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## 卷首语 From the Editors' Desk

# The Authorities for a *jingdian* (Classic) to become a *jing* (Canon) in the Chinese Context<sup>〔1〕</sup>

Paulos HUANG<sup>〔2〕</sup>

(Center for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society at Shanghai University, P. R. China)

**Abstract:** The Bible has been translated as *Shengjing* (the Holy Canon) in Chinese, but during recent years some Confucian scholars have questioned the reasonability of classifying the Bible as “Holy” and “canon”. Thus, it is crucial to define what a *jing* (canon) is and why a *jing* (canon) holds authority. After an analysis on the concepts of Canons and the study of Canons in Chinese and Western Contexts, the present author draws a contrast between the Confucian Canons in the light of Western studies and the Western Canons in the light of Confucianism. He will come to the conclusion that the key to understanding these two traditions and their studies of Canons lies in the authority that elevates a classic into a Canon. It is to say, where does the authority come from? Is it a divine revelation from the top-down or a human exploration from the bottom-up? This determines whether the authority of a Canon is metaphysically absolute, eternal and unchangeable. If not, is it physically relative, temporal, and changeable instead? This is an essential issue for emphasizing the importance of reading Confucian Canons today and for promoting Confucianism in the West. Its answer will either defend or challenge to its legality.

**Key Words:** Canon; the study of Canons; the Western Studies; Confucianism; Authority

By 2019, the Chinese Union Version of the Bible (*heheben*) has existed for 100 years. However, more and more people in China are now starting to emphasize the importance of reading the Confucian classics again. Based on such a background, the present author aims to explore what kind of authority can raise a *jingdian* (classic) into a *jing* (canon) in Chinese context. Such an exploration has been closely related with the analysis of two concepts of *jing* (canon) and the studies of *jing* (canons).

## 1 *Jing* (Canons) in Chinese context

In the Chinese context, what constitutes a *jing* (canon)? What kind of relationship does it have with the classics, Scriptures and Religious Canons? If we define “whether it holds authority” as the

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〔1〕 Concerning the similar topic, please refer to Paulos Huang and Yeo, K. K. 2019; “Confucian Classics and the Bible”, in *Oxford Handbook of the Bible in China* (Oxford University Press). 黄保罗 Paulos Huang 2019; “汉语语境里的‘经’与‘经学’ Hanyu yujing li de jing yu jingxue” 【Classics and the Study of Classics in Chinese Context】, 载《关东学刊》 *Guandong xuekan* 【The Journal of Guandong】, 第 2 期 vol. 2, 53-69.

〔2〕 Paulos Huang, Ph. D. (1996, University of Helsinki) and Th. D. (2006, University of Helsinki), post-doctor (2000 Tokyo University), a Research Fellow in Center for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society at Shanghai University, P. R. China. Chief editor for *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* ([www.SinoWesternStudies.com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com)) and *Brill Yearbook of Chinese Theology* ([www.brill.com/yct](http://www.brill.com/yct)), and adjunct professor for world culture studies in University of Helsinki, Finland. Email: Paulos.z.huang@gmail.com

criterion, we may divide them into divine canons or scriptures (which hold absolute authority) and humanistic classics (which do not hold absolute authority but have relative authority). In this section, the present author will analyze how the Confucian canons have become canons, what their criteria were, and how they lost their status as canons later during Chinese history.

### 1. 1A Confucian canons and the history of how classics have become canons

In Confucian tradition, there have been the following canons.

The Six Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (The Rites), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Yuejing</i> (The Canon of Music), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn)	221 BC
The Five Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (The Rites), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn)	221 BC, existed
The Seven Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (The Rites), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn), <i>Lunyu</i> (The Annalects), <i>Xiaojing</i> (The Canon of Filial Piety)	The East Han Dynasty
The Nine Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (Zhouli, Liyi, Liji), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Gongyang, Guliang, Zuozhuan)	Tang Dynasty
The Twelve Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (Zhouli, Liyi, Liji), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Gongyang, Guliang, Zuozhuan), <i>Lunyu</i> (The Annalects), <i>Xiaojing</i> (The Canon of Filial Piety), <i>Erya</i>	The Late Tang Dynasty
The Thirteen Canons	<i>Shijing</i> (Poems), <i>Shujing</i> (The Documents), <i>Liji</i> (Zhouli, Liyi, Liji), <i>Yijing</i> (The Book of Changes), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Spring and Autumn), <i>Chunqiu</i> (Gongyang, Guliang, Zuozhuan), <i>Lunyu</i> (The Annalects), <i>Xiaojing</i> (The Canon of Filial Piety), <i>Erya</i> , <i>Mengzi</i> (The Mencius)	The South Song Dynasty
The Four Books	<i>Lunyu</i> (The Annalects), <i>Daxue</i> (The Great Learning), <i>Zhongyong</i> (The Mean), <i>Mengzi</i> (The Mencius)	The South Song Dynasty

There are two important requirements for all of the above Confucian canons to be classified as canon: 1) Their royal political influence. 2) Confirmation that these texts have reflected, indicated or represented the Heavenly Way, i. e., the Truth. However, while it has not been clearly explained in Confucian tradition how a text has fulfilled the aforementioned criteria, at least they are not classified as divine revelations from the top-down. At most, they are the reflections of great people such as sages, who have observed, studied and found the relative truths, but not the absolute truth.

In addition to the Confucian Canons, Buddhist canons have also played important roles in Chinese Daoism.

### 1. 1B *Jing* (Canons) have lost their status of being *jing* (canons) and have become common *jingdian* (classics); The End of the Imperial Civil Examination System and that of the Discipline of *dujing* (Reading Canons)

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, facing the challenges of globalization and modernization coming from the West, the Qing imperial family realized that they could not

survive only through the Confucian canons. This prompted them to abolish the dominant status of Confucian canons as the criteria for ruling and education, and they began investing in the modern education system focused on science, technology, vocation training, etc. instead. Therefore, Confucian canons were transformed into common humanistic and referential classics.<sup>[3]</sup> In August 1905, The Queen Cixi (慈禧太后) and the Emperor Guangxu (光绪皇帝) approved the appeal of ministers represented by Yuan Shikai (袁世凯) and others to abolish the imperial civil examination system from 1906 onwards, and to start a new modern education and examination system of math, physics, chemistry, history, geography, zoology, foreign languages, etc.<sup>[4]</sup> In January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1912, the Education Minister of Republic of the China at the time, Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培), issued *The Temporary Methods of General Education* (*Putong jiaoyu zanshi banfa*《普通教育暂行办法》), according to which Confucian canons would not be studied as canons anymore in any primary, middle and high schools. Although some of Confucian texts are still studied in schools, they are considered only as common classics rather than canons with authority.<sup>[5]</sup> Therefore, Confucian canons had lost their status as canons, mainly because these texts themselves lacked both efficiency and authority.

## II The studies of *jing* (the canons) in the Chinese context

### 2.1A The study of the canons in the era when the canons were worshipped

The study of canons was a practice of studying Confucian canons in China. While the practice had a long history, ‘the study of canons’ (*jingxue*) wasn’t used to refer to an academic discipline until the late Qing dynasty when scholar Pi Xirui (皮锡瑞) published his books *A general study of the canons* (*Jingxue tonglun*《经学通论》)<sup>[6]</sup>, *A history of the study of the canon* (*Jingxue lishi*《经学历史》)<sup>[7]</sup> and Liu Shiwei (刘师培) published his book *A textbook of study of the canons* (*Jingxue jiaokeshu*《经学教科书》).<sup>[8]</sup>

“Canon” is called *jing* (经) in Chinese meaning “normal”, “criterion” and “standard”. Those texts, which have been accepted as canons, have authority and are considered as the standard of thinking, behaving, ruling and managing, etc. The study of canons should have already been started as early as canons existed.

The system of the Six Canons was established because of Confucius’s and his disciples’ contributions through editing, transmission and education.

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[3] It is said that Guangxu Emperor of Qing Dynasty gave a speech in Sep. 21st, 1891 in the establishing ceremony of Jingshi daxuetang 京师大学堂 (The former Peking University), and he emphasized the reason to end the imperial civil examination system and to abolish the dominant status of Confucian canons as the criteria of ruling and education, and expressed the necessity of modern education of science, technology, vocation training, etc.

[4] Li Tiangang (李天纲): “Year 1905: The vanishing of the imperial civil education system” (1905—Kejuzhi de huanmie 1905年——科举制的幻灭), <http://www.aisixiang.com>, <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/7177.html>

[5] Huang Yusheng (黄裕生) 2018: “Please do not let the return after one hundred years as reviving the ancient: A reflection on return of Confucian canons into civil education” (Mo shi bainian huigui cheng fugu-Guanyu rujia jingdian chonggui guomin jiaoyu de sikao 莫使百年回归成复古——关于儒家经典重归国民教育的思考), in *South Weekend* (*Nanfang zhounuo*《南方周末》) March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

[6] Pi Xirui (皮锡瑞) 1954: *A general study on the canons* (*Jingxue tonglun*《经学通论》). (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局.)

[7] Pi Xirui (皮锡瑞) 1989: *A history of the study of the canons* (*Jingxue lishi*《经学历史》). (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局.)

[8] Liu Shiwei (刘师培) 1990: *A textbook of the study of the canons* (*Jingxue jiaokeshu*《经学教科书》). (Shanghai shudian 上海书店.)

The main characteristic of traditional Confucian canons is an indicated authority for them, and such an authority was granted to them from Confucius.<sup>[9]</sup>

What is the authority of Confucian canons? Are they absolute and divine, or are they only relative and humanistically secular? If a text is accepted as a canon that holds authority, it should be absolute and divine. Otherwise it cannot be considered as a canon with absolute authority. If a canon's authority can change in accordance to time and place rather than being absolutely divine, there lies the danger for it to lose its authority.

In the orthodox Confucian tradition, Canons' authority does not come from divine revelation or absoluteness but comes from humanistic and secular authority. Because humanistic and secular authority is influenced by time and place, it is not reliable and will possibly change constantly. Therefore if Confucian canons keep their authority, it is necessary to find evidence from chen speeches, *wei* texts (*chenyan weishu* 讖言纬书), photos from Luo river, texts from Yellow River (*Luotu heshu* 洛图河书) and the legend of Cang Jie creating Chinese characters (*Cang Jie zaozi* 仓颉造字). Although traditional and orthodox Confucianism do not prove the authority of their canons through this evidence, the present author thinks that without this evidence, Confucian canons cannot hold absolute and divine authority, but only have relative, humanistic and secular authority.

*Chenwei* (讖纬) is a divination combined with mystical Confucian beliefs (prevalent during the eastern Han dynasty 东汉, 25-220).<sup>[10]</sup> *Chen* is the text of prophecy, foreboding and augury by shaman, and sometimes it is combined with certain divine photos and mystic Confucian beliefs. And *Wei* is a kind of text of interpreting Confucian canons from the viewpoint of theology. They are collections from ancient times rather than one sole author's speech or text. Such texts had very close relationships with the official ideology of the East Han Dynasty, the authority of East Han Guangwu Emperor Liu Xiu (光武帝刘秀) and their ceremony system.<sup>[11]</sup>

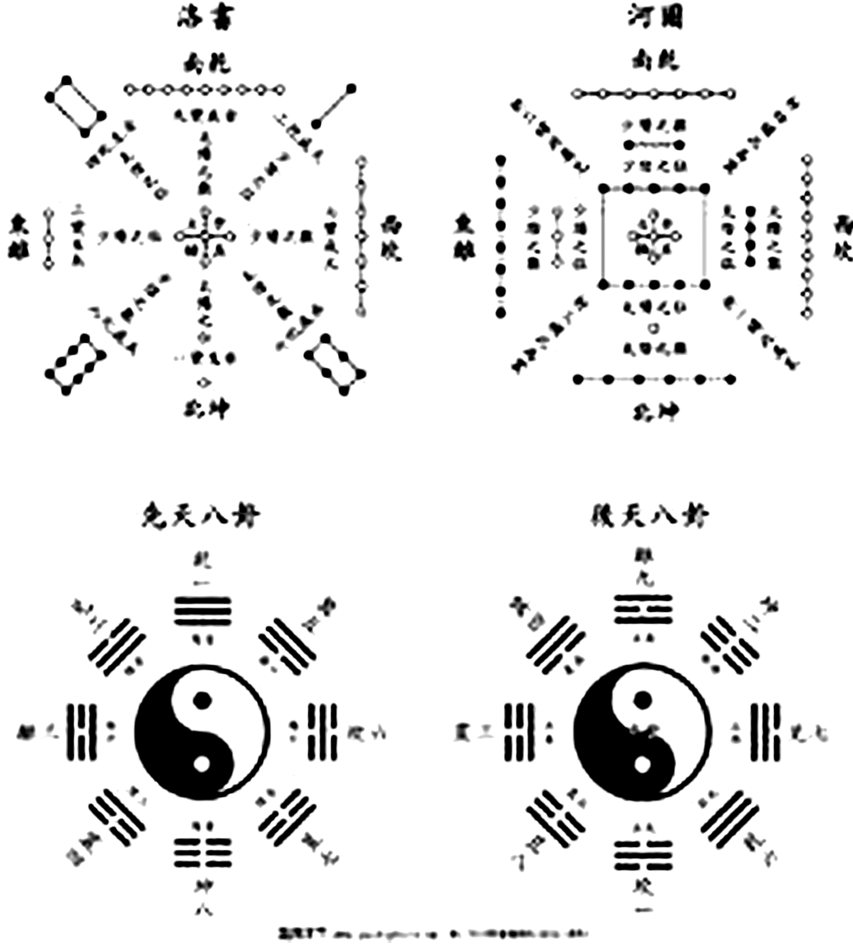
Photos from the Yellow River and the texts from the Luo River (*Hetu luoshu* 河图洛书) were a legend that, in the West Han Dynasty, nine chapters of Photos were revealed from the Yellow River and six chapters of Books were revealed from the Luo River, and they were transmitted from Emperor Huang (Huangdi 黄帝) to the King Wen of Zhou (Zhou Wenwang 周文王). In addition, there were 30 chapters from Confucius and 36 chapters of Jingwei. There were 81 chapters in total. According to *Yijing Xici* (《易·系辞上》) a dragon horse (longma 龙马) appeared from the Yellow River with many photos on his back, a divine tortoise (shengui 神龟) appeared from the Luo River with many chapters of books on his back, the sage Fuxi (伏羲) created the Eight Trigrams (bagua 八卦), and King Wen of Zhou made 64 Hexagrams (64 yao 爻) by interpreting texts based on these

[9] Li Xueqin (李学勤) 2005: "On the relationship between the studies on canons and documents" (Tan jingxue yu wenxianxue de guanxi 谈经学与文献学的关系), *The journal of He'nan normal university (The edition of philosophy and social sciences)* (Henan shi fan da xue xuebao: Zhesheban 河南师范大学学报: 哲社版), Vol. 2, 2005.

[10] *Suishu, Jingjizhi* (《隋书 经籍志》) reads: "孔子既叙六经, 以明天人之道, 知后世不能稽同其意, 故别立纬与讖, 以遗来世".

[11] Ding Dian (丁点)、Yang Hongquan (杨洪权) 1993: *The mystic prophecy: A study on Chinese ancient chen texts (Shenmi de yuyan: Zhongguo gudai chenyan yanjiu 神秘的预言——中国古代讖言研究)* (Taiyuan 太原: Shanxi renmin chubanshe 山西人民出版社). *Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* (《四库全书总目提要》) reads: "盖秦汉以来, 去圣日远, 儒者推阐论说, 各自成书, 与经原不相比附; 其他私相撰述, 渐杂以术数之言, 既不知作者为谁, 因附会以神其说; 遂与讖合二为一。"

eight symbols. [12] Liu Mu 刘牧, a scholar of Yijing from North Song Dynasty, studied the Changes of Dragon Photos (*Longtu yi* 《龙图易》) of Chen Tuan 陈抟 and published a book *Yishu gouyin tu* 《易数钩隐图》, where he established the tradition with ten photos and nine books.



The legend of Cang Jie creating Chinese characters (Cang Jie zaozi 仓颉造字) has mystic and divine features, which indicates the absolute divine authority of Chinese characters. [13]

In summary, if the relationship between Confucian canons and chenwei texts, photos from the

[12] Yi Xici shang 《易·系辞上》“河出图，洛出书，圣人则之。河图、洛书在先秦、西汉的典籍中有其文字记载。《尚书·顾命》说“大玉，夷玉，天球，河图在东序”；《论语·子罕》称“子曰：凤鸟不至，河不出图，吾已矣夫！”；《管子·小臣》讲：“昔人之受命者，龙龟假，河出图，洛出书，地出乘黄，今三祥未见有者。”以后，在汉代刘歆、孔安国、扬雄、班固等人的著作中也屡有提及。宋代华山道士陈抟提出的图式叫作《龙图易》，《宋文鉴》中载有《龙图序》一文，讲到了龙图三变的说法，即一变为天地未合之数，二变为天地已合之数，三变为龙马负图之形，最后形成了河图、洛书二个图式。但是，陈抟在龙图三变之后，没有提到河图、洛书的名称。

[13] Xu Zi. Jiebi 《荀子·解蔽》称：“好书者众矣，而仓颉独传者壹也。”  
Hanfei zi. Wudu 《韩非子·五蠹》：“昔者仓颉之作书也，自环者谓之私，背私谓之公。”  
Lüshi chungju. Junshou pian 《吕氏春秋·君守篇》亦记载有：“奚仲作车，仓颉作书，后稷作稼，皋陶作刑，昆吾作陶，夏鲧作城，此六人者，所作当矣。”

Huainanzi. Benjing 《淮南子·本经》中记载：“昔者仓颉作书，而天雨粟，鬼夜哭。”  
Shuowenjiezi xu 《说文解字序》中记载：“仓颉之初作书，盖依类象形，故谓之文；其后形声相益，即谓之字。”  
Weishu 纬书 Chunqiu yuanming bao 《春秋元命苞》中，进一步记载仓颉“龙颜侈侈，四目灵光，实有睿德，生而能书。于是穷天地之变，仰观奎星圆曲之势，俯察龟文鸟羽山川，指掌而创文字，天为雨粟，鬼为夜哭，龙乃潜藏。”

Xu Jian 徐坚 Chuxueji Juan 21 《初学记·卷二十一》记载：“易曰‘上古结绳以治，后世圣人易之以书契’，又‘仓颉造文字，然后书契始作，则其始也。’



Yellow River and the books from the Luo River and the legends of Cang Jie creating Chinese characters are carefully studied, perhaps the absolute divine authority of Confucian canons can be warranted. Otherwise, the authority of Confucian canons can only be relative, humanistic and secular, and it will change in accordance with the contexts of time and place.

### 2.1B The studies of the Confucian canons in the era when they are worshipped

In the era when Confucian canons were worshipped, the studies of them were mainly in the following forms.

“*Zhu* 注” (Note) is the explanation of the canon texts themselves, especially to explain certain individual terms or concepts. For example, *Mengzi zhu*《孟子注》(*The Note to the Mencius*) and *Shiji sanjia zhu*《史记三家注》(*Three Notes on the Historical Record*).

“*Shu* 疏” (commentary) is a further commentary to the explanation of the canon text, since not only are canon texts difficult to understand, but so are their explanations. Thus, a further commentary is written for the explanation.

“*Jian* 笺” (annotation) is a reflection to the explanation, similar to a commentary.

“*Zhuan* 传” (commentaries on classics) is similar to the further commentary (*shu* 疏) but focusing mainly on the meaning of the canon text. This term was mainly used in the Han dynasty, and later it was changed into *shu* 疏.

“*Zhengyi* 正义” (Orthodox meaning) was a special form of note or commentary on the Confucian canons in the Tang Dynasty, when the royal government offered standard answers to the Imperial Examination. Of these, only *Wujing zhengyi*《五经正义》(*The Orthodox Meaning of the Five Canons*) has ever existed.

“*Jijie* 集解” (The Collection of Interpretations) is a collection of all kinds of interpretations of the Confucian canons, e. g., *Lunyu jijie*《论语集解》(*The collection of all kinds of interpretation of the Annalects*), *Xunzi jijie*《荀子集解》(*The collection of all kinds of interpretations of the Xunzi*), *Hanfei zi jijie*《韩非子集解》(*The collection of all kinds of interpretations of the Hanfei zi*). In addition, there is a similar book called *Sishu jizhu*《四书集注》(*The collection of all kinds of notes of the Four Books*).

## 2.2 The Study of the Confucian Canons in the Modern Society

In the modern Chinese society since the end of 19th century, the Confucian canons have lost their status as Canons, scholars do not study them as absolute divine Canons anymore, but as common, traditional, humanistic secular classics. These kinds of studies have mainly two forms.

### 2.2A The study of history of canons in the modern society

Although Confucian canons do not have the status of being as absolute divine standard and criteria of thinking and behaving any more in the modern China, but these texts themselves are still worthy of being studied, from the viewpoint of the history of thoughts, these classics can be studied especially from three aspects. First, the conflicts and struggles among different classes concerning the canons in various historical and geographical contexts. Second, how various historical thoughts of canons have been serving for different classes. Third, how the thoughts of canons have been formed

as a rule in various historical stages. <sup>[14]</sup>

## 2.2B The studies of documentaries in the modern society

All kinds of notes, commentaries, annotations and other studies on the Confucian canons, are studies of the Confucian canons from the viewpoint of the studies of documentaries. Although these Canons have now lost their status as absolute divine canons in the light of modern sciences, they can still be studied as humanistic secular classics, documents and texts. The presuppositions of accepting these Confucian texts as divine canons are that of considering these texts as common texts, but the texts themselves can still be studied similarly. <sup>[15]</sup>

The studies of documentaries in the modern society have mainly the following forms. 1) *Yuwen xue* 语文学 (Philology) is an academic discipline on the language and literary characteristics of historical documents, and it is closely related with Chinese traditional little studies (*xiaoxue* 小学) such as text, phonology, exegesis, textual research, rhetorics and semantics. 2) *Mulu xue* 目录学 (Bibliography / Bibliology) is the studies of documentaries, editions, versions, bibliographies, index, etc. 3) *Xinxi jilu xue* 信息记录学 (Documentation Science) is the studies of recording and reading of information, etc.

## III *Jing* (Canons) and the history and criteria of its establishment in the Western (humanistic and theological) contexts

There are two sub-traditions in the Western studies: humanistic classics and theological canons or scriptures.

### 3.1A The humanistic classics of the humanities studies

Are open and changeable, and their amount is not fixed. They are mainly humanistic and philosophical reflections, such as Greek and other Western philosophical classics, historical cultural documents, literature fictions by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Home and William Shakespeare, etc. Such classics only have relative authority but do not hold absolute authorities.

### 3.1B Theological scriptures and canons

As far as the tradition of Western studies is concerned, the theological or religious scriptures are usually also referred to as Canons, which are mainly the Jewish Bible, the Christian Bible (including the Old and the New Testaments) and the Islamic Coran. <sup>[16]</sup> They are not open and their amounts are fixed. They are holy and divine, and hold absolute authority.

If we focus on the studies of studies of the Christian theological scriptures, there are mainly

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[14] Zhou Yutong (周予同) 2014: “‘经’、‘经学’、经学史 *Jing, jingxue, jingxueshi*” (Canons, the studies of canons, and the history of canons study), 见冯天瑜 Feng Tianyu、杨华 YangHua 选编 2014:《中国文化史经典精读》*Zhongguo wenhua shi jingdian jingdu* (The careful readings of Chinese Cultural Historical Classics). (北京 Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe (The High Education Press)). 姜广辉 Jiang Guanghui 主编 2003:《中国经学思想史》*Zhongguo jingxue sixiangshi* (The history of Chinese canons study). (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe (China Social Sciences Press)).

[15] Li Xueqin (李学勤) 2005: “On the relationship between the studies on canons and documents” (Tan jingxue yu wenxianxue de guanxi 谈经学与文献学的关系), *The journal of Henan normal university (The edition of philosophy and social sciences)* (*Henan shifan daxue xuebao; Zheshiban*《河南师范大学学报: 哲社版》), Vol. 2, 2005.

[16] Please refer to Wikipedia.

three perspectives: 1) To interpret the Christian Bible as Revealed Verbal “Words of God”. 2) To interpret the Christian Bible as “words about God”. 3) To interpret the Christian Bible as “a discourse between God and human beings”.

Canon, Scripture, Bible and *jing*: The term “Canon” was believed to have been first used by the Church Father Origen (185 – 254) to refer to “the official standard texts of the Church with authority”. The term “Scripture” referred originally to “a book”, and the term “Bible” was used in its place much later. Sometimes “Scripture” and “Bible” can be used as synonyms, but nowadays the term “Bible” is used much more than “Scripture”. In addition, the term “Testaments” is used often as well and it includes both the “New Testaments” (NT) and “the Old Testaments” (OT). In Chinese, the term “*jing*” has been used to translate the Bible into Chinese, and it is close to the terms “canon” and “scripture”, them meaning “standard and principle”.

The canon of the Hebrew Bible, which is also called as Palestine Canon, includes three parts: The Pentateuch, *i. e.*, *Torah* (the Law), *Nebi'im* (the Prophets), and *Ketubim* (the Writings). The Apocryphas are those prophecies, which have not been included within the Hebrew Bible. In the Synod of Jamnia of AD 70, the Hebrew Bible was officially established as consisting of 24 books, which is similar to but not the same as the Christian Canon.

The official canons were written, collected and accepted as having authority in a long historic process.

1) Writing dates: Most of the Old Testaments, also called the Hebrew Bible, were written between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC, some of them were written or revised between the 5th and the 2nd centuries BC, and all of them were finished in the Hellenistic Period of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The New Testaments were written between years AD 50 – 100. Between AD 100 and 200 most of the NT was circulated in the early church. Between AD 200 and 300 editions, versions and authorities of the NT were verified by the early Church, and between AD 300 and 400 the amount of the NT books were verified by many Church Councils.

2) The compiling dates and the dates of gaining official authority: The Hebrew Bible was collected and compiled by about AD 70. For the Protestant Church, the Bible with 66 books (including 39 books of the Old Testaments and 27 books of the New Testaments) was established and given official authority in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Religious Reformation happened. For the Roman Catholic Church, the Bible with 73 books (including 66 books and 7 *Apocryphas*) gained official authority between years 1545 and 1563 when the Trent Council was called. For the Orthodox Church, the Bible with 80 or 81 books (including 73 books and 14 or 15 *Apocryphas*) gained official authority in the Jerusalem Council of 1672. However, the Ethiopian Orthodox Bible has more *Apocryphas* than the East Orthodox Bible does.

3) The concepts of Prophecy and Covenant or Testament have played important roles in the formation process of the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament. When a NT book was under consideration to be accepted into the NT’s canon, usually three standards were followed: A) Apostolicity, *i. e.*, whether a certain book was written by or related to an apostle of Jesus Christ. B) Orthodoxy, *i. e.*, whether a certain book is in accordance with the doctrine of the church’s Gospel about Jesus Christ, the Holy Son of Trinitarian God, as a full human without sin and as God. C) Catholicity, *i. e.*, whether a certain book had already been accepted by the church before the list of canons was established.

In Church history, at first there was no compiled list of inspired books before the establishment of Christian faith's doctrine. Instead, the doctrine of faith came first before the books and texts were accepted into the canon. According to the doctrine of Church faith, the authority of the Bible did not come from certain traditions, authoritative people, nor came from humanistic reasonable logics or pragmatism. The authority of the Bible comes from the divine revelation of God to certain prophets and apostles, who had written the Biblical texts with the inspiration of Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Bible is eternal and absolutely divine, rather than temporal and relative humanistic.

Some *Apocryphas*, also referring to as Deuterocanonical books, were accepted by the Roman Catholic Church and Orthodox Church, but have not been accepted by the Protestant Church as official canons.

There are also many texts related to the Bible and Christian spirituality called *Pseudepigrapha*, which means false writings, and they were mainly written between 200 BC and AD 200. Christian Church does not accept them as part of canon, but scholars and common people are very interested in them as objects of academic studies or the legends. For example, 1 *Enoch*, *Odes of Solomon*, etc. They do not have the authorities the Bible holds as canon.

The process of the transmission of the Bible: The original manuscripts of the OT (in Hebrew and Aram languages) and NT (in Greek language) have disappeared and do not exist anymore. Today, there are only copies of the original manuscripts or the remains of their earlier versions. The earliest authoritative edition of the OT was discovered in 1947, the Dead Sea Scroll, which dated to 300 BC—AD 100. The earliest editions of the NT is the Codex Vaticanus B, which dated from AD 400, the Chester Beatty Papyrus II (P46) (80—100 AD) and the Codex Sinaiticus (AD 350) which contain the whole Bible.

The process of the translations of the Bible: A) The earlier translated version of the OT was the Septuagint LXX, which was translated from Hebrew into Greek in around 200 BC by Ptolemy II (285—246 BC). B) The Aram translated version of the OT was Targum (AD 150). C) The Latin translated version of the entire Bible was Vulgata by Church Father Jerome (Latin; Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus; Greek; Ἐὐσέβιος Σωφρόνιος Ἱερώνυμος; c. 27 March 347–30 September 420). The contents list and the order of English and Chinese translating versions of the OT today we usually have are basically based on that of the Vulgate, and the translation of OT is basically based on Masoretic Hebrew Bible (dating from around AD 800). The newest translations have already referred to the *Dead Sea Scroll* (AD 200). D) The English translation of the Bible was started by John Wycliff (1330—1384) from the Vulgate version in the 14th century (around 1384). In 1526 William Tyndale (1494—1526) translated again the NT from the original Greek version into English. Since 1611 the King James Version (KJV) started to gain popularity, and later the New King James Version (NKJV, 1990) was revised. Of course, there appeared many other English versions later. E) The Printed Bible in 1450 by the German Gutenberg (1400—1468) printing, which made it possible for the Bible to be printed more quickly and easily, although the Bible did not become popular until the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. F) The German version of the Martin Luther Bible was published in 1522 (NT) and 1534 (OT). Luther has been largely and strongly influenced the Religious Reformation and the translations of the Bible into many other languages. G) The Chinese translations of the Bible were most likely started as early as in the 7th century when the Nestorianism came into the Tang dynasty of China through Syria, but few manuscripts of the biblical translations remain today. In addition to some partial manuscripts of the Roman Catholic translations, the earliest Chinese version of the whole Bible was done by the Britain Baptist

missionary John Marshman in 1822, and it was called *Xin Jiu yue quanshu*《新旧约全书》(The Whole Book of the Old and New Testaments). Through a process of development, in 1919 a *Guanhua hehe yiben*《官话和合译本》(Chinese Union Version/Mandarin Union Version) was published as the result of an ecumenical cooperation, and this version has been becoming so popular and dominant in the Chinese church that it took until 1983 and 2010 to have some revisions been done to revise this translated version. Other Chinese translated versions were also done among Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches in China. Almost all of them have translated the Bible with the Chinese term "Shengjing", i. e., the Holy Canon.

## IV The studies of the canons in the light of the Western Studies

**4.1 Exegetics is an academic discipline of studying texts, especially religious texts through interpreting them to find their meaning**(the Greek term ἐξήγησις / ἐξηγεῖσθαι refers to "to lead out"). This is a critics on texts. It does not only study the history and the source of the texts, but also studies the author of the texts, the historical and cultural background of texts and authors, and the literary styles, grammar and syntax of the texts. There are many the different schools of exegetics in the Biblical studies such as the Form critics, Historical critics, High and Low critics, etc.

**4.2 The hermeneutics is the theory and methodology of interpretation of especially the Biblical texts, Wisdom Books and philosophical texts.** Hermeneutics later developed into an independent academic discipline as a sub-discipline of philosophy. Therefore modern hermeneutics includes verbal and non-verbal communication, semantic studies and the study of presuppositions. Now, the method of hermeneutics has been popularly used in humanities sciences, especially in law, history and theology. The term "text" does not refer only to the religious texts themselves and literary or verbal materials. It also refers to events, customs, phenomena, and other objects which are to be studied in literature, arts and sociology. Ideology critics, reader critics, feminism and others are all the different schools of hermeneutics.

Sometimes exegetics can be used as a synonym to hermeneutics, but as far as their essences are concerned, exegetics studies mainly textual words, literary, grammatical and semantic features, i. e. what the original text meant in their original context. On the other hand, hermeneutics studies literary, verbal and non-verbal communications and their significances to the contemporary readers.

## V *Jing* (Canons) and *jingxue* (the studies of the canons) in the contrast between Confucian and the Western Studies

The Western canons (i. e., *jing*) in the light of Confucian studies: In Confucian studies, *jing* (canon) has not gained its authority from divine and absolute truth, but from humanistic imperial power, ethical morality, sages' reflection and so on. Therefore in the light of the Confucian studies, the Western *jing* (canon) can be understood in two senses: On the one hand, most Confucian scholars reject the metaphysical, absolute and eternal authorities of the Western religious/theological *jing* (canon), i. e., that of the Bible, since the official Confucianism does not accept the divine revelation of *chenwei*, *Hetu Luoshu* (the photos from the Yellow River and the books from the Luo River), the legend of Cang Jie creating Chinese

characters, and the worship of Heavenly God in the pre-Qin period. On the other hand, the relative, temporary and humanistic authorities of the Western *jingdian* (classics) can be accepted by most Confucian scholars. Thus, most Confucians cannot accept Bible holding absolute, divine and eternal authorities, but consider it as having only relative philosophical, literal, historical, cultural and other authorities. Therefore, in recent years, some radical nationalist Confucian scholars rejected the Chinese translation of Christmas as *shengdanjie* 圣诞节 (The Holy Birthday) but tried to translate it as *Yedanjie* 耶诞节 (the birthday of Jesus), rejected to translate the Bible as *Shengjing* 《圣经》 (The Holy Canons) but insisted on translating it as *Jijing* 《基经》 (the Canons of Christianity).<sup>[17]</sup> In the light of most Confucians, the Bible is not a canon, but only a classic. If it is called as a canon, it will only be a humanistic and secular canon rather than a divine canon.

The Confucian *jing* (canons) in the light of the Western studies: On the one hand, the Confucian *jing* (canons) are considered only as humanistic and relative classics in the light of the Western studies, since for Western humanistic scholars all classics are humanistic and relative, and for the Western theological scholars only divine revelation is absolute and eternal. Therefore, Confucian *jing* (canons) have no divine and absolute but only humanistic and relative authorities. For example, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the Enlightenment Movement was popular, some Western humanistic scholars appreciated Confucianism and its *jing* (canons) to such an extent that they contradicted themselves and seemed to have had divine and absolute authorities.

On the other hand, in the light of the Western Christian theological studies, the Bible can be understood in two levels. First, the Bible is the divine revelation of God to human beings from the top-down and it is eternal, absolute and divine. The Bible mainly focuses on the relationship between God and human beings, which is indicated through concepts like creation, providence, salvation/soteriology, divination, the study of God, Christology and the study of Holy Spirit. In this sense, the Confucian canons do not have such authorities. Second, the Bible is also the seeking, prayer and human beings' love to God, and it is the humanistic reflection on God from the bottom-up. It deals mainly with the relationship between human beings and the world, other people and themselves. In this sense, the Bible contains also humanistic, temporal, relative and secular words; and the Bible has many important and meaningful values, which can be referred to and accepted by Christian and other cultures.

In summary, we may find that the contrast between Western and Confucian *jing* (canons) and the *jingxue* (the studies of the canons), *sheng* (divine) and *shengren* (sages) are main concepts. The main questions are the following ones: Are the humanistic classics divine or not? Is the Bible divine? Is Confucius the sage? Is Mencius the second-sage?

According to Christian claims and believes the Bible is the word of God, and it is the absolute, divine and eternal Truth, and it has gained its authority from the top-down. This is because it is the divine revelation of God to human beings rather than a logical or natural theological reflection of human beings from the bottom-up.

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[17] 王达三 Wang Dasan 2008: "Guanyu ba Shengdianjie zhengming wei Yedanjie de sikao he jianyi 关于把‘圣诞节’正名为‘耶诞节’的思考和建议"(On the reflection and suggestion to change the Holy Birthday, i. e. Christmas into the name as the Birthday of Jesus), <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/23247.html> (quotation in 2019 June 3rd). 林安梧 Lin Anwu 2018: "Shengdanjie yinggai jiao Yedanjie, Rujiao shi juexing de zongjiao ‘圣诞节’应该叫‘耶诞节’, 儒教是觉性的宗教"(Christmas should be called "the Birthday of Jesus", Confucian Religion is a Religion of Enlightenment), <https://www.rujiazg.com/article/15532> (quotation in 2019 June 3rd)

We may reflect together with Confucians, whether can Confucians accept the Bible as the divine and absolute revelation of God to human beings as the Christians do? If not, what are the reasons for Confucians to prove their arguments? A) Is it because only their own Confucian *jing* (canons) are divine and absolute revelation of the Heavenly Way, Truth or God? Or B) Have they proven that the Bible is not reliable from the bottom-up based on logical facts? Or do Confucians have a third approach to warrant their arguments?

## **VI The core question for Confucianism to be promoted in the West is this: Where have the Confucian *jing* (canons) gained their authorities from?**

In contemporary China, the government encourages people to read the Confucian classics and to promote them in foreign countries. As far as the Western context of Europe and North America is concerned, we need to consider reasons for such a promotion. On the one hand, we may reflect how and why we should read the Confucian classics. Are they *jing* (canons) or *jingdian* (humanistic classics)? On the other hand, we should understand how a canon (*jing*) can earn its status as a canon. On the physical level, a classic becomes a canon through humanistic, sociological, ethical, political or pragmatic reasons, and all of them are changeable and relative depending on the contexts of time and place. On the metaphysical level, a classic becomes a canon because it was made through divine revelation, which is eternal and unchangeable.

Through the establishment of Confucius Institute all around the world Chinese government has been starting a process of promoting Chinese value and way of thinking to foreigners, what we need to reflect is the criteria, authorities, reasons and purposes behind them. <sup>[18]</sup>

## **VII A reflection of the Bible and the Confucian *jing* (canons)**

Who are their authors? Are they finite human beings or the infinite God, Heaven and Truth?

What are the essences of the Bible and the Confucian *jing* (canons)? Are they the words of God or those of human beings?

What are their characteristics? Are they divine, absolute and eternal, or are they humanistic, relative and changeable?

What are their contents? A) Do they mainly deal with the relationship between God and human beings? Do they mainly deal with creation, the original sin, salvation, eternal life, or respecting ghosts and gods but also keeping distance from them? B) Do they mainly deal with the relationship between human beings and the world? I. e., becoming righteous and good through union with Christ by faith, or do people self-cultivate morally through their own attempts so as to become sages in a family, a society, a state or under the sky?

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[18] 黄裕生 Huang Yusheng 2018: "Moshi bainian huigui cheng fugu 莫使百年回归成复古——Guanyu rujia jingdian chonggui guomin jiaoyu de sikao 关于儒家经典重归国民教育的思考" (Do not let the return of the one hundred years attempt to become a revival of the ancient: A reflection of the returning of Confucian classics into the national education), in《Nanfang zhoumo 南方周末》(The South Weekend), March 8th, 2018.



How have their readers interpreted them? Do they worship and believe in them as absolute truth or treat them with a rational, empirical or emotional way?

What are their attitudes to the absolute Truth and a relative idol? Martin Luther interprets idols as false gods, which is relative goodness mistaken as absolute goodness. I. e., a relative, finite human being, a thing or a theory has been worshipped as the absolute and infinite God or Truth. For example, in the Bible, there is no person recognized or worshipped as a perfect human being besides Jesus Christ. However, in the Confucian *jing* (canons) many people such as Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Duke Zhou and Confucius have been recognized and worshipped as absolute sages, who are perfect.

When the Confucian *jing* (canons) are promoted to the Western context, it is an important task to study the above distinctions. <sup>[19]</sup>

## VIII Summary: *jing* (canons) and *jingdian* (classics) in the light of anthropology <sup>[20]</sup>

According to the Hebrew tradition of holistic/comprehensive anthropology, a human being is the union of three parts: A) flesh/ dust from the ground (*adam/ aaphaar min haa aadaam*). B) soul /a being/creature living (*hayyaah*). C) spirit /the breath of life (*nismat hayyim*) has been breathed (*wayyipah*) into his nostrils (*beappaaw*). <sup>[21]</sup>

According to the Biblical Greek tradition, a person is a union of three parts: A) Spiritual (*πνευματικὸς* *ōs pneumatikoos*), B) Soul (*ψυχικὸς* *psychikos*), and C) Flesh (*σαρκίνους* *sarkinois*) *sooma* (body).

In this volume, we publish the following articles.

In the first column of “Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National Studies” there are two articles. The first one is Professor LIU Qingping’s (Advanced Institute of Social Sciences at Fudan University) “The historic turn of the Confucian destiny from ‘not being used’ to ‘being valued’”, and the second is Professor YU Tao’s (School of Philosophy at Nankai University) “Social Concern in Protestant Spirit: On the Role and Significance of the Reformation in the Formation of Nordic Welfare State System”.

In the second column of “Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society” there are also two articles. The third one is the director of the Institute of World Religions, China Academy of Social Sciences, Professor ZHENG Xiaoyun’s “On the Religious Management Model in Chinese Theravada Buddhism”. And the fourth is Rachel X. Zhu’s (School of Philosophy at Fudan University) “The Impact of Christian Charity on Chinese Society and the Challenges in the future”.

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[19] Martin Luther has studied the status of the Bible, please refer to my newest study, 黄保罗 Paulos Huang 2019: “精神人文主义: 马丁·路德与儒家工作坊报告 Jingshen renwen zhuyi: Mading Lude yu Rujia gongzuofang baogao”【A Report on the Workshop of Spiritual Humanism; Martin Luther and Confucianism】，《国学与西学国际学刊》Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan【International Journal of Sino-Western Studies】第十六期, Vol. 16, pp. 173-234.

[20] Paulos Huang 2019: “A Report on the Workshop of Spiritual Humanism; Martin Luther and Confucians,” *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* (www.SinoWesternStudies.com) 16 (June 2019), 173-234.

[21] Genesis 2:7 耶和華神 (*Yahweh elohim* = God) 用地上的 (*min haa aadaam* = of the ground) 尘土 (*aaphaar* = dust) 造 (*wayyise* = for med) 人 (*haa adaamaah* = man), 将生气 (*nismat hayyim* = the breath of life) 吹 (*wayyipah* = breathed) 在他鼻孔里 (*beappaaw* = into his nostrils), 他就成了 (*wayyhi* = became) 有灵的活人 (*lenephes hayyaah* = a being/creature living), 名叫亚当 (*haa aadaam* = Adam).



In the third column of “Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible” there are two articles. The fifth one is David F. Ford’s (Emeritus Regius Professor of Divinity Fellow, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge) “The potential of interreligious dialogue in China and globally; the continuation of Scriptural Reasoning in China”, and Professor Ford is the co-founder of Scriptural Reasoning Society. Following Professor Ford’s article is a response to David Ford on the Scriptural Reasoning by Professor Tuula Sakaranaho (the vice dean of Faculty of Theology at the University of Helsinki). The sixth article is Finnish young talent scholar Dr. Aleksu Kuokkanen’s (Faculty of Theology at University of Helsinki) “Attempts to Understand Scriptural Reasoning”.

In the fourth column of “Church History in the West and in China” there are two articles. The seventh is Professor Claudia von Collani’s (University of Minster, Germany) “The Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boym at the Court of the Yongli Emperor”. The eighth is LIN Chunjie’s (Director of Department of German Studies, Huazhong University of Technology and Science) “A Historical Investigation of the Relationship between State and Church in Germany in the 20th Century”.

In the fifth column of “Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies” there are two articles. The ninth is ZHANG Hua’s (Beijing Language University) “Anthropological Perspective of Contemporary Theology and the Pluralism of Christianity”, and the tenth is ZHANG Ruiming’s (School of Philosophy at Lanzhou University) “Existential Ti-Theology: Development of Xiong Shili’s Lianglun through Kant and Husserl”.

In the sixth column of “Reviews and Academic Reports” there are three articles. The eleventh is ZHANG Yunyan’s (School of Humanities at Shanghai Communication University) “The left-wing Route of ‘Memory Identity’ and Its Identification Dilemma-Focusing on Max Silverman’s *Plimpsestic Memory-The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film*”. The twelfth is WANG Shuai’s (School of Foreign Languages at Peking University) “A Research on the Development of the Russian Orthodox Church in the First Decade after the Enthronement of Patriarch Kirill-Inheritance, Transformation and Challenge”. The thirteenth article is “Juris Entropia”: An Interdisciplinary CPR/A; Context, and Purposeful Action Proposal for Regeneration of Planet Earth’s Naturalist Climate and Environmental Security by David S. Woodroffe and Johannes Alaranta.

中文题目：

汉语语境中“经典”变成“经”的权威根据

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



# The historic turn of the Confucian destiny from “not being used” to “being valued”

## ——An analysis of the dilemma between filial piety and loyalty

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**Abstract:** There is a strange and yet seldom persuasively explained phenomenon in the history of Confucianism: While Kongzi and Mengzi were rarely put in an important position by their contemporary rulers when they were alive, so many Confucians have been put in very important positions in more than two thousand years since the Han Dynasty, even if they cannot be compared favorably with Kongzi and Mengzi at all. The basic reason for this dramatic turn lies in the two different attitudes towards the dilemma between filial piety and loyalty; Kongzi and Mengzi usually placed filial piety above loyalty in the case of conflict and demanded that people should choose filial piety to their parents at the cost of loyalty to their rulers, whereas Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu demanded that people should choose loyalty to their rulers at the cost of filial piety to their parents in the case of conflict according to the principle of “loyalty to the ruler is the greatest”.

**Key Words:** Confucianism; dilemma between filial piety and loyalty; choosing filial piety at the cost of loyalty; choosing loyalty at the cost of filial piety

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In the history of Confucianism, there is a peculiar issue with a striking contrast between its two aspects, which still has not been persuasively explained. On the one hand, Kongzi (Confucius, 551—479 BC) and Mengzi (Mencius, 372—289 BC), respectively recognized in Confucianism as “the Utmost Sage” and “the Second Sage”, had long lived in the awkwardness of “not being used” as mentioned by Sima Qian (135—86 BC, a renowned ancient Chinese historian). On the other hand, in the subsequent 2,000 years after the Han Dynasty (206BC—220AD), countless mediocre Confucians whose moral characters and knowledge were far inferior to those of these two sages were easily entrusted by the rulers of the past dynasties and elevated to an exclusive height of long-term “being valued”. What caused such a tremendously dramatic turn of the Confucian destiny through history? This paper attempts to focus on the “dilemma between filial piety and

loyalty” of the Confucianism so as to formulate some preliminary analysis thereof.

## I Kongzi’s and Mengzi’s Ideas of “Choosing Filial Piety at the Cost of Loyalty”

As the Confucian thought was rooted in the “enfeoffment structure of the patriarchal clan-kinships-ritual system” featuring the “integrity of families and the country” in the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046—771 BC), the “filial piety” and “loyalty” could be said to constitute the two core values supporting it. For instance, Kongzi advocated that “there is a government, when the ruler is ruler, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son” (*Analects* 12. 11), and that “one’s immediate duty is to serve one’s father, and one’s remote duty is to serve one’s ruler.” (*Analects* 17. 9) Mengzi advocated that “between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, there should be righteousness” (*Mengzi* 3A2), and that “acknowledging neither ruler nor father is to be in the state of a beast.” (*Mengzi* 3B9) You Ruo, a famous disciple of Kongzi, also claimed that “There are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion.” (*Analects* 1. 2) These statements have clearly shown that these Confucian thinkers were actively trying to mention these two most Confucian ethical norms at the same breadth, emphasize them as the essences of being humans, and maintain their unity through “transforming filial piety to parents into loyalty to the ruler”.

However, like many of the ideals in the world, although “the harmony between loyalty and filial piety” hoping by Confucius and Mengzi could be achieved under many circumstances, these two matters would face severe conflicts more often than not, for a very simple reason: loyalty is mainly aimed at the ruler in the political relationships<sup>[1]</sup>, while filial piety is mainly aimed at parents in the family relationships. They were not entirely the same. In fact, only within the ruling group of the Ji family in the Western Zhou Dynasty would there be “the sameness of family and the country or of loyalty and filial piety” due to the enfeoffment system; the obedience of the dukes to the king of Zhou is both the filial piety of sons to their father from a blood-tie perspective and the loyalty of officials to their ruler from the political perspective. Nevertheless, once one goes beyond this narrow range, things turned differently, because the “filial piety” of an ordinary person towards his parents was likely to conflict with his “loyalty” to the ruler, so that if he wanted to have filial piety, he had to give up loyalty, and vice versa. As a result, he was caught in the dilemma that “loyalty and filial piety cannot be achieved simultaneously”.

From the *Analects* and the *Mengzi*, we can see that, although the two sages had not consciously realized such a dilemma which became familiar to and tough for the later generations, they had

[1] The word “loyalty (zhong, 忠)” in ancient Chinese was originally meant “with all one’s heart” and “doing one’s best”, thus including the sincerity of people towards themselves and others. Then it gradually evolved to refer exclusively to the sincerity of subordinates towards their superiors. Especially in the Confucian context to correspond with “filial piety”, “loyalty” in the first place means that subjects are loyal to the ruler. Therefore, similar to the “filial piety” which means that the children conform to their parents, “loyalty” is also a kind of ethical norm with special objects and particularistic connotations, and both of them are obviously different from “humaneness” that can openly point to all people and has universalistic connotations (see Qingping Liu, *Loyalty and Filiality vs. Humaneness and Justice—A Critique on the Confucian Ethics*, Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2012, pp. 180-194).

already discussed several special cases of “offending against their superiors, stirring up confusion” in tensed contradiction of “being filial and fraterna”. In particular, it is worth noting that, just like dealing with the conflict between filial piety and humaneness, Kongzi and Mengzi, in dealing with the conflict between filial piety and loyalty, also gave the ultimate meaning to filial piety over loyalty according to the supreme spirit of “consanguinitism”. (see Qingping Liu, “Filiality versus sociality and individuality: On Confucianism as ‘consanguinitism’”. *Philosophy East & West*, 53, 234-250.) Therefore, they always advocated that people should choose filial piety at the cost of loyalty instead of choosing loyalty at the cost of filial piety when facing the dilemma between filial piety and loyalty.

For example, Confucius advocated that “The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this” (*Analects* 13. 18). From the text correlation, it is directly targeted at “if the father have stolen a sheep, the son will bear witness to the fact” as advocated by the Duke of She (550—470 BC, an ancient ruler). Therefore, this case involved not only the conflict between the son’s filial piety towards his father who stole someone else’s sheep and his humaneness towards the person who lost his sheep, but also the conflict between the son’s filial piety towards his father and his loyalty to his ruler. On the one hand, if the son concealed his father’s crime of stealing a sheep for the sake of filial piety, he as a subject would disrupt the order of social life and thus lead to his disloyalty to his ruler. On the other hand, if the son accused his father of stealing a sheep, he would bring his father into prison and put himself under the name of “unfilial piety”. Facing the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, Kongzi made a clear choice (though he might not be aware of the potential consequences): to preserve the sacred and inviolable blood—tie and kinship between a merciful father and a filial son, one can give up not only the universal relationship of humaneness between human beings, but also the particular relationship between a beneficial ruler and a loyal subject. [2]

Again, the question of “three years’ mourning for parents” raised by Zai Wo (422—458BC, a disciple of Kongzi) also involved the contradiction between filial piety and loyalty; a superior man, who for the sake of showing his filial piety to dead parents by abiding the three years of mourning, had to give up his duty as a loyal official to his living ruler and might even lead to the disintegration of the ritual system, as Zai Wo said that “If the superior man abstains for three years from the observances of propriety, those observance will be quite lost. If for three years he abstains from music, music will be ruined” (*Analects* 17. 21). However, despite this well—founded worry of Zai Wo, Kongzi still berated him harshly for being “not humane”, thus demonstrating his similar attitude to the case of “the mutual concealment between father and son”: in times of a conflict, people should maintain the blood-tie and kinship between a merciful father and a filial son, even at the cost of the

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[2] Today, when certain Confucian scholars discuss the case of “the mutual concealment between father and son”, they still mainly pay attention to the tensed contradictions between the two particular relationships: the father—son one and the ruler—official one, while failing to see that such concealment has first of all negated the universal humaneness among human beings and caused unacceptable harm to innocent strangers. Thus, they have repeatedly stressed that “when there is a conflict between the interests of the State and the interests of the relatives in general, everyone should lean towards protecting the interests of the relatives” (see *A Collection of Arguments on Confucian Ethics*, edited by Qiyong Guo, Wuhan: Hubei Education Press, 2004, p. 53). In other words, they only see that the “interests of the relatives” in “the mutual concealment between father and son” conflict with “the national interest” of “showing loyalty to the ruler”, yet hardly realize that it first undermines the deserved rights and interests of an ordinary people whose sheep had been stolen.



political connection between a beneficial ruler and a loyal official.

Mengzi obviously inherited the fundamental position of Kongzi on this issue. Therefore, when he launched the ranking of human ethics, he specifically placed “the kinship between father and son” before “the righteousness between sovereign and minister” in order to demonstrate the supreme position of filial piety over loyalty. It was also from this standpoint he clearly advocated that under the circumstances of “Shun being sovereign, Gaoyao chief minister of justice, and yet Gusou (Shun’s father) murdering an innocent man”, Shun should “privately take his father on his back and retire into concealment”. As a result, Shun had not only given up his duty of the ruler as “being the parents of his people”, but also the “righteousness” between him as the sovereign and Gaoyao as a minister, so that the latter who had been impartially enforcing the laws was unable to bring Gusou to justice (see *Mengzi* 7A35). From the perspective of the conflict between “the kinships between father and son” and “the righteousness between sovereign and minister”, then, Mengzi and Kongzi were in complete agreement; both of them were in favor of placing kinship above righteousness and rejected sacrificing consanguinity for the sake of righteousness in the conflict between loyalty and filial piety.

To sum up, the fundamental attitude of Kongzi and Mengzi on the issue of the relationship between loyalty and filial piety is: on the one hand, they advocated that people should regard filial piety as the basis of realizing loyalty, so as to achieve a harmonious unity between the two; on the other hand, they gave filial piety the ultimate status of overruling loyalty, requiring people in case of conflict to give up loyalty for the sake of filial piety, but not to give up filial piety for the sake of loyalty. This reflects a firm stance of these two Confucian sages to strive to carry through the supreme spirit of consanguinitism.

## II “Not Being Used” Resulted from “the Supremacy of Filial Piety over Loyalty”

However, although the attitude adopted by Kongzi and Mengzi under the dilemma to “choosing filial piety at the cost of loyalty” has insisted the supreme spirit of consanguinitism, it also made Confucianism fall into a paradox in theory and face crises in practice.

Let’s first look at the Confucian paradox in theory: just as on the relationship between humaneness and filial piety, Kongzi and Mengzi originally wanted to realize loyalty on the basis of filial piety. However, because they gave the supreme meaning to filial piety, the result was that, in case of conflict, one’s loyalty to the ruler would be denied by one’s filial piety to one’s parents, thus posing a fatal challenge to the essence of being humans as maintained by Confucianism.

For example, according to Mengzi’s statement that “acknowledging neither ruler nor father is to be in the state of a beast”, once there was a conflict between the “kinships of father and son” and the “righteousness of sovereign and minister”, a Confucian would find himself in a rather awkward position; he would find it difficult to be a complete “human being” defined by Confucianism, whether by “sacrificing kinship for the sake of righteousness” or “sacrificing righteousness for the sake of kinship”. One thing recorded in “Biographies of Obedient Officials” in *Records of the Historian* reveals such a dilemma in which one found it hard to escape the suspicion of being the half of a “beast”:

As the prime minister of King Zhao of Chu State, Shi She was impartial, honest and righteous. Once he came across a man in the county who committed a murder, so he managed to chase and catch the man. To his astonishment, he found the murderer was no one but his father. Then he released his father and had himself put in prison. He sent a man to the King and said: “The murderer is my father. If I punish my father to uphold the law, I would be an unfilial son; if I break the law to release my father, I would be a disloyal minister, so I have to bear the guilt and be punished”. The King said: “Those who failed to catch the criminal should not be punished, so you should be my prime minister as before”. Shi She said, “Without loving one’s father, one cannot be a filial son; without keeping the country’s law, one cannot be a loyal minister. It is your favour to pardon my guilt, but to die for the law is what I should do”. Then, without obeying the King’s order, Shi She killed himself.

It is not difficult to see that, when this “honest and righteous “prime minister faced the case that” his father killed someone”, the reason why he firstly let his father go to be “filial” and then committed suicide to be “loyal” was precisely an attempt to thereby get rid of being in an awkward situation of either “not acknowledging the father” or “not acknowledging the ruler” in the dilemma between filial piety and loyalty.

Then let us look at the Confucian crisis in practice; although Kongzi and Mengzi have never denied the significance of “loyalty to the ruler” and even regarded it as the essence of human beings, their attitudes of “choosing filial piety at the cost of loyalty” in the conflict would undoubtedly offend those powerful rulers. Because the latter, upon mild reflections, would find that such a position of “placing filial piety over loyalty or family over country” would encourage officials and subjects to sacrifice the interests of the rulers for the benefit of the officials and subjects’ parents. Both “Xiu Wen” in *Shuo Yuan* and *Hanshi Waizhuan* record a story of King Xuan of Qi State consulting Tian Guo, a Confucian scholar on the issue of “three years’ mourning for parents”, which clearly demonstrates this crisis:

The King asked Tian Guo, “I heard that Confucians mourn parents for three years and also the ruler for three years, so which one is more important, the ruler or parents?” Tian Guo replied, “Maybe the ruler is not as important as parents.” The King said with displeasure and wrath: “Then why do you leave your parents to serve the ruler?” Tian Guo replied: “If it wasn’t for the land the ruler gave me, I couldn’t give my parents shelter. If it wasn’t for the ruler’s salary, I couldn’t support my parents. If it wasn’t for the title the ruler gave me, I couldn’t make my parents prominent and honored. All the services to the ruler are for my parents.” The King was unhappy but speechless.

It is not difficult to see that what involved here was only a ritual issue of mourning for three years on deaths. However, as soon as he heard that Tian Guo had openly declared that “the king is not as important as his father”, the King became furious right on the spot. After Tian Guo gave out the specific argument of “all the services to the ruler are for my parents” based on the supreme spirit of consanguinitism, the King still held the grudge and could not acknowledge it. In view of this, if more immediate, practical interests were involved, the tensions and conflicts between filial piety and loyalty could only have become more serious.

Ironically, Han Fei (280—233 BC), a famous Legalist taught by the Confucian master Xunzi (313—238 BC), pointed out exactly what a tough dilemma would Kongzi’s and Mengzi’s attitude of “choosing filial piety at the cost of loyalty” put the Confucianism into:

There is a man, named Zhigong in the state of Chu, and his father had stolen a sheep. He went to tell the county official about the thing. The official said: "Kill you". As in the official's view, the man was loyal to the ruler but unfilial to his father. So the man was sentenced to death. From this point of view, the loyal subject would be an unfilial son. A man in the state of Lu went to the war with the ruler, and fled from many battles. Kongzi asked him the reason and he said: "There is an old father in my family, and no one will support him if I died." Kongzi considered this to be a filial son and promoted him to be an official. From this point of view, the filial son would be a disloyal subject. Therefore, after the county official killed the man in the state of Chu, no one would report the bad deeds of their relatives any more. After Kongzi rewarded the deserters, the people of Lu state would easily surrender and flee in battle. (Wu Du, *Han Feizi*)

It is not difficult to see that, by referring to the case of "a man's father have stolen a sheep" and pointing out the name of "Kongzi", here Han Fei was attempting to demonstrate the tremendous difficulty to be "both a loyal official and a filial son at the same time" when there was a conflict. Under such a condition, it was not only easy for a filial son to become a disloyal subject, but also possible for a loyal subject to become an unfilial son.

Now we could understand why Sima Qian described in "Aristocratic Family of Kongzi" and "Collected Biographies of Mengzi and Xunzi" in *Records of the Historian*: "Duke Jing of Qi. . . would give Kongzi the land of Nixi, which Yanying didn't approve of. . . Kongzi lived in State of Chen for three years and returned to the capital of State of Wei. Duke Ling of Wei didn't appoint Kongzi. . . When Ji Huanzi of Lu died, he left the last words to Ji Kangzi that he must recall Kongzi. His officials stopped him, so Ji Kangzi called Ranyou for help. But Kongzi wasn't appointed by Lu government to the end." "Mengzi went to lobby King Xuan of Qi, but failed to get the appointment. So he arrived in the State of Wei. To his surprise, King Hui of Liang did not believe his ideas, even regarded the ideas as romantic and far away from reality." The word of "yong (appoint or employ)" was repeated here, which is actually quite a reflection on the intention of Kongzi and Mengzi, because just as Xiong Shili (1885—1968, a renowned modern Confucian thinker) clearly pointed out based on the text of the *Analects* in his *Liujiang Shi Kongzi Wannian Dinglun* ("Six Classics are Final Conclusions of Kongzi in his Later Years"): "In the early years of Kongzi, he wants to be appointed by the ruler so as to put his political views into practices. In the *Analects*, he said that 'If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern Zhou?' And he also said to Yan Yuan: 'When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not called, to lie retired.'" But the tragedy is that despite Kongzi and Mengzi had unanimously emphasized in theory "serving one's ruler according to what is right", and toured across various states in practice, these two Confucian sages, who were eager to be "appointed with key positions", had hardly been favored by any rulers in their lives at all, not to mention of having their ideas becoming the ideology with supreme respect in the imperial court as these ideas did in later times. If we consider the fact that after the Han Dynasty, so many Confucians who were far inferior to Kongzi and Mengzi in terms of learning and morality were promoted to positions of different ranks and even to the position "below one person and above the rest" (a position akin to a prime minister), and that the *Analects* and *Mengzi* became the official textbooks for the imperial examinations after the Southern Song Dynasty (1127—1279), such a sharp contrast will inevitably lead to a question: why Kongzi and Mengzi were deemed "not being used" when they were alive?

The answer lies in the attitude of Kongzi and Mengzi to “choose filial piety at the cost of loyalty” and “give up the big family (state) for small families” when facing the dilemma between filial piety and loyalty. The reason is simple; as mentioned above, although those powerful rulers would like to see their subjects follow the Confucian concept of “transforming filial piety into loyalty” so as to establish their loyalty on the filial piety for their parents, they were certainly unwilling to see their subjects, when there was a conflict, practicing the principle of that “serving parents is the greatest” as advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi of putting filial piety above loyalty, taking “serving the ruler” as a means of “serving parents”, even violating the interests of the imperial court for the sake of their family interests, and acting willingly to be “a filial son” of parents and “a disloyal official” of the ruler. In this regard, Han Fei’s comments were indeed an incisive exposure of the fatal weak point of the Confucian ideas of Kongzi and Mengzi. In other words, from the perspective of value ideas regardless of other factors, the key reason for the “not being used” of Kongzi and Mengzi when they were alive was that they were still unwilling to give up the supreme spirit of consanguinitism even facing the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, and thus failed to honor the ruler in the only sacred ultimate position, so that they were not favored by the rulers both in theory and in practice. It is not difficult to imagine that if the Confucian thinkers after Kongzi and Mengzi had adhered to this stance of choosing filial piety at the cost of loyalty, even if they had been as sincere as these two sages in looking forward to “serving the ruler with the right ways”, the historical fate of Confucianism as a whole would still be the sorrowful “not being used”.

Facing the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, indeed, Kongzi and Mengzi still insisted on “serving parents is the greatest” and fell into an awkward situation of “not being used” in their lives. However, it needs to be noted that it is not because they valued the blood-ties and kinships of the common people more, even at the cost of maintaining distance with their rulers, but due to that they were not aware of the substantial changes in the real society. As mentioned above, at the establishment of the enfeoffment system, the King of Zhou and various dukes did maintain a much closer connection of kinship with blood being thicker than water. Therefore, under such an atmosphere, “serving parents is the greatest” was directly equivalent to “being loyal to the ruler is the greatest”, where there would no dilemma between loyalty and filial piety. However, as Li Si (284–208 BC), another famous Legalist taught by Xunzi, pointed out, a profound change had taken place: “King Wen of Zhou and King Wu of Zhou entitled their children and relatives of the same surname, but their descendants gradually alienated and attacked each other like enemies, the dukes fought against each other. It was such a disorder that King of Zhou could not stop them.” (Biographic Sketches of the First Emperor of Qin, *Records of Historian*) In other words, by the Period of Spring and Autumn (770–476 BC) and the Warring States (475–221 BC) periods, the kinships between the King of Zhou and various dukes had become quite estranged, and thus failed to maintain the steady structure of “the integrity of the family and the country” through the concentric force of “blood being thicker than water”, not to mention those ordinary people who had no blood-tie or kinship with the ruling group of the Zhou Dynasty. As a result, under such circumstances, to emphasize on “serving parents is the greatest” as Kongzi and Mengzi did was no longer directly equivalent to emphasizing on that “serving the ruler is the greatest”, but was bound to create an in-depth dilemma of “the supremacy of the family over the country” and “choosing filial piety at the

cost of loyalty”, preventing the ambition of Kongzi and Mengzi to be “appointed with key positions” from being achieved in reality.

### III Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu’s Ideas of “Choosing Loyalty at the Cost of Filial Piety”

Fortunately enough for Confucianism, there seemed to be no shortage of reformists at the turning points of history. Although Xunzi, another thinker of Confucianism in the Pre-Qin Period (Before 221 BC), generally accepted Kongzi’s basic stance of “the harmony between loyalty and filial piety”, he boldly broke through the doctrine of “serving parents is the greatest” advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi under the circumstances of conflict. After affirming that “the root of human society” is “the kinship between father and son”, he did not come to Mengzi’s conclusion that “of all which a filial son can attain to, there is nothing greater than his honoring to his parents”, instead he innovatively put forward his own idea of “to serve the ruler is the most important according to the propriety” (Emptiness, *Xunzi*). In other words, Xunzi explicitly required the officials and subjects to deal with the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety according to the principle of “the supremacy of loyalty over filial piety”, thus having laid a theoretical foundation for the Confucianism to get rid of the tragic fate of “not being used”.

Originally, when Kongzi and Mengzi affirmed the supremacy of kinship, they emphasized an indisputable, fundamental rationale: the blood-ties and kinships between parents and children formed the basis of people’s lives; that is, “it is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents” (*Analects* 17. 21) and “heaven gives birth to creatures in such a way that they have the sole root.” (*Mengzi* 3A5) Therefore, in their view, anyone who wishes to maintain their existence as a human being must recognize the “greatest” meaning of their parents as the “sole root”, otherwise they would become a beast that forgot their origin. Trying to respond this view of Kongzi and Mengzi and demonstrate his new idea that the ruler shall be “greater” than parents, Xunzi first put forward: “There are three roots of the propriety, heaven and earth are the root of life, ancestors are the root of clan, the ruler and the teacher are the root of governing.” (The Theory of Rites, *Xunzi*)

Obviously, here Xunzi did not deny the root meaning of the kinship, as stated in “ancestors are the root of clan”. However, it is equally obvious that he did not describe the blood-tie as the only root, instead pointed out that there were two other roots, namely “heaven and earth” and “the ruler and the teacher”. To be certain, if he had only relied on this neutral and equal notion of “three roots”, Xunzi would still have come to a compromising conclusion that all of “three roots” were “great”, and yet not to his idea that “to serve the ruler is the most important according to the propriety”. After all, “although the ruler was the ‘the root of governing’, he did not give birth to and raise the officials and subjects like what their parents did”<sup>[3]</sup>; then, why was he entitled to be even greater than their parents? It is precisely to make up for this theoretical defect that Xunzi further pointed out when he explained “the three roots for the propriety”: “The Odes says that the amiable

[3] 郭齐勇 Guo Qiyong, 《中国哲学史》 Zhongguo zhexue shi [History of Chinese Philosophy], (北京 Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press], 2006), 106.

ruler is the parents of the people. . . A father can bear a child, but he cannot raise the child. Mother can nurture the child, but she cannot teach the child. However, the ruler can both nurture and teach the child.” (The Theory of Rites, *Xunzi*)

Although this paragraph is not long, its significance in influencing the historical fate of the traditional Confucianism cannot be overestimated. Based on the ideas of “being as the parents of the people” and “transforming filial piety into loyalty” also agreed by Kongzi and Mengzi, it broke through the creed as advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi that “serving parents is the greatest, and emphasized that compared with parents who only have the effects of producing and raising children, the ruler, though he could not give birth to his officials and subjects, could play the dual function of raising and instructing them. Or in other words, the ruler provided both material and spiritual foods for the official and subjects, which went far beyond the role of their parents in producing and raising them. Therefore, officials and subjects should also take serving the ruler as the greater even than serving their parents precisely according to the so-called “root sense” identified by Confucianism. Therefore, after these rigorous arguments, the supreme creed of “serving the ruler is the greatest” seemed to have enough reason to replace another supreme creed of “serving parents is the greatest”.

It is precisely based on this brand-new supreme creed that, different from Mengzi who put “the kinship between father and son” before “the righteousness between ruler and official” in the great ethics of human beings, *Xunzi*, in the “ethics of righteousness”, put “the ruler and the teacher” before “father and son” and “a loyal official” before “a filial son”. He also repeatedly advocated: “There is no dignity of the ruler or the teacher, and there is no ethics between father and son. This is called extreme chaos” (Emperor System, *Xunzi*); “the principle of precedent kings is the norm of being loyal subjects and filial children.” (The Theory of Rites, *Xunzi*) He even declared: “People should respect parents at home and respect elder brothers outside, which is the fundamental moral rule of being a man. . . It is the highest rule of life to insist the morality rather than obey the sovereign, and obey the righteousness but not the father.” (Being a son, *Xunzi*) Although here *Xunzi* attempted to put the Confucian “morality” above the power of the ruler, the saying of “obeying the righteousness but not the father” obviously put “the righteousness between sovereign and minister” above “the kinships between father and son”, requiring that the officials and subjects, when facing the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, shall “eliminate his relatives for the sake of the greatest righteousness (or choose loyalty at the cost of filial piety)”, that is, maintain the supremacy of the “righteousness between ruler and official” even at the heavy cost of destroying the kinships between father and son.

Obviously, these original arguments of *Xunzi* substantially broke through the supreme creed of consanguinitism advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi. Especially his statements that “the ruler can both nurture and teach his subjects” and “to obey the righteousness but not the father” not only clearly defined the strict ranking of the “Heaven, Earth, Ruler, Parents, and Teacher” which lasted for more than 2,000 years, but also provided a cultural basis for such popular mantras as “the imperial court feeds the common people” and “the ruler is even closer or more intimate than their parents to the common people”. For this reason, Tan Sitong (1865 – 1898, a renowned Chinese politician and thinker) severely criticized the doctrine of *Xunzi* that it “has granted the ruler unlimited power so that the ruler can govern the people just depending on Confucianism”. (Volume 28, *Benevolence*)

Since the ruler was granted unlimited power in this Confucian way, how could Confucianism not get rid of the dilemma of “not being used” brought about by “the supremacy of filial piety over loyalty” and become the orthodox ideology “appointed with key positions” by the imperial court? In this regard, although Xunzi’s theoretical contributions to Confucianism were not equal to that of Kongzi and Mengzi<sup>[4]</sup>, he obviously could not be ranked under any other pre-Qin Confucians except for Kongzi and Mengzi. We might as well take this perspective to understand why Xunzi could transcend such famous Confucians as You Ruo (518—5<sup>th</sup> Century BC), Zeng Shen (505—435 BC), Zisi (ca. 481—402 BC) and others with closer relationships with Kongzi and Mengzi, and became the third master figure qualified to stand side by side with Kongzi and Mengzi amid the Confucians in the Pre-Qin Period.

