肯认的当属其“天观”论述。即便如此，王治心仍不以墨家“天观”与基督教“上帝观”为完全等同，只曰“有些相仿”：

墨子的天之观念是拟人的，与基督教所崇拜的上帝有些相仿。儒家以天为义理，道教以天为机械，他们俩所认定之天，简直是一个因果循环之理。如同佛教所说的法界。而墨子独认天有意志，他能和人一样有情操、有作为、完完全全是个造化天地，呵护人类底人格的上帝。这是古代二神宗教<sup>[67]</sup>的遗传。

由上述王治心的论述可见一个清晰的价值层级排序，即以基督教的“上帝观”标准来衡量中国文化各家之言天，属墨家最接近基督教，其余儒道佛等诸家则离基督教远。这种价值层级排序见诸《墨子哲学》各处。例如王治心认为儒墨均承认“天为万有之原”，然儒家论述未及创造之功，不若墨子说的明白。《圣经》描绘的造化主宰之神的创造本性与《墨子》书中所述上天兼养万物万民的创造品格相一致；他论上帝的仁爱，又引“体分于兼”来说明人类与上帝共为肢体的和谐关系。基督教言上帝为“天父”，人类为儿女，天人关系应是彼此相爱，平等而无分疏。是故墨家以兼爱立宗，与老子“天地不仁以万物为刍狗”相反，与基督教更类。<sup>[68]</sup>

通过上述分析，笔者认为不宜高估王治心对墨学的认可程度。当然，若曰其全然拒斥墨子学说亦不可。王治心对历史上儒家贬斥墨家为异端禽兽的门户之见，是存保留意见的。《墨子哲学》中，他援引三家之言以表彰墨学，其一是《庄子·天下》篇中庄子赞墨子“才士也夫”，此谓墨子人格高尚；<sup>[69]</sup>其二是韩愈《论墨子》的“孔墨相为用”，此谓孔墨之间有相融相通之处；<sup>[70]</sup>三是太素生《昭墨篇》言儒家“流弊之祸，多为且劣者，莫儒甚焉”。此谓相较儒学，墨学更为优胜。<sup>[71]</sup>此外，王治心亦赞赏墨家“节用”的均富思想和早期使徒教会的共产主义思想相契合，<sup>[72]</sup>墨家“强力非命”的主张与基督教承认人

[66] 同上 Ibid, 页 44.

[67] 此处应是讹误。依其文意，当为“古代一神宗教的遗传”。

[68] 同上 Ibid, 页 36.

[69] 同上 Ibid, 页 13.

[70] 同上 Ibid, 页 14.

[71] 同上 Ibid, 页 15.

[72] 作为基督徒的王治心，在他论解墨家社会经济学的过程中，似乎呈现出对社会主义思想的偏好。“辞过”、“非乐”、“节用”、“节葬”，是墨学的重要思想，主张节制消费、扩大生产，以满足日用温饱的最低生活保障水平。按王治心所言，此皆归属墨家的社会学范畴。《墨子哲学》中，王治心以古今今，将墨家的“诸加费不加民利者圣王弗为”的节用主义，投入到社会现实观照之中，同当时流行的社会思潮做比较——例如墨家求民之利、经济平等的节用思想，正是反对资本主义的奢侈、掠夺的生产生活方式，与“均富主义”相仿；人人各尽所能、拒斥不劳而获、将劳力应用于生产建设上的主张，更与苏维埃俄国之“劳农主义”合辙。王治心在早期使徒教会团契模式中找到原始共产主义的雏形——“基督教不以积财为然……使徒们初创教会的时候，本着这个宗旨，实行他们的共产，觉得在一个社会中，不应当有贫富的阶级，有的厌粱肉、有的吃糠米、有的流血汗、有的坐而食”。而凡此种皆源于博爱精神的推行，教会团体对经济活动的看法，又与宗教性的“爱”观达成了连结。此说固有凌空蹈虚之嫌，不过精神界的意识形态决定或作用于物质界的生产生活方式，显然是一种基于宗教徒立场的唯心主义观点，因此王治心主张“墨子是主张兼爱的人，所以他的节用主义，也是以爱为出发点”，也就不足为奇了。参王治心 Wang Zhixin,《墨子哲学》Mozi Zhexue [Mozi Philosophy] (南京 Nanjing: 宜春阁印刷局 Yichunge Yinshuaju [Yichun Pavilion Press], 1925), 75.

有自由意志的主张相合辙。<sup>[73]</sup>

观诸王治心之“耶墨对话”，笔者以为如此概括王治心之“耶墨观”更为适宜：即一方面坚持因时代局限性和对上帝体认之不足，墨子学说究有不善；另一方面亦承认墨子人格（一个刻苦牺牲的实行家）与墨子主义（人类平等，互相亲爱）有其价值，不可轻易否定。<sup>[74]</sup>固然，王治心在《墨子哲学》中确有自陈“耶墨相仿”之观点，然当留意此所谓“相仿”，仅是某一部分内容的“相仿”（如墨家兼爱之于基督教博爱、如墨家天观之于基督教上帝观），绝非全体上的“相仿”。且此所谓“相仿”，乃“墨仿于耶”而非“耶仿于墨”，亦即墨子墨家墨学在多大程度上无限逼近、肖似基督教而已。在王治心以基督教标准衡量中国文化的价值层级排序中，墨家居于儒道佛诸家与基督教的中间位置，可算为最接近基督教的中国文化思想流派。即便如此，在王治心的《墨子哲学》中，墨家“最接近”基督教的宗教思想，仍不被他认为是墨学中“最有价值”的部分。反倒给予和宗教思想全然无关的墨辩逻辑学、墨家科技思想、墨家知识论更高的评价。因此笔者认为，王治心所从事的“耶墨对话”，终究不能算是一种“文化会通”的工作，此间“潜隐的护教性”，已在其“存异甚于求同”的“耶墨观”中被彰显出来。

#### 4. 耶墨为同志——以吴雷川《墨翟与耶稣》为例

吴雷川(1870—1944)，民国时期著名教育家、基督教思想家。他国学功底深厚，在前清时代考取过进士功名，授翰林院庶吉士。辛亥革命后，曾担任杭州军政府民政长、杭州市市长、北京教育部参事、教育部常务次长、燕京大学国文教授等职务，并于1929年到1933年间出任燕京大学第一任华人校长。其教会工作经历为加入基督教生命社(1919年)和组建真理会并创办《真理周刊》(1923年)。吴雷川著述颇丰，有文章讲辞、通信札记、时事评论等刊载于《真理周刊》、《生命月刊》、《真理与生命》、《中华基督教教育季刊》、《福音月刊》、《道德半月刊》、《教育学报》、《圣公会报》、《燕大周刊》、《中华基督教年鉴》、《平安杂志》等教会媒体。此外还有专书八部，《墨翟与耶稣》为其生平最后一部著作。

作为基督徒的吴雷川自陈该书之要旨在“在此国家多难之秋，青年志士必当以墨耶二人之言行作法，努力预备自己，使己身能成德达材，为国家效用”，<sup>[75]</sup>他又言耶墨二家在文化更新、心理建设、阶级斗争、政治经济制度变革等诸多方面“隔世而同流”，“墨翟与耶稣二人之所主张，确能应付中国当前的需要”。<sup>[76]</sup>显见该书之关切主要在中国而不在基督教，在以耶墨人格和耶墨思想改造中国社会而不在“基督教中国化”。吴雷川以改造中国社会为目的而展开的“耶墨对话”，颇有“经世致用”之意味。

吴雷川“耶墨对话”之特色，首先体现在其为耶墨立传始终坚持重“人事”而轻“神话”的人文主义基督教信仰。《墨翟与耶稣》中他特列〈墨翟略传〉和〈耶稣略传〉以为申说。古往今来，史家作传，自有成法，或结合传世文献、出土文献及典外文献，或证以铭文、器物、口传，庶几可勾勒传主生平。然而作为学派创始人的墨翟与作为基督教崇拜中心的耶稣，都是去今已久的历史人物，他们的生平事迹在历

[73] 王治心认为墨子提倡强力从事、主张祸福本于人，正是自由意志的表现，绝非听天由命——“因为墨子正是深信天志，所以便主张非命。他说：天欲人之相爱相利不欲人之相恶相贼人，能相爱相利，即为顺天之意，得天之赏，所以按诸实际，仍旧重在人为。人定可以胜天”。此说颇有代表性。事实上，后世辟墨者常援“非命”与“尊天事鬼”自相矛盾，以批评墨学义理的逻辑不自洽，即谓既然坚持天鬼能够赏善罚恶，应为迷信一种“命定论”，又怎能发挥人在此世的主观能动性以强力从事。基督教历史上关于上帝救赎计划和人的自由意志之间的关系的探讨，亦有同此类者，典型即为加尔文所开出的“双重预定论”。在基督教一端，为之辩护的进路一般为，上帝既有改造人的能力，人又和上帝具有同等意志，亦足证基督教也是主张“非命”的。王治心之论墨家非命，似有借墨家“非命说”来为基督教的“预定论”辩护之意，即使命之有无，墨耶二家可谓殊途而同归。同上书，第49-50页。

[74] 同上书 Ibid, 第76页。

[75] 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan, 《墨翟与耶稣》Modi Yu Yesu [Mo Di and Jesus] (上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnian Xiehui Shuju [Youth Association Press], 1940), 1.

[76] 同上书 Ibid, 第1页。

史流转的过程中往往被加添大量神秘主义色彩，类如 20 世纪上半叶顾颉刚先生所言的“古史层累”。吴雷川版本的“耶墨行传”，则不取传说，独宗人格。吴雷川为耶稣造像如下：<sup>[77]</sup>

耶稣生于犹太人渴望民族复兴的时代，幼年怀抱大志，壮年开始在社会上作种种活动，凭着热烈的宗教信仰，要成就改造社会的事业，历年不久，受反对党的陷害，被钉于十字架而死，他却因着死而完成了伟大的人格。“杀身成仁”、“舍生取义”，在孔子孟子是理论，耶稣却是实践了。“圣人，百世之师也。奋乎百世之上，百世之下，闻者莫不兴起也”。我们引孟子称道伯夷柳下惠的话来颂赞耶稣，他真是当之无愧了。

严谨史家为宗教人物立传，比之宗教信徒更多一层甄别史料和传说的考量，即如何将传主真实的历史踪迹和后世教徒的拔高神化加以区分，以还原传主本来面目。关于耶稣生平最详实的记录，主要出自教会审定的作为基督教正典的《圣经·新约》四福音书。除此之外，只余少量如塔西佗《编年史》、约瑟夫《犹太古史》等典外文献的旁证，亦多语焉不详。换言之，吴雷川为耶稣立传须本于作为宗教典籍的《圣经》；要最大限度地逼近“历史上真实的耶稣”，又必须从中择取材料做相应的人文主义解读。他意识到这种自相矛盾的困难，于是通过“解神化话”的诠释来自洽立传逻辑——即对耶稣所行“神迹奇事”做了“去神性化”的处理，使得耶稣的大使命再不是把福音传到地极或者建立基督教会，而是改造彼时的犹太社会。<sup>[78]</sup> 这是吴雷川版本的耶稣行传与其他立足于耶稣为“神子”、“宗教家”的教会版本行传的最大不同。在《墨翟与耶稣》中，他指出：<sup>[79]</sup>

不但墨子不是宗教家，就连现今一般人所公认为基督教的教主耶稣，他在世的时候，也未尝自居为宗教家，他的人格之所以伟大，固然是得力于所信仰的宗教。但他一生活动的目的，却不是要创立一种宗教，乃是要改造社会。

在吴雷川看来，四福音书的记载，更多是一种曲笔演绎和隐微写作，与历史上真实的耶稣形象存在相当大的距离。除了著者偏见、编史体例、成书来源的问题外，门徒为了逃避罗马当局的迫害以及教会扩张传教版图等因素也造成福音书的作者对耶稣生平的材料进行了一定程度的裁剪，整体上倾向凸显耶稣的宗教性、神性，淡化耶稣为人的一面以及他改造社会的精神，以致于耶稣关涉社会革命的言行事迹也被宗教上的神迹奇事所遮掩。因此要归正耶稣教义，就须为耶稣重新立传。这与吴雷川对《四福音书》的理解相一致，即不取基要派“灵意解经”的方法拘守每一个经文字句，而是从经文字

[77] 同上书 Ibid, 第 110 页。

[78] 近代西方自由主义神学的流行观点认为，《圣经》不是天启作品，而是由各时代作者共同完成，并不具有宗教权威性。合于科学理性者，可作为客观史实给予正视；不能通过理性验证的，如神迹奇事，则作迷信观之。吴雷川认为记述耶稣生平的四福音，都成书于耶稣死后，为门徒和早期教会根据耶稣在世时的零星教训和口传故事辗转编撰而成，与正规史学性质不同，体例也不一样。既然四福音书的编写形式本就存在极大的主观性和随意性，甚至存在传抄失误和有意篡改。故吴雷川之“我们于其中选集材料，自不妨依照我们的观点以为取舍的标准”的立传标准，当然合辙于“解神化话”“去神性化”(Demythologizing)自由主义神学路径。此亦可见吴雷川对西方圣经批判的学术动态有一定掌握和了解。同上书，第 81 页；参李韦 Li Wei,《吴雷川的基督教处境化思想研究》Wu Leichuan De Jidujiao Chujinghua Sixiang Yanjiu [Research on Wu Leichuan's Christian Situational Thought](北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 [Religion and Culture Press], 2010), 142.

[79] 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《墨翟与耶稣》Modi Yu Yesu [Mo Di and Jesus](上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnian Xiehui Shuju [Youth Association Press], 1940), 75.

句中提炼耶稣改造社会的思想,通过“解神话化”的诠释方法对耶稣做人文主义式的解读。<sup>[80]</sup>

吴雷川为墨翟立传,亦循同样理路。吴雷川自述其写作《墨翟略传》之方针为“尚友古人”与“知人论世”——“原来要写古人的传而又不得不着最初确实的史料,这就等于要为人造像,而既没看见本人,也没有本人的相片对照,只可以凭着间接的印证,加以心灵的模拟,或者也能得其仿佛”。<sup>[81]</sup>由是他为墨翟造像,就具有了很大的发挥空间。关于墨翟之生卒、里籍、出身、姓名等,吴雷川多采时人的见解,并无特出之处。唯其为墨翟塑造的个人形象,特别凸显一个热心救世、即凡即圣的社会改造家形象。在他看来,墨家的核心教义“墨学十论”均能“言之有故,持之成理,可以救当世之弊的”。<sup>[82]</sup>吴雷川笔下的墨翟以改造社会为己任,以“行义”来范围人生;<sup>[83]</sup>有择务从事的行义方法论,尽其所能来应付当世的需求;<sup>[84]</sup>有具体落地实践的罢兵止战案例;<sup>[85]</sup>有为了宣传其思想、力行其主义而组织起来的建制成型的坚固学派共同体。墨翟以身作则,因材施教,实行严格的组织纪律;且墨家持守巨子制度,徒属盈天下,成为彼时社会间一股不可忽视的自组织力量,甚至为了施行墨家的家法,敢于违抗国君的命令。故被统治阶级所忌恨,以至一朝而斩,再无余绪。<sup>[86]</sup>

吴雷川心目中的墨学,是与孔子维护周礼、“吾从周”的改良主义划清界限的激进社会纲领。墨子别开宗门,“背周道而用夏政”,颇有革命意味。墨子的形象,是一个投身社会改造事业的革命家形象。此外,吴雷川还认为因墨家学派从事社会改造,为历代统治阶级所忌,在官方上行路线不得伸张,其后学只能演变为游侠潜伏于民间,“聊作一线之延”。<sup>[87]</sup>其实历来墨家后学流裔是否一变而为“游侠”,学界尚有争议。吴雷川之所以强作解释,自有其用意。他对比墨家和基督教在创始人歿后的发展历程后指出,墨家虽然中绝,但因其演变为游侠,使得精神不离其宗,影响即便衰微,却还是忠于墨家原初教义的。

吴雷川虽然认为耶墨二人均非宗教家,但仍承认他们均具有宗教精神,其言:<sup>[88]</sup>

所谓墨耶二人同具有宗教的精神,并不在于其讲说宗教的言论如何,乃在于其为人处世行的态度。原来宗教的功用:初步是指示人当如何修己,更进一步则是使人能忘己以拯救社会。关于这一点,墨耶二人的表现是全然一致的。

[80] 吴雷川在书中引用两位非基督徒学者观点探讨《新约》正典起源问题——海尔氏的《基督传福音》认为四福音之成书不依年代先后,全无成史旨趣,著作之福音的目的亦不在材料完的备和事实的准确,而是为保留耶稣最重要言说的现实抉择;考茨基《基督教之基础》认为福音书不与耶稣同时,只有托名的作者。成书迭经逐步进化的过程,加之后人增删修改,时间越往后神迹奇事就越多。值得注意的是,吴雷川在解读福音书被篡改的原因时,援引考茨基《基督教之基础》的观点来说。考氏在比较前期福音书《路加福音》和后期福音《马太福音》的文学特色时指出,随着富人和文士逐渐接触基督教会,教会出于传教的需要,开始对福音书的内容给予修正,抹除了早期福音书中偏向穷人的阶级立场,对经书内容加以柔化和修饰,以便在上行阶层中扩大影响。吴雷川之立传理路,显然有来自考茨基的影响。要言之,吴雷川和考茨基均认为现为正典的福音书所载的耶稣生平和教训,可能都是教会因应发展的需求而加以增删的修正版本。耶稣原初所宣扬的主义和已成定本的福音书内容之间存在一个真实性的鸿沟。由是可以理解吴雷川为耶稣重新立传的一层意义,就是归正那些被考茨基称为被“传道机会主义”所修正过的、具有社会主义革命性质的耶稣教义。吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《墨翟与耶稣》Modi Yu Yesu [Mo Di and Jesus] (上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnian Xiehui Shuju [Youth Association Press], 1940), 81, 82, 84, 85.

[81] 同上书 Ibid, 第 21 页。

[82] 同上书 Ibid, 第 30 页。

[83] 同上书 Ibid, 第 31 页。

[84] 同上书 Ibid, 第 30、31、32 页。

[85] 同上书 Ibid, 第 32 页。

[86] 同上书 Ibid, 第 35 页。

[87] 同上书 Ibid, 第 158 页。

[88] 同上书 Ibid, 第 154 页。

今人一般认为，墨翟与耶稣之间的联系正是在宗教。近代墨学复兴时期，也多见学者考究墨家实为“墨教”，墨翟实为教主的言论。然而吴雷川却提出，耶墨之联系虽在宗教，但耶稣和墨翟都不是宗教家。耶稣的使命不在创立一个新宗教，而是推行社会改造。实际上吴雷川所谓的宗教上的联系，并不是就具体的宗教形态而言的，乃是指耶稣与墨翟、基督教与墨家之间具有相似的“宗教人格”和“宗教精神”。当然就此一端来说，吴雷川也没有一味取同，他对耶墨二家对于宗教功能的看法，就给予详细辨析。他指出，墨翟并不笃信宗教，而是有意利用宗教以宣传自己的主张，“他之称道天鬼，难免是为了宣传的便利，顺应群众幼稚的心理，而未必就是他个人信仰的真因”，<sup>[89]</sup>对宗教采取的是实用主义的态度；耶稣则有宗教热忱，认定改造宗教即为改造社会本身，“他认宗教是促进社会的原动力，只因当时犹太人的观念错误，淹没了宗教的功用”。<sup>[90]</sup>

今观吴雷川为耶墨二人所造之像所立之传，恐怕不少人都会有所怀疑，即吴雷川版本的“耶墨传记”似乎不见得比基督教会与墨学研究界之版本的“耶墨传记”更加贴近耶墨之原意。不过，吴雷川自言他为耶墨立传“尽可以有所鉴别，举大而略细，取精而遗粗，自不难窥见真相”，<sup>[91]</sup>其所谓“真相”，恐怕本来就是指耶稣墨翟“为人”的一面或者耶墨二人从事社会改造的一面，这才是他心目中的“历史上真实耶稣和墨翟”。依吴雷川之意，历来伟人事迹的流传，本来夹杂许多不可尽信的传说。真实情形求于历史多不得征，唯有伟人的人格精神确实可知。有关他们的神话，也是托付于人格的影响力才能产生。显然，循其原则对关涉传主的史料进行裁剪，则神话传说及神迹奇事就统统被排除出选材范围。<sup>[92]</sup>传记主体聚焦在传主（耶稣、墨翟）的人格精神和从事社会改造的具体事功，用以突出一个“在地”的入世的社会改造家形象。

依吴雷川的立传理路，既然耶墨二者在“人格精神”和“社会改造”上具有重叠共识，那么他的“耶墨对话”就不需要像张亦镜、王治心那样纠结于“神人之异”的问题，而可集中于对耶墨经典进行致用性层面的创造性诠释。吴雷川阐释耶墨经典，不在于寻求教会传统鼎定的神学意涵或依循严谨墨学研究中既成定论的见解，而在将古旧经文所蕴含的普世道理与彼时社会所关切的问题有机结合在一起，做设身处地的处境化理解。吴雷川的阐释基于预设，首重个人意志的发扬而不拘守传统遗传之所谓原意和初衷。即从耶墨经典中寻求可资社会改造的思想资源以应付时代的需求，以是否有利于社会改造来判断经文和学说的重要性和进步性。在此意义上，若墨学有利于社会改造的志业，则墨学非但不是基督教的阻碍，反是基督教的同志了，《墨翟与耶稣》中即言：<sup>[93]</sup>

基督教必得先改变它的组织，以社会改造为它唯一的使命。那是发扬宗教的精神，就自然与墨学合辙，论及社会改造在中国方面的动力，竟可以说不论其为墨为耶，从前耶稣曾说：“不抵挡我们的，就是帮助我们的”。何况墨与耶本是同志，更何必问成功谁属。这未来的化合，正是我们所企望的了。

论到耶墨合辙或等同，有份参与“耶墨对话”的人士，大多能提及耶墨二家核心教义的四条，如墨家的兼爱观等同于基督教的博爱主义，墨家的尚俭节用等同于基督教的攻克己身，墨家兴利除害等同

[89] 同上书 Ibid, 第 154 页。

[90] 同上书 Ibid, 第 154 页。

[91] 同上书, 第 79 页。

[92] 吴雷川对《新约》记录耶稣受约翰洗礼、受魔鬼试探、“登山变相”、“五饼二鱼”、“犹太卖主”以及设置圣餐礼的解释，都做了相应的人文主义的处理。基督教仪式典礼中具有特殊意义的经文意象，也在这种处理中被去除了神化的色彩。吴雷川 Wu Leichuan, 《墨翟与耶稣》Modi Yu Yesu [Mo Di and Jesus] (上海 Shanghai: 青年协会书局 Qingnian Xiehui Shuju [Youth Association Press], 1940), 95、102、104-107。

[93] 同上书 Ibid, 第 158 页。

于基督教的济世救人。这些都是义理层面上耶墨二家最显见的可通约处。吴雷川亦有相似见解,只不过他是将之落实在耶稣墨翟的人格修为和二者有关社会改造主张合辙的地方。例如他认为“爱”、“义”、“勤俭”最能体现耶稣墨翟二人在人生真谛认识和社会改造主张上的“若合符节”——爱是社会改造的动力,为义是社会改造的表现,勤俭则是人类社会得到平安的重要条件。爱、义、勤俭这三端教训,可资改良国人贪污、骄惰、奢侈、不诚实的恶习,为从事社会改造事业做精神文明建设方面的准备。<sup>[94]</sup>然而,由于吴雷川并不措意对耶墨二家整体教义做基于原典义理的更细致的比较和考察,使得他所从《墨子》和《圣经》中所引的内容,实际上并不足以支持自身观点。吴雷川以字句文段表面上的相似就征之为己用,甚至对经义做了较大幅度的改造,以致铺陈论述逻辑时存在论点和论据相脱节的情况。例如论及耶墨“爱”观,就跟从兼爱和博爱“同出一源”的普遍观点,未区分墨家“兼爱”为“利爱”,基督教“博爱”则有“圣爱”、“欲爱”两端之分;再如论及耶墨“义”观,则又将《墨子》的“义,利也”同耶稣称上帝为“公义的父”之“义”混为一谈。墨家在“义利之辨”上,主张“义利同一”,义则利也。耶稣此处论及上帝本性兼“仁慈”和“公义”,则是单就公平正义而言。

类似论述多见于《墨翟与耶稣》,或可目为解经之失。但从另一个角度来看,笔者以为它更象是吴雷川刻意为之的“曲解”。再举一例。吴雷川认为作为墨翟与耶稣的阶级基础是相同的,即来自平民阶级。二人学说主张的意旨,就在从自身阶级立场出发,改造彼时社会;又因社会改造家的身份必为在上掌权者所忌,故墨翟“老死无闻”,耶稣“以身殉道”。<sup>[95]</sup>此二者可谓“耶墨同途”。他又认为,耶稣墨翟二人所收录的门徒弟子,阶级成份不尽相同。耶稣的门徒多为平民,墨翟的弟子则多知识阶层。墨翟年岁久长,耶稣英年早逝。由是造成一种局面,即墨翟和弟子在世时,有机会接触上层阶级,长久活动并于各国间实践墨家教义,且共同体内部凝聚力强。其后墨家流裔演变为游侠,潜藏民间;耶稣及其门徒则终身不见容于世,无缘接触上行阶层,传教只好走秘密的群众路线。加之组织松散,耶稣歿后门徒星散。早期教会则经使徒一心发扬宗教,终为建制所吸纳,而后更成为“国教”,比之墨家,反而得以在政治上有所伸张。耶墨二家建制组织在创始人生前死后的命途迥异,可谓“耶墨殊归”。<sup>[96]</sup>然则基督教经使徒改造和建制吸纳后,已经偏离了耶稣的教训,虽有国家教会为荫庇而成主流势力,却实在离耶稣本意相去甚远。故墨耶二教于今,一亡一兴,不可以外在规模之盛衰为判准,而应根据何者更忠实于主义为依归。吴雷川在此褒扬墨家,以为基督教与墨家相比较,在忠实于主义方面,反是“荣枯迥判”了。<sup>[97]</sup>

持平而论,吴雷川上述判定,有诸多不合于史实的臆想成分。然在思想演绎上,则与他对于耶墨二家原始教义及主义的“归正”理路相一致。按其逻辑进行推演,则自然能得出墨学中绝一朝而斩,是因为墨家后学忠实于墨翟教训;教会在后世得以兴旺,反是背离耶稣主义的结论。也难怪吴雷川会认为,教会经过使徒的改造,“已全然不是耶稣的真面目,转不如墨之转为任侠,独不离其宗”、<sup>[98]</sup>“教会的兴衰,简直与耶稣的主义盛行与否根本无关”,<sup>[99]</sup>此处言说扬墨抑耶可谓极矣。综上所述,吴雷川在“耶墨对话”融入了自己对于社会改造的思考。墨子人格及墨子思想因其在“社会改造”之志业上与耶稣人格与耶稣思想有相合辙的地方,在一定程度上被吴雷川赋予了可和基督教相提并论的地位,甚至在某些方面更为优胜。不过,若以正统教会的标准来看,则吴雷川的耶墨言说就近乎离经叛道了。毕竟,吴雷川的“耶墨对话”显示出其对基督教信仰和中国传统文化的实用主义态度,也就是说当改造

[94] 同上书 Ibid,第 154-156 页.

