

沪宁杭地区天主教 圣乐本土化叙事

(1911—2006)

南鸿雁 著



中国社会科学出版社

沪宁杭地区天主教 圣乐本土化叙事

（1941—2005）

陈仲雄 著

中国音乐学院出版社

沪宁杭地区天主教 圣乐本土化叙事 (1911—2006)

南鸿雁 著

中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

沪宁杭地区天主教圣乐本土化叙事: 1911—2006/南鸿雁著. —北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 2017. 11

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5203 - 0053 - 7

I. ①民… II. ①南… III. ①罗马公教—圣经音乐—宗教音乐研究—华东地区—1911—2000 IV. ①J608.5

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2017)第 054333 号

出 版 人 赵剑英
责任编辑 张 潜
责任校对 郝阳洋
责任印制 王 超

出 版 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号
邮 编 100720
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
发 行 部 010 - 84083685
门 市 部 010 - 84029450
经 销 新华书店及其他书店

印 刷 北京明恒达印务有限公司
装 订 廊坊市广阳区广增装订厂
版 次 2017 年 11 月第 1 版
印 次 2017 年 11 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 710 × 1000 1/16
印 张 17.75
插 页 2
字 数 269 千字
定 价 75.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书,如有质量问题请与本社营销中心联系调换
电话:010 - 84083683

版权所有 侵权必究

序 一

对于初告完成的学术性研究成果而言，时间就是一位严肃而权威的审读者。本人在学校参与“学术论文写作辅导课”时，曾经倡导过“热撰写、冷处理”方法^①，就鉴于自身有过这种“历时性”检验的深切体会。其中所谓“冷处理”，也就是将初告完成的论文或研究成果，暂且“搁置”起来，交由“时间”这位“严肃而权威的审读者”，让其经受历时的考验，在论文作者或成果研究者冷静审视和陆续进行一些更新的思考，获得一些更新的认知后，再将之“解冻”做进一步的修改和充实。南鸿雁博士的这部即将付梓的音乐学著述《沪宁杭地区天主教圣乐本土化叙事（1911—2006）》（以下简称《本土化叙事》），就是这样一部冷藏“搁置”达十载的学术研究成果。

本书的初稿，是她的博士学位论文。原名为《“长三角”地区天主教音乐历史及现况考察研究》，完成于2006年与2007年之交，当时以申请音乐学博士学位论文的样本，提交南京艺术学院音乐学专业博士学位论文答辩委员会，并获得评委会好评。尔后，她进入南京大学文化人类学专业博士后流动站，于2009年出站，与流动站导师合作完成了《文化遗产与身份认同》的科研项目。从博士生毕业至今，十年过去了，这部著述在先前博士学位论文基础上，以其更新的面貌又再现于我的案头。阅读完这一更新稿本并将之与旧稿进行比较后，不难发现，除题目名称做了调整之外，论题对象更显专一，结构内容更加规范，同时还加入一些新的材料和作者认知，书稿确实有了不同过去的新变化。

南鸿雁的这部新书稿，虽然现设六个章节，但从主体内容和结构布

^① 见拙著《民族音乐学概论》，人民音乐出版社1997年版，第249页。

局来说,则可以将之概括划分为三个相互关联的部分(另外还有附录部分,罗列若干有参考价值的考察材料),即沪宁杭天主教圣乐的历史描述(第一、第二章)、现代重建(第三、第四章)和分析认知(第五、第六章)。如果再从民族音乐学的学科理论运用和阐释的逻辑关系来认知,前两个部分的“历史描述”和“现代重建”内容,即主要是所谓相关主题研究必备的“历史”与“现实”的存见状态和材料显示。而这一存见状态和材料显示的具体完成,当然不可能仅仅停留在书斋里推衍,而需要作者进入相关都市社区的天主教教会和教民的宗教生活中,去目睹和觅寻若干第一手历史资料 and 进行现实宗教生活感知及材料获取。由此,作者使用了较多的时间和精力,进入沪宁杭天主教教区,参加相关教堂和教民的宗教活动,逐步建立起自己基于民族音乐学理论所需要具备的“局内人”身份,并以“局内人”和“局外人”相关联的双视角行径,进行了细致有序的田野考察和资料采集,从而获得不少与天主教圣乐本土化问题有关的若干富含研究价值的材料和依据。其中不少历史材料,令人耳目一新,有的甚至相当有趣。如1919年江南主心修院耶稣圣诞日展示中国音乐,用中国民间流行的传统曲调填唱翻译后的圣诞歌词,就是非常典型的例子:

