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Historical Resources and Methodology

〈中國天主教教會史學:歷史資源和方法論〉

Centre for Catholic Studies
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香港中文大學天主教研究中心

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主編的話

2018年5月下旬,香港中文大學天主教研究中心召開學術會議,主題是「中國天主教教會史學:歷史資源與方法論」,籌備期間徵集論文,很快得到海內外學者的回應,會議成功舉辦。擺在讀者面前的這本文集,就是參會者的學術結晶。

會議的中心點主要圍繞「歷史資源與方法論」兩個維度展開, 因而有必要對相關概念略作說明:

就「歷史資源(資料)」來說,中國天主教歷史研究背景複雜,牽涉面廣,文獻資料繁雜,但其「資源」大致有三個方面。 其一:官方文獻,如各類奏摺、皇帝的諭旨、政府的相關法津法 規等;其二:西方傳教士(或傳教機構)的文獻,諸如工作彙報、 日記、會議記錄及文件、修會的會規會憲等,這類文獻以西文為 多;其三:民間文獻,如家譜、楹聯、民謠、民歌等等。三種類 型文獻所呈現的「事實描述」,由於社會角色、政治立場、生存 狀態等多方面的差異,導致觀點不一,結論不一。

就「方法論」來說,中國天主教歷史研究涉及中外交通史、中西文化交流史、中國社會史等諸多領域,不同時期,不同背景的學者採用的方法論迥然不同,過往的研究多囿於「西方中心論」、「帝國主義侵華論」、「地域觀念」、「刺激——反應說」等等。本次會議徵集的論文,雖然圍繞「歷史資源與方法論」兩個維度拓展,但擷取的「資源」十分豐富,研究範式亦突破舊的框架,通過徵引翔實文獻,並在事實基礎上引出科學、理性的結論,是這些論文的共性;而每位學者的學術背景、學科方向以及研究興趣的差異,論文亦表現出學者們的學術個性。下面對這些論文作簡要評論。

恭敬聖母是天主教信仰的重要元素。天主教作為一種異質文 化進入中國之後,如何向中國人介紹聖母崇拜,如何讓中國人理 解聖母神跡的意義,傳教士們在翻譯、詮釋文獻方面頗是下了一 番功夫。陳慧宏教授撰寫的〈從聖母看明清中國天主教的宗教調 適與文化互動〉,從聖母在地化的角度,梳理了傳教士所做的艱 辛工作,其分析、討論,為深化中國天主教當地語系化研究開闢 了一塊新的園地。

比利時聖母聖心會進入中國較晚,其修會歷史及規模雖然不及那些老傳教修會,但來華之後在蒙古活動,仍然在中國天主教歷史上留下的厚重的一筆。譚永亮(Patrick Taveirne)和夏其龍兩位神父學者合作的 "The Rise of a Local Catholic Church Through Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Ordos Region (Inner Mongolia)"及 "The Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome as a Necessary Historical Resource for the Historiography of the Catholic Church in China",是這本文集的「雙子星」,相近的內容用兩個版塊呈現,展現出作者的學術功力。譚神父的文章用翔實的檔案資料,對聖母聖心會建立數個傳教站艱難歷程進行了回顧,對塞外發生的教案進行了分析,由此展現聖母聖心會在華活動的鮮明特色;夏神父的文章著眼於對天主教檔案收藏機構和檔案分佈情況的梳理,並對檔案的價值進行評判,這組文章所展現的內容,不僅對天主教研究有所貢獻,而且為學者們利用檔案提供了重要線索。

相比較來自高等學府的學者們,胡世斌是參會學者中十分特殊的一位,這位來自西安教區的神父,長年奔波在福傳一線,但牧靈工作之餘,仍孜孜不倦進行教區歷史研究,並利用豐富的檔案資料,完成了《陝西天主教歷史》的寫作。他提交給會議的文章——〈歷史檔案對中國天主教教史重要性的認識和建議〉,是多年從事教區歷史研究的心得。胡神父在文章中強調:歷史檔案對於教會歷史研究,對於傳教具有十分重要的意義,呼籲各地教區在盡可能地條件下建立教區檔案室,表現出一位中國神職對教會歷史研究的拳拳之心、殷殷之情。