It should be pointed out that Xunzi was not alone in realizing this problem. Facing the awkward situation of “not being used”, many contemporary Confucians were also reflecting about how to enable Confucianism to be valued or used by the imperial court, with a basic train of thought in line with Xunzi’s. For example, in the three commented versions of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*, the following propositions appeared in unison: “the great righteousness is supreme over the kinship” (*the fourth year of Duke Yin, Zuo Commentaries*); “one must not give up king’s affairs for the sake of family’s affairs, but rather should give up family’s affairs for the sake of king’s affairs” (the third year of Duke Ai, *Gong Yang Commentaries*); “don’t violate the principle of respect for seniors because of affectations to your family.” (the second year of Duke Wan, *Gu Liang Commentaries*) Once placed in the context of that “one must not give up king’s affairs for the sake of family’s affairs” and that “don’t violate the principle of respect for seniors because of affectations to your family”, the “great righteousness” that could be placed above the “minor kinship” obviously referred to the “loyalty to the ruler” in the sense of “the righteousness between ruler and official”.<sup>[5]</sup> As to why it was especially emphasized that the righteousness is “great”, the reason is clear enough that, like Xun Zi’s advocacy of “to serve the ruler is the most important according to the propriety”, it was first of all directed against Mengzi’s “serving parents is the greatest”, attempting to show that the “king’s affairs” or the righteousness between ruler and official were even “greater” than the “family affairs” or the kinship between father and son. As a result, although these propositions lack systematic argumentation, their essences are tantamount to declaring in the same way as Xunzi did: in the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, people should “choose loyalty at the cost of filial piety”, safeguard the “righteousness between ruler and official” even at the cost of abandoning the “kinship

[4] For the issue on why Mengzi could become the “Second Sage” of Confucianism by virtue of his original contributions, see Qingping Liu, “How did Mengzi Become ‘the Second Sage?’” (Issue 10, the Journal of Humanities, 2014). In addition, the main difference between Mengzi’s and Xunzi’s thoughts lies not in the frequently discussed distinction between “good nature” and “evil nature”, but firstly in whether “serving parents” or “serving the ruler” is the greatest. Even the reason why Xunzi specifically advocated “evil nature” as a Confucian was that he tried to emphasize the supremacy of “loyalty to the ruler” over “serving parents”. This issue is to be elaborated in a separate paper.

[5] As a matter of fact, the original connotation of the idiom “great righteousness is supreme over the affectation” was precisely to praise Shi Que, a senior official of the Wei state who safeguarded the “great righteousness” between ruler and official at the expense of the “minor kinship” between father and son; Shi Que found out that his own son, Shi Hou, had conspired with others to kill the ruler. Therefore, Shi Que decisively ordered the killing of his son, thus showing his loyalty to the ruler (see the fourth year of Duke Yin, *Zuo Commentaries*). Needless to say, this practice of “eliminating the kinship for the great righteousness” was essentially the same as that of Duke Zhou who had led a punitive expedition against his brothers Guan and Cai in order to maintain his allegiance to King Wu of Zhou.



between father and son”.

To be sure, Xunzi did not get rid of his own “not being used” when he was alive. However, the quick collapse of the Qin Empire set up with the help of Han Fei and Li Si, the two Legalist disciples he taught, fully exposed the fatal defects of the Legalist School: “Injuring the closest family, damaging gratitude, and benevolence becoming acrimony.” (Collections of Books, *The History of the Han Dynasty*) After the ruling clique of the Han Dynasty turned to seek spiritual support from other cultural trends, then, Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC, a renowned Confucian statesman) carried forward Xunzi’s principle of “to serve the ruler is the most important according to the propriety”, making Confucianism the only candidate as the orthodox ideology. As we all know, when he arranged the order of the three special ethical relationships, that is, the famous “three principles of the kingly way”, Dong Zhongshu clearly placed the ruler-subject relationship first, immediately followed by the father-son relationship and the husband-wife relationship, that is, “ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife”. Therefore, it was obviously different from Mengzi’s identification of “the great ethics of human beings”, which placed the father-son relationship before the ruler-subject relationship. In this regard, Dong Zhongshu’s primary motive for this sort of ranking should be considered as, just as Xunzi, to highlight that the political connection between ruler and subject should override the consanguineous kinship between father and son and the marriage between husband and wife. Especially, it tried to demonstrate the “supreme ethical status”<sup>[6]</sup> of “the ruler” so as to achieve the goal of enabling Confucianism to be “appointed with key position” by virtue of the stance of “the supremacy of loyalty over filial piety”. In fact, Dong Zhongshu particularly stressed that “the great righteousness of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*” contains “the people must be obedient to their ruler without any conditions”. (Jade, Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu) Within the framework of the “three principles”, thus, “he already revealed the new Confucian tendency to require that people should give up the kinships for the sake of the great righteousness” in the dilemma of loyalty and filial piety. In view of this, after the theoretical efforts of Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu, it was not surprising that Confucianism was finally able to enjoy the status of “exclusive respect” in ancient society for a long time. Meanwhile, it wasn’t difficult to understand the reason that the history of Confucian thought could not be separated from Dong Zhongshu, a figure who had not made many original theoretical contributions comparable to those by Xunzi.

People often refer to the political framework supported by the “three principles” since the Han Dynasty as the “facial Confucianism and substantive Legalism (yang ru yin fa)”, but rarely explain why Confucianism was facial and Legalism was substantive. As long as viewed from the comparison between the spiritual essences of Confucianism and Legalism, virtually, it is not difficult to see that the so-called “facial Confucianism” mainly means that the “three principles” connected the “great ethics of human relationships” of ruler-official, father-son, and husband-wife into a network totally with kinship implications on the open and conscious basis of the Confucian standpoint. The so-called “substantive Legalism” mainly means that the “three principles” quietly absorbed the core ideas of Legalism, so that they not only affirmed the supremacy of the ruler-official relationship over other

[6] 郭齐勇 Guo Qiyong,《中国哲学史》Zhongguo zhexue shi [History of Chinese Philosophy],(北京 Beijing:高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press],2006),146.



human relationships, including the father-son relationship, but also stressed the absolute authority of the ruler over the subjects. When the two were combined, the political framework supported by the “three principles” overcame both the Confucian loophole of placing filial piety over loyalty and the Legalist drawbacks of denying kinships and valuing only severe punishments. As a result, the Legalist structure of “the ruler as the principle of officials” was successfully supported and strengthened by the centripetal cohesion of Confucian kinships. That was the key reason why Confucianism (rather than Legalism) had always been “appointed with key positions” by successive ruling groups.

#### IV Other Interpretations for Confucianism’s “Being Valued”

Some contemporary scholars have also attempted to explain the reasons for the historical turning of the fate of Confucianism in the Han Dynasty from other perspectives. However, due to the negligence on the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety, such explanations seem unconvincing in theory.

For example, when explaining why Confucians never joined the decision-making group serving for the rulers during the Warring States Period, Weiming Tu points out: “They deliberately chose to fail. Mengzi condemned powerful ministers as ‘concubines’... He couldn’t communicate with those in power... The Confucian monopoly on education may be the only factor for the rise of Confucian intellectuals in the Han Dynasty. They had become advocates of the legitimacy of authority in the system”.<sup>[7]</sup> Needless to say, the emphasis on education had been a major feature of Confucianism since its birth. However, if we attribute the turning of the Confucianism’s fate in the Han Dynasty to “its monopoly of education”, it seemed to have missed the crux of the problem.

Firstly, since Kongzi and Mengzi had already paid special attention to education, why couldn’t they take this advantage to “communicate with those in power” as those Confucians did after the Han Dynasty, instead of “losing badly”? Why did Confucianism’s “monopoly on education” after the Han Dynasty enable it to get rid of the disadvantages in the period of Kongzi and Mengzi and make countless Confucians far inferior to Kongzi and Mengzi in all aspects smoothly “join the decision-making group serving for the ruler”? Furthermore, why did these Confucians no longer follow the examples of Kongzi and Mengzi who “deliberately chose to fail” at that time but flocked to be “defender of the legitimacy of authority in the system” and even become “powerful ministers” like “concubines” in many cases? More importantly, after the Han Dynasty, wasn’t “Confucianism’s monopoly on education” a consequence of its exclusive political status? Could we simply reverse the cause and effect to call it as the sole reason for the political status of Confucianism?

Secondly, if Kongzi and Mengzi were “unable to communicate with those in power” because of “condemning powerful ministers”, then, why, after the Han Dynasty, the Confucians who still declared that they wanted to “rectify what is wrong in the sovereign’s mind” could change this tragic fate and “join the decision-making group serving for the ruler” and even “communicating with those

[7] 杜维明 Tu Weiming,《杜维明文集(第三卷)》Tu Weiming wenji disanjuan [Collected works of Weiming Tu (vol 3)],(武汉 Wuhan; Wuhan chubanshe [Wuhan Publishing House], 2002; 517-524.

in power” in harmony? Could it be that this is because all the rulers before the Han Dynasty were headstrong and impervious to different opinion and only willing to appoint those ministers like “concubines”, while all the rulers after the Han Dynasty suddenly awoke to remold themselves and stayed eager to listen to criticism and guidance of those Confucians like “great husbands”?

In fact, there is a similar flaw in Sima Qian’s explanations, because when he talked about the “not being used” of Mengzi, he used the “being valued” of other persons at that time as a sharp contrast: “At that time, Shang Yang was appointed by Qin State, Wu Qi was appointed by Chu and Wei State, Sunzi and Tian Ji were appointed by Qi State”. All the states were taking the unite means and strategy of horizontal alliance of states, causing to regarding people who was good at war as the expert. But what Mengzi recommended the virtue of Monarch Yao, Monarch Shun, Xia (21<sup>st</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Century BC), Shang (1600—1046 BC) and Zhou (Mid-11<sup>th</sup> Century-256 BC) Dynasties, didn’t meet the needs of the States he travelled, so that he was not appointed. (Collected Biographies of Mengzi and Xunzi, *Records of Historian*) However, once included in the historical correlations of 2,000 years, we will find that this comparison deviates from the crux of the matter, because we certainly do not have much reason to assert that each and every ruler before the Han Dynasty scoffed the “virtue of Monarch Yao, Monarch Shun, Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties”, resulting in the Confucianism represented by Kongzi and Mengzi being “not being used” for a long time, while the emperors after the Han Dynasty were full of respect for the “virtues of Monarch Yao, Monarch Shun, Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties”, leading to countless Confucians being “appointed with key positions”. Of course, since Sima Qian did not understand the historical development after the Han Dynasty, his deficiency could be understood sympathetically. However, if we continue to hold similar views today, it would be a bit unjustifiable from an academic perspective.

Strictly speaking, the next point of Weiming Tu indeed touches on the crux of the problem:

Some of the other surrounding forces—the preferences of emperors, the interests of key ministers, and the concern of officials—will certainly contribute to the rejuvenation of Confucianism. After Confucianism gradually became the dominant court doctrine, it was no longer the original doctrine of Kongzi and Mengzi. It was more of a hodgepodge with Xunzi’s worship of proprieties, Legalist views, the Yin-Yang cosmic theory, the Taoist thought, and many other beliefs at that time. [8]

In other words, as for the most important factor that led to the revival of Confucianism into a “dominant court doctrine” after the Han Dynasty, instead of regarding it as “Confucianism’s monopoly on education”, we should rather say that “the preferences of emperors, the interests of key ministers, and the concern of officials” shifted from other trends of thought (including Legalism) to Confucianism in seeking the spiritual pillar of ideology. As for the most crucial opportunity to trigger such a transformation, it is, as mentioned above, precisely Dong Zhongshu’s “three principles” which, based on adhering to the consanguinitistic spirit as advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi, combining Xunzi’s idea of “serving the ruler is the greatest” with the Legalist views, which clearly emphasized “the supremacy of loyalty over filial piety” so as to cater to “the preferences of

[8] 杜维明 Tu Weiming,《杜维明文集(第三卷)》Tu Weiming wenji disanjuan [Collected works of Weiming Tu (vol 3)],(武汉 Wuhan; Wuhan chubanshe [Wuhan Publishing House], 2002:), 517-524.

emperors, the interests of key ministers, and the concern of officials.” Indeed, these rulers understood it very clear; as long as “the relationship of ruler- official” was put above “the relationship of father-son”, those “not being used” ideas of kinships advocated by Kongzi and Mengzi could be easily transformed into the “being valued” orthodox doctrines.

In this regard, Weiming Tu’s praise of Dong Zhongshu and others may have been guilty of flattering: “Their basic concerns were not the stability of a few rulers, but for the people to live and work in peace and contentment… They appealed to the transcendent Heaven and the people for support. Although they were not hostile to those in power, they were able to maintain an independent stance as teachers, advisers, critics or friends to the emperors. They were never concubines.” The question is, if Dong Zhongshu was concerned with “the people to live and work in peace and contentment instead of the stability of a few rulers”, why did he always insist on fully demonstrating the “supreme ethical status” of the “king” in the “three principles”, affirming almost no moral values of ordinary people and contending in a derogatory way that “the name of the people is taken from obscure darkness”? (Check for Naming, *Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu*) Why did he not advocate “the ruler should concern the people as the most important thing” but rather “the people must be obedient to the ruler without any conditions” in summarizing the “great righteousness of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*”? In any case, if Dong Zhongshu had only “appealed to the people for support”, “maintained an independent stance towards the emperor”, and even been indifferent to maintaining “the stability of the ruler”, his view was probably difficult to stir “the preferences of emperors, the interests of key ministers, and the concerns of officials”—unless these emperors, ministers, and officials also valued “people to live and work in peace and contentment” and cared nothing about their own “stability”, by which they could be even said to be the genuine “sages within and kings without”.

The following statement by Weiming Tu could be considered highly incisive: “Since the times of Emperor Wu (reign: 141-87 BC), Confucianism had become an important tool for training Chinese officials... Because Confucian classics were adopted as the core curriculum and Kongzi was worshipped as the protector deity of the schools, Confucian ethics had become the social standards for recruiting political elites.”<sup>[9]</sup> As is known to all, after “becoming an important tool for training Chinese officials” from the time of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Confucianism had indeed become the so-called “Chinese Studies (*guo xue*)” for a long time. Although some founding emperors who battled on horses to win the state power happened to prefer Legalism and belittled Confucianism, their successors tended to change their courses quickly, trying to seek the spiritual pillar from Confucianism. Even for those foreign rulers who were originally considered barbarians, once they began to rule the Han Chinese, they would still convert themselves into faithful believers of Confucianism. Considered the length of this paper, only two examples are provided here: “In 916, Yelü Abaoji (reign: 916-926) in the Liao Dynasty, proclaimed himself as the emperor and founded a country... After he ascended the throne, the first building he constructed was the Kongzi Temple. He also ordered the prince to offer a sacrifice to Kongzi. According to Prince Bei’s own words, ‘Kongzi,

[9] 杜维明 Tu Weiming,《杜维明文集(第三卷)》Tu Weiming wenji disanjuan [Collected works of Weiming Tu (vol 3)],(武汉 Wuhan; Wuhan chubanshe [Wuhan Publishing House], 2002; 517-524.

the great sage, should be respected forever”<sup>[10]</sup>; “After the collapse of the Southern Song Dynasty, Mongolians... in conquering the Central Plains, were also conquered by the matured Han culture. Because of the need to govern a large multi-ethnic country, Confucianism became the state learnings of the Yuan Dynasty.”<sup>[11]</sup> In view of these, if we still attribute these phenomena to that the moral nobility of these rulers improved after receiving the Confucianism’s “monopoly over education”, that all they wanted to do were to hire “Confucian political elites” especially concerning about “people to live and work in peace and contentment” but “remaining independent” from these rulers as “teachers, advisers, or friends”, while keeping themselves far away from those ministers like “concubines”, it would be a little naive.

What is worth mentioning is a statement by Zhu Xi (1130—1120, a renowned Neo-Confucian), had reflected from a certain aspect the fundamental reason why Confucianism was later “being valued” was that it emphasized “the supremacy of loyalty over filial piety”: “The three cardinal guides are sovereign guides minister, father guides son, husband guides wife. The three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues are the greatest norm of the proprieties, have been succeeded by following dynasties without any change. . . That’s the reason why the Sage (Kongzi) can predict the future.” (Annotations of Chapter Wei Chang, *Collected Annotations on the Analects*) As stated above, Kongzi had never actually advocated “the ruler as the principle of officials” being over “the father as the principle of the son”. On the contrary, he had repeatedly advocated that people should choose filial piety at the cost of loyalty in the dilemma between them. As a Confucian master deeply familiar with the *Analects*, Zhu Xi, even if he did not realize the latter point, ought to know that there was no such ideas or terms as “three principles” in this Confucian canon. However, he ignored the obvious textual evidence, attached a concept that was only formed in the Han Dynasty and had finally pushed Confucianism to the status of “exclusive respect” to the name of Kongzi himself, even further accused, on this basis, Buddhism and the Taoism “to abate the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues is a great charge!” (Volume 126, *Analects of Chu Xi*) According to the previous analysis, the reason he was blind to the fact to handle matters undercover was probably because he was vaguely aware that if he did not associate the “three cardinal principles” directly with the “Sage” in such a far-fetched way, “the preferences of emperors, the interests of key ministers, and the concern of officials” would be difficult to focus on the *Four Classics* he had chosen, decree them as reference books for the imperial examinations, and make Confucianism “an important tool for training Chinese officials”, “the social standards for recruiting political elites”, and “the dominant court doctrine”.

By contrast, Xiong Shili, the leading thinker of modern New-Confucianism in the 20th century, realized the crux of the problem more clearly. He had repeatedly stated in his “Conclusions in Declining Years” that:

Since Han Dynasty, people had been obeying the rules that the ruler is more important than the father and to be loyal is more important than to be filial... By combining respecting the father and

[10] 韩德民 Han Demin,《荀子与儒家的社会理想》Xunzi yu Rujia de shehui lixiang [Xunzi and Confucian’s social ideas], (济南 Jinan: Qilu shushe [Qilu Press], 2001), 33.

[11] 郭齐勇 Guo Qiyong,《中国哲学史》Zhongguo zhexue shi [History of Chinese Philosophy], (北京 Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press], 2006), 301.

respecting the ruler, the dictators can keep their governing for a special long time. (*Liuqing Shi Kongzi Wannian Dinglun (Six Classics are Final Conclusions of Kongzi in his Later Years)*)

The essence of the three cardinal guides is to respect the ruler, working in with respecting father and husband, so that people take the guides for granted without any doubt. . . Then to combine filial piety and loyalty with political meaning is named as the Confucian ethical code, based on which emperors govern the country with filial piety. (The second part of Yuanxuetong, the first part of the *Original Confucianism*)

From being filial to father to loyal to the ruler, this is called transforming filial piety to loyalty. Thus, the ruler is more important than father, loyalty is more important than filial piety. . . Emperors in ancient China make full use of the Confucian doctrine of filial piety to support their dominance. (Differentiation, *the Heaven and Earth*)

Although Xiong Shili had neither realized Kongzi and Mengzi's stance of that "serving parents is the greatest" in the dilemma between loyalty and filial piety would certainly lead to "not being used", nor found out that Xunzi had shown an ideological tendency to emphasize "loyalty before filial piety", he had still pointed out clearly enough that since the Han Dynasty, the Confucians, including those in the Song and Ming dynasties, had adhered to the "three cardinal principles" in which "the ruler is more respected than the father", in order to reveal the spiritual essence of the "supreme ethical status" of "kings". He also pointed out clearly enough that the traditional Confucianism became "the tool of great thieves to steal the country" and the historical outcome that "the traditional Confucianism and the imperial autocracy had mutually depended to survive for thousands of years". In this sense, these very insightful warnings voiced by this Confucian master half a century ago are especially worthy of our reflection today to explore the internal reasons for the transition of traditional Confucianism from "not being used" to "being valued".

中文题目：

儒家从“不能用”到“受重用”的命运转折——“忠孝不能两全”的悖论解析

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**提要：**儒家历史上有一个反差鲜明的奇特现象：虽然孔孟在世的时候总是处于“不能用”的尴尬状态，汉代之后无数道德品格和学问知识远不如他们的儒者却能够长期享有“受重用”的独尊地位。究其原因，主要是儒家大师们在处理“忠孝不能两全”的二难困境时，采取了两种截然不同的态度：孔子和孟子强调孝高于忠，主张“舍忠而尽孝”；荀子和董仲舒却强调忠高于孝，主张“舍孝而尽忠”，从而实现了对于儒家命运来说十分关键的一次历史转折。

**关键词：**儒家；忠孝不能两全；舍忠而尽孝；舍孝而尽忠



# Social Care in Protestant Spirit

## —On the Role and Significance of the Reformation in the Formation of Nordic Welfare State System

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**Abstract:** This paper is to examine the changes of Nordic welfare states system and to study the role and significance of basic doctrines, ethics and concepts in the Reformation in the formation of Nordic welfare state system, based on the Protestantism after the Reformation. Moreover, the Protestant social concern theory and practice formed in the Reformation have played an important role in promoting the development of the Nordic welfare state system, which is also the focus of this study. Through analyzing, this paper aims to make the realistic development of Protestant spirit have a new perspective, and to have a deeper understanding of significance of the socio-political philosophy of the Reformation.

**Key Words:** Reformation; Protestant Spirit; Social Care; Nordic Welfare State System

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### 1 Introduction

The Protestant spirit, as a direct product of the Reformation, relies on a religious belief with the power of transcendental God to rationalize the wealth accumulation in the mortal life, which provides the proof of “calling” of religious theology for people’s motives and intentions to make profits in secular society. From this point of view, Protestant spirit can be defined as the sum of a series of ethics, ideology and value standards, which are derived from Protestant doctrines and are recognized, respected and applied in all aspects of political and social life. <sup>[1]</sup>

The welfare state system is not a simple combination of the etymology “welfare state” and “system”. From the dimension of socio-political philosophy, “system” is such historical existence with normative meaning, including entity and non-entity. As an intermediary between people and people, and people and society, it adjusts the relationship between them and influences the development of people and society in a mandatory way. <sup>[2]</sup> Therefore, if the system is not defined and

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[1] Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957), 158-163.

[2] 辛明 Xinming. 《制度研究的哲学视野选择及其问题梳理》Zhidu yanjiu de zhexue shiye xuanze jiqi wenti shuli [The Philosophical View and Analysis of System’s Research], 《哲学动态》Zhexue dongtai [Philosophical Trends], No. 10, (2005), 20-21.



restricted, “welfare state system” will contain the sum of all laws, rules and systems under the state form of “welfare state”. Welfare state generally refers to a state form or system established by western capitalist countries after the World War II. Its typical characteristics include: the high level of welfare security, a wide range of welfare beneficiary groups, a comprehensive welfare policy system, and so on. In the form of welfare state, Western governments have designed and adopted various policies and systems in order to accomplish the goals and tasks of welfare state. Based on this, the Nordic welfare state system in this paper refers to the sum of a series of welfare systems implemented by the “welfare state policy” within the Nordic region.

It is undeniable that some Protestant doctrines are the important source of welfare thought after the Reformation in Europe. The idea of Fraternity, Diaconal Work and Grace in Christian doctrine has a great influence on the development of European welfare system. Among them, one of the most important factors to promote the formation of the Nordic welfare state system is the “Protestant Spirit”, the inherent spiritual temperament which maintains the modern welfare state system. In the modern society, this unique inner spiritual temperament, endowed with a new moral stance to the masses who believe in Protestant doctrines, provides an inexhaustible source of power for the formation of the Nordic welfare state system, and prepares a rational religious interpretation for the operation of the welfare state system, which dialectically coincides with the “desire of seeking profits” and the “moral creed of asceticism”. On one hand, it embodies the core of religious culture in the formation of the welfare state system, and on the other hand, it also shows the rational “ecology” achieved by the underlying spiritual motives of the formation of system. It can be seen that the Reformation is of great practical significance and academic value as an ideological and social change of how to promote the formation of the Nordic welfare state system.

## 2 Protestant Social Care Theory and Practice in the Reformation

In the face of various unknown and powerful external forces, people will form the belief cognition and coping style about the tragic situations of individuals or groups. Therefore, religion contains a particularly distinct spirit of humanistic concern, the compassionate attitude and value orientation. Since the world history entered its modern times, Protestantism was once as the spirit of western culture, and its spiritual essence has contacted, collided, conflicted, exchanged or integrated with other forms of civilizations. The externalization of this ideological tendency into the behavior of the religious believers is often manifested in charitable activities to save the world and people. Therefore, the unique ideas of Protestantism formed a theory of social concern.

### 2.1 Historical Background of the Reformation

In the early 16th century, there appeared an unprecedented revolutionary movement in the history of Christianity, that is, the vigorous religious reform in Europe. In the middle Ages before the Reformation, the Pope not only owned the supreme power of religion, but also gained the supreme control over secular states and cities. In order to obtain more economic benefits, the Pope took advantage of the privilege of the clergy to buy and sell various positions, which directly caused the aristocratic rulers at that time to obtain most of the bishoprics. The abuse of Pope’s rights directly

led to the further polarization of hierarchy. Ordinary believers were directly excluded from religious rights. Many important positions were occupied by secular aristocrats for political and economic reasons, rather than for the sake of talent and personal ability. However, they, who were not with the devout Christian spirit, only depended on the law to manage religious affairs, which caused great dissatisfaction among ordinary believers. Moreover, not only did money worship prevail in the church at that time, but many people had chaotic private lives and did not perform their duties. The Pope trafficked so many positions to get more money that it caused too many religious personnel, which deepened the discontent of ordinary believers with the church. The famous Dominican Johann Tetzel did the vivid propaganda of the function of Indulgences issued by the St. Peter's Basilica in 1517, just as if "the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out of purgatory."

Facing the corruption and degeneration of the Pope and the Roman Catholic church, German Father Martin Luther posted "Ninety-five Theses, propositions for debate concerned with the question of Indulgences" in Wittenburg on October 31, 1517 to denounce the corruption in the Roman Catholic church and indulgences. This event came to be considered the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Subsequently, all the countries in Deutschland also launched rebellion against the Roman Catholic Church, which eventually led to the religious reformation in Western Europe. Calvin also carried out a series of religious reforms in Switzerland, aiming to get rid of the control of the Roman Catholic church, and quickly established a set of new norms for the management and activities of Protestant Christianity, which gradually made Protestantism mature and perfect.

## 2.2 The Main Content of Social Care Theory and Practice

The reformation directly challenged the church-centered scholastic theology, and further promoted the believer-centered humanism, which made the human-oriented conception, ethics concerned about people's livelihood, and the desire to pursue happiness in real life more deeply rooted in people's hearts, and then formed the main content of social concern theory. We will analyze the basic ideas and characteristics of Lutheran and Calvinist social concern, which are the most influential schools after the reformation, in order to lay a theoretical foundation for revealing the inner relationship between Protestant social concern theory and the formation of Nordic welfare state system.

### a) Lutheranism's Thoughts of Social Care on Justification by Faith

Luther was a faithful and conscientious saint, and at first, he did not doubt the confession ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church. With the understanding of humanism, he made a new interpretation of the Bible: The justice God gave us was a merciful salvation. As long as people believed in Jesus Christ, they could get this salvation, which was the basic doctrine of justification by faith.<sup>[3]</sup> Luther pointed out that "There is no difference in works where faith is and does the work, yet this is true only when they are compared with faith and its work."<sup>[4]</sup> Like the bishop, Coppersmiths, blacksmiths, farmers just had different responsibilities. The positions God gave to man

[3] Martin Luther, *A Treatise on Good Works*, (Sheba Blake Publishing, 2019), 11.

[4] Martin Luther, *Works of Martin Luther; With Introductions and Notes, Vol. 1*, (published by the Library of Alexandria, 1943), XVII.

had their own functions. It was in these different positions that man gained God's recognition through hard work. At the same time, Luther believed that there should be no poverty or begging among the Chosen People.<sup>[5]</sup> Like business, eating, sleeping, praying and fasting, almsgiving has no difference in value. It is the way people serve God, the result of justification and the expression of true Christian identity. Luther's "Justification by Faith" put forward a value of egalitarianism. The idea that even the most humble people were equal to others promoted the establishment of a relationship on equality and mutual assistance among social individuals. It did not mean that the status of those who were in a weak position was relatively low when they were accepting help. Everyone had the right to help and the obligation to offer help. According to the Christian doctrine, it was the duty of every believer to take care of the vulnerable groups in society. For example, in field of social relief and welfare, government should build a system of public welfare fund by the confiscation from monastery for provide relief and lending to everyone who need help, whether rich or poor.<sup>[6]</sup> While helping those vulnerable groups, their souls could also be redeemed by God. Under the restraint of such values, believers generally had a strong sense of mission, and Christians tended to have a strong sense of individuals' social responsibility for the advancement of justice, equality and social welfare.

#### b) The Social Significance of Calvinist's View of Calling

Calvin was another important religious reformer after Martin Luther. Calvin's religious reform not only changed the religious and political life in Geneva, but also had a profound impact on the development of European society. According to Calvinist doctrine, the whole world existed only to serve the glory of God. The only task of the chosen Christians in the world was to obey God's Holy Discipline as much as possible, thereby increasing the glory of God. In accordance with this purpose, God required Christians to achieve social success. Because God's purpose was to organize social life according to his Holy Discipline, the social activities of Christians in the world were entirely "to increase the glory of God", and it was also the characteristic in the work of occupation serving the earthly life of society. According to the inspiration of the Bible and the natural intuition of human beings, this meaningful organizational structure and the arrangement of the whole universe in which we live were undoubtedly created by God for the convenience of human beings, which made the work in the service of impersonal public good increase the glory of God, and made this kind of work become the will of God. Under the Protestant doctrine, everyone needed to work. "For everyone without exception God's Providence has prepared a calling, which he should profess and in which he should labour. And this calling is not, as it was for the Lutheran, a fate to which he must submit and which he must make the best of, but God's commandment to the individual to work for the divine glory."<sup>[7]</sup> Rich people were no exception. Even if they did not need to rely on labor to earn the necessities of life, they must obey God's teachings as well as the poor. In Calvinism, this concept of

[5] PELIKAN J. ed. *Luther's Works*, vol. 9. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), 147.

[6] 王倩 Wang qian, 宗教改革时期的“基督教之爱” Zongjiao gaige shiqi de jidujiao zhiai [Christian Love in the Religious Reformation], *国学与西学: 国际学刊 [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies]*, Vol. 10, 2016], 18; Also see Martin Luther, "Ordnung eines gemeinen Kasten. 1523." in Otto Clement, hrsg., *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, Bd. 2, *Schriften von 1520 bis 1524* (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967), 407.

[7] Max weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2001), 106.

“Calling” regarded work as a sacred duty, and a means to increase the glory of God, from which comes the spirit of selflessness, that is, the spirit of struggle to increase the glory of God rather than satisfy personal desires. People on earth must verify their beliefs through active earthly activities to increase God’s glory and state of grace by the results of actions in the process of transforming the real society. This idea of “Occupation doesn’t matter with the Holy and the Secular” directly connected the religion with society and showed the believers’ social concern. After the Reformation, the help to the disadvantaged came from the spirit of fraternity and mutual assistance of religion. It was no longer a self-interested action, but an altruistic behavior of believers for the sake of belief. They were not for the personal interests, which showed a kind of responsibility and obligation.

How far in the background of Luther’s thought of social concern was the most important idea of his worldly conduct, which also dominated Calvinism. According to Luther this concept of work are so indispensable as the others (purity of doctrine, prayer, etc. ). The concept of Calvin’s calling was, as we seen, not very different, but that was not true of Puritanism. Of the idea of social concern, on the other hand (more, however, in its Lutheran than its Calvinistic form), there are at least isolated propositions in the Protestant theology, even though it was understood mostly in a philosophical sense.

### **3 The Internal Relationship between Protestant Social Concern and the Formation of Nordic Welfare State System**

Under the influence of social concern theory, the politics, economy and culture of Nordic countries all changed. However, the theory of social concern was not the decisive factor, but a prerequisite. This formation of Nordic welfare state system was a step-by-step process.

#### **3.1 Social concern in Protestant spirit breeding the political foundation of a democratic society**

Protestant spirit contained the value of equality and provided the spiritual factors for free democratic politics. Protestantism played a direct role in the formation of the political culture of freedom and democracy in Nordic capitalist countries, and continued to be one of the driving forces for the formation of the Nordic welfare state system. Protestant reform decreased the effect of the church in personal salvation, and individuals could directly communicate with God. The direct communication between the individual and God seemingly elevated the status of God, but actually elevated the status of the individual. God is invisible, while the individual is visible. Communicating with God was actually a kind of personal introspection and Self-discipline. God could be the acceptor of the will and idea of almost any individual.〔8〕 In this way, individuals’ will had its independence and sanctity, and the value of equality for all had its philosophical and religious foundation.

Protestants advocated fairness, not only because they believed that fairness was the foundation of all the supreme morality, but also because they regarded fairness as the source of all the greatest benefits. They resorted to the religion because they believed that religion was a guarantee of Individual rights and interests in a democratic society. Religion, as a kind of belief, was one of the

〔8〕 Cf. Gerhard Wegner: *The Legitimacy of the Welfare State*, (Leipzig: EVANGELISCHE VERLAGSANSTALT, 2015), 35.

main elements of human nature, and at the same time, it provided a spiritual sustenance. No matter how reason developed, there was no situation where there was no authority in the spiritual and moral world in any age of mankind. Once the basic common value belief of the society fell into chaos, individual rights and interests would be threatened. Religious beliefs made it preferable for individual reason to be enslaved by only God and not by the forces of any human being, regardless of monarchs, clergymen, nobles or the general public. Only in the structure of social order with common beliefs could individual rights and interests be guaranteed. But not all religious beliefs or doctrines were suitable for a democratic society or promoted the democratic development. Christianity naturally contained the elements of freedom and democracy, and the religious reform provided the idea of equality. It should be said that modern democratic political thought originated largely from the great Reformation in the sixteenth century. At the same time, Protestant religious doctrine guided the political life of the whole capitalist society and became the basic principle of political and social life.

### 3.2 Social concern in Protestant spirit ensuring the economic basis of welfare system

Protestant spirit confirmed the legitimacy in belief and morality of the proper pursuit of wealth in a religious way, thus providing the practical psychological dynamics for the development of Nordic welfare states. Protestant spirit regarded the rational pursuit of wealth as the will of God, affirmed the legalization of profit-making activities, and made the western society get rid of the shackles of traditional religion and ethics in the medieval period. This was the first preparation for the formation of Nordic welfare state system in terms of belief and morality, forming a motive force to gain the grace of God by increasing wealth.

The Protestantism after the Reformation endowed the secular life with the value of belief, and the secular labor in an occupation was paid more and more attention in morality. "For the saints' everlasting rest is in the next world; on earth man must, to be certain of his state of grace, do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day. Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God, according to the definite manifestations of His will."<sup>[9]</sup> Therefore, the social activities of Christians in the world were entirely "to increase the glory of God", and it was also the characteristic in the work of occupation serving the earthly life of society. Therefore, Protestantism guided people to devote themselves to secular activities, bore secular responsibilities rather than escape them. Emphasizing the significance of asceticism of permanent occupation provided the basis for the modern specialized division of labor, which contributed to the development of specialized production, improved the labor productivity and increased the social wealth. In addition, Protestant asceticism did not oppose the rational acquisition of wealth, but opposed the irrational use of wealth. They approved of the rational and utilitarian use of property and regarded it as the will of God. Therefore, the wealth gained by Protestants in the secular occupation for fulfilling God's duty was not consumed, but put into social production as capital to acquire greater wealth. These restrictions imposed on wealth consumption made it possible for capital to be used for productive investment, which naturally increased wealth. This frugal lifestyle combined with great wealth was bound to accumulate more capital and lay a material foundation for the development of Nordic welfare states.

[9] Max weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2001), 104.

### 3.3 Social concern in Protestant spirit transforming the idea foundation of secular society

Protestant spirit led to a certain change in the views of the Nordic people. For example, Luther advocated that Christians should adapt to their environment, did not escape the responsibility or divorce from reality like monks, but served God in the activities of this world and realized their self-salvation and value of life in the world. Calvin had a more aggressive attitude toward life, believing that the establishment of the kingdom of God by transforming of society in this world was to glorify God. He encouraged people to do every job in a positive spirit. Both Luther and Calvin, the religious reformers, promoted the secularization of society in doctrine and had far-reaching influence. Protestant spirit emphasized rationality and restraint, which made Protestants oppose indulgence and restrain themselves rationally. Only by emphasizing the rationality of permanent occupation and rigorous labor could people have the possibility to get the God's grace and be regarded as the success of life. Because of the restrictions imposed on wealth consumption by the occupational concept of asceticism, it was possible for people to use wealth for welfare and charity.

At the same time, Protestant doctrine provided a way for people to realize themselves. In any hierarchical society or era, the greatest self-realization of people was to reach the highest rank of society. In a feudal society with a very strict status hierarchy, only the aristocracy could accomplish this self-realization, while the rich businessmen were still at the bottom of society. At the beginning of capitalism, businessmen were not proud to earn enough money, but eventually they were even willing to sacrifice their economic interests to gain the aristocratic statuses. The emergence of Protestant spirit greatly broadened the way of self-realization. Everyone can achieve self-realization by doing their own vocation. Self-realization, no longer like the past, only a small number of people's patents in hierarchical society, the road to self-realization becomes very broad.<sup>[10]</sup> Under such a concept, people tried to prove that they were God's chosen people through their diligence and wealth, and the rank in heaven was more respectable than that in the secular life. It was undoubtedly one of the most important purposes of their lifelong work to organize labor rationally in order to provide material products for mankind. The change of this secular concept prompted the Nordic people to be willing to provide material products for social development, thereby realizing their self-worth by making contribution to social development and laying the ideological foundation for the formation of the Nordic welfare state system.

## 4 The Contemporary Value of the Influence of Protestant Social Care on the Formation of Nordic Welfare State System

The Nordic welfare state is the product of the capitalist industrial age. It does not always exist, nor will it always remain at a certain level. Its emergence, prosperity and even disappearance are inevitable in history. The emergence of Nordic welfare system is also the result of the interaction of various factors. It is not only the self-adjustment of the capitalist system in a particular time, but also the display of certain specific history and culture. It also reflects a special social structure.<sup>[11]</sup> Of

[10] Cf Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2001), 108-110.

[11] Gerhard Wegner, *The Legitimacy of the Welfare State*, (Leipzig: EVANGELISCHE VERLAGSANSTALT, 2015), 16.

course, it also shows the historical value of the tension between religious belief and the development of Nordic welfare state system.

From the perspective of historical materialism, the emergence of Nordic welfare system has its special historical inevitability, which is the unique historical, geographical and cultural resources of a nation state. If the Nordic welfare system is defined beyond the system, it can also be said to be a cultural expression of the interaction of elements, such as national orientation, freedom and security, fairness and justice, and citizens. It is in this sense that the welfare system has a specific path dependence and is not universal. The Nordic welfare system is rooted in the religious history and culture of the western world, which is under the greater influence of religious consciousness and the tradition of “unification of the state and the church” in culture.<sup>[12]</sup> Lutheranism is a state religion in most Nordic countries, which occupies a dominant position. As we all know, “Justification by Faith” emphasizes the equal status and rights of every faithful Christian and excludes privileges. Therefore, the Nordic sense of equality and civilian consciousness can be said to be deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. It can be said that it is this cultural specificity and historical precedence that distinguish the welfare system of Nordic countries from that of traditional religious countries.

Today, the spiritual beliefs of religion are further disenchanted. The secularization of modern society has caused the break of the Protestant spiritual chain in some countries. Therefore, we should rationally adjust the “tension” between material desire and value pursuit through the idea of Protestant social concern, from which we can get the inspiration of modern value belief to promote the development of welfare state system. To construct the support of moral belief for the rational operation of the welfare state system, it is necessary to give reasonable consideration to both the secular material desire and spiritual value demand. Protestant social concern not only fulfilled people’s desire for material wealth in secular life, providing the moral justifications of both unyielding spiritual motivation and the unity of rationality and legitimacy for the action of creating wealth, but also prepared the lofty value belief of “salvation” in religious afterlife for self-restraint and asceticism in real life. Thus, the conflict between ethical value belief and the natural desire for material wealth or between “moral impulse” and “economic impulse”, has been dialectically coincided in Protestant spirit. That is to say, Protestant social concern highly integrates the material needs of natural desire for the world and the value promotion of spiritual world. Therefore, if we want to provide moral incentive mechanism of ethical culture for the operation of the national welfare system, we cannot deny the reasonable material desire of the secular world, but explain the theoretical rationality and realistic realization mechanism of morality, integrate the mechanism of social ethical spirit and provide deep stipulation of moral practice rationality on the premise of affirming the rationality of economic impulse. The value of moral and spiritual values is further highlighted by the “sustained limitation” of the inner experience of material gains in secular life. The value support of moral belief relies on a cultural interpretation system to guide the core of the relationship of the integration between spirit and desire, value and rationality in the operation of welfare system. It guides people to practice the value stipulation of Protestant spirit by the conscious and voluntary moral behavior, so as to achieve a harmonious “value ecology” in which the internal order of individuals’ life and the external order of social life interact positively.

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[12] Ibid, 19.

中文题目：

新教精神中的社会关怀——论宗教改革对北欧福利国家制度形成的作用与意义

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**提要:** 本文以宗教改革后的基督新教(简称:新教)为研究背景去审视北欧福利国家制度变迁,研究宗教改革中的基本教义、伦理、观念对北欧福利国家制度形成的作用和意义。其中,宗教改革中形成的新教的社会关怀理论与实践对北欧福利国家制度起到了重要的促进作用,也是本文研究的重点,希望通过梳理这一问题,使得新教精神的现实化发展有一个全新的展现视角,从而对宗教改革的社会政治哲学意义进行更深入理解与把握。

**关键词:** 宗教改革;新教精神;社会关怀;北欧福利国家制度





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



# On the Religious Management Model in Chinese Theravada Buddhism

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**Abstract:** The reason why Theravada Buddhism became part of people's life and achieves orderly development in ethnic minority society lies in its unique religious management model in China. Apart from Sangha organization management model, Buddhist stupas and temple management model, a unique Pyramid — shaped Bozhang management model also contributes to it. Theravada Buddhism in China is characterized by focusing on grassroots management and meanwhile incorporation of religion into social management system, which facilitates the orderly development in local society.

**Key Words:** Chinese; Theravada Buddhism; Management model; Characteristic

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Theravada Buddhism was introduced to Yunnan Province from Southeast Asia, and has since been orderly adopted and gradually mingled into the secular and social life of Chinese ethnic communities. The author believes that the key to successful integration of Theravada Buddhism with Chinese ethnic communities is inseparable from the unique religious management system of Theravada Buddhism. Then what is the particular management system of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism? What are its characteristics? What is the contribution it makes to the development of Theravada Buddhism in China? These questions raised above will be addressed in details by this article.

## I Theravada Buddhism management mode in China

### 1.1 The Sangha community management mode

As an institutionalized religion, Chinese Theravada Buddhism has a Sangha system independent from secular organizations and social institutions. The Sangha community has long adhered to the purity and strict disciplines of primitive Buddhism and enforced the uposatha karma system to strengthen internal management among sanghas.

Uposatha karma, or Uposatha Kamma in Pali, is a traditional Buddhist ritual of long history and is one of the most important religious life of Buddhist monks. Monks must gather and convene once every half a month in the Hall of Uposatha Kamma. Following the ancient practice of primitive

traditional Indian Buddhism, Chinese Theravada Buddhism has attached great importance to the monthly Busa Karma ritual. Monks voluntarily gather in the Hall of Uposatha Kamma to perform Broussand karma on the fifteenth day or the twenty-ninth day or the thirtieth day of the month in the Dai calendar. Monks who are out of the monastery will make best efforts to return on time in order to perform Broussand karma in the Hall of Uposatha Kamma—the ritual has become a central contents of the religious lives of monks. As a standard procedure, monks chant “the uposatha day” on the day of Uposatha Kamma to repent for sins and negligence they commit in the recent half month. Such confessions at the Hall of Uposatha Kamma are strictly confidential, and no one is allowed to disclose them. Only monks and those of higher religious status can participate in the Busa karma ritual on uposatha days. Young monks of lower status or secular members are not allowed to attend, and women are specifically forbidden to enter the Hall of Uposatha Kamma. As a matter of fact, when the author visited the Lincang area of Yunnan Province in 2007, local respected senior villagers told her that women would be instructed to keep themselves away from the Hall at usual times, and on the uposatha days, they would be strictly restricted from getting close to the Hall. Sanghas of the Chinese Theravada Buddhist have always followed these rules strictly since ancient times.

It is notable that not all Buddhist monasteries have the Hall of Uposatha Kamma. Actually, the Halls are installed strictly according to the management system of Chinese Theravada Buddhism which means such a system only sets up the Halls of Uposatha Kamma in important central monasteries, and the Hall have hence become a symbol of such central monasteries. In the research process, the author learned from locals that the existence of the Hall of Uposatha Kamma has become the criteria by which secular people measure the influence and status of a Buddhist monastery. For monks from smaller monasteries, they will have to go to the central monasteries of the region in order to attend the busa karma ritual. The monks thus regularly travel to and gather at the central monasteries every half month. It is not only conducive to maintaining disciplinary rules and purity of monasteries, but also advantage to strengthen the authority of central monasteries.

## 1.2 Temple and Stupa management system

In order to effectively manage religious affairs and adapt to Chinese ethnic minorities, Chinese Theravada Buddhism has learned and adopted the strict hierarchical social system of the Dai people to establish gradually a hierarchical management system in the long process of development. Its sharp hierarchical division and intricately interwoven rule set the Chinese Theravada Buddhism apart not only from other Chinese Buddhist traditions, but also from Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia.

The organizational management system of Chinese Theravada Buddhism has a unique Pyramid structure; however, it is not made of a single Pyramid, but results from layered accumulation of many smaller component pyramids of smaller management systems, which eventually leads to the stable structure of the Big Theravada Buddhism Pyramid. The so-called Pyramid model looks like the following: at the tip of the Pyramid is usually a general Buddhist monastery that oversees a number of so-called central monasteries; underneath these central monasteries are smaller village monasteries. Usually a general monastery manages the central monasteries, and the latter in turn exert their managerial influence upon village ones—such a system has a clear-cut hierarchical division of managerial responsibilities, which gradually leads to a stable but closed system of management. Among different monastery organization and management systems, it stands out because of its distinctive hierarchical characteristics.

We may take the Dai Buddhist monasteries for example, which consisted of four levels in

structure in past times; situated at the top level is the Great General Monastery of Lazhatan at King Pascal SC, which oversees monasteries of Xishuangbanna; at the second level are twelve Nalazhatan general monasteries and thirty—six Meng monasteries; at the third level are central monasteries with the Hall of Uposatha Kamma, which usually oversees four or more village monasteries; the fourth level forms the base of the system and consists of village monasteries. The structure can be demonstrated briefly as below:

Schematic diagram of Pyramid management mode in Xishuangbanna area					
Level	Name		Number	The social territorial corresponding administrative level	Remarks
the highest level	Walong	“Wazhapeng”	1	Great General Monastery	“Wazhapen” and “Wangzhuandong” assist management under “Walong” general monastery
		“Wazhuandong”			
the second level	Walong of each Meng		36	Meng	
the third level	central monastery		severals		four village monastery as a unit
the basic level	village monastery		severals	village	

The biggest general monastery in Xishuangbanna area is Walong located on former Xuanwei Street of Jinghong. It oversees all Buddhist monasteries of the whole Xishuangbanna area. Under Walong are Wazhapeng and Wazhuandong, two monasteries located on the same Xuanwei Street that effectively assist Walong to administrate religious affairs of general monasteries. Under Wazhapeng and Wazhuandong are Walong Buddhist monasteries in each Meng according to administrative territory of feudal lord system which are usually located at local chieftain’s residence. Walong monasteries are the general monasteries in each Meng; under Walong there is another level of central monasteries, each of which administrates usually four village monasteries. Therefore village monasteries are under central monasteries, and latter administrate the affairs of the former.

According to statistics of the early 1950s, the Buddhist monastery system of Jinghong area consists of two categories: the internal system and the external system. The internal system was constituted by nine monasteries, all of which were located on former Xuanwei Street or the nearby area. Below is a brief description about them:

The first Buddhist temple: The Walong General Monastery, also the general monastery that oversees all the Buddhist monasteries across the Xishuangbanna area. It is also the home for the most respected Buddhist monks of Xishuangbanna. In the 1950s, Walong was the home monastery of Kubameng, which occupied the highest status of the Buddhist system in Xishuangbanna.

The second Buddhist temple: the Wazhuandong Buddhist Monastery situated on the right side of Walong. When Kubameng was unable to handle religious affairs, Wazhuandong would take over to perform administrative duties.

The Third Buddhist temple: the Wazhapeng Buddhist Monastery which located on the left side of the General Monastery. When Kubameng of the General Monastery could not perform administrative duties, Wazhapeng would help with the administrative work after consulting with Kubameng of Wazhuandong.

The Fourth Buddhist monastery: the Wakesong Buddhist Monastery, located in Mensa in front of

the General Monastery. Its status was lower than Wazhuandong and Wazhapeng, and was not expected to perform administrative duties even when the Kubameng of the General Monastery was not in charge of religious affairs.

The Fifth Buddhist temple: The Wamanle Buddhist Monastery, located behind the General Monastery. The status of Wamanle was comparatively low, and it usually did not participate in administrative discussions of the General Monastery.

The Sixth Buddhist temple: The Wazai Buddhist Monastery, located at Manga. Wazai belonged to the monastery system of Xuanweishi, who came here to Danfo on Kaimen Festival and Guanmen Festival every year (Generally speaking, Xuanweishi would spend two days to Danfo, the first day was usually spent at Wazai, and the second day usually at the Walong General Monastery).

The Seventh Buddhist temple: the Wagong Buddhist Monastery located at Manshugong. It was overseen by Manshugong Village.

The Eighth Buddhist temple: the Wahena Buddhist Monastery, located at Manhena and run by Manhena Village.

The Ninth Buddhist temple: the Wanongfei Buddhist Monastery, located at Mannongfeng, shared by the two villages of Daimeng and Lulangdaoba. <sup>[1]</sup>

Such a Pyramid management system of Buddhist monasteries of the Jinghong area of Xishuangbanna is modeled after the social management system of the Dai people, which is characterized of being highly hierarchical with a clear-cut assignment of responsibility. In the first place, concerning the scope of management, the rights and responsibilities of Buddhist monasteries at every level are distinctively defined, and there are barely any cases concerning confusion of rights or management. Once a monastery has its boundaries and management scope clarified, it will perform and function on the basis of that and will never act beyond its responsibility scope. No monastery will ever go beyond its scope to interfere with other monasteries' affairs. Secondly, in the case of the management mode of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism, the Pyramid structure of the monastery management system adopts a top-down management mode, with power orderly penetrating well-defined layers of monasteries at different levels that understand their respective duties and responsibilities. Monasteries of the upper level manage those at the lower levels; while lower monasteries are obedient to management decisions of upper monasteries. Such a practice is beneficial to building effective authority in management, and the relative concentration, instead of dispersion, of power also contributes to an orderly management of Buddhist affairs.

### 1.3 The establishment of the Bozhang management system

The Bozhang <sup>[2]</sup> management system is a successful example of effective management of social and religious affairs of Chinese Theravada Buddhism. This system has been the conduit that orderly mingles Theravada Buddhism with the social management system of Chinese ethnic peoples.

Bozhangs are authorities in the Buddhist social management system of Chinese Theravada Buddhism, who communicate and integrate with the secular society, and thus uniquely play a significant role in the Chinese Theravada Buddhism management system. The existence of Bozhangs

[1] Theravada Buddhism belief in Yunnan region, there are different names for, in Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, known as the "wave chapter", in the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous.

[2] In Theravada Buddhist religion area, it has different addressing respectively, in Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture it is referred as "Bozhang", in Dehong Dai and Jingpo autonomous prefecture it is called "helu" and in Linking Principal it is known as Anzhang".

sets Theravada Buddhism apart from the Han Buddhism and the Tibetan Buddhism management systems. Notably, the Anzhang has a double identity: he is an authority in the Buddhist-social management system of Chinese Theravada Buddhism; and, at the same time, he is a secular man who does not have any divine religious authority conferred to him. In other words, Anzhangs are specialized in administrating Buddhist affairs in their respective designated areas in the Theravada Buddhism system. Anzhangs are elected by the masses, and the candidates are selected according to very strict selection criteria. After successfully going through very rigid selection procedures, the candidates gain recognition of both the Buddhist world and the secular society, and hence acquire the social management authority of Chinese Theravada Buddhism. When administrating social affairs of the Theravada Buddhism, the Anzhang plays the roles as the organizer and the administrator. He is also the host for Buddhist ceremonies. It is noteworthy that there are many Bozhangs, who play such important roles in the management system of Theravada Buddhism. Every Bozhang exercises management duties in an area he is assigned to, and work with others to manage social affairs of Buddhism within his assigned scope of duties. This leads to a unique mechanism known as the Bozhang Management System, which, corresponding to the Theravada Monastery System, has a Pyramid structure consisting of four levels, namely, the Bozhang of the General Monastery—the Bozhang of the Mengfo Monastery—the Bozhang of the Central Monastery—and, the Bozhang of monasteries at the village rankings. This Pyramid structure of Bozhangs is highly hierarchical, and those of lower levels report to and are managed by Bozhangs of higher rankings. None of them can act beyond their respective assigned scopes of duties. Taking the Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Xishuangbanna as an example, its Bozhang system can be explained by the chart below:

Schematic diagram of Pyramid management mode in Xishuangbanna area					
Level	Name		Number	The social territorial corresponding administrative level	Remarks
the highest level	Wal ong Bozhang	“Wazhapeng”	1	Great General Monastery	“Wazhapen” and “Wangzhuandong” assist management under “Walong” general monastery
		“Wazhuandong”			
the second level	Walong Bozhang of each Meng		36	Meng	
the third level	Bozhang of central monastery		severals		four village monastery as a unit
the basic level	Bozhang of village monastery		severals	village	

It is because of this strict hierarchical system that Bozhangs at different levels abide by the provisions to organize and administrate their assigned shares of Buddhist affairs. Therefore, Bozhangs follow the rules of their management system to organize and participate in the process for an effective integration of Buddhism and social resources through dividing up all the social affairs of Chinese Buddhism and assigning them to Bozhangs at various levels. This practice not only avoids excessive concentration of power, but also effectively handles any social affairs related to Buddhism and hence promotes the development of Buddhism.



## II Characteristics of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism management mode

### 2.1 Attaching great importance to grassroots management and manage regional Buddhism affairs by a tiered system of monks

The Chinese Theravada Buddhism is different from the Han Buddhism and the Tibetan Buddhism management system by its great emphasis attached to religious management at the grassroots level. As mentioned above, the Theravada Buddhism, in its long development process, has copied and adopted the highly hierarchical social organization system of the secular Dai to gradually establish its own tiered system of strict management. By its Pyramid mode of management, numerous village monasteries are situated at the grassroots level to form the “base” that supports the many levels higher above in the Pyramid. Therefore, village monasteries are critical to maintaining the overall stability of the Pyramid. What is more, its development affects the health of different levels of the whole system. Aware of that, the Theravade Buddhism pays great emphasis to managing religious affairs at the grassroots, and gradually forms the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

As far as Grassroots village Sangha organizations concerned, in addition to using precepts to regulate monks' behaviors, they also have a unique ecclesiastical hierarchy to strengthen their internal management. The Chinese Theravada Buddhism has a most strict, complex ecclesiastical hierarchy that is incomparable by other Theravada Buddhist countries. Such a system has not been seen either in any Mahayana Buddhist traditions. In Yunnan Province, levels of monks are generally determined by the age, the precepts, and the knowledge and behavior of monks. The rank assigned to a monk is more of an honor, and does not usually mean that the recipient could enjoy any privilege in the secular life or the divine world. However, since the assigned level reflects the popularity and influence of a monk, monks of lower ranks usually pay respect to those at higher ranks and follow what the latter would say.

In Xishuangbanna's Dai area, for example, local monks are ranked according to their ages, precepts, and knowledge, in the following eight rankings: PA (Sha Mi), Du (monk), Khu ba (the elder), samit (Salmonella the elders), Nigaro (King monk, monk Lord elders, the monk order long empty duty unmanned), Palmer called Hu (by the elders), Sondhi (the monks are elders), and Sundia Gamani (big monk is Presbyterian). Or, there is also a ten-levelled system, with Panos added before PA and Dulong added after Duzhi. Monks' promotions to ranks higher than the fifth level are conducted in a very cautious and strict manner, and the two top ranks are usually offered respectively to the Dai and Bulang for only one position respectively, who would hence become the highest ranking religious leaders of the region. Generally speaking, the Big Buddha is not only the most respected and the most learned monk of a monastery; he is also regarded as the one of the highest status in the village. When he leaves his own village to visit other places, he is just as revered by people in other localities. Politically, the Big Buddha communicates with local rulers (Tusi) on an mutually respected basis. Contrastly in a religious situation, local rulers, when meeting with the Big Buddha, have to pay their respect.

As a comparison, in the Dehong Dai-Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture and Lincang City of Yunnan Province, the rankings systems of monks is not as many as Xishuangbanna. For example, monks of

Duolie Sect are ranked into only four levels: Zhaoshang, which is equivalent to Paof Runpai Buddhism; Zhaomen or Menzhao that is equivalent to Du or Dulong of the Run Sect (local people also call Zhaomen or Menzhao as “Buddha”); Zhaoji, which is similar to Khu ba in the Run Sect; and, Zhaobengji, which is the highest honorary ranking conferred to monks. The Mengdingduolie Sect of Lincang used to have a ranking system that involved nine levels in three categories, namely, Yabao, Yajin, and Yayin at the First Category; Yebao, Yejin, and Yeyin at the Secondary Category; and, Huabao, Huajin, and Huayin at the Third Category. Monks of the Baizhuang Sect are, just like Duolie Sect, ranked in four levels: Gabi (who can be taken as junior monks), Shangwang (equivalent to Samanera), Zhaomen (equivalent to Bhikkhu), and Zhaoji (usually presiding monks). In Zuodi Sect, it has only one rank for Bhikkhu, which is sub-divided into junior monks and senior monks.

The practice of ranking monks according to the ages, precept, and knowledge demonstrates the Buddhist system’s divine recognition of its members’ morality and knowledge. Although the ranking is only an honorary title and does not bring about any privileges, the progression through the ranking system represents, for monks, an important recognition of their diligent learning and studying of Buddhist canons. At the same time, their promotion through the system also represents the secular world’s recognition of the monks’ divine authority. Promotion of a monk is not initiated by the monk himself, but is prudently proposed or recommended by the village of his monastery or by local believers who think that the candidate has fulfilled all the requirements for a promotion. After a complicated process of assessment and consideration, the monk who is recommended for the promotion agrees to accept the honor, and the decision is also to be approved by the Big Buddha of the monastery. The village will then hold a great official ceremony to mark the promotion and finalize the whole process. Selection of monks for promotion and the whole procedure of application thus take place outside of the Sangha system, and are conducted by the secular society under the latter’s management. By which the secular society recognizes the divinity of Buddhism and monks. But the decision on promotion must be consented by the Buddhist system. Thus, by a hierarchical system in which monks are clearly ranked and promoted gradually, the Chinese Theravada Buddhism has a management mode that recognizes monks’ talents on one hand and holds everyone to strict management on the other hand. Such a system has been conducive to effectively dealing with Buddhist affairs.

Corresponding to regional socio-political systems, the Chinese Theravada Buddhism has established a Pyramid-structured organizational system that helps manage Buddhist affairs vertically and allows power to flow from the top to the grassroots. On the other hand, the tiered system of monks management is the horizontally organizational mode within the Sangha organizations. Hence, the vertical and the horizontal managements of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism combine to effectively cover various aspects of Buddhist affairs management.

## **2.2 Combining religious activities into social management systems**

The management system of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism originated in adapting to and combining with the socio-political systems of feudal lords of the Dai areas. Its operation and execution will, to a great degree, rely on the socio-political systems. Because of that, integrating religious activities into socio-political management is one of the characteristics of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism.

The Chinese Theravada Buddhism has the Bozhang system to manage specific religious affairs. Bozhangs help dealing with social affairs related to Buddhism. They rely on administrative organizations at various levels and proactively seek to work with all social sects as well as secular

administrative units in order to conduct religious activities and integrate management of religious activities into the social management system.

For example, each village has various social groups that come into being and grow organically and are not part of any political or administrative organism. They do not belong to any official organizations but independently carry out their own activities, including religious ones, in villages. Take Lincang for an instance, each village has different social groups targeting people of different sexes and ages. “Teenage girls go to an organization that is led by a “Bushaotou” – the title for the group leader who is elected by fellow villagers to co-ordinate festival activities and work attended by local teenage girls. Other issues of the girls are also handled by Bushaotou. Besides, there are also Zhaofayin—positions usually filled by wives of Xinye and Langye<sup>[3]</sup>. Zhaofayin take orders from local lords and oversee Bushaotou as well as senior women. They lead local women and organize them to fulfil various tasks, including involving women in Buddha worships and assigning labor credits for their services. Young men also have their own group in each village, with the group head, known as Bumaotou, elected by villagers. Bumaotou is responsible for organizing and leading young men to participate in various activities. Other issues related to the group are also resolved by him. “Such village-based social groups still exist today and play important but different roles at villages. They manage their respective areas and have been conducive to maintaining social unity. Therefore, when dealing with social affairs such as organizing religious activities, monastery ceremonies, or Buddhist activities to repair the temples, Bozhangs will represent the Chinese Theravada Buddhism to discuss related affairs with senior villagers, local leaders, and leaders of various social groups in order to find solutions to their problems. For girls’ activities, Bushaotou is the coordinator; and, for things related to young men, Bumaotou will take over. In doing so, people of different ages go to their respective groups. Specific affairs are thus dissected into several or more “smaller” tasks that are assigned to and accomplished by groups for people of different ages. Remarkably, the Bozhang, after gaining support of various groups, become the indisputable leader that coordinate the work of various social groups. Because of that, Bozhangs acquire a sort of an invisible authority—when attending Buddhist activities, all other parties seem to follow the order and arrangement made by Bozhangs.

For example, the author was deeply impressed by Bozhangs’ excellent capability of organizing and coordinating religious activities while attending Buddhist ceremony of chanting scriptures in August 2006 at Gengma Buddhist temple in Lincang City, Yunnan Province. That yearly event attracted a lot of people to attend. Of course all the monks of nearly monasteries came too. Hence, although Gengma Temple only had 20 monks (9 elder monks and 11 monks), the total number of elder monks and monks attending the “Danfo”<sup>[4]</sup> ceremony was 123. Nevertheless, despite the scale of the event, people coming in and out of the temple in a very orderly manner without any disturbance.

We later learned from Mr. An Ming, a Anzhang of Gengma Temple who was also the Secretary of the Buddhist Association of Lincang, that he had met several times with senior villagers, Anzhangs from nearby monasteries, and village administrators to arrange for the Danfo. The meetings discuss

[3] “Xinye”, “Langye” is the official title of Tusi Chieftain System in Lincang principal before 1949.

[4] “Dan” has the meaning of giving, when participating in Buddhist activities, Theravada Buddhism believers in Chinese regions will donate money or other items to the temple.

issues such as how to manage believers attending the event, how to arrange for the eating and drinking of monks and believers (the Chinese Theravada Buddhist practice is to provide free super food for all the people attending religious activities, and the costs are going to be spent evenly by villagers who support the monastery). After some consultation, Anzhangs of Gengma Temple made the decision that, on August 9 when big scriptures was to be recited, the monastery would have its doors open to believers from five villages in the morning, and to people from five other villages in the afternoon—such an arrangement was made to avoid overcrowding in the monastery. As for food, five villages would send cooked food to the monastery in the morning; and the other five villages would attend to arranging for the eating and drinking of their believers in the afternoon. Thus all the villages attended the event and took care of preparing for the food. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, all the people gathered at the monastery for dinner, and started their evening chanting at 7. Thanks to such detailed arrangement, the event was a big success, attracting almost all the people from nearby villages to attend with the traffic and other logistics affairs well and orderly taken care of. People were informed of their time to come to the monastery by their regional organizations. They went to assigned area for food and drinking too. Everybody, including tourists and onlookers from nearby towns, enjoyed his or her share of freely served food.

What is worth mentioning is that, although Anzhangs demonstrate great capability in organizing and coordinating big events like this, support of village groups are crucial in the execution phase, which allows Buddhist management (Anzhangs) to infiltrate into social arenas (various social groups). Without such support and infiltration, big Buddhist events cannot be planned and carried out so smoothly. This fully proves that the Chinese Theravada Buddhism, in the process of social management, has gradually integrated religion into social management to achieve its own development. Such a practice is a unique merit of the management of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism.

In summary, orderly religious management at the grassroots cadres is the foundation of the Chinese Theravada Buddhism, and the internal impetus behind development of the Theravada Buddhism is the practice to integrate religious management into the system of social management.

In the Chinese Theravada Buddhism management, the primary focus is on the grassroots cadres sector, and on the tiered system of monk promotions that forms the internal restrictive mechanism of grassroots Buddhist organizations. At the same time, the Buddhism management also relies on the village as the basic unit to manage religious social affairs related to Buddhism, hence effectively uniting grassroots Buddhist organizations with villages to promote the healthy development of Buddhism at the village level. In addition, the Chinese Theravada Buddhism has clear internal division of labor—it not only has internal organisms to manage Buddhist Sangha, but also systems to deal with Buddhist social affairs. The two systems focus on different areas of specialty to properly handle and balance the relations between Buddhism and social resources. Such practices integrate Buddhism into the system of social management, thus effectively promoting local development of Buddhism. <sup>[5]</sup>

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[5] Concerning related Bibliography, please refer to the followings: Zheng Xiaoyun 2012; Study On Theravada Buddhism in China, Chinese Academy of Social Science Press. Zheng Xiaoyun 2013; Study on the South-east Asian Religion and Social development, Chinese Academy of Social Science Press. Zheng Xiaoyun 2011; The Annual of Chinese Religious Study (2009—2010), Edited, Executive General-editor, Religious Cultural Press. Zheng Xiaoyun 2010; The history of Theravada Buddhism in China, Jiangsu people Press.

中文题目:

## 试论中国南传佛教的宗教管理模式

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**提要:**南传佛教之所以成功地融入到世俗生活中,在少数民族社会领域有序发展,这与中国南传佛教独具特色的宗教管理模式是分不开的。它不仅有机团组织管理模式、有佛寺佛塔组织管理模式,同时还形成了独特的金字塔型的波章管理模式。中国南传佛教管理模式的特点在于,将管理重点放在基层,将宗教纳入到社会管理体制之中,有利地促进佛教在当地社会的有序发展。

**关键词:**中国南传佛教;管理模式;特点

# The Impact of Christian Charity on Chinese Society and the Challenges in the future

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**Abstract:** Charity work is the specific manifestation of the greatest commandment for Christians, and also an important way for church to promote social justice. In view of this, this paper selects the Christian charity perspective to examine the influence of Catholic charity thought and practice on the past, present and future of Chinese society. This paper first examines the differences and interactions between the traditional Chinese concept of charity and the concept of Christian charity, then examines the influence of the concept of Christian religious charity on the transformation of Chinese charitable organization from traditional to modern social organizations. This paper also takes the charity work of the Catholic Diocese of Shanghai in the temporal and co-temporal state as an example to analyze its characteristics and existing problems, and finally the paper discusses the four problems that may challenge the future of the church's charity work.

**Key Words:** Charity work; Catholic church in China; Caritas; Charity organizations; social works

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## I Introduction: Considerations on the choice of topic

Morgan Hurd, a girl adopted by an American family from an orphanage in China, won the world gymnastics all-around title; Rosie, a girl with Down syndrome adopted from China, became a cyber star under the care of her adoptive parents in the United States. . . The happy state of these children has aroused curiosity in a lot of Chinese people. They wonder why Americans came from such a great distance to China to adopt children. Did they do this for their own pension or other utilitarian purposes? It has been found that over the past two decades, about 100,000 abandoned babies have been adopted by Americans, most of whom share a common belief background: faith in God. Someone discovered an old photograph taken in the 1880s of a female missionary checking by the pool her baskets for holding abandoned babies. . . People compare the western concept of equality of all human beings with the preference for sons in Chinese society in an attempt to understand this phenomenon

of adoption of abandoned babies. <sup>[1]</sup>

The academic inquiry into Christian philanthropy precedes the interest among the folk people. Since the beginning of the 1990s, there have been a great deal of historical research on the charitable activities of churches and missionaries on the mainland which is mentioned by the modern medical history, the history of missionary and the history of social relief. There are also many research papers written from the perspectives of social work, charity legislation, charity theory and practice, Christian charity and social relations, and contemporary religious benevolent work. <sup>[2]</sup> We can see that only since the early 1980's studies began to be fair and objective. In contrast, the preliminary discussions in the 50's, the early years of the Republic of China, the relief and charity activities were revealed and criticized as the hypocrisy of the landlord class and bourgeoisie or as imperialist encroaching tools against China. Missionaries and Modern China has a chapter specifically on the charity of the Church. <sup>[3]</sup> In the meantime scholars in the United States, Japan, Taiwan and other places also began the related academic exploration and pointed out that China's charity, the creation of charitable organizations and relief activities, started in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty, and continued until the Republic of China. North American scholars believe that these organizations are a manifestation of the appearance of China's modern local autonomy and civil society, while Japanese scholars believe that although China's benevolent activities took place in the folk level, they have a complex relationship with state power and urban society, so they cannot be considered as local autonomy and do not support the "squire (xiangshen 乡绅) domination theory" argument. The studies in overseas and in Taiwan not only point to the unique position of these charities in the evolution of Chinese society from tradition to modern times, but also pay special attention to the interaction between charities and the state and society, opening up a new perspective on the history of philanthropy and charitable organizations. <sup>[4]</sup>

Recent studies have shown that missionaries and church charities play a double role in modern

[1] See Wechat official account "Insight vision" article "100,000 Chinese abandoned babies adopted by Americans, between misfortune and good fortune, what kind of life they have experienced" 2018-11-25, wechat "weinsight", <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/LSPA0JJrf0Jy5dXhgynqgQ>. But the answer these people find is incomplete in terms of historical facts. This photo is a Protestant missionary, but the Catholic Churches in China began their relief activities for abandoned babies much earlier and in a much larger scale, and they are more impacted in China, as is shown by the Tianjin Massacre (1870). After 1949, Catholic orphanages were taken over by the state; orphanage graves were dug up in many places, and the bones of young children were exhausted (because the sick children were abandoned more, and the medical level at that time was low, so that the death rate in orphanages was high, in which case missionaries baptized sick children, thus saving their souls). The conduct of the missionaries was regarded as the hypocrisy of Christianity as an instrument of imperialist aggression against China.

[2] See Zhengjun Yang, "Review of the Research of the Chinese Benevolent Halls and Benevolent Societies in the Past 30 Years" *The Open Times*, (2) 2010, pp. 149-158. Guilin Zeng, "A Review of the History of Philanthropy in Modern China in the Last 20 Years" *Modern History Studies*, (3) 2008, pp. 147-160.