(一)丝竹奏毕。全体合唱法文圣诞歌。(二)中文咏圣诞词二首。……其词一调寄【满江红】……一调寄【鹧鸪天】共两阙……(三)琵琶独奏。鼓《霸王卸甲》之曲……(十二)以京胡奏中文圣诞歌二首。其一谱填《快六板》。其二调拍《洪羊洞》……^①

这些,都为本课题其后天主教圣乐“本土化”问题的分析阐释和理性认知,奠定了重要而翔实的基础。

作者在本课题的研究中,能顺利完成并做好这一基础性的调查研究工作,自然与作者出生在一个有天主教信仰传统的家庭(爷爷、奶奶都是天主教徒),并从小与天主教教区和教民有着比较密切接触的经历有关。但我还是以为,更多的则是作者个人在相关学科基本理念及方法论指引下的自觉追求和努力实践。

至于第三部分的“分析认知”内容,自然就顺理成章地成为以前

① 参见本书第三章第一节“教会学校的音乐教育”。

两部分内容为基础和依据的宗教文化学与音乐学相结合的解析和理论总结。这里，民族音乐学的学科“跨界研究”，在对象、内容和方法上，作为一项科研成果操作的逻辑显现，也就相应地得到交叉性和综合性的运用。作者在近代西方天主教音乐进入中国这一异文化区域后，从不同音乐文化碰撞必然会出现的相互抵牾、甚至对抗的社会音乐生活背景中，发现并收集到天主教圣乐在适当“妥协”之后，频频地显现出“多样化”“本土化”的若干事实（如以上举例），细致地予以梳理、分析和归纳，从音乐学角度概括出这种西方宗教音乐在中国本土社会生活中的传承，客观上就是一个“音乐本土化”的变异过程。就其天主教的圣乐本体而言，无论是形式、内容还是传播方式，都渐显出对中国传统音乐文化和传播方式的“让步”“包容”甚至“吸收”，随之而来就是“形成新的圣乐形式，即中国本土的天主教音乐”。

作者认为，这一“天主教音乐在中国的本土化是中西文化交流互动的具体事例。为我国 21 世纪初还处于开拓时期的西方宗教音乐传入中国本土的学术研究，提供了一个不同文化在相互磨合的历史过程中如何达到和谐兼容的个案”。尽管当下我国民族音乐学领域中关于外来宗教音乐本土化问题的研究课题，较之十年前的状况，已不可同日而语，但我还是以为上述作者的自我评价，是恰当的也是中肯的。

南鸿雁的《本土化叙事》一书，就要付梓了，亦如我开篇所言，这部著述可谓“十年磨一剑”。我作为她曾经的博士学位申请导师，曾全面跟踪她的学位论文写作，其研究过程，迄今历历在目，自然会期望这一著述面世之后，能够在相关学术领域发挥作用，显现出它应有的学术品格和参考价值。然而，“时间就是一位严肃而权威的审读者”，这一著述自然还会经历更长的时间“审阅”和考验，亦如信徒们宗教信仰般的执著，如果能在这一更长时间考验中长久地、虔诚地接受学术性洗礼，我以为，这就足够了！