天主教文獻類型多樣,除了中西書面文本,亦有深藏在民間 的文獻,而過往的天主教歷史研究,偏於「形上」,以文本為主, 利用民間文獻對中國天主教歷史進行深入解讀的學術成果十分罕 見。康志杰教授提交的論文是以民間文獻契約文書、稅單、民謠 等為切入點,對天主教經濟生活史進行研究,進而透視中國天主 教歷史發展中的若干特點。

中國天主教研究自上世紀八十年代以後,開始有了長足發展,隨著各地史料的公開,近十年的相關研究又登上一個新的臺階。古偉瀛教授撰寫的〈天主教史研究的深化——以「語文」為中心〉一文,對近年較有代表性的研究成果進行了梳理、分析。針對天主教文獻涉及多種語言資料,且專業性極強的特點,作者對近年大陸學界關於天主教研究譯著中出現的錯誤和問題進行了分析與評判,文章不僅顯示出其學術視野和外語能力,而且還表現出一位資深學者的良知與擔當。

李紀博士撰寫的〈巴黎外方傳教會所藏滿洲教區檔案的整理 與分析〉,是從視野、材料、理論及方法上研究天主教歷史的力 作,文章對搜集的檔案文獻進行了梳理、解讀,在翔實的文獻基 礎上對滿洲天主教歷史分析、討論,進而挖掘東北天主教歷史發 展中的普遍性與特殊性。難能可貴的是,李紀博士在研究中,不 僅孜孜追求學術之真諦,而且還對自己的學術經歷進行檢討與反 思,這種高標準、嚴要求的治學態度,將論文品質提升到一個新 高度。再此贅言兩句:近年中國天主教區域史研究有新的突破, 但東北地區的天主教研究仍顯得過於冷清,李紀的文章,無疑為 這個學術園地帶來一片亮麗的色彩。

「禮儀之爭」是明清天主教研究中的「熱點」,「問題」的 產生緣起於利瑪竇與龍華民不同的傳教理念。近年來,學界關於 利瑪竇的研究已相當充分,而對其接班人龍華民的研究則略顯遜 色。李天綱教授撰寫的〈「龍華民方法」與「利瑪竇路線」之比 較〉對學術研究中的薄弱環節做出了有益的補充。此文的重點是 對龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》進行分析,雖然晚明天主教兩位開教先鋒分別以「求同」與「存異」兩條路徑表現出他們在傳教策略上的分歧,但「兩者都是『對話』(Dialogue)的一部分,具有同等的思想價值。」文章條分縷析、論證有理,為人們深入理解晚明天主教歷史打開了一扇窗戶。

上川島是中國天主教歷史中著名朝聖地,其歷史淵源與著名耶穌會士沙勿略有著密切的關係。但是,關於朝聖地緣起、發展以及在歷史上的影響,學界並沒有給予應有的重視,巴黎外方傳教會的馬崇義(Matthieu Masson)神父撰寫"Sancian: Landscape and Architecture in the Burial Place of St Francis Xavier"一文,對此作了有益的探索。「文章不僅對沙勿略在東方的傳教生涯進行了梳理,而且對其客死上川島之後,朝聖地逐漸形成、發展、完善的歷史進行了深入探討。同時,文字中穿插了珍貴的圖片,給讀者帶來特殊的視覺享受。

隱修會是教會體系中一個不可分割的組成部分,承擔著特殊的福傳使命,其祈禱、默觀的靈修方式,為豐富天主教信仰生活積累了寶貴的經驗。遺憾的是,關於隱修會相關研究卻「付之闕如」。馬明哲(Matteo Nicolini-Zani)修士撰寫的〈「隱修院將成為中國之家」從天主教隱修生活歷史的角度看教會在中國的本地化〉一文,對這個領域的研究是一個有益的補充。文章既有對十九至二十世紀天主教隱修會在中國發展的脈絡疏理,也有對具有典型意義的個案分析(四川西山本篤會隱修院),由此展示隱修會在天主教當地語系化中的功能和作用。

陳方中教授撰寫的〈史料分類與分析——研究歷史與中國天主教史的方法〉一文,其觀點多從個人的學術研究經驗中提煉,因為多年浸潤在中國天主教歷史研究領域,作者對不同類型的史料非常熟稔。文章不僅對不同的「文獻源」進行勘比、解讀、分

