刘家峰 编

# 离异与融会: 中国基督徒与 本色教会的兴起



人文社科新论丛书

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#### 离异与融会

——中国基督徒与本色教会的兴起

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## 出版说明

近十几年来,出版界愈益为生计所累,纯学术著作因印数较少,出版颇为困难。而在另一方面,随着我国国民素质的普遍提高,高校招生的迅速扩大,整个社会的学术创造力大大增强,学术成果愈见丰厚。除学术专著以外,频繁举行的国内或国际学术会议,也形成了大量群体性的学术成果。有鉴于此,本社决定策划出版《人文社科新论》丛书,意在给高质量的学术论文集的出版开辟一个新的园地,使广大学者积年研究所得的学术心得能够嘉惠学林,传诸后世。

本社向以传播和译介学术文化为己任,为将优秀的学术成果转化为高质量的出版物而努力。出版一流学者的一流学术著作固然是我们不懈的追求,但学术成果的价值常常需要时间的检验,凡能采用新材料、运用新方法、提出新观点,新颖、扎实的学术著作我们均竭诚欢迎。列入这套丛书的论文集中的文章,或许在各自领域里所取得的成果有大有小,但这些成果都是逐步成长累积的学术大厦的必要组成部分。

属于人文社会科学的学科林林总总,决定了这套丛书的选题范围 比较宽广。在丛书出版的初始阶段,取稿以研究中国传统文化者为 主,且暂不作分类,待到有一定的积累和规模后,或可按学科分类构 成若干专题。

学术为天下公器,立言可达人生不朽。我们殷切期待海内外学者 不吝赐稿,为学术文化事业的繁荣发展共同做好这件有意义的事情。

### 编者前言

收入这本集子的十四篇论文都是"离异与融会:中国基督徒与本色教会的兴起"研讨计划的成果。该计划由华中师范大学东西方文化交流研究中心和旧金山大学利玛窦中西文化历史研究所共同发起,是"基督教与中西文化历史"系列研究计划实施的第一个项目,从 2002年 12 月正式启动,为期两年。

以"中国基督徒与本色教会"作为讨论主题,一方面是因为,在很长一段时间里,传教士一直都是中外学者研究基督教在华历史的主体,而中国基督徒则一度成了中国基督教史上"看不见的人"(此处借用费正清在美国历史学会年会演讲时提到的"传教士是美国历史上看不见的人");另一方面,"本色教会"或说"基督教本色化"问题可以说是中国基督教史上的一个重要议题,也是中国基督徒最为关心的议题,但在"基督教在华传教运动"的研究框架中,中国基督徒和本土教会的发展很容易被忽略。在最近十多年来,国内外一些学者已经注意到这些问题,研究重点开始转移,出现不少优秀研究成果,形成裴士单教授提到的"中国基督教史研究的第二个阶段"(见本书序二)。本研讨计划探讨的主题和方法总体上讲仍属"第二阶段"的继续。此研讨计划在这一主题下,试图对如下具体问题进行更深入的探讨:

1

基督徒作为中国社会的一个重要群体,如何确立身份认同,与所处的宗族、社区是怎样的互动关系,中国基督徒政教观如何,中国的平信徒、教牧领袖、神学家如何理解、接受基督教信仰,少数民族基督徒如何调适基督教信仰与本民族原有信仰,女性基督徒在中国基督教发展史上具有怎样的意义,促使教会本色化的动力为何,各公会在教会本土化问题上的处理有何异同,中国基督徒在教会本土化运动中承担了怎样的角色,中国本土教会对普世基督教运动有何贡献?等等。

邀请书通过电子邮件发给在中国基督教史研究领域中颇为活跃的数十名学者,得到他们的积极反馈,陆续收到二十余篇论文计划。研讨计划邀请章开沅、卓新平、陶飞亚、徐以骅、吴梓明、吴义雄六位教授组成学术委员会,负责评估论文计划。由于此项计划定位为小型,最终学术委员会确定十五篇论文计划正式参与此项研讨计划。这次研讨计划也着意培养年轻学者,因此十五位学者中有六位是刚获得博士学位或正在攻读博士学位的年轻人。研讨计划原本定于 2003 年6月召开第一次圆桌会议,由于"非典"肆虐被迫取消。作为此研讨计划中的一个最重要的环节,第二次"圆桌会议"于 2004 年 10 月23—24 日如期在华中师范大学举行,共有三十余位学者和学生参加。参与该计划的十五位学者向与会学者报告了自己的研究成果。每位学者报告论文后都有指定学者做 10 分钟的评论,每节讨论也都留出半小时的自由讨论,无论是提问还是回应,都有理有据,中间也有不留情面的批评。圆桌会议形式简朴,但气氛热烈,讨论比较深入,避免了目前大型学术会议"报告多而讨论少"的弊病。