应作者之约，谨此为序。

伍国栋

2016. 10

秋日·北京亦庄·赢海庄园

序 二

中国的天主教社区的型塑自利玛窦时代起就一直是跨文化历史上十分引人入胜的一章。总体而言，对从 16 世纪到 18 世纪中叶这一时期的研究超过了此后的任何阶段。这很容易理解：其一，基督宗教入华对中国人的心态和社会挑战的本质是前所未有的，完全不同于伴随着涵化（acculturation）过程的佛教；其二，除了传播新的宗教之外，那个时代的一些传教士仍被视为将西方科学与技术传入中华的“巨人”；其三，当时的文化和政治条件允许中国的文人、皈依者和传教士们进行平等和密集的对话，使得这一阶段在东西方思想史的研究上如同磁铁。

在过去的二十多年间，对于这一阶段的研究强化了两个重要之点：第一，中国天主教社区并不是被动地接受新的信息，它们其实是自己历史之主动性的能动者，诠释着给予它们的教义，通过创造性的转化使之具体化；^①第二，通过仪式如葬礼等，文化和宗教的相遇表现为一种特权。中国人的习惯和基督徒的礼拜仪式如此交织成了一种新的仪式结构。^②自打那个时代起，音乐成了展示中国基督宗教礼仪创造性的重要成分。

而自 1842—1949 年及其后的阶段则较少得到学术界的关注。然而，这一状况正在迅速地改变。在过去的几年间，一些具有突破性的研究在现代和当代中国天主教研究上打开了新的视野。关于 19—21 世纪中国天主教的研究得益于这些突破及其与早期阶段研究的结合。尽管政治条

① See for instance Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars, Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Harvard University Asia Center, 2009.

② See Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2008.

件是明显地如此不同,中国天主教徒还是塑造了新的公共的生活方式(例如本土化的“童贞祝圣”模式)^①,以精心营构共同的故事来表达他们的认同、痛苦与希望。^②音乐和其他的艺术形式是这种公共发明的一部分,这在今日依然如此。^③

南鸿雁博士的这本书是对中国天主教新的观照的一部分。通过把音乐置于她的研究的中心,作者选择了聚焦于中国天主教最为重要的礼拜媒介。对于新教社区而言,音乐的中心性是众所周知的:路德赋予音乐以特权来表达人类对神的教诲与恩典的应答。天主教的音乐神学可能比路德的更为复杂,这绝无贬低路德音乐神学的意思。在历史的过程中,对于天主教徒之具体感受性如音乐在祝祷中的角色、社区和个体的宗教渴望的音乐表达方式,Guillaume de Machaut, Palestrina, Monteverdi, Mozart or Bruckner 有具体的证明。无疑,相对于新教而言,天主教在“可见”上强调了更多的重要性,因此教堂建筑有着非同寻常的设计与装饰。但是可见的重要性并不能抵销“可听”的重要性。此外,音乐的首要性在于其能潜在地使整个社区参与到音乐的表演中,这绝不是其他的艺术形式所能做到的。

南鸿雁博士对她所研究的地区的天主教音乐传行、发展和转型,提供了一幅引人入胜的画卷,其历史跨度直到当今。她带给读者一种历史观照,有益于读者全面理解曾经和仍然持续着的变迁。她的个案研究丰富而细致入微,它们由于不同的环境而不同,无论是否用于祝祷,音乐作为一种活生生的表演总是受到社区的欢迎,从而被赋予一种难以复制的表达和意涵。她还仔细分析了不同的传统如何交织为一个共同的脚本。她的研究的重要性对于音乐民族学者而言是首要的。但是,其跨学科的特点对历史宗教学者和研究江南地区聚焦于地方社区的人类学者,甚至对一般性理解当下中国的宗教社区在创造和共享文化上的贡献,也有着特殊的价值。

① 康志杰:《基督的新娘:中国天主教贞女研究》,中国社会科学文化出版社2013年版。

② See HARRISON Henrietta, *The Missionary's Curse, and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2013.