¹ 馬崇義神父及馬明哲修士的文章並非是次會議發表的論文,但可作為中國教會史學研究的補充,故加入本期學刊。

析,而且針對一些特殊文獻(官方檔案及文書、傳教士信件、時 人筆記、單張文獻揭帖,等等)在同一事實敘述中產生的「差 異」,揭示、凸顯中國天主教研究的複雜性與特殊性。這篇文章 告訴讀者:學術研究中謹慎運用史料,甄別、判斷史料的真實度, 在翔實的文獻基礎上揭櫫事實之真像,是史學研究的原則與底線。

中國天主教歷史是中國歷史的一個組成部分,並且與世界大歷史息息相關。這樣一個十分特殊的學術領域,要求研究者具有更加寬闊的學術視野,這本集子,雖然不能涵蓋天主教研究中的所有問題,但討論問題的視域獨特,徵集文獻翔實。會議主辦方的初衷是從歷史資源與方法論的視角,深化「中國天主教教會史學」的研究,通觀文集,可以發現會議已經達到預期目標。

中國天主教教會歷史研究至今仍然存在諸多的學術盲點,本 文集收錄的十一篇文章,雖然對前期研究有所補益,但仍然只是 科學研究諸多問題中的一些小小的環節,因為學術研究、學術交 流是永無止境的遠航。

康志杰

2019年12月

Editor's Word

In late May 2018, the Centre for Catholic Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong held an academic roundtable conference with the theme "Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Historical Resources and Methodology." During the preparation period, scholars at home and abroad actively responded to the call for papers. The conference was held successfully. The collection of papers now presented to you is the academic fruition of the participants.

The focus of the roundtable conference centered mainly on two dimensions—historical resources and methodology, so it is necessary to explain the related concepts briefly:

In terms of "historical resources (information)," the history of the Chinese Catholic Church is complex, involving a wide range of issues, and the kinds of literature are complicated. But its "resources" can be roughly divided into three aspects. First: official documents, such as various memorials, imperial edicts, and relevant laws and regulations of the governments. Second: documents of Western missionaries (or mission agencies), such as work reports, diaries, meeting records and documents, charters and constitutions of religious orders. The majority of such documents were in foreign languages. Third: folk literature, such as genealogy, couplets, ballads and folk songs. The "factual descriptions" presented in these three types of literature differ due to differences in social roles, political stances and living conditions, thus creating different opinions and conclusions.

For "methodology," the study of Chinese Catholic history involves many fields, such as the history of Chinese and foreign transportation, history of cultural exchange between China and the West, and history of Chinese society. The methodologies adopted by scholars with different backgrounds in different periods vary greatly. The past studies often were limited to "a Western-centered theory," "theory of imperialist invasion of China," "geographical concept," "stimulus-response theory" and so on. The papers collected at this roundtable conference covered the two dimensions of "historical resources and methodologies." The "resources" extracted in the papers were rich, and the research paradigms also broke through the old framework. Through the reference and citation of informative literature, scientific and rational conclusions were derived based on the facts. They were also the commonality of these papers. The differences in the academic background, academic direction and research interests of each scholar also show his or her academic personality. Here follows a brief review of these papers.

Devotion to the Blessed Mother is a crucial element of the Catholic faith. Catholicism entered China as a foreign culture. The missionaries had made great efforts in translating and interpreting pieces of Church literature to introduce the reverence of the Blessed Mother to the Chinese people and to let them understand the significance of the miracles related to the Blessed Mother. Professor Chen Hui-hong's article on "Religious Accommodation and Cultural Encounters of Chinese Catholicism during the Ming and Qing: Insights from the Case of the Virgin Mary" summarizes the hard work of the missionaries from the inculturation perspective of the Blessed Mother. Her analysis and discussion have opened up a new field in deepening the study on inculturation of the Chinese Catholic Church.