[95] 同上书 Ibid,第 214 页.

[96] 同上书 Ibid,第 158 页.

[97] 同上书 Ibid,第 215 页.

[98] 同上书 Ibid,第 158 页.

[99] 同上书 Ibid,第 158 页.

社会成为先于传福音的任务时，基督教神学就具有了工具性质。其政治哲学的面向更为彰显，教会神学的面向反而潜藏。其对神学之态度尚且如此，其对墨学之态度，则更是显而易见的了。由此我们可以认为，吴雷川之论“耶”与“墨”，乃是以“社会改造”为中心的。<sup>[100]</sup>

## 结语

通过本文论述可见，中国基督徒在处理相关“耶墨对话”之议题时，他们的问题意识各有偏重，所采取的解释方法亦各自相异，非遵循一个融贯统一的思想路径。吴雷川的《墨翟与耶稣》、王治心的《墨子哲学》、张亦镜的《耶墨辨》，皆属彼时中国基督徒注墨解墨或会通耶墨的代表作品。他们或采兼容的视角平议耶墨，或取排他的立场独成护教文本。这些深具儒家经学教养、受中国传统文化影响很深的中国基督徒，选择在中国传统文化中长期居于异端和末流的墨子学说来和基督教思想进行比较和相互映证，并以自身的宗教信仰认知图景介入基督教与墨学之间的对话，论著和文章皆呈现出十分多元的面向，极大丰富了汉语神学和近代墨学的思想光谱。

观诸上述基督徒的“耶墨对话”，我们固然可以将之视作对“基督教如何与中国文化相适应”、“基督教与如何中国社会相适应”等宣教福传问题的回应，即谓“耶墨对话”乃一承继性的工作而非原创性的工作——以其思想的演绎摆脱不了“基督教中国化”的路径依赖，而根本方法为“会通中西”，实质是“利玛窦范式”的延续。<sup>[101]</sup>然则笔者以为，此只为“耶墨对话”背后之意识形态考量的一极，而非全部。从他们的论述中可见，所谓“耶墨对话”不仅溢出“比较哲学”的客观研究范畴，还走向“我注六经”的教义归正，其中区别不过是“归正”之程度有所不同而已。在对墨学的态度上，吴雷川最为为开放，张亦镜则偏保守，王治心则居处开放和保守之间的中道。总之，中国基督徒的“耶墨对话”，在一定程度上仍然归属基督教护教学范式，对话云云、比较云云，大体还是为维护神学主权而服务的。

[100] 基督教学者朱心然先生指出，吴雷川之论“耶墨关系”的核心即在“耶墨二家如何改造社会”，二者在宗教上的联系能得以成立，正在于吴雷川将二者皆目为从事社会改造事业之同志，并欲建立一个类似共产主义的“在地乌托邦”。此一解经取向，又与吴雷川晚年的社会主义倾向有关。见 Chu Sin-jan, Wu Leichuan: A confucian-Christian in Republican China (New York: Peter Lang Press, 1995), p. 124.

[101] “利玛窦范式”，即自明末利玛窦等耶稣会士入化传教以来所采取的福传策略。反映在“基督教如何适应中国文化”上，则主要取“超儒、补儒、合儒”之方法。



**English Title:**

**The “Jesus-Mozi Dialogue” In The Revival of Mohism In The Republic Of China——Take Zhang Yijing, Wang Zhixin And Wu Leichuan As Examples**

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**Abstract:** “Jesus-Mozi Dialogue” is an underflow in the revival of Mohism in the Republic of China. Since modern times, the intellectual circles have mostly taken Christianity as the “rational model” of Mohism. When it comes to the best reference for Christianity in traditional Chinese culture, Mohism is always used as an example, which has been discussed in the field of Mohism research. However, in the past, people still paid little attention to the church’s view of the “Jesus-Mozi Dialogue” between Mohist School and Chinese Christians, which is a pity. This article attempts to discuss the various viewpoints of Zhang Yijing, Wang Zhixin, and Wu Leichuan on Mohism and “Mohist religion” as examples, and looks forward to giving a clear definition of the literature and the division of school attribution to the results of the “Jesus-Mozi Dialogue”.

**Key Words:** Mohism revival; Jesus-Mozi Dialogue; development history of Mohism

# 奥古斯丁论天使的经世<sup>〔1〕</sup>

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**摘要:**天使论是奥古斯丁《上帝之城》、《〈创世记〉字疏》、《论信望爱手册》等重要著作的主题之一。本文分创造、差遣和国度三方面阐释奥古斯丁有关天使经世的神学:(1)天使经世与创造的关系:上帝在万物受造之先就以概念的方式将万物内存于天使的心灵,天使的经世之能源于对上帝和受造物的智性直观。(2)天使经世与差遣的关系源于“神显”的观念,天使以上帝的代理者身份奉差遣,但其奉差遣是非位格性的。(3)天使经世与国度的关系源于圣天使和圣民的联合,他们的联合发生在上帝的意志之内;天使是这个联合的引导者,最终引导人抵达和平国度。本文还阐释了奥古斯丁的天使论与创造论、差遣论和救赎论的神学关系。

**关键词:**经世;知识;差遣;国度

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奥古斯丁是一位倾注了巨大热情研究天使的思想家。《论三位一体》、《上帝之城》、《〈创世记〉字疏》、《〈约翰福音〉布道集》和《论信望爱手册》等著作都有关于天使的详论:天使是上帝创造、差遣和国度的重要部分。由天使之城到上帝之城,由创世到经世,上帝的作为因天使而起,并以天使之城发展为上帝之城而终。就此而言,天使的经世是上帝的历史和人类历史交集的重要因素,上帝之城与天使神学息息相关。<sup>〔2〕</sup>上帝之城和地上之城、心灵秩序和世界历史、永恒和时间的关系,处处都有天使经世的特征。

本文从创造、差遣和国度三方面阐释奥古斯丁的天使神学。创造、差遣和国度都指向“经世”范畴,也是天使神学的主要内容。关于经世(οικονομᾶ),G. L. Prestige 认为主要有如下内涵:(1)上帝在创造活动和救赎历史中显明其本性:<sup>〔3〕</sup>上帝在向受造物显明其计划时,他是神圣的行动展示其本体。(2)上帝的经世是他命定的方式,用于三位一体的教义时尤与道成肉身相关。<sup>〔4〕</sup>(3)经世(οικονομῶ)与管理及行政职能相关,指主教或者公民机构的职权,具有安排和计划的意思,<sup>〔5〕</sup>指上帝以神意的方式馈赠和提供恩赐,或者上帝设计和安排各种事件。<sup>〔6〕</sup>(4)经世有上帝俯就、适应与和解的意思,在某个程度上指从人的角度,依照人的考虑俯就上帝自身,<sup>〔7〕</sup>描述的是上帝对于人类事务的处

〔1〕 本文是国家社会科学基金重点项目《新柏拉图主义哲学经典集成及研究》(项目编号:17AZX009)的阶段性成果。

〔2〕 Elizabeth Klein, *Augustine's Theology of Angels*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 57.

〔3〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, (London: S. P. C. K., 1952), 55.

〔4〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 57.

〔5〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 57-58.

〔6〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 59.

〔7〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 61.

理方式;〔8〕也指在人的生活中所显明的自然法则和精神法则等形式,〔9〕具有盟约般的约束力。〔10〕(5)当经世与 δυνάμεις(powers/权能)关联使用时,天使就成为“神显”的权能之一,〔11〕指上帝用圣善天使建立起对于宇宙的管理,〔12〕并毁灭堕落天使这样的败坏的力量,因此天使运用其能力也被称为“经世”。〔13〕总之,经世的观念主要被用于上帝,也被用于天使。

奥古斯丁把“经世”用于天使,显然与“神显”(theophanies)即上帝的自我显现紧密相关。“神显”是上帝的一种俯就活动:他以受造物的形式显现其自身。旧约的上帝“神显”为天使,是上帝管理自然宇宙和人类历史的主要方式。因此上帝的俯就恰切地描述了其经世的方式,因为人类只有通过人格的代理者(personal agency)才能理解上帝。〔14〕上帝俯就在各类代理者之间,他们包括天使、先知和其他事物,天使则是上帝“神显”的主要代理者。经世与神显的关系表现为天使的受差遣,上帝在永恒中就已经安排了救赎,也就是已经安排了对天使的差遣。因此,研究天使的奉差遣,研究天使在上帝的创造、差遣和国度里面的工作,构成奥古斯丁的天使经世活动的主要内容。

天使的经世活动最先与上帝的创造活动相关。上帝的创造活动是三位一体上帝经世的开始,天使的受造及其受造属性使得他们能够参与上帝的经世活动。上帝是绝对主体,是经世活动的始终掌握者;天使则是经世活动的主要执行者。天使之所以能够作为经世的行动者参与上帝历史和人类历史,在于他们从上帝的受造活动中获得只有上帝所具有的理智性,他们是完全的灵性受造物(spiritualis iam facta et formata creatura),〔15〕因此得以参与上帝创造、护理到救赎的全部工作。在上帝的创世之工中,天使的角色极为特殊:一方面他们是受造者,是受造物的一部分;另一方面,他们又拥有经世的权柄,能够运用他们的能力协助上帝的创造。后面这部分内容涉及奥古斯丁有关上帝创世与经世的复杂阐释,是其天使经世神学的重要内容,因为奥古斯丁认为好天使决定了上帝之城的性质。〔16〕

天使是上帝特殊的创造,他们从这种受造活动中获得经世能力。圣经以简洁的方式表达了上帝的创造活动:“起初,上帝创造天地”,《创世记》1:1“万物是藉着他造的,凡被造的,没有一样不是藉着他造的。”(《约翰福音》1:3)奥古斯丁认为这经文包含了天使的受造,而人们通常只理解为上帝藉着基督创造了世界万物。诚然上帝是藉着基督造了万物,然而奥古斯丁认为这只是简化版的表达形式。他认为准确而复杂的表达是:宇宙万物最先以概念的形式被造在天使的心里,因此天使拥有受造的智慧;在天使受造之后,有形的万物(除人之外)例如可见的天和地才存在于自然秩序之中。〔17〕奥古斯丁认为上帝创造按照如下秩序:上帝先创造包含宇宙万物的天使之心,再创造有形的天使,又把上帝

〔8〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 63.

〔9〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 63.

〔10〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 63.

〔11〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 66.

〔12〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 68-69.

〔13〕 G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 70.

〔14〕 Frank G. Kirkpatrick, *The Mystery And Agency Of God: Divine Being And Action In The World*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014), 73.

〔15〕 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 1. 9. 15, Migne, PL: S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae; 参见奥古斯丁 Augustine, 《〈创世记〉字疏》(上) Chuangshiji zishu (Shang) [The Literal Meaning of Genesis (I)], 石敏敏 Shi Minmin 译, (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press]), 2018, 第 1 卷第 9 章第 15 节.

〔16〕 Thomas Renna, “Angels and Spirituality: The Augustinian Tradition to Eckhardt”, in *Augustinian Studies*, Vol. 16, (Villanova: Annual Publication of the Augustinian Institute, 1986), 29.

〔17〕 奥古斯丁, 《〈创世记〉字疏》(上) 第 2 卷第 8 章第 16 节.

放置在天使心中的宇宙万物的“观念”转化成宇宙万物。他以此指出:天使虽然不知道他们自身受造的奥秘,但参与了上帝创世的全过程。<sup>[18]</sup> 由于天使全程参与了上帝的创造,由于有形的宇宙万物起初原就存于天使之心,因此天使如上帝一样知悉宇宙受造的奥秘,<sup>[19]</sup>拥有上帝所创造的世界的智慧,得赋经世的能力。

奥古斯丁有关天使智慧的论述,又可分为如下五个方面的主题。(1)如果上帝以天使为媒介创造万物,那么如何理解基督在创造中的地位?天使和基督都是创造的媒介,两者是否存在冲突?又当如何协调?(2)天使作为媒介是如何传递其功能的?天使是既作为“存在”(是)和“行动者”还是仅仅作为“行动者”参与在创造和受造关系之中?(3)如果天使是作为“存在”(是)参与在受造物中,这如何可能?因为只有上帝和基督能够赋予受造物以“是”? (4)如果天使只是作为“行动者”参与在创造关系之中,这又是什么意思?是否可以说:在创造活动中,天使并没有把属于天使的“是”赋予万物,他们只是作为上帝创造活动里面的经世者即管理者或者助手,负责把上帝创造的“是”赋予受造物?或者(5)受造物接受的“是”来自基督,因为它们是藉基督造的,天使只是协助上帝把受造物各自的“是”放在受造物里面?受造物以天使为媒介,指的是受造物把上帝放在天使心中的宇宙秩序显示出来。

这五个主题都涉及“是/存在”和“行动”的关系:在上帝的创造活动之中,天使是作为“存在/是”参与在受造物中还是只作为“行动”参与在受造物中?奥古斯丁认为唯有基督作为“存在/是”参与在上帝的创造活动中的,天使不可能以“存在/是”参与受造物。奥古斯丁解释了“上帝说‘要有……’”这句经文,认为这是指圣父上帝与圣子上帝说话,“圣经把造物界的起源放在作为开端的他里面,……造物界的完全在于作为道的他,因为这造物界被召回到他面前,通过它与造物主的统一,并以它自己的方式效仿神圣样式(*pro suo genere imitando formam*),从而得以形成。”<sup>[20]</sup>造物界与造物主统一,是以造物主为神圣样式。受造物分有的不是天使的“存在/是”,而是分有圣子的“存在/是”。

奥古斯丁认为天使的智慧只是作为行动者所拥有的受造物智慧。天使在受造物里面的协助活动可以理解为“经世活动”,是一种安排活动,负责协助上帝建立秩序。宇宙万物例如“天”先是根据圣子即受生的智慧被安排在上帝的道里面,<sup>[21]</sup>也就是说,“天”依据圣子受造又被放在天使的心灵里面。但是受造的“天”在被安放在天使心里时,还没有显现为可见的“天”,其他自然万物也是如此。<sup>[22]</sup>天使之心就象是受造物未造之先的概念容器,它存放着这些未显明的存在物,这些存在物此时还是有关自然万物的观念而非实物。上帝把天这样自然物的观念放在天使的心里面。然而天使没有塑造自然万物的“存在/是”,天使的智慧来自于其经世行动中上帝的分派,天使的其他经世活动与此紧紧相关。“当关于随后要创造什么的知识浇灌在天使心里,当他们后来又在被造物自身中获得关于它们的知识时,他们都得到了上帝的教导。”<sup>[23]</sup>天使因为有受造万物的智慧,就比其他万物更通晓宇宙及受造物,他们享有关于神的完全直观(*full visio Dei*),<sup>[24]</sup>能够作为行动者参与在创世之中。奥古斯丁这样说:“被造之物在一定意义上先造在天使的本性里,天使通过某种神秘的活动先在上帝之道里看见这个将要被造的世界。”<sup>[25]</sup>因此,天使既可以帮助上帝管理也可以操控其他受造物。堕落的天使在离开上帝后,仍然能够用他从上帝安排在他心里的智慧操控受造物。

[18] 同上书。

[19] 同上书,第2卷第8章第18节。

[20] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 1. 4. 9; 奥古斯丁,《〈创世记〉字疏》(上),第1卷第4章第9节。

[21] 同上书,第2卷第8章第16节。

[22] 同上书。

[23] 同上书,第2卷第8章第18节。

[24] Thomas Renna, "Angels and Spirituality: The Augustinian Tradition to Eckhardt", in *Augustinian Studies*, Vol. 16, (Villanova: Annual Publication of the Augustinian Institute, 1986), 31.

[25] 奥古斯丁,《〈创世记〉字疏》(上),第2卷第8章第19节。

天使经世活动的基础在于其智慧性或者说智性, 人和其他万物都没有这种智性能力。<sup>[26]</sup> 天使的经世智慧在于: 他们在受造之初就拥有关于基督之“存在/是”和受造万物之“存在/是”的知识。<sup>[27]</sup> 首先, 天使知道圣道即圣子的知识, “他们常见上帝的面, 并享有他的道, 就是他的独生子, 与父同等的; 智慧也首先造在圣天使里面。”(semper videant faciem Dei, Verboque eius unigenito Filio sicut Patri aequalis est perfruuntur, in quibus prima omnium creata est sapientia)<sup>[28]</sup> 其次, 天使也知道自然万物的知识。“他们知道整个造物界, ……看见所有造物被造的原因(rationes)。”<sup>[29]</sup> 可见, 天使以两种方式知道受造界事物的知识: (1) 他们在上帝之道里面时就已经知道自然万物的知识了, 因为自然万物都是藉着上帝之道造的, 天使知道上帝之道, 他们自然也就知道藉着上帝之道造的自然万物的知识。(2) 天使也知道被造出来之后的自然万物的知识, 因为受造万物在被作为有形的事物出现时, 它们已经作为观念存在于天使的心灵中。他们能够作为上帝创世活动的管理者, 他们之所以具有这种管理智慧, 就如经世这个词所示的行政意义, 是因为上帝的经世活动已经显现在天使的心灵里面。

因此, 天使所具有的关于上帝和受造物的智慧使得他们能够经世, 知识是其经世的能力所在。天使有关于事物秩序的全备知识, 它们都来自于上帝。奥古斯丁认为, 圣经用白昼、晚上和早晨来表达事物秩序的知识, 天使不仅在他们自己的本性里面知道万物的知识, 而且在万物实际受造之后从万物的本性里面知道它们。<sup>[30]</sup> 关于万物的知识属于低级的知识, 这就是圣经里面所讲的属于“夜”这个秩序。<sup>[31]</sup> 圣经所谓的高级知识, 就是在造物主里面寻求喜乐, 这就是天使所拥有的早晨的知识。<sup>[32]</sup> 所谓白昼的知识, 就是安息在主里面的知识。<sup>[33]</sup> 无论是“夜”还是“昼”, 这种所谓的“天使的时间”都不是我们在先后关系的意义上所理解的时间性知识, 不是如人那样基于盼望和记忆的智慧, 而是天使的心灵在上帝里面得安息的智慧, 也就是安息的智慧。<sup>[34]</sup> 总而言之, 奥古斯丁有关《创世记》的诠释中已经包含了天使经世的神学阐释, 已经有关于两种生活方式即上帝之城和地上之城的论述。<sup>[35]</sup>

## 二

天使的经世主要体现为他们奉上帝差遣, 执行上帝的旨意<sup>[36]</sup> 护理宇宙万物。差遣是奥古斯丁经世三一的重要概念: 基督是救恩意义上的奉差遣者; 天使是旧约中奉差的上帝的代理者, 他们执行具

[26] 这颇类似于卡尔拉纳用于人身上的 agent intellect。关于 agent intellect 的论述, 可参看 Dennis W. Jowers, *The Trinitarian Axiom of Karl Rhrner: The Economic Trinity is the Immanent Trinity and Vice Versa*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 2006), 54-55, 但在人身上, 它是一种反思性的推论; 而在天使身上, 是直观的凝思。You Xilin and Paulos Huang, “The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

[27] 这里可以同样借拉纳的思想作个对比, 奥古斯丁不认为天使拥有关于上帝的知识是因为天使具有上帝某种程度的“是”, 拉纳则论证说人之所以能够知道上帝的知识, 是因为人具有上帝的某种“是”。这里涉及有关知道和“是/存在”、经世和行动的不同看法。相关的论述可参看 Dennis W. Jowers, *The Trinitarian Axiom of Karl Rhrner: The Economic Trinity is the Immanent Trinity and Vice Versa*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 2006), 136.

[28] Augustine, *De Genesi ad literam* 4. 24. 41; 参看奥古斯丁, 《《创世记》字疏》(上) 第 4 卷第 24 章第 41 节。

[29] 同上书。

[30] 奥古斯丁, 《《创世记》字疏》(上), 第 4 卷第 22 章第 49 节。

[31] 同上书。

[32] 同上书。

[33] 奥古斯丁, 《《创世记》字疏》(上), 第 4 卷第 22 章第 50 节。

[34] Richard Sorabji, *Time, Creation And The Continuum*, (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1983) 31.

[35] J. M. Norris, “Augustine’s Interpretation of Genesis in the City of God XI-XV”, in F. Young, M. Eedwards and P. Parvis (ed.), *Studia Patristica*, Vol. XLIII, (NY: Peeters Publishers, 2006) 209.