此次会议的论文经修订后结集出版,意味着这一研讨计划正式闭 幕。现在回头检讨项目的整个实施过程,虽有不少遗憾,如提交的论 文报告中未能覆盖当初计划中提出的所有问题,对天主教会的研究相对较少(东正教更没有提及),少数民族基督徒和教会的研究仍为空缺等等,但总体上研讨计划的预定目标基本实现。在此,首先要感谢参与此项研讨计划的所有学者,他们密切合作和认真扎实的研究,使此项计划得以顺利开展。更要特别感谢章开沅教授和吴小新博士,在整个计划进行中,他们随时给予具体指导和各种实际支持。也谢谢学术委员会为研究计划提供了很多评论和建议。美国著名学者裴士单教授应邀担任研讨会的总评论,成为此次圆桌会议上唯一的"老外"。中国近代史研究所两位所长朱英教授、严昌洪教授出席并分别主持了圆桌会议的开幕和闭幕,同事刘莉、章博承担了会务服务工作,研究生赵广军、各建平、汪进春等也在旁协助,在此一并表示感谢。

此项研讨计划的进行得到章开沅东西方文化交流学术基金、旧金山大学利玛窦中西文化历史研究所、香港中文大学宗教与中国社会研究中心、华中师范大学东西方文化交流研究中心、中国近代史研究所、华中师范大学研究生处、社科处的资助和大力支持,在此表示诚挚感谢。最后,要感谢上海人民出版社,没有他们的热情鼓励和帮助,这本书是难以付梓问世的。

刘家峰 2005年3月16日

#### 序一

# "中华归主"与"主归中华"

章开沅

列昂·布鲁阿在《以犹太人的名义拯救》一书中,曾经如此描述 过犹太民族的主要悲剧:"犹太人只在基督从十字架上下来时才投奔 他,而基督只有在犹太人投奔他时才会从十字架上下来。"①

其所以如此,是由于他们相信"弥赛亚必定出现在犹太人中,犹太人没能接受苦难的弥赛亚,没有接受而且拒绝了弥赛亚,因为他们不能接受以奴隶形象出现的弥赛亚,他们等待的是作为国王出现的,能实现以色列人的人间王国的弥赛亚"。

与此相映成趣的是,基督教来到中国,期望"中华归主",而中国人所期望的却是"主归中华"。也许中国人没有犹太人那样的偏执,他们早已包容了三教九流,但潜意识总认为基督教是外来洋教,必须首先使之中国化才能实现多数信徒的皈依。早期的耶稣会士颇能理解中国人的内心隐秘,我在金陵大学读书期间,贝德士老师课余出示的天主图像很多是儒服儒冠。这种"中国化"当然比基督走下十字架容易得多,但深层的"中国化",即早已为人们所耳熟能详的"扎根于中国文化土壤",其难度可能并不逊于基督走下十字架。

① (俄)别尔嘉耶夫:《历史的意义》,张雅平译,学林出版社 2002 年版,第 81 页。

但喜爱基督教而更喜爱中国化的基督教的情况,并非中国人所独有。如同世界上其他那些历史悠久的大宗教一样,基督教本来就不专属于某一国家或某一民族。它由东而西又由西而东,向全球逐渐传布的过程也就是不断移植于一个又一个新的社会文化环境的过程;而教会人士世世代代梦寐以求的非基督教地区的"基督化,实际上也就是合着基督教在这些地区的本土化"。正常的良性的文化交流本来就是一种长期持续的双方互动过程,即使是先进文化与落后文化之间,也不会完全没有这种互动,只不过是程度与形式有所差异而已。从我们历史学者的角度来看,基督教的普世性,与其他各种世界大宗教们历史学者的角度来看,基督教的普世性,与其他各种世界大宗教一样,不仅在于其固有的神学内核,而且也是经过千百年来各种语言和文化的诠释阐发,逐步磨合融通渐进形成的。