The Belgian Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) entered China in a later stage. Its history and scale of activities cannot be compared to those traditional missionary societies. However, its activities in Mongolia and Northwest China after coming to China

still left a deep impression in the history of Chinese Catholicism. "The Rise of a Local Catholic Church Through Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Ordos Region (Inner Mongolia)" of Fr. Patrick Taveirne and "The Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome as a Necessary Historical Resource for the Historiography of the Catholic Church in China" of Fr. Louis Ke-loon Ha are the "Gemini" in the collection. Similar content is presented in two dimensions, showing the authors' academic skills. Through the use of informative archives, Fr. Taveirne's article reviews the difficult process of setting up several CICM mission stations. It analyzes the conflict between the Church and society that took place in northern China beyond the Great Wall, thus showing the distinctive characteristics of the CICM's activities in China. In contrast, Fr. Ha's article focuses on the archival collection of the Roman Catholic Church, the organization of the archives, and evaluates the value of these archives. This set of essays not only contributes to Catholic studies but also provides essential clues for scholars to utilize the archives.

Compared to scholars from higher educational institutions, Fr. Hu Shibin is a unique figure among the roundtable participants. Fr. Hu, a priest of Xi'an Diocese, has been evangelizing for many years. Meanwhile, he also studied the history of the diocese ceaselessly after work. He has written the *Catholic History of Shaanxi* by the use of abundant archives. The article he submitted to the roundtable conference – "Understanding the Importance of Archives for the History of the Chinese Catholic Church and Some Suggestions" was a result of his many years of research of the history of the diocese. In the article, Fr. Hu emphasizes that archives are of great significance to the study of Church history and mission. He urges local dioceses, if conditions permit, to establish their respective archive office to show

the Chinese priests' dedication and sentiments to the study of Church history.

There are various types of Catholic literature. Besides Chinese and Western texts, there are also pieces of documents that are hidden deep among the common people. In the past, research in Catholic history had been inclined towards metaphysics, with texts as the mainstay, and the use of folk documents was rare for in-depth interpretation of Chinese Catholic history. The paper submitted by Professor Kang Zhijie uses folk documents, contracts, tax bills, folk songs etc. as the entry point to study the history of Catholic economic life and then explore specific characteristics in the historical development of the Chinese Catholic Church.

Since the 1980s, there was significant progress in the study of the Chinese Catholic Church. With the release of historical materials in various places, relevant studies in the past decade have reached a new level. Professor Ku Wei-ying's article "Deepening the Study of the Catholic History--Centered on Language" summarizes and analyzes certain representative studies in recent years. Pinpointing on the multilingual and highly professional nature of Catholic literature, the author analyzes and evaluates errors and problems in the translations of Catholic studies in mainland China in recent years. The article not only shows the author's academic vision and foreign language ability but also shows the conscience and responsibility of a senior scholar.

The "Arrangement and Analysis of the Archives of the Manchuria Diocese Held by the Paris Foreign Missions" written by Dr. Li Ji is a masterpiece in the study of Catholic history in terms of perspective, materials, theory and methodology. The article reviews and interprets the archives that she has collected. Based on informative literature, the author analyzes and discusses the history of the Catholic

Church in Manchuria. She then explores the distinctive and common traits in the historical development of the Catholic Church in northeastern China. It is commendable that Dr. Li Ji not only diligently pursued the true meaning of academics but also reviews and reflects on her academic experience. This high-standard and strict academic attitude raised the quality of her paper to a new level. Let me add one more comment: In recent years, there are breakthroughs in the study of the historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church. However, the study of Catholicism in northeastern China still looks too much neglected. The article of Li Ji has lightened up the academic field.

The "Rites Controversy" is a "hot spot" in the study of Catholicism during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The "problems" arose from the different concepts of evangelizations between Matteo Ricci and Longobardi. Academic research on Ricci has been quite sufficient in recent years while studies on his successor Longobardi is slightly lacking. "A Comparison to the 'Longobardi's Approach' and 'Riccian Methodology'" written by Professor Li Tiangang has given a valuable supplement to the weak links in academic research. The focus of this article is to analyze Longobardi's "Treatise on Chinese Religions." The two Catholic pioneers in the late Ming Dynasty demonstrated their missionary strategies in two different ways: "seeking common ground" and "keeping the differences." They were both parts of the 'dialogue' with equal ideological value." The article is clear in the analysis with sufficient evidence to support, which opens a window for people to understand the Catholic Church history of the late Ming Dynasty.