[3] Changsheng Gu, *Missionaries and Modern China*, (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 1981).

[4] The most influential works are written by Japanese authors such as Fuma Susumu (夫马进), *A Study of Benevolent Societies and Benevolent Halls in China*, (Kyoto: Kyoto University press, 1997), Wuyao, Yang Wenxin & Zhang Xuefeng (tr.), (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2005); and Kohama, Masako (小浜正子), *The "public" and the state in modern Shanghai*, Ge Tao (tr.), (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2003). Chinese Hong Kong scholar Angela Ki Che Leung also wrote a good book on this topic, *Charity and Moral Transformation: Philanthropic Organizations of the Ming and Qing Periods*, (Taipei: Linking Publishers, 1997). While American scholars Mary B. Rankin *Elite activism and political transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986) and William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986) are much more emphasizing the formation of the civil society.

Chinese society<sup>[5]</sup> they cannot be seen simply as tools of colonialism, nor as messengers of modern civilization, but should be more neutrally seen as “bridges”. The Qing government promoted the development of charity in modern China to a certain extent, starting from inspecting, restricting, and preventing missionary’s child-rearing and charitable medical activities, to later taking the policy of retreating and relaxing. In addition, the church’s charitable relief has relieved the pressure on Chinese society in the war and enhanced the understanding of Western culture. But the researchers also pointed out that this promotion is not necessarily done through a positive mechanism, the voluntary famine relief by the Chinese gentry in areas south of the Yangtze River in Ming and Qing Dynasty did not directly imitate the Western missionary’s relief actions. On the contrary, there was even a strong sense of resistance. The benevolent works of the gentry class developed in confrontation with Western missionaries.<sup>[6]</sup> In other words, from the beginning of the Ming and Qing Dynasties to the present, there has been tension between Christian charity and Chinese society, and the public understanding of Christian charity activities is not all positive.

There are also several papers discussing the song dynasty’s clan relief and official charity,<sup>[7]</sup> but all the studies show that Chinese charity work and organizations in the modern sense emerged in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, and were related to the introduction of Christianity into Chinese Society. However, there is more research on Protestant charitable activities and ideas in Chinese academic circles (there are twice as much “Christianity” “charity” search items as “Catholic” “Charity” on the most popular searching engine, i. e. National Knowledge Infrastructure, CNKI database, and there are fewer professional papers of in-depth research on the history of the Catholic Church, the social teaching of the Catholic Church and its contemporary practice.<sup>[8]</sup>

Because of the great influence of Christian charitable ideas and activities on Chinese local charity work and society, and the relatively weak research of Catholic charity compared to charity research of other religions,<sup>[9]</sup> this paper focuses on the impact of Catholic Church charity on China, after reviewing the characteristics and historical interaction between Catholic and traditional Chinese charitable ideas (including Confucianism). I take the social work of the Shanghai Catholic Church as a case study, introducing the idea of “Physical and Spiritual Compassion” and related practices in the period from Xu Guangqi (1562—1633) to Bishop Jin Luxian (1916—2013), and finally discuss the four issues that needs cautious consideration for the future development of Catholic Church’s charity work.

[5] Cf. You Bin and Paulos Huang 2019: “New Interpretation of Martin Luther in the Perspective of Christian Sincization”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies*, vol. 16, 7-14. (<https://www.sinowesternstudies.com/latest-volumes/vol-16-2019/>)

[6] C. f. Wang Weiping, “The Relief of Su Bei in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Year of Guangxu Reign and the Gentry in Jiangnan”, *Historical Achieve*, V. 1, 2006, pp. 99-102. Li Wenhai, Rise and Development of Benevolence Relief in Late Qing Dynasty, *Studies in Qing History*, (3) 1993, pp. 27-35. Zhu Hu, *Local Mobility and Beyond*, (Beijing: Remin University of China, 2006), pp. 150-159, pp. 325-340. Xia Mingfang, On the Protestant Missionaries’ Famine Relief during 1876—1879, *Studies in Qing History*, (2) 1997, pp. 83-92.

[7] For example, Xing Tie, “Benevolence Farmstead in Song Dynasty”, *History Teaching*, (5) 1987, pp. 15-17. Song Caiyi & Yusong, “Official Charity for Children in Song Dynasty”, *Journal of Historical Science*, (5) 1988, pp. 25-30.

[8] The impressive publish are Xiao Qinghe, “Salvation and Education: On Catholic Charity Work for Children in China during Ming and Qing dynasties”, *Jinan Journal Philosophy and Social Sciences*, (9) 2013, pp. 60-80. Han Siyi, “Convergence and Transformation on Charity Thoughts and Practices between Catholicism and Confucianism during Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties”, *Jinan Journal Philosophy and Social Sciences*, (9) 2013, pp. 58-65.

[9] C. f. Liu Fujun, etc., “An Analysis of the Current Research on Religious Charities in Contemporary China”, *Study of Christianity*, (1) 2014, pp. 386-401.



## II between traditional Chinese charity and Christian charity

### 2.1 Differences in Chinese and Western Charitable Thoughts

Chinese society has a long tradition of accumulating virtue and performing good deeds. The Great Unity, People as the Root, and benevolence and love are the basis of Confucian charity ideas. The passage of Ritual and Operation in The Book of Rituals says that “The way to walk the great way is to let the world be for the public. Select the sages and choose the capable, value credibility and cultivate harmony, so that people are not only kind to their own relatives, not only take care of their own sons; let the old be looked after, the mature be of use, the young develop talent; take care of all the poor, the widows and widowers, the fatherless and motherless orphans, the handicapped, and the sick. Let men have jobs and women have home. Let people detest throwing things on the ground but not hide them for themselves; let people dislike not exerting efforts, but not work for their own benefits. So there will not be any tricks and treacheries, no stealing, no rebelling, and no robbing. The out gate of each household can always be left open. Such a world is called the Great Harmony.” In addition to the Confucian tradition, the Buddhist concepts of compassion, field of blessing, Bodhicitta, cause and effect Karma, the Taoist tradition of respecting the Tao and cherishing the virtue, the idea of helping the world and saving people, the Islamic idea of valuing both this life and the afterlife, doing good deeds and helping the society, all have a positive impact on the concept of Chinese charity.

However, Kang Youwei in his *Book of Great Harmony* analyzed the weakness of Chinese society's charity and charitable relief. He thought that Chinese charitable activities were limited to donating ancestral hall, land of righteousness, hamlets of righteousness, and helping the poor and setting up schools. Such endeavors focused more on clans than the country, helping people within the clan but not any outsiders. Historically, because of the long tradition of valuing men and slighting women in Chinese society, coupled with the alternative understanding of the reincarnation,<sup>[10]</sup> the phenomenon of abandoning and drowning baby girls and child trafficking used to be very common. The traditional relief for widows by the so called “Clean Virtue Hall” (清节堂) was more to maintain the rule of “three obeying and four virtues”, making women the sacrificing victim of feudal code of ethics. In addition, the Righteous Relief such as giving the poor porridge, clothing, rice, and coffins only remedied the superficial symptoms, and had a strong sense of self-interest and utilitarian purpose.<sup>[11]</sup>

Christianity has brought very different charitable ideas and practices to China. The Church speaks of human dignity, equality before God. The church offers not only material care for the weak, but also spiritual help, and through education helps them to acquire basic working skills. The

[10] As the missionaries recorded, “There is a much more serious crime in China, which is the practice of drowning girls in some provinces. . . . Because they believe in the reincarnation or reincarnation of the soul, which justified this barbarism practise. It was believed that the soul of the dead will be incarnated into the new born person, so they cover this terrible atrocity with nice excuse.” Matteo Ricci & Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas Suscepta ab Societate Iesv*, this text is translated from its Chinese version, *Li Madou Zhongguo Zaji*, (Beijing: Chinese Book Company, 1983), p. 92.

[11] C. f. Zhang Liheng, “On Charitable work in Shanghai at Republic Era”, *Republican Archives*, (3)1996, pp. 139-144.

Church's charitable ideas are based on the love of Jesus Christ, on following Jesus Christ, believing it's more blessed to give than to receive. Love, the essence of charity, is the supreme commandment of Christians in their life.

Early missionaries to China put this unique ethical requirement as "compassion for the physical and spiritual sorrow" (形神哀矜), i. e., "the seven ways of compassion for the physical sorrows": "one, feed the hungry; two, give the thirsty water; three, give the naked clothing; four, take care of the sick and the prisoners; five, offer roof for the travelers; six, pay ransom for the captivated; seven, bury the dead" and "seven ways of spiritual help for the sorrowful": "one, teach the ignorant and illiterate; two, exhort people to do good; three, criticize the wrong doers; four, comfort the worried; five, forgive insults; six, forgive people's weakness; seven, pray to God for the living and the dead."<sup>[12]</sup> Take the example of orphanages in particular. The Jesuits of the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties attached great importance to the baptism of abandoned babies. "In 1694, we baptized 3,400 children; in 1695, 2,639; in 1696, 3,663; and about the same in the following year."<sup>[13]</sup> The Jesuits also adopted orphans, abandoned babies, among whom they raised preachers or believers, or found them foster families after the babies grew up.

From the beginning of opening trading ports in the 19th century to the early 20th century, Catholic church in China established more than 50 nurseries and orphanages throughout the country. Hosting abandoned babies and treating diseases, caring for the elderly and women became part of the missionary activities of early missionaries and the main form of loving virtue service. But church charity activities after the late Qing Dynasty were often regarded as part of the cultural aggression of Western imperialism. Because of misunderstanding and hostility, the charity activities of the nursery even caused hostility and persecution against church in some places;<sup>[14]</sup> because of the high mortality rate in the nursery, people in the 1950s often used the nursery cemetery to criticize the hypocrisy of missionaries.

## 2.2 Interaction in practice

Looking at the world history, we can see that modern charity is developed the most in the countries that have Christianity religious belief. This is of course related to the economic development; it is also related to the characteristics of religious culture. In the three places on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, the charitable services provided by the Christian religion have been dominant over other religions (with the exception of Taiwan after 1987<sup>[15]</sup>). In the history of the charity development in mainland China, the charitable activities and organizations of the Catholicism and Protestantism extend their relief to a wider public; from the previous "valuing material support, ignoring education" to "valuing both physical support and mental education". A part of the gentry of fashion accepted this idea and brought about the transformation of the traditional Chinese Shantang

[12] C. f. Dong Shaoxin, *Between the Physics and Spirit*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2008), p. 61. It likes the buddism alms including material almsgiving and dharma almsgiving.

[13] Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Lettres Edifiantes Et Curieuses ; Ecrites Des Missions Etrangeres* (Chinese Version), vol. 1, Zheng Dedi (tr.), (Zhengzhou: Elephant press, 2005), pp. 232-233.

[14] C. f. Li Huachuan, "The Origin and Spread of the Legend that Westerners Steal and Eat Children in China", *Historical Studies*, (3)2010, pp. 48-59.

[15] C. f. Han Junkui, "Religious Pattern and Religious Charity in Taiwan: An Interpretation Based on Multiple Contract Theory", *China Nonprofit Review*, (v. 8) 2017, p. 187.

(善堂, benevolent hall or community). The important feature of modern charity is that it provides basic vocational education for the aided and helps them to support themselves and become self-reliant. Of course, the church is also expanding its social impact through charitable activities.

Because of special socio-political reasons, Chinese charitable organizations and activities were suspended for more than 30 years. Protestant Christian charity work resumed after the 1990s. With the release of the “Opinions on Encouraging and Standardizing the Religious Community to Engage in Public Welfare and Charity Activities” in 2012 by the six ministries and commissions, “The Guiding Thoughts on Promoting the Healthy Development of Charity” in December 2014 by the state council, and “Law of Charity in People’s Republic of China” in March 2016, new opportunities have emerged for religious communities to participate in charitable services. In the construction of the new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the main conflict is between people’s growing need for a better life and the uneven and inadequate development. The government encourages all kinds of social forces (including religious groups) to actively participate in social construction and to ease the contradictions.<sup>[16]</sup> Many Catholics and Catholic scholars are keenly convinced that, in view of the characteristics of the Catholic Church itself, from the point of view of situational ethics, religious social services can construct a good situation of friendly mutual assistance, change the bad situation of people being the apathetic onlookers,<sup>[17]</sup> and become an integral part of the social construction in contemporary China.

### III Contemporary Chinese Catholic Charity Activities: Shanghai as an Example

Catholic Church in China are rich in regional differences and, therefore cannot be generalized without distinction on any subject. We can only get in-depth and accurate understanding through investigation of each area and concrete case. Shanghai is the center of China’s economics, finance, shipping and trade. Catholic Church has participated in and witnessed the modernization of the city and is an important carrier of cultural exchange between China and the West. As Shanghai diocese was set up early, has a large number of believers and great social impact, it is the heart of the Chinese Catholic Church. As Shanghai was fairly early opened to international trade and the Christian religion, the charity development in Shanghai has a certain typicality and can be taken as a microcosm of China’s charity history, despite the fact that China’s geographical culture is very diversified and religion and charity in each place have developed in different ways, bearing different characteristics.

#### 3.1 Early Charity Practice in Shanghai Diocese

When discussing Shanghai Catholic Churches, Paul Xu Guangqi (1562—1633) is an inescapable figure. He is the founder of the Shanghai Catholic Church, one of the three Christian pillar stones in late Ming Dynasty, friend to the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, a scholar-bureaucrat called by the Christian faith, a famous statesman, and scientist. Despite of his high position he was so honest and upright that when he passed away, he had no money left. Many records show that Xu Guangqi gave

[16] C. f. Gu Chuanyong & Zhaohua, “Suggestions on Encouraging and Regulating Religious Community to Engage in Public Welfare and Charity Work”, *Journal Jiangsu Institute of Socialism*, (4) 2017, pp. 62-67.

[17] C. f. Zhou Lanlan, “The Situational Value of Catholic Social Service”, *Catholic Church in China*, (3) 2016, pp. 19-26.

the church strong financial support. For example, in 1628, the first reigning year of Emperor Chongzhen, he donated to the church for charity services all of his salary of the first month after he was given back his previous post of primary assistant minister in the Ministry of Rituals and Ceremonies. “Since then his donation doubled what he gave in the past. Right after he received his salary, he took it to the church, put it on the altars, donated it for charity endeavors, and showed his gratitude for God. The squire believers followed his example. Their donation gathered and grew to a big sum number and was used to set up a Charity Organization which helped innumerable poor people.” [18]

Xu Guangqi’s families and descendants still maintained this charity tradition. For example, his granddaughter Candida Xu (1607–1680) was said by her contemporaries that, “she adopted a lot of abandoned babies, found servants and wet nurses for them, and bought tombs for them.” From 1675 to 1696, the nursery she founded took a total of 5480 abandoned babies; she often said that “the poor and the lacking are all my Christian brothers.” After celebrating her own birthday, she took off the silver pieces from her embroidered robe and the pearls from her crown of phoenix and gave them all to poor people. It’s such a pity that when people talk about the benevolent society at the end of the Ming Dynasty, they often only mention the Wulin Benevolent Society founded by Michael Yang Ting-yun, the Changshu Benevolent Association by Qu Shisi, the Jinyang Benevolent Association by Wang Zheng, and the Sanshan Benevolent Society by Ye Yifan, but barely mention the Shanhui founded by Xu Guangqi and his families, nor do they mention the relationship between this organization and the Charity Organization of Mother of God founded by Matteo Ricci in 1609. [19]

As is shown by research data, in 1374, the 7th year of Hongwu Reign in Ming dynasty, Shanghai began to have almshouses which held orphans, widows and widowers, and the disabled and the sick people. In the early Qing Dynasty nurseries began to appear. By the early 19th century, charity organizations began to grow in number. The country’s first children’s shelter, the Tousewei Orphanage, founded by the Shanghai Jesuit Community, came into being in 1864. From the end of the Qing Dynasty to the period before the Republic of China, most of Shanghai’s Shantang were private charity organization (fellow countryman associations or clubs), funded by guilds of trade groups, partly from official grants. In 1911, after the change of power in Shanghai, as the funds of Shantang could not be guaranteed, the shanghai local government amalgamated the major folk charity organizations into “Shanghai Charity Society” (originally called the Shanghai Municipal Charity Society, changed to this name in 1914), in charge of allocating funds. Because of the change in nature of the non-governmental Shantang, many folk charity organizations were closed one after another. However, with the urban development and local autonomy of Shanghai in the Republic of China, various charitable relief organizations and activities organized by the Christian religion were developing. The folk charity organizations changed from initially rejecting and refusing to gradually accepting and learning from activities of the Western Missionaries, which directly brought about their

[18] Lidi, Brief biography of Xu Wendingong, Song Haojie (ed.), *The First Person that Digest Western and Chinese Culture Together*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Classic Publishing House, 2006), p. 232.

[19] Zhu Xiaohong, “Le Opere Di Carita Di Xu Guangqi E Il Loro Fondamento Teologico, a cura di Elisa Giunipero”. *Un Cristiano alla Corte Dei Ming: Xu Guangqi e il dialogo interculturale tra Cina e Occidente*, (MILANO: Guerini e Associati, 2013), pp. 143-160.

own development.

### 3.2 The Former Status of Church Charities

According to the data in chorography, in March 1951, statistics showed that there were 660 "foreign-funded" public service institutions in education, medical treatment, relief, and cultural publishing including schools like St. John's University, Hujiang University, Zhendan University, St. Mary's Middle School, Chinese and Western Women's Secondary University, and hospitals and clinics such as Guangci Hospital, Bethel Hospital, and Tongren Hospital. Among these 660 institutions, there were 412 Protestant Christian and 183 Catholic organizations, whereas only 65 cultural institutions were funded by other churches (e. g. Judaism).<sup>[20]</sup> As is shown by the statistical data, the number of social services of the Christian religion is the highest (including the charitable services sector, as shown by the data that there were 46 relief and welfare organizations that either received United States subsidies or were run by foreign investment, among which Christian religion should also have a relatively high proportion).<sup>[21]</sup> Because of the large number of Protestant denominations and the fragmentation of the activities of various institutions, it can be said that Shanghai Catholic social services have an overwhelming advantage in number and strength.

The social service institutions run by the Shanghai Catholic Church did not entirely rely on foreign subsidies and operation. For example, Lu Bohong (1875—1937), a local gentry and a famous industrialist, founded many institutions. He founded seven charity organizations which were the New General Nursery, Puci Nursing Home, the Sacred Heart Hospital, China Public Hospital, the South City Epidemic Hospital, Yangshupu Clinic, and Beijing Central Hospital (co-organizing); he also established five schools, i. e. Yingxiu Middle School, Sacred Heart Girls Vocational School, Jiaying Mingde Girls Middle School, Dongjiadu Jinxing Elementary School. Among these organizations the most famous one was the New General Nursery which after being run down by mismanagement was taken over by Lu Bohong in 1911 and expanded to a large scale. Originally designed to accommodate 1500 people, it actually held about 3000 people. It had separate sectors for the sick, the elderly, the disabled, the orphaned, the mentally disturbed; had rooms for the imprisoned, for women fostering home, nursery, epidemic hospital, free clinic, and had subordinating elementary school, vocational skill institute as well. He invited nuns from the Daughter of Charity of St. Vicent de Paul for professional management. The organization run with a high standard until 1949.

There were 65 charity organizations registered in Shanghai Municipal Social Ministry in 1934. The number grew to 114 in 1947. But after the founding of the New China the number gradually shrank and disappeared. In 1951, the Civil Affairs Department firstly took over the US-funded and foreign—run charitable organizations; then in September 1952 it began to reorganize and handle the remaining charity organizations by banning, assimilating, and encouraging to dissolve. By the end

[20] According to "The Regulation on dealing with the cultural, educational and relieving agents and religious groups receiving the American allowance" and "The Regulation on registration of the cultural, educational and relieving agents and religious groups receiving the foreign allowance" by The State Council of the Central People's government on December 31, 1950, The Shanghai Military Control Commission initiated the registry office and completed the registration on March 5, 1951. The quoted in this article is part of this work. C. f. Office of Shanghai Chronicles, "Chronology of Shanghai (1949—1952)", 2018-11-2, [http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz\\_web/DFZ/Info? idnode=195931&tableName=userobject1a&id=293069](http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz_web/DFZ/Info? idnode=195931&tableName=userobject1a&id=293069).

[21] C. f. "Charity Work", *Chronology of Shanghai*, Vol. 43, Chapter 3, 2008-7-22, [http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz\\_web/DFZ/Info? idnode=79811&tableName=userobject1a&id=104545](http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz_web/DFZ/Info? idnode=79811&tableName=userobject1a&id=104545)

of 1955, there were only 11 private charity groups left. These surviving groups were all taken over by the state in January 1956; thus, all the charitable organizations established during the Republic of China disappeared. This situation continued until 1993, when Shanghai's first non-governmental charity organization, the Shanghai Pudong New District Charity Society for the Elderly, was established; in the following year, the Shanghai Charity Foundation, then the largest non-governmental charity organization in the country, came into being. <sup>[22]</sup>

### 3.3 New Practice of Charity in Shanghai Diocese

With the deepening of reform and opening-up in the 1980s, religious activities began to revive and develop. The Catholic Diocese of Shanghai established the Shanghai Catholic Guangqi Press in 1984 to conduct religious cultural research and the internal distribution of publications. The Shanghai Catholic Intellectuals Association, officially registered with the Civil Affairs Department in 1986, provides free medical consultation and treatment in the diocese, sets up foreign language, computer and music further education schools to serve the community, in sync with the development of the Christian Nanjing Love Virtue Foundation. In 1989 and 2002, two homes for the elderly Christians were opened in Minhang and Pudong district respectively; in 2005, the Guangqi Social Service Centre was established; hence social services reached a new level. Today, Shanghai has more than 140 parishes, 5 archparishes, in which the Guangqi Social Service Center coordinates large-scale social welfare charity activities, the parish priests, the Patriotic Association, and the Intellectual Association serve the community independently, forming a multi-level social action network. <sup>[23]</sup>

Compared with other dioceses, the Diocese of Shanghai has invested heavily in social services. The annual quota for charitable investment grows from previous 4 to 5 million Rmb to present 6 million, of which 500,000 is given to the Shanghai Charity Foundation, 500,000 to the Red Cross, and all of the rest is used for education, caring for the elderly and the migrant workers, medical care and special projects of social services. The diocese of Shanghai also pays close attention to the aging problem of the metropolis and the problem of migrant workers. The Guangqi Social Service Centre, in conjunction with the local caring groups of various parishes, has regularly visited and offered condolences to the elderly people over 80 years old, the aged without families, and the sick people thirty thousand person-time, and supported the elderly in need more than 1000 person-time. <sup>[24]</sup>

Catholic church in Shanghai does not only offer social service work to its own diocese, but also to many provinces and autonomous regions of the country. The diocese not only offer social service directly to the recipients but also works together with parish social service organizations in different areas in the form similar to foundations, helping their relieving charity service work. In the social services carried out by the Diocese of Shanghai, unconventional emergency relief is only a small part; the conventional charity work puts supporting education as priority, which also reflects the characteristics of modern relief: give the necessary relief to vocation and education, thereby changing or eliminating the causes of poverty. From 2005 to 2015, the Diocese of Shanghai distributed more

[22] C. f. "Charity Work", *Chronology of Shanghai*, Vol. 43, Chapter 3.

[23] Statistical data quoted from the unpublished reports by Sr. Mary Pan Xiufang and Fr. Raphael Gao ChaoPeng, who are the directors of Guangqi Service Center of Shanghai Diocese with appreciations.

[24] It should be noted that lot of Laity in Shanghai Diocese involving charity work or founded charity organization to take care the abandoned infants or help the migrant work's children, but their religious identities are intentionally not to be disclosed.

than 3,000 person-time grants to students from universities, primary and secondary schools as well as technical schools, covering areas in the North-east, North-west and South-west, helped to build and assist more than 30 schools and kindergartens, 4 orphanages, 3 service organizations for people of amencia, and some mainland friar monasteries. In addition to funding two nursing homes for the elderly run by the Shanghai Diocese, the Guangqi Social Service Center also funds 18 homes for the elderly in China.

As far as the national Catholic Church is concerned, 18 dioceses in the country have social service organizations (social service offices, centers or charity places). Shanghai Guangqi Service Center is only one of them. Other centers with relatively high exposure rate in media are the HebeiJinde Public Welfare Service Center (“Jinde Charities”), Liaoning Province Catholic Social Service Center (“Sheng Jing Charity”) and so on.<sup>[25]</sup> According to the report of the 9th Chinese National Catholics Congress held at the end of December 2016, there were 259 Catholic charity organizations nationwide, 121 nursing homes for the aged, 8 hospitals, 99 clinics, 10 nursing homes for disabled babies, 13 kindergartens, and 8 charity foundations. More than 185 million charitable donations were made in 2010—2016.

When Catholic churches in all other areas are working hard to develop charitable services, charity practices of the Shanghai Catholic Church no longer have advantages. Compared with other Catholic diocese social services or charitable foundations, although “Guangqi Social Service Center” is the main part of diocese charity and social service, it is merely only approved by the diocese and has a record in the Ministry of Religion without being officially registered in civic political department. Compared to the standardized charitable organizations or charitable foundations, it is solely funded by the diocese and adequately funded. In addition, there are only five and half full-time staff; the turnover rate of volunteers is high. There are not enough professionals, while the full-time staff are mostly nuns who rarely have the opportunity to further study for most of their time is engaged in routine work. Compared with the Christian Love Virtue Foundation once developed in the same pace, the shanghai diocese charity work has fallen behind.

## IV Four challenges to the Church Charity for the Future

First, the question of how the Christian value affects Chinese society cannot be merely considered from the theoretical point of view. As a social group, the Chinese Catholic Church itself is a vulnerable group, staggering for a long time.<sup>[26]</sup> Only in the last ten years has it been able to be involved in social public welfare. Like other social groups, its ability to participate in social public affairs and to serve the community is relatively weak. That “ineffective prophetic” attitude, or “naive

[25] See Zuo Furong, “On Chinese Catholic Social Service since Reform and Opening-up”, *Journal of Guangdong Industrial Univeristy*, (1) 2013, pp. 34-39.

[26] According to the white paper titled “China’s Policies and Practices on Protecting Freedom of Religious Belief” by the Information Office of the State Council on Apr. 3, 2014, There are 6 millions Catholic Population, 8,000 priests, which is less 0.5% of total population in China.



utopianism”,<sup>[27]</sup> and the optimistic belief that “once the key link is grasped, everything falls into place”, that prophetic criticism can solve the problem, are all very naive. The history of charity in China shows that the development of charitable activities and charitable organizations is closely related to local politics, economy, culture, social security, law enforcement and so on. On the one hand, the emergence of Christian charity was connected to the exchange between China and the West; the development of Christian charity once had some impact on the development of urban administration, local autonomy and public domain; on the other hand, at a time when the state is guiding the development of “religion in the direction of sinicization”, the relationship between religious charity and the political economics and cultural environment is even closer. The legal system and the level of government administration directly affect the room for development of religious charity. Therefore, it is beneficial and necessary to go deep into each situation and discuss in multiple levels from the angle of history, political science, sociology, and the legal field.

Accordingly, the development of Catholic charity, like the development and other social affairs of the local church, cannot do without interactions with various government departments. If church leaders have optimum interaction with the government, well grasp and thoroughly understand the policies and regulations, they will have more initiative in dealing with matters, and more possibility to put forward advice conducive to the development of church philanthropy.<sup>[28]</sup> In addition, church leaders are often both pastors of local churches and members of the National People’s Congress or CPPCC in urban counties. These networks are conducive to the establishment of a trustful relationship, becoming the favorable resources for charity work.<sup>[29]</sup> This, of course, is not to promote some kind of “grey pragmatism”,<sup>[30]</sup> but to say that church people need professional skills and know how to how to put the doctrine into reality in the secular realm in a limited space.

Second, which role will Christian Church take in performing charity? Administrative guidelines and legal provisions such as the 2012 “Opinions on Encouraging and Regulating Religious Communities for Charitable Activities” by the six ministries, and the Charity Act of 2016, in fact raised a question for the religious community. That is, is there complete agreement between the charitable mission and the religious mission of the religious organizations? How should religious organizations adjust in engaging in charitable activities? Is the purpose of social charity to attract people to join the church? If so, doesn’t it prove right what many people worry in reality, that

[27] See Karl-Heinz Peschke, ‘Social Economy in the light of Christian Faith’, Pauter H. Werhahn, *The Economic Role and Social Responsibility of Entrepreneurs*, Leopold Leeb tr. (Shanghai: East-China Normal Univeristy press, 2011), p. 9.

[28] One of the three weapons of the united front of the Communist Party of China is political consultation. Religious people, through consultative democracy to submit suggestions, to participate the decision-making and implementation of policies. Since political consultation system mainly operates on special issues with those who work on those issues, consultation with different constituencies on handling of proposals, what the CPPCC members from religious groups can contribute are exclusively in the religious affairs, but rarely in the other realms such as politics, law, finance, social distribution and social security system, which are more crucial for a just society. That is to say, if the church people want to participate more in the decision-making, the church people should to improve their capacities in political consultation.

[29] The research shows that how the CPPCC membership helps the church leader to built up the network then help the church development in return. LiuYing & Sun huiying, “A Studies on the Resources for the Religious Organizations in the Philanthropic Works”. *Journal of Jiangsu Institute of Socialism*, (2)2019, pp. 60563.

[30] Pope Francis preached in the mass on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2019 in Sofia, Bulgaria, and pointed out that the Grey pragmatism is the greatest threat to the community, in which faith degenerates.



charity activities aim for people to convert; religions are vying for the mass through charity activities?

The author has argued with some pastors and priests over such questions: what is the fruit or purpose of charity for public welfare or social services as a way of spreading God's word? Is it to evangelize, to convert more people? Is it using the relief system and relief resources to compete for believers? Or is it to bear witness to God, to love? Is saving the soul prior to caritas service?

For the Catholic Church, safeguarding human dignity is the primary principle of its social thought; Charity service is the end, not the means. Bishop Jin Luxian of the Diocese of Shanghai once said: In the Bible, Jesus taught that what you do for the little poor one is what you do for me, what you do unto these people, you do unto me; you are feeding me when you feed those hungry brothers; you are clothing me when you clothe those who have nothing on. Therefore, we see Jesus in the poor, and when we serve the poor, "we are serving Jesus".<sup>[31]</sup> Another Northern priests shared the idea of their social service centre with also similar words; serving those in need is our goal, not the means. We also explicitly inform our partners that the Service Center is a service organization, not a missionary organization. We serve people regardless of faith, only to meet the needs of society as much as possible within our ability.<sup>[32]</sup>

Third, charity is the means to achieve social justice. The social teaching of the Catholic Church follows four principles: human dignity, common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. Among them, the Subsidiarity Principle means that what the local level can do, the higher-level shall not meddle so as not to depriving the function of the basic level. Instead, the higher-level needs only to assist and coordinate, so as to encourage the creativity of the individual and basic social levels. In other words, the state essentially should not expand the responsibility of poverty alleviation; instead, through cultivating mutual assistance mechanisms such as the family, neighborhood, parish, the social charitable relief can be done. The important method of social work, the community-neighborhood approach, is based on this.

Catholic Church and Christianity do not need to shy away from their beliefs, historical traditions and unique advantages. Nowadays, many social workers in the country emphasize on the goal of "total person", introducing religious spiritual resources to help recipients; Catholic charities can also naturally bring the Christian Work Ethic, Family ethics, and social ethics into communities, and share with everyone. The "whole-person" here is very similar to the Church's "human dignity" principle. The Church believes that "human being is the center and the peak of all things"; every one is the "living image" of God; all are brothers and sisters for whom Jesus Christ died; each person has received unparalleled dignity from God; each individual is even more important than the society as a whole. Although this principle focuses on the human being, it in fact emphasizes the relationship between heaven and man, because man is the image of God. Through charitable relief, each person is given all that he or she needs; his or her dignity as a human being is hereby safeguarded. The words of above mentioned Jin Luxian and the Northern clergymen are based on this. Only when "A just

[31] Jin Luxian, "Poor & Rich: Preaching at Christian Mass Eve", *Jin Luxian Collected Works*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House, 2007), p. 321.

[32] Zhang Kexiang, "On the Positive Role of Religious Organizations in Building a Harmonious Society", *Catholic Church in China*, (1) 2008, pp. 7-14, p. 13.

society can become a reality only when it is based on the respect of the transcendent dignity of the human person.”<sup>[33]</sup> Therefore, in this sense, charity work is an important way for the Church to participate in the realization of social justice.

The essence of charity work is love. Pope Benedict XVI also spoke specifically about the relationship between justice and love in the encyclical “God is Love”. He said that since the nineteenth century, there have been people opposing church charitable activity, arguing that the poor need not charity but justice, that it will not only fail to promote social justice, but will even hinder human progress (no. 26). Pope Benedict explained that while creating fair and just systems and rules is the most basic responsibility of politics, justice cannot be taken care of by the Church; a just society can only be realized by politics, instead of by the church. The Church urges people to take interest in justice, to practice justice, by awakening love and wisdom in people. The practice of benevolence is still one of the most powerful ways for the Church to inspire human society morally and spiritually.<sup>[34]</sup> Pope Francis also mentioned that there are not always ideal social and political conditions waiting for the Christian, encourage the faithfuls to serve the common good, to build a society that is more just, humane and respectful of the dignity of each person.<sup>[35]</sup>

The report of the 19th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party mentions constructing a social security system predominated by the government, joined by the market and diverse social entities. How does the Christian religion take advantage of this east wind to bring its own ideas and social service tradition into and become a part of regional social work? How shall church participate in the following social services fields opened by the government, more than 10 sectors including children, adolescents, the elderly, women, the disabled, correctional, preferential care placement, social assistance, schools, communities, medical services, and enterprises?<sup>[36]</sup>

Fourth, the professionalism of charity work. The earlier first and second question both relate to the professionalism of charitable work. If we look at the historical background of western charity work, the relationship between professionalism and Christian charity has undergone three stages. In the first stage, there was a kinship between Christian charity and social work in Europe and the United States. The three methods of social work, namely the case-by-case approach, group approach and community-friendly approach, were directly formed in the church’s charitable practice of poverty alleviation.<sup>[37]</sup>

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[33] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, no. 132. See Vatican Official website, [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/justpeace/documents/rc\\_pc\\_justpeace\\_doc\\_20060526\\_compendio-dott-soc\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html)

[34] See Pope Benedict XVI, *Deus caritas est* (2006), no. 28, also see the Letter of the Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI to the Bishops, Priests, Consecrated Persons and Lay Faithful of the Catholic Church in the People’s Republic of China (2007-5-27), no. 4.

[35] Pope Francis, *Message of His Holiness Pope Francis to The Catholics of China and to the Universal Church* (2018-9-26), no. 2 & No. 6.

[36] The western scholar classifies the social works as 13 categories, i. e., youth health, elderly services, behavioral health, bereavement/hospice care, children/youth/family, clinical social work, international issues, diversity and the equality, AIDS, globalization, peace and social justice, school social work and violence prevention. See Yan Kejia, “Professional Social Works and Religious Social Service”, *Journal of Shanghai Institute of Socialism*, (1)2007:10-15, p. 15. While these 10 sectors of the social works in China have been regulated as textbook for the national qualification examination for the social workers. From the differences, we can see the different focus of social work between China and the West.

[37] Lu Chengren, “The Origin of Social Work and Christian Public Welfare Charity”, *Journal of East China University of Science and Technology*, (1)2013, pp. 44-95.

In the second stage, at the beginning of the 20th century, social work and religion gradually drifted apart from each other because of the requirements for vocational independence and service professionalism. In order to comply with the requirements for welfare states' taking responsibility in social aiding and for the secular system, social work placed great emphasis on managerial skills, rescue architecture, systematic skills, special knowledge, and professional ethics. The professional pragmatism and autonomy did not completely dovetail with religious values; sometimes there occurred differences and even confrontations. For a long time, people neglected the impact of religious and spiritual life on social work. There was even the tendency to replace religious and spiritual life with the social services of religious groups. The social participation of religious charities seemed to be marginalized. <sup>[38]</sup>

The third stage is from the 1970s to the present. Pushed by the concept changing of welfare states and the promotion of professionalism (for example, with the development of specialization, people realize that the religious background of the service object needs to be respected), European countries and the United States have re-incorporated religious spiritual resources into the social work professional development considerations.

If this process occurs naturally in the West with the progress of secularization, then, in China, the emphasis on social charity professionalism is more out of distrust of religion by the society and the government. Of course, there is also pressure from the professionalism itself. Christian charity practitioners should deliberately and passively distance themselves from religious beliefs. While investigating and researching on Shanghai Catholics, the author has observed that some public welfare charity organizations mainly consisted of church members are aware of the double pressure. The organization members in activities and reports deliberately avoid any words that can be associated with religion, strictly abiding by the principle of working quietly and keeping the low-key in any publicity.

Of course, as the Church social charity only restarted 20 years ago, issues of professionalism have always been the key to solving many problems. Such issues include organizational structure and system are still imperfect; the relief volunteers, despite of their patience and passion, lack necessary skill training, lacking understanding of the people they serve, having unclear service intention and objectives, their activities often being random and unplanned; the content and form of the service are simple in that there are only the conventional projects of helping those in danger and distress, aiding the poor and the weak, building roads and bridges, and supporting the lonely elderly, lacking systematists, long term sustainability; the social impact of the service is limited; resources are dispersed, and social supervision is weak. Only by training existing personnel, employing full-time personnel, enhancing professionalism and increasing their own strength can Catholic church charity effectively improve the current difficult situation of having no strengths to achieve its high aims, advance in constructing a fair and just society.

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[38] Yan Kejia, "Professional Social Works and Religious Social Service", *Journal of Shanghai Institute of Socialism*, (1)2007, pp. 10-15.

中文题目：

## 基督教慈善对于中国社会的影响及其未来的挑战

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**摘要:** 慈善就是基督徒最大的诫命“仁爱”的具体体现, 同时也是教会推进社会公义的重要途径。有鉴于此, 本文选取基督教慈善角度考察天主教慈善思想和实践对中国社会过去、现在和今后的影响。本文首先考察了中国传统慈善观念和基督教慈善观念的差异和互动, 考察了近代以来基督宗教慈善观念对中国善会从传统向现代社会组织转化过程的影响。并以历时态和共时态中的天主教上海教区的慈善工作为例分析它的特色以及所存在的问题, 最后对可能困扰教会慈善走向未来的四个问题进行了探讨。

**关键词:** 慈善; 中国天主教; 宗教; 社会工作



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



# The potential of interreligious dialogue in China and globally; the continuation of Scriptural Reasoning in China<sup>[1]</sup>

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**Abstract:** This article includes the following parts: 1) Surprises in Study Sessions; 2) Further Surprises: The Spread Globally, into Other Spheres of Society, to Other Religions; 3) Some Lessons for the Future; and 4) Some Hopes for Scriptural Reasoning in China. 5) At last, there is an Appendix “Foreword for Peter Ochs’ Religion without Violence, Teaching and Practicing Scriptural Reasoning (Cascade Books, Eugene OR, 2019)” by David F. Ford.

**Key Words:** Scriptural Reasoning; The Spread Globally; some lessons for the future; some hope for SR in China; Peter Ochs

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‘Surprising’ is a word that often occurs in relation to Scriptural Reasoning, as regards not only the unexpected things that happen in conversations around texts but also other aspects, such as its spread beyond the academy and around the world, its ability to enrich and deepen interreligious engagement, and its generative capacity in diverse contexts. This paper begins by inquiring into the reasons for such surprises, drawing some conclusions about key ingredients in Scriptural Reasoning. This leads into expressing some hopes for Scriptural Reasoning in China.

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[1] This was presented in WORKSHOP of the international research project on “The Impact of Religious Values on Chinese Social Life” at University of Helsinki, funded by the Academy of Finland. \* Time: Tuesday 20 August to Wednesday 21 August 2019, 14:00–17:00. \* Place: Cultural Centre Sofia in Helsinki. The Fourth session (The potential of interreligious dialogue in China and globally; the continuation of Scriptural Reasoning in China) was chaired by Paulos Huang, presentations were by Prof. David Ford (presentation, 20 min) and Prof. You Bin (presentation, 20 min), responded by Prof. Tuula Sakaranaho (University of Helsinki, 15 min) and Prof. Mika Vähäkangas (University of Lund, Sweden, 15 min). Discussion (30 min) chaired by Paulos Huang. Closing remarks by Prof. Miikka Ruokanen.



## Surprises in Study Sessions

I begin with the surprises that happen in Scriptural Reasoning sessions, the character of which is well described in Professor You Bin's paper, 'Scriptural Reasoning in China'. I remember, in the first years of Scriptural Reasoning in the early 1990s, as I took part in small groups of Jews, Christians and Muslims intensively discussing their scriptures on a particular theme, that I sometimes thought: probably never before in world history have these three particular texts been read together by members of each of the three traditions in a context that is not dominated by one of the traditions, and with an ethos of mutual respect.

Perhaps it should not be surprising that this engagement between diverse texts and their diverse readers results in surprising insights, new understanding, and fresh appreciation of both the texts one is most familiar with and the texts that are less familiar. Just limiting remarks for now to the Abrahamic traditions, consider, first, what was present on the table in those early sessions: extracts from three scriptures (and, in some cases, relevant extracts from commentaries on those scriptures, from Talmud, from hadith and tafsir, and from church teachings), each of which is broad and deep in meaning, and has been the subject of interpretation century after century and around the world today, now relating to over three billion of the world's people. For these streams of meaning to come together and interact, after centuries during which they mostly failed to interact, or only did so polemically in the context of often bitter conflicts; this is almost certain to produce new readings and surprising angles of interpretation. The horizon of each text is being brought into contact with new horizons, and this leads to new questions, and new comparisons and contrasts, opening up fresh possibilities of understanding.

Next, consider who were around the table. We were mostly academics with university posts, and came from several disciplines-text scholarship in Judaism, Christianity and Islam; theology; philosophy of various schools of thought, ranging through C. S. Peirce, Kant, Hegel, Ricoeur, Levinas, Cohen, Al Ghazzali, and more; social sciences; Greek and Latin classics; medical ethics; computer science; and more. Each person around the table approached these short text extracts with a considerable 'internal library' (a phrase introduced by the Muslim scholar, Dr Aref Ali Nayed, who later founded Kalam Research and Media), and it was fascinating to listen to people drawing on sources unknown to others, making new analogies and comparisons, offering linguistic, historical and hermeneutical insights, and experimenting with ideas. How could such diverse sources and participants fail to produce an unprecedented interplay?

Yet there was even more diversity, both within each of the religious traditions (for example, Orthodox as well as other Jews, Sunni and Shia Muslims, Catholic and Protestant Christians) and also in the contexts within which each participant was living and thinking. All were in some sense part of 'modernity', though with a strong sense that modernity was giving way to something hard to describe or name (post-modernity? late modernity? chastened modernity? post-secular modernity?) and that religion, which was newly prominent in public life in many parts of the world, was an important part of this transition. Even in Western academic institutions, many of which represented strong 'secularist' assumptions, it was being realized that, whatever one's own position, religion had

to be taken seriously as a formative element in our world. There were crude empirical reasons for this (such as over 80% of the world's population being directly related to some religious tradition), sharp practical reasons (the acute danger that some forms of religion posed, as well as the major contribution to human welfare—education, health, social care, and more—being made by religions in many parts of the world), cultural reasons (so much music, art, architecture, literature and the full range of the humanities), and intellectual reasons (the slow realization that there were Jews, Christians, and Muslims who were at least as educated and sophisticated in the arts, humanities and sciences as any secular people, and that their intelligent faith and religious ideas deserved to be respected and explored). In this context, where some Western universities were opening up in new ways to an academic engagement with the religions, Scriptural Reasoning was a welcome 'space' for intensive conversation that allowed for new exchanges and interactions. It also gave many academics a place of freedom from the limitations of their own discipline, enabling them to return to it with fresh ideas, perspectives, methods and dialogue partners.

## **Further Surprises: The Spread Globally, into Other Spheres of Society, to Other Religions**

This was certainly a lively, often exciting and inspiring, space to inhabit, and it was a complete surprise to me—I had never experienced anything like it before. But there were more surprises in store—and they have continued to occur. The most obvious was the geographical spread. The greatest surprise has been what has happened in China, about which I will soon say more. But, having begun in North America and UK, it has spread further there, and also elsewhere. I have myself taken part in Scriptural Reasoning in Ireland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Jordan, Oman, Israel, India, and China, but it has also been happening in many other countries, such as South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, Egypt, the Netherlands, Indonesia, Pakistan, Chile, Singapore, Russia, and Australia.

Yet another unexpected development was its spread beyond academic and educational contexts into local congregations of various religions, and into hospitals, prisons, business settings, leadership programmes, civil society engagements, and a number of situations of division and conflict. It has proved helpful in efforts at peace and reconciliation in several contexts, and has led to the founding of a new organisation, the Rose Castle Foundation, which is based in a castle in Cumbria in the UK, that is now being renovated, and is dedicated to reconciliation, interfaith engagement, religious literacy, and environmental conservation. The Director of the Rose Castle Foundation, Sarah Snyder, is a leading practitioner of Scriptural Reasoning, and the castle acts as a hub for Scriptural Reasoning, hosting the [www.scripturalreasoning.org](http://www.scripturalreasoning.org) website.

But perhaps the most important spread has been to other religions beyond the Abrahamic. This began in China, where, as Professor You Bin's paper described, Scriptural Reasoning has been developed to include Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, besides Judaism, Christianity and Islam. I will return to this, but need to note at this point the beginnings of the involvement of Hinduism and Sikhism. This is happening in India at DSVV University (Dev Sanskriti Vishwavidyalaya) in Haridwar. When I visited it in February and took part in Scriptural Reasoning with members of staff

and students, we studied together in a building now designated for Scriptural Reasoning. The hope is that the practice will involve Indian Christians, Muslims, Sikhs and Buddhists as well as Hindus, and there are plans for this to happen first through leadership courses for those in leadership positions in universities, business, and religious communities.

## Some Lessons for the Future

Before concentrating on China, I want to try to distil out of the first quarter century of Scriptural Reasoning some lessons for the future that seem to me to be fairly general. In other words, I consider these lessons are likely to be worth taking seriously wherever Scriptural Reasoning happens, if the practice is to be recognisably in line with what has been happening so far. I am taking for granted the basic description of Scriptural Reasoning given by Professor You Bin, and also the rules that spring from the experience of what works best. I offer three lessons.

### **1. Scriptural Reasoning is first of all a practice, and the most important thing is for groups to do it.**

Academics love to begin by examining assumptions and presuppositions, sharing ideas, deciding on methods and criteria, setting goals, seeking outcomes, and so on. In other spheres of life there are often very practical agendas. None of these are bad, but in Scriptural Reasoning the first essential is to study specific texts together in groups. Given the significance of the texts, this is worth doing for its own sake—as Jews say, *l'shma*. Love of the practice of textual interpretation in conversation with others is fundamental. A Scriptural Reasoning session has some similarities with a liturgy, which makes deep sense to participants, but may not have any obvious use.

### **2. The desire for new meaning, a thirst to make sense of texts for oneself and to learn from how others make sense of them, is the main subjective orientation both in individuals and in the group.**

This desire is at the heart of good learning, and is often evident in fruitful Scriptural Reasoning sessions in the way phrases such as ‘I wonder...’; ‘Perhaps...’; ‘Might this be understood as...?’; ‘What if you read this text in the light of that one?’; ‘What I do not understand is...’. It is a questioning humility before the text, combined with a willingness to follow the questions where they lead, and to explore alternative meanings.

### **3. Scriptural Reasoning is long term, just as the texts studied have long histories of interpretation, and it requires long term commitment in order to go deeper.**

It was good to see that the pilot project described by Professor You Bin had ten three-hour sessions in the course of a year. That was clearly enough to enable the practice to be fruitful in various ways. But it needs to be followed through with even longer term commitments. I remember a key event in the history of Scriptural Reasoning when, at the annual gathering in the University of Cambridge, Professor Laurie Zoloth (now a professor of medical ethics in the University of Chicago) challenged the international group present to be committed to meet twice a year for at least the next three years for residential meetings. Not all could commit, but many did, and it transformed the group’s relationships and its practice. Good study of rich texts is not just about reading; it is about re-reading again and again and again, and listening and responding to other readings again and again, and that takes time. This slowness is counter-cultural in many academic and other settings. Perhaps

the 5000-year Chinese horizon on civilisation will help Chinese Scriptural Reasoning to have the required patience and long-term perspective needed. Without such patience one cannot fathom the depths that these texts open up.

I am tempted to draw further lessons, of which there have been many, but I stop here for two reasons.

First, I do think those are the essential ones, distilled into three imperatives:

Do it for its own sake! Seek new meaning! Commit long term! If those are obeyed (and assuming Professor You Bin's guidelines are taken seriously), then I am confident that worthwhile Scriptural Reasoning will result anywhere. It is likely to be highly diverse in different settings, between different groups of religions, and responding to different constraints, but that diversity is actually desirable; there will be continuing surprises.

Second, I invite you to consider whether you from your experience would want to add to these essential lessons.

## **Some Hopes for Scriptural Reasoning in China**

I am hesitant to give my views on the future of Scriptural Reasoning in China, having only done Scriptural Reasoning in China during two visits, in 2012 and 2018. But we have in Professor You Bin's paper an insider Chinese view of the future, which I have greatly appreciated, so I will risk an outsider's view, which I will express in the form of some hopes.

Obviously, my first hope is that there will be found in China more and more people who will commit to doing Scriptural Reasoning in groups patiently, year after year, leading to the discovery of new meaning, fresh understanding, and the sort of mutual relationships that Professor You Bin writes about. In this extraordinarily rich civilisation with its diverse religious and other traditions, it is clear that Scriptural Reasoning is already at home, and is in harmony with much that has gone on in the past in engagement between the traditions. (I am not an expert in Chinese history, but from what Professor You Bin and others say it seems that over the centuries there has been more interweaving and mutual learning among Chinese religious and philosophical traditions than has been the case between Judaism, Christianity and Islam.) Yet it also seems that Scriptural Reasoning is enabling something new too, and my hope is that there will be sufficient people to commit to sustaining this practice in the years ahead. The desire for meaning and the desire for meaningful relationships are two fundamental human needs, and Scriptural Reasoning can make a significant contribution to satisfying both.

My next hope is that Scriptural Reasoning can help to shape the way in which scriptures and religions are taught in Chinese universities, seminaries, and other educational settings. I recently wrote a Foreword (given below as an Appendix to this paper—there is some overlap between it and this paper) to what promises to be the most substantial book on Scriptural Reasoning so far, *Religion without Violence. Teaching and Practicing Scriptural Reasoning* by Peter Ochs.<sup>[2]</sup> It is a fascinating, multi-dimensional book, but the element I want to emphasise now is its wisdom about

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[2] Forthcoming, Eugene Oregon; Cascade Books, 2019.

teaching Scriptural Reasoning. Ochs has many years of experience of teaching it in many educational settings, and he shows why this educational approach is so valuable. This has implications for anyone who has responsibility for shaping courses and research projects in the area of religious and theological studies.

The mention of research leads to a third hope: that there will be many more research projects related to Scriptural Reasoning, such as this one.

My fourth hope relates to the title of this research project, *The Impact of Religious Values on Chinese Social Life*. I am a complete outsider here, so I say tentatively: simply having many groups practicing Scriptural Reasoning, whether within academic life or elsewhere (Professor You Bin suggests it be introduced into Chinese religious communities) will improve the quality of social life in ways that are hard to quantify. There is immense diversity in Chinese society and this practice is well-suited to enabling better communication, mutual understanding, and collaboration for good purposes. A healthily diverse society needs those in different traditions to be able to go deeper into their own traditions while at the same time engaging with the depths of others, and this is something to which Scriptural Reasoning can contribute.

My fifth and final hope goes beyond China, and looks at the expanding global role of China. If I were choosing just one global issue to which I hope Scriptural Reasoning might make some contribution in the coming decade that would be the environmental crisis. Governments, international organizations, the scientific community, business, and many others are now mobilising to face the most serious global problem we have ever known. The religions need to be part of this too, and to contribute from their depths of meaning and commitment. Some time ago I was in the University of Tübingen taking part in Scriptural Reasoning between Christian and Muslim students, in which texts relevant to the environment from both traditions were being explored. It was a deeply moving time, and as I spoke with students and professors I felt I was witnessing one of the main gifts of Scriptural Reasoning: in this space of quietly reading and interpreting rich texts together they were forming understanding, habits, and relationships that would enable them to think and work far better for the good of the environment, not only with each other but also with all sorts of others, religious and secular, who will need to combine if we are to have any chance of avoiding ecological disasters. Might it be that, in this massive challenge facing us all, this quiet practice of Scriptural Reasoning, within and beyond China, might make a small but valuable contribution to the common good of our world?

## APPENDIX

**Foreword for Peter Ochs' *Religion without Violence. Teaching and Practicing Scriptural Reasoning***

(Cascade Books, Eugene OR, 2019)

by David F. Ford

Scriptural Reasoning is an extraordinarily important practice. It has far-reaching implications, not only for each of the religious traditions that takes part in it, and for their engagements with each

other, but also for the educational and academic study of religions, for peacebuilding in religion-related divisions and conflicts, and for how the multi-religious and multi-secular modern world can understand itself and address some of its most profound problems. Peter Ochs is co-founder of Scriptural Reasoning, and its leading practitioner and thinker, and this is his major book on it. The book distils what he has learned through over twenty-five years of doing and teaching Scriptural Reasoning, as it has spread around the world and into many spheres of life. But, beyond that, Ochs now takes his thinking further, and also challenges readers to read, think, relate, and act in new ways. I have been longing for many years to see this book appear, and it has been worth the wait.

Why is Scriptural Reasoning so significant? As I reflect on this book, and also on my own involvement with Ochs in Scriptural Reasoning since it began, what strikes me most is the way it has combined various dimensions of meaning and practice.

Scriptural Reasoning has enabled the exploration of multiple depths.

There are the depths of my own Christian scriptures that have opened up as I have engaged in intensive study and conversation with Jews, Muslims, and scholars who may not identify with any tradition—and, later, also with Buddhists, Confucians, Daoists and Hindus, as I have travelled to China and India and taken part in developments of Scriptural Reasoning there.

At the same time, the depths of the scriptures of those other traditions have opened up in joint reading—and in ways that, in my experience, have not happened through individual study.

There has also been a depth of understanding and engagement with our shared world and with the problems and challenges that we face. Many of these issues cannot be satisfactorily addressed by one religion alone, and some appreciation of the deep meaning that others draw upon is vital to worthwhile conversation and collaboration.

There is also depth of disagreement. As Ochs makes clear, Scriptural Reasoning is not about arriving at consensus (though that may happen on some issues); rather it can do something essential to a pluralist world, which is to improve the quality of our disagreements.

Then there is the depth of relationship that Scriptural Reasoning can enable, and the warmth that can come from what Ochs imaginatively describes as ‘hearth to hearth’ engagement. Some of my closest friendships, within and beyond my own tradition, have been formed through year after year of Scriptural Reasoning. I often think that, if we are to have a healthily plural world, it needs to have such a pluralism of multiple depths that are in conversation with each other and, if possible, also in collaboration.

The ever-widening breadth of Scriptural Reasoning has also been striking. Three obvious aspects of this have been its extension beyond the Abrahamic faiths, especially in China and India; its spread beyond academic and educational contexts into local congregations of various religions, and into hospitals, prisons, business settings, leadership programmes, civil society engagements, and a number of situations of division and conflict; and its simultaneous geographical spread, not only in China and India but also notably in North America, the United Kingdom, continental Europe, Egypt, Pakistan, Oman, Chile, Israel, South Africa, Australia, Nigeria and Kenya. Through my involvement with the Rose Castle Foundation, which is based in the UK, hosts the [www. scripturalreasoning. org](http://www.scripturalreasoning.org) website, and acts as a hub for Scriptural Reasoning, I see something of the growing international interest in the practice, and colleagues in other countries report similar interest.

There is also the long term character of Scriptural Reasoning. Many inter-faith practices and relationships lack staying power. One advantage of gathering around scriptures is that they are inexhaustibly rich and gripping, and can sustain year after year of joint study, just as each has already sustained centuries of study and discussion in its own tradition. Ochs' own long term involvement is matched by others who began the practice and by many more who have been taking part consistently over the years. The result is an ongoing, expanding community of readers who have the potential of moving beyond what Ochs calls 'formative SR' into other forms of the practice that he describes, and through these into long term relationships, 'partnerships of difference' (Nicholas Adams), that can develop beyond study and conversation around texts into collaborations, and even into what one might call covenantal commitments.

Besides the depth, breadth and length, what about the height? By this I mean the relationship to God, or the transcendent, or however a particular faith relates to ultimate reality. My own conviction is that Scriptural Reasoning is at its best when it is done 'for God's sake', or whatever the analogy of this might be in non-theistic traditions. I have been repeatedly amazed by the insights into prayer, worship, and the reality of God that have been inspired (sometimes through disagreement) by intensive conversation around texts with those who pray, worship and identify God or the transcendent differently to myself.

At least two more points need to be made about the significance of Scriptural Reasoning, both of which are evident in what Ochs writes.

The first is its relevance to Western civilization's modes of thinking, especially some of its dominant ways of knowing and reasoning. These are particularly evident in the modern university and its disciplines, but also in international relations, secular attitudes to religion, and a religion's self-understanding today. Ochs has a remarkable range of reference across several disciplines both in the humanities and sciences, showing how Scriptural Reasoning relates to them both positively and critically, and also has some fascinating thoughts on international relations and the ways religion has been understood, internally and externally, in recent centuries.

The second is the capacity of Scriptural Reasoning to spring surprises. The practice itself is surprising in the people, texts, and contexts it brings together. I have often thought during a session that perhaps never before in history have these particular passages been discussed together by members of the traditions whose scriptures are being studied. Laughter is often one result of juxtaposing texts, topics, languages and people, leading to all sorts of humorous misunderstandings or mistranslations, unusual angles, and acknowledgements of sheer oddness or mismatch. Ochs also shows how fruitful novelty can be generated in understanding, imagination and practice, with far-reaching implications not only for interfaith engagement but also for other spheres, ranging from how academic disciplines relate to each other and the wider society to the ways conflicts of many sorts can be analyzed, diagnosed and healed.

This is the first book to combine engagement with all those features of Scriptural Reasoning, and it also adds yet another element, the relationship with Textual Reasoning. Ochs was one of the co-founders of Textual Reasoning too, and it was by sitting in on the extraordinarily lively, learned and argumentative meetings of that group in the early 1990s that I and others were attracted into co-founding Scriptural Reasoning with some of its members. Ochs in this book gives the first account of

how to integrate, in educational and other contexts, what has been learned from both practices, one focused mainly on how a scripture is read within its own tradition, the other on reading scriptures of more than one religion side by side with members of those traditions.

From within Christianity, I have found that one of the most helpful ways of understanding both Textual Reasoning and Scriptural Reasoning is by analogy with the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church (Vatican II, 1962-65), which was one of the most important religious events of the twentieth century. The parallel was originally suggested by George Lindbeck, who was a Lutheran observer at Vatican II. He identified a threefold dynamic of *ressourcement*, *aggiornamento* and *conversazione*. *Ressourcement* is the return to sources, centred on rereading classic texts in relation to the present. *Aggiornamento* is engaging with modernity, and discerning, critically and constructively, how to respond to its challenges. *Conversazione* is the practice of conversation across differences, both internal to one's own community and across those with other communities. The wisdom of these three dynamics, and their analogous relevance to any religious or other community that is rooted in the past and wants a healthy future, has in my experience been generally acknowledged among Scriptural Reasoners, and Scriptural Reasoning has been found to be a fruitful way of bringing the three together.

I conclude with some words for readers of this book. It is a book in which, as the saying goes, mice can paddle and elephants can swim. No readers need feel it is not for them, but I hope it might be helpful to make some suggestions about how it might be approached by a range of readers.

The most basic thing to grasp is that Scriptural Reasoning is, first and foremost, a practice. As Ochs says, practice has been primary, and the apprenticeship of taking part in it has been the best way to understand it; then has come reflection and theory, which in turn have influenced practice, leading into further reflection, and so on. Even readers who have never practiced Scriptural Reasoning will probably have analogous experience of reading and discussing rich texts with others. This will be sufficient to appreciate a good deal of what Ochs writes and to follow its implications.

Yet it is undoubtedly an advantage to be able to read this book after having practiced it, especially in the apprenticeship that Ochs calls 'Formational Scriptural Reasoning'. What Ochs writes will obviously make more sense and be of more value to those involved in Scriptural Reasoning.

For practitioners who are new to Scriptural Reasoning, this book can give basic guidelines and concepts, encourage involvement in Formational Scriptural Reasoning, help in avoiding many pitfalls, and open up an horizon of its significance and potential.

For those who are more experienced, Ochs can enrich their reflection, challenge them in relevant- and sometimes very demanding-ways (whether they are ordinary members of religious communities, academics, teachers of Scriptural Reasoning, or peacebuilders), and help them navigate the complexities and depths that open up.

Yet none of the three groups-outsiders to Scriptural Reasoning, beginners, or experienced practitioners-need to feel discouraged if they fail to understand what Ochs sometimes calls the more 'technical' elements in this book, such as the theory of pragmatism or the passages expressed in logical symbols. These require quite a rare level of what might be seen as post-doctoral sophistication, and open up exciting pathways for the testing, refinement, extension and generalizing



of Scriptural Reasoning, but they are not essential to the main message of the book for many readers. To put it simply, readers should be willing to skip some difficult sections. But it will always be worthwhile to go back later (even a long time later) to wrestle with them.

Beyond all the above, the main guidance that I would give on how to approach this book is twofold.

First, recognize it as the most important distillation to date of knowledge and wisdom relating to Scriptural Reasoning, how to teach it, and what its implications are for both religion-related conflict and modern Western ways of knowing and reasoning. If you identify with a religious tradition, this book might enable wiser faith and wiser engagement with other faiths and the contemporary world. If you do not identify with a religious tradition, this book can enable wiser understanding of religion and faith, and perhaps also stimulate conversation and collaboration with religious people for the sake of the common good of our world.

Second, treat it a little like the scriptural texts it discusses. That will mean reading it not only individually but also in groups, ideally with Scriptural Reasoners from diverse religious traditions; exploring diverse interpretations for different contexts; helping to create around it a body of commentary that makes connections, both critical and constructive, with other rich texts and discourses; and being open to its passionate summons to wiser practices of reading, discussion, repair, compassion, and peace building.

中文题目：

宗教间对话在中国和全球化的潜力：经文辨读在中国

大卫·福特 荣休教授

剑桥大学赛尔文学院神学学部委员，电话：01223 763031；电子邮箱：dff1000@cam.ac.uk；下列学术组织的创会主席：剑桥大学高等宗教及神学研究中间中心“剑桥宗教间对话项目”（犹太教、基督教和伊斯兰教，2002 -）；联合创会主席“经文辨读学会”（包括来自亚、欧、非、美洲的犹太教、基督教、伊斯兰教学术性哲学家、文本学者和神学家，1996 -）；联合主席“C-1 世界对话教育委员会”（2009 -）。

**提要：**本文包括如下几个部分：1) 学术研究中的惊喜；2) 进一步的惊喜：经文辨读的全球化传播，进入到其他的社会领域和其他的宗教；3) 针对未来的一些功课；和 4) 经文辨读在中国的一些希望。5) 附录：为彼得·欧克（Peter Ochs）的《没有暴力的宗教：经文辨读的教学和实践》（Cascade Books, Eugene OR, 2019）所写的序言”。

**关键词：**经文辨读；全球化传播；针对未来的一些功课；经文辨读在中国的一些希望；彼得·欧克



# Scriptural Reasoning: Response to Professor David F. Ford and Professor You Bin

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**Abstract:** This is a response to professor David Ford and professor You Bin on Scriptural Reasoning. After a brief review, it includes the following parts: Globalization, Future prospects of SR in China, and General societal value of SR. Finally, she considers how to put theory into practice as the most important challenge.

**Key Words:** David Ford; Scriptural Reasoning; China; Globalization; from theory to practice

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To begin with, I want to thank professor Miikka Ruokanen who invited me to the steering group of the Academy of Finland-funded research project on “The Impact of Religious Values on Chinese Social Life”, and subsequently to this seminar where I have the honour of commenting on the most fascinating papers on Scriptural Reasoning by professor David Ford and professor You Pin. What helped me to put these papers into perspective was an article on “Scriptural Reasoning as a Method of Interreligious Dialogue in China”, sent to me by Professor Ruokanen in advance. Thank you for that as well.

This article was very helpful, especially, when taking into consideration that I am not a specialist on SR. I am really out of my depth here. I am not a theologian, and hence not working in the field of Systematic Theology or Biblical studies, but rather I approach religion from a sociological perspective. Hence, my comments below are of someone looking at SR as an outsider, whose scholarly background is in the Study of Religions and whose research has focused mainly on Muslims in Europe. Concerning China, I have taught for three decades courses on world religions and in relation to these courses have also covered the Chinese religious situation, which is naturally very complex. China has a long history and it is not all that easy to comprehend all the changes that have taken place there over time. So, I have familiarized myself to some extent with China but am not a specialist in anyway. I need to say that my interest in China has also been kept alive by a decade’s long collaboration with Dr. Paulos Huang, who is a docent of the University of Helsinki.

Concerning research, my interests mainly lie in societal issues where I have come to see that all human interaction involves, in one way or another, the question of power. Hence, I was really happy when reading the above-mentioned article on SR in China, where it is stated that SR, as interreligious

dialogue, aims at enhancing inclusivity, equality and democratic discussion as well as shaping a good society and the promotion of civil society. At the same time, we all know that these lofty aims are not easily achieved, in particular, when social structures are marked by a rigid hierarchy and strong authority. I suppose this is a challenge that SR has to face in different parts of the world, including China, which is nicely presented in professor Ford's and Yo Pin's papers.

In sum, SR is something new to me and I have enjoyed immensely reading these papers. I will not comment on professor Ford's and professor You Pin's papers individually but will focus on the questions about the future prospects of SR in China, which are covered in both of these papers. Finally, I will highlight what in my opinion is the societal value SR in general.

## **In brief**

In brief, Professor Ford explains in his paper the key ingredients of SR, and ponders why SR gives rise to "surprises". Finally, he lists some hopes for SR in China. Professor You Pin, based on his research, describes, first, the reception of SR in China and its development by Chinese scholars; second, he outlines ten month's experimental practice of SP in Minzu University; and, third, discusses the prospects of SR in China. In his paper, he very succinctly writes about the contours in history of Chinese religions and how there has been an impact on Chinese religiosity from outside for centuries. As I said earlier, I have no time to go in detail into these papers, which include so many fascinating ideas that one could discuss. Both of the papers conclude with a discussion about the future of SR in China and that is where I will focus and will summarize the findings of these papers in a form of questions.

## **Globalization**

First, some general observations. Reading Professor You Pin's paper one realizes very clearly that we live and have always lived in a global world, even though globalization might be different now than what it was in the past. In history, people and ideas travelled along the commercial routes such the Silk Road, which stretched from China to the Mediterranean.

What is also impressive in China, for someone coming from Finland, is the religious pluralism that has marked its society from the past to this day. In Finland, we like to think that our society is very homogenous. Of course, this image has in recent decades been very much challenged, but still, when taking into consideration the history, the size of the country and the size of the population, Finland and China could not be more different. In trying to understand religiosity in China, one is faced with daunting rich historical traditions and vast amount of texts that have been produced by philosophers during the centuries.

With respect to globalization, every time has its own challenges and SR seeks to give an answer to the challenges in its own way. There is and has always been interaction between religious traditions. In this respect, it is very interesting to read about SR that it started in the UK and the USA but has spread to other parts of the world, including China. Professor Ford gives a long list of

places where SR has been done and it is amazing that it has spread so widely in a reasonably short span of time. SR is a global phenomenon. I suppose in time the experience of SR in China, and also in other Asian countries such as India, will have some bearing on how SR is understood and undertaken in the countries where it originated, and something new can grow out this global interaction.

If you look at religions in today's world, interaction between religions takes many forms—both peaceful and violent. What we mainly hear in the media is about terrorism and very negative aspects of religions. In this respect, SR highlights something positive that is taking place in the interaction between religions. It gives you some hope that religions have something good to offer to this world, something peaceful in a violent world. It gives a model for peaceful interaction between religions of the world, which is very important.

### **Future prospects of SR in China?**

Next, I will move to some questions whereby I will summarize the discussion about the future and prospects of SR in China that I have elicited from professor Ford's and professor You pin's papers. However, these questions can be read also in relation to SR in general.

- How to promote the practice and commitment of religious communities at various levels in SR?

This is a question that is addressed in both of the papers in question. Concerning commitment in SR, I can see that it must be a real challenge, in the hectic world in which we live, to find people with enough motivation to give their time and have enough patience to take part in a process that is very time-consuming, and, where you not only express your own ideas but also learn to listen to others who come from a very different religious backgrounds. Professor You Pin says in his paper that SR is mainly undertaken by academics in China, but how to involve people without academic background and with a very different level of expertise in religious matters is another challenge related to commitment. After all, religious communities are very heterogeneous. How is SR able to overcome differences—not only between religious traditions—but also within a tradition? How is it possible to make people to see the value of the kind of interaction involved in SR? Huge work is being done in SR and it is admirable if these kind of challenges can be overcome.

- How to incorporate SR in different educational settings and to use it as an inspiration for the interpretation of religious texts?

- How to enhance research on SR in general and to use it in the study of Chinese religions in particular?

Professor You Pin discusses these questions in relation to Biblical studies. I can understand that, by means of SR, one can gain new theological insights when one is also open to the interpretations of those who represent religious tradition other than one's own. At its best, it can give new horizons for the interpretation of the text.

It just came to mind that utilizing SR in teaching world religions might also be useful. SR could be used in order to look at how representatives of different religions actually interact, what kind of discussions and issues come up, what kind of texts people want to read and what is important about

these texts for each religion.

- How SR can improve social life and contribute to a healthily diverse (civil) society with “multiple religious belongings”?

This is a key issue at the moment. We live in a diverse society. Hence, the question as to how SR can enhance the functioning of civil society is of utmost importance. When reading about the research and survey of SR undertaken by professor You Bin and Miikka Ruokanen in China, what came to my mind was research that I am doing myself at the moment about the interaction between Abrahamic religions in Finland. This interaction is like a network. We live in a world of networks and there are many kinds of networks nowadays around religious issues. The main idea in a network is that it is horizontal, it is democratic and people taking part in it are equal. That is the basic idea of a network. But if you look at a network carefully, soon you will start to see it is not that simple. One of the basic problems lies in the fact that, when we are in interaction with other people, we carry with us our economic, social and educational background. We can aim at being equal but it is hard to be equal in a world that is not equal, and in a society that is not equal. It becomes a real challenge how to put into practice the idea that whether you are a scholar who knows a lot or an ordinary practicing person with limited theological knowledge, whether you have education or you don't, whether you are wealthy or not, that everybody in the interaction is on the same footing. I suppose, these fairly simple observations are also at the heart of SR when it is aiming at constructing a healthy society with the acknowledgement that there are many ways to be religious, as mentioned in the above list of questions.

- How can SR contribute to solve global environmental crises?