但是,我们的看法并非受到一致认同,因为确实存在着一个极其 重要的普世化与本土化的关系问题。在这里,我想从更广阔的视野进 行若干思考。

最近,有些学界人士重新对丹尼尔·贝尔的一句名言产生兴趣,即所谓"政治上的自由主义,经济上的社会主义,文化上的保守主义"。老友庞朴甚至公开宣称:"我是文化保守主义者。"① 当然,谁也不会认为庞朴是主张复古倒退的保守主义者,我们宁可视之为对于当前全球化与文化帝国主义潮流的一种回应或抗议。我不想对这种回应作具体评价,倒是对他有关"普世性"的一番议论颇有共鸣。他说:"现在人们认为'普世性'的东西,实际上是西方具体性的东西。就拿前一个时期吵得很厉害的'中国哲学的合法性'的问题来说,中国哲学是一种哲学,西方哲学是一种哲学,两个都是具体哲学,真正的普世哲学在这二者之上呢!"庞朴并不否认普世性,但他认为普世

① 《庞朴先生访谈》,《博览群书》2004年第9期,第7页。

性应该超越于区域或国家、民族的具体性之上。哲学如此,宗教又何尝不是如此;如果认为只有西方的哲学才是真正的哲学,或者说只有经过西方诠释的基督教才是真正的基督教,那仍然未免流于西方中心主义的僭妄。

但是,我们也不能走向另一极端,认为"西方具体性的东西"中根本不存在任何"普世性",或者干脆把这些"普世性"的东西一概附合成为中国古已有之,甚至加以曲解使之与本土某种政治范畴的意识形态相吻合。中国的基督教毕竟是从西方传来,并非中国本土所固有;因此中国对于基督教的理解,终究不能背离基督教的原来基本教义。

华中大学的老校长韦卓民有一段极为精彩的言语: "有些(人)说基督教实乃东方之宗教重返东方,但这种说法本身并不能使人信服。任何有影响的宗教都产生于东方。西方从未给世界带来任何大的宗教确是事实,而在东方则产生了基督教、摩尼教、佛教、伊斯兰教。但是基督教是以一种明显的欧洲神学的特征出现在我们的面前,因为美洲神学尚未形成。"① 韦卓民主张 "让基督教在中国土地上生根" (Rooting the Christian Church in Chinese Soil),这一提法与乐灵生所说的"基督教在中国落户" (Christianity Settles Down in China) 颇为相近,但前者显然具有更为丰富而深刻的内涵。

韦卓民在美国曾经坦率地指出这些好心的西方传教士的不足之处:"有些饱学之士纵是动机纯善,但把这教义说成太多的中国理想,或者在引用若干中国名词上也过于宽松随便。我可以 19 世纪的理雅各 (Legge) 与罗斯 (Ross),20 世纪的卜道成 (Bruce) 和乐灵生(Rawlinson)为例,(虽然)提及这些当今尚存的人物是不礼貌的。"

① 《中国与基督教》,《韦卓民基督教文集》,香港汉语基督教文化研究所 2000 年版,第 111 页。

韦氏注意到若干重要中国词语的错误引用与翻译,一针见血地点明,这等于是"假中国文化之名表达自己的思想",实乃"最恶劣的谬误";而"著名的汉学家,在这一方面,往往是最大的罪人。"①

韦卓民不仅是一位虔诚的基督徒,而且是一位谨严博学的哲学家。他不仅强调运用与翻译经典要义时必须直接"深入著者的真正精神",而且要求基督教学者需要东西融通,对基督教义与中国文化两方面都具有真切的了解与丰厚的学养。他主张:"在我们打算以中国文化来解释基督教时,我们要尽量避免使用比较方法(似指简单类比——章开沅),除非涉及枝节。我们宁可尽量深入中国文化的精神,以及多少世纪以来为中国文化所吸取的各种宗教、社会以及知识传统的精神,来看有没有和基督教生活观念能够配合的地方,在不抵触中国人观感情况下,有没有若干因素可以利用作为表达媒介和作为接触的交点,用以将基督教义和制度传播与中国人民。为了达到这种目的,我们要吸收中国文化的高层次,但也不要忘记中国文化中显已存在的黑暗部分。"②