Shangchuan Island is a famous pilgrimage site in Chinese Catholic Church history. Its historical origins are closely related to the renowned Jesuit Francis Xavier. However, the academic community has not paid due attention to the background, development and historical influence of the pilgrimage site. The article "Sancian: Landscape and Architecture in the Burial Place of St. Francis Xavier" written by Fr. Matthieu Masson of the Paris Foreign Missions provides a useful exploration of the place. This essay not only combs through Xavier's missionary career in the East but also discusses the gradual formation, development and improvement of the pilgrimage site after his death on Sancian, or Shangchuan Island. At the same time, precious images are inserted to the text, giving readers a unique visual enjoyment.

Monasticism is an inseparable part of the Church. It bears a special mission of evangelism. Its spiritual style of prayer and meditation has accumulated valuable experience for enriching the lives of the Catholic faithful. Regrettably, researches on the monastery are sporadic. The translated article "The Monastery Will be a Chinese House? The Inculturation of the Church in China from the Perspective of the History of Catholic Monasticism" written by Br. Matteo Nicolini-Zani is a useful supplement to the research in this field. The article has given a clue to the development of Catholic monasteries in China in the 19th and 20th centuries, along with a case study on Xishan Benedictine Monastery in Sichuan, demonstrating the function and role of the monastery in inculturation.

Professor Chen Fang-chung's article "Classification and Analysis of Historical Materials—Research Methods for History and Chinese Catholic History" draws on his own academic research experience. He has been in the field of Chinese Catholic Church history for many years and is very familiar with different types of

¹ The articles of Father Matthieu Masson and Brother Matteo Nicolini-Zani were not presented in the roundtable conference. They can serve as supplementary to the conference's theme and thus, they are included in this issue.

literature. This article compares, interprets, and analyzes various "sources of literature." It also demonstrates how the same event could create disparities through the use of different documents (official archives and records, letters of missionaries, notes from contemporary people and leaflets or posts). It reveals and highlights the complexity and particularity of Chinese Catholic studies. This article tells the readers: use historical materials carefully in academic research, identify and judge the authenticity of archival materials, and reveal truthful facts based on informative literature. These are the principles and bottom lines in historical studies.

Chinese Catholic history is an integral part of Chinese history. It is closely related to the overall history of the world and is an extraordinary field in academia, which requires researchers to have a broader academic horizon. Although this journal cannot cover all the issues in Catholic studies, the scope of discussion here is unique with informative resource materials to support. The original intention of the roundtable conference's organizer was to deepen the study of the "Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church" from the perspective of historical resources and methodology. Going through this issue, you will find that the roundtable conference has achieved the expected goals.

There are still many academic blind spots in the study of Chinese Church history. Although the 11 articles included in this journal help supplement previous research, they are only a small part of many scientific research issues. Academic studies and academic exchanges are an endless voyage.

Kang Zhijie

Historical Resources and Methodology

〈中國天主教教會史學:歷史資源和方法論〉

從聖母看明清中國天主教的 宗教調適與文化互動

陳慧宏

[摘要]從明末耶穌會士積極進入中國以來,聖母的神學、信仰和圖像,也早就引入中國。相比於如何「翻譯」「天主教上帝」,傳教士如何「翻譯」聖母,是一個較少被討論的議題。聖母信仰與其圖像緊密結合,因此在中國天主教中對聖母的討論都集中在圖像上。聖母與觀音信仰與圖像結合或互用的議題,是明末以來這兩者圖像學最知名也最難解的問題。這也同時反映了聖母在地化的容易和困難,而這個面向,在耶穌或天主像上,並未得見。雍正時期禁教之後,中國天主教走向地下運作,中國教會的在地化似乎更為全面,聖母信仰也更見在地深耕。聖母若轉為在地女神的話,中國人或許更容易理解,卻與天主教神學背道而馳。而聖母引介中國之例,似乎說明,傳教士勢必面對觀音或其他女神形象轉化到聖母的中國解讀。本文預計對從明末到清末,這個長時期中聖母的議題,作統整性的探討。這段時期對聖母進行過如何的翻譯,在圖像和文字上都是,對於我們了解中國天主教史的意義,還待深入討論,這也是本研究的目的。