I must say that this question, discussed in professor Ford's paper, took me by surprise—although, looking at today's world - it should not have done so. After all, we are facing daunting environmental crises, which are more and more taken into consideration also in fields such as business that are not traditionally interested in environmental matters. For example, one can mention the University of Helsinki, which at present is revising its curricula and aims at including a course on environmental issues for all students, irrespective of their faculty and subject of their studies.

Representatives of different religions around the world have come together to discuss human rights and world peace but now it is the environment that is on the top of the list of priorities, globally, and, it is important for SR to take heed of this, as noted by professor Ford.

## **General societal value of SR**

Finally, I will look at a general societal value that I see in SR. First, SR, simply, brings together people who would not otherwise interact, and this is exactly what we need in today's world that is fraught with all kind of conflicts.

Second, SR teaches tolerance for difference with respect to religion. I was very happy to read about this emphasis, discussed in professor Ford's paper. Perhaps, too often religions are associated with strong truth claims and consequently with intolerance of different views and ways of life. If SR can help to build bridges between people who do not necessarily see eye to eye, it can be an important

player in enhancing world peace.

What I found very refreshing about SR is the exact idea that in the interaction of religions you do not start with universal claims that all religions can share but that you allow space for differences and in actual fact take that as a starting point. In SR, you start with particular traditions and their wisdom and you bring that wisdom together. That is something special about SR, and it fits well to this post-modern global age where the so-called big narratives do not work anymore. People are very diverse and live in different realities. If I understand right, in SR you are not trying to deny this but simply acknowledge it and try to make use of it.

Third, SR helps to address topical issues of civil society, shows the (global) relevance of religion in the contemporary world and enhances our understanding of what religion is about (at its best).

The final challenge in SR, as in any enterprise with idealistic aims, is, how to put theory into practice. In SR, as in any other context of human interaction, this is one of the fundamental questions, as for example the challenge of commitment discussed above. To me, SR does seem a bit like some sort of utopia but at the same time it can be and it is done in practice. I suppose, what we can all agree on is that creating something new is never easy and takes time.

Thank you!



**中文题目:**

**经文辨读: 对于福特教授和游斌教授的回应**

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**提要:** 本文是对福特教授和游斌教授关于经文辨读问题的回应。在简要的评述之后, 本文包括如下几个部分: 全球化、经文辨读在中国的未来、经文辨读的一般性社会价值。最后探讨了如何克服从理论到实践的最大挑战。

**关键词:** 大卫·福特; 经文辨读; 中国; 全球化; 从理论到实践

# Attempts to Understand Scriptural Reasoning<sup>[1]</sup>

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**Abstract:** The author has made some attempts to understand Scriptural Reasoning in this article, which includes the following. First, the author has asked the question about the theoretical basis for Scriptural Reasoning. Then he tries to explore SR from theory to practice. And he continues to study the integrity between theory and practice. And the social implications of Scriptural Reasoning has also studied before the author offers his final conclusion.

**Key Words:** SR; theoretical basis; from theory to practice; integrity between theory and practice; social implications

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## A Theoretical Basis for Scriptural Reasoning?

I have had a possibility to get acquainted with Scriptural Reasoning (SR) through prof. Miikka Ruokanen only after publishing my book *Constructing Ethical Patterns In Times of Globalization*. Hans Küng's *Global Ethic Project and Beyond* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012). In hindsight, I feel edified that Scriptural Reasoning embodies the practical conclusion of that book quite strikingly. My concern was to challenge the mainstream modern and postmodern secular Western philosophical and political stance towards multireligious and multicultural global village, especially their illusions of anti-exclusivist impartiality. My focus was on philosophy, but my ultimate aim was to cut a rout for not only theology but also practical spirituality. This is why I am encourage to ask, whether in fact my study contributes rather to a philosophical basis of Scriptural Reasoning. Without going into the jungle of philosophical argumentation, let me start with summarizing my conclusive proposal for a postliberal global ethics in that book.

I argue for 'balanced inclusivism'. First of all, what I mean by 'balanced' is that the ultimately exclusive nature of all religions and ideologies is not only acknowledged, but also accepted, if not as 'reasonable', then at least as an inevitable fact that cannot be politically or philosophically dismantled or transcended, even in the public societal discourse. Religious and other ideological doctrines are to be taken as thoroughly holistic political contributors that compete for power in the

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public as well as the private sphere—not for egotistical reasons, but for ethical reasons that rise out of every ideological tradition respectively. It is precisely this emphasis on exclusivism that calls for the term ‘balanced’ in my definition. But, of course, this is not the whole story.

Second, what I mean by ‘inclusivism’ is that despite the ongoing contest and conflict, there is simultaneously a need for reconciliation and peaceful co-existence. My hope is that this demand is not only politically ethical, but also genuinely ethical. Here I can refer only to the particular exclusive religious and other ideological traditions instead of some neutral argument. It is only through these ‘comprehensive doctrines’ that the ethical flavor of the necessity for peaceful coexistence may perhaps be gained. Comprehensive ideological traditions, mostly non-secular, are in a position to foster serious and sustainable societal answers on a global scale because they are able to provide tools for the ethical legitimation of laws. But the minimal condition for peace in our radically pluralistic world is that these traditions endorse inclusive attitudes that do not fully “demonize” the proponents of other ideologies or the ideologies themselves. There has to be a substantial readiness for ‘overlapping consensus’ on behalf of the different traditions whereby there are only restricted sets of ways to convert people. The principal acceptance of the permanent pluralism of doctrines is required of the doctrines themselves in such a way that this condition will not hinder peaceful and constructive coexistence.

The nature of this coexistence should at the same time be both deeply ethical and genuinely political. The first aspect here excludes those models in which societal coexistence is based merely on political contract. It is precisely the ethically binding nature of religions and other comprehensive ideologies that renders merely neutral or tactical negotiation impossible. On the other hand, the need for politics reflects that the more precise meaning and scope of any common societal ethics is to be derived on the basis of how far and in what direction the proponents of different religions and ideologies, by their own standards, are prepared to embrace common rules. The question is about *modus vivendi* that can perhaps be called ‘norms of the second best’ (Alan Gibbard) or a ‘political compromise’ (Richard Bellamy) from the view of particular ideologies.<sup>[2]</sup> In balanced inclusivism the commonness of humanity is acknowledged on the basis of love; at the same time there is an acknowledgment of mutual exclusivity—not only difference or extraordinariness, but also exclusivity—in the more accurate definitions of this commonness. It is necessary that in a consistent peace dialogue both aspects—exclusivity and inclusivity—are simultaneously present.

In line with PWE I would say that global ethics is always a dialogical enterprise. My third point is that this process is not to be genuinely or realistically fostered without taking as a primordial vantage point the principle of encountering (and the recognition of) exclusive difference—and not just radical difference, as in poststructuralism. Thus, my first emphasis on exclusivism does not lead to

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[2] See Alan Gibbard, *Wise Choices, Apt Feelings. A Theory of Normative Judgment*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992), 241, 242 and Richard Bellamy, *Liberalism and Pluralism. Towards A Politics of Compromise*. (London: Routledge, 1999), 91-140. I will not dwell here on Gibbard’s and Bellamy’s alternatives, but will only say that while they are much the same as my balanced inclusivism—at least in the concepts mentioned—there are also important differences.

neglecting the dialogue, but rather to endorsing it in a way that the constructive and non-violent encountering of exclusivism is the necessary minimal condition for such a dialogue. Here we come to the question of what would be the most plausible way to articulate the idea behind PWE: the global ethos should first and foremost refer to these minimal conditions of a peace dialogue. The ethics of encountering exclusive difference amounts, among other things, to focusing on the anthropological, spiritual, and (socio-) psychological nature of love more than doctrinal ecumenism. Instead of mitigating the exclusive truth-claims of religions, for instance, ethics of exclusive difference connotes altruistic and ‘kenotic’ renouncement of revenge and violence, the principle of loving one’s (ideological) enemies.

Focused mainly on Western articulations of global ethics. Nevertheless, my premises require that it is possible to extend the postliberal type of argument far beyond Western traditions and, for that matter, the Judeo-Christian tradition. But I do not consider it up to me to engage further in that extension authentically as a Western Christian. I have nevertheless seen it necessary to argue philosophically, in the Western sense, against liberalism and for postliberalism in general just because the former presents the challenge, as it were, of transcending theology by philosophy. Having said this, I have taken as my ultimate purpose to transcend philosophy. The postliberal global ethics as an encounter with exclusive difference may open up possibilities for resources of non-secular ideologies, which until now have not adequately tapped. This is because what I have called a postliberal paradigm indicates the inevitable, permanent, and, at bottom, anthropological, challenge of global ethics: the peaceful coexistence of more or less exclusive metaphysical world views.

## From Theory to Practice

I would like to relate Scriptural Reasoning to moral and political philosophical discussion. James P. Sterba claims that the problem of today’s moral and political philosophy is that there are many well established schools of thought, which are in an irreconcilable conflict with each other at the theoretical level, but when one looks at the concrete actions they endorse (each on the basis of their own theory), the conflict is strikingly absent. No wonder, that Sterba concludes, that it is worth starting to concentrate on practice and forget the theoretical conflicts. <sup>[3]</sup>

It is not too difficult to see an analogy here, with respect to the contribution of Scriptural Reasoning to the debate concerning inter-religious theology. Since John Hick’s efforts to find theological solutions to the pluralism of religions in a global world of there has been an irreconcilable debate at a theoretical level on what would be the most plausible way of seeing the different religions and their spiritual and ethical roles in the world in juxtaposition with each other. There has emerged a trichotomy exclusivism-pluralism-inclusivism, which in turn has gained new dimensions through more postmodern versions that challenge all three. The common understanding among theologians of different religions has generally been, that dialogue is necessary, but the conflicts at the theoretical

[3] James P. Sterba, *The Triumph of Practice Over Theory in Ethics* (New York: Oxford University Press cop. 2005.)

level concerning the prerequisites and aims of the dialogue have tended to penetrate the dialogue. It is interesting to see that long before Sterba's book, there has been a theological enterprise to proceed to dialogue directly and practice-oriented, without being encumbered by this debate.

Whereas Sterba's is an analysis of ethics a more theological analysis concerning the rise of praxis is given in Gustavo Gutiérrez's revised version of his classic.<sup>[4]</sup> In the first part of this book Gutiérrez depicts how the theology of the catholic church has begun to underline praxis as the crucial part of theology ever since the Vatican II. Not only societal action, but also liturgical life and pastoral dimensions of theology are given a great attention.

## The Integrity Between Theory and Practice

Here I am tempted to say a few words about my own recent history. After academic work I have been in different pastoral assignments. I have had an opportunity to apply my theology in practice. For instance, to take one key concept of Hans Küng's Global Ethic Project, *Verantwortung*, I have been allowed as well as forced, instead of speaking and writing about how to take responsibility in a theoretically coherent way, simply to take responsibility.

I have never practiced SR, but, besides Miikka and many of you here, I know people in Åbo Akademi University, who have (prof. Antti Laato, Dr. Anni Maria Laato, and Dr. Pekka Lindqvist) and it has been enlightening to discuss and read their experiences. Although I don't have experience on SR directly, I have had an opportunity to taste something of a similar kind. As a systematic theologian, it has been a new world for me to have systematically begun to read and study Jewish and Christian Bible in Hebrew and Greek.

I can't help comparing my experience with the way prof. Ford in his paper describes his experiences of SR. Indeed, in his paper I discovered perhaps the most accurate term for what the reading of those sacred texts in those sacred languages is about for me: practice. That means that I have recognized, that it is an end in itself, it is hugely important even though I would not be able to construct any certain or precise theological model on the basis of that reading. There is something in it that transcends reason and understanding, but this in the very process of simultaneously searching for meaning. It is a world into which you have a privilege to step. It is to live in that world, for just a moment or longer (like a very fruitful trip abroad, it is perhaps not worth eating too much at once, otherwise you either exhaust or you don't digest). You walk there, take a look at some details, you wonder, you "smell", you "taste", you just breathe the air of this culture. Along with the disciplined study of the language and the content of the text there is another dimension, and it is not possible to separate these two dimensions from each other. This practice is first and foremost a condition for a holistically understood personal renewal. I think that this perspective proposes a permanent challenge for the academic world, which is usually occupied with analyzing and conceptualizing without

[4] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (London: SCM, 2001)

necessarily linking this with any concrete life of action. This is why I am so much interested in the ambivalent historical trajectory of SR, where it crossed over the academic boundaries already from the start.

To my mind, Scriptural Reasoning is par excellence integrating theory and practice. In SR, reading the text (words) and scrutinizing it (conceptual work and yearning for meaning) is an end in itself (action or practice). Reading for example the text of prof. Ford about the nature of SR as a practice, I find a certain humbleness in keeping the sphere of SR a relatively restricted one. There are no direct social or even religious ambitions. Rather the objective is merely to read, discuss, and experience in its own right. There is no expectation for any actions, that the partakers of SR are to take after the reading and discussing the texts, no expectation for action outside the sphere of SR, but still flowing from it. The process of SR is itself the action expected.

Perhaps one helpful way of saying this is to use the Lutheran concept of ‘regime’, and to introduce a ‘Scriptural Reasoning regime’ with its own rules and internal goals. However, a general misunderstanding concerning the Lutheran two-regimes-doctrine is that the spiritual regime (religion) and the earthly regime (society) do not interact or overlap in any ways. Liberal illusion of bracketing religion totally out of politics is neither a realistic understanding of the Lutheran doctrine of regimes nor a realistic view of contemporary societal life philosophically. Now, the same may be said of Scriptural Reasoning: SR as a “regime,” with its self-defined limits, has no direct interest in influencing society, at least in political terms, but its influence is, although natural, nevertheless indirect.

What would be the fruit of this kind of practice? I would say, first, that it is not definable wholly by the traditional Western rational, universal, secular (or even post-secular), and argumentative language. The question for me here is not about postmodernism either, or any of its form (say post-structuralism, deconstructionism, value pluralism etc.). The point is, yes, to look for meaning (in the sense of what Ricoeur is after, and not in the sense of how Derrida sees it), but at the same time this search is an end in itself, a practice (in contrast with viewing this search for meaning only as a necessary tool for a “final or religion-independent definition”).

The majority of the global ethical models, such as Martha Nussbaum’s and Amartia Sen’s Capabilities Approach and Hans Küng’s Global Ethic Project, may be seen as turning the attention away from the conflicts at the level of theory to the common worries at the level of action. In that they reflect the same idea as James P. Sterba’s philosophical version above. What does it matter, on what grounds religions and world views justify their actions, if the actions fostered by different religions are more or less the same? Every religion endorses something like a golden rule (Küng), human rights declaration charter was universally accepted even though the grounds for its acceptance were completely different by the different cultures and parties involved (Paul A. Brink), and capabilities approach addresses only the basic all-human needs without taking stand on religious matters (Nussbaum & Sen).

However, what is also attractive in these models, at least for a Western reader, is that they tend to stress the importance of a global perspective on the side of the local one with an aim to provide any (contextual/local) moral action with the necessary conceptual and argumentative plausibility. My question is, why not reserve that role to the very religions themselves? I would like to claim that particularism of a certain (religious) view does not exclude its global plausibility even though it might exclude its universal plausibility-but I am afraid that any kind of universal plausibility is gained at the risk of hovering in the air of abstraction.

The problem with the above mentioned models of global ethics is that while it is indeed possible to sketch general ethical patterns that unite all religions, for instance, when it comes to action, one needs much more concrete guidance: How am I to apply golden rule to this situation? What does the freedom of religion mean when there are ten conflicting interpretations of how to secure it in this or that political situation? And so forth. And this is not a minor detail, but it tends to question the whole idea of recourse to action with the cost of theory, at least considering the global ethics and theology of religions. The summons that seem to be similar in different religions are still too formal in order to enable action in a conflicting situation where different values collide with each other. Ironically, dwelling on the comprehensive world views gives the needed concreteness to enable action in a multicultural situation, and not the other way around. Precisely here is the strength of Scriptural Reasoning: while changing perspective from theory to action, that is, to the open dialogue as practice, it welcomes the comprehensive doctrines of religions back into that process-and with them the radical disagreement. In that way, SR could be seen as giving the needed flesh to the otherwise too formal and harmonious principles of Hans Küng and others. While “theory” (comprehensive world view) is not enough, the actions are neither. There has to be integrity between the two-and this means that the contest of mutually exclusive religious and other world views is impossible to be excluded from the dialogue.

## Religious Exclusivism

In fact, it might be possible to interpret even Hans Küng’s Global Ethic Project itself in this way, as an appeal to start a dialogue in general, instead of as determining the direction of that dialogue. However, it is not easy to render Küng’s position along these lines, because of his ambivalent relation to religious exclusivism and religious truth. He writes in his Projekt Weltethos (PWE):

Seen from outside, from the perspective of so-called religious science, there are different true religions; religions that despite all their ambivalence at least ultimately fulfill certain common (ethical as well as religious) criteria. There are different ways of salvation (with different figures of salvation) to one end, ways that even partly overlap and in any case can contribute to each other.

Seen from inside, that is from the New Testament-oriented believing Christian, that is

for me as encountered, challenged person, there is only one true religion: Christianity, insofar as it testifies to the one true God, as he has made himself known in Jesus Christ. <sup>[5]</sup>

My thesis already in my earlier mentioned book is that in fact this PWE's standpoint toward religions can be applied precisely on the basis of Karl Jaspers's philosophy. For Jaspers as a peculiar kind of existentialist philosopher, there is no substantial connection between religious or metaphysical symbols such as 'ciphers' and the transcendental reality they intimate. Hence, it would seem that it does not make any difference in the thinking of Jaspers, which of the countless metaphysical symbols, that is historical religions, is used to denote being-in-itself (or, we may simplify, "the highest being"). To a certain extent this is indeed true for Jaspers who characteristically reaches out beyond particular expressions of faith to what he calls the 'general fundamental knowledge' of all the varying experiences of 'Being'. General fundamental knowledge is related to his doctrine of 'encompassing'. This he names as 'periechontology', a word whose ambivalent connection to 'ontology' is meant to exemplify Jaspers's hostility to any dogmatic fixations of the faith in one particular expression of faith. To be sure, inasmuch as 'Being' transcends any specific doctrinal expression or even any intimation of it, in the manner of negative theology, 'Being' is also equally present in any such expression, in the manner of 'periechontology'. <sup>[6]</sup>

At the same time, however, this particular account of 'periechontology' and 'general fundamental knowledge' reflects only one of two outcomes of Jaspers's philosophy. The other account emphasizes the non-arbitrariness of any authentic conviction. In other words, from the fact that the self always operates through thinking, even in experiencing transcendence, there follows the fact that there is only one possible way in which the unconditional manifests for each self. To refer restrictedly to the interchangeability of 'ciphers' does not address the fundamentality of the personal element in Jaspers's philosophy, the essentialness of 'existential truth'. Ultimately, man in his existence does not have anything other than a particular conviction by which he is in a position to direct himself to transcendence in the first place. Hence, Jaspers opposes mysticism that detaches itself altogether from the chains of time; the articulation of faith is an indispensable part of what, in the final analysis, cannot be articulated. <sup>[7]</sup>

One upshot of this is the idea of 'general fundamental knowledge', which very much likens Küng's project to examine the doctrinal content of different faiths as articulations of faiths without at the same time doing away with the additional necessity for personal commitment to only one of these faiths. <sup>[8]</sup> Another upshot likens the idea of PWE equally strongly, namely, the ideal of dialogue:

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[5] Hans Küng, *Projekt Weltethos* (6th paperback ed. Serie Piper 1659, München: Piper, 1990), 129: "Von aussen gesehen, sozusagen religionswissenschaftlich betrachtet, gibt es selbstverständlich verschiedene wahre Religionen; Religionen, die bei aller Ambivalenz zumindest grundsätzlich bestimmten generellen (ethischen wie religiösen) Kriterien entsprechen. Es gibt verschiedene Heilswege (mit verschiedenen Heilsgestalten) zum einen Ziel, die sich sogar zum Teil überschneiden und sich jedenfalls gegenseitig befruchten können. Von innen her gesehen, also vom Standpunkt des am Neuen Testament orientierten gläubigen Christen, für mich also als betroffenen, herausgeforderten Menschen, gibt es nur die eine wahre Religion: das Christentum, insofern es den einen wahren Gott, wie er sich in Jesus Christus kundgetan hat, bezeugt."

[6] Leonard H. Ehrlich, *Karl Jaspers. Philosophy as Faith* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 6-8.

[7] *Ibid.*, 58, 157-163.

[8] *Ibid.*, 119.



At bottom, then, the relation of man to man, where the historicity of the human realization of truth and the indispensability of freedom for it is valued, is that of communication no matter whether ‘man’ in that relationship be a fellow human being or a human actuality such as an authority, an institution, or one’s heritage. Jaspers’ s idea of philosophical faith is founded on the conception of the ‘unreserved’, ‘unrelenting’, ‘boundless’ ‘loving struggle’ of communication as the historic and the free man’s way to truth. The more intense the awareness of the historicity of truth for man, the more intense the appreciation of the multiplicity of this truth. The consequence of this awareness is a person’s affirmation of another person’s truth for that other person, even as one’s own truth is absolute for one’s own historicity. The submission to or even the flirtation with another’s historicity is as truly the death of communication as is the imposition of what is absolute for oneself upon the other. The search for the one truth by virtue of philosophical faith does not imply a community of believers in one faith but a communicative solidarity of believers, each with his own historic vision of truth upon which he freely risks grounding his life, without confusing this vision with the one truth transcending all historicity. [9]

This sets out the basis for dialogue between particular traditions. Indeed, relentless inter-faith dialogue is for Jaspers the upshot of his philosophy instead of inter-faith indifference or one meta-religion. In this he could not have better anticipated the spirit of PWE. As Küng states further:

None of the religions will be able wholly to avoid applying their own very special truth criterion to other religions, be it Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist or Confucian. Dialogue means really no self-denial. And the stranger-criticism remains necessary. But he who keeps reasonable and honest knows that these criteria can be relevant, not to say binding, most of all for the respective religion itself and not for the others. [10]

On the basis of Jaspers’s discussion, it is again easy to recognize the applicability of his philosophical considerations to the position that Küng represents in a more theological manner. PWE’s position, which resists both exclusivism and inclusivism as well as pluralism without collapsing into relativism, to an important extent reflects Jaspers’s position.

A characteristic of our historical situation is the acute awareness of traditions and fundamental conceptions of the truth of Being other than our own. The ensuing problem posed for mankind and for philosophy is, according to Jaspers, to come to terms with this multiplicity. Jaspers rejects a relativistic resolution of it. And rightly so. For the cause of truth is not served by denying those who deemed themselves in possession of it and thereby gained fulfillment. And that all human visions are

[9] *Ibid.*, 119.

[10] PWE, 113: “Keine Religion wird ganz darauf verzichten könne, die ihr eigenen, ganz spezifischen Wahrheitskriterien auch an die anderen Religionen anzulegen, seien es die christlichen, jüdischen, islamischen, hinduistischen, buddhistischen oder konfuzianischen. Dialog heisst ja nicht Selbstverleugnung. Und Fremdkritik bleibt nötig. Aber: Wer nüchtern und erlich bleibt, weiss, dass diese Kriterien zunächst nur für die jeweilige Religion selbst und nicht für die anderen relevant, gar verbindlich sein können” (italics added).

relative can be as little known as the absoluteness for all men of one of these visions. Neither can man rise above humanity in such a manner that he can gain enough insight into all possible human visions of truth to assign each its place in a comprehensive synthesis. The only synthesis which, in Jaspers's view, is possible, is of the modes of truth, their scopes and limits, their forms and possible contents, and their peculiar opposition to falsehood. It would have to open up the regions in which human realization of truth can take place. This would have to be done without adulterating or gainsaying what has been realized by man in the past, and without prescribing or proscribing what may yet be realized. Moreover it would mean recognizing as truth and promoting truth which is not one's own fulfillment of truth. <sup>[11]</sup>

Therefore, along the lines of Jaspers/Küng, it has to be concluded that there are many incommensurable metaphysical accounts of good that may be completely incompatible, yet they may all be true. After all, as I have argued in *Constructing Ethical Patterns*, this contention, the like liberalist neutrality, is based on the misunderstanding that it is possible to look at traditions from a bird's-eye point of view. According to Alasdair MacIntyre, behind the inability to understand this underlying notion is a revealing modernist misunderstanding. <sup>[12]</sup> MacIntyre continues,

The perspectivist, moreover, fails to recognize how integral the conception of truth is to tradition-constituted forms of enquiry. It is this which leads perspectivists to suppose that one could temporarily adopt the standpoint of a tradition and then exchange it for another, as one might wear first one costume and then another, or as one might act one part in one play and then a quite different part in a quite different play. But genuinely to adopt the standpoint of a tradition thereby commits one to its view of what is true and false and, in so committing one, prohibits one from adopting any rival standpoint. Hence the perspectivist could indeed pretend to assume the standpoint of some one particular tradition of enquiry; he or she could not in fact do so. The multiplicity of traditions does not afford a multiplicity of perspectives among which we can move, but a multiplicity of antagonistic commitments, between which only conflict, rational or nonrational, is possible. Perspectivism, in this once more like relativism, is a doctrine only possible for those who regard themselves as outsiders, as uncommitted or rather as committed only to acting a succession of temporary parts. From their point of view any conception of truth but the most minimal appears to have been discredited. And from the standpoint afforded by the rationality of tradition-constituted enquiry it is clear that such persons are by their stance excluded from the possession of any concept of truth adequate for systematic rational enquiry. Hence theirs is not so much a conclusion about truth as an exclusion from it and thereby from rational debate. <sup>[13]</sup>

Here for the first time we have arrived at a postliberal context for dealing with the essential

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[11] Leonard H. Ehrlich, *Karl Jaspers. Philosophy as Faith* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 5-6.

[12] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice, Which Rationality* (London: Duckworth, 1988), 366, 367.

[13] *Ibid.*, 367-368.

question posed by this study, namely, what is the ethical stance vis-à-vis ideological and religious exclusivism? Ricoeur criticizes Jaspers in a manner analogous to MacIntyre's rebuke of perspectivism and of relativism in general. Jaspers is walking a fine line, proclaiming all world views to be of the same type, on the one hand, because of their mutually analogous failure to capture the truth they are referring to in their doctrinal symbols, while on the other hand, insisting against stubborn relativism; the fact that all of these views are myths does not in any way mitigate the necessity for a human individual to keep his commitment to one of these world views as reflecting the truth against the other world views and, accordingly, to consider the rival views to be wrong. The first of these aspects is what Jaspers calls the 'doctrine of encompassing' and is available to a philosopher unmasking the totality myths around different cultures, yet a philosopher who nevertheless understands the necessity and nature of the more 'narrow' existential commitment to these same myths. However, as Ehrlich explains Ricoeur's objection: "Does not the philosopher run the risk of losing the 'narrowness' and the 'commitment' of Existenz when he embraces the totality of myths—those of Greece, those of India, those of Christianity—like a Don Juan courting all the gods?"<sup>[14]</sup>

There are, of course, direct corollaries to this kind of MacIntyrean-Ricoeurian critique of relativism with respect to PWE: as has become clear, global ethics cannot be consistently argued through such anti-exclusivist figure as Jaspers, although his was shown to reflect alternative liberal interpretations of PWE. It is paradoxical that, by attempting to transcend the inevitable conflict between moral traditions with the help of what appears the most consiliatory standpoint along the exclusivism-inclusivism-pluralism debate, Jaspers' and, for that matter, Küng's still reflects such an Enlightenment thinking that always and necessarily loses grounds for a reasonable resolution of the conflict.

## The Social Implications of Scriptural Reasoning

What positive, then, may come out of SR, if the fundamental ideological conflict is penetrates almost every topic in the dialogue, and in a much more radical way than many Western models of Global Ethics are prepared to admit? Of course, much positive may emerge, for sure, but I am interested in asking what positive fruit we are able to identify beforehand, and even with a relative certainty. Let me try to answer by changing perspective.

I am inclined to claim, that the standard Western universal, rational and, to my mind, too abstract approach has already shown its weakness<sup>[15]</sup>; there is no escape to any kind of, even the subtlest version of "impartial bird-eye-view," a some kind of "ideologically neutral" vantage point that is used to evaluate the success or failure of inter-religious dialogue or global ethics. If any global

[14] Leonard H. Ehrlich, *Karl Jaspers. Philosophy as Faith* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 75.

[15] For instance, in my book *Constructing Ethical Patterns in Times of Globalization*, Hans Küng's Global Ethic Project and Beyond (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012) I have elaborated the Western discussion and drawn these conclusions.

or "universal" (I would rather like to save this concept for the view I criticize) bird-eye-view is of any use, it has to flow directly from the particular religions (or other comprehensive world-views themselves). To say the least, the religions or world views should have the ultimate say (that is, on the basis of their own comprehensive doctrines) on whether any religion-independent perspective is possible (which, by definition, would make any possible "impartial" vantage point ultimately a "partial" one). Now, in this situation, a neutral observer, for instance, a Kantian liberalist, would say that cross-cultural or inter-religious dialogue is impossible. A religious believer, on the other hand, would say that only now an authentic dialogue is possible! But the results of that dialogue are now not to be defined beforehand. One must only choose, whether to opt for a dialogue or segregation.

Now, I think, what we can say with certainty, is that the alternative to dialogue is indeed segregation. And even more, segregation products prejudice and antipathy. To get back to my original question, what is the use of a non-liberal inter-religious dialogue, and, I would like to add, especially in the form of Scriptural Reasoning? I can identify two clear corollaries of dialogue that relate to, how I/we see and treat the Other(s) inter-religious encounters, cross-religious interaction, and multi-religious coexistence:

1. Objectivity vs. prejudice. It is plain truth, that the more you are in interaction with the Other (person/group) and the more you sincerely try to listen to and understand the other positions' adherents and their arguments the more you avoid misunderstanding her/them or labeling them falsely. The dynamics of growing prejudice as a snow-ball effect is an undeniable social and psychological notion. Prejudices have a tendency to be inflated especially at a collective level between different cultural, ethnic, but also ideological groups. There is something irrational and uncontrollable in this trajectory. Worst of all, growing prejudice increases hatred and violence. It demands extra effort to eliminate the growing of prejudices, because prejudice is a natural phenomenon for humans, indeed, the dark side of all humanity. SR is precisely one of those frameworks that are able to tackle the inter-religious prejudices through bringing different religious groups together in interaction. Its method of reading and discussing the authoritative sources increases the objectivity of mutual knowledge and thus hinders prejudices.

2. Sympathy vs. antipathy. Even if, after practicing SR, some negative convictions concerning the other(s) remain, indeed, even if, through increasing knowledge, they deepen, there is still another benefit in SR. Namely, "the othering of the Other" still tends to diminish the more the Other is seen as a human being. I take it as an all-human feature, that the more interaction and enlightening discussion on the motives and rationales of certain actions or viewpoints of the others, and this done with the 'Others', the more sympathetic is the attitude towards even those actions and viewpoints that are inevitably in tension with one's own values. The question is about recognizing rival convictions and values as those endorsed by those who are human persons, the same flesh and blood with me-irrespective whether vehemently one might despise or condemn the views themselves. This increase of sympathy with the cost of antipathy-which I see as almost an inevitable fruit of such person-oriented and grass-roots-level interaction as SR. When the dialogue does not have ideological pressures from the start, but is over and above (or below) these dogmatic preconditions it tends to

evoke mutual sympathy between the participants.

These two benchmarks of “anti-demonizing” are not rationally or scientifically definable in the final analysis, even though they may be collected together under the term ‘resistance to othering’. They are much more about the holistic personal renewal that I started with in this commenting paper. This I take to be the direct aim of SR, but the indirect aim is no less important. There is no question, that everyone sees these two corollaries of dialogue as crucial ingredients of developing and consolidating religious identities through different encounters with the Other. However, anyone may clearly notice the societal potential as well-in terms of peace building and cross-cultural co-operation for the good of common good.

At the same time, one may quite easily see that these two benchmarks, cross-cultural objectivity and sympathy, are relatively modest aims for a Western liberalist, who is eager to construct a universal model for multicultural society. But the one, who has given up with such an ambition sees these two as critical turning points, which determine much of the future of multicultural society, globally and locally. Perhaps she even sees them as the key dilemmas that are not tackled in a sufficient manner—exactly because of concentrating too much on the universal and systematic model for global ethics in the past.

**中文题目：**

**理解经文辨读的努力**

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**提要：**作者在本文尝试了对理解经文辨读的努力，首先，他提出了经文辨读的理论基础问题。其次，他尝试探索从理论到实践的经文辨读。接着，他继续研究了理论和实践之间的诚信问题。在作者最后提出结论之前，他还研究了经文辨读的社会意涵。

**关键词：**经文辨读；理论基础；从理论到实践；理论与实践之间的诚信；社会意涵



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**Church History in the West and in China**





# The Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boym at the Court of the Yongli Emperor

Claudia von COLLANI

**Abstract:** This article has studied the Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boym at the Court of the Yongli Emperor. First, the author has studied the Conversion of Rulers in Europe and Asia and has introduced the Sources, based on which the present study is. Then, the author has studied the Southern Ming and the Yongli Emperor. The following continues a study on Andreas Wolfgang Koffler, which includes the early life of the Jesuit Andreas Wolfgang Koffler, Koffler and the conversion of the Yongli Emperor's family, and Koffler's further fate. Also Michael Boym is studied, and it includes the early life of Michael Boym, and Michael Boym's delegation to Rome. The final part is the conclusion.

**Key Words:** the Southern Ming; the Yongli Emperor; the Jesuits; Andreas Koffler; Michael Boym

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## 1 The Conversion of Rulers in Europe and Asia

As it is well known one of the main features of the Jesuit policy of accommodation was mission from the top down, i. e. to start with the conversion of the Chinese emperor because they hoped that the whole Chinese people and then the whole Far East would follow this prestigious example.<sup>[16]</sup> In this way, great parts of Europe had become christianized when the rulers (kings, dukes, leaders) of the nations and tribes converted to Christianity in the early Middle Ages. The change from one religion to another, namely from the belief into pagan gods to the Christian monotheistic God could mean a destabilization of the political order. Therefore it needed the legitimization of the ruler, who with his conversion to Christianity or the Catholic Church also paved the way to salvation for his tribe or people, for he as the leader had a special responsibility. People believed that earthly and heavenly welfare and blessings went parallel, for direct award was given, as they thought, for the obedience. So God sent direct help in battles as he did with the Roman emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus (birth between 270/288, Roman emperor 306 – 337), who granted religious freedom in the Roman Empire with the Edict of Milan in 313, whereby Christianity became the

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[16] Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Volume One: 635-1800. (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4: China 15/1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 4: China 15) (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001) p. 310.

privileged religion. <sup>[17]</sup> The victory over menacing other rulers and powers was interpreted as a victory of the church. <sup>[18]</sup> In this way also the conversion of the Franconian king Clovis I (birth 466, ruled 481/482-511) in 498 or 508 under the influence of his Catholic wife Clotilde was interpreted as the Christian God helping him to fight the Alamans. Jesus Christ proved to be more effective than the pagan god Odin. This meant the end of pagan and Arianic Western Europe. <sup>[19]</sup> The adoption of Catholicism by Clovis led to widespread conversion among the Frankish peoples, to religious unification of great parts of Europe (France, Belgium and Germany), and at the end of the birth of the early Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. <sup>[20]</sup>

It is not sure if the Jesuits had these historical facts in mind when they planned their policy of accommodation. In the Far East, the Jesuits saw several times a chance to convert the rulers, as in Japan, in Siam and especially in China, the culturally leading nation in East Asia. In Southern Japan several daimyōs had embraced Christianity at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and even the unifiers of Japan, Oda Nobunaga 织田信长 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598), were for some time friendly to the missionaries, but at the end they feared an invasion or at least too much influence from abroad. <sup>[21]</sup> At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuits had gained influence at the court of the Siamese king Phra Narai (birth 1632, ruled 1656-1688) through his advisor, the adventurer Constantin Phaulkon (1647-1688), who became Catholic. This hope failed with a revolution when the king and Phaulkon, whom the people hated, were killed. <sup>[22]</sup> In China, this hope of converting the emperor seemed to be very close several times. Johann Adam Schall von Bell 汤若望 (1592-1666) who worked for the Chongzhen Emperor 崇禎 (Reign 1629-1644) at the Astronomical Bureau for the reform of the Chinese calendar kept this hope but he failed, Chongzhen committed suicide when Beijing was conquered by rebels in 1644. <sup>[23]</sup> After the change of the dynasty from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) to the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) Schall became director of the Astronomical Bureau and had good relations to the young Shunzhi Emperor 顺治 (Reign 1644-1661), who called him respectfully “Mafa”, but the emperor died of smallpox as a young man aged only 21 and as a Buddhist. <sup>[24]</sup> Also his son and successor the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (Reign 1662-1722) seemed to be close to Christianity—at least in the description of Joachim Bouvet’s 白晋 (1656-1730) booklet *Portrait historique de l’empereur de la Chine* (Paris 1697), but despite issuing the Edict of Tolerance in 1692 and his good relations to the Court Jesuits he never embraced Christianity. <sup>[25]</sup>

The story, which is told here, took part during the time of rebellions and wars during the dynastic change from the Ming to the Qing dynasty. When the Manchus were on their way also to

[17] Jochen Martin, “Konstantin(os)”, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 6 (Freiburg 2006) col. 295-298.

[18] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung. Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1995) pp. 231-235.

[19] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1998) pp. 46-54.

[20] von Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas*, pp. 54-62.

[21] Arcadio Schwade, “Die Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Japan im Überblick”, in: Adrian Hsia, Ruprecht Wimmer (eds.), *Mission und Theater. Japan und China auf den Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Jesuitica 7) (Regensburg 2005) pp. 289-353.

[22] Joachim Bouvet, S.J., *Journal des voyages* (Variétés Sinologiques New Series 95), ed. Claudia von Collani (Taipei 2005) pp. 7-10; Friedrich Huber, *Das Christentum in Ost-, Süd- und Südostasien sowie Australien. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen IV/8* (Leipzig 2005) p. 174.

[23] Claudia von Collani, “A Missionary on His Journey: Michał Boym and Religions in East Asia”, *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) p. 338.

[24] Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 495f.

[25] Claudia von Collani, “Portrait of an Emperor: Joachim Bouvet’s Picture of the Kangxi Emperor of 1697”, *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXIV (2002) pp. 24-37.

conquer Southern China and the Shunzhi emperor was already ruling in Beijing, the Southern Ming established their own court with several emperors, all being descendants or at least relatives of the Wanli Emperor 万曆 (Reign 1572–1620). The last of them was the Yongli Emperor 永曆 (1623, reign 1646–1662), and he was the one who together with his family and the court seemed nearly to be Christian. Yongli's reign was parallel to that of the Shunzhi Emperor in Beijing. Therefore, the Jesuits, deliberately or not, worked at the two courts fighting each other at the same time. It was possible that, both courts in the North and in the South of China would survive and thus be established as two empires, but it was more probable that only one of the two dynasties with one emperor would be victorious, so the Jesuits hoped that at least some of them would be on the side of the conqueror serving as astronomers and scientists. In this way Christianity could survive under one dynasty with one emperor. The Jesuits of the defeated dynasty, however, would quite probably not survive and even could become martyrs for their faith. This situation of Jesuits in the north and south of China corresponded to the Jesuit Far Eastern provinces. In 1615 the Vice-Province of China of the Jesuit order became independent of the Province of Japan (since 1611) thanks to the efforts of the Jesuit procurator Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628). When Japan was closed by the Tokugawa Shogunate and all missionaries were expelled (from 1610), many Japanese Christians fled to Portuguese Macau or to other countries of East Asia. As consequence the Jesuit province of Japan moved to Macau and took responsibility for Tonkin;<sup>[26]</sup> after 1656, the Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi were added.<sup>[27]</sup>

In this paper, I am dealing with situation of the Jesuits in the service of the Southern Ming. The main topic here is the fate of two Jesuits in the service of the Yongli Emperor, namely of the Polish Jesuit Michał Piotr Boym 卜弥格 (1612–1659) and the Austrian Jesuit Wolfgang Andreas Xavier Koffler 瞿安德 (1603/1612–1652).

## 2 Sources

Concerning Koffler's and Boym's relations to the Southern Ming several sources are used. The main source for this paper is a manuscript written by Boym, namely his "Status Christianæ Religionis in China, ut nunc se habet" (Situation of the Christian religion in China as it is at the moment).<sup>[28]</sup> This report deals with the two Imperial "cases" concerning the emperors of the Ming dynasty, namely of the Chongzhen emperor in the North and the Yongli emperor in the South and their relations to Christianity and to the missionaries. The purpose of this document was to demonstrate that the conversion of the Yongli Emperor was not far and that it would be the rational fulfilment of the hopes the Jesuits, especially of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, who tried to convert the last Ming

[26] Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Paris, Rome 1973) p. 327.

[27] See Onofre Borges, letter to the General Superior Goswin Nickel, 20 October 1659, ARSI (= Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Jap. Sin. 80, ff. 147-148.

[28] München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica 589.

emperor Chongzhen.<sup>[29]</sup> Parts of this manuscript and related manuscripts were printed in several editions and translations with more or less slight changes. The following edition tells only the story of the Yongli emperor: *Breve Relazione della China, E Della Memorabile Conversione Di Persone Regali di quella corte alla Religione Christiana* (Roma 1652), French translation: *Briefve Relation de la Chine et de la notable conversion des Personnes Royales, & de l'estat de la Religion Chrestienne en la Chine* (Paris 1654). An expanded German translation of this report was published in: Joseph Stöcklein (1676 – 1733) (ed.), *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, an edition of Jesuit letters about 70 years later.<sup>[30]</sup> In *Der Neue Welt-Bott* we also find other relevant sources, namely a letter written by Andreas Xavier Koffler,<sup>[31]</sup> a letter written by Michał Boym about Koffler,<sup>[32]</sup> and a letter written by a Hungarian Jesuit Johannes Nadasy (or Nadasi). These are the printed sources mostly used here. The complete title of this collection of letters from the Jesuit missions all over the world is:

Welt-Bott = Der Neue Welt-Bott. Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Letter/Schriefften und Reis-Beschreibungen/Welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft JESU Aus Beyden Indien, und andern Über Meer gelegenen Ländern Seit An. 1642 biß auf das Jahr 1726. in Europa angelanget seynd. Jetzt zum erstenmal Theils aus Handschriftlichen Urkunden/theils aus denen Französischen Lettres Edifiantes verteutscht und zusammen getragen von Joseph Stöcklein gedachter Societät JESU Priester, vol. I (Augsburg, Grätz, 1726).<sup>[33]</sup>

In this paper three letters from *Der Neue Welt-Bott* are used, namely letter no. 10, letter no 13 and letter no 219.

### 1. Letter by Fr. Andreas Koffler SJ:

“Brief Des gottseeligen Manns P. Wolfgangi Andreae Koffler der Gesellschaft JESU Missionarii, aus der Oesterreichischen Provinz von Crembs gebürtig. An R. P. Joannem

[29] The history of the court in Beijing is dealt with in Johann Adam Schall von Bell's *Historica relatio de ortu et progressu Fidei Orthodoxae in Regno Chinensi per missionarios Societatis Jesu ab Anno 1581 usque ad Annum 1669* ... (Regensburg 1672), which is the second edition of Schall's *Historica Narratio de initio et progressu Missionis Societatis Jesu apud Chineses* ... (Wien 1665).

[30] The ca. 800 letters in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* were from the Jesuit missions around the world. Ca. 200 of them were sent from China. Stöcklein translated French letters from the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (since 1703) into German, and added translations of letters from Latin, Italian or German. Claudia von Collani, “*Der Neue Welt-Bott. A Preliminary Survey*”, *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXV (2003) pp. 19-21; Renate Dürr, “Der “*Neue Welt-Bott*” als Markt der Informationen? Wissenstransfer als Moment jesuitischer Identitätsbildung”, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 34 (2007) H. 3, pp. 441-466, id., “Wissen als Erbauungszur Theatralität der Präsentation vin Wissen aus aller Welt im Neuen Welt=Bott”, [http://diglib.hab.de/ebooks/ed000156/id/ebooks\\_ed000156\\_article11/start.htm](http://diglib.hab.de/ebooks/ed000156/id/ebooks_ed000156_article11/start.htm) (last access June 11, 2018).

[31] For Koffler see Harry Kühnel, “P. Andreas Koffler SJ, Kremser Missionar in Ostasien”, *4000 Jahre Ostasiatische Kunst* (1978), pp. 1-12.

[32] See Robert Chabrié, *Michel Boym, Jésuite Polonais er la fin des Ming en Chine* (1646–1662) (Paris 1933). The papers of the workshop on Boym in 2009 were published in *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011).

[33] Joseph Stöcklein SJ (1676 – 1733), army chaplain of the Imperial Habsburg soldiers, participated, for exmplae, for the Spanish War of Succession. Later, he was in the army of Prince Eugen (1663–1736) in Hungary during many battles. He spent his last years in Graz until his death translating (especially from the French language), writing and editing *Der Neue Welt-Bott*.

Rumer<sup>[34]</sup> gedachter Societät in gemeldeter Provinz damahls vorgesetzten Provincial. Geschrieben zu Batavia in Ost-Indien auf der Insul Java gelegenen Holländischen Vestung/ den 3. Decembris 1642. ”<sup>[35]</sup>

2. Letter by Fr. Michał Boym SJ:

“Bericht Patris Michaëlis Boym, der Gesellschaft JESU Missionarii in Sina, aus der Polnischen Provinz/welchen er zu Rom im Jahr 1653. abgestattet hat”. <sup>[36]</sup>

3. Letter by Fr. Johannes Nadasi SJ: <sup>[37]</sup>

“Brief R. P. Joannis Nadasi der Gesellschaft JESu Priesters. An Den Ehrwürdigen damals in der Provinz Oesterreich gedachter Societät vorgesetzten Patrem Provinciale. Geschriben zu Rom den 2. Februarii im Jahr 1662”. <sup>[38]</sup>

### 3 The Southern Ming

The conquest of China took the Manchus eighteen years. <sup>[39]</sup> When the north of China was already under Manchu rule, in the south there were still several pretenders descending from the Imperial Ming family who tried to establish their own courts, to reconquer China and to restore the rule of the Ming dynasty. All last emperors of the Ming in the north and in the south, however, had the problem that the country was impoverished, and therefore it was difficult to sustain their armies and courts. <sup>[40]</sup> In Nanking a grandson of the Wanli Emperor called “Hum Quam” 弘光 (Hongguang, 1607–1646) reigned as the first emperor of the Southern Ming from 1644–1645, <sup>[41]</sup> but it seems that he had no relations with the Jesuits. Though he was a formidable rival to the Manchus, he lost the province because of his vices. He was followed by Zhu Yujian 朱聿键, 1602–1646, the Prince of Tang, who ruled as Longwu 隆武 Emperor (1645–1646) in Fujian from 18 August 1645 until 6 October 1646. He was of royal blood, but no descendant of Wanli. He was a learned man, courageous and a friend of the Jesuits and the Christians. However, he also reigned for only one year. He was captured by the Qing and executed. <sup>[42]</sup> His brother “Xau V” (Shaowu 绍武, reign 1646–1647) became emperor in the province of Guangdong but was captured and killed by the Manchus. Within

[34] Johannes Rumer was the provincial of the Austrian province of the Jesuits.

[35] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, part 1 (Augsburg 1726), letter no. 10, pp. 28–34.

[36] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, part 1 (Augsburg 1726), letter no. 13, pp. 40–46.

[37] Johannes (or János) Nádasí or Nádasý, born in Tyrnau, Hungary, in 1613, Jesuit since 1633, was at first teacher at Jesuit colleges in Hungary, then stayed in Rome, where he worked as secretary for the Latin letters of the Jesuits’ general superior, for the “*Litterae annuae*” of the Jesuits. From 1658 he was in Austria as preacher, confessor and author. He died in 1679.

[38] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. II, part 9 (Augsburg 1727), letter no. 219, pp. 2–3.

[39] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, “Dreaming of Constantine: the Jesuit Mission and Princely Conversions in the Southern Ming”, in: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute (eds.), *History of the Catholic Church in China. From its beginning to the Scheut Fathers and 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Unveiling some less known sources, sounds and pictures* (Leuven Chinese Studies XXIX) (Leuven 2015) p. 67.

[40] Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (1644–1912) (Washington 1943, Taipei 1970) p. 191.

[41] Lynn A. Struve, “The Southern Ming, 1644–1662”, in: Mote, Frederick W. / Twitchett, Denis/Fairbank, John K. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 7. The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge 1997) pp. 641–660.

[42] Struve, “Southern Ming”, p. 676–693. Von Collani, “Michał Boym”, pp. 334f; idem, “Astronomy versus Astrology. Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his “superstitious” Chinese Calendar”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXXII, fasc. 164 (2013) pp. 421–457.

three years there were three emperors, all of whom disappeared.<sup>[43]</sup>

At the same time as Shaowu also another competitor reigned, namely the Yongli emperor. Before Longwu died he sent a legate called Achilles Pang Tianshou 庞天寿 to the Ming prince Zhu Youlang 朱由榔 (1623—1662), who later became the Yongli emperor. Achilles or Achilleus Pang Tianshou was a eunuch from Beijing. Born ca. in the year 1588 he died in 1657. Achilles is perhaps identical with Achilleus, who was Director of Ceremonial at the Imperial court in Beijing. He and his brother Nereus belonged to the first eunuchs within the Imperial palace in Beijing who were baptised during the reign of Chongzhen Emperor, he was quite probably baptised by Niccolò Longobardo 龙华民 (1565—1655), Matteo Ricci's 利玛竇 (1552—1610) successor as the mission superior.<sup>[44]</sup> After the conquest of Beijing he moved evidently to the south to join the Southern Ming.

Several Jesuits had relations to the different emperors of the Southern Ming, as Francesco Sambiasi 毕方济 (1582—1649), who served the emperors Longwu and Hongguang. They sent him together with Pang Tianshou to Macau to get military help from the Portuguese.<sup>[45]</sup> Martino Martini 卫匡国 (1614—1661) from Trento (today northern Italy) came into contact with the Longwu Emperor; together with Giulio Aleni 艾儒略 (1582—1649), Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki 穆尼各 (1610—1656) and Pascoal Fernandes (1609—1681) he stayed in Yanping 南平 where Longwu had his Court.<sup>[46]</sup> The Longwu Emperor and his entourage were especially interested in Martini's knowledge about military affairs, such as ballistics, gun powder and the casting of cannons.<sup>[47]</sup>

## 4 The Yongli Emperor

The last emperor of the Ming and one of the tragic heroes of our story was Zhu Youlang, the son of Zhu Changying 朱常瀛 (1597—1645). Zhu Changying, Prince of Gui, was the seventh and youngest son of the Wanli Emperor. Zhu Youlang was Prince of Yongming 永明. Also, other members of his family are known because they are mentioned in the Jesuit letters and reports as Christians. The most important members of the family were the empress Dowager Wang (1594? —1651) (Xiaozheng 孝正太后), who had been the main consort and widow of Zhu Changying, and who was Yongli's honorary mother; followed by the Empress Dowager Ma (Huangtaihou 皇太后), Yongli's real mother, and Yongli's wife Empress Wang. Later the heir apparent to the throne belonged to this group, too.

When Zhu Youlang was asked to ascend the throne as the emperor of the Southern Ming, the Empress Dowager Wang refused in his name, stating that he was too young (only 23 years old),

[43] Struve, "Southern Ming", pp. 676-579; Paul Rule, "The Jesuits and the Ming—Qing Transition: How Did Boym and Martini Find Themselves on Opposite Sides?", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) pp. 243-258.

[44] Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 438.

[45] In fact, he was able to return with a contingent of Portuguese soldiers. See Chabrié, *Michel Boym*, pp. 75f Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 439.

[46] Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 166.

[47] Giuliano Bertuccioli, Appendice 1: Cronologia della vita e delle opere di Martino Martini, in: Martino Martini, *Opera* 1 (Trento 1998) p. 516; s. a. Claudia von Collani, "Two Astronomers: Martino Martini and Johann Adam Schall von Bell", in: Luisa M. Paternicò, Claudia von Collani, Riccardo Scartezzini, *Martino Martini, Man of Dialogue*. Proceedings of the International Conference "Martino Martini (1614—1661), Man of Dialogue" held in Trento on October 15—17, 2014 for the 400th anniversary of Martini's birth (Trento 2016) p. 71.

inexperienced and not strong enough for such a heavy burden. <sup>[48]</sup> In fact the prince is described being a friendly and nice man, but weak and lacking courage and the responsibility. He could only survive as emperor because he had several very selfless and noble men in his service. <sup>[49]</sup> At the end the prince was persuaded by the officials Ding Kuichu 丁魁楚 (+ 1647), baptised as Lucas, and Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (1590–1651), baptised as Thomas, and Lü Daqi 吕大器 to accept the offer. <sup>[50]</sup> Zhu Youlang started his reign in Zhaoqing 肇庆, a former Ming estate and headquarters of the governor of Guangdong province and the Viceroy of Liang-Guang 两广, in November 1646. Ding and Qu became grand secretaries at the new court. <sup>[51]</sup> On 24 December 1646, Yongli was installed as emperor in Zhaoqing. Besides his two secretaries Yongli had also other Christians in his service, namely besides Achilles Pang also Lucas Jiao Lian 焦琯 (– 1651). <sup>[52]</sup> For a decade, the Yongli Emperor and his troops were successful fighting against the Manchu, and it was not sure if the Manchu conquerors would win against the Southern Ming, but it seems that he was overstrained. His regime became more and more instable and he had to flee to the West into Burma. <sup>[53]</sup> At the end the Burmese were forced to surrender him to the Chinese general Wu Sangui 吴三桂 (1612–1678), who had joined the Manchus, and who put him and his young son to death by strangulation. <sup>[54]</sup>

Initiated by Francesco Sambiasi (1582–1649) the Yongli emperor received military help from Macau under Nicolas Ferreira, who brought 300 Portuguese and Chinese Christians from Macau armed with muskets and cannons in 1647. This contributed much to the victory of the Ming troops in the battle of Guilin. Koffler served as chaplain to these troops. <sup>[55]</sup>

## 5 Andreas Wolfgang Koffler

### 5.1 The early life of the Jesuit Andreas Wolfgang Koffler

Andreas Wolfgang Koffler was born in Krems, Austria, in 1612. His family was a Lutheran Protestant, his father was a rich merchant. When the mother became a widow, she left Austria, because there was pressure on her because of their religious denomination as a Protestant. Therefore, together with her children she moved to Regensburg (Ratisbonae), an Independent City of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation in the South, meaning that there was no pressure concerning Christian denominations, one could freely decide to be Protestant or Catholic. Koffler, however, stayed in Vienna, converted to Catholicism and started his university education there in 1623, at first

[48] Struve, “Southern Ming”, p. 677.

[49] Fr. Jäger, “Die letzten Tage des Kü Schi—si”, *Sinica* VIII (1933) p. 197.

[50] For Thomas Qiu see Jäger, “Kü Schi—si”, p. 197.

[51] Struve, “Southern Ming”, p. 677; see also Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 440, Albert Chan, “A European Document on the Fall of the Ming Dynasty (1644–1649)”, *Monumenta Serica* XXXV (1981–83) document 93.

[52] Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 440.

[53] Alfons Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S. J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592–1666* (Köln 1933) (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXV) (Nettetal, St. Augustin 1991<sup>2</sup>) pp. 149f; Struve, “Southern Ming”, pp. 681–710.

[54] Struve, “Southern Ming”, pp. 709f; Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 194.

[55] Chabrié, *Michel Boym*, pp. 60f, 85; Hsia, “Dreaming of Constantine”, pp. 77f. Sambiasi had also close connections to Yongli who sent him as his ambassador to Macau and later created him a mandarin. S. Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 238.



in the “artes liberae”, then in theology.<sup>[56]</sup> In 1627 he joined the Society of Jesus in Vienna and took the name Andreas Xavier.<sup>[57]</sup> Koffler was not a scientist comparable to Johannes Schreck (Terrentius) 邓玉函 (1576—1630) or Johann Adam Schall von Bell, however he had knowledge of astronomy. In 1639 he succeeded in his wish to be sent to the East Asian mission. His departure by ship from Lisbon, however, had to be postponed until 1640.<sup>[58]</sup>

Koffler reached Portuguese Goa in January 1642. From there he travelled on an English vessel together with four other Jesuits to Dutch Batavia (today Jakarta) on Java, in June 1642. When a Portuguese ship bound to Macau arrived in Batavia the Jesuits hoped that they could travel to Macau on this ship. However, the ship was not in a good condition, therefore only three of them could leave, namely the Swiss Jesuit Onuphrius Bürgi (also called Onofrius, Onofre Borges, later Jesuit superior of Tonkin), the Tridentine Jesuit Martino Martini and Paolo Calopresio from Naples.<sup>[59]</sup> They started in October 1642. Koffler and another Portuguese Jesuit, João Borges, stayed in Batavia until 1644. Koffler acted as a priest and presided over the Eucharist for the few Catholics in Batavia.<sup>[60]</sup>

Koffler described his stay with the Dutch in Batavia as being quite agreeable, because he profited from his knowledge of the Flemish language. The Calvinist Dutch were friendly and helpful, Koffler was often invited for dinner, where they discussed about the faith. When he lacked money the governor helped him. At his arrival Koffler was without equipment for the Eucharist and he was lacking books. The Dutch provided him with all these things and books which they had taken when they conquered Malakka. The Dutch, however, had the wrong opinion about the Jesuits's plans thinking that they wanted to go to the silver mines of Japan, but Koffler told them that they wanted to save souls to China. In reality the Jesuits really wanted to go to the closed Japan secretly, not to look for silver mines, but to save souls and to become perhaps martyrs for their faith, a wish which was shared by other missionaries until nearly the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>[61]</sup> However, they kept these plans secret, because the Japanese accepted only the Dutch as European trade partners, because they did not have missionaries and preferred to profit by commerce in Japan. For this reason, Koffler and his companions pretended to go as missionaries to China; they even changed their outfit and hair adapting to the Chinese custom. The Dutch warned them that the Chinese mandarins would kill them. The Jesuits, however, were not afraid of a martyr's death for their faith. Koffler noticed that the Dutch Protestant preacher men would never do the same because they had wives and children. At the end Koffler defended in his letter the celibacy of the Catholic Church; without marriage, i. e. without wife and children, the priests could decide and act in a free way.<sup>[62]</sup> Finally Koffler and

[56] Kühnel, “Andreas Wolfgang Koffler”, p. 7.

[57] Gert Naundorf, “Koffler, Wolfgang Andreas” in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 12 (1979) pp. 419 f. [Onlinefassung]; URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd131711350.html> NDB.

[58] Josef Wicki, “Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541—1758”, *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft. Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte 7. Band* (Münster 1967) p. 296.

[59] Kühnel, “Andreas Koffler”, p. 7.

[60] Koffler, Letter, 6 December 1642, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 10, pp. 29-31; Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 137.

[61] Claudia von Collani, “Between Mission, Martyrdom and Mathematics; Antoine Thomas and Japan”, in: Ku Weiyong, Zhao Xiaoyang (eds.), *Multi-aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China. From Antoine Thomas S. J. to Celso Costantini* (Beijing 2011) pp. 598-639.

[62] Koffler, Letter, 6 December 1642, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 10.

Borges went by ship to Macau. Their superiors there and the inhabitants of Macau evidently had convinced them that it was impossible to go to Japan.

## 5.2 Koffler and the conversion of the Yongli Emperor's family

In his report Boym described the conversion of several important persons of the family of Yongli. However, we can assume that he wrote this report with the help of Koffler and perhaps of Achilles Pang. Koffler got to know Zhu Youlang, the later Yongli Emperor, when he was still a Prince. During the time when Achilles Pang stayed with the Prince in Wuzhoufu (Guangxi), the Christian general Lucas Jiao Lian 焦璉 arrived there together with 10,000 soldiers and with Fr. Andreas (Xavier) Koffler. Koffler had learned from Pang that the prince never stayed on the land or in a palace, but only on ships travelling on the rivers, because he was afraid of demons plaguing him otherwise. Achilles Pang gave him his "Lipsanoteca," a box containing relics, which partly helped. Pang told Koffler: "If Your Reverence would like to talk with the prince, I will provide you with an audience."

Koffler agreed and was received with much love by the prince who did not permit that he make any reverence to him. Koffler gave him the obligatory presents consisting of technical instruments, namely optical tubes, cylinders, mathematical instruments, and a picture of the Holy Virgin holding her son in the arms, St. John the Baptist standing nearby. The prince enjoyed these small presents and talked with Koffler. He was invited to return to the prince again.

When Yongli was crowned with the help of Pang he invited Koffler to his court in Zhaoqing. Because of tumults the emperor had to change the place soon and leave Zhaoqing. Pang did all he could to persuade Yongli to embrace Christianity and to permit that the empress received baptism. Together with the empress the emperor daily prayed the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria with the Apostolic Creed, bowing his knees. Later, the emperor dreamt three times, as he told Boym, of a little boy with a cross who said: "If you will not follow my law, I will make you die." The emperor recognized that this boy was identical with the child held by the Virgin in the picture and that the cross was similar to the one of St. John depicted at the side of Mary. <sup>[63]</sup>

Finally, the Empress Dowager decided to receive baptism and admonished Achilles Pang: "I see well that baptism is necessary for salvation. But who will do that? Did you not say that the fathers in the imperial city of Peking gave the faculty to baptize the virgins and matrons of the palace to the chamberlains because no man from outside can come to our conclave, much less a priest from a foreign country, because otherwise he would be punished severely?"

Achilles answered that he could not make any decision on this behalf but wanted to talk to Koffler about it. Koffler answered that many emperors and empresses suffered in the eternal flames and that it was an easy way to go to hell without baptism. But if the empress wanted to be saved it was best to be baptized by the Jesuit himself. A short time afterwards the empress heard the false rumours that the capital had been conquered by rebels and decided to commit suicide, a kind of death considered noble by the Chinese, in contrast to the shame of falling into the hands of the enemy. But Achilles Pang told her: "God wants that Your Majesty receive baptism from the hand of the Fathers. Then nobody can rob you of your eternal salvation." These words filled the empress and the consorts with new courage. Kneeling before the pictures

[63] In *Der Neue Welt-Bott* it was the empress who dreamt, see the letter by Michael Boym, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott* vol. 1, part 1, letter no. 13.

of the Saviour and the Holy Virgin they promised to receive baptism with the holy ceremonies of the Roman Church. Koffler baptised the three empresses in April 1648. The Empress Dowager received the name Helena (Wang Liena 王烈纳), the biological mother of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Ma, was baptised Anna 亚纳, and the legitimate wife of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Wang from Suzhou, obtained the Christian name Maria (Maliya 玛利亚); also the other women of the seraglio desired fiercely to be baptized.<sup>[64]</sup> So besides them around 50 concubines and 40 officials were baptised, also the mother of Helena, Julia.<sup>[65]</sup>

The next day the emperor returned and was invited to adore the pictures of Christ and the Holy Virgin. He stated: "The idol Fo (佛 = Buddha) shall not be adored, but Christ the true God." He praised the decision of the empress. "I, too," he said, "will follow your example." But he postponed baptism for some reason and remained a catechumen, daily reciting the prayers of the catechism and burning precious perfumes before the pictures of the saints. Boym hoped that he would be baptized soon after he left the court for Europe.

In the meantime, five provinces sent petitions that they wanted to become subjects of the Yongli emperor and to receive Viceroy from him, which was done. One of the concubines of the emperor bore a daughter, who died at once. Koffler when asked for the reason had the explanation that God's law forbids having a concubine besides the legal wife, and therefore the little girl from a sinful relation had to die. Instead he advised the emperor to pray that the empress would have a son. The next day the Empress Maria sent a message to Koffler that she daily prayed to have a son as successor to the throne, that she recommended herself to her guardian angel for an easy delivery, whereas Koffler as a help sent her consecrated candles to be burnt before the images of Christ and the Holy Virgin. During the next night, the empress happily gave birth to a son. The emperor sent the astronomical signs of the time of the birth in Chinese language to Koffler who should explain them, i. e., make a Christian horoscope. Koffler answered that the imperial son would be happy because he was born in the middle of the night like the son of God when he decided to become a human being born from the virgin. At that time the sun and the dragon were in conjunction, the dragon being the symbol of imperial rule in China. This Christian interpretation of the horoscope pleased the Emperor and the whole court. The empress and the consort wanted to have the baby baptized, but Koffler refused and wanted to do so only with the consent of the emperor. The emperor answered that the son should be educated in the Christian way and should have only one wife later.

But the emperor himself postponed the baptism, which caused a great discord between him and the empress, and the son was only baptized after a dangerous illness. So the boy with Chinese name Cixuan 皇子慈烜 (1648—1662) was baptized with Achilles Pang being his godfather. He received the name of Constantine, in Chinese "Tam Tym" (= Dang Ding 当定), meaning: "He is the one who determines". The emperor was quite pleased by this name. All felt edified by this event and the holy faith was held in high esteem from that time.<sup>[66]</sup> Koffler hoped that the boy as the future emperor

[64] Sometimes the name of the mother of Yongli is given as Maria and that of his wife Anna, which seems to be illogical, because according to Christian and Islamic tradition, Anna or Hanna was the mother of the Virgin Mary. However, she is not mentioned in the canonical gospels.

[65] Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de la Chine* (Chang-hai 1932—1934) p. 267; Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 440f.

[66] Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, p. 267; Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 440f.

would follow the example of the Roman Emperor Constantine, who was victorious under the sign of the cross and made his empire Christian, whereas his mother was also an Empress Dowager Helena.

The emperor ordered Achilles Pang to send Christian mandarins on ships with gifts to the Jesuit Church in Macau, the ships being equipped with silken sails and bearing the sign of the Cross. When they approached Macau they proclaimed in a loud voice that they were Christians. The inhabitants of Macau guided them to the Jesuit College and they handed the letters to the Jesuit Visitor (perhaps Sebastião de Maia, visitor from 1650 to 1658). In these letters, the emperor asked the Fathers to accept his gifts as a sign of his gratitude. They were sent in his name and in that of his son. The presents consisted of two candelabra of silver, two thuribles made of silver, two silver baskets for flowers, and Chinese incense and damask clothes. The legates made their reverence in the Chinese way and gave the gifts to the Jesuit Church.

Boym finished his report with the remark: “May God grant the emperor many victories against the rebels.” Concerning Yongli, Boym’s report, of course, ends before his death. Joseph Stöcklein, the editor of *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, finished the story; after his long flight through South Western China to Burma Yongli was finally captured by the “Tartars” (i. e. Manchus) and killed.<sup>[67]</sup>

### 5.3 Koffler’s further fate

Koffler’s life and death is described in some lines at the end of Boym’s letter no. 13 in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. These additions, however, were made by Stöcklein, the translator and compiler of *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, and he mentioned that the further fate of Koffler was unknown: “Some believe that he perished when a certain city was conquered. Others think that he was executed together with his emperor Yum-liè (Yongli).”<sup>[68]</sup> In a later letter written by the Jesuit Johannes Nadasi dated 2 February 1662, also published in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* as no. 219, Koffler’s probable fate is described. The information was given from the Portuguese from Tonkin to the General Superior of the Jesuits, the Portuguese assistant gave it to Nadasi, and then it was transmitted to the Province of Austria. When the court of the Yongli emperor was on its flight on ship, Koffler was shipwrecked on a sandbank nearby Tianzhou. A “Tartarischer Hauptmann” (Manchu captain) assailed him and he was asked who he was. Koffler answered in Chinese that he was a teacher of the Divine Law (= Christianity), whose contents were in the sign of the holy cross. When the Tartar asked him to show him such a sign, Koffler performed three little crosses it starting with his front, the mouth, then the breast, followed by the big cross from the front to the belly, then the left and the right shoulders and he said in Chinese: “With the sign of the holy cross deliver us, o Lord, from our enemies in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.” When he had finished these words, the Tartar cut him with his sword from the front to the belly and from the left shoulder to the right shoulder thus making Fr. Koffler a sacrifice. In this way, as Fr. Nadasi says, Koffler became a martyr of Jesus Christ and triumphed by the sign of the cross. This story was told by a chamberlain and confirmed by

[67] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, p. 45. Struve, „Southern Ming“, pp. 709f.

[68] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, pp. 45f. Stöcklein wrote about the fate of Koffler: “Wie es aber dem Apostolischen Mann Patri Andreæ Wolffgango Koffler, welchem die Portugesen den Nahmen verändert und Andream Xavier genannt haben/ferner ergangen seye/hab ich nach fleißiger Nachforschung nicht erfahren können. Einige glauben/er wäre in dem Sturm einer gewissen Stadt mit in die Pfannen gehauen worden. Andere meynen/er seye mit seinem Käyser Yum-liè hingerichtet worden.”

several Chinese Christians and by the superior of the Jesuit mission in Tonkin.<sup>[69]</sup> So at the end Koffler went to the Far East because he wanted to become a martyr in Japan, but he reached his destination in China.<sup>[70]</sup>

In Fr. Marini's report it was Fr. Boym who had heard the story from a eunuch, attested by several Christians.<sup>[71]</sup> The story is also attached to Boym's letter together with the description of the sad end of the Yongli emperor: the siege of Canton, conquered on 24 November 1650, with 100,000 inhabitants killed. Then the Tartars went further to Zhaoqing to attack Yongli, but he did not wait but fled through Guangxi to Yunnan and finally to Pegu. He was surrendered to the Qing army and killed in 1662. The letter mentions that his widow and the other women were brought to Peking where they were well treated and lived there as Christians until their death, which is, however, not proven. The editor Fr. Stöcklein also sees clear parallels to the death of the Shunzhi Emperor at nearly the same time: both died in the same year, and the empire was given to the eight years old Kangxi emperor.<sup>[72]</sup>

## 6 Michał Boym

### 6.1 The early life of Michał Boym

The second important Jesuit at the Court of the Southern Ming was the Pole Michał Boym. His life is much better known than that of Koffler. Boym was born in Lvov, Poland-Lithuania, in 1612, his father was acting physician at the court of the Polish King Sigismund III. Boym joined the Jesuits in 1631; after his studies at several Polish Jesuit Colleges, he finally obtained the permission to travel to the East as a missionary.<sup>[73]</sup> He departed from Lisbon for China 30 March 1643 and reached Tonkin in 1645. At first, he worked on the island of Hainan, where he made studies in the flora there. In 1649 Boym stayed for a short time in Macau. In 1650 Boym was sent to Court of the Southern Ming by Álvaro de Semedo 曾德照 (1586—1658), the Vice-Provincial of China to support Koffler.<sup>[74]</sup> Boym did not stay at the Court for a long time but was soon entrusted with a special legation to Rome. Already at the end of 1650 the Empress Dowager sent him as ambassador back to Europe.<sup>[75]</sup>

### 6.2 Michał Boym's delegation to Rome

At the end of the year 1650 Boym was made ambassador of the Southern Ming Court and sent to Europe by the Empress Dowager Helena and the Christian princesses of the Southern Ming Court. They sent him to Pope Innocent X (Reign September 1644-7 January 1655) and to European rulers.

[69] Johannes Nadasi, Letter, 2 February 1662, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 2, 1727, no. 219.

[70] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, pp. 45f. Cf. Edward J. Malatesta, "The Tragedy of Michael Boym", in: *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de Sinologie, Chantilly* 1989 (Taipei, Paris 1995) pp. 353-370.