③ On Catholic art, see CLARKE Jeremy, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

我无需在此重复作者的结论。读者将在阅读她详细的分析当中获益。我只是想通过我本人观察上海、台湾地区，以及四川的天主教社区来强调几点。第一，这些社区的音乐形式极端不同且远非固定。曲目和演奏质量的多样性令人惊讶。若干教区无疑青睐中国形式的音乐，有些教区的圣歌得自西方 19 世纪音乐的启发，还有些则依赖泰泽（Taizi）祈祷乐和其他世界性的祝祷音乐——其中有许多则巧妙地将这些多样的表达糅合在一起。尤其在台湾，中国传统的音乐量大且极为不同，相互竞争的作曲者有时面对的听众只限于一个或者两个地方社区。所以，那里大量“实验”正在进行中，没有迹象表明已有潜在的一般方向。第二，这一形式上的多样性使社区发生转换。即便在上海，教区传统之不同亦令人震惊。浦西城中心的教区和浦东那些基于乡村传统的教区（从 17 世纪起就已经是天主教社区）有着不同的美的和祝祷的标准。情况有时更为复杂：在许多教区（从浦东开始），根植于当地的信仰者与来自其他省份者甚至海外华人聚集在一起。不同人口群体可能的居住状况也解释了在一个教区之内音乐形式的变化。

上海市内的一些教区恢复了拉丁语咏唱。这意味着唱诗班的水平卓越，但会众却唱得很少。弥撒几如音乐会。我个人对此深表遗憾。我认为，真正的天主教灵性是祝祷的创造性和适应。格利高里圣乐（以及更为常见的用拉丁文演唱的音乐）当然更具美感，但仅在既定的语境里有意义。将拉丁语视为一种更为“神圣”的语言来强调“神圣性”是一种误解。神圣性根植于社区的内在偏好，需要通过艺术的形式来传递的虔信的体验，是为感受性与文化的反映。没有任何语言或者音乐形式是如此神圣。真正的“神圣”在于它是如何被社区内化和表达的。

另外一点我想指出的是，涵化不仅发生在音乐形态本身（语言和音乐形式），而且是社区对之诠释的方式。我记得在成都聆听年长妇女在教堂中唱一首可能在 1920 年和 1950 年间由一位法国作曲家谱写的歌曲，正如所想象的那样，她们通过将歌曲打造成“中国式”来表达欣赏之情。该歌曲在一定程度上改变了形式，在吟唱方法上得以再创作。而当你在浦东教堂里听着用川沙方言在弥撒前后唱的圣歌，你别问自己到底这些旋律来自哪个文化。这音乐无疑属于这个社区，因为人们是那么熟悉地唱着，因为他们在那上面生产了那么多的意涵和历史经验。

可以看到，这本书中的辩论不仅仅在理论上。通过中国天主教徒反映在音乐的使用、情感的投入、展示的创造性、对于巨大的形式上的多样性的包容，所有的这些因素将在一般的意义上影响教会的成长、以及同其他基督宗教教派与社会的互动。音乐创作不必通过抽象的精心制作。创作与诠释音乐是一个根植于个体和公共的灵性经验。灵性的成长和宗教社区的开放性在事实上决定了崇拜与音乐表演之美。

[法] 魏明德 (Benoit VERMANDER)