[36] Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John 1-40*, English translated by Edmund Hill, (NY: New City Press, 2009), 21. 10.

体的事务但不具有救恩效果,他们的奉差遣主要是护理,差遣体现了护理的含义。在旧约里面,差遣与“神显”紧紧相关。三位一体上帝的神显有位格之分,上帝的不同位格以天使和其他存在物的方式显明他自身和不同的位格。旧约围绕着位格、神显、差遣和经世形成一系列相关的神学阐释,神显是天使奉差遣的含义之一。圣父以火焰、云柱、火柱和山上的闪电显明,<sup>[37]</sup>圣子要到日期满足的时候才受差遣<sup>[38]</sup>。神显既然被表达为天使的奉差遣,那就说明它是天使的经世,是上帝差遣天使护理世界。然而单纯凭着神显难以分出圣父、圣子和圣灵位格,只能说明是同一位上帝向历史中的人类显明出他的大能和救恩,但还没有揭示同一位上帝的不同位格与救恩的关系;单纯的神显只说明是上帝而不是圣父、圣子或者圣灵,是不分位格的同一位上帝。<sup>[39]</sup>然而上帝的经世也是位格的经世,上帝的行动还体现为位格与救赎的关系,这就需要进一步分析位格与差遣的关系。事实上,奥古斯丁不仅指出了圣父、圣子和圣灵同一位上帝的经世,而且还指出了位格与救恩的经世。因此神显不仅关乎同一位上帝,而且关乎不同位格。要达成此议,就要由上帝的经世进入位格的经世,以实现有关差遣的更细致分析。在奥古斯丁看来,差遣里面包含着位格经世的奥秘:它指出只有圣子和圣灵是奉差遣,但从来没有说圣父是被差遣的。<sup>[40]</sup>此外,天使也奉差遣。天使的受差遣不是位格意义上的差遣,而是纯粹代理意义上的差遣。因此,一方面,三位格的区分就透过差遣清楚被表明出来:圣父是差遣者而不是被差遣者;圣子是被圣父差遣,圣灵则为圣父和圣子差遣;另一方面,也揭示了天使的经世与上帝的经世的区别:上帝是位格性的差遣和奉差遣,天使则是非位格性的奉差遣。

由于天使的奉差遣是非位格性的,因此天使不会把他自身的意志和“是”加于受造物。在这个意义上,天使(这里专指圣天使)的受差遣是单纯的“神显”,天使在旧约里面的经世就是被差遣的神显。首先,作为神显,天使的奉差遣活动在上帝经世之下,是服役式的受差遣,而不是本着他自身的意志和他的“是”。由于天使知悉上帝创造的所有智慧,<sup>[41]</sup>也明白上帝的旨意,因此他们拥有完成奉上帝差遣之命的智慧。其次,天使的奉差遣完全是受委托的差遣,是作为代理者的差遣。<sup>[42]</sup>因为任何这些事件都是一种行动,而任何的行动都有完成事件的代理者。<sup>[43]</sup>总之,天使的奉差遣与他们作为代理者相关。他们作为代理者是天使“神显”的本质:天使的神显不是要显出他们自身的“是”和他们的“意志”来,而在于显出神来。天使以上帝为“是”,他们的服役满含上帝的智慧。天使的智慧不依凭于他们的“是”,也不使用他们的“是”,他们的智慧在于他们是单纯的执行者,是基于授予、被造和分配的原则。<sup>[44]</sup>奥古斯丁用“智慧人”比喻圣天使的服役,他特别强调他们是在行动上请教于真理,他们的“是”在于他们的行动,他们的“是”在于知道并听从真理,上帝向天使宣明关于万物的智慧。<sup>[45]</sup>上帝的智慧,圣天使的“是”就是圣天使的代理式经世,他们的“是”就是他们的行动。

由于天使的经世并不包含着天使的“是”,<sup>[46]</sup>天使的经世也就不是以其位格为基础,天使的经世

[37] 奥古斯丁 Augustine,《论三位一体》Lun Sanweiyiti [On Trinity],周伟驰 Zhou Weichi 译,(上海 Shanghai:上海人民出版社 Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe [Shanghai People's Press],2005,第2卷第3章第12节。

[38] 同上书。

[39] 同上书,第2卷第3章第13节。

[40] 同上书,第2卷第4章第22节。

[41] 同上书,第2卷第8章第19节。

[42] Augustine, Homilies on the Gospel of John 1-40, 38. 10.

[43] Frank G. Kirkpatrick, *The Mystery And Agency Of God: Divine Being And Action In The World*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014), 173-174.

[44] 奥古斯丁,《论三位一体》(周伟驰译),2005年第3卷第1章第8节。

[45] 奥古斯丁,《创世记字疏》(上),第2卷第8章第18节。

[46] 因为天使的话语里面没有仁爱,只有上帝的本体是仁爱,可见于 Augustine, Homilies on the Gospel of John 1-40, English translated by Edmund Hill, (NY: New City Press, 2009), 6. 20.

是以上帝创造的智慧为行动的力量。<sup>[47]</sup> 简言之, 天使的“是”就是天使的行动。人由于是根据上帝的形像所造, 因而具有位格性。天使不是根据上帝的形像造的, 因此奥古斯丁没有讨论天使的位格性。由此, 天使的经世也不与位格性相关。由于上帝的“是”联合万物, 三位格的上帝在神显中以位格性临在。听命于上帝的圣天使的奉差遣虽然并不包含他自身的位格性, 却以圣父、圣子和圣灵的位格性临在。奥古斯丁这样说: “在那里‘上帝以诸灵为天使, 以火焰为仆役’。他的旨意, 在天上彼此和睦友好由一种属灵的爱火联合为一的诸灵中, 是如同在自己的爱里和圣殿中坐在高矗圣洁秘密的座位上一样, 从那里通过受造者最规律的活动将自己渗透万物, 先是渗透属灵, 后是渗透属物的; 并且照着理智本身不变的美意来使用一切, 不管是物质的或非物质的, 不管他们是有理性的还是无理性的, 不管他们因得了他的恩典是善的, 还是由于他们的意志而是恶的。”<sup>[48]</sup> 奥古斯丁指出了如下两方面: (1) 上帝用他的“是”统领万物, 透过创造活动将自己渗透在万物之中; (2) 天使作为灵界的存在凭着上帝的爱火合而为一, 天使则奉上帝的差遣用理智本身不变的美意使用一切。因此, 整个宇宙是在上帝自有永有的本体之下, 并由天使这个层级的灵界存在物使用上帝的智慧加以管理, 上帝的智慧都是天使经世的原因。<sup>[49]</sup> 这里, 奥古斯丁强调的是藉着天使之助所显明的经世, 而他又特别地把经世解释为护理。

天使经世的能力<sup>[50]</sup> 源于其在受造时所拥有的永恒智慧。天使们知道上帝创始成终的智慧, 他被赋予高于人的经世能力, 这些能力不为人和其他万物所具有。以堕落的天使为例, 他们握有魔术的权能, 但是作恶来自于其意志而不是其能力。<sup>[51]</sup> 《出埃及记》中的埃及术士能施魔法, 奥古斯丁认为这是堕落的天使们参与的结果。<sup>[52]</sup> 这就可以看出恶天使的能力高于人, 因为他们深悉宇宙万物的本性, 他们能够做出一些人所不能够达到的能力。而恶天使的这般能力来自于他们的知识。<sup>[53]</sup> 恶天使虽然具有知道自然万物的能力, 当他们作恶时他们看起来能够凭着自己的能力作恶, 反使自己处在奴役之中。<sup>[54]</sup> 那些术士能够把杖变作蛇, 他们却变不出虱子来, 而术士们把虱子称为“上帝的手指”。<sup>[55]</sup> 天使的这种经世能力来自于上帝的授权, 他们也弱于上帝。虽然有形之物看起来是服从天使的权柄, 实际上天使服从于上帝的吩咐, “上帝决定从他至尊、属灵、不变的宝座赐给他们这一权柄(a quo haec potestas datur quantum in sublimi et spiritali sede incommutabilis iudicat)。”<sup>[56]</sup>

天使的奉差遣使用了许多形式。由于没有人能够在上帝的显现面前站立, 在旧约中上帝经常将他自身显示为天使, 天使则以上帝之名向人说话, 例如《出埃及记》第 3 章第 6 节向摩西说话的上帝显示为天使, “我是亚伯拉罕的上帝, 以撒的上帝, 雅各的上帝。”<sup>[57]</sup> 上帝有时候也将自身显示为天使之外的某物, 但仍然都由天使执行, 例如《诗篇》提到的火与冰雹、雪和雾气等等, 他们来自于上帝的命令

[47] 在“是”与“行动”的关系上, 古典基督教思想家更强调“是”, 不倾向于认为“上帝的行动”就是“上帝的是”, (Frank G. Kirkpatrick, *The Mystery And Agency Of God; Divine Being And Action In The World*, 91)。可见, 天使的行动更不可能是“上帝的是”。

[48] 奥古斯丁, 《论三位一体》, 第 3 卷第 1 章第 9 节。

[49] 同上书。

[50] 同上书, 第 3 卷第 2 章第 13 节。

[51] J. F. Kelly, “The Devil in Augustine’s Genesis Commentaries”, in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica*, VOL. XXXIII; Augustine and his opponents, Jerome, other Latin Fathers after Nicaea, Orientalia, (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1997), 122.

[52] 奥古斯丁, 《论三位一体》, 第 3 卷第 2 章第 12 节。

[53] 奥古斯丁, 《论三位一体》, 第 3 卷第 2 章第 17 节。

[54] Elizabeth Klein, *Augustine’s Theology of Angels*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 63.

[55] 奥古斯丁, 《论三位一体》, 第 3 卷第 2 章第 12 节。

[56] Augustine, *De Trinitate* 3. 8. 13, Migne, PL; S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia; Patrologiae Latinae.

[57] 奥古斯丁, 《论三位一体》, 第 3 卷第 3 章第 20 节; Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John* 1-40, English translated by Edmund Hill, (NY: New City Press, 2009), 3. 17.

然而由天使执行，<sup>[58]</sup>云柱和火柱也是由天使执行。<sup>[59]</sup>可见，天使的经世能力远超过人所想象的。在旧约中，上帝还以圣父、圣子和圣灵的位格性透过天使向人显现出来，天使们有时表达的是圣父位格、有时为圣子位格、有时为圣灵位格，这成为旧约最重要的神显，圣天使在新约中也继续发挥作用。<sup>[60]</sup>

尽管天使有种种经世之能，也能够代表上帝的三位格，然而天使的经世都是出于上帝的容许，无论是圣善的天使还是堕落的天使都是如此。这是天使经世的重要特性：天使作为代理者不具有他们自身的意志。以埃及术士施展的魔法而言，堕落的天使仿佛具有支配万物自然元素进行创造的能力，然而奥古斯丁说，“我们绝不能因为术士们通过恶天使变出了蛙和蛇来抵挡上帝的仆人，就称恶天使为创造者。”<sup>[61]</sup>善天使也是如此。无论是善天使还是恶天使，他们都是在上帝委托之下工作，然而表面上象是作为委托者天使的工作，善恶天使在经世活动中的不同在于他们使用意志的方式。<sup>[62]</sup>无论他们或善或恶地使用意志，他们的行动都在上帝的意志之下。

### 三

就终末而言，天使的经世与上帝的国度相关。天使虽然不是救赎的施行者，但天使的经世仍然是上帝救赎计划的重要组成部分。上帝最初创造的是“天外之天”，它是一座天使之城。奥古斯丁这样说道，上帝“以一种纯粹而神奇的方式知道万物，拥有稳定不变的知识。不过，上帝拥有天使，为了我们的缘故，也为了天使的缘故。因为这样顺从上帝，侍奉上帝，寻求他关于低级造物的谋略，遵守他的神圣戒律和命令，对他们是一种好，与他们自己的本性和本体相吻合。天使在希腊语里称为 *angeloi*，在宽泛意义上我们用这个词指称整个天上之城，我们认为这是第一日创造的。”<sup>[63]</sup>天使之城与上帝第六日创造的伊甸园，本来分处在宇宙秩序的两个层面，然而堕落的天使出于控制地上人类的意志，使得受造物（包括堕落的天使和人类）不再活在上帝命定的秩序之下。上帝的救赎计划是要将得救的人类由天使之城迁入上帝国度，这也改变了天使之城的性质。在终末的意义上，上帝之城将由生活在原先天使之城中的圣天使和得救的人类共同构成新的国度。天使在上帝的国度中始终保持重要地位，是上帝国度的根源。

天使的分裂造成两个相互对立的集团，成为上帝之城和地上之城对立的起源。<sup>[64]</sup>圣经对于这两个天使集团早就有清楚的显示，它以光暗称呼他们。好的天使被称为光 (*illos (boni angeli) lucem merito appellari*)，奥古斯丁引用《以弗所书》5:8 为证，“如今在主里面是光明的”，他认为这里面的光明的指的是圣天使。<sup>[65]</sup>他又引用《彼得后书》2:4 为堕落天使的证明，“就是天使犯了罪，神也没有宽容，曾把他们丢在地狱，交在黑暗坑中，等候审判”，奥古斯丁认为这里的黑暗 (*tenebrae*) 意味着堕落的

[58] 奥古斯丁，《论三位一体》，第3卷第3章第19节。

[59] 奥古斯丁，《论三位一体》，第3卷第3章第21节。

[60] Augustine, *De Trinitate* 3. 11. 27. 拉丁文原文是: *constititque et probabilitate rationis quantum homo vel potius quantum ego potui, et firmitate auctoritatis quantum de Scripturis sanctis divina eloquia patuerunt, quod antiquis Patribus nostris ante incarnationem Salvatoris, cum Deus apparere dicebatur voces illae ac species corporales per Angelos factae sunt.*

[61] Augustine, *De Trinitate* 3. 8. 13. 拉丁文原文是: *nec sane creatores illi mali angeli dicendi sunt quia per illos magi resistentes famulo Dei ranas et serpentes fecerunt.*

[62] 奥古斯丁，《论三位一体》，第3卷第2章第13节。

[63] 奥古斯丁，《〈创世记〉字疏》(上)，第5卷第19章第37节。

[64] 奥古斯丁 Augustine,《上帝之城》(中) *Shangdi zhicheng (zhong)* [The City of God (II)], 吴飞 Wu Fei 译, (上海 Shanghai: 上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian [Shanghai SDX Joint Publishing House]), 2008, 第11卷第34章。

[65] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 11. 33, Migne, PL: S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia; Patrologiae Latinae; 参看奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中), 第11卷第33章。



天使(mali angeli)。<sup>[66]</sup> 这两处经文的光和暗对应于《创世记》1:3,“就把光暗分开了”,这里的“光暗”就是圣天使和堕落天使的分离。圣天使是在上帝里面享有神圣安息的一族,黑暗的天使则是污秽地爱着他们自身的一族。这两个天使团体彼此不同,相互对立。<sup>[67]</sup> 堕落天使引发了生活在伊甸园里的人们与上帝的对抗,因此地上之城缘起于堕落的天使,圣善的天使则协助上帝恢复受造物的国度。

这就形成了“四个群体”和“两个城”的对立。四个群体是“堕落的天使”和“圣善的天使”、“恶人”和“善人”;四个群体分为“两城”：“只有两个城,也就是两个团体,一个是好的,一个是坏的。两个城中都既有天使,也有人类。”<sup>[68]</sup> 因着恶天使在天使群体中的堕落,上帝拣选了忠诚于上帝的那部分人填补了恶天使的空缺,因此得救之人和圣天使组成上帝之城。在上帝之城中,不只有天使,圣善国度不再被称为天使之城,而是被称为上帝之城。<sup>[69]</sup> 恶人和恶天使则构成地上之城。如果没有天使的堕落,就不会有地上之城,因为天使有天使之城,人有伊甸园,天使和人都在圣善的秩序之中。天使的堕落导致伊甸园违背诫命的事件,这不是说人的犯罪是因为堕落的天使,然而天使的堕落引发了人的堕落。人虽然被逐出了伊甸园,但是天使的圣善国度仍然存在,堕落的天使则掌控了地上之城。

可见天使的经世推动着天使之城向上帝之城运行,天使和人被共同卷入上帝的国度。在旧约时代,国度观念透过神显展开。天使是神显的代理者,主导者却是上帝。天使把上帝国度的观念带入教会,护理上帝的百姓回归上帝国度。正如经世这个词在教父时代所表达的,即合乎主教的意志管理教会的财产,是上帝国度在人间的一种表达。<sup>[70]</sup> 在此世来说,天使经世在于护理上帝的百姓过圣洁的生活,而不是落入到堕落天使的国度之中。地上之城里面的上帝国度即教会的展开,能使天使之城的空缺得以重新补全。<sup>[71]</sup>

奥古斯丁指出两类天使是两种国度的不同引导者,他们的区分不是基于他们的自然能力,而是基于他们与上帝的关系。经世与国度的关系不在于能力的属性,而出于意志。因此,上帝国度的引导出于上帝的意志,天使们则协助执行上帝国度的意志。天使透过与人们结成共同体来实现国度意志,<sup>[72]</sup>“亲近上帝,就是好的天使幸福的原因;我们就会理解,相反,不亲近上帝,就是坏的天使变悲惨的原因。”<sup>[73]</sup> 因着这两类天使的不同引导,人类历史的情况有不同的结局:有亲近上帝的人也有远离上帝的人,总体而言就分为两个集团:上帝国度的公民将获得神圣天使的不朽性,上帝成为这样一个国度的缔造者。<sup>[74]</sup> 地上之城的人将随着他们的蛊惑者往永刑里面去,他们所遭受的惩罚也没有终结。<sup>[75]</sup>

天使的反叛缘于其挣脱上帝的意志而建立他们自己的国度。天使之城的堕落是因为国度、本性与意志之间的冲突,天使之城的冲突是天使自身的意志与他们执行上帝意志的决心之间的冲突。在某种程度上,天使们似乎拥有能够脱离上帝意志的能力,然而实则不能。天使就其本性而言,都是理智的灵性存在者。这些灵性存在者有能力理解上帝。上帝为天使群体设立了神圣的上界之城,天使群体之所以幸福而完全地存在,是因为他们享有上帝并以上帝为其共有的生命和滋养。上帝除了使

[66] Augustine, De Civitate Dei 11. 33. 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中),第 11 卷第 33 章。

[67] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中)第 11 卷第 33 章。

[68] 同上书,第 12 卷第 1 章第 1 节。

[69] 奥古斯丁,《〈创世记〉字疏》(上),第 5 卷第 19 章第 38 节;奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第 22 卷第 1 章第 2 节。

[70] G. L. Prestige, God in Patristic Thought, p. 57.

[71] 奥古斯丁,《论信望爱手册》第 61 章,见于《论信望爱》(许一新译),第 63 页,北京:三联书店,2009 年。

[72] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中),第 10 卷第 12 章。

[73] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中),第 12 卷第 1 章第 2 节;奥古斯丁 Augustine,《论真宗教》Lun zhenzongjiao [On the True Religion], 第 13 章第 26 节,见于奥古斯丁 Augustine,《论秩序》Lun zhixu [On the Order], 石敏敏 Shi minmin 译,(北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 2017), 221.

[74] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第 22 卷第 1 章第 1 节。

[75] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第 21 卷第 23 章。

自己成为天使的目的、赋予天使以理智之外,还赋予天使以自由抉择的意志。<sup>[76]</sup> 自由抉择的能力是善的,然而这种善的自由抉择能力作为意志活动违背其理智的本性,就会离开幸福而过悲惨的生活。悲惨生活的自由意志常常成为对于理智生活的优势,而其所谓的优势实在是出于骄傲。<sup>[77]</sup> 堕落的天使不能够管理他的意志,将他所具有的能力用于他自身国度的建造,并且因为他知道上帝的智慧,他的骄傲意志达到这样一个程度,就是认为他可以上帝,这背后是对于自由的错误理解,以为它能够实现自我的目的即快乐。<sup>[78]</sup> 堕落的天使以其所知道的知识蔑视上帝的智慧,其对于知识目的的错误使用,就是对于智慧的滥用。<sup>[79]</sup> 滥用是一种虚假的快乐,<sup>[80]</sup>其背后都是骄傲的意志。在这样的经世里面,全部都是堕落天使的虚假的自由,就是滥用上帝为他准备的经世知识。由于这种经世成了罪恶的根源,天使就活在虚假的快乐之中,虚假快乐的本质是虚假的自由,奥古斯丁也称之为“囚徒们的虚假自由”(mancam libertatem captivus)。<sup>[81]</sup> 堕落的天使和堕落的人所组成的地上之城,就是囚徒式的自由。

上帝的自由和堕落天使的囚徒式的自由来自两种不同类型的国度意志,它们的自由是两种不同的意志的安排,分别构成上帝之城和地上之城的动力因:上帝和自我。因此,救恩历史的经世在于管理意志,包括管理欲求和提供欲求的供应。<sup>[82]</sup> 堕落天使使用虚假的国度意志管理自由,其意志蕴含着太多的管理的错误动力,以致于种种安排只会趋向于无秩序的状态,<sup>[83]</sup>因此,天使之城堕落的隐在奥秘就是滥用上帝之爱的意志,圣善的天使则遵照上帝的意志向着人类揭开上帝在基督里面隐藏的正义的意志,就是以上帝的爱为意志的法则,<sup>[84]</sup>并使堕落的天使顺服。<sup>[85]</sup>

圣善的天使引导天使之城成为上帝的国度,引导原本堕落的人成为上帝国度的人民,<sup>[86]</sup>按照好的意志也就是上帝的意志联结成以上帝为中心的团体,<sup>[87]</sup>用上帝的意志管理万物,使凡事都在上帝的意志活动里面。<sup>[88]</sup> 在由天使之城进入上帝之城后,天使之城的国度意志和得救之人的国度意志被联结为不再堕落的上帝国度,就是这里所说的“好的意志”。在上帝国度里面的意志不会再堕落。最终,自由的上帝国度,超出了所有败坏之可能性,圣善的天使把上帝的百姓带入其中。他们在经世活动中使自己处在自身意志的无有之中,处在对上帝智慧的极度渴求之中,这是上帝之城的敬虔

[76] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第22卷第1章第2节。

[77] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 12. 1. 2. 拉丁文原文是: praesciret angelos quosdam per elationem, qua ipsi sibi ad beatam vitam sufficere vellent, tanti boni desertores futuros.

[78] Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John* 1-40, 17. 16.

[79] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 1. 4. 4, Migne, PL: S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae. 拉丁文原文是: Frui est enim amore inhaerere alicui rei propter seipsam. Uti autem, quod in usum venerit ad id quod amas obtinendum referre, si tamen amandum est. Nam usus illicitus abusus potius vel abusio nominandus est.

[80] 奥古斯丁 Augustine, 《论基督教教义》Lun jidujiao jiaoyi [On Christian Doctrine], 第1卷第4章第4节, 见于《论灵魂及其起源》Lun linghun jiqi qi yuan [On Soul and its Origin], 石敏敏 Shi minmin 译, (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 2017), 17.

[81] Augustine, *Confessionum* 2. 6. 12, Migne, PL: S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae.

[82] G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, p. 58.

[83] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中),第12卷第6章。

[84] 同上书,第10卷第3章第2节。

[85] 同上书,第11卷第22章第29节。

[86] 同上书,第10卷第7章。

[87] 同上书,第10卷第1章第1节。

[88] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 12. 9. 1. 拉丁文原文: cum id egit eorum voluntas bona, ut non ad se ipsos, qui minus erant, sed ad illum, qui summe est, converterentur eique adhaerentes magis essent eiusque participatione sapienter beateque viverent; quid aliud ostenditur nisi voluntatem quamlibet bonam inopem fuisse in solo desiderio remansuram, nisi ille, qui bonam naturam ex nihilo sui capacem fecerat, ex se ipso faceret implendo meliorem, prius faciens excitando avidiorem.