[71] Giovanni Filippo Marini, *Delle Missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nella Provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino* (Roma 1663) p. 346.

[72] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 13, pp. 45f.

[73] Monika Miazek-Mieczynska, "Indipetae Boymianae. On Boym's Requests to the Jesuit General for a Missionary Appointment to China", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) pp. 229-242.

[74] Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, pp. 265-269; Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 137.

[75] Dehergne, *Répertoire*, pp. 34f.

On Boym's suggestion Empress Helena wrote letters to Pope Innocent X,<sup>[76]</sup> to the Jesuits' General Superior dated 1 and 4 of November 1650, and to Cardinal Lugo.<sup>[77]</sup> The chancellor Achilles Pang did the same.<sup>[78]</sup> In these letters they begged to pray for their souls and for their fight against the Manchus and therefore for Ming restoration, and also so send more Catholic priests to the court, but they did not beg for military help from Europe, because it was too far away.<sup>[79]</sup> Empress Helena's letter as published in Latin translation in Athanasius Kircher's famous book *China ... illustrata* reads in English translation as follows:

“The empress Helena, the most just, the most wise, the most clement, and most venerable, addresses the throne of the most holy father, the most mighty prince, the doctor of Catholic church, and the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

I, Helena, who blush with shame to remain in the imperial palace, though I am a humble grand-child of the Chinese emperor; I, who have no knowledge of strange laws, and who have only studied those that regard a retired life, have been happy enough to find a man called Andrew Xavier, of the company of Jesus, who came to settle at our court, to publish there a holy doctrine, whereby he has acquired a great reputation. I had a desire to see him, and after having satisfied my curiosity, I was sensible that what was said of him was true, and that he was an extraordinary man.

The esteem I entertained for his merit, made me easily relish his doctrine. I have received holy baptism from his hand, and he has been partly the cause that the empress Mary, mother to the emperor, I his lawful wife, and Constantine, son and heir of the said emperor, were, three years ago, likewise regenerated by the waters of baptism, after having been sufficiently instructed in the truth of religion. As I wish to be grateful, even at the hazard of my life, for all the grace I have received from Heaven, I have often cherished the desire and thought to repair to your holiness, that I might by yourself be instructed in my duty, but the distance of place hindered me. For this reason I write this to your holiness, to the end that by your holy prayers you may render the divine majesty favourable to poor sinners, such as we are; and that you might be pleased to grant us plenary remission of our sins at the hour of death.

We likewise entreat you, most holy father, to beg of God, in conjunction with the holy church, that he may vouchsafe to take our empire under all his protection; but above all that may grant our imperial house the blessings of peace, and teach the emperor (who is the

[76] The letter published in: Marini, *Delle Missioni* ... pp. 545-546, in Latin translation in: Athanasius Kircher, *China ... illustrata* (Amsterdam 1667) pp. 101f: “Interpretatio Literarum Sinicarum ab Imperii Sinici Imperatrice D. Helena, nomine suo, & Reginæ Matris D. Annæ, & Reginæ uxoris D. Mariæ, nec non filii Imperatoris Principis & Hæredis D. Constantini missarum. Ad Sanctissimum D. N. per Patres Andream Xavier, & Michaelem Boym, Societatis JESU, in Aula Imperatoris Sinensis pro tempore Assistentes, facta,”; then in French translation in Du Halde, p. 83. “Litteræ Helenæ Tamingæ, Sinarum reginæ, ad S. Pontificem, 4 Novembris 1650,” Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* (Paris 1735) p. 83.

[77] Cardinal Lugo is quite probably identical with Juan de Lugo y de Quiroga (1583–1660), entered the Society of Jesus in 1603 and became a Cardinal in 1643.

[78] “Litteræ Pan Achillei, Eunuchi Sinarum regis, ad S. Pontificem, 1. Novembris 1650”, in: Athanasius Kircher, *China... illustrata* (Amsterdam 1671) p. 100f; Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* III (Paris 1735) pp. 83f; Launay, *Histoire des Missions*, pp. 11f. Additional letters were written to the Doge of Venice and to the King of Portugal.

[79] Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 441.

eighteenth of this line, and nephew of the twelfth successor of the founder of this monarchy,) and all his subjects, to know and to adore the true God, Jesus Christ. We likewise beseech you, that you would show us the favour of sending other holy persons of the Society of Jesus, in order that they may publish throughout the empire the holy laws of the Gospel, which would lay us under great obligation. For this end, we send your holiness Michael Boym, who is perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of the empire, to present these our humble petitions. He can declare to you verbally all that we more particularly desire, and he will make you acquainted how great is our submission to the church. Whenever our empire shall enjoy full peace, we hope to send back some of these fathers, to present our vows and persons before the altars of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as we do at present with profound respect.

Lastly, we kneel and fall prostrate, craving the favour of your holiness, in hopes that you will look upon us with a gracious eye.

Fourth year of Yung-lich, — 11<sup>th</sup> of 10<sup>th</sup> month (corresponding to the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1650). ”<sup>[80]</sup>

And the letter written by Achilles Pang:

“Pan Achilles, a Christian, universal proregent of Quam Tum, Quam Sy, and Fo Kien provinces, by order of the emperor of the illustrious Chinese Empire; military commissioner for land and sea; leader of the subordinate kings of Quam Sy, treasurer of revenues; solicitor; absolute and sole judge in the emperor’s absence; supreme prefect of the imperial guard; master of the horse; great chancellor; private imperial secretary; servant of the bedchamber. With knees bent and head toward the ground I stand before the throne of Jesus, and the vicar of God on earth, the universal teacher of the Catholic church, the true Lord, the Most Holy Father.

I, Achilles, having been led from error, am guardian of the emperor’s inner chambers, and, at the same time, in charge of the responsibility for war. Once I harmed myself. Removed from the light and discipline, I increased the number of sinners. Then, by the auspices of God, in the Northern Court I met Jesuits who, though I was ignorant, taught me. They exhorted me, a sinner, to follow the faith. Therefore I was reverently cleansed with the sacred washing. I began to understand the documents of the Holy Faith and its hidden excellence and deep profundity. Then I was immersed in zeal and day and night I followed the truth for more than twenty years, nor did I dare to give any of it up. So I sought the help of the King of Heaven, since I did not know how to proceed. I often planned to visit the sacred throne and to satiate my eyes by venerating the holy countenance, but the imperial concerns are so various and royal matters so perplexing that my heart could not follow its desire. I am sorry about this. The sole excuse of my sinful heart is that calamity has never departed from the empire.

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[80] Karl Gützlaff, *A sketch of Chinese history, ancient and modern*, vol. 2 (London 1834) pp. 122-124; cf. Athanasius Kircher, *China illustrata* by Athanasius Kircher, S. J., transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 (sic!) original Latin edition (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1987) pp. 92f.



Therefore, I requested Fr. Boym to go by ship to the Far West and to approach you, great pontiff, as suppliant. Most Holy Father, when you raise your eyes to heaven before the altar of St. Peter and Paul, please pray with the church of the whole world that God might look down in mercy on this imperial house, that He aid and preserve the empire by setting up the borders of future peace. May He cause our wise emperor, who is the eighteenth successor in this royal house and the twelfth descendant from the first founder of the empire and family, himself a lord, to worship Jesus, the Lord of heaven, along with his servants. That will be a blessing for our Chinese Empire. In this present time the most upright, wise, merciful, venerable empress of the Christian name Helena, the queen mother named Maria, the imperial legitimate wife Anna, and the emperor's son, prince, and heir Constantine—may all these humbly believe and cultivate the holy doctrine which contains the words of truth that approach the Holy Throne. As regards me, an unlearned sinner, I humbly beseech you, Most Holy Father, that you grant a full remission of sins in the hour I depart this life, and that you send many other Jesuits to the Chinese Empire to convert with their doctrines all those of this generation so they will repent and decide to cultivate and venerate the Holy Law, and these Jesuits won't shake the dust from their feet after a vain journey. I hope finally to achieve unending happiness. With veneration, I have explained these secret thoughts of an ignorant mind. I throw myself to the earth hoping for your merciful consideration. That is all.

In Yum lie, that is the fourth year in the order of revolution of the Literary Annals Kem Yn, the tenth moon, the eighth day, which is November 1, 1650 A. D. ”<sup>[81]</sup>

Sent by the Court of Yongli with the permission of the Vice-provincial Alvaro Semedo (1586—1658) and with the two letters in his luggage, Boym started his voyage by sea from Macau on 1 January 1651 to Portuguese Goa (May 1651).<sup>[82]</sup> There he learned that the King of Portugal had already abandoned the cause of the Ming Emperors and that his mission to Europe was considered as dangerous for the relations between Qing China and Portugal. The Jesuit superiors also thought that the Order should not interfere into political matters. Therefore, Boym was placed under house arrest, but succeeded in escaping. He continued his travel on foot and on the land route via Persia, Smyrna, Venice. There he met the Doge on 16 December 1652, presented himself dressed in Chinese clothes and then continued his travel to Rome. In Rome he had to wait with his Chinese companion Andreas (Zheng Andelei 郑安德勒) for three whole years because Pope Innocent X did not receive him; there were even rumours that the letter from the Ming Court were fraudulent,<sup>[83]</sup> and the Jesuit general superior thought that Boym's mission was dangerous for the other Jesuits in China.<sup>[84]</sup> Finally, after

[81] Kircher, *China illustrata* (1687) pp. 91f.

[82] Paul Rule, “The Jesuits and the Ming-Qing Transition: How Did Boym and Martini Find Themselves on Opposite Sides?”, *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) p. 246.

[83] Monika Miazek-Męczynska, “The Roman Troubles of Michael Boym S. J. described by Thomas Szpot Dunin in *Historiae Sinarum Imperii and Collectanea Historiae Sinensis*”, in: *Rooted in Hope. In der Hoffnung verwurzelt, Festschrift in Honor of Roman Malek S. V. D. on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LXVIII/1) (Sankt Augustin 2017) pp. 178f.

[84] Rule, “Jesuits and the Ming-Qing Transition”, p. 252.



the decisions of the *Congregatio particularis* of the *Propaganda Fide* (1653, 24 August 1654 and 24 September 1655) and after letters sent by bishops of Goa and Macau asking for the recall of Boym's mission the new Pope Alexander VII (Reign 1655—1667) decided to receive Boym in an audience on 7 December 1655. On 18 December 1655 he answered to the letters sent from China.<sup>[85]</sup> These letters written by the Pope for the last Ming ruler and his Christian family, however, were only “spiritually uplifting but political noncommittal”.<sup>[86]</sup> Then he started his way back to China as superior of a small group of Jesuits from Lisbon to Goa on the ship “*Bom Jesus do Carmo*” on 30 March 1656.<sup>[87]</sup> Their destination was Portuguese India, but some travelled on to China.

In his luggage Boym carried the encouraging letters written by Alexander VII to Empress Helena and to the great chancellor (18 of December 1655).<sup>[88]</sup> Boym still hoped that the cause of the Christian Ming Court would turn a turn for the better now, that the Yongli emperor would embrace Catholicism as the first Chinese emperor, that his Court would follow him and that the Southern Ming would become the dominant ruling dynasty of China and of the Far East, as envisioned by the promising strategy of accommodation of the Jesuits.<sup>[89]</sup> However, things did not go this way. Starting from Goa in 1657 Boym arrived in Siam in 1658. There he received message from the Senate of Macau to avoid the city, because the Portuguese were dependent on the Qing Court in Peking and did not want to endanger these relations.<sup>[90]</sup> Boym therefore continued his way via Ayutthaya in Siam. There he hired a ship from pirates which brought him to Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam) where they arrived on 10 August 1658.<sup>[91]</sup> From Tonkin there was still a two months journey left for Boym to reach the Ming Court in the South. In Tonkin he met two brethren, namely Fr. Onufre Borges and Fr. Joseph François Tissanier (1618—1688), who informed him that King Trinh Tac (1654—1682) of Tonkin had ordered the other six Jesuits to leave the country for Macau on 17 July. Finally, Boym and Andreas got their passports and were permitted to leave Tonkin on February 16, 1659.<sup>[92]</sup> Boym then continued his dangerous travel with his Chinese companion to the province of Guangxi, where he died of exhaustion on 22 June 1659.<sup>[93]</sup>

At the same time when Boym started his travel for Rome, namely in 1650, another delegate was sent to Rome, namely the Tridentine Jesuit Martino Martini, who was also sent by Vice-Provincial Manuel Dias (1559—1639), on behalf of the Chinese Rites and with a dossier about Johann Adam

[85] “*Litterae responsoriae ab Alexandro VII ad Helenam, Sinae Imperatricem*”, and “*Litterae responsoriae Alexandri VII ad Pan Achilleum, eunuchum Sinarum regis*”, both *Romae*: 18. Decembris 1655, in: Kircher, *China ... illustrata* (1667) pp. 102f; English translation Kircher, *China illustrata* (1987) pp. 93f; cf. Robert Streit (ed.), *Bibliotheca Missionum V* (Freiburg 1929) p. 80. S. a. Robert Chabrié, Michel Boym, p. 181; von Collani, “Boym”, p. 316; Miazek-Mieczynska, “The Roman Troubles”, p. 179.

[86] Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 441.

[87] Wicki, “*Jesuiten-Indienfahrer*”, p. 300. Boym's companions were among others the Jesuits Philippe Couplet (1623—1692), François de Rougemont (1624—1676), André Gomez (1622—1681) and Ignatius Hartegovelt (1629—1658). Wicki, “*Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer*”, p. 300. Other companions were George Brett Keynes (1629—1658 died on sea), António Saldanha (1619—1656?), Francisco Velho (1631—?) and João de Abreu (1635—1663).

[88] Kircher, *China ... illustrata*, pp. 102f.

[89] Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 310f.

[90] Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, p. 273.

[91] Malatesta, “The Tragedy of Michael Boym”, p. 364.

[92] Von Collani, “Boym”, p. 330.

[93] See the report by Borges, in: Malatesta, “The Tragedy”, pp. 365—368.

Schall von Bell. <sup>[94]</sup> After a long and dangerous voyage he finally arrived in Rome at the end of 1654. <sup>[95]</sup> He submitted new material concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy and managed to obtain a positive answer from the Holy Office 23 March 1656. <sup>[96]</sup> His way back started in the beginning of 1656 and he arrived in Hangzhou in June 1659. He died there already in June 1661. <sup>[97]</sup>

The story about the last Ming Emperor Yongli, his Christian family, the Christians in his entourage and the fate of the two Jesuits in his service is a tragic one. Both Jesuits tried to convert him to Christianity, but they failed. Boym and Koffler both died for their faith, for their Lord the Yongli Emperor and for the Society of Jesus, because they tried to serve all of them.

It is astonishing in what extent the events and persons of the Qing dynasty in Northern China and those of the Southern Ming were parallel. Both emperors Shunzhi, the first emperor of the new Qing dynasty, and Yongli, the last emperor of the old Ming dynasty, died as comparably young men at about the same time, 1661 and 1662 respectively. Both of them had a Jesuit astronomer in their service. From both courts, from the North and from the South, delegates were sent to Rome at the same time, from the North Martino Martini was sent, from the South Boym. However, events concerning the two dynasties went in opposite directions. Martini was successful in many respects, whereas Boym failed in many ways; His delegation as such failed more or less, his maps of China were never published, whereas Martini's petition to the Holy Office was successful and he also published among others the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam 1655) and the first history of the Chinese empire, namely *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima* (Monachii 1658). <sup>[98]</sup> Boym's book on Chinese medicine *Clavis medica ad Chinarum doctrinam de pulsibus ...* (1686) was published only posthumously. <sup>[99]</sup> Only his *Flora Sinensis, fructus floresque humillime porrigens* (1656) was printed during his lifetimes when he had already left Europe. He was not treated well either by the Jesuit province of Japan nor of that of the Vice-Province of China. <sup>[100]</sup> His companion Koffler succeeded in converting parts of the Imperial family in the South, but they were defeated and killed. He published even less. Together with Boym he was quite probably the author of the report on the conversion of the Imperial family of the Southern Ming Court, which appeared in several versions and translations, namely *Summa del estado del imperio de la China, y Christiandad del, por las noticias que dan los padres de la Compañia de Iesus ...*, (1650), and a posthumously published letter in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* in 1726. It seems, however, that he became one of the few martyrs of the China mission of early modern times.

[94] Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 103. See Collani, "Two Astronomers", pp. 88f.

[95] Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 166.

[96] Martini also obtained a good solution for the cause of Schall. Von Collani, "Two Astronomers", p. 78.

[97] Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 166.

[98] Noël Golvers, "Michael Boym and Martino Martini: A Contrastive Portrait of Two China Missionaries and Mapmakers", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) pp. 259-271.

[99] See Edward Kajdanski, "Michael Boym: The First European Expert in Chinese Medicine and Pharmacy", in: *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de Sinologie de Chantilly 1986. Succès échecs de la rencontre Chine et Occident du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Variétés Sinologiques-Nouvelle Série Vol. 74)* (Taipei, Paris 1993) pp. 133-144 and Erhard Rosner, "Michael Boym and the Introduction of Chinese Medical Knowledge to the West: A Reappraisal", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) pp. 401-416.

[100] Onofre Borges, Letter to Goswin Nickel, 20 October 1659, ARSI, JS 80, ff. 147r-148r.

## 7 Conclusion

The Jesuits' efforts to convert persons of the top of the society and especially members of ruling houses (emperors, kings, princes, daimyos etc.) aimed to help the spread of Christianity among the subjects of these persons. It was they might avoid conflicts between the rulers and their peoples. In Europe the Jesuits following their motto "to become all for all" used different methods in the Counter Reformation to regain lost territories for Catholicism: catechetical work among the Catholic people,<sup>[101]</sup> education of the future elite of the countries at their colleges,<sup>[102]</sup> serving as confessors at Catholic courts. In this role they worked at courts of the dukes of Wittelsbach, such as Maximilian I of Bavaria (birth 1573, reigned 1597–1623) in Munich—his confessor was Adam Contzen (1571–1635); for the House of Habsburg, with emperor Ferdinand II from Austria (birth 1578, 1619–1637) whose confessor was Wilhelm Lamormaini (1570–1648); and of Louis XIV (birth 1638, reigned 1643–1715) in Paris with well-known Jesuit confessors, François d'Aix de (le Père Lachaise) la Chaise (1624–1709) and his successor Michel Le Tellier (1643–1719), confessor of the sun king until the death of Louis in 1715.<sup>[103]</sup> The Jesuits, of course, would have liked to have comparable influence at the courts of East Asian as in Japan, China, Siam, first as missionaries and then as confessors. They did what they could working as astronomers, mathematicians, military experts, artists, their hope, however, failed for different reasons. European Catholic nations of that times seemed to be too threatening for the East Asian countries, the Catholic Church tried to gain influence over inner political affairs. Polygamy constituted one of the greatest obstacles concerning the upper classes.<sup>[104]</sup> So at the end only a few of the Japanese daimyos were converted and Catholicism was more or less extirpated in Japan; in China there were several high ranking scholars such as Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao, but Christianity failed among other reasons because of the Rites Controversy and became a religion which lived under the control of the court in Beijing or which had to live underground.<sup>[105]</sup>

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[101] Especially Peter Canisius became one of the Catholic forerunners of catechetical work. See Julius Oswald, Peter Rummel, Petrus Canisius-Reformer der Kirche. Festschrift zum 400. Todestag (Augsburg 1996).

[102] Michael Müller, Die Entwicklung des höheren Bildungswesens der französischen Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Aufhebung 1762–1764. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kollegien von Paris und Moulins (Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte Band 4) (Frankfurt/Main 2000); Vicent J. Duminuco, The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum. 400th Anniversary Perspectives (New York 2000).

[103] Robert Bireley, "Hofbeichtväter und Politik im 17. Jahrhundert", in: Michael Sievernich, Günter Switek (eds.), Ignatianisch. Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu (Freiburg 1990) pp. 386-403; Markus Friedrich, Die Jesuiten. Aufstieg, Niedergang, Neubeginn (München 2016) pp. 270-284.

[104] Claudia von Collani, "Mission and Matrimony", in: Ku Wei-ying (ed.), Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan (Leuven Chinese Studies X) (Leuven 2001) pp. 15f.

[105] Claudia von Collani, "Parishes, Priests and Lay People: Christian Communities as Described in the Neue Welt-Bott", in: Noël Golvers, Sara Lievens (eds.), A lifelong dedication to the China Mission. Essays presented in Honor of Faber Jerom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday and the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K. U. Leuven (Leuven Chinese Studies XVII) (Leuven 2007) pp. 669-704.

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中文题目：

## 永历朝廷里的耶稣会士瞿安德和卜弥格

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远东差学专家，从德国维尔茨堡大学天主教神学专业互动二博士学位，2005年明斯特大学天主教神学专业获得教授资格开始任教远东差传历史及差传学。地址：Shielshausserasse 15, D-97072, Wuersburg, Germany. Email: colaudia.von.collani@T-ONLIE.de

**提要：**本文主要研究南明永历朝廷里的耶稣会士瞿安德和卜弥格。作者首先研究了欧洲和亚洲统治者德信仰皈依，并介绍了作为本文研究对象德原始资料。其次，作者研究了南明和永历朝廷。接着研究了瞿安德德早期生平、他与永历皇帝家族的信仰皈依情形，和瞿安德的进一步的命运。作者还研究了卜弥格格的早期生平、及其赴罗马的代表团。最后得出了本文的结论。

**关键词：**南明；永历朝廷；耶稣会士；瞿安德；卜弥格





# 二十世纪德国政教关系的历史考察<sup>〔1〕</sup>

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**提要:**20世纪是德国政教关系演变最剧烈的时期。1918年,帝制结束后,魏玛共和国结束了邦国教会体制,确立了政教分离和政教合作的体制。1918至1933年,纳粹统治期间,试图彻底控制所有教会和意识形态领域,遭到不少反抗,没有完全实现。1949年,联邦德国成立后,继承了魏玛共和国的传统,在《基本法》的法治框架下,进一步完善了政教既分离又合作的体制。在1990年两个德国统一之后,联邦德国的政教体制扩展到整个德国,整体上较为成熟稳定,但在宗教信仰和社会日益多元化的今天,也遇到很多问题和挑战。

**关键词:**德国;政教关系;基督教

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德国目前总人口约8274万,其中天主教徒约2331万人,约占28%;新教徒约有2153万人,约占26%;穆斯林约有415万,约占5%;还有约有3048万德国人声称没有宗教信仰,约占37%(2017年数据)<sup>〔3〕</sup>加上2%的东正教徒和1%的其它基督教派,基督教徒占据德国总人口的57%,尽管较历史上降低了不少,但基督教仍是德国的主导性宗教。如何处理国家与基督教的关系,是德国从中世纪至当代的核心问题之一。

宗教自产生以来,便与政治建立了很深的联系。世俗政权欲借助宗教增强统治的神圣性和合法性,宗教欲借助政权的力量推广教义,增加信众。同时,两者又会爆发权力争夺的斗争。由此,历史上形成了多种政教关系,主要分为政教合一、政教分离、政教合作和政府控制宗教等多种类型。

20世纪是德国政教关系演变最剧烈的时期。20世纪初,德国的政教关系相对平静。新教方面,以政府控制教会的邦国教会体制为主,这源于宗教改革之后世俗君主担任教会最高首脑的传统。天主教方面,19世纪70年代,俾斯麦发动了针对天主教会的“文化斗争”,试图清除天主教在政治和社会方面的影响,最后以妥协告终,天主教会维持了自身的独立性,但学校教育受国家监督和世俗婚姻等制度得以保留。德国的政局和政教体制都稳定下来,直到1914年爆发的第一次世界大战打破了这种稳定。1918年,德国推翻帝制,建立魏玛共和国后,结束了邦国教会体制,确立了政教分离和政教合作的体制。1933—1945年,纳粹统治期间,试图彻底控制所有教会和意识形态领域,遭到不少反抗,没有完全实现。1949年,联邦德国成立后,继承了魏玛共和国的传统,在《基本法》的法治框架下,进一步完善了政教既分离又合作的体制;同年成立的民主德国则试图建立政府控制宗教的体制。在1990年两

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〔2〕 林纯洁,华中科技大学外国语学院德语系副教授。

〔3〕 <https://fowid.de/meldung/religionszugehoerigkeiten-deutschland-2017>,2019-03-01.

个德国统一之后, 联邦德国的政教体制扩展到整个德国, 整体上较为成熟稳定, 但宗教和社会日益多元化的今天, 也遇到很多问题和挑战, 值得思考。

## 一、魏玛共和国时期的政教关系

1918 年, 德国在第一次世界大战中战败, 11 月爆发革命, 推翻了霍亨佐伦王朝的统治, 建立了共和国。1919 年 2 月至 7 月, 德国立宪国民议会在魏玛制定了宪法, 这个共和国后来因此被称为“魏玛共和国”, 这部宪法也被称为《魏玛宪法》。

《魏玛宪法》确立了民主共和的政治体制, 在第二编“德国人民之基本权利及基本义务”的第三章“宗教及宗教团体”(第 135—141 条) 对教会地位和政教关系进行了非常详细的规范, 确立了宗教自由、政教分离、国家中立、宗教团体自治等原则, 顺应了世界的主要潮流, 完全改变了宗教改革以来政府控制教会的邦国教会体制。

《魏玛宪法》第 137 条规定: “不立国教。宗教团体设立之自由, 应保障之。在联邦领土内, 宗教团体之联合不受限制。宗教团队, 在对一般适用法律限制内, 得独立规定管理其事务, 并不必受国家或人民自治区之干涉, 得自行委用委员。宗教团体得依据民法规定, 取得法律能力。宗教团体有公法上之性质者, 仍为公法团体。其他宗教团体, 若其组织及社员人数, 有确能永久继续之希望者, 得依其请求, 给予同样之权利……团体之为公法社团者, 有依据人民税册, 遵照联邦法规规定标准, 征收租税之权。凡结社以从事共同世界观念为任务者, 得以宗教团体待遇之。”<sup>[4]</sup> 此条首先确立了“不立国教”的基本原则, 这是政教分离的前提, 由此保证了各种宗教和教派能够在法律面前被平等对待。其次, 该条确立了“宗教自由”的原则, 保证了自由设立宗教团体和宗教团体自治的权利。第三, 该条确立了教会的公法社团地位。第四, 该条在宪法层面确定了教会征收教会税的权力。德国的教会税设立于 19 世纪初期, 是为了补偿德国教会地产世俗化后的损失。教会税由此成为教会的重要财政支柱。信徒只有退出教会, 才能免交教会税, 但手续非常复杂, 因此绝大多数信徒仍然缴纳教会税。第五, 该条款保障的不仅是宗教团体, “从事共同世界观念”的非宗教信仰团体也享有同样的权利, 这从更大范围内保障了信仰的自由。

第 138 条保障了教会的财产所有权。第 139 条保障了信徒在星期日及其它休假日参加宗教活动的权利。第 140 条保障国防军人因宗教义务而休假的权利。第 141 条规定, 教会为军队、医院、监狱和其它公共机构提供礼拜和牧灵服务, 但不得强制执行。教会在此履行的公共服务功能, 体现了政教合作的理念。

《魏玛宪法》第二编第四章“教育及学校”第 149 条规定, 各学校在国家监督范围内开设宗教课程, 内容依据各教派教义。条款中也规定无宗教信仰的学校不在此限, 但这种情况很少。学校由于其权威性, 其宗教课程对青少年的宗教信仰具有非常大的影响。而青少年的信仰是教会得以维持和发展的关键。因此, 在魏玛共和国的教育体制中, 教会仍占据了重要位置, 因此有人批评魏玛宪法未能实现完全的政教分离。卡尔·施密特认为, 这是一种“延迟性的形式妥协的典型实例……魏玛宪法没有把国家与教会彼此分开, 也就是说, 没有把教会当私人团体、把宗教当作‘私人事务’来对待”。<sup>[5]</sup>

实际上, 由于人作为公民和信徒的多重身份属性, 政教是不可能绝对分离的。“‘政教分离’指的

[4] 姜士林 Jiang Shilin, 鲁仁 Lu Ren, 刘政 Liu Zheng 主编, 《世界宪法全书》*Shijie xianfa quanshu* [Constitutional Pandects of the World], (青岛 Qingdao: 青岛出版社 Qingdao chubanshe [Qingdao Publishing House], 1997), 820.

[5] 卡尔·施密特 Carl Schmitt, 《宪法学说》*Xianfa xue shuo* [Constitutional Theory], 刘锋 Liu Feng 译, (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House]), 2005, 37.

是,政治组织结构与教会组织结构的性质差异和独自操作性,但‘政教分离’并非否定教会的‘世俗性’、‘社会性’、‘参与政治的功能’等;因为政教分离制度并非分裂‘人’、‘社会人’以及‘公民’的个人实质,也并非否认‘信仰群体’(community of faith)作为‘社会团体’(community of faith)的一部分”。〔6〕因此,教会仍在社会中发挥着不可替代的作用,形成了一种政教合作的趋势。

君主制度的终结结束了宗教改革以来的邦国教会制度,德国的新教教会开始拥有更多的自治权力,这是一些新教徒一直所要求的。但这也引起了一些新教教会的不满,因为这意味着失去了国家的特定扶持和保护。当然国家的保护并没有完全消失,这种保护是针对所有宗教的:“当时国家还保障其独立性,保护其原则、机构或建筑不受任何伤害。凡冒犯上帝、宗教、信仰者,都将被送交轻罪法庭判刑。”〔7〕

1922年,各州新教教会联合成立了德国福音教会联合会,这是一个松散的联盟组织。一些新教教会开始与州政府签订教务条约,以获得稳定的支持。如1925年与巴伐利亚和普法尔茨,1931年与普鲁士,1932年与巴登签订了条约。

由于天主教会在德意志帝国时代受到压制,因此,在共和国时期,天主教会开始寻求与国家政权签署保障教会权利的条约。在未能与共和国政府达成协议情况下,天主教会1924年与巴伐利亚,1929年与普鲁士,1932年与巴登签订了一系列地方教约(Konkordat)。这些政教条约保证天主教和新教被平等对待,在大学神学院中设置教授席位,在公立学校中设立宗教课程。“魏玛共和国的这一系列政教条约措施显示了国家和教会在广阔领域中的紧密合作,两个大的教会较其它也获得公共法人地位的教会拥有更多的特权。”〔8〕

具有天主教背景的中央党在德国政坛仍具有较大影响力,得票稳定在15%左右。中央党与社会民主党和民主党组成了“魏玛同盟”,成为共和国的重要支持力量。但整体而言,魏玛共和国时期政党众多,意识形态分歧剧烈,导致政府更迭频繁,1930年起就再无政党能获得国会多数支持而进行组阁,这促使兴登堡总统开始直接任免总理,最终导致了希特勒纳粹党的上台。

## 二、纳粹时代的政教关系

1933年1月,希特勒被兴登堡总统任命为总理,纳粹党夺取了政权。刚开始,纳粹政权与教会的关系较好。因为纳粹党首先是一个反犹太的种族主义政党。纳粹对犹太人大肆迫害,消灭了在德国境内的犹太教。其次,纳粹是一个反共主义的政党。这两点与基督教的部分意识形态是相符合的。希特勒也希望利用教会巩固政权,发表了一些对基督教友好的话,因此,很多天主教徒和新教徒刚开始都是愿意与纳粹政权合作的。

但实际上,纳粹在本质上是一个反基督教的政党。“纳粹党人对基督教有一种形而上的仇恨,因

〔6〕 陈驯 Chen Xun,路德论政教关系 Lude lun zhengjiaoguanxi [On the Relationship between Church and State According to Martin Luther],《国学与西学国际学刊》Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], Vol. 8, 2015, 45 (<https://www.sinowesternstudies.com/back-issues/vol-8-2015/>). 黄保罗 Paulos Huang 2019:“精神人文主义:马丁·路德与儒家工作坊报告 Jingshen renwen zhuyi: Mading Lude yu rujia gongzuofang baogao”【A Report on the Workshop of Spiritual Humanism: Martin Luther and Confucianism】，《国学与西学国际学刊》Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], 第十六期 vol. 16, 页 173-234 (<https://www.sinowesternstudies.com/latest-volumes/vol-16-2019/>).

〔7〕 里昂耐尔·理查德 Richard Lionel,《魏玛共和国时期的德国》Weima gongheguo shiqi de deguo [Daily Life in the Weimar Republic], 李末 Li Mo 译,(济南 Jinan: 山东画报出版社 Shandong huabao chubanshe [Shandong Pictorial Publishing House]), 2005, 116.

〔8〕 Johannes Wallmann, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 264.

为他们认为它是来自犹太人的信仰。”<sup>[9]</sup>但在基督徒占主体的德国,纳粹没有办法公开反对基督教,于是试图通过控制基督教会,宣扬一种符合纳粹意识形态的“积极的基督教信仰”或“日耳曼人的宗教”,为巩固政权服务。纳粹党的纲领第二十四条要求给予“国内一切宗教派别的自由,只要它们对……德国民族的道德情感没有危险。党赞成积极性的基督教信仰。”<sup>[10]</sup>可见,纳粹党虽然宣称宗教自由,但更为强调的是“德国民族的道德感情”,这实际上就是纳粹的种族主义。

1933年3月,希特勒在国会通过《授权法》,以一种合法的方式将立法权、预算控制权等重要权力集于一身。在投票时,社会民主党反对到底,但只占少数;面对纳粹的威逼利诱,中央党等其它党派在国会中投了赞成票;共产党则被禁止与会。从此,希特勒开始实施极权主义的专制政策,取消了德国千年来的地方自治传统,并试图在意识形态上控制德国人。

天主教会一直希望能以国家条约的形式保证教会的权力,希特勒也希望获得罗马教廷的承认以在国际上立足。于是经过双方谈判后,在1933年7月20日,纳粹政府与罗马教廷签订了政教专约《帝国宗教协议》,规定:“教会宣誓和保证‘忠于德意志帝国和各邦’,‘忠于符合宪法组成的政府’,教士不得从事政治活动。在此前提之下,政府保证教会有权在其管辖权限内颁布训令、任命、主教通告和设立其他教会机构。教会有权本着爱国和公民义务的精神,在学校讲授宗教课,开展以教育和慈善为目的的天主教活动。”<sup>[11]</sup>由此,纳粹在专约中保证天主教的自由和天主教会管理自己事务的权利,“在教育领域、教会社团生活、传教活动和青年工作等方面作出巨大让步”,作为天主教会退出政治的补偿。<sup>[12]</sup>专约所规定的政教关系本身是可行的,至今仍然有效。影响更深的是,专约的签订是纳粹政权在国外第一次获得承认,而且是来自在国际上具有崇高威望的罗马教廷,这给予了希特勒政权很大的支持。

但就在专约签订5天后,纳粹政府就颁布《净化法令》。之后,便开始解散天主教青年联盟,关闭教会的新闻机构,关闭许多修道院和教会学校,阻挠学校的宗教课程,并逮捕了许多试图反抗的教徒。天主教会人士这才意识到,“在极权主义国家条件下,教会决心维护自己的存在就是政治反抗的表现。”<sup>[13]</sup>1937年3月21日,教宗庇护十一世发布谕令《如焚的焦虑》,谴责纳粹对教会的侵犯。

对于分散的新教教会,纳粹政府则试图通过建立一个统一的教会组织来控制新教。当时新教徒绝大部分属于28个路德宗和改革宗教会;少数属于浸礼教会等独立教会。新教教会因为其反共反犹的立场,对希特勒的上台一度表示欢迎;又受到路德以来教会传统的影响,对世俗政权较为服从。1932年,拥护纳粹的基督徒组织了“德意志基督徒信仰运动”。1933年9月,希特勒心腹穆勒被任命为国家主教,并将忠于纳粹的“德意志基督徒”安置在各个教会的领导位置上,试图统一全国的新教组织。这遭到了部分新教教派的抵制和反抗。如1934年5月,德国福音教会在巴门召开会议,在神学家巴特的倡议下,发布了《巴门宣言》,反对国家对教会事务的全面干预。1934年5月,部分新教教派成立了明认教会(Bekennende Kirche)。明认教会明确反对纳粹的暴政,受到希特勒的镇压,一些新教

[9] 克劳斯·费舍尔 Fischer K. P.,《纳粹德国:一部新的历史》*Nacui deguo: yibu xinde lishi* [Nazi Germany: A New History], 余江涛 She Jiangtao 译,(南京 Nanjing: 译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe [Yilin Press], 2011, 382.

[10] 威廉·劳伦斯·夏伊勒 William Lawrence Shirer,《第三帝国的兴亡》*Disan diguo de xingwang* [The rise and fall of the Third Reich: A history of Nazi Germany], 董乐山 Dong Leshan 译,(北京 Beijing: 世界知识出版社 Shijie zhishi chubanshe [World Affairs Press], 2005, 270.

[11] 邸文 Di Wen,《第三帝国与教会》*Disandiguo yu jiaohui* [The Third Reich and The Church],《世界历史》*Shijie lishi* [World History], No. 2, (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学院世界历史研究所 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan shijie lishi yanjiusuo [Institute of World History Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 1994), 52.

[12] 迪特尔·拉夫 Diether Raff,《德意志史》*Deyizhishi* [Deutsche Geschichte], 波恩: Inter Nationes, 1987), 286.

[13] 卡尔·迪特利希·埃尔德曼 Karl Dietrich Erdmann,《德意志史》第四卷上册 *Deyizhishi disijuan shangce* [Das Zeitalter der Weltkriege (Gebhardt, Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 8. Aufl., Bd. 4)], 高年生 Gao Niansheng 等译,(北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1986, 482.



牧师因此被关进集中营。由此,新教教会分裂为三个部分:支持纳粹派、抵抗纳粹派和中间派,教派陷入纷争,希特勒希望统一新教教会的计划失败了。穆勒统一教会的努力失败,1935年底,被罢免了国家主教的职务。

在穆勒被罢免之前的1935年7月,纳粹政府成立了教会事务部,强力推动对新教教会的统一和控制,逮捕了很多明认教会的牧师,使得大部分新教教会屈服了,但仍有少数新教徒仍在反抗。“虽然纳粹没能使教会一体化,但教会对第三帝国的存在并不构成危险,因为大批教徒已自愿或迫不得已随波逐流。”<sup>[14]</sup>1939年,纳粹德国发动第二次世界大战,1945年战败。纳粹的暴政被推翻,新教教派之间的斗争随着纳粹的覆灭而结束。

### 三、分裂时期的德国政教关系

1945年,德国战败后,被美苏英法四大国分区占领。德国人开始在废墟上重建家园,纳粹时代备受压制的基督教会开始复兴,在扶助难民,抚慰人心方面发挥着重要作用。尽管纳粹统治时期,基督教会因没有进行坚决的抵抗而受到批评,但也不可否认的是,“教会还是作为唯一体制化的,违背清一色化的精神对立力量而保存下来了。”<sup>[15]</sup>

天主教组织体制在纳粹统治时期没有受到太大破坏,维持了罗马教会的圣统制。分裂的新教教会在战后开始寻求新的联合。1946年,德国福音教会成立(EKD, Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland)在埃森纳赫成立,由路德宗、改革宗和联合教会(Unierten)等新教教会联合组成。1948年,德国福音教会中的路德宗教会,成立了德国福音路德联合教会(VELKD),是德国福音路德教会理事会的继承者。联合教会中的几个教会又成立了联合福音教会(U EK)。可见新教教会为了保持自身的独立性,建立了多层次的联合关系。

鉴于政党的纷争和宗教派别的分裂是魏玛时期纳粹上台的重要原因,因此在二战后,各政党和基督教派别都感受到联合起来捍卫民主的重要性。1945年6月,德国的基督徒政治派别在科隆(英占区)和柏林(苏占区)分别建立了基督教民主联盟(CDU,简称基民盟)的地方组织。“‘基督教民主同盟’这个名称含有把各个教派和各个社会阶层在政治上联合起来的双重意图。”<sup>[16]</sup>大部分原中央党党员转向了基民盟,1946年,原中央党的党员康拉德·阿登纳成为英占区基督教民主联盟的领导人。有少数党员不愿加入,重建了中央党,但在政坛上失去了影响力。1945年10月,巴伐利亚的基督教政治派别成立了基督教社会联盟(CSU),成为基民盟的姐妹党,后来在联邦德国被合称为“联盟党”。基督教的教义深刻地影响了这些党派的政策。“在加入这个党的基督徒们看来,民主制是实现他们的社会和政治目标的唯一可行的国家制度。这些目标也包括保证维护和促进教会在学校里和社会上的活动。”<sup>[17]</sup>

1949年,在冷战的大背景下,德国正式分裂,形成了两种不同的社会制度和政教关系。

#### 3.1 联邦德国的政教关系

1949年9月,在美英法三国的支持下,联邦德国成立,基民盟的阿登纳当选为联邦德国第一任总理,领导了联邦德国的复兴。1950年,基民盟召开全联邦德国的代表大会,阿登纳被选为主席。基民

[14] 迪特尔·拉夫 Diether Raff,《德意志史》Deyizhishi [Deutsche Geschichte], 波恩: Inter Nationes, 1987, 286.

[15] 卡尔·迪特利希·埃尔德曼 Karl Dietrich Erdmann,《德意志史》第四卷下册 Deyizhishi disijuan shangce [Das Zeitalter der Weltkriege (Gebhardt, Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 8. Aufl., Bd. 4)], 华明 Hua Ming 等译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1986, 260.

[16] 同上书,第204页。

[17] 同上书,第205页。

盟逐步发展成为联邦德国最大的政党。

联邦德国恢复了联邦、民主和共和的政治体制。这一体制建立在 1949 年 5 月通过的《基本法》上。《基本法》还确立了信仰自由、不设国教和政教分离的制度。《基本法》第 4 条规定：“一、信仰、良心的自由，宗教的或世界观的信念自由不受侵犯。二、保障宗教活动不受干扰。三、任何人不得被迫违背自己的良心使用武器为战争服役，细则由联邦法律规定。”<sup>[18]</sup>这一条继承了《魏玛宪法》第 135 条关于信仰自由的条款，但更为明确，还增加了替代役的内容，最大程度上保障了信仰自由。有的教派如耶和華见证会的教义规定，信徒不能持有武器。这就违背了一些国家的义务兵役制度，经常引发政教冲突；替代役可以有效避免这种冲突。《基本法》在第 140 条则直接规定了《魏玛宪法》第二编第三章“宗教及宗教团体”中的第 136、137、138、139 和 141 条是《基本法》的组成部分。

通过宪法层面的继承，联邦德国直接沿袭了魏玛共和国时代政教既分离又合作的体制，同时更加注重对小教派和非主流信仰群体的保护，进一步完善了这种制度。整体而言，“德国国家—教会体制的法律基础是围绕着中立、宽容与平等这三个基本原则而构建的。”<sup>[19]</sup>联邦德国与梵蒂冈建立了外交关系，互派大使。1955 年，联邦德国宣布，1933 年纳粹政权与梵蒂冈签订的《教务专约》依然有效。

很多宗教团体享有公法法人的地位，但该地位的获得以忠于国家法律为前提。不承认或蔑视世俗权力的教会团体则很难获得该地位。教会享有自主管理的权力，对教会内部事务如教义、仪式、教职任免等具有决定权。何为教会内部事务主要依据教会内部的认同，但出现争议时，“法院依据基本法对此事仍保留最后的决定权。”<sup>[20]</sup>可见，法律成为调节联邦德国政教关系的制度基础和最后手段，体现了联邦德国“法治国”(Rechtsstaat)的核心理念。

拥有公法法人地位的宗教团体可以向信徒征收教会税。联邦德国继承了传统的教会税制度，国家税务机关帮助教会收取教会税，教会税纳入了国家的税收系统。教会税一般为个人收入所得税的 8%—9%，即在个人所得税基础上额外增收的附加税。公司的雇员会按要求填写纳税等级、宗教信仰和孩子数量等。雇主收取后，交给税务局。国家会收取一定的征税费用，约是总税款的 3%—5%，其余按照信徒的比例分给各个教会。参与分配教会税的教会有天主教会、路德宗和加尔文宗等新教教会以及犹太教会等教派，伊斯兰教没有列入。

基督教会还深入参与了学校教育，学校都设立了宗教课程，前提是在国家的监督下。《基本法》规定：“宗教教育在国立和市立学校中列为普通课程，非教会学校除外。在不损害国家监督权的条件下，宗教教育得按照各宗教团体的宗旨进行，不得强迫任何教师违背其意愿讲授宗教课程。”<sup>[21]</sup>

二战后初期，基督教会在政治上具有较高的地位。但“从 20 世纪 60 年代开始，社会迅速的世俗化，教会对政治家和政治党派的影响力减弱了。”<sup>[22]</sup>退出教会的人和无宗教信仰的人不断增加，也削弱了教会的政治影响力。

### 3.2 民主德国的政教关系

1949 年 10 月，在苏联的支持下，民主德国成立，并颁布了《宪法》，确立了社会主义体制。1946 年由德国共产党和社会民主党合并组成的统一社会党成为长期的执政党。1945 年苏占区成立的基民盟

[18] 姜士林 Jiang Shilin, 鲁仁 Lu Ren, 刘政 Liu Zheng 主编,《世界宪法全书》Shijie xianfa quanshu [Constitutional Pandects of the World], (青岛 Qingdao: 青岛出版社 Qingdao chubanshe [Qingdao Publishing House], 1997), 791.

[19] 格哈德·罗伯斯 Gerhard Robbers 主编,《欧盟的国家与教会》Oumeng guojia yu jiaohui [State and Church in the European Union], 危文高 Wei Gaowen 等译, (北京 Beijing: 法律出版社 Falü chubanshe [Publishing House of Law], 2015), 55.

[20] 同上书, 第 57 页.

[21] 姜士林 Jiang Shilin, 鲁仁 Lu Ren, 刘政 Liu Zheng 主编,《世界宪法全书》Shijie xianfa quanshu [Constitutional Pandects of the World], (青岛 Qingdao: 青岛出版社 Qingdao chubanshe [Qingdao Publishing House], 1997), 791.

[22] 乌尔夫·迪尔迈尔 Ulf Dirmeier 等著,《德意志史》Deyizhi shi [Deutsche Geschichte], 孟钟捷 Meng Zhongjie 等译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2018), 351.

成为民主德国的五大政党之一(其余为统一社会党、德国自由民主党、德国国家民主党和德国民主农民党),参与了民主德国的建立,并加入了全国性的政治派别联盟——国家阵线,在民主德国政治中发挥重要作用。

民主德国《宪法》对政教关系进行了规范。在第41至48条,规定了宗教信仰自由、教会的公法地位、保证学校中的宗教课程等条款。1952年起,基督教会活动受到限制和管束,形成了一种政府管理宗教的形态。1953年,学校中的宗教课程被禁止。由于政府提倡无神论,基督徒比例大大下降。1956年,约有90%的受洗的基督徒会行坚振礼。3年之内,这个数据下降到三分之一。<sup>[23]</sup>退出了教会的人不断增加,这导致原民主德国地区是现在德国信教比例最低的地区。

1956年,司法部废除了支持教会征收教会税的法令,取而代之的是政府会给教会一定的财政补助。1957年,设立了负责教会问题的国务秘书,任务是阻止“教会对国家事务,尤其是学校和教育问题的任何干涉企图。此外,还获得指令,审查所有与政教关系相关的协议和法律,是否符合共和国社会发展的当前状态。”<sup>[24]</sup>1958年,民主德国提出了“社会主义的教会”(Kirche im Sozialismus)的主张,试图寻找信奉无神论的政权与教会的和平相处之道。

1961年,柏林墙修建起来后,两德教会之间的联系变得较为困难。1968年4月,民主德国制定了新的《宪法》,去除了教会法律地位的条款。新教教会退出总部位于联邦德国的德国福音教会(EKD)。1969年6月,“民主德国福音教会联盟”(BEK)成立,并划分为8个教区。20世纪70年代,新教教会曾与民主德国政府有较为紧密的合作,教会支持民主德国的“和平运动”。到了80年代,两者的关系又紧张起来。天主教方面,梵蒂冈在20世纪70年代承认民主德国,为民主德国的6个主教区任命了主教。

整体而言,民主德国的教会保留了教会财产,亦有幼儿园、医院等公益机构,保持了一定的独立性。教会和国家在人权等问题上有矛盾,关系相对较为紧张。

#### 四、两德统一后的政教关系

1989年11月9日,柏林墙倒塌。1990年10月3日,两个德国统一。联邦德国的政治制度延伸到原民主德国的地区,《基本法》中关于政教关系的条款在民主德国地区生效,既分离又合作的政教体制成为全德国的政教关系的主流,但面对宗教与信仰多元化的趋势,也面临着越来越多的挑战。

两德统一后,两个地区的教会进行了重新整合。整合后,德国的天主教一共分为7个教省,1个教省由1个大主教区和由大主教管理的2—5主教区构成,共有7个大主教区和20个主教区。7个大主教区为:科隆、汉堡、弗莱堡、慕尼黑与弗赖辛、班贝格、柏林和帕德博恩,比较均衡地分布在德国各个地区。新教方面,东德的新教教会重新加入德国福音教会,德国福音教会在全国有22个地方教会。

教会有很多收入来源,但主要来源仍是教会税,其中天主教会和新教教会占据绝大部分。2017年,新教教会获得教会税56亿7142万6千欧元,天主教会获得教会税64亿3694万7千欧元。<sup>[25]</sup>据统计,近年德国教会的教会税收入每年都在增加。教会税成为教会的主要收入,构成了新教教会约70%和天主教会约80%的预算收入。<sup>[26]</sup>教会税主要用于灵魂帮助、慈善、社会服务、教育、教会机构运行等事宜。

[23] Johannes Wallmann, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 299.

[24] Johannes Wallmann, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 300.

[25] <http://www.kirchensteuern.de/KirchenfinanzierungGesamt2.htm>, 2019-2-18.

[26] 同上.



德国新教教会和天主教会教会税收入<sup>〔27〕</sup>(单位:千欧元)

年份	新教教会	天主教会
2011	4 379 657	4 924 611
2012	4 624 472	5 197 801
2013	4 842 390	5 460 209
2014	5 077 770	5 691 209
2015	5 365 280	6 096 170
2016	5 453 916	6 156 494
2017	5 671 426	6 436 947

但德国社会针对教会税的争议越来越大。有的信徒不愿意缴纳教会税,退出教会后,仍想参加教会的宗教活动。如弗莱堡的天主教徒、神学教授哈特穆特·查普(Hartmut Zapp)反对缴纳教会税,认为应该由信徒自愿捐献。他在 2007 年声明退出了天主教教会组织,但仍精神上仍感觉自己仍是天主教的一员,要求参加教会活动。而德国天主教主教会议认为,在官方机构前宣称退出教会的人,即自动遭到了绝罚。但梵蒂冈的罗马教廷并太不赞同德国天主教主教会议的这种看法。<sup>〔28〕</sup>哈特穆特·查普因此将德国天主教会告上了法庭。2012 年,德国联邦行政法院做出判决,退出教会,不缴纳教会税,就不再是教会成员。这支持了德国天主教主教会议的立场。

由于教会税是政府代收的,因此有人批评这违背了政教分离的原则。很多信徒在缴纳教会税后,就不愿意再向教会捐款;教会税成为很多信徒退教的重要原因。而教会可以一直获得稳定的教会税收入,服务信徒的质量就可能下降。教会由于缺乏监督,还会导致腐败。如 2013 年 10 月,天主教林堡主教埃尔斯特(Elst)3100 万欧元的豪华官邸被媒体曝光,遭到社会各界严厉批评,甚至造成信徒退出教会的潮流。埃尔斯特甚至涉嫌作伪证,被德国司法机关调查。埃尔斯特被迫辞职,2014 年获教宗方济各批准。这暴露了教会内部缺乏监督的问题,尤其是天主教会的等级制度强调服从,影响了监督机制的运行。

随着信仰的日益多元化,宗教引发的问题越来越多。例如,巴伐利亚法律曾规定,小学的每个教室都要悬挂一个十字架。而有不信仰基督教的家长则认为,这个符号会影响孩子的宗教倾向。于是在 1991 年,该家长向巴伐利亚州雷根斯堡行政法院提起诉讼,要求教室内撤出十字架,因为“在教室中陈设十字架,违背了国家对于宗教世界保持中立的义务”。<sup>〔29〕</sup>该诉讼请求被驳回,上诉至州行政法院,也被驳回。巴伐利亚州认为,十字架是西方文化的象征,“十字架只有在礼拜时才有宗教的象征意义”<sup>〔30〕</sup>。于是,家长上诉到联邦宪法法院,1995 年,联邦宪法法院最后判定,十字架是基督教的核心标志,不是一般的西方文化象征,在教室内设置十字架是不合法的。这个判决在德国引起了很大争议,尤其是基督教团体严厉谴责了这个判决,很多示威者呼吁政府拒绝执行。“这是联邦共和国历史上,

〔27〕 同上

〔28〕 <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/gericht-entscheidet-ueber-kirchensteuern-nach-austritt-a-857995.html>, 2019-2-18.

〔29〕 小 W. 科尔·德拉姆 W. Cole Durham Jr.,《法治与宗教:国内、国际和比较法的视角》*Fazhi yu zongjiao: guonei, guoji he bijiaofa de shijiao* [Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives], 隋嘉滨等 Sui Jiabin 译, (北京 Beijing: 中国民主法制出版社 Zhongguo minzhu fazhi chubanshe [China Democracy and Legal System Publishing House]), 2012, 540.

〔30〕 许育典 Xu Yudian,《宗教自由与宗教法》*Zongjiao ziyou yu zongjiaofa* [Religious Freedom and Religious Law], (台北 Taipei: 元照出版社 Yuanzhao chubanshe [Angel Publishing House], 2009), 343.

对一个司法判决最为消极的反应,并且是唯一一次明确公开地违抗联邦宪法法院所作判决。”<sup>[31]</sup>联邦宪法对判决作出的解释是:“这就是宪政所包含的内容:它的目的是保护少数人的权利免受大多数人的侵犯。”<sup>[32]</sup>在实际执行中,联邦宪法法院作了一定退让,没有强令所有教堂撤销十字架,“只有在学生基于宗教理由提出反对的情况下,一个十字架方可被撤除。”<sup>[33]</sup>可见,宪法法院等司法机构在解决宗教争议方面发挥越来越重要的作用,但也面临基督徒民众民意的制约,这将导致政教关系进一步的复杂化。

## 五、结语

近代以来,德国的政教关系一直处于变动状态中。宗教改革加强了世俗君主的权力,使得德国形成了以诸侯为教会首脑的邦国教会制度,直到1918年德国建立共和国,才建立了现代的政教分离制度,这是德国政教关系的重大转折。建立在分离基础上的合作成为德国政教关系的主流。除了属灵事务,教会可以在慈善、教育等公共领域发挥不可替代的作用。

政府帮忙收缴的教会税保障了教会稳定的财政收入,并以此作为履行教会职能的基础,但教会税也可能导致教会的腐败和竞争力的下降。因此,健康的政教关系应该在维持教会自治的基础上对权力进行监督。首先是媒体监督,宗教信仰是一项私人事务,教会的运行和管理则是一种公共事务,需要外在媒体的监督。其次是司法监督,教会作为公法团体应在法治和民主的制度框架下接受监督。实践证明,中立的司法制度可以成为调解政教争端的有效途径。但面临日益多元化的宗教环境,如何建立和维持和谐的政教关系仍是一道需要继续探索的难题。

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[31] 小 W. 科尔·德拉姆 W. Cole Durham Jr.,《法治与宗教:国内、国际和比较法的视角》Fazhi yu zongjiao: guonei, guoji he bijiaofa de shijiao [Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives], 隋嘉滨等 Sui Jiabin 译, (北京 Beijing: 中国民主法制出版社 Zhongguo minzhu fazhi chubanshe [China Democracy and Legal System Publishing House]), 2012, 543.

[32] 同上书,第 544 页。

[33] 同上书,第 544 页。

**English Title:**

**A Historical Investigation of the Relationship between State and Church in Germany in the 20th Century**

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**Abstract:** The 20th century was the most intense period in the evolution of the relation between state and church in Germany. In 1918, after the end of the imperial system, the Weimar Republic ended the state church system and established a system of separation of church and state and cooperation between church and state. During the Nazi reign from 1918 to 1933, the Nazi attempted to completely control all church and ideological fields and suffered a lot of resistance and were not fully realized. After the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, it inherited the tradition of the Weimar Republic. Under the rule of law of the Basic Law, the system of separation and cooperation between politics and religion was further improved. After the two German reunifications in 1990, the political and religious system of the Federal Republic of Germany extended to the whole of Germany, and the whole system relatively mature and stable. However, when religion and society are increasingly diversified today, many problems and challenges are encountered.

**Key Words:** Germany; Relation between State and Church; Christianity

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比较宗教文化研究

**Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies**



# 当代神学的人类学视角及基督宗教多元主义

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**提要:**当代神学对宗教人类学和对多元主义问题的重视,在一定意义上体现出西方精神文化在当代出现了某种新的发展方向。本文结合中国神学和人文学研究的实际情况,从一种非西方文化的视角对这种新方向给予的启示和借鉴作用进行了梳理,探讨了对当代神学的人类学思路和对多元主义问题作为整体性思想序列进行讨论的可能性,同时提出在此研究领域存在的一些问题:对神学家人类学思想的研究过于分散,缺乏对当代神学和神学家人类学视角整体风貌的考察分析;对神学家多元主义思想的研究又过于集中,多以约翰·希克为研究对象,缺乏对其他神学家有关多元主义思想的深入研究,缺乏整体的考察和系统的综合;缺乏通过探讨神学家的人类学思考透视多元主义问题的研究,等等。针对这些问题,本文对数位神学家的多元主义观念进行了尝试性比较研究。

**关键词:**人类学;神学;基督宗教;多元主义

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尽管人类学是一个早已有之的概念,在西方早期的神学研究中亦有少量借鉴和应用,但是,真正以现代宗教人类学的视角来研究基督宗教的一系列观念和问题,还是在二十世纪初期以后。一方面,人类学本身得到进一步发展,从古典人类学迈向了现代人类学,研究方法上的自我界定和合法化以及区别于其他人文学研究的特性得到充分完善;另一方面,神学在研究方法和研究视野等方面的扩大及其与人文学科的交流,也促使其思考和应答当代社会的问题和呼唤,进行面向人生的转向。西方最著名的神学家、思想家如卡尔·巴特(Karl Barth)、保罗·蒂利希(Paul Tillich)、冯·巴尔塔萨(Hans Urs von Balthasar)、卡尔·拉纳(Karl Rahner)、潘能博格(Wolfhart Pannenberg)、尼布尔(Reinhold Niebuhr)等,都无一例外地从人类学的视角观察和思考过神学问题。二十世纪中后期,随着许多神学家如大卫·佩林(David A. Pailin),弗兰克·萨拉蒙(Frank A. Salamone),沃尔特·亚当斯(Walter R. Adams)等对神学人类学思路更为充分的重视,以人类学的方法和视角来研究神学问题在学术界得以持续受到重视,到了今天,除了有关研究著作的大量涌现,人们对该领域本身的研究范围、思想方法、学术价值、理论进路也展开了较全面思考。然而,目前神学研究的人类学视角仍疏于理论整理和系统化。

在中国,学术界对神学与人类学、人文学关系以及基督宗教多元主义的关注和研究肇始于上世纪

九十年代末, 卓新平对包括人类学神学在内的神学思想的引进, 刘小枫对具体神学家人类学思路的研究, 杨慧林对人文学与神学关系的思考, 王志成对约翰·希克多元主义观念的介绍, 等等, 成为开展这方面研究的主要契机, 有关宗教人类学的文章也偶有所见。然而, 从整体来看, 中国国内的宗教人类学研究目前的成果还相当有限, 有影响的多数还是译著, 中国国内基督宗教学术研究中, 人类学的声音仍相当微弱, 还没有太多专门、系统研究神学家人类学思想的学术论文和专著问世, 通过人类学视角透视多元主义观念的研究也还有待深入和更加充分。

具体看来, 这一领域的研究至少在如下方面仍需加强: 第一, 在尽可能广泛地收集、梳理当代神学和人类学、人文学研究相关资料的基础上, 针对当代神学研究领域内出现的面向人生转向的一些重要的主题、现象、有代表性的思想家及其作品等而开展的研究仍需加强。关于这一点, 虽有一定难度, 但只有这样做才能系统化, 正如芬兰学者黄保罗 (Paulos Huang) 在谈及对路德的研究时所说: “我们想整理路德的体系就非常困难, 那就难在他的东西太多, 必须把这个东西都读了, 然后才能整理体系。”<sup>〔1〕</sup> 第二, 围绕人类学视角与当代神学的必然关系、对当代神学的重要影响以及如何从这一视角看待多元主义问题等而开展的研究仍需加强; 第三, 研究宗教人类学和基督宗教多元主义问题何以在当代被提出并引起关注、当代神学在此领域出现了哪些重要的理论走向、这些理论的意义和价值等问题而开展的研究仍需加强。而这三个方面的研究至少又应该涵盖: 第一, 现代性语境下神学与人类学、人文学之间的复杂关系, 及当代神学从人类学视角考察问题的历史语境与理论条件; 第二, 当代神学家人类学、人文学思想的梳理、归纳、辨析和总结, 考察其对当代神学的作用和贡献; 第三, 当代神学家多元主义观念的梳理和归纳, 特别是从人类学视角来看待众多神学家的多元主义思想, 并进行理论梳理、辨析和总结; 第四, 二十世纪九十年代以来的人类学和神学, 等等。只有如此, 才能既较为全面地把握当代神学思想面向人生、面向人进行转向的整体面貌, 又能较为准确地把握这一研究领域内神学与人类学、人文学内在发展的趋势, 从而为我们更好地了解基督宗教学术发展的新动向提供帮助, 也为我们更好地理解 and 把握当代神学的整体发展态势及其未来走向提供帮助。

## 二

基督宗教多元主义观念虽然产生于二十世纪六、七十年代, 八十年代以后开始广泛流行, 然而, 基督宗教从其创立之初就一直面临着“多元”的困境, 而罗马天主教会及其神学正统的确立与发展过程更是一部不断反对和镇压多元观念的历史; 或者换句话说, 在基督宗教的历史中, 不难发现它与“多元主义”始终处于一种奇怪的悖论性关系中: 它的基本的神学诉求是反“多元”的, 然而它又不断地从自身内部产生出“多元主义”的种子, 由此形构出全部西方文明的历史面貌。如果说基督宗教内部的分裂尚不涉及终极真理问题上的多元主义的话, 随着现代性精神的不断发展, 在十九世纪后期至二十世纪, 西方世界的真理多元化和价值多元化趋势已是确定无疑的事实, 特别是对于天主教思想家来说更不能例外。

宗教人类学研究的是广义的宗教, 即所有的信仰形式。于是, 西方基督宗教神学家基于自己的信仰立场对待其他宗教的多元主义观念也就与宗教人类学建立了必然的联系。产生于二十世纪八十年代基督宗教多元主义观念开始广泛流行以后, 约翰·希克 (John Hick) 的观点影响甚巨。这一观念不仅涉及基督宗教自身多元主义的现象和理论, 同时也涉及基督宗教对他种文化传统或宗教的态度。

〔1〕 游斌, 黄保罗, [YOU Bin, Paulos HUANG]《基督教中国化视角下的路德新诠释》, Jidujiao zhongguohua shijiao xia de lude xinquanshi, [New Interpretation of Martin Luther in the Perspective of Christian Sincization]《国学与西学: 国际学刊》Guoxue yu xixue guoji Xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], No. 16, March, 2019), p. 2.

正是由于人类学视角与基督教神学的内在联系,神学家们对多元主义问题都倾注了大量精力予以思考和论述。除了上面提到的神学家之外,汉斯·昆(Hans Küng)、大卫·特雷西(David Tracy)、费奥伦查(Francis Fiorenza)等著名神学家对此也有着精辟而独到的见解。大致而言,可分为以下四类。第一,宗教人类学基本理论和方法的研究。如菲奥纳·鲍伊(Fiona Bowie)的《宗教人类学导论》(*The Anthropology of Religion*),雷蒙德·弗思(Raymond Firth)的《宗教:一种人文学的诠释》(*Religion: a Humanist Interpretation*)等;第二,用人类学方法对著名神学家的多元主义思想进行直接研究。最有代表性的是希瑟·麦考克(Herther Meacock)的《一种神学人类学进路》(*An Anthropological Approach To Theology*),这部著作的副题是“约翰·希克的宗教多元主义神学,走向一种全球宗教神学的伦理标准”(A Study of John Hick's Theology of Religious Pluralism, towards ethical criteria for a Global Theology of Religions);第三,研究著名神学家的人类学关注和思考的著作,其中包括神学与人类学及其他人文学科相关性的研究。如安东·卢星格(Anton Losinger)通过《人类学转向:卡尔·拉纳神学人的定位》(*The Anthropological Turn: The Human Orientation of the Theology of Karl Rahner*)一书专门研究了拉纳的人类学转向,马里恩·亨德里克森(Marion L. Hendrickson)对麦奎利(John Macquarrie)与潘能伯格的人类学探索进行了比较,而大卫·迪恩(David Deane)则将巴特的人类学思考与尼采做了深入比较;第四,对人类学与神学及基督宗教多元主义问题进行全方位思考的研究著作。这类著作主要出现在二十世纪九十年代以后,大多在反思传统的基础上提出自己的人类学神学观点及对基督宗教多元主义的看法,如上面提到的大卫·佩林,弗兰克·萨拉蒙,沃尔特·亚当斯和道格拉斯·戴维斯(Douglas Davies)等人的著作。

现代人类学的迅速发展、神学的人类学转向,是与人类学和神学自身以及整个西方思想界面向人的转变的进程紧密相连的,把握这一点对人类学和神学的未来发展都相当重要。所以,以人类学视角作为切入点深入思考当代神学的诸多问题,包括多元主义问题,也显得极为关键。然而,人类学概念的模糊性造成研究神学问题时要么把神学人类学化,要么过于强调人类学的工具性,很少注意到当代神学的人类学视角作为一个思想序列本身的内在连续性,所以,将当代宗教人类学与神学的关联作为一个整体性思想序列进行研究,也相当关键,就此来说,作为非西方文化传统的中国学者,比西方学者更有优势地做到这一点。为了更准确地把握当代神学的人类学视角及多元主义观念的特征和价值,在对不同的神学家的人类学观念进行专题研究的同时,在他们之间进行比较研究,对古典人类学与古典神学、当代人类学与当代神学进行适当的比较研究,并通过比较研究建立有机思想联系,同样具有极大必要性。

### 三

二十世纪基督宗教的发展脉络表明,如何面对这个多元化的世界、以及如何评价自身在此世界中的地位,始终是当代神学的核心问题。其中,天主教“梵二”会议的成就和影响被视为天主教现代化的风向标。然而,毋庸置疑,天主教、基督新教对此多元世界的言说是复杂的,在坚守传统和接受现实这两大相互间有明显冲突、却又不得不同时完成的任务之间,神学家努力寻找着平衡点,由此产生的种种关于“多元主义”的言说之间往往有相当大的差距,与时下流行的“多元主义”也名同实异。这些异与同,明显表现在不同神学家的“多元主义”观念当中。因此,选择不同神学家有关多元主义的理论主张及其影响做比较研究,应该有助于我们探究当代基督宗教在如何对待他者文化、如何应对全球化和多元化世界方面所可能具有的理论空间及应有态度,也便于我们在面对人类共同的文化多元化现状时,思考选择何种“多元主义”。



(一) 约翰·希克的“终极实在”

“多元主义”(pluralism)一词的广泛流行是在上世纪八十年代以后,阿兰·瑞斯(Alan Race)在《基督徒与宗教多元主义》<sup>[2]</sup>一书中对特定宗教传统(主要是基督宗教)对待他者文化的态度做出了三种经典区分,即“排他主义”(exclusivism)、“包容主义”(inclusivism)和“多元主义”,随后被广为援引和论说,在约翰·希克的观点中得以最广泛阐释。据之,“多元主义”被描绘为各宗教或文化传统对同一个“终极实在”(Ultimate Reality)的不同言说和显现,并强调每种言说的平等有效性。然而,罗伯特·维尔肯(Robert Wilken)却说,基督宗教的历史本来就是一个不断遭遇“宗教他者”(religious others)的过程,“今天所不同的只不过是我们在把这种情境称作‘宗教多元主义’而已”,而且,“‘宗教多元主义’这个说法本身并不构成一个问题,它只是一个明显的答案。因为在它的背后有一个概念,即个别的宗教传统不可能是真理的源泉。”<sup>[3]</sup>

与本文涉及的大卫·特雷西、冯·巴尔塔萨、卡尔·拉纳、汉斯·昆等其它神学家不同的是,希克不是一个天主教的神学家,不过众所周知,最初他曾极端保守地恪守正统教义,后来才成为一个激进的“多元主义者”。<sup>[4]</sup>第二次世界大战前夕,希克进入爱丁堡大学学习,最初因为想成为一名牧师而选择了一个四年的哲学课程,授课教师是著名的康德专家诺曼·肯普·史密斯(Norman Kemp Smith)。史密斯不仅是康德哲学的重要解释者,而且也是康德著作的英语翻译家,他所翻译的《纯粹理性批判》在英语世界具有持久而广泛的影响。“熟悉康德的人都知道,康德为了德福相配的至善的可能性,提出了‘上帝存在’的实践理性公设,并设想了这个上帝的全能、全知、全善等属性,以使上帝精确地按照德性的比例来分配幸福。人们惟一能够用来取悦或者侍奉这样一个上帝的东西就是善的生活方式。对这样的上帝的信仰就构成了纯粹的理性宗教或道德宗教,康德亦称其为惟一的、真正的宗教”。<sup>[5]</sup>此外,史密斯对于休谟和笛卡儿的研究在西方学术界也都具有革命性的影响。这些影响在学术层面铸就了希克思想中的理性主义品格。希克曾经这样回忆说:史密斯“对我的主要影响是他对于康德哲学研究的洞见,即人心在知觉中并非只是被动的,而总是主动的,因此可以推断我们所认识到的这个世界实际上也部分源于我们人的思想的积极建构。我们周遭的环境对我们所产生的各种影响以一种概念体系构成我们的意识,也正是由于这种概念体系才最终使得这些纷杂的外在影响被转化成为我们的意识。他的思想中最吸引我的部分就是,我们对环境的所有知觉都是一种辨析式知觉(interpreted awareness)。”<sup>[6]</sup>希克在这里所表明的也就是,在我们与所信仰的客体构成的宗教关系中,信仰者并非总是被动地崇拜外在的神圣客体,接受来自神圣的经典和先知的启示,人实际上是根据自己认识中已经存在的时间、空间能力和因果关系范畴而能够主动地参与信仰关系的形成。由于人具有先天存在于自己的“辨析式知觉”,即主动而自觉的分析关系、建构概念的能力,所以各传统宗教中被信奉为神圣客体者都只能被解释为信仰者在宗教关系中形成的概念,而不是神圣的终极客体。这样一来,犹太教的耶和华、基督宗教的上帝、伊斯兰教的安拉、印度教的梵、道教的道、儒教的天等,就都只是信仰者的不同宗教经验中的概念,而不是一个绝对客观的、惟一的、至高无上的终极实体或实在了。所以,从本体论上讲,各种宗教所信仰的客体都只是信仰者的经验性概念,因此,这些宗教是多元的和平等的。

[2] See: Alan Race, *Christians and Religious Pluralism* (London: SCM Press and Maryknoll, New York, 1994, second edition).

[3] Robert Wilken, *Remembering the Christian Past* (Grant Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), p. 26.