引言

2015年12月,《國家地理雜誌中文版》有一篇關於聖母瑪 利亞的專題報導,標題稱其為「世上最有力量的女性」。這個專 題,是國家地理頻道名為《瑪利亞信仰》(The Cult of Mary)紀 錄片的文字報導,而這個「最有力量」之謂,可以以下一段敘述 證明:「祈求聖母代禱,以及對她的崇敬,都是全球性的現 象……瑪利亞是普世的母愛象徵,也是磨難與犧牲的象徵,比正 規的教義更能讓我們與超自然連結……瑪利亞無所不在……墨西 哥的瓜達露佩聖母像是世上被複製最多的女性形象之一……穆斯 林與基督徒都視她為最神聖的女性。」1 直至今日, 祈求神蹟降 臨面見聖母,仍是幾個重要天主教朝聖地信徒聚集的主要原因, 大量的天主教藝術與禮儀圍繞著聖母,其顯靈的神力滿足世俗人 對宗教需求的渴望。隨著十六世紀後天主教在全球逐步的擴張, 瑪利亞信仰跨世紀的世界史,是以基督宗教為主體的世界史寫作 中,不可或缺的重要一環。回溯到天主教開始全球擴張的十六世 紀,除了歐洲,瑪利亞已經在亞非美三洲現蹤。英國史家米麗・ 魯賓 (Miri Rubin) 在其《上帝之母》 (Mother of God) ——一本 論述聖母歷時演變的專著中說:「對歐洲史家而言,聖母持續出 現」;換言之,歷經中古到近代,從歐洲到世界,她在福音書中 的記載如此地少,卻「無所不在」。2

從明末耶穌會士積極進入中國以來,聖母的神學、信仰和圖像,也早就引入中國。相比於如何「翻譯」「天主教上帝」,傳教士如何「翻譯」聖母,是一個較少被討論的議題。聖母信仰與其圖像緊密結合,因此更多的中國天主教中聖母的討論,集中在圖像上。聖母與觀音信仰與圖像結合或互用的議題,是明末以來這兩者圖像學最知名也最難解的問題。這也同時反映了聖母在地

^{1《}國家地理雜誌中文版》,169號,2015年12月,頁24。

² Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), xxi-xxii. 第一段引言原文為:"For a historian of Europe Mary is a constant presence" (p. xxi).

化的容易和困難,而這個面向,在耶穌或天主像上,並未得見。 雍正時期禁教之後,中國天主教走向地下運作,中國教會的在地 化似乎更為全面,聖母信仰也更見在地深耕。3 1910 年人類學家 伯索·羅孚(Berthold Laufer, 1874-1934)從西安某家族所獲的 聖母抱子像,或白衣觀音像,現藏於美國芝加哥菲爾德博物館 (The Field Museum), 母本該是羅馬大聖母堂(Santa Maria Maggiore) 聖路加式 (St. Luke) 聖母抱子像,此式明確於利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610) 在華傳教時期已入中國, 因此, 這張 畫常被推測與利氏有關、或為晚明作品。然而,它的留存也經歷 禁教之後的清末,和更可能為禁教時期的作品來看,它所顯現的 聖母/觀音雙圖像學,放在清末中國天主教的發展史上,有何特殊 的歷史意義?而這個雙圖像學的議題,可上溯自晚明,之後三百 多年,聖母的圖像和定義都經歷在地化,它似乎是說明中國天主 教「宗教」調適的最佳之例,因為聖母在地化的容易卻也是難題 即為,聖母若轉為在地女神的話,中國人或許更容易理解,卻與 天主教神學背道而馳; 當與中國的異文化了解有更多對話, 但似 乎無助於中國人了解耶穌。耶穌會是從一開始就對中國宗教極力 駁斥嗎?他們在歐洲對地方傳統並不一定如此。而聖母引介中國 之例,似乎說明,傳教士勢必面對觀音或其他女神形象轉化到聖 母的中國解讀。聖母之例所看到的宗教調適與文化互動,在上述 明清脈絡下,也歷經了禮儀之爭(耶穌會士的「去宗教化」)及 索隱一派的發展。本文預計對從明末到清末,這個長時期中聖母 的議題,作一個初步的探討。這段時期對聖母進行過如何的翻譯, 在圖像和文字上都是,對於我們了解中國天主教史的意義,還待 深入討論,這也是本研究的目的。