特征。<sup>[89]</sup>

圣天使和圣民的自由意志联结在上帝的意志之中,造成了超越天使之城和伊甸园及教会中人类意志的意志,这是新国度的意志,他们拥有一个共同的、不可分的自由意志,<sup>[90]</sup>它是朝向和平敬虔的意志,<sup>[91]</sup>因为敬虔的意志本意为“合宜的崇拜”,<sup>[92]</sup>就是向上帝而不是向其他存在物献上敬拜。“他们不愿意我们向他们自己献上祭献,知道他们和我们都要向他祭献。”<sup>[93]</sup>上帝的国度意志使人拥有真正的自由:它是使人不再犯罪的自由;在天使之城和伊甸园中,受造物的意志拥有的自由能使人不犯罪,堕落的天使和人类的自由只能犯罪。

奥古斯丁用“和平”(pax)国度的观念来表达“上帝之城”的意志特性,上帝的国度实现了社会的和平与神意的秩序。<sup>[94]</sup>和平是对上帝国度的意志的更适切表达,天使藉着上帝的帮助把人们带回上帝的和平。上帝国度的和平超乎人们的意料,也超乎天使们的意料,<sup>[95]</sup>使得上帝国度与天使之城区别开来:在这个城里面每个存在者都看到自身之中伟大的善,不会再有嫉妒产生,例如其他天使不会嫉妒大天使,他们都处在最和平与和谐的限制之中,所有器官都和平地包含在整个身体之中,都不贪图更多的赐与。<sup>[96]</sup>这是上帝国度的敬虔,是真正的宗教,是正确的敬虔,就是将上帝应得的侍奉全部给他。<sup>[97]</sup>和平是基督徒最终达到的善,而新耶路撒冷是和平的异象,上帝之城则是和平本身。<sup>[98]</sup>因此,天使的经世是建立上帝国度的和平之旅。

[89] Elizabeth Klein, *Augustine's Theology of Angels*, 81.

[90] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第 22 卷第 30 章第 4 节。

[91] 同上书,第 22 卷第 30 章第 3 节。

[92] 奥古斯丁 Augustine,《论信望爱手册》Lun xingwangai shouce [Enchiridion],第二章,见于奥古斯丁,《论信望爱》Lun xingwangai [On Faith, Hope and Love],许一新 Xu yixin 译,(北京 Beijing:SDX Joint Publishing House,2009),28.

[93] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(中),第 10 卷第 7 章。

[94] Thomas Rennan, "The idea of Peace in the Augustinian Traditions 400—1200", in *Augustinian Studies*, Vol. 10, ( Villanova: Annual Publication of the Augustinian Institute, 1979 ), 110.

[95] 奥古斯丁,《论信望爱手册》,第六十三章,见于奥古斯丁,《论信望爱》,73.

[96] 奥古斯丁,《上帝之城》(下),第 22 卷第 30 章第 2 节。

[97] 同上书,第 10 卷第 3 章第 2 节。

[98] Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020 ), 522-523.

**English Title:**

**Augustine on the Economy of Angels**

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**Abstract:** Angelology is a major theme in Augustine's important works such as *The City of God*, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* and *Enchiridion*. This essay explains Augustine's theology of angelic economy from three perspectives-creation, governance and kingdom. 1) The relationship between the angelic economy and the creation; it is here argued that the economic ability of the angels is originated in the intellectual intuition of God and of the creation, as, even prior to creation, angels had already stored the created in their minds as concepts; 2) The relationship between the angelic economy and governance is originated in the concept of "divine apparition." Angels govern as God's agents, but their governance is impersonal; 3) The relationship between the angelic economy and the kingdom is originated in the union between the holy angels and the holy people, which occurs in God's will. In this union, Angels act as guides leading human beings to the kingdom of peace. This essay also points out that Augustine's angelology is related to his three major theological principles, i. e. the theories of creation, governance and salvation.

**Key Words:** economy; knowledge; send; kingdom



书评与通讯

Reviews and Academic Reports



# A Reflection Analysis on the Martin Luther and the Third Enlightenment<sup>[1]</sup>

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## 1. News And Summary About The First Season

On April 26-30, 2021, the first season's lectures of "Martin Luther and the third enlightenment" were successfully held by Shanghai Library and co-organized by the Sino-Europe Center at Shanghai University. Because of epidemic and the limitation of the ground, this series of lectures were conducted both online and offline. All the lectures were spoken by Professor Paulos Huang, Director of the Sino-European Center at Shanghai University and the Tutor for Doctor at Shanghai University.

This season's lectures were held in five days. Each day have two lectures at 14PM, and each lecture was 45 minutes and left 10 minutes opening to discussion. The online live streaming was opened to everyone who was interesting in this series of lectures. During five days' live streaming, there were altogether 4636 participants attended this series of lectures.

The ten lectures' themes were: Martin Luther and the third enlightenment, Martin Luther and the spiritual care, Martin Luther and the rationality, Martin Luther and the paradox, Martin Luther and the liberalism, Martin Luther and the conservatism, Martin Luther and the unity of heaven and mankind, Martin Luther and the law, Martin Luther and the philosophy, Martin Luther and the humanism.

This series of lectures were mainly discussed the relationship between the Martin Luther and the third enlightenment. The Chinese academic circle was used to the traditional interpretation about Luther that Martin Luther was just a religious reformer. But Professor Huang emphasized this interpretation is a serious misunderstanding; Martin Luther was not only a religious reformer, but also a philosopher and a reformer of intellect, society. Because of the misunderstand in the Chinese academic circle, then we inevitably have further misunderstandings about the whole Western history.

The third enlightenment was the new concept raised by the Professor Huang. It referred to that after the first enlightenment (the May 4th Movement in 1919) and the second enlightenment (the reform and open in 1978), the current Chinese academic circle is facing its urgent needs to have one

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[1] Thanks to Professor John Barwick (Cornell University, USA) for polishing the English. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www. SinoWesternStudies. com), 1-20.



more enlightenment. Professor Huang's promotion about the third enlightenment is mainly used to face the problem raised by the Globalization. And during the present time that lots of severe challenges are faced by the China, the intellectual lightness from Martin Luther will play a significant role when the relationship between the Sinology and Western Learning are putting on the research table.

The first lecture's theme was Martin Luther and the third enlightenment. At the beginning of this lecture, Professor Huang briefly introduced his researches about the relationship between Luther and third enlightenment. During the current academic circle's appeal that the western theology needs to adapt the Chinese culture, the importance of Luther's researches and the proclamation of Luther's researches is more and more revealing. So, Martin Luther is not only a character who maintains a stereotype as a religious reformer, but also should be revalued in the areas of social reform, Intellectual life, philosophy, culture. Martin Luther is not only belonging to certain denominations or churches, but also belonging to the whole world. Because of the ignorance of Martin Luther in the Chinese academic circle, the reflection of enlightenment will inevitably face its boundary. Then its problems from the post-modernism and totalitarianism could never be solved totally. Furthermore, Professor Huang illustrated the originality from Luther behind all these schools and theories. That is, the essence of the enlightenment: "In the beginning was the Word."

The second lecture's theme was Martin Luther and the spiritual care. At the beginning of this lecture, Professor Huang introduced the anthropology from Luther. From the Luther's interpretation of Genesis, he defined the human being in three dimensions: flesh, soul, spirit. Then from the Greek translation of these words (sarkinois, psychikos, pneumatokos sooma), Professor Huang leaded us to Luther's lifelong mission: the spiritual care (de cura animarum). About the spiritual care, it's not something oriented from our own self-desire, but to help those who are "chosen by God (Theodidakti)". Then Professor Huang recounted Luther's personal testimony. Luther's caring about other people doesn't means he will compromise the Truth for other people. Luther's whole life never lacked the confrontation because of the protection of truth, no matter they were his friends or the prince who offered him the asylum. At the end of this lecture, Professor Huang discoursed Luther's view on freedom. Luther's view is all the human beings have their ability to pursue the Goodness which are different from animals. But in the eyesight of God, everyone is inclining to Sin, which is corrupted by demons. Then everyone's true freedom only can be obtained in God's salvation. Only God's salvation can help everyone getting rid of this world's power and getting the absolute freedom in God's mercy.

The third lecture's theme was Martin Luther and the rationality. At the beginning of this lecture, Professor Huang defined the reason and it's content. Then he helped the audiences to know the the researches' history of reason in western philosophical history (from Middle Ages to Kant). Unlike the usual philosophical researches, Professor Huang started from the paradigm of western intellectual history, so he could let the audiences to know the limitation of the traditional researches about the reason. For example, although Kant's famous researches about reason already let us to know its limitation of recognition about thing-it-self (ding an sich), but he can't approach the it's true position in the life-itself and before the judgement of God. Although Martin Luther was before Kant's age, but he already given a accurate demonstration about the reason. So in the previous

researches about the reason, Luther's works were highly overlooked. Luther's works not only could help to correct the rationalism, but also have a significant meaning for the the third enlightenment.

The fourth lecture's theme was Martin Luther and the Paradox. Professor Huang emphasized the importance of the concept of paradox in Luther's works. Martin Luther's essential opposition about the Catholicism is their path of approach the Truth, which is the path from the Greek philosophy. But in Martin Luther's view, the truth is never surface in the contents and phenomenons, but hidden behind the contents and phenomenons. And professor Huang particularly pointed out, Hegel's concept of Absolute Spirit (Geist) was deeply influenced by Martin Luther, thus Max's Dialectics of Nature also could say that it was originated from Martin Luther in a certain degree. Then Professor Huang illustrated ten kinds of Paradox and demonstrated the different between the Paradox and sophistry, relativism, the tradition from scholasticism. At our current age, the problems from "big date", "artificial intelligence" are more and more penetrating, so Luther's works could give these problems a new perspective.

The fifth and sixth lectures' themes were: Martin Luther and the liberalism, Martin Luther and the traditionalism. At the beginning of these two lectures, Professor Huang reviewed these two theories' originality and their originality's relationship with Martin Luther. Then Professor Huang analyzed these two words' English linguistic history. And Professor Huang also compared these two words different meanings from different philosophical thinker and illustrated how they were influenced by the Luther. At the end of these two lectures, Professor Huang talked about the current statement of Chinese Intellectual life and how the Luther's view about the liberalism and the traditionalism could play an important role in the third enlightenment.

The seventh and eighth lectures' themes were: Martin Luther and the unity of heaven and mankind, Martin Luther and the law. At the beginning of these two lectures, Professor Huang compared the "unity of heaven and mankind" from the culture of Greek, Roman, Hebrew, ancient China. Then Professor Huang analyzed three paths of Sanctification which are "addition", "subtraction" and the path from Martin Luther. From this subject, Professor Huang introduced the legalism and the anti-legalism in history which can't be separated from the subject of Sanctification. During the development of Legal institutions in history, Professor Huang considered the Luther's Legal theory was the most comprehensive theory, which was included Truth, anthropology and other fundamental concepts. Luther's theory not only could bring significant influence to the third enlightenment but also could bring some references to the departments of Religious Management.

The ninth lecture's theme was: Martin Luther and the humanism. At the beginning of this lecture, Professor Huang discoursed the threads of humanism in western history and the statement of humanism in Luther's age. At the Martin Luther's early years, Erasmus's translation of Greek Bible and Reuchlin's interpretation of Hebrew culture given Luther lots of help to develop his own theory and to fight with the Catholicism. But in the later years, these two men broke with Luther and went back to the Catholicism. And Luther's successor: Moranton (who became a professor of Greek language at the age of 21), followed Luther to keep developing his theory. But lots of people attacked Moranton that he was humanism. Then there was a divide in the Lutheranism. After Professor Huang introduced the threads of Chinese humanism, he deeply analyzed the defects of humanism. That is worshiping the human beings and worshiping the relative truth (consider they are absolute

Truth). Then at the end of this lecture, Professor Huang introduced the significant meaning of Luther's criticism about the humanism.

The tenth lecture's theme was Martin Luther and the philosophy. At the beginning of this lecture, Professor Huang introduced the "via antiqua", "via moderna" from the tradition of the scholasticism. Then from this tradition, Professor Huang introduced nominalism, pietism, monastery's culture that all of them were deeply influenced Luther's growth. And from these theory, Luther started to criticize the neo-scholasticism's salvation, the central of human nationality, Pelagianism, then he completely divided with the unity of the Principle of Sufficient Reason and the Ontology proof. At the middle of this lecture, Professor emphasized Luther's influences on different philosophers. About Kant, he grown up in the Lutheranism, in order to oppose the mainstream churches, he brought up the idea of "back to Luther's pietism background". And in this theory he also agreed the same limitation about the reason with Luther, but in the area of practical rationality, he totally divided with Luther. Luther also had a influence on Hegel. Hegel's dialect relationship about the other and ego was indicated that he followed the path of Luther's theory about God's mercy and reconciliation. Also, Max was illustrated: "even the Protestantism did not solved the question, but the Protestantism properly brought up the question."

## 2. Causation and Originality(缘起)

In order to reflect the limitation of the western philosophy, to alarm the current statement of the Sinology and to prepare the challenge of the artificial intelligence, this series of lectures will discuss Martin Luther's theory in various of aspects. Then this series of lectures will try to deconstruct the traditional and narrow impression of Martin Luther(which just reviewed him as a religious reformer) and revalue his theory's influence in history and in our current age.

Through the reassessment of Martin Luther's contribution, this series of lectures also want to appeal the third Enlightenment, in order through the "faith" to acquire the true Freedom (which is not from the indulgence) and to illuminate the sanctity inside the human beings. Not only just do the disenchantment, but also illuminate the essence of the human (which is the unity of sinner and righteous man (simul justus et peccato)). Also the third enlightenment oppose the "anthropocentrism", but does not oppose the subjectivity, reason and other fundamental human natures. It oppose the extreme valuation of human beings. Martin Luther also opposed the "theocentrism" before his age, which was extremely oppressing the human nature.

Before Luther's age, human beings were highly oppressed by the religious power and the autocrats. The liberation of human nature has a long history. The first wave of motion was Renaissance(AD14—16). It highly valued personal desire, sense and emotion. Most of them belong to the level of soul (anima), but the exploitation of the fields of flesh and physical material has a significant meaning to develop the discovery of human's essence.

The second wave of motion was Reformation(AD16) which is revealed by Martin Luther. It particularly focused on the fields of personal sanctity (which created by God), dignity and the revelation of paradox. It combined the soul (anima) and the spirit(pneuma) and shattered the idol of

religion. Then it aroused people's subjectivity and brought up all the modern concepts (rationality/science, democracy, equity, freedom, justification). But the pity is that western history basically valued Luther's reformation just inside the Church and the theology, lots of Luther's influences were ignored.

The third wave of motion was the Enlightenment (AD17—18). It was particularly focused on personal reason. Not only it was endowed the character of "Rationalism", but also brought up the absolute freedom from reason that human relied on reason to become God. Then it removed the tradition of Christianity which Luther represented from the public domain and replaced it with the theory of atheism. Inevitably, it brought lots of crises in lots of fields and became a striking target for the post-modern theories.

In all these movements, the reformation from Luther was not only ignored by the Chinese academic circle, but also ignored by the western academic circle. The influence from "Rationalism" is still widespread in the whole world. Thus, the subjectivity and the reason are not yet correctly studied, and the consequence of rising the reason too much (which is worship of human beings) will be inevitable.

The first and the second enlightenment in China was in 1919 and 1978, their purposes were not for the Truth but for certain target in their historical environments which are the nationalism and the patriotism. Comparing the Chinese enlightenment and the western enlightenment, it was easily revealed that the essence of these two movements have a significant difference. Although lots of theories were exhibited in that time that both of them were claimed they were represented the Truth, but lots of theories were drained by the time. Only the pragmatism and the utilitarianism were remained, then with the outfits of nationalism they dominated different Chinese academic fields in almost one-hundred years.

The first enlightenment was began in the 1919 and exerted lots of significant meanings for the Chinese society. Before this movement, Chinese society was still remained in the age of agricultural civilization. Different from the western enlightenment, the May 4th Movement's essential purpose was not pursuing the Truth, but destroyed the feudality and opposed the imperialism. Although during the May 4th Movement "democracy" and "science" were already recommended, but basically they were just used as a tool for the revolution and were not properly reflected. Then before they were deeply reflected, they were replaced by the movements of anti-Japanese and classes struggle. The essences of western enlightenment were not achieved. And after the year of 1949, Chinese academic circles mostly define the May 4th Movement as a revolutionary movement.

The second enlightenment was the reformation and openness after the year of 1978. It was in the time of shift of industrial civilization, but its essential atmosphere still was the nationalism. Its purpose was though the development of Material development to achieve the realisation of the four modernizations. And its guiding ideology is pragmatism which valued every theories by its economy outcome. At that time everything basically conformed with the western world. But after the twenty-first century, more and more limitations of western world were revealed. And with the arising of "Chinese dream", "confidence in the path", more and more theories of nationalism were brought up. With the nationalism from Trump, the confrontations between China and America are rising up now.

All in all, the third enlightenment is willing to get rid of the immature and to lead to the

independence and freedom. On the other hand, it is to help people to get rid of the blind disciplines and the chains from the authority, tradition, system. Then it is in order to help people to engage in the public domain to rightly use the reason. It also could help people to regulate the path so that we could not extremely rely on the subjectivity or oppress the subjectivity. But through Luther's theory we can treat the "anthropocentrism" and "theocentrism" properly and define human beings' subjectivity properly that we have both the sanctity and the Man's sin. And we should value reason in the aspects and treat reason's activity and the limitation at the same time.

At our current age of 21st century, human beings' subjectivity and reason are facing the treat of artificial intelligence and the big date. So avoiding the narrow understanding of the reason is in urgent need. Especially in our current background of the COVID-19 and the Trade war between the China and the America, the ambiguity of the concepts of freedom, human right, equity are more and more been revealed. And because of the current statements, a new form of religion which is worshiping human beings' subjectivity and reason is widely been accepted. Also with the new development of technologies and the arising of artificial intelligence power, the concentration of power are arising in different academic context.

Then it inevitably exhibited in the presidential election of 2020 that the government arbitrarily manipulated the citizens with all these technologies. And also in the presidential election of 2020, the extreme conflict between the conservatism which was behind the Trump and the liberalism which was behind the Biden was exhibited in a stunning way. This kind of ideological conflict was not only exhibited in the presidential election, but also revealed in the COVID-19 and the Trade War between the China and the America.

So the current statements of the world's civilization was already caused a deeply concern in the world's academic circles. So the Chinese academic circle's mission is very urgent. If the Sinology wants to revive and propagation, it must deeply understands the threads of Western theological history. Before the Modern age, the Classical liberalism which was built up in empiricism and rationalism was in some degree against the Christianity, but it still acknowledged the "Deist natural law", the "existence of God" and the "limitation of the subjectivity". But the Modern and Post-modern ages' Contemporary radical liberalism are not only rejecting any theism, but also value human beings' Subjectivity and Power as the most high. Comparing with the development of Western history, we also need cautiously analyze the development of the Confucianists. The Confucianists in Xian Qin honored the heaven and valued the heaven as the absolute Truth. But after the dynasty of Qin and Han, the confucianists honored the Emperor as the absolute Truth. These two sides of extremeness were already deeply analyzed in Luther's works. So Luther's contributions in the intellectual history can not be ignored.

So this series of lectures as part of the third enlightenment must face all the questions above. It not only intends to illuminate human beings' subjectivity, but also synthesize all the current theories to analyze all the current problems we are facing at. In the environments of globalization, artificial intelligence and the big date, human being should be considered in the unity of flesh, soul, spirit. The level of flesh include: life, property, satiation and safety. The level of soul include: emotion, desire, reason, intellect. The level of spirit include: eternal Goodness, Truth. Then from these three levels, the third enlightenment wants to solve the relationship of modernity, western culture, Chinese

characteristics. From the history of Chinese society, the third enlightenment could help the “human” to independent, that is to say, to help people to get rid of the chains of material, reason, culture and all the false authorities which claim they are the ultimate Truth. Then in the analyses of the tension between the “universality” and the “individuality”, the third enlightenment could help people to acquire the true freedom, courage and to get the disenchantment in the Truth.

### **3. Highlights of the First Season’s Lectures**

The first seasons’ lectures could say that they are different from all the other traditional lectures. All the traditional lecture basically focused on Luther’s identity of religious reformer and ignored his influences on the other fields. Thus Luther’s work mainly be recognized just the theological statements of a school, then it should be kicked out of the public field and just kept in the Lutheranism.

Then this series of lectures’ purpose is to invert all these traditional biases. During this series of lectures, Martin Luther’s experiences and works could be evaluated in all aspects. Not only Luther’s personal experiences and works in his time already caused great changes in all the fields, but also have a lasting influences in the modern and post-modern ages. So this series of lectures unlike traditionally narrow view, it could give a whole new perspective about all the Luther’s works and hope to arouse Chinese academic circle’s attention about Luther.

At the beginning of the lectures, Professor Huang doesn’t follow the traditional paradigm, but directly brought up the current age’s problems. In the reviewing the problems of our age, Professor Huang deeply analyzed these problems’ root, which can be traced back to the Luther’s reform in the fields of philosophy and society. All the problems manifested in our current age could be induced to the arrogation of the our subjectivity. And from these problems, we can see how the later generations benefited from Luther’s reform, but then deviated from Luther’s theory. So that we can analyze how the problems manifested from the deviation.

In Professor Huang’s lectures, we can clearly be instructed about this thread of development. With Martin Luther’s reform, it helped human beings’ subjectivity to independent from the authority of Catholicism. But because of the liberation of subjectivity, the later generations did not succeed to acknowledge the limitation of the subjectivity, but went forward to the empiricism and the rationalism. Thus the forces of the positivism and the liberalism raised up. Then inevitably, human beings’ Ego was totally inflated. The utilitarianism and the scientific paradigm behind the artificial intelligence and the big data shows that the contemporary main streams are already denying all the theories of theism and valuing human’s reason could help human beings to recognize the ultimate Truth someday. So with all these errors, systematically studying Luther’s theory about reason and anthropology is significant. we can’t just remember Luther’s religious achievements and forget the works in other fields.

In the field of philosophy, lots of philosophers in the later ages were benefited from Martin Luther. In the first series of lectures, Professor Huang mainly discussed the relationship between Luther and Kant. Kant is famous in all the subjects of humanities and all the philosophical

textbooks. And Kant's "Three Critiques of reason" was served as a link between the preceding and the following. Then in this series of lectures, Professor Huang originally brought up "Three Critiques of reason" from Martin Luther. Martin Luther although was born hundreds of years before Kant. He at his age already brought up the similar "Three Critiques of reason". But in the intellectual history, the importance of his works about reason was highly ignored. His theory about reason could plentifully enlarge the dimensions about reason's research.

In Luther's age, neo-scholasticism(via moderna) and scholasticism was dominated in the fields of culture and intellect. Luther did not totally accept the neo-scholasticism, but took both the attitudes of criticism and inheritance. Then he brought up the whole new aspects of the relationship between the philosophy and theology. The first critique of reason is; criticize the possible of though the reason to know God(that is the same critique as Kant but directly oppose with the Scientism). The second critique of reason is ;criticize the practical rationality in the moral level to achieve the possible of the conformation between the morality and the satisfaction(that is directly oppose with the humanism). The third critique of reason is; criticize the path of the scholasticism which interpreted God's revelation though the reason. Luther's view is the Revelation though paradox reveal itself.

Martin Luther's "Three Critiques of reason" is not only before Kant, but also has a deep, comprehensive influence on the later age's philosophy. From the critiques of philosophy, this series of lectures also introduced the anthropology of Luther. The anthropology from Luther doesn't only mean a rational theory, but also represent his lifetime mission, that is, "the care of spirit/anima(de cura animarum). Unlike some hypocritical theoreticians who can not conform their words and deeds, Martin Luther's whole life was carried through his anthropology. Luther himself was deeply suffered the pain of spirit because of the weakness of human beings' own power in the pursuing of the Holy. In the judgement of God, Luther clearly saw that human can not rely on himself to satisfy God's Law. So the foundation of Luther's anthropology was built on God's mercy and salvation. The truth healing and hope is from the faith of salvation. So the human's freedom and holy also built on God's salvation.