复旦大学宗教学系教授、博士生导师
利玛窦徐光启文明对话研究中心学术主任

PREFACE

The shaping of Catholic communities in China from the time of Matteo Ricci onwards remains a fascinating chapter of intercultural history. On the whole, the first period, from the end of the sixteenth century till the middle of the eighteenth century, has been studied much more than the following periods. This can be easily understood: first, the challenges raised by the entry of Christianity into the Chinese psyche and society were of an unprecedented nature, much different from the ones that had accompanied the acculturation of Buddhism; second, the missionary figures of that time are still seen as the ones of “giants”, introducing Western sciences and techniques besides new religious beliefs; and, finally, the cultural and political conditions of the times were allowing for an equal and intense dialogue between Chinese literati, some of them were Christian converts, and the missionaries, which makes this period a magnet for the study of East – West intellectual history. In the past twenty years or so, researches on this period have been stressing two points of importance: (a) Chinese Catholic communities were not passive recipients of the new message, they were rather active agents of their own history, interpreting the teachings that were given to them and incarnating it through a creative transformation of their social structures;^① (b) the cultural and religious encounter that was happening was expressed in a privileged way through rituals, such as funerals. Chinese customs and Christian liturgy were

^① See for instance Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars, Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009.

thus intertwined into a new ritual fabric.^① From this time onwards, music has been an element of the ritual creativity displayed by Chinese Christianity.

The history that extends from 1842 till 1949 and the one of the contemporary period have benefited from less intense scholarly attention. However, the situation might be changing, and rapidly. In the last five years or so, several groundbreaking studies have been opening up new perspectives on modern and contemporary Chinese Catholicism. Writings on 19th – 21st centuries Chinese Catholics benefit from the breakthrough operated through the study of earlier periods. Even if the political conditions were utterly different, Chinese Catholics were shaping new communal ways of living (exemplified though the indigenization of the “consecrated virgins” model^②), and they were crafting common stories through which their identities, sufferings and hopes were expressed^③. Music and other art forms were part of this communal inventiveness, and are still so today^④.

The book of Nan hongyan is part of this renewal of perspectives on Chinese Catholicism. By putting music at the center of her study, the author has chosen to focus on a liturgical medium of utmost importance for the communities considered. When it comes to Protestant communities, the centrality of music is well known: Luther has made music the privileged response of humankind to God's Word and grace. The Catholic's musical theology is probably more complex than the Lutheran one, which does not mean that it is secondary. In the course of history, Guillaume de Machaut, Palestrina, Monteverdi, Mozart or Bruckner testify to specifically Catholic sensitivities as to the role of music in the liturgy and as to the way music expresses the com-

① See Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

② 康志杰:《基督的新娘:中国天主教贞女研究》,中国社会科学文化出版社2013年版。

③ See Harrison Henrietta, *The Missionary's Curse, and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2013.

④ On Catholic art, see Clarke Jeremy, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

munity's and the individual's religious yearnings. It is true that Catholicism gives more importance than Protestantism to the importance of "seeing", and this accounts for a very different way of conceiving and decorating church building. But the importance given to the eye does not undermine the one granted to the ear. Besides, the primacy given to music is due to the fact that *the whole community* is potentially called to participate in musical performances, which is not the case with other artistic expressions.

The Author gives us a fascinating account of the way Catholic music was introduced, developed and transformed in the region she considers. She does so from its beginnings till today, offering a historical perspective that helps the reader to fully make sense of the changes that have been and are still taking place. The cases – studies she offers are rich and subtle, as they differentiate among different settings, liturgical or not, introducing music as a *lived performance* that is appropriated by a community that gives it an expression and a meaning that can never be fully reduplicated. She also analyses in detail the weaving of different traditions into a common repertoire. Her research is obviously of utmost importance for musicologists. Beyond this, its interdisciplinary aspect makes it most precious for the historian of religion, the anthropologist focusing on local communities of the Jiangnan region, and even for a general understanding of the way religious communities, in today's China, contribute in the creation of a shared culture and ethos.

I do not need here to repeat the conclusion of the author. The reader will find much profit in reading her detailed analyses. I just would like to add a few points, which comes from my own observations of Catholic communities in Shanghai, Taiwan and Sichuan. The first one is that the musical style of these communities is extremely diverse and far from being stabilized. There is an astonishing diversity from one community to another in terms of repertory and quality of execution. Some parishes decidedly prefer Chinese – style music, others rely on traditional canticles inspired from Western nineteenth – century music, others are inspired by Taize – style Prayer and other contemporary globalized liturgical expressions – and many of them happily mix together these

various expressions. Especially in Taiwan, Chinese – style musical scores are also very diverse, with competing composers who sometimes see their audience mostly limited to one or two local communities. So, there are lots of “experiments” going on, without clear indication as to possible general direction.