韦卓民对中国基督教爱之深而责之尤切。他不无悲哀地感叹: "新教徒在华传教 138 年,收效甚微。许多所谓的基督徒列入了中国'名人录'也是事实,但那又能说明什么呢?是谁编纂的'名人录'?在教会学校或机构呆上几年就能成为一名基督徒吗?每个地方都有基督教徒位居要职。佛教在中国三百年方产生一个僧人(指高僧),六百年时间才译出像样的佛教典籍。就是译著完成以后,也是既无人看,也无人懂。"③也许韦卓民陈义过高,不甚切于实际,但重温这

① 《让基督教在中国土地上生根》,《韦卓民基督教文集》,第 124—125 页。

② 《韦卓民文集》第127页。

③ 《韦卓民文集》第112页。

些情理哲思交融的话语,想必会对我们今天的研究与会议的主题多少 有些好处。

中国基督教研究的目前走势渐佳,虽然还说不上"否极泰来",但至少也进入早春季节。有志于从事此项研究的中青年学者越来越多,这是很好的现象,不过这毕竟是一个难度较大而我们又起步较迟的学术领域,我们应该以高标准严格要求自己,力求保持纯正的学风,严谨的态度,科学的态度,多出精品,多出人才,是所至愿!

(本文系章开沅教授在"离异与融会:中国基督徒与本色教会的 兴起"学术研讨会上的主旨讲演稿)

#### 序二

# 中国基督教史研究的三个阶段

裴士单 (Daniel H. Bays)

First, I would like to thank our hosts and sponsors: Prof. Zhang Kaiyuan, our organizer Liu Jiafeng and other friends at the East-West Cultural Exchange Research Center of CCNU; also Dr. Wu Xiaoxin and the Ricci Institute of the U. of San Francisco, and Dr. Peter Tze Ming Ng and the Center for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society of the Chinese U. of Hong Kong. I am truly honored to be the only "laowai" on the program.

I want to begin by congratulating you, my Chinese colleagues, on the progress and growing maturity of your work in a field of study that almost did not exist 20 years ago—that is, the history of Christianity in China. 20 years ago there were only a few scattered historians working in Taiwan and Hong Kong, including Wang Chenmian, Zha Shijie, and Lin Zhiping in Taiwan, and Zhao Tianen, Ng Lee Ming, and Lam Wing Hung in Hong Kong. There was a stirring of interest and the bare beginnings of scholarly work in mainland China as well, but none of this constituted a real field of study. The steady development of this field, and especially its acceptance as a legitimate part of the history of Chinese society and culture, is a major success story in recent academic and

scholarly circles in both China and the West.

As I look back, this achievement took place in several stages. The first stage was to disengage the story of Christianity in China from its exclusive association with the West-in other words, to rethink the habit of labeling Christianity as part of the foreign missionary movement, or part of the imperialist presence in China, and only that. Thus a conceptual shift was needed—to recognize that the historical record shows a mixed impact of the missionary movement, that the missionary presence may have had some negative aspects, but also some positive aspects. For example, missionary institutions and activities made useful contributions to China's economic or social modernization and progress. Prof. Zhang Kaiyuan and his colleagues here at CCNU were among the first to insist on such a careful re-examination of the historical record. They created at CCNU first the Research Center for Study of the Christian Colleges, then the East-West Cultural Exchange Research Center. No group in China has done more to move this field forward than you here at CCNU. So this first task, to reassess the missionary record, has been pursued for some years beginning in the 1980s, with several important publications especially on the pre-1950 Christian colleges.