Then about this significant theme of anthropology, Professor Huang led audiences to analyze this theme from the Hebrew of the Genesis in Bible to the Greek words of this theme. Unlike other mainstreams theories, the theory of Luther's anthropology defined human in three dimensions: flesh (sarkinois)、soul(psychikos)、spirit(pneumatokos). Then professor Huang showed the audiences that with Luther's anthropology, lots of problems from later ages could be solved from their originality.

Comparing all the problems from later ages with Luther's theory, we can see the key to solve these problems is to review the Luther's theory about the reason and the human. Either the humanism which extremely uplift the subjectivity or the nihilism which extremely deny all the value of human beings, both need to review the line that Luther drawn for human. In Luther's works, he already clearly illustrated that incapableness of human's reason and morality when facethe ultimate Truth. Human can not rely on his own power to get rid of the sin and to know the ultimate Truth, the only path is that the Truth though the paradox reveal itself from the darkness and the weakness of human. So all the philosophical schools in the later ages both can't accept this central lightness in Luther's works; they basically uplifted human's ability in some aspects.

All in all, against these deviations, the first season's lectures clearly show the path from Luther's work, although we can't use our reason and morality's ability to approach the ultimate Truth, but we do have the ability to pursue value and freedom as human beings. So our will and freedom which are different from animals can not be denied. We have the will and freedom to pursue and choose the goodness. But when we face the Goodness in God's sight, our will and choose are inevitably tending to the sins. So to confess our sins and limitation before the salvation is the only path to approach the Truth, which will be bestowed to us through our faith in confession. Then in Luther's theory of freedom and human's value, it was not extremely denied or uplifted, but dialectically treated. Then in all these areas which was mentioned above, the key from Luther either was not extremely denied or uplifted some aspects of human, the key is to draw the dialectical line for the subjectivity in all these fields. That is to say, we need find subjectivity's position in the world and in the sight of God. Thus we can build subjectivity on the absolute authority of God to rely on and face all these problems in our age.

#### **4. The current situation and the envisage of the second season's lectures**

After the enlightening lectures of the first season, now at the beginning of September, second season's lectures of "Martin Luther with the third enlightenment" was began. This season's lectures will be hold from September 13 to December 27. This season's lectures are holding by the the Department of History of Shanghai University. More than thirty scholars from different Universities were invited to lecture and host together online. All the lectures are presiding over by Professor Paulos Huang, Director of the Sino-European Center at Shanghai University and the supervisor for PhD. student at Shanghai University.

The second season's lectures already have three lectures been held. The first lecture's theme was "the freedom's philosophical meaning from Martin Luther" which was held on the September 13. This lecture's speaker was Xie Wenyu, the supervisor for PhD. student at Shandong University. This lecture was chaired by Su Dechao, professor of Wuhan University.

In this lecture, professor Xie Wenyu mainly introduced the Luther's book: "Concerning Christian Liberty". In Luther's view, human's nature is corrupted. So human's judgement can't choose the Goodness but only can choose the evil. Then professor Xie went back from the Greek age, and illustrated that the thesis from Greek philosophy that every human is willing to pursue the Goodness can not be established. Augustine's theory emphasize that human only can choose righteously in Grace. Martin Luther also inherited this and built the freedom on God's grace. Either the visible churches' judgement or the tradition from the churches can not bring true freedom to human beings. So the true freedom neither from human nature or any system of religious organization, but only from Christ's salvation.

The second lecture's theme was "the reformation of Luther and the originality of modern personality(the prerequisite of the enlightenment)" which was hold on the September 27. This lecture's speaker was You xilin, the professor of Shanxi Normal University. This lecture was chaired by Zhou weichi, the researcher of the institute of world religion of the Chinese Academy of Social



Sciences.

In this lecture, professor You from the perspective of intellectual history, illustrated the the development of the modernity of personality. In this perspective, the reformation from Martin Luther has a significant influence, that is to say, the reformation laid the foundation of the modernity of personality and its development. Then professor You went a step further, pointed out that Luther's influence about personality was beyond the religion. This inheritance's influence about the modernity itself also needs to be given a deep consideration.

The third lecture's theme was "the reformation of Luther and the reflection of modernity" which was hold on the October 4. This lecture's speaker was He Guanghu who was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Renmin University. This lecture was chaired by Qu Xutong, the associate professor of Tsinghua University.

The fourth lecture's theme was "From Luther's view about the Nestorianism to revalue the Religious Tolerance" which was hold on the October 18. This lecture's speaker was Zhu Donghua who was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Tsinghua University. This lecture was chaired by Yuan Chaohui, the associate professor of the University of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The fifth lecture's theme was "Martin Luther with Modern Enlightenment's philosophy" which was hold on the November 1. This lecture's speaker was Huang Yusheng who was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Tsinghua University. This lecture was chaired by Zha Changping, the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Sichuan University.

The sixth lecture's theme was "Martin Luther and Augustine" which was hold on the November 15. This lecture's speaker was Wu Fei who was professor at Beijing University. This lecture was chaired by Paulos Huang, the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Shanghai University.

Theseventh lecture's theme was "Martin Luther's discovery about the Subjectivity and it's meaning" which was hold on the November 22. This lecture's speaker was Zhuo Xinping who was the former director of the Institute of World Religious of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This lecture was chaired by Tian Shufeng, the associate professor of the Zhongshan University.

The eighth lecture's theme was "Hegel's comments about Luther and its meaning of world history" which was hold on the December 6. This lecture's speaker was Sun Xiangchen who was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Fudan university. This lecture was chaired by Liu Yi, was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Shang Hai university.

Theninth lecture's theme was "Martin Luther and Rousseau—a brief discussion about protestantism's modernity" which was hold on the December 13. This lecture's speaker was Zhang Shiyong who was the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Nankai University. This lecture was chaired by Sun Shuai, the associate professor of the Renmin University.

The tenth lecture's theme was "Martin Luther's influences on different philosophers" which was hold on the December 27. This lecture's speaker was Paulos Huang, the professor and the supervisor for PhD. student at Shanghai University. . This lecture was also chaired by Paulos Huang.

中文题目：

关于“马丁·路德与第三次启蒙论坛”的反思性分析

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# A Comparative Study of Density and Fineness in the Narratives of Chinese and Western Classical Novels

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**Abstract:** Density refers to the number of story elements within a narrative of a given piece of writing. Fineness refers to the sufficiency and inherent completeness of the story elements displayed. In comparison, the density of story elements in ancient Chinese novels is higher, and the fineness is lower, while the density of story elements in Western novels is lower and the fineness is higher. This difference partly contributes to the simplicity and refinement of the structure of Chinese novels and the complexity and delicate nature of the structure of Western novels. However, each of these characteristics has its strengths, in line with the national culture and social framework from which the Chinese and Western novels emerged. As such, these elements found in both Chinese and Western novels can appropriately reflect the way of life of their respective societies and the thoughts and feelings of the people therein, both of which are worthy of recognition.

**Key Words:** Chinese and Western novels; story elements; density; fineness; structure.

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According to the Dutch scholar L. K. Altes, one of the central aims of narratology is “to contribute to developing a historical, cultural, national, or international poetics” as “it should seek the commonalities and patterns that are present in many narrative works.”<sup>[1]</sup> However, such commonalities and patterns exist both in the similarities and differences of many narrative works. Differences also imply commonness and patterns. With this context, it is as essential to explore the similarities as to analyze the differences. The structures of Chinese and Western novels created before the 19th century are identified as two uniquely different narrative systems that never, or very rarely, are intersected at other times, as evidenced by the stated differences between them in terms of narrative. Exploring these differences will help us understand and grasp these two forms of novels more deeply by carefully analyzing their shared commonalities and narrative patterns. The discussion conveyed in this paper is centered on the differences in density and fineness of story elements found in classical Chinese and Western novels.

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[1] L. K. Altes, “Literary Works, Values and Interpretive Frameworks: Challenges for Narratology,” translated by Yuanyuan, *Research on Chinese Literature*, No. 2, 2018.

## 1. The Density and Fineness of the Novel

At the level of storytelling, the main elements of a novel are characters, plot, events, scenes, setting, and details. Of these six elements, the plot and setting are unable to be accurately measured or unable to be numerically measured, while the other four elements are countable. By uncountable, we mean that the two elements are a qualitative concept rather than a quantitative one. According to Prince, the plot has four meanings: 1) The main event in a narrative, which is not a specific event but a structure of events where the central part has the characteristics of pyramid structure; 2) The arrangement of events, through which the situation and events are presented to the reader; 3) The general dynamic organization of narrative components, which is purposefully directed and forwarded, that facilitates the formation and expression of thematic interests or emotional effects; 4) The narration of events that emphasize cause-and-effect relationships, where the events narrated in a temporal chain are only stories and those narrated in a causal chain become episodes.<sup>[2]</sup> In either sense, the plot is not like a character, a specific individual with clear motivations and connotations, but rather a relationship or structure. The setting is similar in this regard. It is generally considered as to be “the objective conditions that shape the characters’ personalities and motivate them to act.”<sup>[3]</sup> As such, this element can be divided into two parts: social setting and natural setting. However, although the setting is critical in novels, it is still a qualitative rather than quantitative conceptualization, and its extension and boundaries are unclear, lacking formal prescriptiveness. In some novels, the setting even fails to exist concretely but is only indirectly implied through character actions and character relationships. In this regard, we can only say that there is a setting description here, identified in terms of the description of the setting or what aspects of the setting description are involved. Yet, for researchers studying this element, it is often difficult to describe the setting in specific quantities as characters do.

Among the other four elements, characters are the most countable, and their extension and boundaries are so clear that we can easily and conveniently state their numbers in concrete figures. The extension and limits of the other three elements of events, scenes, and details are not as definitive as those of characters. Still, the difficulty in determining them lies mainly in the hierarchy by which they are defined and not in their lack of transparent extension and boundaries. For example, there are significant events, medium events, minor events, and under-minor events in a novel. There can also be a further delineation of this element in a novel, such as sub-events, micro-events, etc. To count the number of events present, we first need to determine the hierarchy at play and, once the hierarchy is determined, we can accurately account for all events in the given novel. However, it should also be acknowledged that the extension and boundaries of the events themselves are still clear; if the hierarchy is appropriately determined, it is still relatively easy to decide on and count the events in question.

The countability of scenes is roughly the same as events, and there is also an issue with

[2] Prince, G. *A Dictionary of Narratology*. University of Nebraska Press, 2003, p. 169.

[3] 童庆炳 TONG Qingbing 主编:《文学理论教程》Wenxue lilun jiaocheng [A Course in Literary Theory], 北京 Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press], 1998 年版, 第 191 页。

hierarchy at play regarding this element. After the hierarchy is determined, it is not difficult to define and calculate the specific number of scenes present in a novel. Details, on the other hand, prove to be more of a complicated challenge. Details by nature are dependent on characters, events, scenes, and form meaningful narrative units through their combination with these three essential elements. There are also details of different sizes, but they do not have the same complex hierarchical relationship as events and scenes. Even if there is a hierarchy with more details, there are usually only one or two layers, unlike those used in the counting of events or scenes, which are distinguished into several layers. The size of details mainly refers to the involvement and richness of the descriptions, not to the unity of the interactions. With fewer or no hierarchical layers, the extension and boundaries of details are more precise than those of events and scenes, and calculations and statistics are relatively easier to determine. Let's take these four elements with the ultimate goal of countability as the object of study, especially the three elements of characters, events, and scenes. We can determine that the number of elements and the sufficiency and completeness of the elements displayed are inversely proportional within a certain length. We use density and fineness to refer to these two phenomena, respectively.

By density, we mean the number of elements in a given space. Density is a concept of quantity, not a concept of category. In other words, density does not involve the type of elements, but the number of them included within a narrative of a specified length. To say that a particular work has a low density of elements is not to say that it lacks such elements as characters, events, scenes, details, etc. Rather, this assessment acknowledges that the total number of certain important types of elements is low. For example, suppose 30 characters appear in a novel of 300,000 words, and only ten characters appear in another novel of the same length. The density of characters in the former novel is higher than that in the latter. This is expressed by the formula:  $30(\text{characters})/300,000(\text{words})$ ;  $10(\text{characters})/300,000(\text{words})$ . According to this calculation, the character density of the former novel is three times higher than the latter. Events, scenes, and details can also be calculated in this way. The density of characters, events, scenes, and details is somehow intrinsically related to each other, but this connection itself is not fixed, let alone proportional. Because fiction writing is a kind of free and creative activity, the author may set up characters, events, scenes, and details exactly as they need to conceive and express them for their intended purpose. Thus, a novel may have a certain balance in the number of characters, events, scenes, and details to produce a particular connection and form a specific positive proportional relationship.

Likewise, the author of a novel may opt to break the balance in the number of these four elements so that each component is on its own in terms of quantity or even deliberately formed to further highlight an anti-proportional relationship. The former example, such as the case with the typified historical novel, generally sets up a more significant number of characters, events, and scenes to express the complexity and depth of history. Here, balance is formed among the three elements. The latter example, such as the Tramp Novel, consists of a single character throughout the novel. There may be many events, scenes, and details at play throughout the narrative, but only a handful of characters. Of course, there may also be cases where there are few scenes. Still, many events and characters, such as a novel that adopts a more pronounced dramatic writing style or the phenomenon of a few events, but many scenes and characters are often found in novels with slow plot progression.

In short, among Chinese and Western novels, it is possible to find a large number of works in which characters, events, scenes, and details are balanced, as well as a large number of works where these same elements are positioned in an unbalanced way.

Fineness is a self-created term in this paper, referring to the sufficiency and inherent completeness of story elements within a narrative. By adequacy, we mean that each part of the element is tangible and easily identifiable, with clear images and prominent features; by inner completeness, we suggest that the element has all the essential parts it should have and that each part is interconnected to form an organic and comprehensive whole. Sufficiency and inner completeness complement each other, and they cooperate to constitute the novel's fineness. If there is only sufficiency but not enough inner completeness, the element's image itself will be mutilated, just like a person who is legless, whose body is incomplete. However, his features are regular, and his body is sturdy. If there is only inner completeness, but not enough sufficiency, the image of the element itself will be muted and dry; although the body is intact, flesh and blood are not fully present, and the remanent skin and bones fail to fully arouse the reader's interest. Of course, the more sufficiency and completeness present equates to a better degree of fineness in the novel. Fineness does not exist alone in the novel but is closely related to the other comprehensive parts and elements making up the whole.

The degree of fineness present is primarily determined by the novel's overall concept, the need to express the theme, and the position and role of the elements in the novel. A secondary character, for example, does not need to be more detailed than the main character. But, on the other hand, suppose the secondary character were to be more thoroughly described than the main character, with a complete set of factors. In this case, there is a possibility that the secondary character could potentially take over the role of the main character in the novel, and, to a larger extent, this would not be a good thing in terms of the novel as a fully formed work. But, of course, this is not to say that the secondary character could not be better than the main character.

In some cases, they may be more compelling than the main characters due to several factors designed by the author in their ultimate portrayal. For example, the character of Seth Pecksniff in Charles Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit* is not the main character of the novel. Still, his portrayal of hypocrisy as the core character is so vivid that it far surpasses the novel's main characters, such as Little Martin Jr. and Tom Pinch. Seth Pecksniff as a character has received readers' and critics' attention and, accordingly, has become the representative of a class of figures within the novel. As it can be seen, although there is a connection between the fineness and the consequent success of the elements, this does not necessarily mean that the higher the fineness, the better it is. Fineness refers to the sufficiency of the holistic presentation of the elements in question and the completeness of each necessary part of the elements themselves. In this way, success refers to the perfection, representativeness, and novelty of both the content and form of the elements, which are not automatically at the same level.

On the other hand, there is a degree of fineness and completeness determined by the author's overall conception and the full effect of the work as a whole. This is also the case with the individual elements themselves. Unnecessarily increasing the fineness of the elements does not necessarily increase the success of the elements. Nor do elements with low fineness necessarily succeed more

than elements with high fineness. Fundamentally, literature is a system. Any element is defined by how it operates within that system, and none can stand alone without that essential context.

Density and fineness are perpetually in conflict. To have a high degree of fineness means the various parts of the utilized elements must be unfolded, thus requiring more overall length. However, the size of a novel is always limited. To increase the fineness of the elements within a certain length, the density of the elements must be reduced, and most novels cannot achieve both effects simultaneously at the same time. Furthermore, although various writers have their own considerations and different characteristics in dealing with the density and fineness of these story elements, writers of the same era, nationality, country, and region have certain commonalities in dealing with them. These shared similarities likewise frame the authors' unique differences with writers of other eras, nationalities, countries, and regions. The Chinese and Western novels were written before the 19th century developed independently, at different times, and in varying places with little crossover. As such, they also present different characteristics in the density and fineness of their elements. A comparative study will help deepen our understanding of the individualized characteristics of Chinese and Western novels.

## **2. Density in the Narratives of Chinese and Western Novels**

The terminology of Chinese and Western novels mentioned throughout this paper refers to classical Chinese and Western Novels. As far as China is concerned, it mainly refers to the Chinese novels written before 1894. After the first Sino-Japanese War, Chinese intellectuals were directly influenced by a wave of learning initiated from the West. During this time, a large volume of Western literary themes, ideas, and works entered China and influenced both Chinese authors and their consequent novels. The narrative of Chinese novels gradually converged with the narrative structure found within Western novels, distancing itself from the narratives of classical Chinese novels, and no longer lends itself to a distinctive narrative comparison, through differences, with Western novels. Of course, if one were to be more rigorous in their analysis, this point of convergence could easily be traced back to the First Opium War in 1840. In fact, even before this point in time, the shift toward a more Western literary trend had already begun. However, the changes during this period were first in the material sphere, influencing areas of the social order, including the military and economy. Concerning the spiritual sphere, emphasized by cultural tenets including literature and art, the Western influence emerged at a slower pace, so traditional Chinese culture remained stable during this period. The Chinese novel was then allowed to continue in its individualized state of development on its original track due to its strong inertia. Therefore, within the scope of this paper, the Chinese novels written between 1840 and 1894 are still classified under the scope of classical Chinese novels but are minimally involved in the overt comparison. As a counterpart, the classical Western novels in this paper mainly refer to the Western novels created from the periods of the Renaissance to the 19th century. In this context, the Western novels of the 19th century mainly refer to Western romantic and realistic novels. Naturalistic novels can be included, but modernist novels, such as those predominantly focused on aestheticism and symbolism are not included. Overall, one of the general



characteristics of the treatment of story elements in Chinese and Western novels is the lower density of novel elements in Western novels and the higher density of novel elements found in Chinese novels.

The Western novel's ancient source is easily identified as mythology and epic poetry, while its modern forerunner is the tramp novel. Ancient Greek mythology is mature mythology, where gods and humans are portrayed as homogeneous, with vividly rich examples of details, characters, events, and scenes depicted expansively. Ancient Greek epics, as well as medieval epics, often revolve around significant characters chanted repeatedly. For example, the Homeric epic of the Iliad chants Achilles' wrath, and the Odyssey narrates the return of Odysseus with story elements that are likewise presented in detail. Compared with Chinese mythology and historical biography, these two elements are relatively less dense and more detailed. The tramp novel arose in 16th century Spain. The earliest tramp novel is *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes; His Fortunes and Adversities* (1554), and other Western novels of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and even 18<sup>th</sup> centuries—such as Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, François Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Lesage's *Gil Blas*, Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, and some of Charles Dickens's novels such as *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, *The Orphan of the Mist*, and *Oliver Twist*; or, the *Parish Boy's Progress*—all have the characteristics of tramp novels or are directly influenced by them. The tramp novel is a series of stories based on the main character's experiences. The characters show their characteristics and form their depicted images, usually composed with few characters and more fully displayed events and scenes. According to Mai Yongxiong:

In terms to the art form, the dominant structure of most narrative works of the early and Mid-Western period, including the evolution from epic poetry, the acts of the apostles, and chivalric sagas to tramp novels, is the single-line development of the plot and the journey pattern of the main protagonist. Although such an art form seems rather sloppy and naïve today, it allowed the writer to narrate the story very conveniently. This involves laying out the plot naturally, expanding the space systematically, and adapting to the traditional reading and reception psychology of Western readers before the modernist literature became popular. [4]

This assertion is valid. However, it should be noted that this structure feature has not affected the density of story elements in Western novels. For example, the tramp novel generally has few characters and less complex events and scenes, so the density of these elements is not high. This is clear if we compare the examples of *Don Quixote*, *Gargantua, and Pantagruel*, *Gil Blas*, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, *Water Margin*, and *Journey to the West*. After the 18th century, Western novels matured and became more colorful in their narratives. Still, the characteristic of the prevalence of a lower density of elements of the novel did not reverse outright but was instead strengthened.

[4] 麦永雄 MAI Yongxiong: “西方流浪汉小说传统与特征简论” *Xifang liulanghan xiaoshuo chuantong yu tezheng jianlun* [“A Brief Discussion of the Tradition and Characteristics of Western Vagabond Fiction,”], 《广西师范大学学报》 *Guangxi shifan daxue xuebao* [Journal of Guangxi Normal University], 1994 年第 4 期 [No. 4, 1994.]

For example, Balzac's novel, *Old Goriot*, is about 300,000 words and only describes four main characters: Rastignac, Goriot, Madame Vauquer, and Vautrin. Only a few secondary characters are included, such as Madame de Beauséant, Nucingen, Victorine Taillefer, Anastasie de Restaud, Delphine de Nucingen. In terms of events, as the titles of the six chapters suggest, the novel concentrates only on the Bourbon Restoration, Rastignac's first visit to Paris, the life of the Goriot and his two daughters, Rastignac's visits to Madame de Beauséant, Madame de Restaud, and Madame de Nucingen, Vautrin and his advice to Rastignac, and the death of old Goriot. The scenes are mainly focused on the mansion Vauquer, the mission of the Viscountess of Beauséant, the mansion of the Countess of Restaud, and the mansion of Nucingen. For a work of 300,000 words, the density of these elements is relatively low.

Chinese novels are entirely different. The ancient origins of Chinese novels are mythology and historical biography, to which the genre of fables can also be added. Later, two lines of development emerged: the Chinese literary novel and the vernacular novel. The direct source of the Chinese literary novel is historical biography, which developed in the Wei and Jin dynasties when *Zhiren* (志人) and *zhiguai* (志怪) appeared, and in the Tang dynasty when the legends appeared. Tang legends are the symbol of the formal formation of ancient Chinese novels. The direct source of vernacular novels is *Huaben* (话本) in the Song and Yuan dynasties, followed by the Ming and Qing dynasties with the development of the novel in chapters (章回小说 *Zhuanhui Xiaoshuo*). The novel in chapters is arguably the highest achievement of the ancient Chinese novel. Unlike the examples of sprawling Greek mythology, Chinese myths are primarily short, with dense characters, events, scenes, and less details. The situation is more or less the same for fables, historical biographies, and mystery novels. Most of the fables consist of short stories, with one illustrating a truth. *Sima Qian's Records of the Grand Historian* (史记 *Shiji*) is the most representative of the historical biographies and has had the most significant influence on Chinese fiction. Many chapters in this work are vividly recounted, with strong images and stories. In terms of elements, the density tends to be very high. "Hongmen banquet" involves more than ten characters, some of which were described in detail, such as Xiang Yu, Liu Bang, Fan Zeng, Zhang Liang, Xiang Bo, Fan Kuai, with the events depicted following each other. However, the whole piece in its entirety is less than 2,000 words. With such a small total word count, the density of elements here is very high. The high density is also evident in *Zhiren* and *Zhiguai* novels. In Liu Yiqing's *A New Account of the Tales of the World* (世说新语 *Shisuo Xinyu*), a character or an explanation of a given event is often brought to life in just tens or hundreds of words. The *Classic of the Mountains and Seas* (山海经 *Shan Hai Jing*) describes all kinds of events and scenes, each having an average of only a few dozen words. The characters, events, settings, and details in *Huaben* and the novel in chapters are much more detailed, taking up much more space and total word counts than those in historical biographies, and *Zhiren*/*Zhiguai* novels are still portrayed in a dense state.