[4] See: David Cheetham, *John Hick: A Critical Introduction and Reflection*, (Ashgate Publishing, 2003).

[5] 李秋零, [LI Qiuling]《从释经原理看康德对路德神学的态度》, *Cong shijing yuanli kan kangde dui lude shenxue de taidu*, [Kant's Attitude to Luther's Theology in the Light of Hermeneutic Principle] 《国学与西学: 国际学刊》Guoxue yu xixue guoji Xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], No. 16, March, 2019, p. 72.

[6] John Hick, *Dialogues in the Philosophy of Religion*, (Palgrave, 2001), p. 2.

这种解释的结论就是在解构基督宗教排外主义和包容主义的神圣宗教根据,同时建构宗教多元主义的哲学基础。按照希克的理解,在康德的哲学体系里,超越于一切现象世界之上的是物自体,它既是哲学中的所谓本体,也是宗教传统中的神圣实体;因此它既不能成为我们的经验对象,也不能成为我们描述的对象,凡是能够被当做经验对象描述的都不是本体,不是宗教所追求的终极实体或如保罗·蒂利希(Paul Tillich)所说的“终极关怀”(ultimate concern),而只是人根据自己的经验所理解的本体的外在表象。希克认为,各宗教经验中的神圣本体或实体也是这样,他提出了“将……体验为”(experiencing-as)的概念:“‘将……体验为’,这种涉及宗教的体验囊括了我们对某种东西诸多或者说全部的感知。如我们将某物体验为某种特征时(比如说,将之体验为餐刀),我们实际上是在确认其具有某种特殊的意义。这不是语义学上的意义,不是词和句子的意义,而是贯穿在我们实际生活中的现实意义。我们正好就是生活在这样的复杂而又丰富的意义环境之中,这种意义是由我们周遭的环境和我们所选择的、人的内在认知系统所共同造就的,而我们的认知系统大部分是由我们的文化和语言世界所形成的。”〔7〕由于我们经验的差异性,所以也就把同一个物自体所反映出来的不同现象视为宗教崇拜的客体对象了。严格地讲,这样的宗教崇拜客体并无真正意义上的神圣性,不能成为相互排斥或者一宗独圣的理由,所以现在已经被描述成为某种神圣实体的客体都只不过是表达人所体验的概念,一旦成为这样的概念,无论是在哪种宗教传统之中,便都受到了那种信仰者的经验的局限,就不是自由自在的物自体或宗教神圣的客体了。那么,被我们经验为不同的宗教客体现象是什么呢?它们其实就是通常被不同的信仰者们所顶礼膜拜的上帝、神、圣主、梵、佛主、道、天、毗湿奴、湿婆、安拉等,在它们之上还存在一个真正的本体,一个终极性的、构成所有宗教信仰的客体,从逻辑上讲它是超越一切宗教经验的,也是不可为一切语言描述的,甚至不能成为思想对象的。

希克仿照康德的“物自体”(thing-in-itself)而将这个宗教的终极本体定义为“实体自体”(the real-in-itself 或实在本身),他强调说,并不是因为其超越一切经验和思想,就与经验和思想毫无关系了,“我再重申一次,这并不意味着它是一个空洞之物,而是意指实体本身有无限属性,无法用我们人的概念表达”。〔8〕而是通过神话或者各式各样的宗教体验与我们的思想联系着,即“我们可以以神话的方式用这些概念——也可用许多其它概念,包括非人格概念——恰当地谈论实体”。〔9〕由于“实体”超越了我们人类的一切概念,是一种具有无限属性的实在,严格地讲即便我们用“实体”来指称它也与“实体”本身的含义相矛盾,所以只能用类似神话这样的变通方式谈论“实体”,其实际意义是:无论哪种宗教传统所描述的信仰客体都不是宗教最终的实体,而只是其多样性的宗教现象,因此这些反映实体的宗教现象既可以被描述为“人格神”,也可以被描述为“非人格神”的各种神秘性概念。这样看来,宗教就不是一种人格神的标准了,它也可以采用一种非人格神的概念性标准,这样宗教与哲学的区别仅仅存在于对“实体”的理解上:说“实体”是可以被分析的最高概念是哲学,而说“实体”只是被体验为各种宗教现象客体的不可分析亦不可描述的终极实在就是宗教。

仅从西方哲学或宗教的立场看,希克关于“实体”的解释确实令人费解。但他确信,具有西方哲学和宗教双重品性的东方佛教却能够为我们理解“实体”提供很好的认识途径。因此,他借用日本禅学大师铃木大拙的话说,自己所理解的宗教的“实体”可以类比于佛教哲学中“空”的概念:“没有一根草的田野象征 sunyata,它是佛教哲学的终极实在。Sunyata 字面意思是‘空’。说实在是‘空’意指它超越了定义,不可以称它为这个或那个。它超越了全称和特称的范畴。但因此也肯定不能把它视为没

〔7〕 *Ibid.* p. 3.

〔8〕 [英]约翰·希克[John HICK],著,王志成 WANG Sicheng,思竹 Sizhu,译.信仰的彩虹——与宗教多元主义批评者的对话 *Xinyang de caihong: Yu Zongjiao duoyuan zhuyi pipingzhe duihua* [The Rainbow of Faiths: A Dialogue with the Criticizes of Pluralism],江苏人民出版社 Jiangsu People's Press,1999,31.

〔9〕 同上,第76页.

有内容的,就如相对意义上的真空一样。相反,它是事物之完满,包含了一切的可能性。”<sup>[10]</sup>超越了全称和特称,意即超越了一切概念,但不用概念我们又怎么能够理解它的含义呢?这就用得着佛教常讲的一句话:“一切诸法,本性空寂”,即经验现象都是虚幻的,它们的根本实体——本性完全不在经验现象所可以被描述或定义的范围之内,所以是空寂的,这就是所谓超越了全称和特称的范畴。换句话说,这种空寂的本性就是“真如”,其真实存在就如它自性本来的样子,而非经验现象的诸法,那当然也就可以类比于康德的“物自体”了。但是,希克在运用康德的“物自体”和佛教的“空”的概念来表达他所理解的宗教终极性本体——“实体”或“实体自身”时,仍然存在逻辑上的悖论:因为超越一切思想和定义也就是不可言说、不可思议,但是诉诸“实体自身”这几个文字即是一种言说和思议。所以,尽管希克的本意是想引入“实体自身”来解构基督宗教本位主义的权威性和独断性,为全球化时代的多元性宗教谋求合法的平等地位,将世界各种宗教传统解释成为人格神系统宗教如“亚伯拉罕信仰系统”,以及非人格神系统如印度教、佛教和中国传统宗教这两个平等的大类,这种动机是善意的,但在对多元宗教的本体论解释上,他提出的“实体自身”的概念仍然存在着自身的困难。实际上,在多元的宗教传统中,它们各自体验为某种崇拜对象客体如上帝、天、梵、道、空、真主等本身就是被当做“实体自身”来体验的,也正因为如此,这些传统的信仰者在更多的情况下就用神秘的方式体验“实体自身”,或者用神话、隐喻甚至萨满巫师的方式来间接地表达它,而其它的方式要么是不能,要么会在逻辑上陷入自相矛盾。

希克提倡宗教多元主义不仅仅是基于人类宗教的历史和现实,也基于他对作为崇拜对象的客体和信仰者主体寻求救赎的新的理解,这种理解使他能够在诸多反对声浪中坚持自己的多元主义立场。尽管我们说宗教的多样性是一种历史和社会现实,多元主义代表着宗教的价值取向和人类和平的发展趋势,但毕竟在基督教文化强势的西方社会里,主导思想仍然只是包容主义,大多数人包括宗教人士、神学家和社会主流人群都还没有达到能够完全认同宗教多元主义的程度。因此,希克的思想对大多数西方人来说就显得颇为深奥和怪异。

当然,希克的宗教多元主义思想远不止于此,但上述观念是其思想基点,某种程度上还带有基础主义特征。因此,针对其多元主义观念的评论,无论是褒还是贬,都难以脱离这一点。

## (二) 大卫·特雷西的“多元诠释”

在众多对希克的思想提出批评的声音中,特雷西的批判击中了希克的基础主义要害。在作为天主教神学家并以神学诠释学著称的特雷西看来,宗教与宗教之间的家族相似性并不表明不同宗教都具有一个唯一的本质,终极实在究竟如何向人启示实在自身,并如何在人与终极实在的和谐与不和谐关系中向人启示人自身,也存在不同的理解。“在承认了这些差异之后,我们应该选择什么样的道路以便走出致命的自我中心和走向以真际(即终极实在)为中心,也仍然存在着种种不同的阐述。宗教的不同言谈和途径有时可以相互补充甚至相互成全,但它们同样也可以相互切断、介入甚至相互消灭、泯除彼此的宣称。在进行相互对话之前,没有别的方式可以告诉我们什么样的选择才是正确的选择。”<sup>[11]</sup>特雷西进而指出,对多元性的任何有价值的肯定,乃是采取一种负责任的多元态度的起点,而不是这种态度的终结。

但特雷西的神学思考,从来都是相当鲜明地突出基督宗教信仰与人类处境之间的关联,绝不回避基督宗教的多元性处境,他确认《圣经》诠释的开放性,亦坚持神学研究的多元性。他认为基督教神学在现

[10] [英]约翰·希克[John HICK],著,王志成 WANG Zhicheng,译. 宗教之解释——人类对超越者的回应 *Zongjiao zhi quanshi: Renlei dui chaoyuezhe de huiying* [The Hermeneutics of Religions: Human Responses to the Transcender]. 四川人民出版社 Sichuan People's Press, 1998, 340.

[11] [美]特雷西[David TRACY]. 诠释学·宗教·希望——多元性与含混性 *Quanshi xue zongjiao xiwang: duoyuanxing yu hanhunxing* [Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope]. 上海三联书店 Shanghai Sanlian Shudian, 1998, 146-147.



代多元性之处境中,再不能是闭门造车或自说自话,而应是在其学科性、科际性与处境性上,建构与发展其信仰告白的意义。为了说明他对基督教神学和多元主义关系的看法,他著有《模拟的想象:基督教神学与多元主义文化》(*Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism*),《受佑的求序激情:神学中的新多元主义》(*Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology*),就连他的著名的为中国学术界所熟悉的《诠释学、宗教、希望——多元性与含混性》(*Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope*)也明显是以“多元性”为主题的。乃至在纪念他的50岁生日之际,人们为之编写的文集竟被取名为《彻底的多元主义与真理:特雷西与宗教诠释学》(*Radical Pluralism and Truth: David Tracy and the Hermeneutics of Religion*)。为什么会如此?《神学诠释学》作者杨慧林的解释说,这恐怕首先是在于他从“应用性”、“公众性”等角度对当代信仰的独特诠释。

在特雷西看来“宗教比艺术、道德、哲学和政治学都更具多元性和含混性,……任何人都能解释宗教经典是因为任何一个人都能追问一些基本的问题;……观察任何宗教的历史,简直就是在读一部充满极端多元性的故事,攻击这种多元性,就是破坏宗教自身中具有的重要宗教力量”。而且,这种全面而极端的多元性和含混性,使得不同信仰各有自己的“说法”和“理解”,这必定使各种信仰无法再持守唯一的叙体。

于是,特雷西列举出他所了解的种种信仰,并像希克一样提及佛教的“空”：“无论是佛教教义中对作为终极实在的‘空’的彻悟,无论是印度教许多教义中对……‘梵我一体、我就是梵’的觉悟,无论是大乘佛教菩萨传统中对悲悯如此之广博、以致我们宁愿推迟自己的彻悟也要去普渡众生的觉悟,无论是希腊宗教、罗马宗教、孔子儒教之类公民宗教中对我们与整体间以社会秩序为中介的必然关联的觉悟,无论是道教和原始宗教中对我们与宇宙众生之间关系的觉悟,无论是犹太教中对上帝之法律作为道的指引的觉悟,无论是基督教中对人生需由信、望、爱来确定方向的觉悟,无论是犹太教、基督教、伊斯兰教先知传统中对政治责任与历史责任的觉悟,……都需要……从自我中心转为以真际为中心”。惟有通过这样的转折,“宗教经典的现代诠释”才有可能争取到一种“公共的地位”,否则仅仅局限于“个体性”,无论宗教、艺术、还是思想,都必然付出沉重的代价。实际上,在特雷西这里对抗“个体性”的“公共性”,就是一种多元,因为这个“公共的”世界显然是多元的。按照特雷西的看法,“仅仅用‘后工业’……或者‘晚期现代’来描述我们的处境已经不准确,应该使用更激进的‘后现代’之说,即……强调多元性、差异性和他性”。

特雷西本人显然不能被称为一个“多元主义者”,不过,如伽达默尔所说:“柏拉图并不是一个柏拉图主义者”。特雷西也许为“多元性”、“多元主义”找到了最准确的、最“彻底”的表述。

### (三) 冯·巴尔塔萨的“真理交响”

天主教神学家巴尔塔萨对宗教多元主义也有专门论述,但是,他所理解的宗教多元主义与希克的理解有很大不同。

1972年,巴尔塔萨的《真理是交响曲:基督教多元主义面面观》(*Die Wahrheit ist symphonisch: Aspekte des christlichen Pluralismus*)出版,在这部书的序言里,巴尔塔萨这位优秀的业余钢琴家以一则有关音乐的比喻形象地描绘出他心目中人类文明全部历史的宏大画卷:“上帝在启示中犹如演奏了一场交响乐。……在上帝的道成为人之前,世界的乐队毫无章法也毫无价值:各种世界观、各种宗教、不同的国家观念,每一种声音都自顾自地鸣响着。然而有一种感觉:这种杂乱无章的状况只是在‘准备演出’。……然后圣子——那‘一切的继承者’——来了,整个乐队都是为了他而建的。当世界的乐队在圣子的指挥下演奏上帝的交响曲时,它的各种不同组成部分的意义变得清晰了。”<sup>[12]</sup>显然,巴

[12] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Truth is Symphony: Aspects of Christian Pluralism*. (Trans. by Graham Harrison. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987) p. 8.

尔塔萨令人惊异地将“多元主义”诠释为基督宗教“一元”指挥下的“多元”合奏。事实上这是贯穿巴氏神学思想的一个基本信念,在著名的《荣耀:神学美学》(*The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*)中已经有非常详细的表述。他的多元主义图景主要包括两个方面:一是基督宗教本身的,一是基督宗教面向其他宗教或信仰体系和文化传统的。

巴尔塔萨认为基督宗教本身的内部结构呈现出“一元”统率之下的多元主义特征。首先,上帝的启示是一个从多元到一元的历史过程。耶稣基督本身所“是”的唯一真理在他的生命形式里的表现是多种多样的,这不仅包括《新约》所记载的基督生前对门徒及众人的教导、预言等,也包括他从降生直到受难而死的生命全过程。“耶稣基督是那自由的、统率万物的上帝之言,活在一个人的生命形式里,就是由生与死、欢乐与痛苦、家庭纽带和个人关系所构成的生命。”<sup>[13]</sup>也就是,在基督身上,永恒真理的唯一性与其表现形式的多样性是不可分割的。其次,基督宗教神学的整体风貌也呈现出“一元”统率下的“多元”共存状态。这就是启示(上帝之言)与神学(人类关于上帝及其启示之言)的关系。巴尔塔萨试图说明,基督的二性之间隐藏着基督宗教深不可测的核心奥秘,即无限与有限合而为一的奥秘,正是这一奥秘构成了一个无比广阔的张力空间,足以将全部的世界历史纳入其中。在《真理是交响曲》中,巴尔塔萨谈到神学语言的多样性问题时,对巴别塔故事作出了积极的解释:如果人类的语言是单一而非多元的,人们将不可能相互理解,因为人类的傲慢自大使他们不可能理解上帝;相反,通过十字架上的基督以及“圣灵降临”,上帝赋予人类以各自的语言言说真理的能力,并使之能在上帝自身的语言(Word)中达到相互理解。再次,基督宗教在教会组织方面也是由“一元”而生“多元”的。作为以维护自身传统为己任的天主教神学家,巴尔塔萨心目中的“一元”当然就是天主教大公教会(Catholic Church)。他不遗余力地维护罗马天主教会的正统地位,认为只有它才是真正继承圣经传统的、是基督在尘世的身体、具有理所当然的普世性。

在基督宗教与其他各信仰体系或文化传统之间的关系上,巴尔塔萨认为前者是全部人类历史的中心和至高真理,其他各文化及信仰传统均指向这一真理。这既是巴尔塔萨作为一名保守的天主教神学家所必然具备的理论预设,也是他作为“当代欧洲最有文化的人”,对欧洲文明历史进程进行详细分析解读的结果。在世界各大非基督教文化传统中,作为基督教母体的犹太教在巴尔塔萨心目中无疑具有特别重要的地位,对于欧洲文明的另一个重要源头——古希腊文化,巴尔塔萨指出它为人们提供了一种截然相反、不可调和的世界观,在其中,物质主义、享乐主义、极端个人主义与理想主义、道德责任和集体至上的原则并存。不过,在他看来,所有形而上学思想传统都必然指向一个终极目的,那就是基督教信仰,因为只有基督宗教才能彻底克服古希腊人遗留下来的二元论困难:作为基督宗教信仰中心的耶稣基督是唯一同时拥有完全的神性与完全的人性者,这意味着他既是世界的本原,又以其人格性的生命与世界的存在融为一体。至于非西方的宗教——文化传统,在巴尔塔萨的心目中,遥远而古老的东方智慧充其量只不过是分享到了一点基督宗教真理的微光而已。他批评禅宗佛教不过是一种追求心灵虚空境界的技术性手段,印度教追求的也只是自我心灵的特性,需要接受一种深层次的改造。

以上两个层面共同构成了巴尔塔萨基督宗教多元主义的基本面貌。如果从每一观点本身来看,巴尔塔萨此论似乎并无太多新意:不仅关于基督宗教内部多元主义的论述完全从天主教各正统教义出发,就连对犹太教以及其他非基督宗教的态度也是严格遵循了“梵二会议”的精神。其实,巴尔塔萨的过人之处恰恰就在于:他试图将这原本互不相干、甚至相互抵牾的两个层面(古典基督宗教传统与当代世界的宗教多元化问题)共同纳入到一种“基督宗教多元主义”之中。在《真理是交响曲》一书中我们看到,他的论述中心始终放在第一层面,即基督宗教自身由“一”而“多”的多元主义结构;世界的多元归一不过是这一结构合乎逻辑的外化或延伸。也就是说,巴尔塔萨是想以古典基督宗教思想为出

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

发点来看待和解释当代世界的多元主义问题的,这使得他的多元主义不仅有别于当下流行的一些宗教多元主义言论,甚至与同时代天主教内部的主流意见也有所不同。如果按照阿兰·瑞斯的区分法,巴尔塔萨的基督宗教多元主义堪称三种态度的奇妙混合体:它名为“多元主义”,却采取了“包容主义”的形式,然而其实质又是不折不扣的、彻底的“排他主义”。这种“多元主义”观念在基督宗教中国化进程中也存在,正如有学者指出的:“在多元化的地球村中,多元主义是变相的包容主义,而包容主义的本质是排他主义”。<sup>[14]</sup>

巴尔塔萨的“基督宗教多元主义”试图从基督宗教正统教义出发去解释多元化世界,是一种既想完全地维护基督信仰的独特性、唯一性、真理性,又想使之成为当代世界所接受的做法。这种做法当然是天主教会所需要的,尤其是在二十世纪七、八十年代以后,当天主教内的激进神学家如汉斯·昆站在“世界”立场上对教会提出更猛烈批评、教外的“宗教多元主义”论者则更加强烈地要求诸宗教的平等地位时,巴尔塔萨的立场对于教会而言是非常珍贵的。这或许就是教宗若望·保禄二世对巴尔塔萨推崇备至、并最终决定破格授予其圣职的原因。然而,对于所有非天主教徒、乃至选择“世界”立场的天主教思想家而言,巴尔塔萨的思路却又是令人难以接受的。

#### (四)卡尔·拉纳的“匿名基督教”

天主教神学家卡尔·拉纳对宗教多元主义也有大量论述,“匿名基督教”的思想是其多元主义观念的重要表述之一。而且,正是在这一点上,巴尔塔萨与他发生了思想冲突,甚至牺牲了两人大半生的友谊。

“匿名基督教”是拉纳后期神学的一个关键性概念,在其多卷本巨著《神学研究》(*Theological Investigations*)、访谈录《对话卡尔·拉纳》(*Karl Rahner in Dialogue: Conversations and Interviews* 1965—1982)等文献中占有重要位置。关于这一概念,拉纳有十分清晰的界定:“‘匿名基督教’意味着一个人可以活在上帝的恩典里、获得拯救,但是却处身于体制性基督教之外;也就是说,一位佛教徒,因为他听从自己的良心而获救,活在上帝的恩典当中,我必须说,他是一位匿名的基督徒;如果不是这样的话,那我们就该假设的确存在着一种与耶稣基督无关、却能最终获救的真正的道路。我不能这样做。因此如果我坚持认为每个人都要依靠耶稣基督才能获救,同时也必须承认世界上有许多人还没有明确地认识耶稣,那在我的观念里就只能接受一种‘匿名基督教’的观念。”<sup>[15]</sup>由此我们看到,“匿名基督教”是“普世救赎”观与当代世界宗教多元化现实之间的一种妥协。事实上,拉纳一生的神学事业都是围绕着消弭神学与哲学、教会与世界之间的隔阂展开的,他倾注大量心血建构的“先验神学”和“神学人类学”以康德式先验哲学和海德格尔的存在之思改造托马斯主义,力图在当代西方哲学中信仰意趣日趋淡薄的现状下,恢复和凸显神学作为哲学之思终极目标的价值。“匿名基督教”的理论支持也正在于此:“人之理智认知的先验条件使人有可能基于自己的存在本质而向神圣本真敞开,这种开放性使拉纳相信每一个人至少可以成为‘无意识的基督徒’”。<sup>[16]</sup>

作为梵二会议许多重要文献的主要起草者,拉纳“匿名基督教”思想对会议本身无疑有重大影响。在会议阐述天主教对非基督宗教看法的文件《我们的时代》(*Nastra aetate*)里,天主教会首次表达了对非基督宗教真理性的肯定,而其肯定的前提,一是人作为受造物所具有的普遍的“内心良善”,即创造论和自然道德律,一是当代世界不同宗教和文化传统的人们之间联系越来越不可避免的事实,即

[14] 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo [Paulos Huang],《儒基会大战吗?》*Ruji hui dazhan ma?* [Is there going to be a War between Confucianism and Christianity?],《国学与西学:国际学刊》*Guoxue yu xixue guoji Xuekan* [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], No. 5, June, 2013, p. 3.

[15] *Karl Rahner in Dialogue: Conversations and Interviews* 1965—1982 (New York: Crossroad, 1986), p. 135.

[16] 卓新平 ZHUO Xiping, 著. 当代西方天主教神学 *Dangdai xifang Tianzhujiao shenxue* [Modern Western Catholic Theology]. 上海 Shanghai: 三联书店 Sanlian Shudian, 1998, 234.



“人类合一的进程”；但是教会仍然坚持，基督“是‘道路，真理和生命’。在他之内人类获得宗教生活的圆满，藉着他天主使一切与自己和好了。”<sup>〔17〕</sup>因此基督宗教仍然是真理的终极体现，非基督宗教只是在“朝向宗教生活完满”的意义上不断趋向前者；此外，在救赎论方面，会议也明确承认非基督宗教信徒可以在教外获得拯救。这些都与拉纳思想是一致的。事实上直到 1994 年教廷发布的当代罗马天主教思想权威性摘要文献《天主教教义问答》(Catechism of the Catholic Church)中，仍然沿用了“匿名基督教”来指称上述“梵二”立场，因此可以说，拉纳的思想一定程度上代表着“梵二”会议以后天主教会在与非基督宗教关系问题上的官方立场。然而二者也并非全然一致。具体表现在：拉纳容许其他信仰有拯救的潜力，大会却在这点上持守基督宗教信仰的独特性。正如 Miikka Ruokanen 所说，梵二会议虽然承认教外救赎，但“其可能性背景是，会议根本未谈其他宗教，而是按照创造论谈人和伦理问题……非基督宗教的本质不具有作为隐蔽的拯救中介的具体左右。一个真诚地寻求真理和实践善行的人可以是任一宗教的教徒，也可以根本不是宗教徒。”<sup>〔18〕</sup>也就是说，会议承认教外救赎时尽量忽视或淡化被救赎者可能有的其他宗教背景；而“匿名基督教”恰恰相反，它要隐匿的是“基督徒”身份。

应该说如果从外在于天主教的视角来看，拉纳的“匿名基督教”概念与巴尔塔萨的基督教多元主义思想还是有相当大的一致性的。首先，作为曾经同属耶稣会、又一起工作若干年的一对好友，他们神学思考的最初现实动机都在于：深刻地认识到(“梵二”会议前的)天主教会及其官方神学体系在当代世界中面临诸多困境，其中包括一些传统教义严重阻碍了天主教与其他宗教和文化传统对话的可能性；其次，为此他们都赞成以“普世救赎”观代替“教会之外无救赎”的信条，为天主教走出自我封闭、以开放心态拥抱当代世界奠定基础；同时，他们都强调基督是启示的最高形式，也是救赎的终极途径；再次，从以上理论基点出发，二人都秉持相当明确的护教立场，认为基督宗教真理才是真正的、终极的、完满的真理，其他非基督宗教都是趋向基督教的，拉纳后来将“匿名基督教”改称为“寻找的基督教”(Searching Christianity)即为此意；然而如果从天主教内部视角来看，巴尔塔萨与拉纳之间的分歧却是相当严重的。概括而言，在二人都深刻意识到天主教与当代世界严重分离的前提下，拉纳认为问题主要出在基督宗教一方，即：在当代人的科学世界观看来，基督宗教更像是一种神话，并且离人的经验世界也已经相当遥远，这导致了神学的尴尬处境。因此，解决问题的根本方法在于基督宗教应该努力建立一种新的神学去解释基督宗教真理，使其可以为当代人的认知模式和他们自身经验所接受。这就是拉纳提倡“转向主体”、将康德哲学对人的认识先验条件的界定和海德格尔关于存在的思考引入神学的原因。先验神学和神学人类学以接受基督启示的人为视点，试图达成一种先验与经验、神与人、精神与物质之间的“统一整合的本真洞观”，这种思路与新教自由主义的“神学内在化”倾向十分贴近，从而构成了“匿名基督教”思想的理论基础；然而，巴尔塔萨却认为恰恰是拉纳所青睐的现当代哲学方向应该为当代世界出现的问题负责。现代以来，对主体性的崇拜使得哲学成功地革神学之命、从“婢女”变为主人，以至于在神学里，那原本永恒至上的“主人”——作为信仰客体的上帝——渐渐被风干成一种叫做“神圣性”的普遍观念，然后再被肢解、降低为主体内在的某种感觉或能力。在此过程中，基督教信仰失去了自身的独特性，成为一般性宗教情感或宗教体验的标本。巴尔塔萨对此现象可谓痛心疾首。在他看来，基督宗教信仰原本产生于使徒与耶稣基督相遇时、由于受到无比强烈的神圣之美的照耀而情不自禁、心醉神迷的状态，这才是信仰在千千万万的信仰者身上世代相传、永不枯竭

〔17〕 天主教梵蒂冈第二届大公会议文献 Tianzhujiao Fandigang dierjie dagong huiyi wenxian [Documents of Catholic Vatican Second Council]. 天主教上海教区光启社 Tianzhujiao Shanghai jiaoku Guangqishe [Guangqi Press of Shanghai Catholic Diocese], 2001, 12, 470.

〔18〕 罗明嘉 (Miikka Ruokanen) 著, 孙新宏 SUN Xinhong 译. “梵二”会议关于非基督宗教的教导(宗教) The Teachings of Vatican II Council on Non-Christian Religions, 载《宗教》Religions. 南京大学宗教研究所 Institute of Religions, Nanjing University, 1997, (1-2): 138-139.

的活力所在。基督信仰的激情决不可能来自于巴巴的理论概念,也不等同于任何其他一种宗教情感,因为它是由那集至真、至善与至美与一身的信仰对象——三位一体的真神耶稣基督——所决定的。然而,现代思想不仅以主体性视角把神圣者变成自己审视的对象,而且还以分析性思维方式把这一对象层层剥离:“自从这位丹麦人(指克尔凯郭尔)作为无冕之王闯入本世纪新教和天主教思想之后……一个严肃的信徒必须牢记的首要一点就是要将审美和伦理——宗教,尤其是基督教的伦理——宗教区别开来。”<sup>〔19〕</sup>换个角度说,一个匿名的基督徒和一个匿名的无神论者、或者匿名的佛教徒、印度教徒等,还有什么区别呢?这不仅是教会所不能容许的,在巴尔塔萨看来,更是自毁长城之举,是无论如何也不能原谅的。

#### (五) 汉斯·昆的“全球伦理”

宗教多元主义问题是当代神学和宗教学必然面对的一个重要问题,许多重要的神学家和思想家都涉足其间。同样是天主教神学家的汉斯·昆自不例外。然而,汉斯·昆并未针对宗教多元主义问题本身发表自己具体详尽的观点,但是,他所提出并极力推广且使之闻名遐迩的“全球伦理”之构想,恰好从另外一个角度表达了他对宗教多元主义的看法。这一构想主张搁置各宗教传统之间的教义分歧,将思考紧紧维系于现实层面,从伦理学角度寻找各宗教传统共有的一些基本准则,以此为基础构建一种普世性的“全球伦理”,其实质可以称为是一种以“一元”为目标的多元主义。

有趣的是,汉斯·昆的多元主义也恰好与巴尔塔萨所主张的在当代语境下恢复古典基督宗教神学传统,视圣经启示真理为至高真理,耶稣基督为全部人类文明历史的中心,所有其他信仰和文化传统都是围绕着这一中心并在它统率之下存在的天主教“一元”统摄之下的“多元主义”形成鲜明对比。而且,教会和世俗世界对这两种主张采取了截然不同的态度,巴尔塔萨受到教会欢迎,但却因其强烈的保守主义倾向以及对东方宗教与文化传统(印度教、佛教、道教和儒教等)的轻视和曲解而屡遭质疑与非难;汉斯·昆的思想在全球引起强烈反响,但他本人却遭到教会的批评。

以上只是对几位神学家多元主义观念的基本呈现作了一定描述,并对这些呈现作了初步比较分析。事实上,任何观念的呈现都有其思想和理论的根源,对这些神学家多元主义观念的形成过程和思想根源的研究,应该成为我们展开进一步研究的目标。当然,当代神学对宗教人类学和对多元主义问题的重视,在一定意义上体现出西方精神文化在当代出现了某种新的发展方向,这一领域的其他学术问题也还有待今后的研究进一步挖掘和解答。

〔19〕 巴尔塔萨,著. 神学美学导论 Shenxue meixue daolun [An Introduction Theological Aesthetics](曹卫东 CAO Weidong,刁承俊译). 香港 Hongkong:三联书店 Sanlian shudian,1998,1.



**English Title:**

**Anthropological Perspective of Contemporary Theology and the Pluralism of Christianity**

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**Abstract:** The emphasis of contemporary theology on religious anthropology and pluralism reflects in a sense that Western spiritual culture has emerged in a new direction of development in the contemporary era. This paper combs the enlightenment and reference of this new direction from a non-Western cultural perspective, and explores the anthropological ideas of contemporary theology and the possibility of discussing pluralism as a whole ideological sequence. At the same time, some problems in this research field are put forward: The study of theologian's anthropological thought is too scattered and lacks the investigation and analysis of the whole style from the perspective of contemporary theology and theologian's anthropology. The study of the pluralism of theologians is too concentrated, with John Hick as the object of study, lacking of in-depth study of other theologians' pluralism, and lacking of overall investigation and systematic synthesis. Lack of research on pluralism through the anthropological thinking of theologians, and so on. In view of these questions, this paper has carried on the tentative comparison research to the some theologian's pluralism idea.

**Key Words:** Anthropology; Theology; Christianity; Pluralism

# 实存主义神学的本体论

## ——经由康德与胡塞尔对熊十力“量论”思想的转变

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**提要:**本文从熊十力以识变认识论开出科学的尝试出发,借助康德与胡塞尔的认识论将熊十力意识成物的经验从经验性转变为先验性,开出建立于语言意义体之上的“科学”,并相应于此语言意义体的在世实存,成就一实存主义的本体认识论。本文继以熊十力生生不息的本体论收摄这一认识论,将熊十力的“量论”本体论转变为实存主义的生生的本体论。在此基础上,通过阐明语言意义体是由人于其实存中所传达出的上帝的话语,本文证达实存主义神学的本体论。

**关键词:**意识;实存;语言的意义统一体;本体;圣言

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### 一、熊十力以识变认识论开出科学的尝试

熊十力意图开出“科学”的尝试,是通过他的识变认识论进行的。熊十力认为,事物被认识到,首先在于人有眼、耳、鼻、舌、身这五识创起了境;五识所创起了了境就是如我们感受到的色、声、香、味、触。但是色、声、香、味、触一刹那就谢灭了,并不能有物象被感知到。所以与五识相应的,是无物、无对碍的冥证境界。然而凭借意识的作用,物象就被感知到。这是因为,首先,通过意识的忆持,意识可以缘前念五识的所了境;其次,通过忆持,持留下来的色、声、香、味、触会被意识综合成为个别的物相;再次,意识会进一步综合起诸个别物相,物象随之就被感知到。

但是能感知到物象还不是科学地认识了物象。科学的认识是要把我们关于物象所感知到的现象加以知识化地整理,使我们在同样的条件下必然能观察到同样的现象。所以科学的基本原则是可重复性原则。但是我们感知中的物象是随着我们诸如或远或近这样的认识情境发生变化的,那么如何可以确定我们所感知到的是同一的物象呢?熊十力的答案是:“由过去所经验的许多事物中,抽取其同而去其异,乃构成一共相。此等共相,在意识上即是一种影像。”<sup>[1]</sup>也就是说意识会在综合而起、生灭迁流的个别物相中,进一步把诸个别物相的共相抽取出来,抽象为一个相关于这些物相的经验性的综合特征。作为新熏种,这个特征被摄持在第八阿赖耶识中。继后,此新熏种作为增上缘牵引第六意识了境,新了别的个别物相就能在与这一综合特征相类似的情况下,被作为与之前所了别物象的同一

[1] 萧萐父 Xiao Shafu 主编,《熊十力全集·第六卷·新唯识论(删定本)》Xiong Shili quanji · diliujuan · xinweishilun (shanding ben), (武汉 Wuhan:湖北教育出版社 Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hubei Education Press], 2001), 39.

物,使物象得到再认。<sup>[2]</sup>非仅如此,我们一般地再认某物,也是凭借摄持在第八阿赖耶识中、作为种子的某物的经验性的综合特征。以建立作为物象的综合特征的方式,熊十力建立起“概念”,即撇去诸个别物相的不同细节,只就它们最普遍的共相,施設一“概念”。

虽然凭借这样的概念我们可以数往知来;但是这种从经验得来的特征性“共相概念”并不是先验的共相概念,不同的概念之间也不具有先验的必然的关系,而是仅有经验性的偶然的的关系。比如就因果关系而言,我们曾经见到有这样的原因得到这样的结果;但是下一次,同样的原因却不能得到同样的结果。<sup>[3]</sup>所以,熊十力的“识变”认识论虽然要“科学”地认识物象,以把握物象间的“概念的”关系,但是因为认识中的物象总是变化,<sup>[4]</sup>从所认识的物象得来的法则于是也随之变化。因为没有任何具有普遍有效性的认识原则,关涉于物象的必然性的真理也就不能被认识所把捉。虽然这正契合熊十力生生不息的真理理论——我们所认识到的物象总是生生变化——但是这也意味着在同样的条件下我们不必然会观察到关涉于诸物象的同样的现象。熊十力以其识变认识论建立科学认识的努力就此落空。

## 二、实存主义本体认识论对科学的建立

为建立科学,熊十力在认识论上的最大贡献是对意识作用的描述。意识忆持感觉材料,并且把感觉材料综合成物相。在诸个别物相的基础上,意识再通过综合地抽象建立起共相概念,以此期待“数往”能够“知来”。虽然诸物象以及通过综合它们彼此之间常相伴随之关系而被抽象出来的共相“概念”作为种子被摄藏在第八阿赖耶识中,然而这个“概念”是经验中得来的,不具有超出已有的有限经验的普遍必然性,因此数往不必然能够知来,我们故此得不到科学认识的对象。但是当“概念”是先验的,并且具有先于经验的普遍必然性时,这种普遍必然性就可以不受时间的限制,无论当它被运用于过去还是被运用于未来。这样一来,先验的概念——比如因果关系——就不能从对以往经验的综合的抽象中被总结性地得到。

使意识的认识作用具有科学认识的必然有效性,这是已经为康德所达到的。不同于熊十力将概念建立在对诸个别物相经验性地综合抽象之上,康德的概念不是经验中得来的,而是先于经验的——人天生就有。康德并且明确区分了知性概念和作为时间与空间的先验感性形式。通过先验感性形式一个对象被给予我们;通过知性范畴(知性概念),对象就在必然关系中得到思维。这样,属于知性范畴的因果关系就有必然性。

关涉于作为先验感性形式的空间,首先是几何学。“几何学是综合地却又是先天地规定空间属性的一门科学”。<sup>[5]</sup>物体在空间中按照其几何学的关系向我们显现。但是这个几何学的规定是在时间中向我们展现的。因为,时间作为形式条件为我们在内心中放置这些外感官的表象的方式奠定了基础。时间因此表现出对于感性直观形式而言的原初的构成性。但是,时间中直观的纯形式只是作为包含所与杂多的一般直观,从属于意识的本源的统一性。就此而言,作为内感官的时间并不包含对直

[2] 前念五识创起了境,后念意识忆持、综合了境生成个别的物相。此后念意识现行由此熏起新种摄藏于第八阿赖耶识。又此所熏新种为因,亲生后念种子为果;此后念种子起现行,转变为见、相二分。意识综合此相分及再所忆持、综合而起之相分,由此辗转而现起作为物象的综合特征的分。相应于此综合特征相分的现行意识又再为因,复生种子为果。此复生种子为增上缘,牵引意识了境,由此表现出意识的再认作用。

[3] 见萧蓬父 Xiao Shafu 主编,《熊十力全集·第三卷·新唯识论(语体文本)》Xiong Shili quanji · disanjuan · xinweishilun (yutixwen ben), (武汉 Wuhan: 湖北教育出版社 Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hubei Education Press], 2001), 318.

[4] 因为物象在熊十力处表现为物相,所以物象不易地展现自身于诸物相的生生变动之中。但是如果物相是呈现着物象,那么物象就会向认识展开其静态的恒常结构,物相此时不是物象的代表,而是构成物象的要素。

[5] 康德 Kant,《纯粹理性批判》Chuncai lixing pipan [Kritik der reinen Vernunft], 邓晓芒 Deng Xiaomang 译,杨祖陶 Yang Zutao 校, (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin chubanshe [People's Publishing House], 2004), 30.

观中杂多的联结,因而还不包含任何规定了直观。使直观获得规定,并就此“规定内感官的,是知性及其对直观杂多加以联结,即将之纳入一个统觉之下的本源的能力”。〔6〕所以,只是由于先天地给经验性的综合奠定基础的知性之纯综合,或者说,只是由于直观杂多对于“我思”这个“一”的必然关系,直观方才获得规定,并最终有客体作为对象向我们呈现出来。由此,人的表象能力最终归摄于一个主体的先验统觉。

当第八阿赖耶识摄藏的不再是从经验中抽象得来的共相“概念”,而是摄藏有先验的“概念”,即先验感性形式与知性范畴,并且,相应于这一形式系统,阿赖耶识因而摄藏有一个具有先天认识能力的主体,〔7〕那么,不仅对象在先验感性形式中会被给予我们,而且对象间的普遍必然性关系也会通过知性范畴得到规定,科学的认识由此成为可能。

虽然单纯依靠主体的先天认识形式我们认识到现象,但是在现象背后的物自身(Ding an sich)到底是怎样,这对于只能认识现象的人而言,完全不能去把握。既然我们认识到的现象并不能达到物的自在的存在,我们关于存在的一切知识的真实性如何能够不被动摇呢?

在胡塞尔看来,康德主观的先天认识形式并不是自身就有效。这个认识形式之所以有效,是因为它的认识内容保证了其认识的有效性——现象只是关于某物的现象,主体的意向行为透过现象意指着自在的本质真理,“无论它是被人还是被非人、被天使还是被上帝判断地把握”。〔8〕认识能够达到事物的本质真理(Eidos)这一客观内容,这样的认识被胡塞尔称为本质直观。

通过把依托于康德的先天主观认识形式的认识转变为依托于事物之客观本质的本质直观,胡塞尔将关于现象的认识转变为关于存在的认识。同时,熊十力对康德的质疑:“如果范畴是纯主观的,即于客观方面全无依据”,〔9〕也能够通过本质直观得到回答:摄藏在第八阿赖耶识中的、实行本质直观的认识形式相应于关于事物的本质真理。

胡塞尔以本质直观固然实现了客观真理对认识形式的规定,建立起来了真实有效的科学认识,然而熊十力的认识之心〔10〕须能转境,而非被境系缚规定。这是因为本体要显为大化流行就必不会有任何相的滞塞。纵然一切象皆是因意识忆持前念五识刹刹创起的了境而对之加以综合抽象而起,但是一旦意识被象系缚,心识由此被境所转,本体创化的生机就将滞痼不显。所以纵然阿赖耶识能够摄藏本质真理与相应于此本质真理的意向主体之认识形式,从而通过本质直观实现科学的认识,然而为了显豁本体创化的生机,不被此本质真理境系缚,熊十力的本体认识论就要破解这个境,把此本质真理境收摄于本体的生生流行中。〔11〕那么如何破解并收摄此本质真理境于生生流行的本体呢?

〔6〕 *Ibid.*, 第102页。

〔7〕 就此而言,作为现时六识所依的意境,就不单纯是已转谢过去的六识经验地所形成的意境,而是这一先验自我。就五识别依五根而言,这一先验自我是第六意识的别依。参世亲菩萨 Shiqin pusa,《俱舍论颂疏集注(上)》*Jushelun songshu jizhu (shang)*, 圆晖法师 Yuanhui fashi 著疏,智敏上师 Zhimin shangshi 集注,(上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 82-83。

〔8〕 胡塞尔 Husserl,《逻辑研究·第一卷》*Luoji yanjiu · diyijuan* [Logische Untersuchungen, Erster Band], 倪梁康 Ni Liangkang 译,(上海 Shanghai: 上海译文出版社 Shanghai yiywen chubanshe [Shanghai Translation Publishing House]), 1994, 103。

〔9〕 萧蓬父 Xiao Shafu 主编,《熊十力全集·第三卷·新唯识论(语体文本)》*Xiong Shili quanji · disanjuan · xinweishilun (yutitwenben)*, (武汉 Wuhan: 湖北教育出版社 Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hubei Education Press], 2001), 310。

〔10〕 对五识与意识的总称。

〔11〕 变现本质艾多斯(Eidos)的表义名言种子被摄藏在阿赖耶识中;此种子作为增上缘在作意心所的作用下牵引认识心,表现出对认识心的规定性。作为本质艾多斯的相不同于作为第八阿赖耶识相分的器世间(即作为疏所缘缘的本质境)。后者是一个更宽泛的概念,它并不指向一个超验的理念世界,而是表达出能缘识之间的一种交互性,即缘他身有识及自身别识所变的境,(见李润生 Li Runsheng,《唯识三十颂导读》*Weishi sanshisi daodu*, (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press], 2016), 176, 363。)但是这个境并不被建立在某一具有本质规定性的语言意义体上。本质艾多斯则表达了相应于类型论的一个特定的语言意义统一体,如同康德的先验逻辑也表现了一个不同于艾多斯的语言意义统一体。对作为本质艾多斯的境的破解就是将艾多斯还原为一个具有特定本质的语言意义统一体而将它限制在其真理发生的历史场域中。由这一限制出发,任何企图超越其真理之历史性而宣示自身为普遍真理的本质主义均可以被拒绝。



因为对真理的把握只是限制在对显现在认识中的对象的把握, 胡塞尔于是从揭示本质真理转向揭示作为意义发生之场所的、先验主体的意向性结构。这一意向性结构在体验中呈现出来。作为一种不可能变化的本质型的原初生成中所是的每一体验, 它是一种以本身流动的本原体验位相 (Phase 阶段) 为中介的持存 (Retention 滞留)、和预存 (Protention 前摄) 的连续流。就此连续流而言, 持存只是预存的变样。因而, 正如伴随着每一实显的 (aktuell 现时的) 现在都有一个包围着它的边缘阈, 这种边缘阈以一种统一方式进入过去样式, 相应地, 每一现在体验必然有其在边缘阈, 以及与此在前边缘阈相对应的在后边缘阈。因而, 比如当我们知觉到某物 A 时, A 在我们知觉它以前已经在其预存的变样中被知觉了。因为, 对象 A 作为被完全规定的本质内容的意识关联体的相关项, 是按照绝对固定的本质法则被确定下来的。就此而言, “意向对象的艾多斯指示着意向作用意识的艾多斯, 二者在本质上互相依属”。<sup>[12]</sup>

然而, 如果我们仅仅关注于当下所显现的现象, 我们如何对这当下显现的现象有所断定? 当我们去把握这电光石火之刹那中所显现之现象, 这现象已经迁灭了, 留在我们遮掩着的手里只是空; 或者, 如果我们对这现象起忆持, 它只是执持下的朦胧的一团, 尚未起任何形相。忆持并不赋予形相。唯有在意识综合起这迁入往昔的一团中的诸般色、声、香、味、触, 方才有形相起于这朦胧的一团, 并依稀有所似。然而说似一物即不中;<sup>[13]</sup> 所似之物只是烟尘往事, 昔物不至今,<sup>[14]</sup> 又更如何能穿越至未来、依之起期待? 那未来的既然未显现, 放下期待, 方才有最为原初的经验之呈显。在这最为原初的经验中, 对连续着的诸体验的综合消释了, 随之消释的是构造中的对象意义, 由此, 任何存在物皆消释于中的一方空漠净土呈显出来。

但是, 当一个持存性 (retentional 滞留性) 意识把被意识到的新出现之物作为立义内容逮住, 现在随之就转变为持存与预存的界限点, 被逮住的新出现之物作为原现前 (Urpräsenz) 成为被充实的期待, 并持续地更新于一个实显的边缘阈当中。于此, 意向着的自我在一个就其本质而言一致的过程的流逝中, 伴随一个统一事件之发生, 发生于最为原初的经验中, 并在这一最为原初经验的映照下自身显现为一个艾多斯的统一体。

但是, 最为原初的经验并不因此事件之发生而被自我的意向性转变, 相反, 它如如地自在, 并且在对自我的观照中, 将自我连同其整个的边缘阈作为一存在着的“存在者”收摄于当下的一念——先验自我只是实存于当下这一念, 而意向作用的万千之念就此也收摄于这当下的一念之中。现象学先验自我之意义给予的有效性, 因此只是发生于当下这一念中的有效性。然而, 在此一念之中, 时间伴随实事之被给予而向前展开——时间结构只是在这一念之中展开。

正是作为本质直观之意义来源的类型论, 即所有可能的含义都服从于范畴结构的一个固定的、在含义这个总体的理念中先天被预设的意义统一体, 或者, 当此意义统一体被内在化为在一念之中随着时间绵延而展开的意向作用时, 作为意义发生之场所的先验自我, 它的给予着意义而呈现出生活-世界的先验语言, 在实行着使认识成为有效的认识这一使命。

不仅胡塞尔的类型论或者生活-世界是一个语言的意义统一体, 构成康德认识着的先验自我的先验逻辑同样是一个语言的意义统一体。尽管这样一个语言的意义统一体总是面临其意义的丧失, 认

[12] 胡塞尔 Husserl, 《纯粹现象学通论 纯粹现象学和现象学哲学的观念, 第一卷》*Chuncui xianxiangxue tonglun chuncui xianxiangxue he xianxiangxue zhexue de guannian* [Ideen zu Einer Reinen Phänomenologie und Phänomenologischen Philosophie, Erstes Buch], 李幼蒸 Li Youzheng 译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]), 1992, 249.

[13] 见普济 Puji, 《五灯会元·南岳怀让禅师》*Wudeng huiyuan · nanyue huairang chanshi*, 苏渊雷 Su Yuanlei 点校, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1984), 126.

[14] 见僧肇 Sengzhao, 《肇论校释·物不迁论》*Zhaolun jiaoshi · wu buqian lun*, 张春波 Zhang Chunbo 校释, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2010), 15.

识的有效性就此发生动摇。但是在面对一个语言意义体丧失其意义的时候,会有一个新的语言意义体在它的边界处生成,使意义从丧失处得救拔。这正是我们在康德与胡塞尔那里所经历的:

在康德看来,传统形而上学所据以得真理的普遍逻辑因为抽掉了知识的一切内容(知识与其对象的关系),因而在超出其经验的运用时,其所阐述的真理就是不可能的与荒谬的。但是抽掉知识内容的普遍逻辑并不能防止自身超出经验的运用,因而不可避免地荒谬相伴随。真理既必与内容相关,康德因此把只顾及真理之形式的、仿佛像一件进行现实创造的工具一样带来了形而上学幻相的普遍逻辑转变为关于对象之知识的先验逻辑。

但是在胡塞尔看来,伴随康德先验逻辑的物自身之不可知性,使一切止于现象而若有所知的知识都失去了其与物之存在的相应,从而变得荒谬了。但是凭借类型论所传达的本质直观,胡塞尔消除了康德的物自身所带来的怀疑论,并就此实现出他对物的存在的把握。

从形而上学的普遍逻辑到康德先验逻辑的一念之转变,以及从先验逻辑到类型论的一念之转变,最为原初的经验于空漠之净土为存在者之发生显拓出广漠的土地——一方不为存在者占有,却涵摄诸存在者的土地。它虽然涵摄但并不执持,惟此之故,存在者发生之场域方才于经验之刹刹迁流中得以显拓。从而,于这方净土,我们证见到在意义生灭而念念牵引的念念更新之中、根基于不同存在者之不同世界的生生流转。这就接得上熊十力生生本体的认识论——不仅在语言的意义体上科学的认识被建立,而且,摄藏在第八阿赖耶识中使认识有效的语言意义体是念念更新、生生流转的。就此,熊十力识变的认识论被转变为根基于不同存在者之实存的生生流转的本体认识论。

### 三、熊十力识变本体的转向

熊十力对唯识学的反动,是通过忆持使五识所缘境在意识的作用下延续地留存,由此使如波、空幻、如水性的五识所缘境,在意识执持下如冰凝结,从而有此执持之下境的实在性。意识进一步综合忆持所保留的色、声、香、味、触,建立起个别的物相,我们就有对个别的物的原初的印象。进而通过意识对诸个别物相的综合的抽象,经由层层构筑,我们就得到经验的“概念”之物。

意识执持成物的作用就是被称为“翕”的本体收凝的动势。执着于所成之物沉痾不化,是对本体创生德性的背反。要显出本体创生的德性,就要能超拔出所成之物,复归感识无息地创起了境的冥证境。当对意识成物的觉照始终不离感识冥证境,就能获证对生生本体的直觉——呈显本心、性智发用为量智。<sup>[15]</sup>

从本体收凝成物的翕,到复而创生显出本体健动的辟,熊十力凭借生生健动的本体要开出科学的认识论,他的不成功在于没有建立起先验性的语言意义体作为意识成物的依托、使意识的认识获得该语言意义体引带下的认识的必然有效性。但是熊十力在认识论上所陷入的直接困难是在,熊十力认为建立科学是依据对物的实测,因此科学的范畴不仅在于主观的一方面,也在于客观的作为物的本相的一方面。但是在熊十力那里,五识上所呈现的、与境物相似的相,每次都不能与境物的本相完全相像,原因在于由五识所凭借的官能和五识所了的境,以及二者间的关系,如距离和光线等等说不尽的关系,都有影响于五识了境时所现的相,而令这个相和境的本相不能等同。<sup>[16]</sup>

“境的本相”,对动转于经验中、依赖综合感觉材料建立概念的熊十力的意识来讲,是处在经验的无穷

[15] 熊十力的“性智”发用为“量智”更有收摄儒家仁体,以良知规范“量智”的价值层面。本文仅涉及这一“发用”的认识论的成物层面;关于此仁体开展的价值层面的论述,以及神学的本体论与“量论”心学的本体论的区分,笔者会在另文中展开。

[16] 见萧蓬父 Xiao Shafu 主编,《熊十力全集·第三卷·新唯识论(语体文本)》Xiong Shili quanji · disanjuan · xinweishilun (yutiwen ben), (武汉 Wuhan; 湖北教育出版社 Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hubei Education Press], 2001), 310, 32.

远处而不可能被达到的。因为这一悬在意识经验地所成之物之外, 但是却被意识空乏地所指向的“境的本相”超出了五识所呈现的经验界, 因而是经验地不可知的。但是这个被指向的“境的本相”作为包含着诸未充实的可能性的理念世界, 可以有其先验的规定性, 并在空乏(Leer 空泛)意向的充实中被直观到。

就熊十力“量论”的识变本体而言, 因为意识所缘的境仍然在经验中, 所以仍然有体证中成物不息、即用呈显的“识体”。但是当“境的本相”超出经验界, 那就背离“识体”的当下呈显, 而有意识之向外求取, 由此安立一悬设。熊十力因此面临的问题是如何理解这个超验的理念世界与遍在遍满、体证中即用呈显的“识体”这二者之间的关系。

通过胡塞尔的本质直观对熊十力意识作用的充益, 作为语言意义体的类型论使意向作用下的科学认识成为可能。进一步地, 构成先验自我的语言意义体既被收摄于当下之一念, 就有其当下一念意义之发生。而在其意义丧失处, 则有即于此念的、新的语言意义体之生成。于诸语言意义体的念念流转中, 最终呈露出生生的实存主义之本体。

虽然先验自我是收摄于当下的一念, 但是, 就第八阿赖耶识而言, 如何会受持有先验的语言意义体? ——先验自我如何会发生于当下这一念?

当此一疑问被追溯到约翰福音: “在起初已有圣言, 圣言与天主(上帝)同在, 圣言就是天主。万物是藉着他而造成的; 凡受造的, 没有一样不是由他而造成的。在他内有生命, 这生命是人的光”,<sup>[17]</sup>如上疑问得以消释: 第八阿赖耶识所摄受的先验的语言意义体有其神性的来源。在识体冥冥的觉照当中, 亦有冥冥中上帝意志之发生。因此, 一旦人从寂灭离系的觉照中转出, 而转向上帝创世的意志, 先验语言意义体的神性根源就会向人显示。<sup>[18]</sup>而当人于冥冥中接受这生命之光,<sup>[19]</sup>上帝创世的大能就会伴随本性虚寂的人; 而意识作用下的人对万物现起之见证, 就使人在灭故创新中证见到从无中创世的、上帝给予圣言之恩典。当这一恩典<sup>[20]</sup>是临在证会五识现量之虚寂的人, 在意义灭寂之边际, 人得以见证生命之光临于虚寂的万物之现起。而万物是现起在历史性地发生、并且生生流转的诸语言意义体所铺展开来的各自地平线之内。当先验语言意义体的神性根源显示自身于人对生命之光的见证,<sup>[21]</sup>实存主义的生生的本体论就度入实存主义神学的本体论。

#### 四、实存主义神学的本体论

证会五识现量, 人由此脱开前念中的执着而复归人的虚寂本性。称人的本性是虚寂的, 是在于当

[17] 《圣经·若望福音》Shengjin · ruowang fuyin [Bible John], (天主教小助手(软件)Tianzhujiao xiaozhushou (ruanjian)), 1: 1-4。本文中的圣经引文依据和合本圣经。但是参照古希腊文本圣经, 此处思高本圣经较和合本圣经翻译为全, 故本文此处取思高本圣经的译文。同时, 为与中国哲学中的“道”相区别, 本文依据思高本, 以“圣言”翻译 λ όγος / Word。

[18] 觉照中的语言意义体只是作为属人的流传物而有其意义的发生、住世、异化、灭失。流传物之意义得以发生的神性根源并不对觉照显现, 而仅显示它的属人的在世之意义。但是, 流传物之意义既已发生, 作为有为的世间法, 于其意义之生灭, 便有其于觉照之中的法尔幻化。觉照虽然不离世间法, 但实安住于离系之解脱, 如如不动。

然而单纯就这属人的流传物而言, 当仅注目其语言意义体所呈现的自然律与道德律, 而撇去它神性的维度, 这个语言意义体之意义并不会全体显现, 自然律与道德律在此显为是彼此分离的。如在康德的理论中, 当取消其上帝存有与灵魂不朽而专谈自由意志, 这个自由意志就失去了它意义的终极的圆满, 无法实现自然律与道德律的统一。

尽管此种语言意义体涵摄有神性的维度, 但这不意味着随缘自在的觉照就要撇去这一维度, 失却语言意义体如其所示之意义的全体显现。觉照是对语言意义体之意义全体的觉照, 只是不把对神之信仰的经验执为真实, 而是把圣言耶稣作为显示于人的经验中的语言的意义, 安落在俗谛当中。

[19] 这一事件使语言意义体作为表义名言种子摄藏于阿赖耶识, 并随之牵引意识令其了境, 语言意义体就此是意识所成物象的存在论基础。

[20] 《圣经·约翰福音》Shengjing · Yuehan fuyin [Bible, John], (微读圣经(软件) · 和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010), 14: 10-11。

[21] 即转出寂灭无执的念念觉照而转向对光的念念执受, 并由此行走光所铺展的道路之上。

生命之光照临于意义的灭寂中,人虚豁开敞,接受这光,并在人自己的实存中孕育出生命之意义,由此有生命显发的念念健动。因此在虚寂中见证万物之生成,就是上帝给予、但却是由人在自己的实存中表达出语言的意义体。就此而言,领会到上帝的给予是寓于人参与其中的真理作为语言意义体的生成,语言的意义体因此表现出它的神性维度。因此,于此语言意义体的生起,人不是证得缘起性空的解脱,而是见证上帝从无中的创世。

这一神性维度在康德那里表现为人心中道德法则的神圣性。但是在胡塞尔那里,这一神性维度则表现于绝对意识(先验自我)。绝对意识是人所表达出的人的神性的本质,而上帝(上帝就是圣言)本身是隐藏在绝对意识背后的奥秘,并在绝对意识中显出他的侧影,发出意义的光照。出于圣言的意义的光照,上帝的创造向人开敞,这首先由类型论的意义的充实显示出来。

虽然胡塞尔认为本质直观克服了康德的物自身带来的怀疑论,但是就康德而言,“物自身”的说法只是承认了人的认识的经验的有限性。因为依靠人的理性,人的认识并不能超出经验界,而只能认识被给予感官的现象。而上帝的创造是超验的,因此理性并不僭越到超验领域去认识物自身。人虽然不能认识到物自身,但是这并不意味着被人所认识的现象与上帝的创造物是隔绝的。现象被给予人,被给予人的现象的真理在于:“现象的各种谓词在与我们的感官的关系上是能够被赋予客体本身的”。<sup>[22]</sup>虽然幻相发生于“把那只是在与感官的关系中、或一般在与主体的关系中属于对象的东西赋予了孤立的客体”,<sup>[23]</sup>但是当人限制自己于其所实存的经验界——向感官呈现的现象只是在经验中才得以被思维——被给予人的真理显示自身于其时间性的发生中:“一般现象、以及一切感官对象都在时间中,并必然地处于时间的关系之中”。<sup>[24]</sup>范畴在此感性的(内感官的)形式条件之下才能应用于任何一个对象,并且另一方面,感性通过限制知性,同时也使知性实现出来<sup>[25]</sup>——圣言成了肉身,<sup>[26]</sup>世界是藉着他造的。<sup>[27]</sup>故此,上帝的创造落于时间中虽然首先表现为对人的刺激,但是人并不因此刺激陷入迷狂;相反,我们意识到,相对于诸现象,对实存着的人而言,奠基于先验逻辑的统觉的本源的综合统一是更加原初的被给予物——凭借这一原初的被给予物,人有认识真理的能力,并由此参与上帝神性的创造。

然而,人的肉体的堕落,使感性的满足成为支配人行为动机的最高的原则,人因此盲从于自然的因果律,上帝创世之目的性并不为此而显现。只是处于道德上的彻底完善状态的人性,也就是人心中神圣的道德法则,世界才成为上帝意旨的对象和创世的目的。换句话说,只是为了尘世上的有理性的存在者,所有的一切才被创造。

人虽然不能自动地符合道德的圣洁法则,但是堕落的人是实存着的自由的存在者,他的自由使他有意识到一个超越自然律的道德的世界,使他可以不受感性动机的支配。当他凭借自己的理性转身步入道德的轨道,他不但能够领略上帝所创造的世界的、富于美感的合目的的秩序,而且能够祈望:当他无止息地努力成为一个更善的人,涉及自然的幸福的一切最终也会被加于他。因为,从作为最高条件的上帝创世之目的的完善性出发,幸福就是在最高的存在者的意志中的直接结果。因而

[22] 康德 Kant,《纯粹理性批判》*Chuncui lixing pipan* [Kritik der reinen Vernunft],邓晓芒 Deng Xiaomang 译,杨祖陶 Yang Zutao 校,(北京 Beijing:人民出版社 Renmin chubanshe [People's Publishing House]),2004,48.

[23] *Ibid.*,48.

[24] *Ibid.*,37.

[25] *Ibid.*,140,145.

[26] 《圣经·约翰福音》*Shengjing · Yuehan fuyin* [Bible, John],(微读圣经(软件)·和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010),1:14.

[27] *Ibid.*,1:10.



与人的道德配享性结合在一起的幸福,也会是我们在感官世界中的行为的一个后果。<sup>[28]</sup>就此而言,关切于圣言超验创造物的至高的幸福,就不是人单纯在经验世界所认识到的感性的幸福,而是作为天上的财富,属于理性的至善理想。而人之所以能够意识到道德律,是出于道德法则的呼召,并从此走向善的生活方式。因此,实存着的自由的存在者并不是因为其被创造而由其自然依赖性所决定,而是“由我们作为公民趣向一个伦理国家的呼召(Berufung)<sup>[29]</sup>所决定”。<sup>[30]</sup>

与康德不同,在胡塞尔那里人与上帝的结合开端于本质直观。之所以称本质直观开启了人的神性之维,是因为本质直观是对物的存在的直接的把握,这指示出本质直观所依托的类型论透显着上帝圣言的意义的照耀。但是物的存在并不依赖于本质直观,自在的真理超验地存在于本质直观之彼岸,人与上帝的结合尚未圆成,但是人已经行走在与上帝结合的道路上。

在实行现象学悬置之后,胡塞尔对意识物与超验物进行了区分,认为前者是不可怀疑的、内在的真实,后者则是不能够摆脱怀疑的、超验的单纯现象。胡塞尔由此转离对超验物的认识,认为“超验物的世界是完全依存于意识的,即并非依存于什么在逻辑上可设想意识,而是依存于实显的意识”。<sup>[31]</sup>胡塞尔就此转向与人的实存相关联的真理:“一切实在的统一体都是‘意义统一体’。意义统一体预先设定一个给与意义的意识,此意识是绝对自存的,而且不再是通过其它意义给与程序得到的。……实在和世界正好是某些有效的意义统一体的名称,这些‘意义’统一体相关于某种绝对的、纯粹意识的关联体,后者按其本质赋与这种而不是别种意义,并指明意义的有效性”。<sup>[32]</sup>故此,就逻辑上的本质真理而言,它尚未摆脱荒谬,因为人此时被外在化于真理,从而与真理相隔绝——本质直观并不是意义的来源,意义的来源外在于人的实存:“无论它是被人还是被非人、被天使还是被上帝判断地把握”。<sup>[33]</sup>当真理完全内在于本质直观,本质直观就转变为给予意义的绝对意识,成为意义发生之场所——真理内在于人之实存,人从此将荒谬排拒出其生活-世界。因此,从本质直观到绝对意识在胡塞尔那里是人与上帝之结合的开端到圆成。

但是这一圆成并不意味着绝对意识就是上帝,使上帝(圣言就是上帝)囿于此绝对意识之内。上帝并不会因为于此绝对意识发出其意义的光照而丧失其无限性。祂派送意义,同时也自在地自身停留为奥秘,前者并不取消后者,相反地,前者预备于后者。

从本质直观到绝对意识,人获得意义的有效性,只是在于他放弃了“对世界的一种哲学的绝对

[28] *Ibid.*, 1:10, 14. 并见李秋零 Li Qiuling 主编,《康德著作全集·第 6 卷:纯粹理性界限内的宗教》*Kangde zhuzuo quanji · di6juan:chunran lixing jixiannei de zongjiao* [Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2007), 60, 以及李秋零 Li Qiuling 主编,《康德著作全集·第 3 卷:纯粹理性批判(第 2 版)》*Kangde zhuzuo quanji · di3juan:chuncui lixing pipan (di 2 ban)* [Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Title der Zweiten Auflage], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2004), 517.

[29] 参照德文路德本圣经与中文和合本圣经,本文将 Berufung 翻译为呼召。

[30] 李秋零 Li Qiuling 主编,《康德著作全集·第 6 卷:纯粹理性界限内的宗教》*Kangde zhuzuo quanji · di6juan:chunran lixing jixiannei de zongjiao* [Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2007), 146.

[31] 胡塞尔 Husserl,《纯粹现象学通论 纯粹现象学和现象学哲学的观念,第一卷》*Chuncui xianxiangxue tonglun chuncui xianxiangxue he xianxiangxue zhexue de guannian* [Ideen zu Einer Reinen Phänomenologie und Phänomenologischen Philosophie, Erstes Buch], 李幼蒸 Li Youzheng 译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]), 1992, 134.

[32] *Ibid.*, 第 148 页。

[33] 胡塞尔 Husserl,《逻辑研究·第一卷》*Luoji yanjiu · diyijuan* [Logische Untersuchungen, Erster Band], 倪梁康 Ni Liangkang 译, (上海 Shanghai: 上海译文出版社 Shanghai yiwen chubanshe [Shanghai Translation Publishing House]), 1994, 103.

化”,并完全接受上帝所给予,从而使意义从“考察世界的自然方式”而来。<sup>[34]</sup>绝对意识作为这一考察的意义生发的场所指示出世界与意识于此考察中彼此完全的通透性,由此呈现给意识的世界就是生活-世界——我们大家的世界。就此而言,“常在我里面的,我也常在他里面”<sup>[35]</sup>;上帝的意志“活在所有的超验主体内,让超验的整全主体性之个别具体的存有得以可能”。<sup>[36]</sup>

然而,当人被抛入世界,先在于他的、世界的神性意义并不向他显现,世界对他而言只是属人的流传物。神性的隐匿伴随着人在世实存之意义的虚无;话语所传达被证明为谬误,或者是被限制的特殊意义而不再有真理的整全性,或者被证明为没有意义。意义之虚无使人疏异于他所生活的世界——上帝变异为偶像,世界外在地施行着统治。人勉力自己伪装于诸般面具之下,然而在精神的缺席处面具只是装饰着肉身,人没有盾牌对抗诸般恶的侵袭,从而沉沦于世界器囿之幻影,于此生起种种无明显烦恼。

但是当人在证会五识现量中消去诸般伪装,而升拔于诸般浮华之表时,种种烦恼消散于完全的寂静与安宁中。人此时是无根的。他虽然并不感到上帝的存在,但是上帝已临在了。上帝常临在于奥秘之中。在意义发生的那一刻,如击中人的闪电、荒寂中洪亮的清响,上帝的启示向人显现,唤醒祂已播在人心神性的种子。人倾听这启示的呼召,他的本真本质在心中觉醒,一条语言开展之路由是现起在他的脚下。在这呼召中他开始走向与上帝完全的结合。由是在喜乐的绽放中,人开始他在真诚中的生活道路,充满存在真实感的平安充盈内心。这条语言之道路不仅在他的脚下展开,同时,也向他的同时代人开放:这是“穿越自我的内在,通往内在的他者,继而通往世界的一条路”。<sup>[37]</sup>语言以这一方式将倾听到祂的人们送往其实存的道路,并使由这语言所奠基的同一的世界经他们实存之践履展现出来。同时,先前了无生命的流传物经由此语言的诠释,重新焕发出意义的光彩,并作为圣迹构成下一代人被抛入的存在场景,成为孕育下一代的母体。

对于被抛入者而言,他承袭了先在于他的、作为流传物的属人的世界,并在伪装中表演先在的世界意义。这一伪装构成了他的非本真的存在——他自身的母体。因为这一先在的世界意义作为属人的,对于他而言完全不具有神性的意义根源,因而是濒死的。惟当意义存在,人才存在;一旦这意义转为虚无,生命于他便不存在,神性之光对于他仍隐匿在冥冥之中。为了寻到意义,获得生命,人因此需要从人性虚寂的维度,向上帝开敞仰望。

虽然圣迹作为属人的流传物对被抛入者并不显现其神性的意义,但却是引他向上帝的接引者——圣迹母性的爱是他对上帝的呼召的接受性的先导,尽管这一先导对他表现为外在的,比如规章之于康德,或者康德的先验逻辑之于胡塞尔。但是外在的圣迹等待被转换为他内在的对上帝的呼召的接受性,比如在康德那里外在的规章经由理性的诠释被奠基于人内心的道德法则,由此,建立在被启示的规章之上的历史性的信仰被转变为朝向纯粹的理性宗教的引导性手段。在康德处,由道德法则展示出的人性原型就是圣子耶稣,在祂里面仿效祂,人就能祈望出于上帝恩典的审判,他道德的

[34] 胡塞尔 Husserl,《纯粹现象学通论 纯粹现象学和现象学哲学的观念,第一卷》*Chuncui xianxiangxue tonglun chuncui xianxiangxue he xianxiangxue zhexue de guannian* [Ideen zu Einer Reinen Phänomenologie und Phänomenologischen Philosophie, Erstes Buch],李幼蒸 Li Youzheng 译,(北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]),1992,149.

[35] 《圣经·约翰福音》*Shengjing · Yuehan fuyin* [Bible, John],《微读圣经(软件)·和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010》,15;5.

[36] 倪梁康等 Ni Liangkang deng 编著,《中国现象学与哲学评论.第13辑,现象学与神学》*Zhongguo xianxiangxue yu zhexue pinglun*,(上海 Shanghai:上海译文出版社 Shanghai yiywen chubanshe[Shanghai Translation Publishing House],2014),135.

[37] *Ibid.*,第136页.