The second stage of development of this field of history was recognition of the crucial role of Chinese Christians, and the growing independence of the Chinese church. This was the history of churches or of groups of Chinese Christians who for both nationalistic and organizational reasons struggled against the structures of foreign missionary control. They tried to establish autonomy or outright independence because they wanted to be in charge of their own identity as Chinese Christians. Thus there were conflicts within denominations; in fact, any

honest denominational history of China for the early 20th century will show clear tensions and outright conflict. Some groups of Chinese Christians left the foreign missionary institutions to form totally independent new groups, such as the Zhen Yesu Jiaohui. Some became autonomous individual players, such as independent pastors like Wang Mingdao or independent evangelists like Song Shangjie. These all became objects of historical study by both Chinese and foreign scholars, and continue to be studied. However, I think it is true that in this stage in the development of scholarship, we still assumed the primary importance of the institutional structures operated by foreign missionaries, and thus assumed the long-lasting dominant influence of Western missionary factors in shaping 20th-century Chinese Christianity. This stage of scholarship began in the late 1980s and continues today.

A third stage of development in this field goes further, and is represented by this conference as well as by other trends. I mean study of the rise of truly indigenous Christian elements in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese history. Not "independent" (zili) but "indigenous" (bense) (or other terms such as bentu). Some of the research presented at this conference, and work being done elsewhere inside and outside of China, is in this category. It goes beyond seeing Chinese Christianity as an independent Chinese version of a Western religion; it sees Christianity as a Chinese religion, or several Chinese religions. We could say this approach takes a "China-centered" view of Chinese Christianity. Prof. Tao Feiya's forthcoming new book on the Yesu Jiating is a good example. In this stage we recognize the variety of Chinese responses to encounters with Christianity, or we could say Chinese responses to "discoveries" of Christianity. Of course, some of the indigenous discoveries

of Christianity have been mediated by missionary transmission. But the most important explanations for the growth of Christianity in modern China, especially Protestantism in recent decades, are focused directly on Chinese Christians. Missionaries are part of the story historically, but they are no longer the center of the story. Some of the individuals we've discussed in this conference, such as Cheng Jingyi, Yu Rizhang, and Wei Zhuomin, or figures like Jing Dianying, Ni Tuosheng, or Chen Chonggui, are examples of different varieties of the Chinese discovery and adaptation of Christianity to become a Chinese religion.

The third stage of work in this field has only begun, and has far to go. But I want to look forward and suggest yet a further extension of our scholarship. In truth, Christianity is not only a legitimate part of Chinese history, it is also a localized version of a larger, worldwide process—the rapid spread of Christianity during the 20<sup>th</sup> century outside the West (while in the heart of the West, Europe, it is actually rapidly declining). And as historians examine this process around the world, it is clear that the big reason for this expansion of "world Christianity" everywhere is not the foreign missionary, but local people, with their own agendas and needs, discovering Christianity in their own language, and understanding it in terms of their own experiences. It has been the story of indigenous appropriation, not external imposition. Ironically, in most places around the world this process accelerated after the colonial period ended and the Western missionaries left or were much reduced in their role. This has been the pattern for China, as well.

What has been happening for several decades, therefore, is really the historical process of Christianity becoming a non-Western religion. Today we see a "post-Western Christianity" (there is also a "postChristian West," but that is another topic). 100 years ago, one could safely assert that Christianity was clearly a Western religion. Today it is clearly a non-Western religion, 60% of the world's Christians now live in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and within 20 years that will be about 70%. Thus from the point of view of world history, China is part of a much larger process—the creation of "world Christianity".

There is a stimulating and growing academic literature on this subject, which has recently started to become familiar to scholars in the West. In the West, however, there is still reluctance in secular, and especially in post-modernist intellectual circles, to recognize that economic and social modernization in the 20th century has brought more, not less, religious vitality. This has happened everywhere—except in Europe, the historic heartland of the West, the only place where religion has declined in recent decades. Everywhere outside of Europe, particularly in Africa and Asia, religion, especially Christianity, has been growing extremely fast. Again, there is a growing academic literature on this by scholars such as Andrew Walls of Scotland, Lamin Sanneh of Yale, and several African scholars. My suggestion to you here in China is to take your emerging interpretations of Christianity as part of Chinese history and also put them in a comparative framework, seeing Christian history in China as part of a much broader worldwide historical trend. I was interested to learn in Peter Ng's paper this morning that Wei Zhuomin seems to have had some very similar thoughts more than fifty years ago.

To do this sort of comparative thinking might help all of us to answer some vexing questions about Christianity in China. For example, "Does adoption of Christianity mean partially or wholly replacing Chi-