Take *Dream of the red chamber* (红楼梦 *Honglou Meng*) as an example of this trend. According to Xu Gongshi's statistics, the novel was written with a total of 975 characters. Among them, the original branch of the Ning and Rong houses: 16 men and 11 women; dependents: 31 women. Jia family: 34 Men and 8 women. Jia in-laws: 52 men and 43 women. The servants of two houses: 73 maids and 125 servants, 67 male servants, 27 squeaky. The members of the Royal family: 9 men, 6

women; 27 eunuchs, 7 palace ladies. The number of titles: 37 males and 14 dependents. Officials at all levels; 26 people who have both names and positions, 38 people who have positions but no names, and 3 people of Xuxue. Social Figures: 102 men and 71 women; 14 doctors and 10 retainers; 6 eunuchs and 17 women; 17 monks and 49 nuns; 4 Lianzong men and 4 women. Foreigners: 2 women. Land of Illusion (Taixu Huanjing 太虚幻境): 6 men, 19 women. Total: 975 people, including 495 men and 480 women; 732 people with names, 243 people without names.

Likewise, the number of events in the novel is not to be underestimated. There are 17 descriptions of birthday alone, including six of them described in detail (the 11th chapter: the birthday of Jia Jing; the 22nd chapter: the birthday of Bao Chai; the 26th chapter: the birthday of Xue Pan; the 43rd chapter: the birthday of Wang Xifeng; the 62nd chapter: the birthday of Baoyu; the 71st chapter: the birthday of Jia Mu). There are also five brief descriptions (the 16th chapter: the birthday of Jia Zheng; the 29th chapter: the birthday of Xue Pan; the 70th chapter: the birthday of Tanchun; the 85th chapter: the birthday of Daiyu; the 108th chapter: the birthday of Baochai). There are six examples just mentioned in passing (the 2nd chapter: Jia Zheng's first birthday; the 25th chapter: Wang Ziteng's wife's birthday; the 36th chapter: Aunt Xue's birthday; the 52nd chapter: Prince Teng's birthday; the 57th chapter: Aunt Xue's birthday; the 85th chapter: the King of Bei Jing's birthday). Other events such as Baochai chases butterflies, Daiyu buries flowers, Ping'er wields considerable power, Miaoyu serves tea, Yuanchun visits relatives, Xifeng makes power, Xichun paints garden, Yingchun prays, Xiangyun's tipsy asleep, Qiaojie avoids trouble, Liwan lectures son, Yuanyang resists marriage, Tanchun runs poetry association, Qingwen rips fans, Granny Liu visits the Grand View Garden three times, Lin Daiyu visits the Rongguo Mansion, Yuanyang three declares the rules in the game of forfeits, etc. The list of events included here is also endless. Other chapter novels such as *Water Margin*, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and *Journey to the West* are similar in their extensive depictions. *Water Margin* consists of one hundred and twenty chapters, including 108 hero characters with no less than 100 characters in opposition to them. There are no fewer than 200 characters with names in the whole novel. *Journey to the West* describes the 91 difficulties of the monk Tang Sanzang and his disciplines, and at least 25 stories are included detailing each in the consequent writing.

The same level of description is evident in the structure of Chinese literary novels. The *Fighting Cricket* (Cu Zhi 促织), a short story from *The Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (Liaozhai Zhiyi 聊斋志异) is one such example where the whole novel revolves around the cricket with no less than 2,000 characters. It is also dense with events, such as the recruitment of the cricket, search for the cricket, catching the cricket, death of the cricket, getting another cricket, cricket fighting, tributing of the cricket, location of cricket fighting, the voice of the cricket by Cheng Ming's son, using the cricket to make a fortune, and the discussion of the cricket. This series of events followed by other events were designed to make the reader aware of what has happened in minute detail. The unique main characters are Cheng Ming, Cheng's wife, Cheng's son, and the cricket transformed by the spirit of Cheng's son. Although only focused on four characters, the density is not very low for a novel of fewer than 2,000 words.

The high density of story elements is conducive to expressing more social content within a given or limited space, reflecting the broad picture of life. However, a density that is too high will also

affect the development of specific elements and, to some extent, affect the performance of the elements themselves, ultimately affecting the reader's grasp of the elements of the story. Therefore, there is a degree of density control that is optimal and required. Ancient Chinese novelists tend to have a loose understanding of this particular degree. In contrast, Western novelists tend to have a tighter grasp, resulting in the different characteristics of narrative density in Chinese and Western novels.

### 3. The Fineness in the Narrative of Chinese and Western Novels

In contrast to density, the fineness of story elements is higher in Western novels but lower in Chinese novels. Western novels have fewer story elements, and, as such, more space is allocated to each element wherein the elements are displayed and represented more fully. The main characters of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* are Werther and Charlotte, and the only one focused on in detail is Werther. As a result, Werther is portrayed with a high degree of detail. His family background, experience, character, psychology, happiness, sadness, conflict, and struggle during his relationship with Charlotte and the psychological processing behind his final act of suicide are all written with great focus and attention to minute details. The novel's events revolve around Werther's love affair with Charlotte and the theme of the loss of love. To escape the pain of lost love, Werther takes refuge in the scenic countryside to escape the pain of lost love, where he meets Charlotte, and they fall in love. However, Charlotte is already engaged, and she chooses the former lover based on propriety and love. Werther eventually must leave to work in an embassy, then ultimately resigns to live in the Marquis' home for a while. In the end, he cannot stop missing and longing for Charlotte, so he returns to that small village, only to discover that Charlotte is already married. Werther confesses his love to Charlotte once again and finally kills himself with her husband's pistol. The novel's plot is relatively simple, and the number of events depicted is not too great in terms of their number. The novel can be described from many aspects. For example, the chapters titled "December 20," "Alma," "Lino," and "Alpin" are about the last meeting between Werther and Charlotte. Charlotte blamed Werther for breaking their agreement and coming before Christmas Eve. Werther reads her a poem by Ossian, and their emotions break through the propriety of reason as they embrace each other passionately. Charlotte leaves Werther and locks herself in her room, refusing to open the door. Werther likewise ultimately leaves. The four chapters focus on their meeting to pave the way for their psychological changes, just as the novel has Werther read and reference much of Ossian's poetry, preparing the way for the climax of his and Charlotte's love.

Similarly, Hugo's novels are magnificent, portraying sprawling and delicate characters, events, and scenes. This is related to the low density of story elements in his novels, thus allowing him to describe the elements in focused detail. The Chinese version of *Notre Dame de Paris* is about 400,000 words, but the main characters in the novel are Esmeralda, Claude, and Quasimodo. With the addition of the secondary characters Gangoire, Fabi, and Esmeralda's mother, there are only six important and relatively important characters. The scenes mainly revolve around Notre Dame and the surrounding area. The most critical events are Esmeralda performing in the square and being robbed at night,

Gangowa entering the Kingdom of miracles by mistake, Quasimodo being punished in the square, Esmeralda giving him water to drink, Esmeralda having an affair with Fabi, and being executed as a witch, Quasimodo rescuing Esmeralda and taking her to Notre Dame, the vagrants attacking Notre Dame, Claude coveting Esmeralda and leaving her to the hermit nun. The latter is also her birth mother, Esmeralda recognizing her mother and dying in the square, and Quasimodo pushing Claude to his death from the top of Notre Dame's bell tower. The small number of elements allows the novel to concentrate on the description of the elements themselves. For example, the detailed description of Notre Dame in *Notre Dame de Paris* could be compared to Balzac's *Vauquer Maison* in *Old Goriot*. The images of Esmeralda, Quasimodo, Claude, and others are well presented and rich in detail. The various aspects of their character are shown not through the narrator's introduction but the characters' words, actions, and specific interactions with each other and their environment. Esmeralda, in particular, is like a three-dimensional relief, with every aspect of the image highlighted, distinct and vivid in her personalized authenticity.

In contrast, while the density of story elements in Chinese novels is higher than in Western novels, the fineness of story elements in Chinese novels is much lower. For example, the *Water Margin* has 108 hero characters and another 100 less famous characters with names. More than half of the hero characters have their individual stories, while other characters such as Gao Qiu, Wang Qing, and Fang La also have their own stories, making the novel very rich in events. Although the scenes are centered in Shandong, they are very complicated because of the many characters and circumstances involved, with many characters engaging in necessary actions and pivotal events occurring in different locations. Also, because of this degree of represented events taking place, the fineness of characters in *Water Margin* is relatively low. When compared to Western novel characters such as Goethe's *Werther*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Balzac's *Old Goriot* and *Rastignac*, Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield*, and Tolstoy's *Nekhlyudoff* and *Anna Karenina*, the most complex characters in this work, such as Wu Song, Song Jiang, Lin Chong, and Lu Zhishen, are marked by a much lower degree of fineness. This trend is mainly manifested into two aspects. The first is that most of these characters are portrayed in detail only at a particular stage of the story, after which they die or fade away from roles of prominence. The second is that the subtlety of these characters is not sufficient. Psychological descriptions are generally absent or not detailed. The characters' full descriptions are relatively rough, generally depicted through their words, actions, and performance in numerous events to shape their image for the reader. This directly contrasts the detailed description of the character's multiple sides and perspectives portrayed in Western novels to shape their holistic image.

Furthermore, Wu Song is one such character whose portrayal is shaped by his performance in a series of events. This includes meeting Song Jiang, slaying the tiger on the mountain, meeting Wu da, killing Jin Lian in anger, being friendly to Zhang Qing and Shi En, drunkenly beating the Jiang Mensheng, wreaking havoc in Flying Cloud Pool (飛雲浦 Fei Yun Pu), killing Zhang Du Jian in anger, walking on Centipede Ridge (蜈蚣嶺 Wu Gong Ling) at night, and opposing the recruitment. In Western novels, such as Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, Werther's image is mainly portrayed through his variety of performances connected to his love affair with Charlotte.

Continuing this marked difference, the characters within Chinese novels are often distinct and

vivid but not complex enough. The dual personality found in characters that often appear in 19th-century Western novels, multifaceted characters like Nekhlyudoff and Rastignac, are seldom seen in Chinese works like *Water Margin*. Song Jiang has some dual personalities, but they are not typical and often fail to develop fully. This has to do with the fineness of the individual and collective story elements. Due to the lack of fineness, the novel reveals the characters' outstanding points. Still, it ignores the complicated entanglement between those elements of the character him or herself, resulting in the lack of diversity and duality. The same is true of events and scenes. The storyline of *Wu Song* and others progresses quickly, with numerous events and scenes, so the degree of fineness is relatively low. For example, a shocking event, *Wu Song's* wreaking havoc in *Flying Cloud Pool* (飛雲浦 Fei Yun Pu), is only three natural paragraphs in length, less than a thousand words. At the same time, the real fight scenes are only a paragraph or approximately 300 words. The descriptions of specific scenes are also straightforward, such as the description of *Flying Cloud Pool*: "in front came a *Flying Cloud Pool*, surrounded by the wild Port wide river. Five people walk to a broad board bridge, an archway with a plate reading 'Flying Cloud Pool.'" <sup>[5]</sup> Comprised of just a few words, this descriptor was written out of the momentum of *Flying Cloud Pool* and the fighting environment. The details of *Water Margin* are also concise, generally capturing the main points or broad strokes of context and representation. There's a lot to be said for the famous event wherein *Lu Zhishen* punches *Zheng Guanxi*, utilizing just three punches to end a life, and this action could easily be written to include many things in detail. However, this example of the Chinese novel and this specific scene is mainly fastened to the effects of the punches themselves to narrate the plot and appropriately render apt metaphors. Although the details are focused, in this way, they are still clean and sharp.

It should be noted that the fineness of *Water Margin* is representative of the narrative forms employed by ancient Chinese novels. The fineness of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo Yanyi* 三国演义), *Journey to the West* (*Xi You Ji* 西游记), and further back to *huaben* (话本) in the Song and Yuan dynasties to works such as "Sanyan and Er'pai" (三言二拍), include details of shared story elements that are similar to those at work in *Water Margin*. The Chinese literary novels such as *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (*liao zhai zhi yi* 聊斋志异) and *New Stories Told While Trimming the Wick* (*Jiandeng Xinhua* 剪灯新话) are a bit less detailed in comparison. The origin of vernacular novels is "shuohua" (说话) and "Huaben" (话本) composed during the Song dynasty, which is more casual, spacious, and detailed than written language. Therefore, compared with the Chinese literary novels, which originated from the historical biographies and the *Zhiren/Zhiguai* novels, vernacular novels are generally more detailed than Chinese literary novels. Among the vernacular novels, *Dream of Red Chamber* (*Hong Lou Meng* 红楼梦) and *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅) are relatively more detailed. However, there is still a certain distance at play in the representations compared with Western novels. This is clear by comparing the characters, events, and scenes in *Dream of Red Chamber* with Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. Of course, there is no necessary connection between fineness and the overall success of the story elements in a particular novel. Many factors determine the success of elements, and fineness is just one of them. Other factors

[5] 施耐庵 SHI Nai'an、罗贯中 LUO Guanzhong:《水浒传》Shuihuzhuan [The Water Margin] 上册 Shangce [first volume], 北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2009年, 第259-260页。

also play an important role in the success of the elements. For example, if a character is a secondary character in work, then a high degree of detail will not progress the character forward. Instead, when too much description is spent on the character directly, the secondary character supersedes the primary one.

On the other hand, the eventual success of characters also depends on the characters' articulated characteristics, the profundity and novelty of their lived reflections, and their conformity and measuring up with the times and events depicted. If there is not enough attention concentrated on these factors and only work done focusing on the degree of details by the author, the character will never be entirely successful. The key to the success of Lun Xu's *Ah Q* (阿 Q 正传) is not in its fineness, but in the description of each of the characters' distinctive personalities and unique experiences, each of which expresses a universal phenomenon in the human spiritual life—the method of spiritual victory and what is contained in every character's heart but not necessarily in every author's pen. In terms of fineness, Wu Song in *Water Margin* is not as evidently established as the eponymous protagonist in Walter Scott's historical novel *Ivanhoe*. However, in terms of the success of the image, Wu Song is not perceived as lower than *Ivanhoe* but, in some senses, even higher. Although both novels are good at portraying characters through action, the image of Wu Song is more distinct and his personality more prominent than that of *Ivanhoe*. The same is true of the details in each of the novels. In terms of adequacy of presentation, there is also a question of the fineness of more information, where the finer does not always equate to better. Concerning the detailed description of ingesting gold, Mr. Ma'er's two fingers in *Unofficial History of the Scholars* (Ruilin Waishi 儒林外史) is not depicted as inferior to Grandet's death in *Eugénie Grandet*. Although in terms of the adequacy of the presentation, the former is less refined than the latter. It follows that fineness and density are critical quantitative measures of story elements but not as crucial as quality criteria. They indicate the characteristics of the novel's narrative but are not the criteria for determining the novel's narrative success.

#### 4. The Difference Effect of Fineness and Density on the Structure of Chinese and Western Novels

The structure is the organization and form of existence for the content of a novel. "The structure of a narrative work is the overall form of the relationship between the components or units of the work."<sup>[6]</sup> Thus, the content of a novel is the story. The elements of a story constitute the "components and units" of the novel, and the form of organization between the elements embodies the novel's structure. As for constructs like an idea or theme, it can only be expressed through characters, events, plots, scenes, settings, details, etc. Therefore, although story elements are parts of the novel's content, they cannot constitute the structure itself.

There is a difference between simplicity and complexity, refinement, and delicacy, in structure. From the perspective of narrative, the simplicity and complexity and refinement and delicacy of the

[6] 童庆炳 TONG Qingbing 主编:《文学理论教程》Wenxue lilun jiaocheng [A Course in Literary Theory], Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press], 1998 年版, 第 215 页。

structure are closely related to the density and fineness of story elements. Only when the story elements are fully developed can the story's narrative have the room and space required to move, change, and adequately deploy. If such progressions of the narrative are frequent and intense, the structure of the work is likely to be complicated. On the other hand, the work structure will be refined if the deployments are regular, strong, coordinated, and clever. On the contrary, if the density of story elements is high and the number of elements is large, the novel's structure tends to be simplistic and concise.

Tolstoy's novels are known for their elaborate and refined structure. His *War and Peace* is a rare epic work that reflects all aspects of Russian society between 1805 and 1820 through the alternation of periods of violence and civility, based on the experiences of the four prominent members of five Russian aristocratic families—the Bezukhovs, the Bolkonskys, the Rostovs, the Kuragins, and the Drubetskoys. *Anna Karenina* takes the tragedy of Anna and Levin's spiritual exploration as the threads of the story. At the same time, Oblonsky acts as an intermediary, interweaving the two unrelated threads into an organic whole, forming the famous "dome structure." *Resurrection* takes the spiritual degeneration and resurrection of Nekhlyudov and Maslova as two clues and uses the dichotomy to express the sharp social contradictions in Russia and the journey of each characters' spiritual resurrection in the 19th century. The structure of each of the three novels is distinctive, but all are elaborate and refined. This is related to the lower density and higher fineness of the story elements in the three novels. Although all three works are enormous masterpieces, the density of story elements is much lower. The fineness is much higher than classical Chinese novels such as *Water Margin*, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Journey to the West*, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and others. *War and Peace* is an epic and far-reaching novel that contains 559 characters, with an impressive cast of about thirty or so main characters, including Andrei Bolkonsky, Pierre Bezukhov, Natasha Rostova, Nikolenka Rostov, Hélène Kuragina, Napoléon, and others. This is relatively rare in western novels, but the density of characters is still lower when compared with Chinese novels such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*. Of these two works, there are no less than 1,000 characters with names in the former and 732 characters with names of the 975 total characters in the latter. Still, despite these vast numbers of depicted characters, both of these Chinese novels are shorter in length than *War and Peace*.

The density and fineness of story elements affect the structure of the novel in two aspects. One aspect is the presentation of the story elements themselves. Suppose the density of story elements is low and the fineness is high. In that case, the space allocated to each element is relatively sufficient, and the elements themselves are displayed in adequate and proportionate detail. When the elements are presented with sufficient detail, it is easier to increase the variation in the narrative process, adopt more narrative styles, and change the narrative order more frequently.

On the other hand, the other aspect is the organization and connection between story elements. If there are many elements, the work focuses on the organization and association of the elements; if there are few elements, the work focuses on how the elements are organized and connected. For example, in Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, he started the story with Nekhlyudov at first, but he felt that it was not a good way to create the narrative as it was hypocritical. As Tolstoy himself stated:



When I was working on the children's story *Who Was Right?* I understood it. I realized that we should start with the lives of the peasants, who are the main characters, the positive ones, while everything else is a shadow, the negative. The same is true of *Resurrection*, which should start with her. [7]

The “her” in this specific case means Maslova. As such, if the narrative is to start with Maslova, everything will be fine. However, Maslova is a secondary character when compared to Nechlydov. This is because the spiritual resurrection of Nechlydov is the main story of the novel. In contrast, Maslova's spiritual resurrection is secondary and subordinate to the resurrection of Nekhlyudoff from the holistic framing of the novel. This caused two most remarkable features within *Resurrection*: the flashback beginning and the double-line structure. Here, one is obvious, and the other is hidden. This structural form of *Resurrection* is related to the fact that the novel's main characters are only two people, Nechlydov and Maslova, and the density of events and scenes is relatively low. The lower density provides the basis and conditions for the organization and connection of the elements. If this were to be framed like *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, with time spans of more than 100 years, with more than 1,000 characters, no less than 50 main characters, and numerous events and scenes, there would necessarily be less effort put into the question of “how” to organize and connect the story elements in such a novel. Because of this, Tolstoy managed and connected the story elements into an organic whole, avoiding many potential issues. Therefore, the four major novels of ancient China, *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West*, and *The Red Chamber*, are all organized and connected by time clues. One of the crucial reasons for this is that the density of the story elements is too high. The density is so high that it brings significant challenges to the organization and connection of the elements. Therefore, the easiest and safest way to organize and connect the elements is to arrange them one by one according to the chronological order and the sequence of events, thus creating a structure of the work which tends to be concise.

On the contrary, with fewer elements, Western novels do not need to worry about mixing and entangling individual elements and have more flexibility to do something in regards to the structure of the novel itself, such as using the methods of flashback, collage, skip, multi-line narrative, etc., thus further making the structure of these works both complicated and exquisite. For example, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* in which Guan Yunchang rides thousands of miles alone, travels past five passes, beheads six generals, addresses more than twenty named characters, engages in five major events, observes Cao Cao's sending off, Liao Hua's offering of a sister-in-law, Huhua's hospitable service, and Sun Qian's letter—comprises a total of nine events and more than twenty scenes, but is written in less than six thousand words to finish the narration in one chapter. On average, each character is depicted in less than 300 words and each event in about 600 words. With such density, even a master of structure like Tolstoy could only organize the story's elements in chronological order and the development of events. In a novel like *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, if too much attention is paid to the elaborate structure, the result may be a tangle of story elements

[7] 《列夫·托尔斯泰论创作》Liefu Tuorsitai lun chuangzuo [Lev Tolstoy on Creative Writing], 戴启篁 DAI Qihuang 译, 桂林 Guilin: 漓江出版社 Lijiang chubanshe [Lijiang Publishing House], 1982 年, 第 171 页。

and a lack of clarity in the narrative.

Naturally, there are Chinese novels with more elaborate and sophisticated structures. For example, Han Bangqing's *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (海上花列传 *Haishanghua Liezhuan*) is one such novel that consists of many interconnected but independent stories. However, its story units do not move forward one by one, as in the case of *Unofficial History of the Scholars* (儒林外史 *Rulin Waishi*) and *Water Margin*, with one story progressing after another. Instead, the novel breaks each story unit into individual pieces and then reassembles them into different arrangements. The content of a single story appears in more than one chapter, and a single chapter sometimes includes the content of multiple stories. Between the story fragments, the characters are interspersed to form a whole. This structure can be referred to as fragmentary embellishment. It is the traditional Chinese novel structure, which has been adopted in such important novels as *Unofficial History of the Scholars* and *Water Margin*. However, *Unofficial History of the Scholars* and *the Water Margin* is unitary, wherein one individual tells the story. *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* employs an incomplete structure. As such, it breaks a complete story unit into many fragments. It then organizes these fragments into different narrative units, such as chapters, thus forming a structure of multilayered-coexistence and interlocking development. In terms of the general design, the story is still organized according to time and events, but, in terms of the individual parts, the novel breaks the order of time and events as it simultaneously changes and reverses them to some extent. In this sense, the structure of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* not only maintains the essential characteristics of the embellished paragraph structure but also has its innovation and has gone beyond the traditional structure of the Chinese novel, which is more complicated and refined in comparison to the conventional unitary embellished paragraph. However, most notably, this level of complexity and refinement is based on the Chinese novel tradition, not the Western one.