不完善终将得救赎。<sup>[38]</sup> 或者, 在胡塞尔处, 经由转变先验逻辑到绝对意识, 意识与上帝圣言之创造最终达到彼此的通透。因为被抛入者已经是被拣选者: 神性的种子已经播在人的心中, 上帝的启示已经发生在祂的意志中, 只是在那那里才绽现为一个特殊的历史时刻——随祂呼召, 穿上新人。<sup>[39]</sup>

所以人在自己的实存中孕育出生命的意义是发生于母爱与父爱的结合中。就此而言, 如果说作为圣迹的流传物展示着永恒的母性的爱, 这只是在人那里, 流传物都展示了这一母性之爱的一个侧面。而在每一代人那里绽现的人的神性之维也只是展示了结合于这一代人的永恒神性的一个侧影, 如一幅肖像画所表现的侧面——那肖像所表现的, 对人而言, 是永恒奥秘对人的显像。人越是能够多地认识到这些侧面, 上帝救恩的历史开展就越是能够被感受得完全, 尽管这一对人而言的完全性是处于它的特定历史的视阈中。就此而言, 流传物自身所承载的历史性的神性意义, 需要在每一代人对流传物的诠释中, 对这一代人是敞露的, 而不是在人对她的诠释之中被遮盖。这种历史中的神性之隐匿发生于, 人在对流传物的诠释中对她所承载的历史的神性意义的无视与单纯拒绝。

母爱与父爱的结合表现着: 由上帝给予而开显存在的创造与救恩的大能, 当其落实于作为属人流传物的神性褪失的人世, 就有人代际生生的绽示——人在自身实存中孕育语言意义体之生生流转。这一生生之绽示显示出上帝给予之恩典与人之被抛入的原初罪性(神性于人之褪隐)的交叠。而从人之被拣选、蒙召到走向与上帝完全的结合, 人从祂而来, 向祂而去。而人越是切近祂, 就越领会到祂创世与救恩的意志。而上帝之给予之临在于人是念念更新、永无止息的历史之开展。所以当人深切地感受到“上帝与我们同在”,<sup>[40]</sup> 人的存在就得以植根于意义发生的源头当中, “按时候结果子, 叶子也不枯干”。<sup>[41]</sup>

[38] 见李秋零 Li Qiuling 主编,《康德著作全集·第 6 卷: 纯粹理性界限内的宗教》Kangde zhuzuo quanji · di 6 juan: chunran lixing jiejiannei de zongjiao [Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2007), 74, 149.

[39] 《圣经·以弗所书》Shengjing · Yifusuo shu [Bible, Ephesians], (微读圣经(软件)·和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010), 4:21-24.

[40] 《圣经·马太福音》Shengjing · Matai fuyin [Bible, Matthew], (微读圣经(软件)·和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010), 1:23.

[41] 《圣经·诗篇》Shengjing · Shipian [Bible, Psalms], (微读圣经(软件)·和合本 2010 Weidu shengjing (ruanjian) · Hehe ben 2010), 1:3.

**English Title:**

**Existential Ti-Theology——Development of Xiong Shili's Lianglun through Kant and Husserl**

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**Abstract:** This article begins with Xiong Shili's attempt to establish science by way of his epistemology of the change of Consciousnesses. By converting the thing-forming experiences of the sixth mental Consciousness in Xiong Shili's epistemology from experiential to transcendental with the epistemological theories of Kant and Husserl, science can be established on the basis of the unity of the signification of language, which manifests itself as the Being of beings. Corresponding to the Being of beings, an existential Ti-epistemology can be established. By way of adopting this Ti-epistemology by Xiong Shili's transforming Ti, Xiong Shili's Lianglun-Ti can be converted to an existential transforming Ti. By elucidating the unity of the signification of language as the Word of God transmitted by the existing human-beings, the existential Ti-Theology can be attested.

**Key Words:** Consciousness; Existence; Unity of the Signification of Language; Ti; the Word of God



书评与通讯

**Reviews and Academic Reports**



# “记忆同一性”的左翼路径及其认同难题初探 ——以马克斯·西尔弗曼的《羊皮古书的记忆 ——法国与法语小说和电影中的大屠杀与殖民主义》为例

张蕴艳

**摘要:**本文介绍了马克斯·西尔弗曼的《羊皮古书的记忆——法国与法语小说和电影中的大屠杀与殖民主义》一书关于跨文化、跨民族的记忆动力学研究。从记忆政治与记忆诗学两方面回顾了他提出的“羊皮古书的记忆”的概念的特点,即他倡导一种全球化语境下层累的、杂糅的多元记忆结构,而非单一的或二元对立的记忆结构。对于以往突出表现于人道主义讨论领域的关于普遍性与特殊性的二元对立命题,他的记忆理论是一种反思与突破。但其因提倡记忆结构的多元性而可能导致的身份认同困境,也提醒我们应将多元文化记忆的宗教元素一并纳入研究框架。在这一方面,查尔斯·泰勒对“无求于外的人文主义”的质疑、德里达的反“单语主义”、乌尔里希·贝克的“宗教间性”方案、阿维夏伊·玛格利特的“记忆共同体”概念和沃弗(Miroslav Volf)以“正确地记忆”为前提的“拥抱神学”、“和解神学”的启示等公共叙述,有助于从正反两方面促进我们汉语学界超越西尔弗曼的左翼路径往前走,借鉴并开拓包含宗教研究在内的、更多元的记忆研究路径来超越普遍性与特殊性二元对立的障碍,从而深化当代中国文学的记忆研究。

**关键词:**马克斯·西尔弗曼、羊皮古书的记忆、记忆政治、记忆诗学、同一性与差异性

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查尔斯·泰勒在《世俗时代》提出,现代性给我们带来了一个世俗时代。其关键变化是一种“无求于外的人文主义”<sup>[1]</sup>的出现。一方面世俗化意味着宗教命题淡出,但另一方面世俗化又以新的形态即个体信仰经验的多元性与差异性,而突出了宗教问题的紧迫性。在充满无限分歧的风险社会,如何寻求可靠、信实的正义的根基?依泰勒的意见,必须将世俗的、片段的、现在的瞬间与永恒相连。但一旦把差异性的瞬间与普遍性的永恒相连,就带来如何处理记忆差异性与同一性的问题。而这将牵出一个缠绕了东西方学者多年的传统命题,即有关人道主义的普遍性与特殊性的二元对立命题。有无可能、以及如何突破这一困扰?这亟待我们引入新的思想资源,突破原有思考范式的框架来深入探讨。

## 一、反对“记忆同一性”的提出

过去、现在与未来的时间问题是与记忆问题相联系的。围绕记忆的理论命题近年不断涌现,无论是从对记忆形式的研究看,还是从对文化记忆的功能的阐释看,当代文化记忆理论家们都提供了极富价值的理论,它为巩固群体身份认同、构建统一体、提供公众行动指南乃至实现社会改革或解放等目

[1] 查尔斯·泰勒 Charles Taylor,《世俗时代》*Shisu Shidai*[A Secular Age],张容南 Zhang Rongnan 等译,(上海 Shanghai:上海三联书店 Shanghai SanlianShudian[Shanghai SDX Joint Publishing Company],2016),34。



标提供了参照。比如莫里斯·哈布瓦赫关注固定的传承形式与变动的重构形式的关系;扬·阿斯曼认为要通过文化记忆附着在客观外化物上的形式来追寻文化意义。阿莱达·阿斯曼则通过追溯记忆的形式与载体的历史,发现不同时期记忆的形式与载体是不断变化的,从德昆西的“复用羊皮纸”到弗洛伊德的“神奇写字板”再到德里达的“印迹”、“延异”、“文字学”等概念,记忆载体与形式的思考不断更新变化,但万变不离其宗,即记忆的同—性与差异性的包容问题。对文化记忆的功能的思考,如美学家马尔库塞就强调文化记忆反抗现实、实现社会解放的功能的。这对今天全球面临价值共识日趋分崩离析的状况,尤其具有参照意义。

以当代左翼理论家马克斯·西尔弗曼(Max Silverman)的文化记忆研究为例。他的《羊皮古书的记忆——法国与法语小说和电影中的大屠杀与殖民主义》(Plimpsestic Memory——The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film)一书,比较集中地代表了他将记忆研究,特别是灾难记忆研究和后殖民主义理论问题结合在一起的思考。他特别考察了文化记忆当中的灾难记忆的结构,他将之描述为是一种重叠与杂糅结构。所谓“羊皮古书”,即是记忆的重叠与杂糅结构的类似于重写本的隐喻。该书探讨记忆的政治与诗学,大屠杀和殖民主义、反殖民主义等。其核心命题是反思记忆政治与记忆诗学中总体化的倾向。在该书开始他即借三个法语小说与电影的典型片段说明记忆的重叠与杂糅结构。这一叠合杂糅的记忆结构也是民族记忆与集体记忆的结构,探讨民族记忆与集体记忆的政治与诗学,大屠杀、大屠杀的想象与被它所萦绕的殖民主义反殖民主义的关系,与全球化时代文化多样性差异性与文化记忆、身份认同有直接密切的关系。他从记忆结构切入这一考察。他看到,后来的记忆时刻,总是会不经意间唤醒前期的某个记忆,比如当人们看到层累的海报的某一时刻,就会重新唤起了在文本中更早的记忆,由此产生一种密集的凝结的意义。一位法国作家迪迪叶·德伦克思的小说《为了记忆的谋杀》<sup>[2]</sup>就用这种叠加的广告和标语的意象作为在他书中处于核心的两个事件互相联系的一种隐喻。宗主国对被殖民地,如法国对阿尔及利亚民族的暴力造成的灾难,二战是一个非常重要的时期,因二战时期在法国聚集的犹太人被法国警察调遣去死亡集中营;第二个就是我们称作“十月屠杀”的事件,即 1961 年 10 月,在阿尔及利亚独立战争中和平示威的阿尔及利亚人在巴黎被大肆屠杀的事件。作家通过在法国历史上跟这两个事件都发生密切关联的人物原型莫里斯·帕蓬(Maurice Papon)将之联系起来。他既在二战期间对犹太人犯下的罪行,又在法国前殖民地阿尔及利亚任职期间,镇压阿尔及利亚独立战争是“十月屠杀”的重要责任人。在德伦克思小说中类似莫里斯·帕蓬的人物是由一个叫安德烈的负责处理犹太事件的行政长官来演绎的,他在 23 年后,又接受了负责清除阿尔及利亚民族解放前线头领的任命。他既承担连接前后记忆的事件经历者的角色,又是两起暴力事件的见证者,并且因为后一个事件的变型的记忆,前一个事件的初始记忆也被重新挖掘出来。类似这样的一些例子证明了马克斯·西尔弗曼在此书中想揭示的记忆文本的两个方面,首先,现在是在过去的阴影下,过去的阴影可能不是立即可见的,但总是会逐步进入人们的视野变得清晰可见,现在与过去的审美关系形式因此采用的是不同时间轨迹组成繁复结构的叠加和互动,像一个羊皮古书般的重写本,一层轨迹能够通过另一层被转换了形式的轨迹所看见。其次,这种作品中的复合结构不是过去与现在两个时刻的简单组合,而是大量不同的时刻,生产出丰富意义的链条,把全然不相干的时空抽离并杂糅在一起。《为了记忆的谋杀》中,由一起暴力事件的调查引出另一起有着深刻内在联系的暴力事件,因此使人们设想的一种特殊时空会重组生产出另一种不同的时空形式成为可能。重叠的不同文本就是一个时空中多元复合的这一时刻。

[2] Max Silverman, *Plimpsestic Memory——The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film*, (New York City: Berghahn Books, 2015), 2.

## 二、记忆政治的同与异

由上述小说版本的记忆故事可见，记忆与政治不可分割。如何理解记忆政治的概念？有无可能通过一种既不将历史普遍化也不将历史特殊化的方法，在同和异之间的关系中看待记忆？西尔弗曼从记忆政治与记忆诗学两方面作了思考。记忆诗学是对记忆政治的诗学表达，记忆政治是对记忆诗学和艺术实践的提炼。西尔弗曼以多样化的文本展示了两者的互相生发的关系。除上述小说文本之外，普鲁斯特的《追忆逝水年华》也是他倚重的文学文本，而除了研究小说版本的记忆实践之外，西尔弗曼还借助多种艺术形式对记忆的表达来展现记忆的诗学形象。如他指出，电影文本如阿兰·雷奈的《夜与雾》，<sup>〔3〕</sup>体现了现在被过去萦绕、生命被死亡交织而创造出一种叠加的记忆理念。这个记忆版本，离弃了线性的时间观念，打破战后余波的平静，指向持续的恐怖，转换了种族暴力的不同时刻间的互相联系，其背后的政治内涵包括了戴维·鲁塞、汉娜·阿伦特和其他战后理论家对大屠杀与种族暴力的多维度探讨。又如弗朗兹·法农的《黑皮肤，白面具》<sup>〔4〕</sup>通过演绎在暴力的不同历史时期的多样境遇，尤其是在反犹和反黑色种族主义中，建构了一个互文的和跨文化的诗歌与政治文本；再如戈达尔<sup>〔5〕</sup>对蒙太奇的运用与本雅明的“星丛”概念和非线性历史方法一致，也是西尔弗曼将记忆政治与记忆诗学融会贯通的一个典型例证。他认为戈达尔创造了图像文献的重写本，不同的图像重叠、互融，以“不可思议的和充满挑衅的方式”把过去与现在在一瞬间集结在一起。这与本雅明论历史观念的形成时对寓言和蒙太奇的运用研究具有可类比性，同样将一种羊皮古书的记忆观念以文化记忆的政治-审美模式呈现了出来，它给我们提供了一种非线性地洞察历史的途径。所以以作为全书核心的羊皮古书概念的发展来看，从弗洛伊德将羊皮古书看作记忆的隐喻，到戴维·鲁塞、汉娜·阿伦特和其他战后理论家对大屠杀与种族暴力的多维度探讨，到本雅明“星丛”概念，再到雅克·德里达的“擦除印迹”，记忆同一性与差异性的关系辨析的脉络是非常清晰的，本文试从记忆政治与记忆诗学两方面阐述之。

先从记忆政治的脉络看。二战后，因政治被驱逐出境的戴维·鲁塞，他关于集中营的研究著作《集中营的世界》出版，该书剖析战后的世界，提醒我们注意纳粹极权实验的绝对的新奇性，即他所说的现在“每一件事都是可能的”。<sup>〔6〕</sup>鲁塞告诫我们，要把纳粹的统治实验这一知识整合进我们对人类的理解中。因为如果我们不保持警惕，集中营的世界将会重新出现。鲁塞关于集中营世界的思考是汉娜·阿伦特在《极权主义的起源》中理解极权主义的法则的一个重要的灵感。阿伦特从鲁塞的“每一件事都是可能的”得到启发，认为这固然标志着极权主义法则的绝对新奇性，然而，阿伦特也看到在纳粹集中营独一无二的性质与更多的熟悉的政治景观之间存在着深刻的联系与张力。她认为，集中营是“普遍的极权统治的社会理念的向导”，<sup>〔7〕</sup>集中营世界与集中营之外的世界有深刻的联系。她更注重其间的独一性和联系性，相同与差异等关系。但西尔弗曼认为鲁塞和阿伦特著作有一点相似，就是他们都试图将日常生活的平庸性陌生化，来表明战争的恐惧的持续性，并对人类在战后生活的观念重新进行激进的塑造，来呼求我们已然麻木的平庸的意识。<sup>〔8〕</sup>西尔弗曼既肯定他们的敏锐思考，肯定鲁塞和阿伦特在集中营、帝国主义和现代种族科学之间交叉部分的洞察，认为他们打开了在“规范”的世界之上的极权统治的研究空间，但另一方面，又看到他们在理解暴力的记忆的不同模式方面，还有可探讨的空间，总体而言他认为对集中营世界（和它代表的极权统治的系统）与战后大屠杀的特性

〔3〕 *Ibid.*, 41.

〔4〕 *Ibid.*, 72.

〔5〕 *Ibid.*, 124.

〔6〕 *Ibid.*, 12.

〔7〕 *Ibid.*, 12.

〔8〕 *Ibid.*, 13.

之间的差异性,需要基于一种更广泛的时空连接的事件记忆的分析。

基于对记忆作时空连接的分析诉求,西尔弗曼延续鲁塞和阿伦特的探讨,进一步把记忆政治的问题聚焦于纳粹主义、反犹主义和种族大屠杀、殖民主义之间的类比关系。他认为法农反对黑人殖民种族主义的著作《黑皮肤,白面具》很大程度上是以萨特在《关于犹太人问题的思考》(réflexions sur la question juive)<sup>[9]</sup>的反犹主义的模式为基础的,法农把纳粹主义当作欧洲中心论的殖民心态,这一类比与鲁塞将纳粹集中营和古拉格集中营进行类比,有一致性,而西蒙·波伏娃的《名士风流》(Les Mandarins)<sup>[10]</sup>也以同样的类比法讨论了战后法国不同的集中营之间的联系。类比的记忆可谓比比皆是,类比法记忆是有问题的,但类比记忆中联系的法则西尔弗曼还是部分认同的。他认为,记忆多样性的表现,不宜仅在纳粹主义或反犹主义单方面进行考察,而应联系考察记忆的另一面相,如记忆纳粹主义之外的殖民主义的暴力。比如前述清理二战与阿尔及利亚战争的关系,就应在记忆的时空连接的立体维度来进行。这就需要追溯记忆理论的发展脉络。

由此,弗洛伊德的屏障记忆理论(screen memory)<sup>[11]</sup>首先被提出来了。西尔弗曼之所以选择弗洛伊德,与他接着弗洛伊德探讨并倚重的德里达的理论密不可分。德里达提出的关于延异(différance)、文字学、解构逻各斯中心主义、语音中心主义等诸多理论命题的一个基础,就是对弗洛伊德的理论的解构。德里达在《书写与差异》、《声音与现象》等书中详细解构了弗洛伊德理论的发展脉络与诸多面相。“解构”于德里达而言并非是一种普遍性的“否定”,而是“一种肯定的‘是’”<sup>[12]</sup>。他认为只存在特定的而非一般普遍意义的文化、历史、政治情境下的解构,<sup>[13]</sup>那些使社会、技术转型了的事件就可谓是解构性的事件。因为由于这些解构性事件带来的转型,新的形式开始发生作用。所以解构问题包含着记忆元素,因为首先是回顾,即行使记忆的权力,去了解我们的文化、传统、习俗是从哪里来的,所以德里达说“没有无记忆的解构,这一点具有普世有效性”<sup>[14]</sup>。解构意味着首先是尽可能地重建文化霸权的谱系,分析它过去从哪里来?为什么现在获得霸权地位?其次,解构的责任是转变场域,转移、叛逆、质疑霸权。由此,德里达指出解构那些浓缩并沉淀在弗洛伊德话语中的形而上学概念和语句具有必要性,因为心理分析与形而上学具有霸权的共谋性。这样,德里达追溯了弗洛伊德从 1895 年《科学心理学草案》到 1900 年《梦的解析》再到 1925 年《神奇写字板笔记》的记忆理论的发展历程,认为弗洛伊德的阐释越来越符合他的书写印迹的隐喻。认为“神奇写字板”的发现,让弗洛伊德认为心灵装置的全部内容都会投射到这个具有神妙复杂性的书写工具上,认为可以帮助他解释记忆。<sup>[15]</sup>这一点下面谈到记忆诗学时还会进一步涉及。总之,经由德里达对弗洛伊德的解构跳板,西尔弗曼首先质疑了弗洛伊德的屏障记忆理论。屏障记忆理论说的是一种记忆被另一种记忆所代替的记忆机制。一种记忆成为另一种更麻烦的经历的代替,并且只有通过复杂的连接着最初的创伤记忆的替代程序才能实现。替代虽然也许凑效,但不是简单地忘却和抹去,因为它反而变相地创造了双倍的程序,通过它被替代物继续以一种可见的形式存在。并且,不同事件之间的类比有不同的功能,殖民压迫的牺牲品运用它和殖民者运用它是截然不同的。所以西尔弗曼提出,殖民记忆和法西斯记忆是重叠的、互相生发的一对孪生子。由此西尔弗曼还追溯了战后的其他理论家的探讨,指出 1980 年代大屠杀与殖民研究的学科壁垒也反向促成了德伦克思、塞巴等人的艺术实践在大屠杀和殖民想象之

[9] *Ibid.*, 14.

[10] *Ibid.*, 14.

[11] *Ibid.*, 16.

[12] 雅克·德里达 Jacques Derrida,《书写与差异》Shuxie Yu Chayi [L'écriture et la différence],(上海 Shanghai:上海三联书店 Shanghai SDX Joint Publishing Company,2001),16.

[13] *Ibid.*, 14.

[14] *Ibid.*, 15.

[15] *Ibid.*, 360.



间建立起了互文性的联系。而近些年兴起的一种新的理论范式,则既不是回到旧的普遍主义,也不支持种族特殊主义,而是梳理出差异与同一,寻找相互重叠交叉的部分。韦伯、阿伦特和法兰克福学派(尤其是齐格蒙特·鲍曼)的观念中,大屠杀必须在更广阔的合理化的现代性的结构中来衡量。西尔弗曼引用一位理论家的话认为,“否定奥斯维辛的独特性并非都是修正主义者,而只为奥斯维辛的独特性争辩就有可能也会无视其他场所的暴力。保持种族屠杀的记忆最好的方式既不是否定其他的种族屠杀,也不是树立宗教崇拜。”<sup>[16]</sup>他警惕一种现代性的普遍主义话语,认为在这种普遍主义话语中不同时刻的灾难是被混淆进单一的叙述中的,因此他坚持每一特殊时刻的灾难与普遍的灾难之间的关系的辩证性。这就是他从记忆政治的角度质疑弗洛伊德对屏障记忆的替代功能的分析的理由。

由对弗洛伊德的屏障记忆理论难以摆脱单一性的评价,西尔弗曼继续探讨了由雅克·德里达重塑的弗洛伊德的记忆痕迹观念,也一并讨论了在埃伦娜·西苏(Helene Cixous)、德里达、帕特里克·夏穆瓦佐(Patrick Chamoiseau)和鲁道夫·哈马迪(Rodolphe Hammadi)等著作中发掘的有关历史与记忆交汇之处的思考。以西苏和德里达的文本比较为例,西尔弗曼由他们作为在阿尔及利亚的法国犹太人同样经历过的童年创伤经验谈起,触及了大屠杀与殖民主义等多元化的问题。埃莱娜·西苏1937年出生于法属殖民地阿尔及利亚的奥兰城。犹太裔父亲和德奥血统的母亲复杂家庭身份使她在犹太人与殖民者的两重困境中产生认同危机。相似的境遇使德里达对埃莱娜·西苏有深刻的同情的理解和评价。德里达自己也在《他者的单语主义》(Le monolinguisme de l'autre)、《割礼忏悔录》(Circonfession)等书中反思并发展出独特的记忆差异性理论。德里达反对一种简单的强调语言、文化与身份的一致性的观点,认为这种观点把单语主义看作是多语主义的反面,把单边文化主义看作是多元文化或文化多样性的反面,而德里达认定的则是一种既不是单语,也不是双语,也不是多语的经验,不是1,2,或 $n$ 的数字叠加,而是存在着一种即使单语也仍然是数不尽的语言的经验,因为这种经验可以在同时既是单数也是多数。<sup>[17]</sup>也就是说,这种强调既非此又非彼、亦此亦彼的文化间性的观点,对在记忆研究领域处理一与多的关系,是极具启发性的。也即,在某一单个的时间节点上,凝聚着多个差异性的经验与记忆,这一差异在时间轴上体现为“延异”,在时间的空间化中,表现为“痕迹”。德里达对特殊与普遍的张力的把握,也体现在他对割礼的反思中。一方面他看到割礼的独特性,他自己遭受的无法压抑的伤痛的割礼,组成了他自身的绝对的独特性,这是一种无法被他人取代的创伤记忆;但另一方面,他又看到犹太人的割礼与组成一个共同体的每一种伤痛之间存在互文性的类比关系。也即,在任何有关身份认同、文化认同或民族认同的历史源头,都存在着一种类似割礼的东西,身体上的某个不可磨灭的标志和伤痛是具有普遍性的。所以也应弱化个人的与普遍的、历史特殊性与普世适用性的边界。西尔弗曼认为德里达这种拒绝按照“同一基因的霸权”来定义犹太身份的姿态,他是认同的。但西尔弗曼同时又对德里达有所反思,他认为德里达与西苏通过展示在特殊性中的不可避免的他者痕迹,在他们的著作中取笑特殊性与普遍性的张力,这种态度基本没有突显他们提出的进行双重思考(纳粹主义和殖民主义)的哲学姿态。他认为他们的思想中最有价值的是揭示了在不同历史之间的“十字结点”。通过关注“十字结点”,把文化记忆与后殖民研究结合起来,才能将德里达质疑的单语主义、本质主义的差异视角落到实处。

### 三、记忆诗学的异与同

西尔弗曼的记忆诗学主要是指对记忆政治的艺术机制和形式的探索。包含隐喻、转喻、蒙太奇、

[16] Max Silverman, *Plimpstestic Memory-The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film*, 19.

[17] *Ibid.*, 152-155.

寓言、类比等形式。西尔弗曼首先截取普鲁斯特《追忆逝水年华》最后一卷《重现的时光》开启此一话题。<sup>[18]</sup> 故事中的人物马塞尔, 在一个大花园绊倒后, 发现自己踉踉跄跄站在两块凹凸不平的铺路石上, 那一时刻他突然思如泉涌, 埋葬的记忆洪水般涌现回来了。巴黎与威尼斯, 来自过去的不同的时空的记忆在现在这一刻因同样的经验触发了。这个时刻对普鲁斯特而言, 标志着重新发现失去的时间的可能性。这一景象对西尔弗曼的记忆诗学的启示是, 首先, 现在包含着过去的踪迹, 这些踪迹可能到处都在; 第二, 与第一点相关, 通过记忆的激活, 转换了日常生活中平庸无奇的感觉, 从而赋予现在以变革的行动, 所以在这意义上是过去塑造了现在, 记忆是当下的现象, 即当关注过去时, 有些事在现在发生了。第三, 他关注影响这种感觉转换的艺术机制或艺术象征。比如隐喻和转喻就是一种转换机制。隐喻通过对不同事物相似性的观察而把两个分离的要素提取在一起。隐喻的真正力量不是简单的像弗洛伊德的屏障记忆一样在于用一物替代一物, 而是像波德莱尔所说的, 在它们之间创造“客观对应物”,<sup>[19]</sup> 并且在此过程中, 双方都得到重新的改造。西尔弗曼对隐喻的创造功能赋予极大的期望, 他认为隐喻是创造性的和转换性的程序, 它将习以为常的日常生活的意义链打破并作了陌生化处理, 把最不可能相容的元素连接在一起, 重塑了我们的想象, 创造了过去与现在的新关系, 并因此迫使我们在这互相连接的两个元素都重新进行反思。隐喻不是简单地把一种元素折叠进另一种以便让它们统一, 也不是保持它们各自的完整差异互不干扰。它的美在于它通过同一与差异创造了不具稳定性关系的客观对应物的事实。

隐喻的作用还不局限于艺术领域, 它也是记忆诗学的重要形式。它既是穿越时空旅行的完美工具, 也是现代主义语境下探索身份认同的完美工具。在此意义上, 西尔弗曼认为隐喻与转喻并无大的区别。转喻在普鲁斯特笔下引发的对于相同时空的瞬间的震惊体验, 意味着转喻是隐喻作用的一个紧密的重叠部分, 而不是像结构主义理论家的分类那样, 把它当作是一种僵硬的结构分析。<sup>[20]</sup> 西尔弗曼认为弗洛伊德是精确地抓住了隐喻与转喻的紧密重叠的特征的。他看重的也是德里达同样看重的弗洛伊德发表于 1925 年的《‘神奇写字板’笔记》, 认为他发展了作为羊皮古书的记忆的理念。<sup>[21]</sup> 弗洛伊德描述了孩子如何用书写玩具抓住双重记忆机制——无限的接收信息和持久地保留信息的机制, 即德里达在《书写与差异》中所说的印迹的永久性与接收体的“童贞性”,<sup>[22]</sup> 在纸上或写字板上写字有一个缺点, 或者接收信息是有限的(纸上的笔记), 或者没有能力恒久保持(写字板必须擦干净为新信息留路)。因此弗洛伊德观察到, 无限的接收信息的能力和持久地保留信息的痕迹看似是互相排斥的性能, 近似于我们用替代物来记忆: 更新接收表面, 或者破坏笔记。然而, 神奇写字板(类似于复写纸)演示了同时进行这两个功能的可能性: 铭文写在赛璐珞薄纸上覆盖画板上层部分, 能通过揭起纸张被擦除, 这样可以腾出余地继续在上面写字。写字板的隐喻给弗洛伊德提供了简单的形式来确认他的记忆思想。他看到, 虽然表面上看接收自在在世界的感受在心理上不能保持持久, 因此带来一种无限的接收新印象的能力, 但在深层水平上, 这些感受印象还是作为无意识的记忆留下了痕迹。

从弗洛伊德《梦的解析》将梦处理为某种秘密书写文字(Geheimschrift),<sup>[23]</sup> 以一个固定的“钥匙”, 将每一个符号都转译成另一种符号, 到二十多年后《神奇写字板笔记》对《梦的解析》关于心理书写(psychographique)的隐喻理论进行反思, 德里达认为将梦与某种文字系统相比较比与某种语言相比更准确。他认为梦的解析类似于某种古代象形文字的辨识。梦的多义性与古代文字系统存在着对

[18] *Ibid.*, 22.

[19] *Ibid.*, 23.

[20] *Ibid.*, 24.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] 雅克·德里达 Jacques Derrida, 《书写与差异》Shuxie Yu Chayi [L'écriture et la différence], 363.

[23] *Ibid.*, 375.

称性。这样才可确保一种可理解性。<sup>[24]</sup> 所以德里达就这样从对弗洛伊德关于心灵机制的分层重叠过程的研究,即研究记忆印迹(Erinnerungsspuren)的调整、转录、重复性呈现,或记录不同种类的符号等心灵书写,转变为文字学的阐释路径。他认为弗洛伊德早期记忆理论的“裂口”即在于像“梦的解析”这样的“心灵书写”的“非转译性”理论,在生产差异的同时抹掉了它。所以他更看重后期的《神奇写字板笔记》,并批判性地发展了弗洛伊德的神奇写字板记忆理论,认为需要转换弗洛伊德提出的这种静态的、本质主义的记忆模式。但他承认记忆叠加原则仍然不失为是记忆机制的有力方式。因为它暗示着一种时空的心理重整,这颠覆了现代性合理化分类的权威性。西尔弗曼认为这一点同样也为超现实主义所运用,超现实主义同样发掘出弗洛伊德派的记忆原则,而超现实主义也影响了鲁塞和阿伦特,促进他们寻找新的语言进行日常生活的陌生化。

除了隐喻和转喻,蒙太奇也是记忆诗学的一种重要艺术机制和艺术形式。蒙太奇是另一种在同一空间把不同元素编织在一起的象征性形式。以本雅明为例。西尔弗曼认为本雅明综合了普鲁斯特、波德莱尔、超现实主义以及弗洛伊德无意识记忆痕迹等理论,将个人心理记忆与社会历史记忆进行了理论化的整合。如他的《拱廊街计划》、《漫游者》、《历史哲学论纲》等书。如果说《漫游者》中的漫游者是未经理论化的个人,一个处于无意识与意识的层累叠加的个人,那么在《拱廊街计划》中,本雅明提炼了这样一种层累叠加的状况,他把这种时刻称作一种“形象”(“image”),一个“星丛”(“constellation”)或一个“关键时刻”(“critical point”):

“不是过去把光投到现在,也不是现在把光投到过去;而是,形象是一个星丛,在其中过去与现在一起闪现,换句话说,形象是处于停滞状态的过去和现在的辩证法。因为当现在对过去的联系是纯粹时间性的时候,已经经过的关系对现在来说是辩证的:不是在时间的本质的意义上说,而是在象征性的比喻上来说。只有辩证性的形象是真正富有历史性的——即,不是过时的——形象……”<sup>[25]</sup>

西尔弗曼认为本雅明正是借助蒙太奇的形式,让时间空间化以便让历史的辩证运动变得可见。他不同意阿伦特为本雅明的《启迪》(Illuminations)写的导言中引用的阿多诺和霍克海默的说法,认为本雅明的思想是“非辩证的”,静止的。阿伦特参照《漫游者》的形象与《历史哲学论纲》中本雅明对保罗·克利斯的画《新天使》的历史角度的讨论,赞成阿多诺的看法。而阿多诺认为与其说本雅明思想是辩证的,不如说他充满的是隐喻性的想象。但西尔弗曼认为,本雅明思想中隐喻性想象是与辩证思考共融的,他只是转变了直线性、横组合的思考方式,变成纵聚合的方式将各种历史事件叠合在一起。他也反驳阿伦特对本雅明著作中关于隐喻与寓言的区分,认为这是很奇怪的读法,因为本雅明的寓言体很大程度上是以波德莱尔对寓言模式的探索为前提的。隐喻与寓言在本雅明这里不是对立的,而是两者都对他纵聚合的新思考范式起作用。

西尔弗曼在跨民族、跨文化和信息时代对文化记忆的政治和诗学的追溯,提醒我们在身份政治的记忆博弈中保持历史的视角,抵抗健忘症,也提醒我们警惕由于全球化时代新媒体的快速增长对记忆的柔性塑造,以及反过来,同时警惕由于信息超载导致我们的记忆容量减少、直至面临记忆僵尸化的危险的状态。羊皮古书的记忆提供了一种在杂糅的而非纯粹单一的分类意义上来塑造记忆的景象。但它同时也是一个批判的空间,打通了从现在的平淡的表面到历史的“十字结点”的通道。在此,他认为德里达提出的一种后启蒙的“世界主义”来代替康德的启蒙的世界主义,是极富价值的,因为德里达挑战了普世主义与特殊主义的二元区分。他认为他提出的羊皮古书的记忆为人类保持德里达所说的“将临的民主”的“世界主义”愿景提供了方法。所谓“将临的民主”,德里达在《无赖》(Voyous)一书中,对此多有描述,这种“将临的民主”,德里达更多地是使用悖论进行表达的,比如称为“绝望或令人绝望

[24] *Ibid.*, 396.

[25] Max Silverman, *Plimpstestic Memory-The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film*, 26.



的弥赛亚性”。“将临的民主”不是“未来的民主”，而是“具有允诺结构的民主——因此是对此时此地包孕未来的东西的记忆”。“将临”不仅表示允诺，而且表示“民主从未在当下存在的意义上存在过”。<sup>[26]</sup> 德里达也赋予“将临的民主”某种宗教意味：“对于民主来说，时间永远不够”；“对于将临的民主，它需要提供尚不存在的时间”。德里达疑惑将“将临的民主”与“没有弥赛亚主义的弥赛亚性”的回归相联系，能否归结为“某种未明言的神学要素”。因“将临的民主”表现出一种奇怪的自相矛盾的循环：既需要时间又取消了时间。<sup>[27]</sup> 西尔弗曼非常看好德里达的这一主张，认为基于这样的主张重塑的记忆空间将是个动态的开放空间，它由不同的声音、立场和时代的相互连接的痕迹组成，塑造了跨越种族与民族界限的团结的前景。

#### 四、记忆同一性的人道主义维度、认同难题及超越的可能性

西尔弗曼借助于德里达的研究将记忆命题放在多元时空中进行考察，其对记忆结构的“连接”、“杂糅”、“重叠”等多元化特征的强调，以及将有关纳粹主义的记忆事件与反犹主义、种族主义和后殖民主义等问题相连接的倾向，可以让我们看到其思想中鲜明的左翼色彩。也由于他的记忆研究是与后殖民主义等研究结合在一起，所以探讨其记忆理论还应放在全球化格局下并进入后殖民主义、后现代主义等理论中来观照。德里达成为承载他的多元交叉研究的一个典型的个案。从德里达的困惑某种程度上也可以折射西尔弗曼的理论的某种局限。邓晓芒曾质疑德里达从语言学到文字学的转向，认为德里达以汉语为参照系的解构理论并不能真正摆脱语言中心主义和逻各斯中心主义，汉语的特性导致不能将之引向文字的创造，而是“引向（一切言语和文字的）沉默、无言和失语”。这与德里达提出“文字学”不是抛弃而是超越逻各斯中心主义的初衷相悖，所以邓晓芒认为他的理论仍然是一种“新的形而上学”。<sup>[28]</sup> 事实上如上所述德里达自己也承认解构不具宽泛的指向而是针对具体语境的解构，并且解构包含着建构。或许这也是德里达对自己的解构理论的悖论的一种辩解。但无可否认，对解构和后现代理论质疑的声音中，普遍会谈到一个可能会存在的悖论：即包括德里达在内的这种强调差异性质疑同一性的西方左翼理论或后现代主义，他们既要反逻各斯中心主义但又以自己的理论言说亲身加入了逻各斯中心的行列。是否存在这一悖论，如何摆脱这一具有后现代主义色彩的困境，西方当代理论家们作了大量的探讨。以人道主义作为逻各斯中心主义的一种典型话语表征为例，我们也可以看到他们的大量理论争论中隐含着对无力摆脱逻各斯中心主义的焦虑感。在全球化与后殖民主义、后现代主义语境下，关于记忆差异性与同一性的探讨，同样离不开这一背景。

后殖民主义是不是一种人道主义？以往有多种争论，肯定的意见比如法农，就是把后殖民主义和人道主义结合起来考虑的。比如 1961 年他在《天下可怜人》中就写下未来非洲的独立宣言，带着走向社会主义、人道主义的愿景。在为阿尔及利亚独立于法国而作斗争的时候，法农没有简单的忽略欧洲人道主义的传统，但是他认为这是一种新的人道主义，批判的运用和超越那些早期的欧洲人道主义形式限制的一种人道主义。后来当代的一位美国的后殖民主义左翼理论家凯文·B·安德森，他指出法农的社会主义人道主义的第三条道路，既不是西方资本主义的方式，但也不是东方共产主义的一

[26] 雅克·德里达 Jacques Derrida,《无赖》Wu Lai[Voyous], 汪堂家 Wang Tangjia, 李之喆 Li Zhizhe, 译. 上海 Shanghai: 上海译文出版社 Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2011: 114-115.

[27] *Ibid.*, 143-153

[28] 邓晓芒 Deng Xiaomang,《德里达:从语言学转向到文字学的转向》,Derrida: Cong Yuyanxue Zhuanxiang Dao Wenzixue De Zhuanxiang [“Derrida: The Turn From Linguistics to Grammatologie”] 中国现象学网 <http://philosophy.sysu.edu.cn/phaenomenologie/xzxl/xzdxm/3258.htm>

种方式。笔者翻译过一篇凯文·B·安德森的文章，<sup>[29]</sup>他回顾了西方在结构主义和后结构主义之后的社会主义人道主义，包括萨特、弗洛姆、福柯、布迪厄及法农等人的人道主义观点，重点探讨了一些东欧的人道主义的观点，比如科西克的具体的人道主义，以及他最看重的杜那耶夫斯卡娅的人道主义，提出以具体的人道主义来对抗所谓的普遍的、抽象的人道主义。“具体的人道主义”的提法，延续了福柯“具体的普遍性”的说法，对差异性与同一性、普遍性的关系思考是颇具启发性的。但是这样还是没有完全地解释人道主义话语面临的理论和现实的某种难题。理论难题比如，后殖民主义作为一种人道主义资源，到底是一种帮助还是一种负面的资产和障碍？帮助在于，在理论上殖民主义的理念是有意地对人的地位身份进行了一种剥夺，取消了主体自由。人道主义理论因此仍然不失为一种思想资源来抵抗殖民策略，或为批判某种社会制度（比如帝国主义制度）缺陷提供动机和指导。但另一方面，作为障碍，关于人性和权利的普遍性观念在历史上又曾被利用来作为一种正义的修辞，为进行“人道主义的干涉”与控制张目，这就不是不值得质疑的。但显然这一问题还不应止步于思想上逻辑上的探讨。从现实看，比如利比亚难民危机就是凸显其现实难题的一个例子，在此问题上左派和右派对人道主义的看法是完全不同的，所以仅仅在后殖民主义和人道主义的框架之内是不足以来讨论这种差异与同一的两难问题的。即一方面是人道主义内含的文化多元主义可能带来的那种包容性，但另一方面欧洲的文化多元主义又内含了某种文化相对主义，它导致一些少数民族更加将自己封闭起来，这种封闭状态是极易于滋生极端主义、恐怖主义的土壤的。所以在这个意义上，引入历史记忆的立体的维度来作探讨就显得必要。通过对不同时刻暴力的洞察分析，归纳总结种族暴力和恐怖的特征及实质，重新评估人类面对极端恐怖主义的警醒能力，马克斯·西尔弗曼的多元记忆结构研究因此就显示出他独特的价值。他认为特别是在这更近的几十年里，极端暴力的历史已经趋向于划分出记忆的人种-文化界限，因此看清多维多向的文化记忆与政治记忆的联系，才能在面临有关极端暴力和恐怖的现象与社会学、历史学、政治学、诗学与艺术文本时更具洞察力。西尔弗曼挑选的许多文本，正是这种坚持记忆的杂糅性、层累性和动力性的宝贵见证。为了介入文化记忆在跨民族年代的争论，提出一种不同的看待过去的暴力以及它与现在和未来关系的方法，采用“羊皮古书的记忆”这一术语，正是因为它暗含着所有这些通过类比、隐喻、转喻、分类、蒙太奇、寓言等手法将分立的记忆元素相互联系在一起的特点，从而达到他所希望强调的以时间的空间化作为记忆作品中心的目的。

但把人道主义的实践的因素纳入记忆同一性与差异性的理论探讨，并不意味着关于人道主义命题的理论困境就此解决了。如何突破人道主义普世性的特点与多元个体记忆特殊性的某种矛盾？西尔弗曼的“羊皮古书的记忆”并没有完全解决这个命题，不过他对多元结构的记忆思考提醒我们亟待将多元宗教文化记忆纳入研究框架当也是事实。从特殊的多元个体记忆如何达到个人身份、文化身份与民族身份的认同？查尔斯·泰勒揭示了“无求于外的人文主义”的局限性，这种人文主义由于切割了宗教维度，其世俗化取向是难以充分回应这一认同难题的。泰勒在此书中区分了三种世俗性模式及指涉的宗教形态，1)世俗化的公共空间，宗教退出公共空间；2)信仰及其实践的衰落，宗教不论退化与否，都仅作为信仰与实践的一种类型；3)由信仰的几个新的境况组成，新形态赋予信仰以经验，此经验提示信仰，又被信仰所界定。它结束了前现代“天真承认”的信仰状态，其关键变化是这种世俗化的“无求于外的人文主义”的出现。泰勒更关注第三个维度的境况。它让我们重新思考社会公共领域人与超越人间福祉的善比如圣爱的关系。依泰勒的意见，必须将世俗的、片段的、现在的瞬间与永恒相连。当代神学家沃弗(Miroslav Volf)充分认同泰勒的这一思考，他认为泰勒在《认知的政治》(The

[29] 凯文·B·安德森 Kevin B. Anderson. 结构主义和后结构主义之后的社会主义人道主义 Jiegou Zhuyi He Hou Jiegou Zhuyi Zhihou De Rendao Zhuyi[“Socialist Humanism After Structuralism and Post-structuralism”],《探索与争鸣》Tansuo Yu Zhengming [Exploration and Free Views], 2013(8):75-79.



Politics of Recognition) 中区分的“平等尊严政治”与“差异政治”非常重要, 对思考同一与差异问题尤其富有启发。“平等尊严政治”寻求普世一致, “差异政治”基于对个人独特性的尊重, 在此基础上寻求身份认同。<sup>[30]</sup> 沃弗与泰勒从宗教问题切入同一与差异的思考进路, 颇多类似之处, 但泰勒天主教的立场与沃弗基督教的立场终又有相当的区别; 另一从宗教进路思考此一问题的思想家如乌尔里希·贝克, 他提出“宗教间性”(Inter-religiosity) 理论, 探讨在 21 世纪“世界诸宗教的相互接触与彼此渗透”意味着什么? 他认为这意味着各种普遍主义理论之间的“绝非转瞬即逝的碰撞”; “宗教间性”的对立面是“把其他信仰的追随者贬低为无信仰者或异端, 并质疑他们作为人的尊严。在充满了密集交流的世界里, 所有的信仰者或无信仰者, 不论其信或不信什么, 都发现自己在信仰者(或无神论者)的家园与(宗教他者眼中的)无信仰者的流放地之间变换位置”, 贝克认为这种粗略分类引起了“四处弥漫的焦虑, 在宗教的激发下这种焦虑还有可能以暴力而告终。”<sup>[31]</sup> 针对宗教激进主义引发的风险危机, 贝克结合哈贝马斯的现代性理论, 进一步提出对此问题的一种世界主义的理解方式和应对方案, 即消解现代社会“简单现代化”的“非模糊性逻辑”, 而运用“模糊性逻辑”,<sup>[32]</sup> 模糊各种宗教的文化边界。贝克这一对宗教与文化关系的具实用色彩的处理, 由于站在过于相对主义的立场, 在“真理与和平”的关系上过于倾向于“和平”与同一一端, 过于模糊了宗教之间的边界, 而削弱了真理性与差异性的维度。实际上这在某种程度上不是直面而是回避了文化多样性的命题, 也淡化了伴随文化多样性而来的日渐紧迫的宗教冲突命题。这样看来, 我们需要一种类似查尔斯·泰勒等人的宗教方案, 来应对“无求于外的人文主义”设置的宗教壁垒, 以更开放的态度, 把宗教的文化记忆也纳入到“公共叙述”(public discourse) 中来。这方面当代许多记忆研究学家也都已开始探讨。比如以色列学者阿维夏伊·玛格利特(Avishai Margalit) 从道德哲学的角度探讨了记忆的共享和记忆共同体问题。这一问题同样与对记忆的差异与同一关系的认识有关, 她提出“记忆共同体”<sup>[33]</sup> 和“普遍的伦理共同体”的概念。<sup>[34]</sup> 认为关爱的伦理共同体是积极的记忆, 包含创造和十字架上的牺牲等。玛格利特虽借助了基督教的思想资源, 也保留着对这种理念的期待, 但他还是认为这种理念逻辑上可行而现实中不易转化, 所以他表示宁愿“退而求其次”,<sup>[35]</sup> 还是回到人本主义的立场, 认为要把伦理和道德的正当性系于人, 而非立基于“更高性”的存在。他的这一认识从基督教神学的角度看有些问题, 但这一路径的选择具有代表性, 有待深入探讨。而与玛格利特的人本主义立场不同, 当代公共神学神学家沃弗等人则以上帝为中心对记忆同一性与身份认同问题进行神学阐释。沃弗延续并发展基督教神学家莫尔特曼盼望神学的思想, 与左翼路径、“无求于外的人文主义”以及道德哲学等路径构成了有意义的潜对话, 也亟需作进一步的甄别和考察。如沃弗的近作《记忆的力量——在错误的世界, 迈向盼望》中, 他提出“承认”的途径来将记忆想成是获得拯救的方法。<sup>[36]</sup> 倾听受害者的声音是第一要务。但前提是记忆

[30] 沃弗 Miroslav Volf, 《拥抱神学》Yongbao Shenxue [Exclusion and embrace: a theological exploration of identity, otherness, and reconciliation], 王湘琪 Wang Xiangqi 译, 台北 Taipei: 校园书房出版社 Xiaoyuan Shufang Chubanshe [Campus Evangelical Fellowship], 民国 96), 19.

[31] 乌尔里希·贝克 Ulrich Beck, 《自己的上帝: 宗教的和平能力与潜在暴力》Ziji De Shangdi: Zongjiao De Heping Nengli Yu Qianzai Baoli [Der Eigene Gott], 李荣荣 Li Rongrong 译, (上海 Shanghai: 上海译文出版社 Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2015), 148.

[32] Ibid., 61.

[33] 阿维夏伊·玛格利特 Avishai Margalit, 《记忆的伦理》Jiyi De Lunli [The Ethics of Memory], (北京 Beijing: 清华大学出版社 Tsinghua University Press, 2015), 64.

[34] Ibid., 67.

[35] Ibid., 69.

[36] 沃弗 Miroslav Volf, 《记忆的力量——在错误的世界, 迈向盼望》Jiyi De Liliang——Zai Cuowu De Shijie, Maixiang Panwang [The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World], 台北 Taipei: 校园书房出版社 Xiaoyuan Shufang Chubanshe (Campus Evangelical Fellowship), 2012: 58.

必须真实,是在记忆基督十字架上受难的前提下去正确地记忆。这种记忆的“合一”,是以基督教的上帝为中心同时结合了人文主义思考的一种神学理论。这种思考对二战、种族大屠杀、殖民主义都是极富启示的资源。对经历了“文革”的中国当代文学思潮同样也有深刻的启迪。比如,众多关于“文革”的伤痕文学仅在受害者层面倾诉了富有个体差异性的创伤记忆,这对突破记忆政治的总体性是极为必要的。但获得了差异的真实性之后,有无可能以及如何建立新的和解与认同?而缺乏神性维度的“记忆同一性”是有真实性的硬伤的(张志扬《创伤记忆》一书对无神的“记忆同一性”亦有许多批判和分析,它是专制主义或极权主义的)。告别无神的“记忆同一性”,建立神学观照下的“记忆同一性”,或许才是处理文化记忆的差异与同一关系的一条可能的合理性路径。这是将沃弗的以“正确地记忆”<sup>[37]</sup>为前提的“拥抱神学”、<sup>[38]</sup>“和解神学”<sup>[39]</sup>的启示引入有关记忆差异性与同一性关系的公共叙述的理由。总而言之,这些关于记忆的思考有助于从正反两方面促进我们汉语学界超越西尔弗曼的左翼路径往前走,借鉴并开拓更多元的记忆研究路径来超越普遍性与特殊性的对立的障碍,从而深化当代中国文学的记忆研究。

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[37] *Ibid.*, 37.

[38] 沃弗 Miroslav Volf,《拥抱神学》Yongbao Shenxue[*Exclusion and embrace: a theological exploration of identity, otherness, and reconciliation*], 23-24 等页.

[39] Miroslav Volf, “Difference, Violence, and Memory”, *Irish Theological Quarterly* 2009(74): 3-12.

**English Title:**

**The left-wing Route of “Memory Identity” and Its Identification Dilemma—Focusing on Max Silverman’s Plimpsestic Memory——The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film**

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**Abstract:** This article introduces Max Silverman’s book *Plimpsestic Memory——The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film*, a study on transcultural and transnational dynamics of memory. From the aspects of politics of memory and poetics of memory, the author has reviewed the characteristics of the concept of “Plimpsestic Memory” put forward by Silverman, that is, Silverman advocates a multiple and interconnected memory structure of layer and hybrid in the context of globalization, rather than single or Binary. His memory theory is a reflection and breakthrough in the binary oppositional proposition of universality and particularity that has been highlighted in the field of humanitarian discussion. The method has dynamic and open features. However, the dilemma of identity that may be caused by the advocacy of the diversity of memory structures also reminds us that we should incorporate memories of multi-religious cultural into the research framework. In this respect, Charles Taylor’s questioning of “exclusive humanism”, Jacques Derrida’s anti-“monolingualism”, Ulrich Beck’s “inter-religiosity” theory, Avishai Margalit’s concept of “Memory Community” and the public narratives such as the revelation of “Embrace Theology” and “Reconciliation Theology” predicated on “Remembering Rightly” by Miroslav Volf, which helps us to promote Chinese academic community surpassing Silverman’s left-wing route, borrowing more research resources and exploring more routes to transcend barriers of binary opposition of universality and particularity, thus deepening the memory research of contemporary Chinese literature.

**Key Words:** Max Silverman; Plimpsestic Memory; The Politics of Memory; The Poetics of Memory; Identity and Difference

# **A Research on the Development of the Russian Orthodox Church in the First Decade after the Enthronement of Patriarch Kirill-Inheritance, Transformation and Challenge**

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**Abstract:** In 1988, when the thousand-year anniversary of the baptism of Rus was commemorated, the prelude to the revival of the Russian Orthodox Church slowly unfolded. After more than 30 years of development, the Orthodox Church has now become an important spiritual and cultural force in the Russian society. In the past 30 years, the Russian Orthodox Church has had three Patriarchs: Pimen, Alexy II and Kirill. This article intends to study the work carried out by the Russian Orthodox Church since Patriarch Kirill's enthronement in 2009, to clarify the inheritance of the work of the Russian Orthodox Church in the internal structure of the Church, its interaction with secular society, and dialogue with other Christian denominations, to interpret the transformation of the Russian Orthodox Church from "quantity" growth to "quality" growth, and to analyze the tensions of "desecularization" and "secularization" faced by the Russian Orthodox Church, threats to the unity of the Church, and challenges arising from the rapid growth of the Church.

**Key Words:** Russian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Kirill, Transformation of Russian Orthodox Church

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The Russian Orthodox Church went through extreme turbulence in the 20th century; after the October Revolution of 1917, the Orthodox Church lost its status as a state religion; during the Soviet period, the Orthodox Church struggled; in 1985, after Gorbachev (М. С. Горбачёв) came to power, while pursuing economic and political reforms, a policy of religious tolerance and openness came to be implemented, which laid the foundation for the revival of the Orthodox Church. In 1988, on the occasion of the thousand-year anniversary of the baptism of Rus, the Russian Orthodox Church held a series of celebrations, and got the government's approval and support, and so the revival of the Orthodox Church was initiated. Thirty years on, the Orthodox Church has now become an important spiritual and cultural force in Russian society. This paper intends to study the work carried out by the Russian Orthodox Church since the enthronement of Patriarch Kirill (Кирилл, 1946-) on February 1, 2009, to analyze the continuation of the work, which the Russian Orthodox Church has done in the past ten years, the trend of transformation on the basis of the continuation, and problems and challenges faced in the process of its development and transformation.

Before the discussion of these issues, the author intends to set the stage for the development of the

Russian Orthodox Church in the past 30 years. For this problem, scholars have defined it from different angles, such as the religious sociologist represented by Cinelina (Ю. Ю. Синелина, 1972—2013), from the perspective of Russian national religious belief, divides the development of the Russian Orthodoxy in 1989—2012 into four phases.<sup>〔1〕</sup> This article focuses on the development of the Orthodox Church, and divides the development process of the Russian Orthodox Church into three stages:

The first stage, the Orthodox Church took hold in Russia (1988—1997). After the thousandth anniversary commemoration of the baptism of Rus, the Orthodox Church developed rapidly: the number of believers increased dramatically, churches were repaired and built, and the priesthood was restored. For the Orthodox Church, what is more significant is that its legal rights have been legally confirmed. In 1993, the Russian Federation adopted the current Constitution. The Constitution stipulates that the Russian Federation is a secular state, no state or obligatory religion may be established, and religious associations shall be equal before the law.<sup>〔2〕</sup> “Everyone shall be guaranteed the freedom of conscience, the freedom of religion, including the right to profess individually or together with others any religion or to profess no religion at all, to freely choose, possess and disseminate religious and other views and act according to them.”<sup>〔3〕</sup> In 1997, the Russian Federation’s religious law *On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations* was promulgated. This law reaffirmed the basic principles of the freedom of belief in the 1990 law *On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations* issued by the Soviet Union and the law *On Freedom of Belief* of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic signed by Yeltsin (Б. Н. Ельцин, 1931—2007) in 1990, while further affirming the special role of the Orthodox Church in history, the formation and development of Russian spiritual culture, and left a certain space for the further development of religion and the interaction of religion with the secular domain. The Constitution of the Russian Federation and the religious law *On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations* provide a practical guarantee for the Orthodox Church’s foothold and further development in Russian society.

The second stage, the period of comprehensive development (the Bishop’s Council in November–December of 1997 to the end of 2008). In these ten years, the direction and policies of the Russian Orthodox Church in various fields were laid out, such as the relationship between the Church and the state, education in theological schools, religious education in secular schools, missionary work, social service, mass media and publication, and relationships with other Christian denominations and other religions.

The third stage, the period of reform and transformation (February of 2009 to the end of January of 2019). This is the first decade in which Kirill led the work of the Russian Orthodox Church. After

〔1〕 See: Синелина Ю. Ю. Религиозность в современной России // Отечественные записки. 2013. №. 1. (Sinelina Y. Y., “Religiosity in Modern Russia”, *Domestic Notes*, 2013, No. 1.) In the first phase (from 1989 to the mid-1990s), the number of believers increased dramatically. In the second phase (from the mid-1990s to 2004), the growth of believers slowed. In the third stage, 2004—2005, the number of religious believers basically stopped growing. In the fourth stage (2006 to 2012), the number of religious believers further increased.

〔2〕 *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*. Chapter 1, article 14.

〔3〕 *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*. Chapter 2, article 28.

Kirill became Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, he continued the policy of Patriarch Alexy II (Алексий II, 1929—2008; Patriarch from June 10, 1990 to December 5, 2008), strove to reform the Russian Orthodox Church, gradually shifted the development of the Orthodox Church from “quantity” growth to “quality” growth, and sought the voice of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Orthodox world. This article is devoted to the development and changes of the Russian Orthodox Church during this period.

## I Development of the Inheritance

During the tenure of Patriarch Alexy II, he basically set the direction and tone of the internal development of the Russian Orthodox Church, interaction with secular society, and relationships with other Christian denominations and other religions. After the enthronement of Patriarch Kirill, he continued the former guidelines and policies in many aspects, but at the same time he also made many new achievements.

### 1.1 Inheritance and development within the Orthodox Church

First, the number of dioceses, parishes, monasteries and clerics has steadily increased. Compared with the rapid development of the Church from 1988 to 2008, the first decade of Kirill's tenure was a period of the steady growth of the Church. The increase of churches has benefited to some extent from the introduction of new laws. In December 2010, the law *About Transferring the Property with the Religious Appointment which is State-owned or Municipal Property to Religious Organizations* came into effect, which promoted the return of the property with the religious appointment to the Orthodox Church. The dramatic increase of dioceses is closely related to the institutional adjustment of the Church proposed by Kirill. In this regard, a more detailed discussion will be given in the second part of the article “Transformation in the Development”. The following table is a set of basic data from the Russian Orthodox Church, which allows a more visual observation of its development over the past 30 years.

**Table 1 Basic data of Russian Orthodox Church<sup>[4]</sup>**

Year	archdiocese	diocese	parish	monastery	bishop	priest	deacon
1988		67/76 <sup>[5]</sup>	6800	21/22 <sup>[6]</sup>	74	6674	723
1992				143			
1994		114	15985	281	136	12841	1402
1997		124	18000	390	146		
2000		130	19417	545	153		
2004			26590	652	173		
2008		157	29263	804	203	27216	3454
2011		164	30675	805	217	29324	3850
2013	33	247	33489 <sup>[7]</sup>		290	30430	3765
2016	57	293	34764		354	35171	4816
2017	60	303	36878	944	377	34774	4640
2018		304			381		

[4] Sources of data: Reports made by the Russian Orthodox Patriarchs at previous Bishops' Councils and the report of Patriarch Kirill at the Moscow Diocesan Council in 2008.

1) Алексий II (Ридигер) Церковь и духовное возрождение России. Т. 1. Слова, речи, послания, обращения, 1990—1998. М., 1999. [Alexy II (Ridiger) *The Church and the Spiritual Revival of Russia*. Vol. 1. Words, Speeches, Missives, appeals, 1990—1998. М., 1999.]

2) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Алексия II на Архиерейском Соборе 1997 года. [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Alexy II at the Bishops' Council in 1997.] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/421718.html>.

3) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Алексия II на Архиерейском Соборе 2000 года. [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council in 2000.] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/421863.html>.

4) Доклад Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Алексия II на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви 3 октября 2004 года. [Report of Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council on Oct. 3, 2004.] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/420130.html>.

5) Доклад Местоблюстителя Патриаршего Престола митрополита Смоленского и Калининградского Кирилла на Поместном Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (Москва, 27-29 января 2009 года). [Report of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow, January 27-29, 2009)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/541724.html>

6) Доклад Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (2 февраля 2011 года). [Report of Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (February 2, 2011)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1402889.html>

7) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (2 февраля 2013 года). [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (February 2, 2013)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/2770923.html>

8) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (2 февраля 2016 года). [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (February 2, 2016)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/4366063.html>

9) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (29 ноября-2 декабря 2017 года). [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (November 29-December 2, 2017)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/5072994.html>

10) Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Епархиальном собрании г. Москвы (21 декабря 2018 года). [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill at the Diocesan Meeting of Moscow (December 21, 2018)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/5327228.html>.

[5] The number is 67 at the Bishops' Council in 1994, the number is 76 at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 2009.

[6] The number is 21 at the Bishops' Council in 2000, the number is 22 at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 2009.

[7] The statistical methods of this year and thereafter have changed, and the churches where Liturgy is celebrated are counted.

In addition, the Russian Orthodox Church has accelerated the pace of development in far-abroad countries<sup>[8]</sup>, on the one hand, actively revived its influence in Europe; on the other hand, strengthened its spread in Asia and the Arab region. In Europe, the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Nice, France, was returned to the Russian Orthodox Church, Holy Trinity Cathedral and the Russian Orthodox Spiritual and Cultural Center were built in Paris; the Patriarchal Metochion (подворье)<sup>[9]</sup> in Italy was returned to the Russian Orthodox Church; the Vienna diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church was recognized by the Austrian government; the church of the Nativity of Christ belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church was built in Madrid, Spain. In Asia and the Arab region, new churches and monasteries continued to be built in Thailand, and new parishes were opened in Malaysia and Cambodia; in Sharjah, the United Arab Emirates, the first Russian Orthodox church, St. Philip's church, which began construction during the tenure of Patriarch Alexy II, was completed, and was opened for believers in 2012. And in 2013 Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and all Rus' paid his first visit to China, and celebrated Divine Liturgy at the churches of Shanghai and Harbin. This visit in the context of the good neighborly relations and partnership between Russia and China looks very promising for the Orthodox Church in China.<sup>[10]</sup> Thus the Russian Orthodox Church led by Kirill is no longer satisfied with the traditional missionary areas and begins to penetrate Catholic, Buddhist and Islamic majority areas.

Second, the Russian Orthodox Church regulated the veneration of the New Martyrs and Confessors<sup>[11]</sup>. An important contribution during the tenure of Alexy II was the glorification of New Martyrs and Confessors. From 1988 to 2008, more than 2,700 saints were canonized.<sup>[12]</sup> The canonization of the New Martyrs and Confessors is a significant event in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. "It is one of the most important religious initiatives to change the life of modern Russian Church."<sup>[13]</sup> This move not only led to the unification of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) and the Mother Church, but also to some extent made people have a more comprehensive understanding of the Russian history of the 20th century. After a large-scale canonization at the turn of the century, Kirill turned his focus to work following the canonization, further regulating the veneration of New Martyrs and Confessors, such as the establishment of liturgical rituals, writing biographies and hymns, in order to avoid the veneration of martyrs and confessors who have not been canonized. At the same time, the Russian Orthodox Church also

[8] Far-abroad countries (дальнее зарубежье), this concept originated after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and was generally used to refer to countries that did not belong to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

[9] Metochion is generally affiliated with a monastery. Metochion in the city is used to help the monastery collect donations and receive pilgrims.

[10] See: Paulos Huang and Nikolay Samoylov, "Orthodoxy in China: History, Current State and Prospects for Studies", *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies*, № 14, (2018), 7.

[11] Russian New Martyrs and Confessors refer to the Russian Orthodox clerics and lay people who suffered during the 20th century due to factors such as politics and the war.

[12] Доклад Местоблюстителя Патриаршего Престола митрополита Смоленского и Калининградского Кирилла на Поместном Соборе Русской Православной Церкви. Москва, 27-29 января 2009 года. [Report of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow, January 27-29, 2009)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/541724.html>

[13] Георгий Митрофанов (протоиерей) История Русской Православной Церкви: 1900 — 1927. СПб., 2002. С. 3. [Georgy Mitrofanov (Archpriest), *History of the Russian Orthodox Church*; 1900—1927. St. Petersburg, 2002, p. 3.]



actively propagated the achievements of the New Martyrs and Confessors to society, organized related literary competitions, and published various books. This is not only the popularization of the veneration of the New Martyrs and Confessors, but also reflects the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church to the history of the past 20th century.

Finally, the Russian Orthodox Church consolidated the cause of the unification of the Church. In a report made by Patriarch Kirill in the Local Council in 2009, he pointed out that the great achievement of Patriarch Alexy II was to strengthen the unity of the Church. In his tenure, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia returned to the Mother Church in 2007.<sup>[14]</sup> Maintaining the unity of the Orthodox Church is also an important task for Kirill. Kirill stressed that it is necessary to strengthen the relation of Orthodox Churches in the territory of the former Soviet Union, such as the relationship between Orthodox Churches of the five countries in Central Asia, the Baltic States and the Russian Mother Church, and continue to solve issues related to Estonian, Moldovan and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. On the issue of the Orthodox Church in Estonia<sup>[15]</sup>, Kirill continued to engage in dialogue with the Estonian government to defend the rights of the Russian Orthodox Church in Estonian territory, and to communicate with the Orthodox Church of Constantinople. The effort has not yet reached the ideal result, but the development of the Russian Orthodox Church in Estonia has basically stabilized. On the issue of the Orthodox Church in Moldova<sup>[16]</sup>, the division of Church due to the establishment of the “Diocese of Bessarabia” has

[14] The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (Русская православная церковь за границей, РПЦЗ), was established in the 1920s. It consisted mainly of emigrants who were exiled by the revolution of 1917 and the civil war. In 1927, the bishop Sergius (Сергий, 1867—1943) issued the “Declaration” (Декларация) calling on the Orthodox Church to reconcile with the Soviet regime. The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia expressed disapproval of this, and split with the Mother Church. From the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, the Russian Orthodox Church made a series of efforts for the unification of Church. On May 17, 2007, a liturgy was held at the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, and documents were signed to confirm that the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia is a semi-autonomous part (самоуправляемая часть) of the Russian Orthodox Church.

[15] The Russian Orthodox Church regards Estonia as its canonical territory. In 1920, the Estonian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate was established. In 1923, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople established its own Estonian Autonomous Church in Estonia; in 1978, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople declared the establishment of the Estonian Autonomous Church in 1923 invalid; in February 1996, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople announced the restoration of the document of 1923 and the establishment of an autonomous Orthodox Church of Constantinople in Estonia. This act appeared to the Russian Orthodox Church as a violation of its rights in the canonical territory. The believers of the Estonian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) are 8-10 times more numerous than the believers of the Estonian Autonomous Church (the Patriarchate of Constantinople) (See: the report of Patriarch Kirill at the Bishop’s Council in 2011), but the Estonian Autonomous Church (the Patriarchate of Constantinople) and the Lutheran Church received greater support from the government, which led to restrictions on the development of parishes of the Estonian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate.

Canonical territory (каноническая территория) is a concept introduced to the Russian Orthodox Church in the 1990s by the relationship with other Christian denominations. It refers to the specific area in which the Local Orthodox Church acts according to the Church Canon. There is no such concept in the Church Canon. In order to establish the authority and legitimacy of this concept, the Russian Orthodox Church traces this concept back to the apostolic era and points out the principles of Church activities contained in this concept. The Russian Orthodox Church considers its canonical territory to include the believers in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. See: Иларион (Алфеев). Принцип «канонической территории» в православной традиции. <https://azbyka.ru/kanonicheskaya-territoriya>

[16] The Moldovan Orthodox Church is an autonomous Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, whose canonical territory covers the Republic of Moldova and Dniester River. At the end of October 2007, the Romanian Orthodox Church decided to establish seven new dioceses, including the restoration of three dioceses in the archdiocese of Bessarabia. The Romanian Orthodox Church stated that three dioceses were included in the archdiocese of Bessarabia before 1944. The Russian Orthodox Church considers this action of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the territory of Moldova to be illegal and that it undermines the sovereignty of Moldova.

deepened the controversy between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church. In the face of the division of the Church and the dissatisfaction of Moldovan state leaders with the status of the Moldovan Orthodox Church<sup>[17]</sup>, the Russian Orthodox Church actively repaired and strengthened the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the government. After the new government of Moldova was formed in 2010, the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Moldovan government has been improved, and progress has been made in teaching religious courses in secular schools and integrating priests into the army chaplaincy. Ukraine has always been a focus of the Russian Orthodox Church. Patriarch Kirill has also done a lot of work to unite the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, such as strengthening the Ukrainian Orthodox Church's voice in the Holy Synod, and actively discussing with the Roman Catholic Church to resolve the problems of Uniatism.

In addition, in the field of mass media and publishing, the Russian Orthodox Church has made great progress in the past decade. The number of publications has rapidly increased; content has become more and more abundant to attract wider readership. The Church network has developed rapidly; dioceses and larger churches have their own websites. The Russian Orthodox Church has also created accounts on Facebook and ВКОНТАКТЕ in order to interact with secular groups in a faster and more convenient way. The Russian Orthodox Church also actively strengthened its cooperation and ties with secular media to propagate the Church.

## 1.2 Interaction between the Orthodox Church and the secular domain

During the tenure of Patriarch Alexy II, he actively promoted cooperation between the Orthodox Church and the regime, introduced Orthodox cultural courses to secular schools, strengthened missionary work, social services and cultural exchanges, and laid a good foundation for the interaction between the Orthodox Church and the secular domain. After the enthronement of Kirill, he continued the work done by Patriarch Alexy II, and further deepened and promoted cooperation between the Orthodox Church and the secular domain, and strove to embed the Orthodox spirit deeper into secular life.

### 1.2.1 The relationship between the state and the Orthodox Church

The Russian Orthodox Church continued to claim to hold to the non-political nature of Church, strengthened good relations and cooperation with government departments at all levels, and actively participated in the revision of some federal laws to seek more space for the development of the Orthodox Church. For example, in November 2015, the federal law *On amendments to the Federal law "On freedom of conscience and on religious associations" and other legislative acts of the Russian Federation (№ 341-ФЗ)* was passed, which changed supervision procedures of the judicial system for religious organizations' activities, so that religious organizations are no longer subject to a series of provisions of the federal law *On non-commercial organizations*, and have greater freedom to engage in commercial activities. In addition, the Orthodox Church has a deep connection with the military and prisons. As early as 1994, Patriarch Alexy II began to send the clergy to serve soldiers in the army, and encouraged the clergy to go to prisons to serve inmates. Patriarch Kirill continued

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[17] In September 2010, Acting President Mihai Ghimpu pointed out that the Moldovan Orthodox Church is not an independent Church, but a "branch of the Russian Orthodox Church". See: Доклад Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви, 2 февраля 2011 года. [Report of Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (February 2, 2011)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1402889.html>.

this work and made it systematic. On July 21, 2009, the President of the Russian Federation passed a resolution to restore the chaplaincy serving in the Russian armed forces. Since then, the Russian Orthodox Church has begun to establish and improve this system. On June 1, 2017, a total of 266 positions of assistant commanders were set up in the armed forces of the Russian Federation to handle the work of soldiers-believers, among them 259 representatives from the Orthodox Church.<sup>[18]</sup> In 2011, the Bishop's Council adopted the concept of establishing a chaplaincy serving in prisons. Since then, the Russian Orthodox Church has reached an agreement with the secular government to set up the position of assistant head in local prison administrations of each federal subject of the Russian Federation to assist in handling prisoners-believers. The implementation of chaplaincies in the armed forces and in prisons on the one hand shows the good interaction between the government and the Orthodox Church, and on the other hand demonstrates the growing social influence of the Russian Orthodox Church.

### 1. 2. 2 Intervention in secular education

A great achievement of Patriarch Kirill is shown in the field of secular education, mainly in the following aspects.