Second observation: this diversity of styles translates the one of the parishes considered. Even in Shanghai, the variety of parishes’ traditions is astounding. Parishes in downtown Puxi and ones anchored in the rural tradition of Pudong (who had also Catholic communities from the 17th century onwards) do not share the same aesthetic and liturgical criteria. The case is often even more complex: in many parishes (starting from Pudong) believers with strong local anchorage mix up with Chinese coming from other provinces and even with overseas Chinese or expatriates. The necessary accommodation between different populations explains also for the variety of musical styles within a given parish.

In several downtown parishes of Shanghai there is now a return to Latin singing. This also means that the choir has the preeminence, and the assembly does not sing much. The mass may become like a concert. I personally feel it very regrettable. I think that true Catholic spirit is one of liturgical inventiveness and accommodation. Gregorian music (and more generally music sung in Latin) is of much beauty, but makes sense within a given context. This is a false understanding of “sacredness” to consider Latin as being a more “sacred” language, as some faithful do. Sacredness lies within the inner fervor of the community, who needs to translate its faith experience through art forms that reflect its sensitivity and culture. No language or musical form is sacred as such. It is how it is internalized and expressed by a community that makes it become truly “sacred.”

Another remark I would like to make is that “acculturation” does not take place only in musical forms per se (language and musical style) but in the way it is interpreted by a community. I remember listening in a Chengdu church to old women singing with conviction a song written by a French composer probably between 1920 and 1950. The way they were appropriating the

song was making it as “Chinese” as you could imagine. The song was somehow transfigured, recreated through their way of chanting it. And when you hear in some Pudong churches litanies sung before and after mass in the Chuansha dialect you do not ask yourself from which culture the melody comes from. The music obviously *belongs* to this community, since people are so used to singing it, since they have invested so much meaning and historical experience into it.

As can be seen, debates generated by this book are not merely theoretical. The way Chinese Catholics reflect on the music they use, the emotional investment they put into it, the creativity they will display, the tolerance they will show for a greater diversity of style, all these factors will impact the growth of the Church as well as the way Catholics relate to other Christian denominations and to society at large. Musical creation does not go through abstract elaboration. Creating and interpreting music is a process anchored into individual and communal spiritual experience. The spiritual growth and openness of a religious community eventually determine the beauty of its worship and musical performance.

[法] 魏明德 (Benoit VERMANDER)

复旦大学宗教学系教授、博士生导师、
利玛窦徐光启文明对话研究中心学术主任

目 录

绪 论	(1)
第一章 天主教音乐人华之江南叙事	(14)
第一节 明清时期天主教传入与人文江南	(14)
第二节 明清时期天主教音乐寻迹	(20)
第三节 文化交流视野与在华天主教音乐	(36)
第二章 沪宁杭地区天主教音乐与音乐文本	(40)
第一节 天主教音乐在沪宁杭地区的实践	(40)
第二节 教会音乐的遗存:音乐文本	(60)
第三章 沪宁杭地区天主教音乐教育与音乐创作	(71)
第一节 教会学校的音乐教育	(71)
第二节 圣乐创作	(97)
第三节 民国天主教音乐的本土话语	(116)
第四章 20 世纪 50 年代后的天主教音乐及重建	(123)
第一节 新中国成立初期天主教活动中的音乐构成	(123)
第二节 当代天主教音乐的重建	(133)
第三节 教会音乐教育和神职人员培养	(151)
第五章 多元文化境遇中的当代中国天主教音乐	(172)
第一节 天主教弥撒音乐及其传统的地方化	(172)