As established, the main structure of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* is still organized according to the sequence of time and events, and there are only some changes in the composition of the units. Secondly, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* is not the typical or representative depiction of classical Chinese novels. It was published in 1892 when Western culture and literature had already spread to China. The author of the novel, Han Bangqing, failed in the imperial examination and, as a result,

Spent many years in Shanghai, where he exchanged poems with Qian Xin-bo and He guisheng, the chief editor of *Shenbao* (申报), and other famous scholars in Shanghai. He also tried to be the editor of *Shenbao*, but he had a down-to-earth nature and did not tolerate restraint, such as trivial and redundant editing.<sup>[8]</sup>

At that time, Shanghai was the most open city in China, and, as a man of letters, Han Bangqing lived there for many years, most probably influenced by Western culture and literary trends. Thus, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* should have taken on a bit of Western flavor, not totally a typical

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[8] 胡适 HU Shi: “《海上花列传》序” *Haishanghua liezhuan xu* [“Preface to *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*,”], 韩邦庆 HAN Bangqing 著: 《海上花列传》 *Haishanghua liezhuan* [*The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*], 长沙 Changsha: 岳麓书社 Yuelu shushe [Yuelu Press], 2005 年, 第 473 页。

recitation of the traditional Chinese novel. Western novels notably influence its elaborate and sophisticated structure. However, compared with Western novels such as the English detective novel Sherlock Holmes, which is from roughly the same period, the structure of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* is still much more concise and refined. Additionally, from the perspective of story elements, the density of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* is still relatively high. The book is less than 500,000 words in total, with more than 100 characters, and depicted events and scenes that are very complicated. Therefore, in general, the structure of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*, its complexity and refinement, is still based on Chinese novels. Its structure follows the essential characteristics of classical Chinese novels: concise and straightforward.

According to Zheng Min, “whether in China or the West, the development of novel writing and the novel theory is relatively a complicated process, during which there are evolutions, leaps and bounds, also stagnation, repetition, and sometimes even self-denial. Therefore, it is not difficult to find examples of counter-evidence.”<sup>[9]</sup> With this context, the novel-focused tradition of any nation is complex, and a comparison of two different kinds of literature can only be made based on their typical representative works, which inevitably leaves a lot to be desired. However, such a macro comparison is, by definition, necessary. It is easy to see the trees without such macro comparisons, but not the forest, just like the blind man feeling an elephant. One will most likely get a specific image but lack a holistic grasp of the totality of the thing before them.

This article discusses the difference between Chinese and Western novels and attempts to address the issues of comparison regarding the high density and low fineness of story elements in Chinese novels and the low density and high fineness of the story elements in Western novels. To a certain extent, such differences affected the structure of Chinese and Western novels, forming the preference found in Chinese novels to organize story elements in the order of time and event development, with a relatively concise and straightforward structure. Comparatively, Western novels tend to make a difference in elements and structural methods, with a rather elaborate and refined structure. This conclusion is only a statement of fact, not a value judgment. Chinese novels, influenced by Chinese society and culture, tend to reflect the universe and macroscopic view of society and life in texts, so the story elements tend to be denser. Whereas, Western novels, influenced by Western society and culture, pay more attention to expressing concrete life, and their depicted story elements tend to be more detailed. The two approaches of story elements form two different characteristics of traditional Chinese and Western novels. Each of these characteristics has its own advantages. Both are in line with the national culture and social framework from which they emerged and appropriately reflected the life of their respective societies and the thoughts and feelings of their people, both of which are worthy of affirmation.

Naturally, a novel is the expression of the world and the reflection of human thoughts by sensual and concrete images. From the point of view of modernity, to express the specifics of people and events and to represent the sensual and specific life, the appropriate reduction of the density of story elements and increase in the fineness of the novel creates a dynamic balance linked to the direction of

[9] 郑敏 ZHENG Min: “中西小说观念比较” *Zhongxi xiaoshuo guannian bijiao* [A Comparison of Chinese and Western Conceptions of the Novel], 《外国文学研究》 *Waiguowenxue yanjiu* [Studies in Foreign Literature], 1993 年第 3 期.

the development of the novel. Western novels developed along this line, and Chinese novels developed along the same line as well. The overall development from classical Chinese literary novels to Song and Yuan Huaben, to Ming and Qing novels, from Romance of the Three Kingdoms and Water Margin to The Plum in the Golden Vase and Dream of the Red Chamber the trend is also the same. It is only as the development of Chinese novels reached a stage of retardation, or even stagnation, after the introduction of the chapter novel.

In contrast, the Western novel developed enormously in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in the 19th century, pulling away from the Chinese novel on the road to modernization. As a result, at the end of the 19th century, when the Western influence spread to the East, the Chinese novels absorbed many ideas, forms, and techniques from their Western counterparts and likewise embarked on the road to modernization under the Western novel's influence. It is conceivable that, without Western influence, the Chinese novels would also embark on the road of modernization at the earliest possible point in their self-development, but this is already a separate issue needing to be addressed in a subsequent article.

中文题目:

## 中西古典小说叙事中的密度与细度比较研究

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**摘 要:**密度指在一定的篇幅内, 故事要素数量的多少。细度指故事要素展示的充分性和内在完满性。比较而言, 中国古代小说故事要素的密度较高, 细度较低; 西方小说故事要素的密度较低, 细度较高。这部分造成了中国小说结构简洁精练, 西方小说结构繁复精致的特点。这些特点各有长处, 符合中西小说所自产生的民族文化和社会土壤, 也能恰切地反映各自所处社会的生活和人民的思想感情, 都是值得肯定的。

**关键词:**中西小说; 故事要素; 密度; 细度; 结构

# A Perfect Church on Earth: The New Discovery of an Ancient Church Site of 7–9<sup>th</sup> Century in Tangchao Dun, China

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**Abstract:** Archaeologists have recently announced the discovery of a 7–9<sup>th</sup> Century church site in Tangchao Dun, 115 km north of Turpan, Xinjiang, China. From the two site photos released, it is evident that the church was a rare and perfect bema church belonging to an episcopal or archiepiscopal see of the Church of the East in the region.

**Key Words:** Church of the East; Jingjiao; East Syriac Bema Church; Tangchao Dun; History of Christianity

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## 1. Introduction

On October 10, 2021, in what was supposed to be a routine expert panel meeting on the on-going archaeological excavation of 唐朝墩 Tangchao Dun (Fig. 1), an ancient city ruin in Xinjiang, the archaeologists (任冠 Ren Guan and 魏坚 Wei Jian of the Renmin University of China) announced a major discovery: a complete Jingjiao (Tang Christianity) church site had been found in the central part of the city, together with a large number of murals bearing Jingjiao cross images as well as Yelikewen (Yuan Christianity) notations written in Uighur. Ren and Wei dated the site to the Gaochang-Uighur period of the area (commencing 866 CE.), but did not rule out earlier dates, including the Tang rule in the area (commencing 640 CE.)<sup>[1]</sup>

The city itself, however, is dated to the 6th Century.<sup>[2]</sup> It lied on the northern route of the Silk Road, at where the Shuimo River ran down the hill of Tian Shan northward (Fig. 1). Beiting, the capital city for the region at the time, was 30 km to the west, and Luntai (today's Urumqi) was 170 km still further. In the other direction, Dunhuang, the checkpoint for entering and leaving the

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[1] “新疆考古重大发现, 唐朝墩古城发现景教和罗马式浴场遗址” (“Significant archaeological discoveries in Xinjiang, the ruins of Jingjiao and Roman baths were discovered in the ancient city of Dun in the Tang Dynasty”). 搜狐网 Shouhu Wang, October 21, 2021. [https://m.sohu.com/a/496386388\\_115479?\\_trans\\_=010004\\_pcwzy](https://m.sohu.com/a/496386388_115479?_trans_=010004_pcwzy). (Viewed on October 31, 2021).

[2] 任冠 Ren Guan, 于柏川 Yu Baichuan. 2020. 新疆奇台县唐朝墩城址 2018-2019 年发掘简报. (“The Excavation Report of the Tangchao Dun City Site in Qitai County, Xinjiang from 2018 to 2019”), 考古 Kaogu vol. 5, 38-64. 44.

Mainland, was 820 km down the Road. Across the Tian Shan to the south was the city of Gaochang (today's Turpan), servicing the southern route of the Silk Road as Tangchao Dun doing the northern. The majority of city ruin of Tangchao Dun, about 160,000 square meters (Fig. 2), has been put under heritage protection for decades, and archaeological excavation work began in 2018 under the leadership of the Renmin University of China (中国人民大学) and the Xinjiang Archaeological Research Institute (新疆文物考古研究所). The major finds so far, besides the Jingjiao church site, are a Roman public bathhouse at the northeastern corner of the city, and a Buddhist temple also in the central area, to the south of the church site (Fig. 2).

Little is known about the church site so far, as neither an archaeological report (such as the one published for the bathhouse site<sup>[3]</sup>) nor photos for the mural fragments showing cross images have been released. It is therefore, at this moment, not clear how the site has been determined by the archaeological team to be of Jingjiao (Church of the East, or East Syriac) tradition. The two aerial photos released, one for the entire site (Fig. 3a) and one for a close-up of a large rectangular box-shaped mount in the middle of the site (Fig. 3b), however, are stunning and offer much information for some preliminary discussions on, e. g., the nature of the original building, its affiliation, historical significance, etc.

## 2. The Photos and the Options

The photos (Fig. 3a, b) show a rectangular building site in an east-west disposition, with a wall running down its longitudinal middle separating the building into two nearly equal sides, one northern and one southern. The two sides are quite symmetrical in layout, with an elevated stage at the east end and a long hall below it and set-backed on the stage and facing the hall are three chambers, serviced (apparently) with a corridor at the back. The two sides of the building are internally connected with openings on the separation wall, one between the adjacent chambers on the stage and two in the hall. The main entrances to the building appear to be located at the northwestern quarter, one opened to the north and one to the west. The northern side is slightly bigger in width and hence size, has a larger middle chamber on stage and most conspicuously, possesses the large rectangular mount in the middle of the hall. It therefore appears to be the primary part of the building.

The large mount is highly unusual for a building and it therefore could serve as a focus of our examination. Its large size, obviously, limits space and circulation, making the building highly unlikely to be a public hall for courts or other official functions, like a basilica in a Roman city. (This point is worth making as not too far from this site, in the northeastern direction, is a Roman-style public bath of respectable size and layout.) For the same reason, the possibility of an indoor performance theatre or banquet hall can be ruled out. These leave not many other options except that

[3] Ren Guan 任冠, Wei Jian 魏坚. 2020. 唐朝墩古城浴场遗址的发现与初步研究. ("The Discovery and Preliminary Study of the Ruins of the Ancient Bath-house of Tangchao Dun.") 西域研究 Xiyu Yanjiu, vol. 2, 58-68. You Xilin and Paulos Huang, "The Contemporary Transformation of Educational Mechanism for Knowledge Innovation", International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (www.SinoWesternStudies.com), 1-20.

of a religious building. It turns out, in three religions, Judaism, Manichaeism and Christianity (Syriac), there was a tradition of placing a large platform in the middle of their worship hall, facing an apsidal or rectangular stage.

In a Jewish synagogue, it is common from the ancient time to have a platform erected in the hall facing the Torah Ark (or Aron Kodesh) in an apse on the wall in the direction of (ideally) Jerusalem. This platform is called a “bimah”, meaning “an elevated place”. This synagogue-type worship probably has a beginning as early as the Babylonian exile in 586 BCE, but it did not become fully institutionalized after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 CE.<sup>[4]</sup> Two elements in the Tangchao Dun photos, however, make it doubtful that the site was for a synagogue. The first is that its rectangular mount faces a large stage with three chambers, not a wall structure that could have an apse housing the Torah Ark. Even for a grand synagogue with a large apsidal stage like the Diplostoon of Alexandria, that stage is usually unitary, without partitions or chambers (Fig. 4a).<sup>[5]</sup> Second, the Tangchao Dun photos appear to show that on the side of the mount facing the stage, there is a carved-out staircase leading up to the top of the mount (Fig. 3a, b). For a synagogue, however, that side of the bimah is occupied by a lectern, sometimes large and highly elaborate, for the cantor and other co-celebrants lay down the Torah after its retrieval from the apse, open it and read (sing) it aloud, facing the lectern and the Torah Ark (Figs. 4b, c, d).<sup>[6]</sup> A staircase, therefore, cannot be placed on this side. As such, the Tangchao Dun site was unlikely used for a synagogue.

The Manichaeans called the platform set up in the worship hall “gah” (Middle Persian), or “caidan” (Turkish),<sup>[7]</sup> but Augustine of Hippo, who was once a Manichaean, called it a “bema”, which meant “platform,” “stage,” or “judge’s seat.”<sup>[8]</sup> The Manichaeans celebrated a bema festival every year, and that was their holiest day of the year. Information about this festival or the bema itself is scant, comprising only a few Manichean bema hymns, a fragmentary Sogdian description of a bema formulary, and a book illustration from Turpan that probably depicts a bema ceremony.<sup>[9]</sup> None of these, however, provides a clear picture of what this bema was or how it looked like. Augustine had written briefly about the festival, and in terms of the bema he said, “... great honor is paid to your (feast of the) bema, that is, the day on which Manichaeus was martyred, when you erect a platform with five steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the worshippers.”<sup>[10]</sup> This gives a sense that the Manichaean bema was not a permanent structure, but a temporary one erected every year for the festival. Gardner and Lieu seem to have this

[4] Hickey, D. 1966. The Ambo in Early Liturgical Planning—a Study with Special Reference to the Syrian Bema. *Heythrop Journal*, 7(4), 407-427, 417.

[5] *Ibid.*, 416.

[6] “... the ḥazzan has a separate reading stand immediately in front of and facing the ark from which he conducts the service.” (“Bimah”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., vol. 3, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, pp. 701-702. Gale eBooks, available online at [link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX2587502982/GVRL?u=utoronto\\_main&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=19bc4394](http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX2587502982/GVRL?u=utoronto_main&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=19bc4394). (Viewed on 31 Oct. 2021).

[7] Werner Sundermann, “BĒMA,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. IV, Fasc. 2, pp. 136-137; available online at <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/bema-festival-manicheans> (Viewed on 26 October 2021).

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Trans. in Gardner, I., & Lieu, S. N. C. 2004. *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press. 237.



same understanding when they write, “... the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani’s martyrdom when a judgement seat (bema) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolize his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.”<sup>[11]</sup> The rectangular mount at the Tangchao Dun site does not appear to be temporary, and therefore was unlikely a Manichaean site.

This leaves us with the Christian options, as there is a history of bema use in both the East Syriac and the West Syriac Churches. For the former, there are substantial documentations of such use in church design and liturgy, but very few extant sites showing signs of a bema. The three surviving sites are the two (Sites V and XI) in Al-Hira in Southern Iraq, and the one in Bazian, Sulaymaniyah of Northern Iraq (Fig. 5), all of the 6<sup>th</sup> Cent.<sup>[12]</sup> For the West Syriac, there is very little documentation but quite a few sites (a cluster of forty-five) in an area known as Limestone Massif in northwestern Syria (Fig. 5). The western end of the bema at these sites is always curved, and the eastern end of the church is either apsidal or flat. A church with flat end for both the bema and the church, like the one in Tangchao Dun, cannot be found in the West Syriac cluster. The pathway *shqaqona*, which will be introduced below, is entirely absent from the West Syrian literature.<sup>[13]</sup> For these reasons, as well as the fact that there is a clear history of East Syriac Church in the region (Turpan, e. g. ) and in the Mainland, but little if any with respect to the West Syriac, it can be concluded that the Tangchao Dun site is East Syriac, not West.

### 3. Agreeing with the Idealized Plan and the Actual Built-Form of Al-Hira Sites

As mentioned above, there is clear documentations of bema use in the East, for liturgy and church design. These include the gist of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (410 CE. ) as recorded in *Syndicon Orientale*, the commentaries by Gabriel Qatraya (7<sup>th</sup> Cent) and Abraham bar Lipeh (7<sup>th</sup> Cent. ), and the prescriptions in *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio* (9<sup>th</sup> Cent. ). The *Expositio*, reflecting the previous documents and incorporating teachings from the Catholicos Isho’yahb III (7<sup>th</sup> Cent. ) and Timothy I (9<sup>th</sup> Cent. ), is the last commentary to speak of the bema when it was still in use.<sup>[14]</sup>

Based on the *Expositio*, J. M. Fiey works out an idealized layout for a bema church,<sup>[15]</sup> and this plan, as illustrated by Baumer, is shown in Fig. 6.<sup>[16]</sup> There are two sides in the diagram, north and south, separated by a wall with doors. On the north side, there is a three-chamber stage at the east

[11] Ibid. 25.

[12] “These were mound 1, mound v, and mound XI. The two latter turned out to hide the remains of churches, both of which probably date from the 6th century, though they had undergone repairs more than once at subsequent dates.” (Rice, D. T. 1932. “The Oxford Excavations at Hira”. *Antiquity*, 6, 276-291), 279. “Further evidence of a bema at the site of Sulaimaniya in northwest Iraq, dating from the sixth century, was included when Taft’s article was republished.” (Cassis, 2010. “The Bema in the East Syriac Church in Light of New Archaeological Evidence”. *Hugoye* 5(1), 195-212. 201-2.

[13] Loosley, E. 2012. *The architecture and liturgy of the bema in fourth- to-sixth-century Syrian churches*. Leiden: Brill. 10

[14] Taft, R. F. 1968. “Some notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 34, 326-359. 337

[15] As shown in Cassis, 2010, 202.

[16] Baumer, Christoph. 2016. *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity*. NY: I. B. Tauris. 124



Jerusalem and Nazareth, [reflecting on] what has been achieved and fulfilled there in the providence of Christ.

What the Expositio has conveyed is how, in broad terms, the liturgy of the Word and the liturgy of the Eucharist should proceed, on the bema and sanctuary respectively. For specificity, we could attempt to apply the framework of the Holy Qurbana. The liturgy would then begin at the sanctuary, for the Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, Anthem of the Chancel and Lakhumara, during which the sanctuary and altar are celebrated and censored. It would likely be during or after the Trisagion that the clergy would file up and proceed to the bema, over the shqaqona. On the bema, one of the deacons, with blessing from the priest (bishop), stands up to the southeastern lectern (Fig. 7, 24SE) to read the Old Testament, and after a Suraya response from the congregation, another deacon ascends the northeastern lectern (24NE) to read the Epistles. The part for reading the Gospel commences, with the priest first praying earnestly at the Golgotha (23), censoring it, opening the Gospel, and reading it. The Karozutha and litany then ensue, and the clergy are blessed, and the catechumen are dismissed. Thus, all the "earthly" matters are dealt with, and the clergy steps down from the bema, moving across the shqaqona again and returning to the qestroma and sanctuary for the "heavenly" part of the liturgy, which are the Anaphora and the communion. At communion, the choir mounts the bema to chant the communion antiphon "Anthem of the Bema".

The format of the worship was meant to be perfect, because God and Christ were "perfect in all holiness" (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) [19], and as such, the church celebrating them was meant to be perfect as well in its layout. Notwithstanding, of course, while "this world is corrupt, but in the coming world this imperfect state will be taken away and given perfect" (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) [20]. The Tangchao Dun church, in its close adherence with the earliest teachings of the Church of East (Gabriel Qatraya, Abraham bar Lipeh and the Expositio), was truly a perfect church on earth.

## 5. The South Side

The southern side of Fiey's layout has a forecourt-cum-cemetery and a beth slutho (house of prayer), with the main gate open to the east (Fig. 6). An example of such an arrangement can still be seen today at the ancient Mor Kuryakos Church in the Tur Abdin Region of southeastern Turkey (Fig. 12). [21]

This is, however, not the way the south side of the Tangchao Dun site looks like, as it does not seem to be an open-air space but an enclosed one, with only internal doors connecting to the northern hall (Fig. 3a). It could, as the picture shows, serve a narthex or antechamber facilitating the waiting and entry of men and women into the main hall through their respective door, and accommodating the catechumen when were dismissed at the start of the Eucharist. Also, given the limited space in the

[19] Ibid., Syri 99.

[20] Ibid., Syri 239.

[21] Ufuk Elygit, Tahsin Korkut, "Beth Slutho (Summer Church / Prayer House) Tradition in Tur Abdin Region." *The Journal of Social Sciences Institute*, 2020, 49, 175-206. [http://www.yyusbedergisi.com/dergiayrinti/tur-abdin-bolgesinde-beth-slutho-yazlik-kilise-dua-evi-gelenegi\\_1225](http://www.yyusbedergisi.com/dergiayrinti/tur-abdin-bolgesinde-beth-slutho-yazlik-kilise-dua-evi-gelenegi_1225) (Viewed on Nov. 1, 2021)

main hall because of the bema, it is conceivable that the two sides were used jointly on regular or feast days. In this sense, the church can be thought of as a double-nave church, like the one in Sufyon (south of Samarqand) discovered in 2004-7 (Fig. 13).

It should also be noted that this auxiliary side, like the main hall, has a three-chamber stage as well, although the central chamber is much smaller, thus not being a sanctuary. This east end could therefore serve as a beth Slutho for performing non-Eucharist liturgies such as the daily offices, sacraments of matrimony, oil of unction, etc., and for educating catechumen and recruiting new converts.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

Archaeological works are on-going in Tangchao Dun, and given the immense size of the ground, it will not be soon before a full picture of the city and its people, as well as that of the church and its community, to be revealed. We would, however, note that the archaeologists have dated the city to the 6<sup>th</sup> Century, and the church site to the Tang period (commencing 640 CE.) or Gaochang-Uighur period (commencing 866 CE.). The current range of estimate is broad and will no doubt be refined as the archaeological works continue. We could, if we indulge, speculate on what an early and a late date could mean for the history of Christianity in China (or Christianity in general, if one so views it).

Should it be of a later date, could the Christians leaving the Mainland after 845 CE because of an imperial decree banning monasticism have something to do with the building of this church? It seems unlikely, as these Christians, after two centuries of worshipping in Chinese-styled 大秦寺 Daqin Shi [Jingjiao temple], would unlikely want to or know how to build a church of this kind. That means that this church was built by a Christian community already in existence in the region. If so, this seems to mean that there was an East Syriac presence in the Western Region at the same time when Jingjiao was being propagated in the Mainland under the auspice of the 638 CE. Decree.