First, the subject "The Basics of Orthodox Culture" was included in primary and secondary schools.<sup>[19]</sup> The desire of the Russian Orthodox Church to introduce relevant subjects of Orthodox culture to primary and secondary schools has a long history. During the tenure of Alexy II, the Orthodox Church repeatedly requested that the national legislatures grant the Orthodox Church the right to teach religious subjects in secular schools. In 1997, the promulgation of the federal law *On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations* provided a legal basis for the inclusion of religious education in secular education. The law stipulates: "Upon the request of their parents or guardians, with the agreement of children studying in state or municipal educational institutions, the administration of these institutions by agreement with the appropriate organ of local government is to offer religious organizations the opportunity to teach religion to children outside the framework of the educational program."<sup>[20]</sup> Therefore, since 1997, the Orthodox Church has cooperated with some regions (such as Smolensk region) to introduce Orthodox cultural subjects into primary and secondary schools as electives. Since September 1, 2006, in Belgorod, Kaluga, Bryansk and Smolensk regions,<sup>[21]</sup> According to statistics, between 2006 and 2007, there were 500,000 to 600,000 students

[18] Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви. 29 ноября - 2 декабря 2017 года. [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (November 29 - December 2, 2017)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/5072994.html>.

[19] The Law of God (Закон божий) was a compulsory course in primary and secondary schools during the period of the Russian Empire. During the Soviet period, "The teaching of religion in state and public schools, as well as in private schools where general subjects are taught, is forbidden." See: Decree on the Separation of Church and State and School from Church (Декрет об отделении церкви от государства и школы от церкви) (January 23, 1918) Article 9.

[20] *On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations*, Chapter 1, article 5. 4.

[21] The Basics of Orthodox "Culture" has been included in the compulsory courses of secular primary and secondary schools.

studying Orthodox culture in secular national and municipal schools in Russia.<sup>[22]</sup> But at this time, “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” is still only taught in primary and secondary schools in some Russian regions.

During the tenure of Patriarch Kirill, the status of “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” has undergone fundamental changes. On October 6, 2009, the Russian Ministry of Education and Science issued the Federal National Standard of Elementary Education. The subject “Fundamentals of Spiritual and Moral Culture of the Peoples of Russia”<sup>[23]</sup> was included in the teaching program as a compulsory course. From April 1, 2010 in secular primary and secondary schools of 19 federal subjects “Fundamentals of Spiritual and Moral Culture of the Peoples of Russia” began to be taught as a compulsory course, and one module of the course is “The Basics of Orthodox Culture”. On January 28, 2012, the Russian government promulgated the “Order of the Government of the Russian Federation on the plan for the introduction of a comprehensive training course for general education institutions ‘Fundamentals of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics’ in all subjects of the Russian Federation from 2012/13 academic year” (January 28th, 2012)<sup>[24]</sup>. According to this plan, from September 1, 2012, “Fundamentals of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics” was fully launched as a compulsory course in all general education institutions in all subjects of Russia. The course consists of six modules: “The Basics of Secular Ethics”, “The Basics of World Religious Culture”, “The Basics of Orthodox Culture”, “The Basics of Islamic Culture”, “The Basics of Buddhist Culture”, and “The Basics of Jewish Culture”. Students voluntarily choose one of them to study. According to a survey by the Russian Orthodox Church, the number of students who chose “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” increased in most dioceses from the 2012/2013 academic year to the 2016/2017 academic year. In addition, in order to improve the teaching quality of “The Basics of Orthodox Culture”, the Russian Orthodox Church has established cooperative relationships with secular schools and institutions to hold various themed lectures, training courses, seminars, etc. In order to improve the elective rate, the clergy of the Orthodox Church actively joined the parent associations and organized the public cultural project to popularize “The Basics of Orthodox Culture”.

Second, theology has become a nationally recognized “scientific” specialty (научная специальность). In the 1990s, theology as a direction (направление) or specialty (специальность) has been listed in the classification of undergraduate and master’s degrees in secular higher educational

[22] Комиссия по вопросам толерантности и свободы совести Общественной палаты Российской Федерации. Предварительные результаты мониторинга соблюдения принципов свободы совести и вероисповедания при изучении учебных курсов по истории и культуре религий в государственных и муниципальных общеобразовательных учреждениях в регионах Российской Федерации. [Commission on tolerance and freedom of conscience of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation. Preliminary results of monitoring about the compliance with the principles of freedom of conscience and religion in the study of training courses on the history and culture of religions in state and municipal educational institutions in the regions of the Russian Federation.] <http://www.oprf.ru/structure/comissions2006/11/materials/1896>.

[23] On December 18, 2012, the subject “Fundamentals of Spiritual and Moral Culture of the Peoples of Russia” was renamed “Fundamentals of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics”.

[24] Распоряжение Правительства РФ о Плане мероприятий по введению с 2012/13 учебного года во всех субъектах Российской Федерации комплексного учебного курса для общеобразовательных учреждений “Основы религиозных культур и светской этики” от 28 января 2012г. [Order of the government of the Russian Federation on the Plan about the introduction of comprehensive training course “Fundamentals of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics” for general education institutions from the 2012/13 academic year in all subjects of the Russian Federation (January 28, 2012)] <http://www.pravo.gov.ru/laws/acts/8/5652451088.html>

institutions. For example, at the end of 1992, under the wave of the democratic reform, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation included the direction of theology in the national classification of education, and set the corresponding standards. Since 1994, the Russian Orthodox Church has proposed adding the specialty “theology” to the national classification of education, and developing corresponding national standards from the standpoint of religious worldview. On February 1, 1999, the Ministry of Education included the direction “theology” in the classification of a master’s degree, and on March 2 of the same year, the specialty “Theology” was added to the classification. In 2001 and 2002, the Ministry of Education approved the training standards for the direction “theology” (undergraduates and masters) and the specialty “theology”. However, theology has not been recognized as a scientific specialty by the secular educational institutions. Whether or not theology is a science, whether or not it can become a scientific specialty, such disputes did not come to an end until 2015. In 2015, the Higher Attestation Commission (BAK) of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia approved the theology to be a new scientific specialty with the code 26. 00. 01. In 2016, the candidate’s (кандидат наук) and doctoral thesis defense committee for the theology was established. In 2017, the first candidates passed their thesis defense. At this point, theology as a science has been recognized by the secular education system.

Third, Russian Orthodox Church improved Sunday schools. At the Bishop’s Council in 2000, Patriarch Alexy II proposed perfecting the Sunday school system, and called it the key to the revival of parishes. After Kirill became Patriarch, he continued this work. In 2012, the standard of educational activities implemented in Sunday schools was introduced and revised in 2017. The main purpose of this standard is to systemize the teaching activities of Sunday schools and improve the quality of education. The “Standards” classify Sunday school into types: Sunday group (less 10 students) and Sunday school (more than 10 students). The “Standard” of 2012 divides students into three levels: preschool children (5—6 years old), primary stage (7—11 years old), and major stages (12—16 years old). Newly revised, the “Standard” of 2017 divides students into four phases, the first phase (5—7 years old), the second phase (8—10 years old), the third phase (11—13 years old), and the fourth phase (14—17 years old), and the learning content in the three previous stages is compressed in the three new phases from 5 to 13 years old. A clear plan of the religious education for students 14—17 years old in the new “Standard” has not been given. The Russian Orthodox Church stated that it will be separately issued, which shows that the Orthodox Church is serious and cautious about the education of these teenagers. Two “Standards”, especially the “Standard” revised in 2017, prescribe in detail the content, duration of a lesson, teaching methods and purposes of each phase and give some examples. According the new “Standard”, Sunday school gets rid of the traditional teaching methods, adopts a suitable teaching way for children of different ages in order to attract children to understand and participate in Church life. The systematization and standardization of Sunday schools have made up for the “regret” that the Orthodox Church cannot introduce the subject “The Law of God” into the national and municipal secular schools, and become a supplement to “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” in the national and municipal secular schools.

Orthodoxy is strongly involved in the field of secular education, and its moral and ethical ideology contributes to the construction of the national spiritual and moral system. This is its positive side. However, the textbooks about Orthodoxy used in the national and municipal secular

schools inevitably have a certain belief orientation, which to some extent undermines the principle of separation of religion from education, and also causes dissatisfaction for some people.

### 1.2.3 Missionary work

It is always a major job for the Russian Orthodox Church to attract more people to understand Orthodox Christianity and believe in the Orthodox faith. In the past 30 years, the Orthodox Church has achieved remarkable results in this field. In the 1990s, Patriarch Alexy II paid close attention to the missionary work in Siberia, the Far East and the ethnic areas. The Bishop's Council in 2004 reaffirmed the importance of the mission in these areas. Since the enthronement of Kirill, he has continued this policy and proposed some deepening programs, such as attracting those who have been baptized, but rarely enter the church to participate in Church life; working out an effective reward mechanism to encourage the clergy to the frontiers inhabited by national minorities; underlining the missionary work among Cossacks. The latter one is a major development in the missionary work during the tenure of Patriarch Kirill. Although as early as the 1990s, the Russian Orthodox Church had cooperated with the Committee on Cossack affairs under the President, Patriarch Kirill highlighted the importance of the missionary work among Cossacks and proposed that the goal of this work is to revive the true Cossacks who are loyal to the Church and serve the motherland. Historically, Cossacks were a brave group and strong guardians for the Russian state and the Orthodox Church, but this group was less involved in Church life. At the end of the 20th century, the Cossack revival movement emerged, and as the Cossack revival movement grew, its sense of independence expanded. The Russian Orthodox Church emphasizes the importance of the missionary work among Cossacks. On the one hand, it adapts to trends in the development and revival of Cossacks; on the other hand, it conforms to the needs of the country with the help of faith to mitigate Cossacks' tendency toward separation.

Further, in terms of social services and culture, the Russian Orthodox Church has also achieved great results in the first decade of the tenure of Kirill. The Orthodox Church continued to develop its philanthropic efforts, such as the establishment of orphanages, nursing homes, centers for alcoholic rehabilitation, centers for addiction treatment, nursing centers, charity canteens, cooperation with disabled groups, fighting unemployment, giving counseling and material assistance to people suffering from natural disasters and war, and more. In the field of culture, in 2010, a special Patriarchal Committee on Culture was established; national and local Orthodox cultural activities continued to be carried out, such as the annual Christmas reading (Рождественское чтение) which opened in 1992; various literary awards and literary competitions, such as Literature Award named after Sts Cyril and Methodius, International children's and youth literary contest named after Ivan Shmelev "Leto Gospodne"; the celebration of Orthodox Book Day; organizing various exhibitions, more influential such as series exhibition "Orthodox Rus. My Story" of 2013—2016; cooperation with museums to improve the protection and restoration of cultural relics, and more.

### 1.3 Relationship with other Christian denominations

After Kirill became Patriarch, he continued the policy of Alexy II in foreign exchanges. With the purpose of dialogue and cooperation and exchanges, the Russian Orthodox Church continued to maintain friendly communication with Eastern Churches, such as the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Ethiopian Church, actively developed relationships with other Orthodox Churches, and had good

interactions with the majority of Orthodox Churches.

The Russian Orthodox Church strengthened its dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, and the relationship between them gradually eased. In the 1980s and 1990s, and at the beginning of the 21st century, the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church was relatively tense due to the missionary work of Catholic Church in the canonical territory of the Russian Orthodox Church<sup>[25]</sup>. At the same time, the two sides also engaged in a constructive dialogue on the protection of traditional Christian values and the role of religion in social life. Since the 2010s, the two sides have expanded the range of dialogue, especially the deterioration of the situation of Christians in the Middle East, as well as terrorism and other issues, have enhanced the possibility of cooperation between the two sides and eased the contradiction between them. In 2012, the Russian Orthodox Church and the head of the Polish Catholic Bishops' Conference signed a significant Joint Missive to the people of the Russia and Poland<sup>[26]</sup>, calling on the people of the two countries to strengthen dialogue, strive for the reconciliation, look to the future and face new challenges together. On February 12, 2016, Patriarch Kirill of the Russian Orthodox Church and Pope Francis (1936-, the Pope from March 19, 2013) held a historic meeting in Havana (Cuba). It caused widespread repercussions in the whole world. The two sides signed a Joint Declaration<sup>[27]</sup> calling on the international community to work together to end the violence in the Middle East as much as possible, and pointed out that Uniatism is not the way to achieve Church unity. In 2017, part of the holy relics of Saint Nicholas (Николай Чудотворец, c. 270-c. 345), who is highly revered by Russians, was delivered from Bari of Italy to Moscow and St. Petersburg. This is the first time that Saint Nicholas left Bari in 930 years. In May and October 2018, Hilarion Alfejev (Иларион, Алфеев), the chairman of the Department of External Relations of the Russian Orthodox Church, met with Pope Francis twice. On the issue of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Francis repeatedly stressed that the Roman Catholic Church would not intervene in the internal affairs of the Orthodox Church. Pope Francis had a further discussion about cultural cooperation between the two sides. Thus it can be seen that dialogue, cooperation and facing common challenges are the main policies implemented by the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in the past decade.

On the issue of Protestantism, after Kirill took office, the Russian Orthodox Church has been maintaining a good relationship with the Evangelical Church of Germany and the Evangelical

[25] In 2002, the Roman Catholic Church upgraded the four Apostolic Administrations in Russia to dioceses, and appointed a new archbishop, established two dioceses in Kazakhstan, and built two cathedral churches in the territory of Ukraine, which is traditionally under the justification of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox Church believes that the Roman Catholic Church's move undermined the Church canons; the Roman Catholic Church in fact established a parallel Local Church in the canonical territory of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholic Church denied the Russian Orthodox Church's allegations, and considers that it is just a procedural issue to form four Apostolic Administrations into dioceses.

[26] Совместное послание народам России и Польши Предстоятеля Русской Православной Церкви Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла и Председателя Епископской Конференции Польши Архиепископа Юзефа Михалика, митрополита Перемышльского. [Joint Missive to the Peoples of Russia and Poland by Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus', Chairman of the Russian Orthodox Church, and Archbishop of Przemysl Jozef Mihalik, Chairman of the Episcopal Conference of Poland] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/2411498.html>

[27] Совместное заявление Папы Римского Франциска и Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла. [Joint Declaration by Pope Francis and his Holiness Patriarch Kirill] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/4372074>



Lutheran Church of Finland. Conflict with other Protestant denominations has mainly focused on their missionary work in the “canonical territory” of the Russian Orthodox Church, and the attitude to some traditional values. The Russian Orthodox Church upholds more traditional values, is dissatisfied with the practice of some Protestant groups, such as the blessing of same-sex marriages, the ordination of homosexuals, and thus temporarily suspended contact with the Episcopal Church (United States), the Church of Sweden, and the Church of Norway. This also reflects the consistency of the Russian Orthodox Church in the protection of traditional Christian values.

## II Transformation in the Development

Since the revival of the Orthodox Church in Russia from 1988 to 2008, after 20 years of development, the Russian Orthodox Church has made great advances, and the increase of believers and clergy is very impressive. Although the Russian Orthodox constantly emphasized the importance of “quality”, “quantity” growth was still the main task of this period. After Kirill was appointed as Patriarch, on the basis of the previous “quantitative change”, the development of the Russian Orthodox Church turned to “quality” growth, which is the priority of the development of the Russian Orthodox Church in the new stage. “Quality” growth is mainly reflected in the following aspects.

### 2.1 Institutional reform of the Orthodox Church; improvement of management quality

Throughout the reports of Patriarch Alexy II in several Bishop’s Councils, it can be seen that the communication between dioceses and the Holy Synod, which means between the local institutions and the central institutions, was not smooth. On the one hand, the orders of the Holy Synod were not effectively carried out in some dioceses. On the other hand, Holy Synod did not have access to real and effective information from some dioceses in order to formulate more reasonable policies. Since Kirill became Patriarch, an important task has been to deepen the institutional reform of the Orthodox Church, reform of the Church districts and personnel reform.

At the central level, new institutions are set up, the various departments of the Holy Synod are adjusted, and regulations for departments are made in order to standardize departmental management. The most important of the newly established institutions are the Inter-Council Presence (Межсоборное присутствие) and the Supreme Church Council (Высший Церковный Совет). The Inter-Council Presence was formally established in 2010 and is a consultative body of the Moscow Patriarchate. It is mainly responsible for studying the issues to be discussed at Local Councils and Bishop’s Councils and preparing the draft decisions on these issues. The chairman of the Inter-Council Presence is Patriarch, and the members are elected by the Holy Synod from bishops, clergy and lay people for a four-year’s term. The Supreme Church Council is not a new institution. It was first established in 1917<sup>[28]</sup>, and on May 9, 1922, Patriarch Tikhon (Тихон, 1865 – 1925, Patriarch from December 4, 1917 to April 7, 1925) was arrested, and after that the Supreme Church Council suspended. In 2011, it was re-established. The Supreme Church Council is an executive body of the Russian Orthodox Church, and aims at coordinating work between various branches of the Holy

[28] The Supreme Church Council established in the early 20th century consisted of the Patriarch, 3 bishops of the Holy Synod, 1 monk, 5 secular priests and 6 lay people.



Synod and general Church institutions. With these two institutions, the establishment of the former provides a guarantee for effectively functioning of the Bishop's Council and shortening the interval between two Bishop's Councils; and the restoration of the latter not only ensures the mutual cooperation between various branches of the Holy Synod, but also to a certain extent decentralizes the power of the Holy Synod (9 permanent representatives, 5 temporary representatives). The departmental adjustment is mainly aimed at the functional departments of the Holy Synod. First, new departments are established according to the needs of the work of the Orthodox Church, such as the Committee on Interaction with the Cossacks, the Patriarchal Council for Culture, the restoration of the Financial and Economic Administration, etc. Second, some departments are reorganized, such as that the Department for Prison Ministry is separated from the Department for Cooperation with the Armed Forces and Law Enforcement Agencies; the Department for Church-Society Relations and the Information Department established in 2009 were reorganized into the Department for the Church's Relations with Society and Mass Media; the Department for Monasteries was reorganized into the Department for Monasteries and Monasticism. The reorganization takes into account the specialization and relevance of various departments, so that departments can operate more effectively. Finally, regulations and rules are formulated for some departments to normalize development, for example, the Administration of the Moscow Patriarchate, the Education Committee, the Department for Education and Catechization, the Department for Mission, the Department for Youth Affairs, the Department for the Church's Relations with Society and Mass Media have successively adopted their regulations or rules. 3

From the perspective of local management, the Russian Orthodox Church has established a three-level management model: the patriarchate-archdiocese-diocese. For this reason, new archdioceses have been established, and dioceses have been revised. In 2011, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church approved *the Regulations on the archdioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church*<sup>[29]</sup>. This decision was both a heritage of the Christian tradition and the continuation of the document *On Church Districts* (О церковных округах), which was adopted in the Local Council of 1917—1918, but not carried out. Russia is a vast country with different ethnicities, cultures and customs. Faced with many dioceses with different needs, the central administration of the Orthodox Church is difficult, and it is almost impossible to directly manage the dioceses. By integrating dioceses in a federal subject into as archdiocese, on the one hand, the archdiocese and federal subject have the same administrative area, which facilitates cooperation and communication between the Orthodox Church and the local government; on the other hand, a central-to-local pyramidal management system is formed, which helps the central Church administration to exert its influence on dioceses. At the level of the Diocese, some large dioceses have been scaled down and divided into several dioceses; in the diocese of big cities, deputy dioceses were established because only one diocese is allowed in a city.

[29] Положение о Митрополиях Русской Православной Церкви (от 5—6 октября 2011 года). [Regulation on Archdioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church (October 5—6, 2011)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1639871.html> From this moment, the concept of the archdiocese (митрополия) and the metropolitan district (митрополичий округ) has made a difference. The metropolitan district has greater autonomy, and the highest administrative institution is the Synod supervised by the head of the metropolitan district; the administrative institution of archdioceses is the Bishops Committee. At present, the Russian Orthodox Church has two metropolitan districts; the metropolitan district of Kazakhstan and the metropolitan district of Central Asia.

Diocesan reform has increased management positions, facilitated the arrangement and training of younger clergy, and prevented some problems, such as dioceses becoming too powerful to obey the central leadership.

In terms of personnel arrangements, the position of the assistant of the rural dean (благочинный) and rector is introduced. These assistants are responsible for assisting in the work of religious education, catechization, youth and social services. They not only share the work of the rural dean and rector, but also work more efficiently, because they usually receive specific professional training.

The institutional reform carried out by Patriarch Kirill is characterized by specialization and has strengthened the management of dioceses. This is its advantage. At the same time, this reform has also caused institutional bloating and enlarged the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, with an accompanying hidden danger of bureaucratization.

## 2.2 Reform of theological schools: aligning with secular education and improving teaching quality

During the tenure of Alexy II, the Patriarch realized the importance of clergy quality to Church development. He reorganized the theological seminary (духовная семинария) into a five-year higher educational institution to upgrade the level of research. After the enthronement of Kirill, in the face of the new situation, he pointed out: "The urgency of improving the level of teaching and training is the main motivation for promoting the reform of the educational system in theological schools. The educational system of theological schools should be a system worthy of respect and a prestigious system to the secular school in Russia and foreign theological schools."<sup>[30]</sup> For this purpose, the Russian Orthodox Church has undergone a significant reform of theological schools, that is, to join the Bologna Process (Болонский процесс)<sup>[31]</sup>. The aim of the reform is to integrate the system of the theological school with the Russian system of secular higher educational institutions and European educational institutions.

First, a three-level educational system paralleling secular education. Since 2010, theological schools of the Russian Orthodox Church have begun to implement a three-level training system for undergraduate, masters and doctoral studies. A four (or five)-year undergraduate program helps students to acquire advanced theological education. Only graduates who have received undergraduate education and specialized training may become a priest. The aim of two-year master's program is to cultivate researchers, teachers, and staff who work in administrative institutions of the Church. Postgraduates mainly engage in research work. In Russia postgraduate degrees consist of two levels: candidate and doctoral degrees. The candidate degree is equivalent to a Ph. D., and a doctor's degree is equivalent to Doctor of Science, corresponding to a doctorate in the Russian secular educational system. Currently, the theological doctoral degree can be awarded in Sts Cyril and Methodius Church Post-Graduate and Doctoral School. At the same time, the Russian Orthodox Church got rid of the institution of theological college (духовное училище). In 2013, the Holy Synod instructed that

[30] Доклад Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла на Архиерейском совещании 2 февраля 2010 года. [Report of Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Meeting on February 2, 2010] <http://pda.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1061403.html>

[31] In 1999, 29 European countries proposed the European Higher Education Reform Plan in Bologna, Italy, which aims to integrate European educational resources, break the national restrictions of education, and build a European higher education zone. In 2003, Russia joined the Bologna process.

theological colleges would be reorganized into theological seminaries or centers for training professionals in the field of missionary, youth and social work within three years. At the end of November 2017, theological colleges were no more.

Second, unification of the syllabus. In order to standardize and improve the teaching quality in theological schools, since September 2015, a unified syllabus has been gradually implemented in theological schools of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the 2017 – 2018 academic year, 4, 176 students studied according to the new syllabus, accounting for 74% of the total number of undergraduate students in theological schools.<sup>[32]</sup> This transformation will be completed in 2018 – 2019. After this work is completed, a unified two-year master's educational program will be developed. In addition, the Russian Orthodox Church is also considering the establishment of a unified educational system for theological schools in the “canonical territory” of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Finally, the diploma of a theological school is recognized by the state, which is an important symbol of the integration of theological schools with the Russian secular higher educational institution. In February 2008, Russia passed amendments to the *Federal Law on Education, On Higher and Postgraduate Professional Education and Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations*.<sup>[33]</sup> Articles about the approval and recognition of professional religious educational institutions are introduced, which provides a legal basis for the integration of theological schools with secular schools. Taking advantage of this historic opportunity, the Russian Orthodox Church set out to deepen the reform of theological schools, so that it gradually moved closer to the standards of national higher educational schools in terms of educational structure, syllabus, teaching methods, and faculty, and reached the point that theological schools can award state-recognized diplomas (without the Russian National Emblem) to their graduates. At present, there are 43 various theological schools and universities in Russia<sup>[34]</sup>, of which 6 are recognized by the state<sup>[35]</sup>. Full national recognition of theological schools is still a very long way away.

The Russian Orthodox Church's compliance with the Bologna Process, on the one hand, stimulates and enhances the educational quality of the theological school by reference to the secular educational system. On the other hand, it also helps Orthodox theological schools to establish closer

[32] Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви (29 ноября-2 декабря 2017 года). [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus 'at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (November 29-December 2, 2017)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/5072994.html>

[33] Федеральный закон от 28 февраля 2008 г. N 14-ФЗ "О внесении изменений в отдельные законодательные акты Российской Федерации в части лицензирования и аккредитации учреждений профессионального религиозного образования (духовных образовательных учреждений). [The Federal Law of February 28, 2008. N 14 – FL “On the Modification of Separate Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation Regarding Licensing and Accreditation of Institutions of Professional Religious Education (Theological Educational Institutions)] <https://legalacts.ru/doc/federalnyi-zakon-ot-28022008-n-14-fz-o/>

[34] Учебный комитет РПЦ. Учебные заведения РПЦ; обновленный список. [The Education Committee of the ROC. Educational Institutions of the ROC: an Updated List] <http://www.uchkom.info/uchebnyy-komitet/uchebnye-zavedeniya/>

[35] Moscow Theological Academy (Sergiev Posad, Moscow region), Saint Petersburg Theological Academy (St. Petersburg), St. Tikhon's Orthodox University (Moscow), Orenburg Theological Seminary (Orenburg), Penza Theological Seminary (Penza), Sretensky Theological Seminary (Moscow). Sources of data: Реестр организаций, осуществляющих образовательную деятельность по имеющим государственную аккредитацию образовательным программам. [List of Organizations Engaged in Educational Activities with State-Accredited Educational Programs.] <http://isga.obrnadzor.gov.ru/accreestrestr/>

relationships with secular schools. In addition, the integration of Orthodox theological education with secular institutions has further enhanced the competitiveness of Orthodox theological schools in the field of education, because not all graduates of theological schools will choose to join the clergy, and a higher educational diploma recognized by the state can help them gain employment in a wider field.

### 2.3 The change of indicators measuring the development of the Orthodox Church: from “quantity” to “quality”

As the Russian Orthodox Church set the goal of “quality” development, some markers measuring the development of the Orthodox Church also changed.

Judging from the statistical standards of parishes, the quality standard is strengthened while paying attention to the quantity growth. In the Bishop’s Council of 2011 it was proposed that at least one church, chapel or prayer room should be opened for every settlement in the “canonical territory” of the Russian Orthodox Church, in which Orthodox believers live. At the same time, since 2012, a new statistical standard of parishes has been adopted—whether the Liturgy is held in the church or prayer room. Therefore, according to the new standard the statistical data of parishes at the end of 2012 are as follows: There are 11,731 churches where the Liturgy is held more than once a week, 12,644 churches where the Liturgy is held once a week, 9114 churches where the Liturgy is held less than once a week but not less than once a month, in total there are 33,489 churches where the Liturgy is held at least once a month.<sup>[36]</sup> It is because the Russian Orthodox Church attaches great importance to the Liturgy, so it influences the architectural requirements for a church. The Russian Orthodox Church no longer overemphasizes the external shape and scale of the building, and suggests building a primitive and small chapel in areas with restrictive conditions.

From the point of view of numerical growth, the focus on the growth of “Orthodox believers” (православные) has shifted to the concern of “churching believers” (воцерковленные). In 1989, data of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (ВЦИОМ) showed that Russian Orthodox believers accounted for 20% of the total number of nationals<sup>[37]</sup>; in 2008, data of the Public Opinion Foundation (ФОМ) and the Institute of Social and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ИСПИ РАН) were 63%<sup>[38]</sup> and 65—69%<sup>[39]</sup>; in 2012, the data of the Levada-Center (Левада-центр), the Public Opinion Foundation and the Institute of Social and Political Studies of the

[36] The church here refers to the various types of places where liturgical ceremonies are held. Sources of data: Доклад Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла на Архиерейском Соборе Русской Православной Церкви. 2 февраля 2013 года. [Report of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus ‘at the Bishops’ Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (February 2, 2013)] <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/2770923.html>

[37] Чеснокова В. Ф. Тесным путем: процесс воцерковления населения России в конце XX века. М.: Академический Проект, 2005. С. 8. [Chesnokova V. F., *By a Narrow Path: the Process of Churching of the Population of Russia in the late XX century*, М.: Academic Project, 2005, p. 8.]

[38] Воцерковленность православных. Индекс воцерковленности православных; мониторинг. 03 Июля 2014. [“The Churching of the Orthodox Believers. Index of the Churching of the Orthodox Believers; Monitoring”. July 3, 2014] <http://fom.ru/TSennosti/11587>

[39] Синелина Ю. Ю. Динамика религиозности Россиян (1989—2012). [Sinelina Y. Y., “Dynamics of Religiosity of Russians (1989—2012)”] <http://religious.life/2014/09/sinelina-dina-mika-religioznosti-rossiyan-1989-2012/>

Russian Academy of Sciences were 74%<sup>[40]</sup>, 64—72%<sup>[41]</sup> and 82%<sup>[42]</sup> respectively. It can be seen that the proportion of Orthodox believers is generally on the rise, but the proportion of “churching believers” has not changed significantly. “Churching” (воцерковление) was a special ceremony in the ancient Church, which was held on the 40th day of the baby’s birth. Russian sociologist Chesnokova (В. Ф. Чеснокова, 1934 — 2010) borrowed this concept to measure the devoutness of believers, referring to a person voluntarily admitting the influence of the Church by accepting the inherent lifestyle and way of thinking of the Church.<sup>[43]</sup> In order to measure the degree of a person’s churching, Chesnokova proposed five indicators: visiting the church, confession and taking Holy Communion, reading the gospel, praying, and observing the fasts. The Public Opinion Foundation (2000—2014) and the Institute of Social and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (2004, 2006, 2011) have continued to pay attention to these five indicators in recent years. According to the results of the survey, after more than 20 years of development, the proportion of “churching believers”, which means visiting the church at least once a month, taking Holy Communion 1—2 times a year, reading Church prayers, reading the gospel regularly, observing some big fasts, has not increased significantly, and has remained at 11—13%. That is to say, although the number of people who claim to be Orthodox believers is growing, the number of people who regularly attend the liturgy and participate in Church life has not increased significantly.

In view of the fact that the number of believers has basically reached saturation, and the number of “churching believers” has not made substantial progress, the Russian Orthodox Church has shifted the focus to how to increase the proportion of “churching believers”. To this end, a series of measures have been taken, such as continuously improving the quality of clerics and the level of missionary work, strengthening the dissemination of the course “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” in secular educational institutions, changing the teaching methods of Sunday schools, and organizing various types of Orthodox cultural activities. One of the key points of these measures is the work for youth. During the tenure of Patriarch Alexy II, he paid great attention to work with the youth. By the 2010s, the Russian Orthodox Church clearly proposed that an important direction of the work of Church is to draw the young generation to enter the church, and put forward new tasks: cultivating talents, especially young leaders; exploring ways to carry out the work for youth. The Russian Orthodox Church fully recognizes that youth is not only the future of a country, but also the future support of the Church. The growth of the proportion of “churching believers” among the youth means building up the loyalty of the future state to the Orthodox Church and assures the future existence and development of the Orthodox Church.

[40] В России 74% православных и 7% мусульман. 17. 12. 2012. [“In Russia 74% Orthodox Believers and 7% Muslims”. 17. 12. 2012. ] <http://www.levada.ru/2012/12/17/v-rossii-74-pravoslavnyh-i-7-musulman/>

[41] Воцерковленность православных. Индекс воцерковленности православных; мониторинг. 03 Июля 2014. [“The Churching of the Orthodox Believers. Index of the Churching of the Orthodox Believers; Monitoring”. July 3, 2014] <http://fom.ru/TSennosti/11587>

[42] Синелина Ю. Ю. Динамика религиозности Россиян (1989—2012). [Sineline Y. Y. , “Dynamics of Religiosity of Russians (1989—2012)”]

[43] Чеснокова В. Ф. Тесным путем: процесс воцерковления населения России в конце XX века. М. : Академический Проект, 2005. С. 18. [Chesnokova V. F. , *By a Narrow Path: the Process of Churching of the Population of Russia in the late XX century*, М. : Academic Project, 2005, p. 18. ]

### III Challenges in the Process of Transformation

After 30 years of revival and development, the Russian Orthodox Church has achieved certain results in the growth of “quantity” and the improvement of “quality”. At the same time, it should be noted that the Russian Orthodox Church faces some severe challenges in the process of its development and transformation. These challenges are either due to tension with secular society caused by the development of the Russian Orthodox Church, or closely related to complex ethnic and international political situations, or come from hidden dangers arising from the rapid growth and expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church.

#### 3.1 The tension between desecularization and secularization

The famous sociologist Peter Berger (1929 – 2017) proposed the theory of religious secularization in the book *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* in 1967. Berger defines secularization as “the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols”.<sup>[44]</sup> In social and institutional aspects, it means that the Church retreats from areas in which it was once dominant; in the cultural aspect, it means the decline of religious content; in the aspect of consciousness, it means the growing of the non-religious consciousness. However, as the situation of the world changed, Berger re-examined his theory of “secularization” and published the article “The desecularization of the world: a global overview” in 1997. In this article he criticized the fallacy of theory of “secularization” and turned to the position of “desecularization”, and he also pointed out that a representative of the phenomenon of “desecularization” in modern society is the revival of the Orthodoxy in Russia. The author does not want to analyze the theories of Berger’s secularization and desecularization, but wants to use the two concepts that he proposed to explore the tension of “desecularization” and “secularization” faced by the Russian Orthodox Church today.

As Berger said, at the end of the 20th century, there was a trend of religious “desecularization” in Russia; the revival and quick and vigorous development of the Orthodox Church, a sharp increase in the number of believers, the massive construction of churches, the infiltration and expansion of Orthodoxy into secular educational and cultural fields, and more. There is indeed a “prosperous” scene of the “desecularization” in Russia. However, the tendency of “secularization” is hidden behind this picture.

Firstly, we will discuss the “desecularization” of the development of Russian Orthodox Church from the perspective of the understanding of the faith of believers. Although most Russians claim to be Orthodox believers, this belief is not to a certain extent a religious identity, but more a national cultural identity. The head of the Levada-Center, the sociologist Lev Gudkov (Лев Гудков) once asserted that Orthodoxy is more like an ethnic religious symbol than a religious identity.<sup>[45]</sup> The Russian religious scholars Ovsienko (Ф. Г. Овсиенко, 1939 – 2007) and Trofimchuk (Н. А.

[44] Berger, Peter L., *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, 1969, p. 107.

[45] Символ веры православного атеиста. 16. 11. 2017. [“The Creed of an Orthodox Atheist”. 16. 11. 2017. ] <https://www.levada.ru/2017/11/16/simvol-very-pravoslavnogo-ateista/>

Трофимчук, 1942—2002) also wrote that Orthodoxy cannot be the ideology of the whole people. The reason is that the majority of Russians who identify themselves as Orthodox believers are not profoundly religious.<sup>[46]</sup> According to a survey of the Levada-Center (2017), among Orthodox believers, only 58% believe in the existence of God, 13% either don't believe in God at all, or don't know if God exists, 16% do not believe in life after death, 17% do not believe in the existence of hell and the devil, but one-third of “atheists” believe in heaven.<sup>[47]</sup> This set of data shows that there is no certain connection between faith identity and Orthodox doctrine and worldview. As mentioned above, the number of “churching believers” has not increased significantly in the past few decades. Thus, the revival of the Russian Orthodox Church in the growth of believers to a certain extent reflects the tendency of “secularization”, which can be mainly explained from the following aspects.

The state's guidance to the Orthodox ideology. Since Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia's independence, the state has been working to improve relations with the Orthodox Church. The state has given some Orthodox feast days the status of national holiday and has held some religious activities at the state level. The state's support for the Orthodox Church does not mean that the state intends to restore its status as state religion, but emphasizes Orthodoxy as a spiritual value and moral power, as the soul of the nation, as a bond to unite most Russians that can be used to fill the vacuum of faith after the collapse of the Soviet Union and reforge Russia's dream of holding great power.

The characteristics of Orthodoxy. The Orthodoxy is known as a “ceremonial” religion. Its long and complicated rituals, numerous feast days and strict fasting to some extent restrict believers to understanding Orthodoxy and participating in Church life, which leads some people to adhere nominally to Orthodoxy, not practically.

The change of religious concepts. The first half of the 1990s was a period of rapid growth of Orthodox believers in Russia. At this time, as Alexy Firsov (Алексей Фирсов), general director of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center said, it was a trend and a fashion to believe in religion, especially Orthodoxy, and it was closely related to throwing off political shackles.<sup>[48]</sup> With the revival and development of Orthodoxy, the two concepts of Orthodoxy and Church are gradually separated. For the Church, the Orthodoxy is its great cause, the Church is its embodiment; for the country, Orthodoxy is the spirit of the nation, the soft power of the country; for the individual, Orthodoxy is only the choice and comfort of personal spiritual life. Firsov pointed out that religion has lost its institutionalized position and has become an individual private matter.<sup>[49]</sup> This is an exact manifestation of the secularization of religion, “privatized religion is a matter of the ‘choice’ or

[46] Овсиенко Ф. Г., Трофимчук Н. А. Православие в контексте развития федеративных и этнополитических отношений в Российской Федерации // Религия и культура. Реф. сб. М.: ИНИОН РАН, 2000. С. 107. [Ovsienko F. G., Trofimchuk N. A., “Orthodoxy in the Context of Federal and Ethnopolitical Relations in the Russian Federation”, Religion and culture, M.: INION RAN, 2000, p. 107.]

[47] Символ веры православного атеиста. 16. 11. 2017. [“The Creed of an Orthodox Atheist”. 16. 11. 2017.] <https://www.levada.ru/2017/11/16/simvol-very-pravoslavnogo-ateista/>

[48] Религия: за и против. 27 июля 2015. [“Religion: Pro et Contra”. July 27, 2015.] <https://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=89>

[49] *Ibid.*



‘preference’ of the individual or the nuclear family, ipso facto lacking in a common, binding quality.”<sup>[50]</sup>

Secondly, we will analyze the “desecularization” of Russian orthodox development from the perspective of the relationship between the Church and the state. In the Bishop’s Council of 2000 *the Basis of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* was approved, in which the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the state is described as a state “between the separation and national Church ideology”<sup>[51]</sup>. Although currently, the relationship seems to be stable, it is also increasingly criticized by the people. According to a survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center in 2015, from 2007 to 2015, the proportion of the people who request to defend the provisions of secular state in the Constitution increased significantly from 54% to 64%. 47% of Russians believe that the Church should influence the spiritual life of society, but not interfere with politics.<sup>[52]</sup> According to a survey conducted by the Levada-Center in 2017, although 39% of Russians are satisfied with the current interaction between the state and the religion, this proportion was reduced by 17% over 2016.<sup>[53]</sup> It can be seen that under the influence of the “secularization” of religion in the field of ideology, at the social and institutional level, the call for religious secularization will also rise, and the “honeymoon period” between the Russian Orthodox Church and the state may end.

Finally, we will study the “desecularization” of Russian Orthodox development from the perspective of expansion of Orthodox education to the secular field and the integration of theological schools with secular schools. The Russian Orthodox Church successfully introduced “The Basics of Orthodox Culture” into the syllabus of primary and secondary schools, which can be regarded as a kind of success of “desecularization”. However, in the face of the relevant national educational laws and regulations, in order to attract more students to choose “The Basics of Orthodox Culture”, the Orthodox Church has to make certain concessions to “secularization”, such as the adjustment of methods of propagating the faith, the revision of the textbooks that were previously too religious. Joining the Bologna Process for the Russian Orthodox Church is not only a reform of theological schools in order to improve them, but also an action of the intended integration with secular education. The national recognition of the theological school’s diploma is bound to introduce certain secular educational courses and standards into theological schools. Although this reform is beneficial to the Orthodox Church, the theological school education will also be controlled to a certain extent by the state. This cannot be said to be anything but a process of secularization.

Therefore, although on the fact of it, Russia is experiencing the process of “desecularization” of religion (Orthodoxy), it is bound to face the problem of “secularization” in the process of realizing this process. For the Russian Orthodox Church and the state, how to find the balance between “desecularization” and “secularization” is the common task and challenge faced by both sides. The

[50] Berger, Peter L., *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, 1969, p. 133.

[51] Добрускин М. Е. Русская православная церковь на современном этапе // *Философия и общество*. 2016. №. 3. [Dobruskin M. E., “Russian Orthodox Church at the Present Stage”, *Philosophy and Community*, 2016, №. 3.]

[52] *Церковь и общество: вместе или порознь?* 24 июня 2015. [“Church and Society: Together or Separately?” June 24, 2015.] <https://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=61>

[53] *Религиозность*. 18. 07. 2017. [“Religiosity”. 18. 07. 2017.] <https://www.levada.ru/2017/07/18/religioznost/>



Russian Orthodox Church relies too much on the state to achieve its “desecularization”, which will make the Church face the possibility of losing its identity.

### 3.2 Unity of the Church

The unity of the Church has always been an arduous task for the Russian Orthodox Church. In the 17th century, the Nikonian reforms led to the division of the Russian Orthodox Church and the formation of the Old Ritualist (Old Believers) sects. In the 1920s, a series of events, including the revolution, the establishment of the new regime, led to the division of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia from the Mother Church. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the separatist tendency of some Orthodox Churches in the territory of the former Soviet Union became a huge challenge for the Russian Orthodox Church. On December 15, 2018, the establishment of the schismatic Ukrainian Orthodox Church subjected the unity of the Russian Orthodox Church to greater threat.<sup>[54]</sup>

Historically, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church have several times been divided and united; the split of the 15th century, and the unification of 17th century due to the integration of Ukraine into Russian territory, and the redivision of the 21st century. The split of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church rang alarm bells for the Russian Orthodox Church’s trifecta of “Church-state-nation”. In the early Christian Church, the boundaries of dioceses, archdioceses, and Patriarchates basically coincided with the boundaries of cities and countries. With the development of history, national territories changed, and the boundaries of the Church and the state were no longer consistent. Especially in the 20th century, due to the establishment of the Soviet Union, the two world wars, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and so on, the boundaries of the Church and the state majorly differed. Although the boundaries of the Church and state are not necessarily consistent, there is still a tendency observed in the world today that the Church’s boundary conforms to boundary of the state and the nation. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is a typical example. A direct consequence of the establishment of the new autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church is the situation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. As Ukrainian nationalism continues to rise, the newly established Ukrainian Orthodox Church has been fostered by the state, and it is likely to lead to the growth of the separatist tendencies among Ukrainian Orthodox believers and unstable factors in the dioceses around the world under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The schism of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church may also give some stimulation to the Belarusian Orthodox Church. At present, there is a good relationship between the Belarusian Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church, but with the “example” of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, it has to consider a potential push for the independence of the Belarusian Orthodox Church. Firstly, Orthodox Christianity is the dominant religion in Belarus. The survey conducted by the Belarusian Sociological Center “Mirror-Information” (ЗЕРКАЛО-ИНФО) in March-April of 2013 shows that

[54] On December 15, 2018, a unifying council was held in Kiev, where the archbishop Epiphany Dumenko (Елифаній, Думенко) was elected as the head of the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kiev Patriarchate) (1992—2018) and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (1920—2018) announced their dissolutions. On January 5, 2019, Bartholomew (Варфоломій), Patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople, signed the Tomos (Томос)—a document that gave the Ukrainian Orthodox Church its autocephaly, and on January 6, 2019, the Tomos was given to Archbishop Epiphany.

Orthodox believers account for about 68% of the total population.<sup>[55]</sup> Secondly, the Orthodox believers of Belarus are mainly Belarusians. Lastly, the Belarusian Orthodox Church already had a relatively complete administrative and clerical system. In 1989, the Russian Orthodox Church granted the Belarusian Orthodox Church the status of Exarchate (экзархат). It was established on the principles of the religion and nation. The Belarusian exarchate has a high level of autonomy, the highest legislative, law enforcement and judicial powers belong to the Synod headed by the archbishop of the Belarusian Orthodox Church, but the journal of the Synod of the Exarchate is to be submitted to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, and approved by the Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'. The archbishop of the Exarchate is elected by the Holy Synod of Moscow Patriarchate and appointed by the Patriarch. After the Crimean referendum on joining Russia, Belarusian nationalism rose, such as emphasizing the importance of the Belarusian language, the discussion of the Chinese translation of the country name (白俄罗斯 Baieluosi & 白罗斯 Bailuosi). In addition, the self-proclaimed "Belarusian Autocephalous Orthodox Church" has been active since World War II, and regards the former Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as its Mother Church. Although its power and influence are relatively weak, it is supported by a group of Belarusian emigrants. Therefore, the development trend of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, relations between Belarus and Russia, and the involvement of international forces will affect the development of separatist tendencies of the Belarusian Orthodox Church in the future.

The schism of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is also an alarm to the Russian Orthodox Church in handling relations with the five countries in Central Asia. At present, the Orthodox Church of these countries under the Moscow Patriarchate has relatively weak separatist tendencies. The main reasons are as follows: On one side, the Orthodoxy in these countries is a non-dominant religion, to a certain extent it has a greater need to be attached to the more powerful Mother Church. On the other side, the relationship between Russia and the five countries in Central Asia is relatively good, and the local Orthodox Church actively communicates and dialogues with the government. However, under the wave of global nationalism, as the nationalism of the five countries in Central Asia is increasingly awakened, the willingness to get rid of the influence of Russia is growing, especially in relatively powerful Kazakhstan, it is especially necessary to have a pleasant relationship between the Orthodox Church and the local government, the main ethnic group, and the dominant beliefs. Once the relationship between the states, nations, Orthodoxy and Islam deteriorates, the Orthodox Church in these countries as the minority will suffer, and this is likely to contribute to separatist tendencies: either to convert to other religions, or to join other Orthodox Churches. In addition, although the power of each Orthodox Church in these five countries is relatively weak, it does not rule out the consciousness and possibility of the creation of an independent, united Orthodox Church under the unified Central Asian Islamic space.

In summary, the unity of the Russian Orthodox Church is not a simple internal affair of the Church, it is closely related to international relations, ethnic relations and religious relations. The Constitution of the Russian Federation stipulates that Russia is a secular state, so the Orthodox

[55] Михайчиков Леонид Опрос: лишь 4% белорусов считают себя атеистами. 20 мая 2013. [Myachikov Leonid, "A Survey: Only 4% of Belarusians Consider Themselves Atheists". May 20, 2013.] <https://news.tut.by/society/349182.html?crnd=9106>

Church must not interfere too much with state affairs in order to maintain unity, and must not be excessively involved in the secular field. Otherwise, it will lead to the secularization of the religion on the one hand mentioned in the first point above, and on the other hand will break the fragile balance of relations between the state and the Church and frustrate the Russian Orthodox Church at home.

### 3.3 Hidden dangers arising from the rapid growth and expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church

After decades of revival, the Russian Orthodox Church is now the most populous Church in the Orthodox world. Patriarch Kirill claims that the Russian Orthodox Church has 180 million followers.<sup>[56]</sup> The boom of the Orthodox Church in Russia, steady development in the territory of the former Soviet Union, the revival among the diaspora, poses certain challenges to the other Orthodox Churches and the culture of other countries in the world, first and foremost, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. In recent years, there are many disagreements among the Orthodox Churches of Russia and Constantinople, and the disputes have escalated.

The emergence of the contradiction between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church of Constantinople cannot be separated from their respective historical, realistic and cultural factors. From the Russian side, as the Russian Orthodox Church continues to grow and flourish, it begins to seek greater voice in the Orthodox world. A more prominent manifestation is the preparation and convening of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church (Святой и Великий Собор Православной Церкви). In 1948, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Church's autocephaly, the Russian Orthodox Church began to actively participate in the initiative and preparations of the Holy and Great Council of Orthodox Church. In 1996, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople tried to receive the Estonian Autonomous Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Constantinople) as a full member of the pre-Council of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church in order to enhance the status of the Estonian Autonomous Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox Church firmly opposed this act, and was supported by other Orthodox Churches. In June 2016, the Holy and Great Council of Orthodox Church was held in Crete, but on the eve of the Council, the Russian Orthodox Church refused to attend the Council. One of the reasons was that the Council did not fully take into account the views of the Russian Orthodox Church and ignored the suggestions of the Russian Orthodox Church to the document "Relations of the Orthodox Church with the Rest of the Christian World". We can see the strong sense of mission of the Russian Orthodox Church from these actions, such as the active initiative and preparation of the Holy and Great Council of Orthodox Church, and the reasons for refusing to attend the Council. This sense of mission has a long historical tradition and ideological foundation. As early as the 16th century, or even earlier, Filofei (Филофей Псковский, 1465—1542), elder of the Pskov Spaso-Eliazar monastery wrote a letter to the prince Vasily III (Василий III Иоаннович, 1505—1533), in which he proposed the idea of "Moscow-the third Rome". Constantinople is the second Rome, also the New Jerusalem, after its fall, Russia replaced Byzantium and became the third Rome, the new New Jerusalem, and thereafter there will be no fourth Rome. The Russian Orthodox Church of a Third Rome would naturally replace the leadership of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople of the Second

[56] Патриарх Кирилл: прихожанами РПЦ являются около 180 млн человек. 28 окт. 2017. ["Patriarch Kirill: about 180 Million People are Members of the ROC". Oct. 28, 2017. ] <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/4684885>

Rome. This sense of the mission of the Russian Orthodox Church, combined with its current power, will impel it to seek greater voice in the Orthodox world and even the Christian world, and thus the controversy with the Orthodox Church of Constantinople is inevitable.

From the perspective of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople, its status of *primus inter pares* among Orthodox Churches was established at the Fourth Ecumenical Council; in 1453, Byzantium fell, the power of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople was sharply reduced; in the 19th century, the Greek Church was separated from the Church of Constantinople; in the 1920s, the Ottoman Empire broke up, and the Patriarchate of Constantinople lost most of its believers, retaining only 5.255 million followers<sup>[57]</sup>. Whether from the perspective of the number of believers, the Church's financial resources, or from the perspective of its influence, the voice of the Church of Constantinople in the Orthodox world is increasingly weak. In order to preserve its historical status and retain believers, in the 1920s, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople declared that all diaspora is under its justification, which caused conflict with the Russian Orthodox Church, which possesses a large global diaspora. In addition, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople has restored or established dioceses under the justification of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in some areas, such as the American Archdiocese<sup>[58]</sup> and the Estonian Autonomous Orthodox Church (the Patriarchate of Constantinople); in 2008, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople arbitrarily included the Chinese mainland, Taiwan of China, and Southeast Asian countries in the archdiocese of Hong Kong and Southeast Asia.<sup>[59]</sup> On January 6, 2019, the Patriarch of Constantinople granted the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Tomos—the document of the recognition of the autocephaly, which gave a heavy blow to the unification of the Russian Orthodox Church. The series of actions of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople are not only driven by political and economic interests, but also stem from the sense of crisis of its status of *primus inter pares* among the Orthodox world, and this crisis mainly comes from the Russian Orthodox Church, which used to be its subsidiary Church.

The fight for “big brother” status between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church of Constantinople is difficult to assess, which will be the winner in the short term. Orthodox Christianity is a relatively conservative religion which values tradition. It is difficult to undermine the history, especially the tradition and facts recognized by the seven ecumenical councils. And the strong sense of the mission of the Russian Orthodox Church will drive it to act as the savior of the Orthodox world. Therefore, the controversy between them may continue for a long time. In addition, the absolute priority and special treatment of the Orthodox Church in Russia has also caused dissatisfaction from other traditional religions, especially Islamic groups. There are many hidden dangers during the expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church in regions of the world not traditionally Orthodox, such as development and spread in Europe and Latin America where Catholicism is dominant, in the Southeast Asian where Buddhism is dominant, in China and North

[57] “Ecumenical Patriarchate”, <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches/ecumenical-patriarchate>.

[58] The Orthodox Church of Constantinople does not recognize the autocephalous status of Orthodox Church in America, which got the Tomos from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1970.

[59] The Russian Orthodox Church stated the decision of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was illegal, and was the interference in the internal affairs of Chinese Church. See: Dmitry I. Petrovsky “Modern State and Perspectives of the Orthodox Church in China”, *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies*, No 14, (2018), 80.

Korea where atheism is dominant, hostility from the local dominant ethnic groups and dominant beliefs, fusion with the local dominant culture, and changes to adapt to the local culture which challenge Orthodox tradition.

The first decade of Kirill's tenure was an innovative decade in the development of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the past ten years, the Orthodox Church has not only inherited and developed the traditional model, but also carried out the necessary reform in order to cope with the needs of reality. As the Orthodox Church became more and more powerful, challenges from political, religious, social, and cultural angles in Russia and abroad are increasing. Understanding the present condition and trends of the development of Russian Orthodox Church, analyzing the hidden problems and dangers, will help us to more fully understand the spiritual life, relations between the state and religion and diplomatic characteristics of contemporary Russia, and also help us to establish more healthy and effective relations between China and Russia.

中文题目：

基里尔任牧首十年来俄罗斯东正教会的发展研究——传承、转型与挑战

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**提要:**1988 年, 罗斯受洗千年之际, 俄罗斯东正教复兴的序幕徐徐拉开。历经 30 余年的发展, 东正教如今已成为俄罗斯社会一股重要的精神文化力量。30 年间, 俄罗斯东正教会历经三位牧首——皮缅、阿列克西二世和基里尔。本文拟以基里尔 2009 年就任牧首以来俄罗斯东正教会所开展的工作为考察对象, 理清俄罗斯东正教会在教会内部建设、与世俗领域互动和与基督宗教其他派别的对话等方面工作的传承, 解读俄罗斯东正教会从“量”的增长到“质”的提升式发展模式的转型, 剖析俄罗斯东正教会所面临的“非世俗化”与“世俗化”的张力、教会统一的威胁、教会快速增长扩张所带来的挑战。

**关键词:**俄罗斯东正教会; 牧首基里尔; 俄罗斯东正教会转型





## Three Academic News

### “Juris Entropia”

A Clarion Call to World Leaders and Their Respective Governments to take Full and Effective Advantage of the recent September 2019 UN Secretary General’s Climate Action Summit (UNSG) and therewith Commence Preparation of a Grand Global Strategy and Attendant Climate Treaty Protocol Process for Subsequent Signing at this December’s Conference of Parties

(COP 25)

An Interdisciplinary CPR/A; Context, and Purposeful Action Proposal for Regeneration of Planet Earth’s Naturalist Climate and Environmental Security

- I Introduction
- II Related Quotations
- III Context and Background
- IV Purposeful Action, Goals and Objectives
- V Recommendations
- VI The Belt and Roadmap Forward
- VII Final Thoughts

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## I INTRODUCTION

The following discussion document was originally delivered in an abridged version by David Woodroffe to distinguished international guest participants and scholars attending the Nordic Forum for Sino-Western Studies, August 2019, kindly hosted by The University of Helsinki:

20<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Biocosmology (20ISBC).

On the topic: “*Learning to be Naturalist*”

From a “*Worldview Standpoint*”, there is now a growing universal demand for a Grand Strategic Plan to provide radical solutions and related purposeful action to prevent climate and environmental breakdown on a global scale. To be accompanied by ways and means to avert the related suffering and complex legal issues caused by climate forced migration, based on expeditious on-site delivery of related global health methodologies in practice.

The writers of this paper believe that through effective governance of existing and proposed United Nations Conference of Parties (COP) Process’s, supported by enactment of a formal Treaty protocol process, incorporating prosecution of new legislation for the establishment of Earth Knowledge Portals and Strongholds, Unified Commons, Corridors and Bastions of Climate and Environmental Security, that the global response to climate change will become more realistic and practical in terms of serving the needs of humankind. While simultaneously avoiding continuation of what many now frequently label as a “disaster-in-slow-motion”.

We believe that such a treaty should be based on the powerful combination of ancient wisdom in the form of Daoist, Aristotelian, Naturalist, Dialectical and Theological First Principles of Earth Stewardship, working in conjunction with today’s game-changing and disruptive technologies and real world research. Including implementation of recently developed “dialectical methodologies” for spatial and multi-level governance, on a region by region basis.

We agree with such writers as the late Hans Rosling (author of FACTFULNESS) on the dire need for the world’s current response to the challenges associated with climate change to be based on “systematic analysis, thought — through decisions, incremental actions, and careful evaluation”. Secondly, that we must heed the sound message of Elja-Riitta Korhola’s 2014 successful Thesis Defence of—THE RISE AND FALL OF THE KYOTO PROTOCOL. CLIMATE CHANGE AS A POLITICAL PROCESS (noting the worthy role and contributions of Thesis Opponent, Professor Ye Qi, Department of Environmental Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China).

This appeal to World Leaders is for a total re-calibration of human values and standards in the form of a treaty protocol based on a Grand Strategic Plan for Climate & Environmental Security,

## II RELATED QUOTATIONS

“If you were to take account of everything. . . you would never do anything. It is better to have a brave heart and endure one half of the terrors we dread, rather than to calculate all of the terrors and suffer nothing at all. . . big things are won by facing big dangers”.

(Quote from historical account of Xerxes’ second Persian invasion of Greece, 480 B. C. E. )

“Whatever you can do, or dream you can do, BEGIN IT! Boldness has genius, power and magic plus miracles in it. Begin it now!”

(Quote from the German writer and scientist, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. An 18<sup>th</sup> Century botanist and government official).

“Our lives and thoughts may be considered as a sort of Cezanne painting, being the sound of another voice. We are biological organisms, accessible by science, and the works of the art of God, accessible as works of art”

(Quote from Professor David Jennings, Department of Philosophy, University of Helsinki)

Now, Fast Forward to:

ENDURANCE-A YEAR IN SPACE, A LIFETIME OF DISCOVERY by Astronaut Captain Scott Kelly:

“I’ve learned that climbing into a rocket that may kill me is both a confrontation of mortality and an adventure that makes me feel more alive than anything else I’ve ever experienced in my life.

“I’ve learned that grass smells great and wind feels amazing and rain is a miracle.

“I’ve learned that following the news from space can make Earth seem like a swirl of chaos and conflict, and that seeing the environmental degradation caused by humans is heartbreaking. I’ve also learned that our planet is the most beautiful thing I’ve seen and that we’re lucky to have it.”

(Noting that these thoughts and similar comments are frequently shared by all international astronauts and cosmonauts during their time together and peaceful cooperation in space)!

### III CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Whereas:

- According to the most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Report (issued the same week in August, 2019, as the subject Nordic Forum for Sino—Western Studies), current alterations in land use are greatly contributing to climate change and associated land degradation. That is, firing another warning shot about the state of our Planet, and the way people are transforming virtually every corner of every continent.

- Officials at the United Nations University and the International Organization for Migration are quoted as saying that climate forced migration and increased tensions between neighbouring tribes over access to resources for survival could eventually lead to over 2 billion people having to abandon their homes, customs, traditions and cultures to survive. Leading to the potential for an environmental catastrophe referred to above.

- Public concern about climate change and its effects by both young and older generations alike has recently developed into strong demands for bold, even radical ideas to be implemented on an immediate basis by United Nation Agencies and Member States’ Climate Change Regime Complexes. Together with calls for serious negotiation and development of strict protocols for climate and

environmental security.

- Cities around the world are already in the process of establishing “Climate Schools” for public education. Including in New York, the sending of finance investment staff and portfolio managers to such esteemed Institutions as Lamont — Doherty Earth Observatory and Woods Hole Research Center for compulsory courses and training in Quantitative Assessment of Climate and Environmental Risk Exposure.

- A number of leading financial and economic experts are calling for immediate realignment of Central Bank’s Policies and the existing Climate Regime Complex Goals.

- Related attention by the disparate community of scientists, business people and weary activists is now being refocused on technological advances for sustainable development.

- Ancient civilizations have risen, fallen, and adapted to climate and environmental struggles over time. But we are reportedly now nearing “the anthropogenic tipping point”. However, through some government’s willingness to change, and as supported by lessons from history, many climate threatened communities do now believe that the looming tragedy of the commons and corridors of forced migration may be avoided.

- Such lessons from past civilizations, and their application of shared First Principles for Earth Stewardship contained within the writings, sayings and epistles of Daoist, Aristotelian, Naturalist, Dialectical and Theological philosophies, for example, may be considered as foundation stones for the building of new strongholds of knowledge and bastions of climate and environmental security going forward. Especially, in regards to the importance of maintenance of human values, standards and behavior.

- According to researchers at Lamont Doherty Earth Observatory, “The annual summer monsoon that drops onto East Asia, and area of about a billion people, has shifted dramatically in the distant past, at times moving northward by as much as 400 kilometers and doubling rainfall in that northern reach. The monsoon’s changes over the past 10,000 years likely altered the course of human cultures in China”.

- Noting that such observations corroborate scholars of Daoism and Chinese history’s presentations at the subject Sino — Western Symposium, regarding how some Emperors survival as leaders, or alternatively, even facing death sentences, depended on their spatial management skills in dealing with flooding events.

- In November, 1978, the Lamont-Doherty Research Vessel VEMA docked alongside China’s Pearl River, marking the first U. S. — China cooperative marine research following the nation’s reopening to the West. The Chief Scientist, Dr. Dennis E. Hayes (Full Disclosure-one of the author DSW’s former supervisors at Columbia University’s Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory) was

assisting with charting of key geologic structures below the South China Sea and related oceanographic research.

- Forty years later, In their August 2018 edition, the Chinese publication New China reported how such cooperation continues:

“There has always been good cooperation in sciences between researchers in the United States and researchers at Chinese universities, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other science administrations” said Arthur Lerner-Lam, academic director of Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory. “This has become more frequent, and more comprehensive in addition to teaching visits. It’s a very healthy exchange of ideas, and exchange of students and professors”, he said at the meeting of China and U. S. VIP’s held at China’s Ministry of Transport in Beijing, April 27, 2018 to discuss how to better protect the environment.

- According to the July 2018 edition of *Foreign Policy Journal*—“Indigenous people are the world’s secret weapon in the fight against climate change and deforestation”.

## IV PURPOSEFUL ACTION, GOALS & OBJECTIVES

This section refers to the most critical point underlying the Context and Background section above: the real need for preparation of a new Legal, Unconditional, and Binding International Treaty for Climate and Environmental Security. A treaty that truly reflects the critical importance and seriousness of intent of the protocols involved in the proposed strategic planning process. As guided by Sovereignty, Territory and International Law Jurisdiction.

An excellent model for such a treaty is the Montreal Protocol on substances that deplete the Ozone Layer. This was a protocol to the Vienna Convention for the protection of the Ozone layer, an international treaty that was finalized in 1987. Which, as quoted by Kofi Annon, seventh secretary-general of the United Nations, as “perhaps the most successful international agreement to date”.

The Terms and Conditions of the proposed Climate and Environmental Security Treaty, once signed by all United Nation member countries, should be structured so as may be easily monitored and enforced by existing government agencies, under the rule of law, which, (by way of a reminder), is a “durable system of laws, institutions, and community commitment that delivers the four universal principles”:

Accountability—The government as well as private actors are accountable actors.

Just Laws—The laws are clear, publicized, and stable; are applied evenly; and protect fundamental rights, including the (climate and environmental) security of persons and contract, property, and human rights.

Open Government—The processes by which the laws are enacted, administered, and enforced

are accessible, fair, and efficient.

Accessible & Impartial Dispute Resolution—Justice is delivered timely by competent, ethical, and independent representatives and neutrals who are accessible, have adequate resources, and reflect the makeup of the communities they serve.

In order to achieve and comply with these Legal Principles, and those of Daoist, Aristotelian, Naturalist, Dialectical and Theological First Principles related to standards, values and the wellbeing of societies, the authors believe that, through establishment of a network of Knowledge Gateways and Portals, and Related Bastions of Climate and Environmental Security, including health, malaria treatment and disease control facilities etc., global society may better understand the “mystery” of natural force balancing mechanisms. Thus be better able and equipped to reconnect Humankind with Nature, as well documented in the United Nations SDG’s - Sustainable Development Goals.

## V RECOMMENDATIONS

These are too many to list for meeting the requirements as outlined above. However the authors believe that a “pluralistic” approach should be the basis for a true worldview upgrade.

In preparation of the Grand Strategy and associated Treaty Process, such as based on Treaty-Based Law-Making: Rules, Tools and Techniques, outlined in Chapter 3 of the recently published INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE LAW by Daniel Bodansky, Jutta Brunnee and Lavanya Rajamani, we must firstly avoid all the existing contradictions and denial strategies which will not provide solutions to the globally affected regions already under threat.

Special attention should now be directed to “radical solutions” for addressing:

1. The high glacial ice melting rates, so well documented for the Arctic and Antarctica.
2. Ways and means of reducing the rates of desertification in North Africa.
3. Avoidance of damage from the extreme flooding events now so common in Asia.
4. Prevention of the rampant deforestation within Africa, the Americas and Asia.
5. How to refocus on the internationally agreed goals of the Paris Climate Accord of 2015.

The writers believe that the formation of Climate and Environmental Security Task Forces at both local and international levels will be an essential component of a future Grand Strategy for protection and regeneration of Planet Earth’s natural ecological cycles and balance. Members of these two respective Task Forces should be nominated by the UN and concerned governments, and may be comprised of experts and experienced practitioners selected from all the major disciplines of science and the humanities.

Once established, the Task Forces would be given the additional tasks of —

1. Recommending selected locations for establishment of the above mentioned Gateways and Portals of Knowledge—to be associated with existing Institutions of Learning.
2. Supervising the building of Bastions of Climate and Environmental Security at areas already under threat, utilizing state-of-the-art zero emission technologies, and
3. Planning of spatial governance of those “commons” and “safe corridors” for climate displaced

migrants and their families, under the rule of law principles outlined above.

In addition, under the United Nations Security Council Mandate for those nations in conflict, including civil war, special arrangements could be made for establishment of the above mentioned Gateways, Portals and Bastions. As, for example, in Southern Cameroon, where the current territorial conflict between peoples from both the Anglophone and Francophone communities may benefit from neutral intervention in the form of safe access to shared medical, agriculture & fisheries education and training support “Sea-to-Sky” Gateway Facilities.

## **VI THE BELT AND ROADMAP FORWARD**

The model example for this already exists, having emerged millennia ago—in the form of the Human Neural System. Whereas the human neural system is divided into two parts—the central nervous system (CNS), including information processing and control, and the peripheral neural system (PNS), comprising all the nerve functions, so may our proposed Grand Strategic Plan for climate and environmental security and associated operations be realized through practical duplication of the basic “route map” of such organizational and supportive principles.

In summary, the existing UN Organizational Chart, Chief Executive Roles and Agency Mandates and their assigned responsibilities, together with The Regime Complex for Climate Change, need only to be re-focused on achievement of the overall Grand Global Strategy’s goals and objectives, as outlined above. And as based on the Sixty eighth Session of the UN’s General Assembly request for initiation of a study of Humankind’s Harmony with Nature.

No need for expanded levels-of-effort or increase of existing and approved budget allocations. Only a “reset” and adjustment of taskforce priorities and related personnel administrative duties recommended by the chosen strategic planning team should be required. With the possible addition of the UN Security Council having a clearer mandate and full responsibility for maintenance of the proposed Climate and Security Treaty terms and conditions.

Regarding proposed Strategic Partnerships, the UN General Assembly could invite such institutions as their neighbouring Columbia University Earth Institute’s Center for Climate and Life ([www.climateandlife.columbia.edu](http://www.climateandlife.columbia.edu)) to assume programme coordination duties.

London based E3G (Third Generation Environmentalism) has already had great success with their Climate Action Week campaigns, and could mentor cities worldwide for similar events.

Helsinki Design Week’s 5-15<sup>th</sup> of September LEARNING CLIMATE is another success story.

The University of Turku, Finland is already a partner in multidisciplinary research with the City of Tianjin, China, and organized a special seminar as early as November, 2013 for Low Carbon Development with Nankai University. Leading to systematic reductions of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

The authors believe that Macau University of Science and Technology, whose motto is “Dedication to practical studies, Enhancement of Knowledge. Ability and Quality,” would collaborate well with Auckland University of Technology, pioneers of innovative solutions.

Joint research aboard the orbiting Space Station by China, Russia, the US, and now additional nations, together with existing polar cooperation between Russia’s Arctic & Antarctic Institute, the

US Dept. of Polar Programs, and China's Arctic & Antarctic Administration studies for better understanding of glacial and permafrost melting rates are also commendable efforts.

## VII FINAL THOUGHTS

Recalling the tragedy of the “unsinkable” S. S. TITANIC, the analogy is thus:

When traversing the unknown and dangerous waters of climate change, perhaps the Captain of U. N. VESSEL need only order a slow incremental course change to safer Southern Latitudes, and set a new morally correct compass heading to a realistic, practical and achievable worldview destination for humankind. Rather than being forced to ring on Earthship's engines telegraph for FULL ASTERN BOTH or FULL SPEED AHEAD, in order to avoid the (now melting) icebergs and potential disastrous consequences.

“It is precarious to delay, and it is dangerous to continue the journey. So fulfill my longing, and show me the way”.

A nepistolary request credited to Birgitta Birgesdotter, of Naantali, Finland. (1303—1373)

Perhaps a symbolic example of the way forward is already portrayed in the 1913 painting by famous Finnish artist, Hugo Simberg. (On permanent display at Helsinki's ATENEUM Museum).

Old Man and Child

Illustrating the symbiotic relationship and sharing of the wisdom and care, based on the lifetime experience of the Elders, with the knowledge, energy and enthusiasm of younger generations.

(Noting that if the two subjects were at the same beach location today, the painting's background sea level would well cover their feet by several centimeters, when portrayed on family “selfies”).

Ending on a positive note, when teenaged students at this year's summer Earth Stewardship Session were asked questions by the authors about the most powerful forces of nature, and the interconnections of weather, climate, oceans and humankind, and what is needed to restore the natural balance, they had a spontaneous one word answer:

“Compassion”. Compassion shared between peoples, and with nature.

Quod erat demonstrandum.



中文题目：

关于星球更新的地球自然主义气候和环境安全的跨学科呼吁书

乌德洛夫、阿拉然塔

# 《国学与西学：国际学刊》

(中英文双语半年刊)

## 投稿须知

《国学与西学国际学刊》(GUOXUE YU XIXUE Guoji Xuekan)创刊于 2011 年 12 月,由国学与西学北欧论坛(Nordic Forum of Sino-Western Studies)主办、赫尔辛基大学世界文化系宗教学中心、北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心、与吉林大学文学院国学与西学比较研究中心协办之中英文双语学术期刊,整合北欧四国(芬兰、瑞典、挪威、丹麦)学者之力,每年于芬兰出版两期(六月及十二月出版)。栏目有:

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“书评与通讯”(书评乃对主题为国学与西学的新书之述评,而通讯则指同样主题的学术动态与新闻)。

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# **International Journal of Sino-Western Studies**

## ***Notes for Contributors***

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a. Research Articles: Original articles related to the topics mentioned above.

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3. IJS welcomes the submission of texts throughout the year; it is required that the text is original and has not been previously published.

4. The text can be written in Chinese or in English. An English article should have a Chinese abstract, and vice versa. The length of a Chinese article should be between 8,000 and 12,000 Chinese characters, including footnotes. An English article should have no more than 12,000 words, including footnotes. A book review or a report on academic news is usually limited to 3,000 words. Exceptions will be decided separately.

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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.

Foot notes must follow the style stated in our Footnote Format and Requirements. For the purpose of an anonymous review, please refrain from revealing the author's identity in the article; when citing the author's own work, please refrain from using the first person pronoun.

6. Please submit two paper copies of the article by mail and one in an electronic form through email. The electronic file should take the Microsoft Word format.

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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.

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Independent bibliography is not required.

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Please use authentic, accurate, and standard literature references.

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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 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 renting——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 renting 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.

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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:

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12、转引 Quotation from a secondary source:

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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.

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