In the scenario of an earlier date (say, early 7<sup>th</sup> Century), it would mean that East Syriac Christians arrived in the region in the late 6<sup>th</sup> Century if not earlier, as it would take time for them to establish themselves in society to, for example, obtain the privilege of building a church in the central part of the city. In a typical ancient walled city, such a location implies endorsement (and perhaps membership) of the upper and ruling class.<sup>[22]</sup> Alopen journeyed into the Mainland in 635 CE. We could ask, did he travel past them (staying perhaps briefly as a guest), or did he come from within them? In any case, this scenario also presumes an East Syriac presence in the Western Region in parallel with Jingjiao in the Mainland.<sup>[23]</sup>

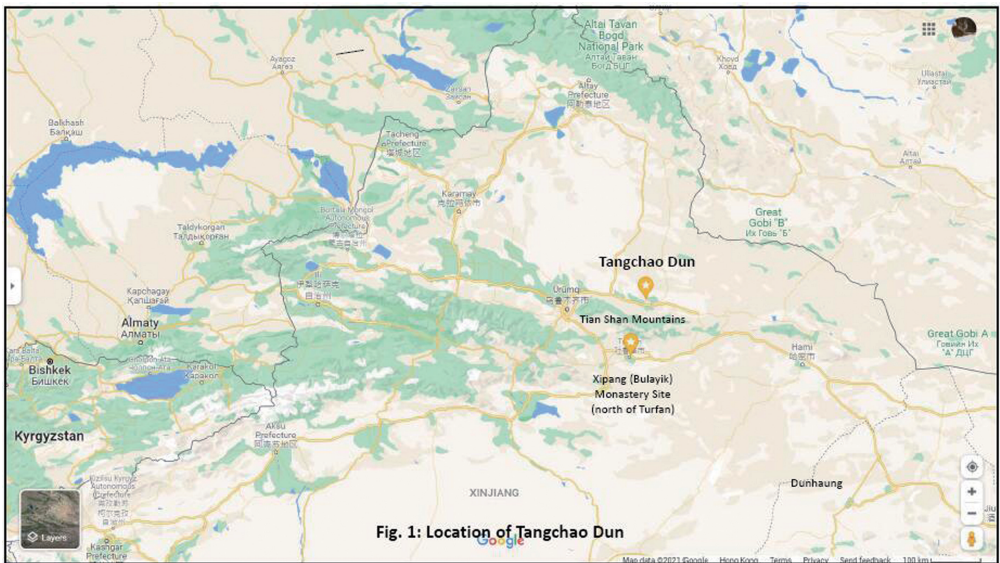
Lastly, it is worth noting from Fig. 5 that the three East Syriac bema church sites prior to this new discovery are all in the western end of the vast Church of the East domain, whereas the new

[22] Mumford, L. (1989). *The city in history; its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 35, 63

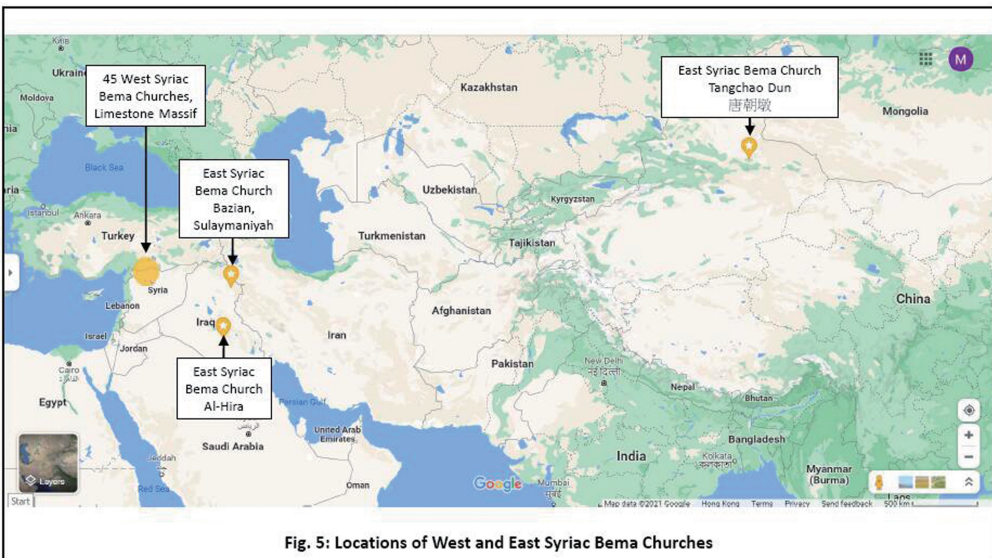
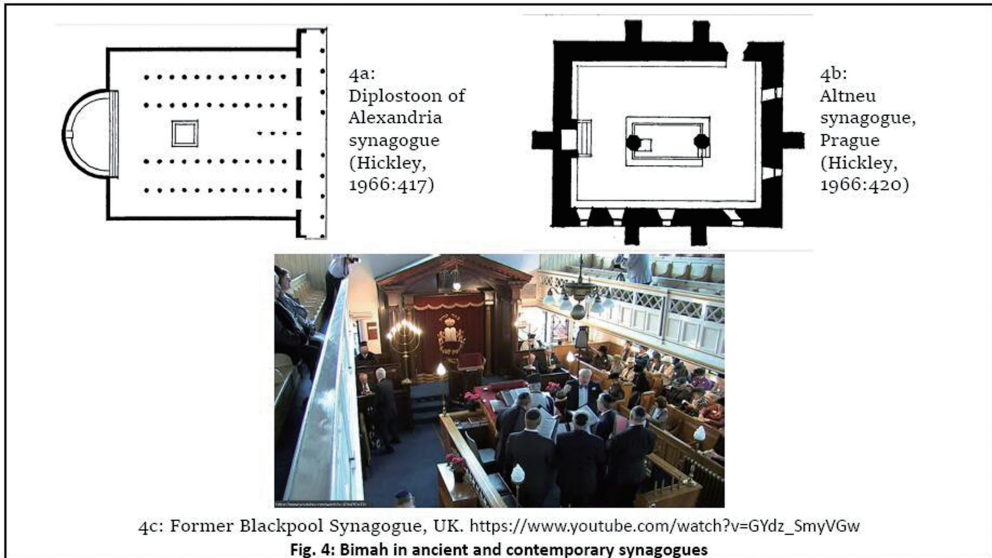
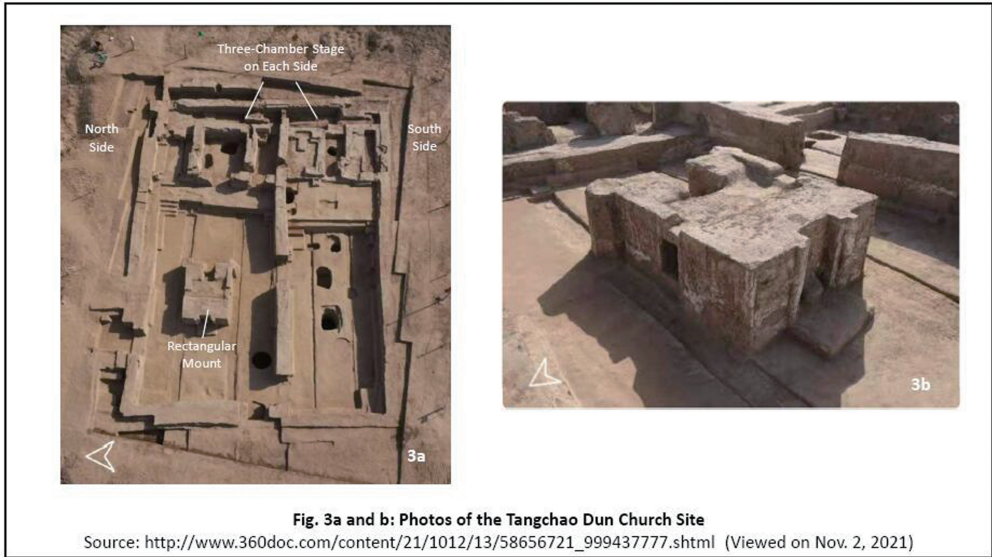
[23] This author, in a separate paper, has argued that the Jingjiao manuscript *Yishen Lun* (On One-God) is originated in the Western Region (such as Gaochang), and as such, it hints at the existence of a Christian community in that region before and in parallel with Alopen's mission into Mainland China. See 谭大卫 David Tam. “古代文书《一神论》的写作地点” (“The Place of Authorship for the Ancient Christian Document *Yishen Lun* (On One-God)”). *道风基督教文化评论 Logos & Pneuma*, 55 2021, 172-173.

discovery is at the eastern end. In between, no bema churches have been discovered or are known to have existed. Furthermore, the three sites were high-profile churches in the East Syriac heartland, with Al-Hira Site V (Fig. 8) and Site XI (Fig. 9) belonging to the East Syriac Patriarchal Province of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and the Sulaimanya-Bazian site lying only 150 km from Erbil, the birthplace of the Church of the East. The Tangchao Dun church, therefore, resonates with these three most historical and important churches of the Church of the East. His Holiness Mar Awa III, the current Catholicos-Patriarch of the Church, in learning about the discovery news and seeing the photos, advised this author in audience that “it is most likely here in Tangchao Dun an episcopal or archiepiscopal see.”

**Gratitude:** I would like to thank Prof. Zhu Donghua, Prof. Paulos Huang, Mr. Daniel Yeung, Dr. Liu Boyun and other members of the Jingjiao WeChat Group for their advice and support.



Source: <https://wemp.app/posts/a5c2aaa9-2753-4622-b41a-8f77ef866c22> (Viewd on Nov. 2, 2021)



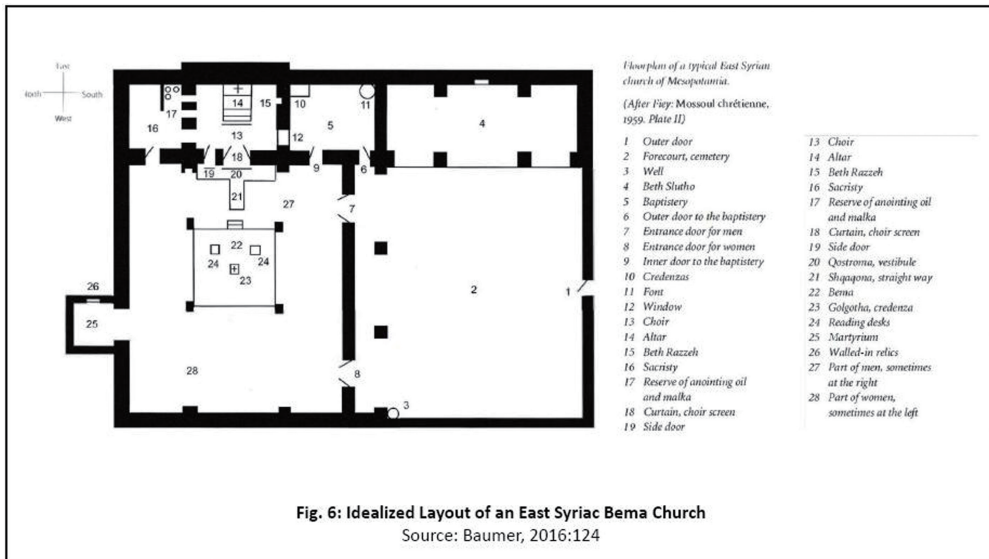


Fig. 6: Idealized Layout of an East Syrian Bema Church  
 Source: Baumer, 2016:124

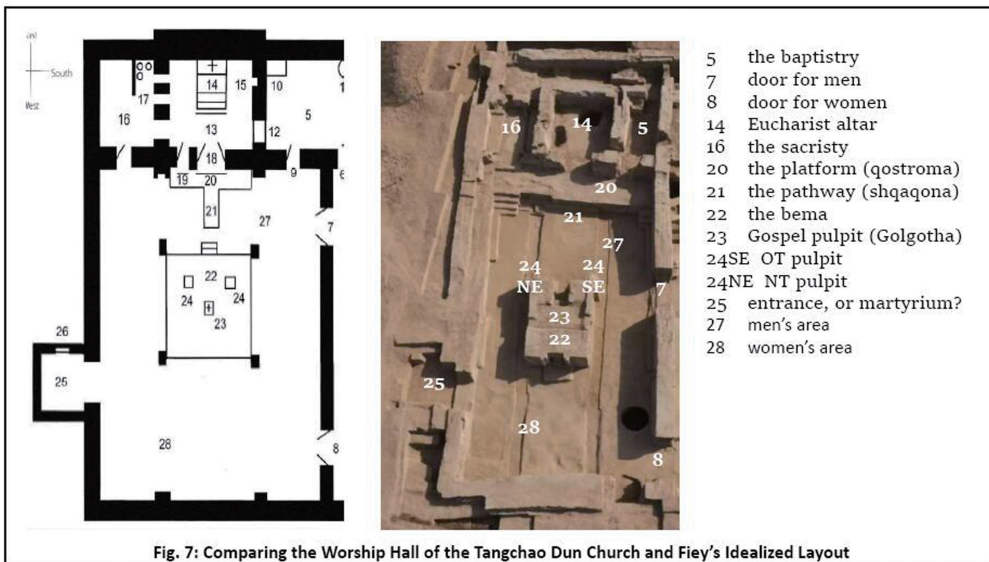


Fig. 7: Comparing the Worship Hall of the Tangchao Dun Church and Fiey's Idealized Layout

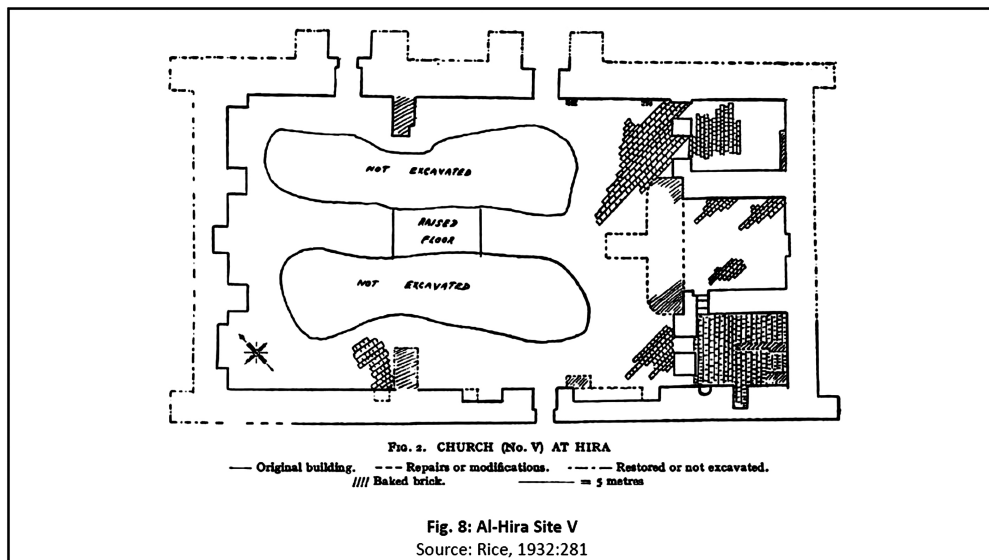
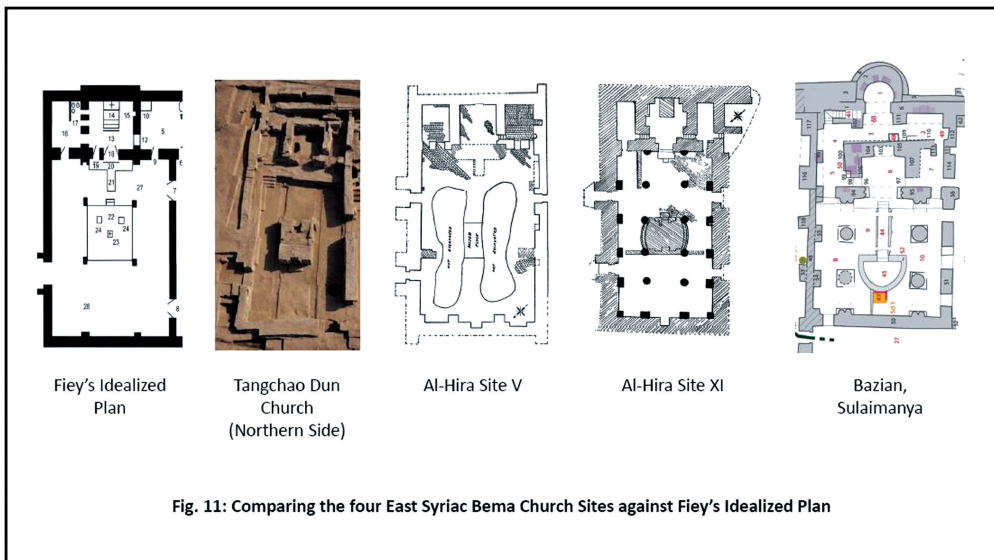
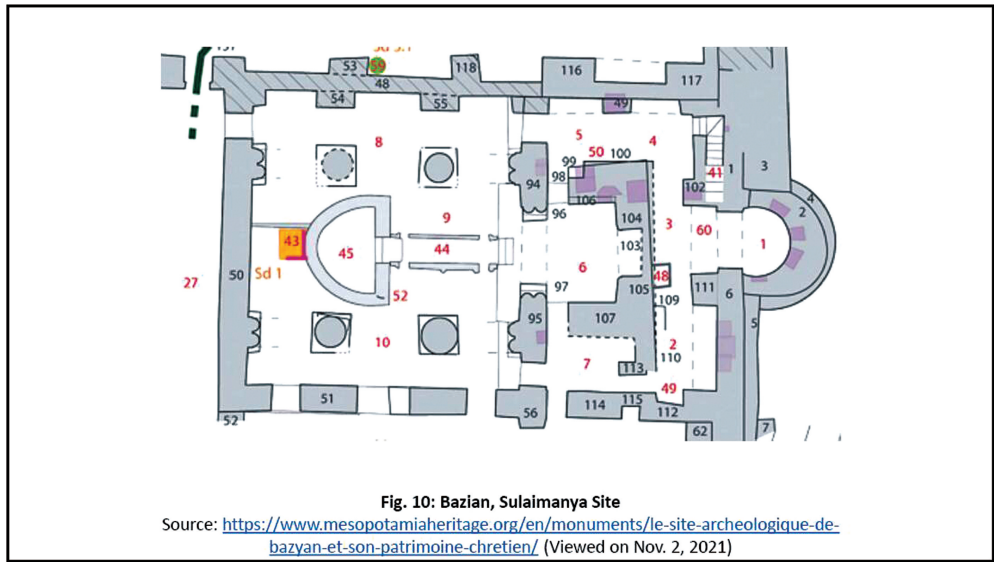
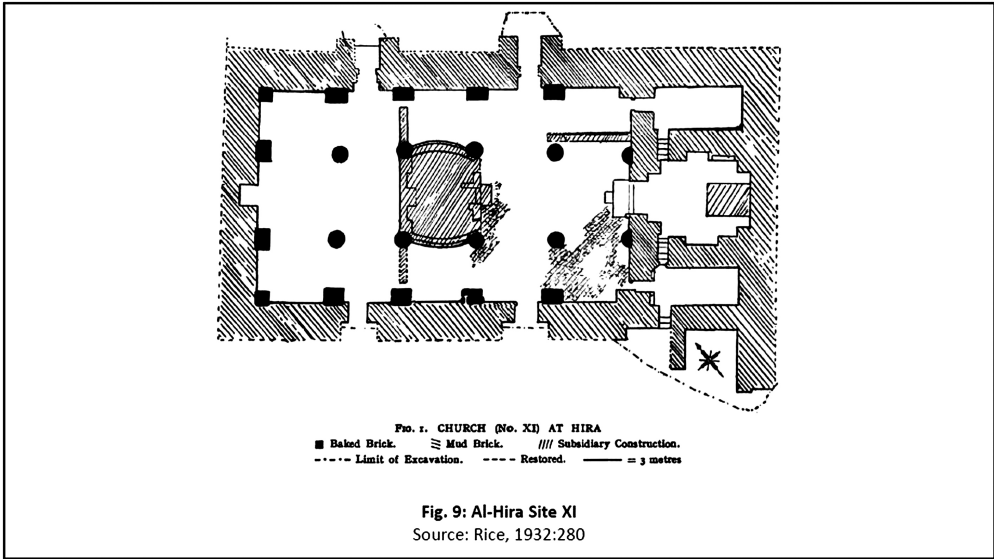
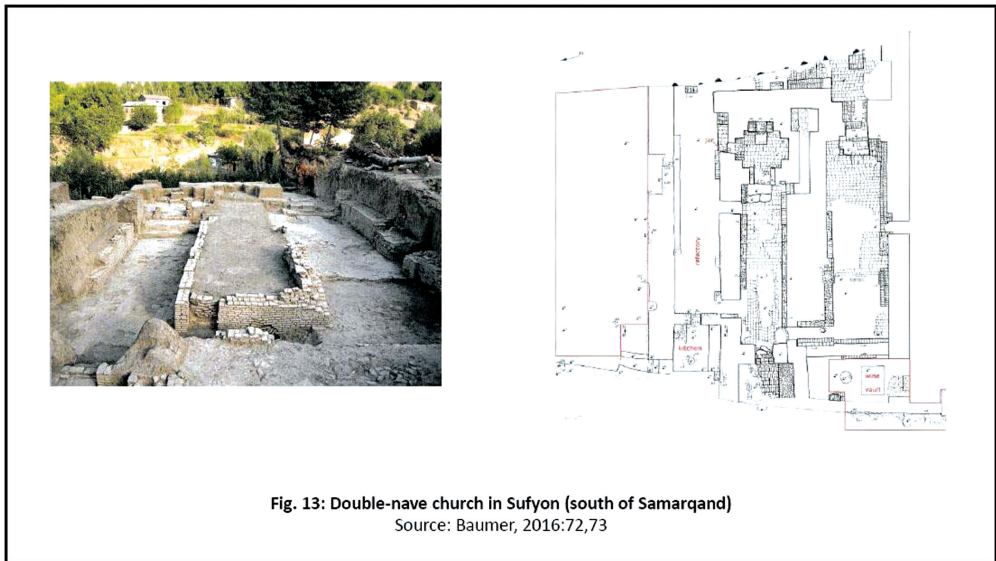
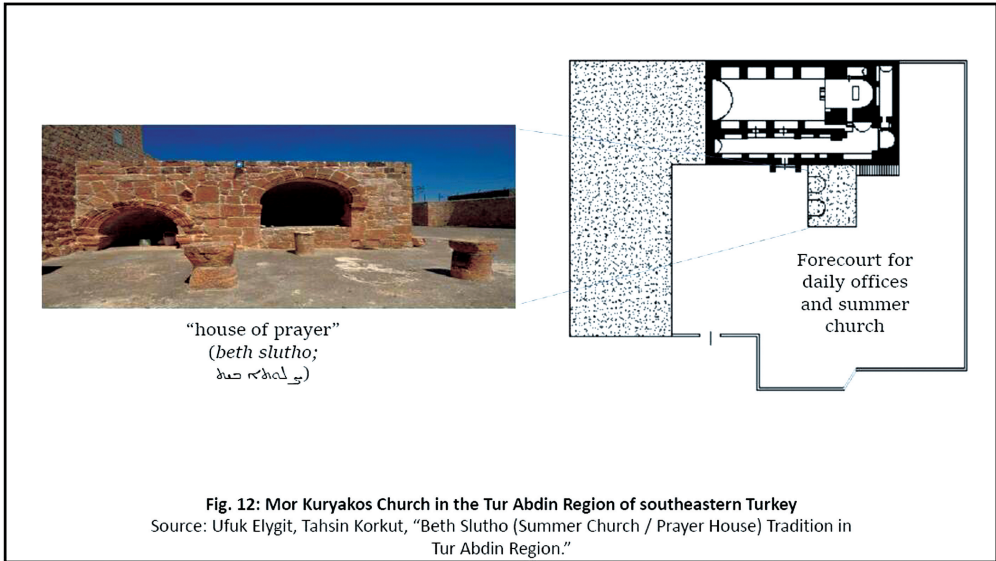


Fig. 8: Al-Hira Site V  
 Source: Rice, 1932:281







中文题目：

地上的完美教堂：一个 7—9 世纪唐朝墩古代教堂遗址在新疆的新发现

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# 《国学与西学：国际学刊》

## （中英文双语半年刊）

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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.

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# 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 Xinping, “Comprehensive Theology: An Attempt to Combine Christianity with Chinese Culture,” in Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 185-192.

6、报纸中的文章 Articles in newspapers:

曹曙红 Cao Shuhong, 《信仰之旅 慈善之行——上海玉佛禅寺觉群慈爱功德会参访团西藏行纪实》 *Xinyang zhi lu, Cishan zhi xing --- Shanghai Fochansi Juequn ciai gongdehui canfangtuan Xizang xing jishi* [The Trip of Faith and the Travel of Charity], 《中国民族报》 *Zhongguo minzubao* [The Newspaper of Chinese Ethnic Minorities] (2011年8月23日), 第5版。

David E. Sanger, “U. S. and Seoul Try to Ease Rift on Talks with the North,” *New York Times*, (11 June, 2005).

7、期刊中的文章 Articles in journals:

李炽昌 Li Chichang, “跨文本阅读策略: 明末中国基督徒著作研究” *Kuawenben yuedu 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 History of Church Establishment in Kashgar by Sweden Missionaries],《新疆社会科学》Xinjiang shehui kexue [Social Sciences in Xinjiang], (乌鲁木齐 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 Xinp ing 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 Xinp ing, etc.

14、其他 Others:

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzhu an wei yuanhui [The Editorial Committee of Hebei Provincial Chorography] 编:《河北省志·宗教志》Hebei sheng zhi . Zongjiaozhi [Hebei Provincial Chorography . Religions], (北京 Beijing: 中国书籍出版社 Zhongguo shuji chubanshe [Chinese Books Publishing House], 1995), 224。

U. S. Agency for International Development, Foreign Aid in the National Interest, (Washington, D. C., 2002), 1.

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