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³ 以下兩個新近對中國聖母發展跨世紀的研究,都強調十七世紀之後中國 聖母信仰的地方化,及其對中國天主教史發展的代表性: Song Gang, "The Many Faces of Our Lady: Chinese Encounters with the Virgin Mary between 7th and 17th Centuries," *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* 66 (2): 303-56 (December 2018); Jeremy Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

十六世紀天主教,在耶穌會士為主的歐洲傳教士努力下,於 世紀末葉開啟在中國的發展歷史。最知名的早期耶穌會十利瑪竇, 其文化調適方法及對中國經典的詮釋使用,是十六世紀以來耶穌 會在中國歷史最為人知的一面。耶穌會在中國歷史研究的學術發 展,其實跟此息息相關,也因此利氏的視角多少形塑了很大一部 分過去學界的認知。這個視野的侷限,近來已多所討論。為了如 何以中文詞彙翻譯 God,由利氏開始的努力,開啟了這個最著名 的天主教在中國發展的翻譯爭議。God 與中國經典中「上帝」的 關係,是利氏中文代表著作《天主實義》的知名論述,也顯示他 開創性地在中國典籍和歷史中,為天主教定位。God 在中國定名 為「天主」,而「耶穌是誰」也一直是十六至十七世紀耶穌會中 文著作的首要議題。跟隨著這個議題,耶穌與天主某種意義上被 等同性地解讀,而在明末清初的這段時期,另一位最重要的天主 教人物應就是聖母瑪利亞。耶穌會十帶到中國的圖像,也是以天 主像和聖母像為兩大類別。然而,在大量論說耶穌或天主是誰中, 聖母瑪利亞是誰,是如何定義的?天主聖母在中國,有相當繁複 精彩的文化互動,但對照對耶穌及天主定義的論述,某些程度上, 它的定義不明。傳教士曾經給予的翻譯和解釋,中國讀者理解了 什麼和如何理解, 這類問題似乎很少被深究。然而, 天主教在中 國橫跨幾個世紀的歷史中,聖母信仰也被視為是深入民間的絕佳 範例,或者它獲致了最徹底的在地化。對中國人而言,若了解了 最重要的天主或耶穌是誰,那瑪利亞的角色是什麼?

本人認為,聖母瑪利亞在中國,是一段尚未被釐清的歷史。 但實際上在論述天主之意和耶穌救贖之神學,聖母有其教義上的 位階,也應該是不得不談的一個主角,但天主教在中國的論述, 她的身份及角色在不同文本中可以是紛歧而互相無關的。聖母定 義的混淆,從聖母與觀音圖像及信仰上的糾纏,也可以觀察得到。 聖母與觀音,或甚至其因果問題,幾乎等同是無解的雞蛋相生問 題。這個研究,希望將圍繞聖母瑪利亞在中國的許多爭議點,做 一個較為系統的比較和分析。聖母確實在中國經歷神祇化,與觀 音圖像學混淆的問題就是一個最重要的觀察點,這部分也顯示出 聖母瑪利亞在中國,可以與聖母傳播發展的世界史接軌,而過去 學界似乎還沒有給予一個嚴肅的討論。聖母在中國的發展,在聖 母的世界史中,有什麼歷史的意義?再者,聖母在中國的發展, 對中國的天主教歷史,究竟有什麼意義?在以上問題意識之下, 聖母是一個討論中國天主教史學之「歷史資源」和「方法論」很 好的主題。

聖母的中文翻譯

就如上言,傳教士如何「翻譯」聖母,是一個較少被討論的 議題。利氏在晚年寫就的《基督宗教傳入中國史》中,於 1583 年 10 月項下,提出「天主」一詞,並稱聖母為「天主聖母」。利氏 的中國紀錄類似他晚年回憶錄,故此統整詞彙之說,可視為在他 晚年時期已經確立之說。而若追溯早些耶穌會士羅明堅(Michele Ruggieri,1543-1607)的《新編西竺國天主實錄》,約在 1584 年 前已完成。聖母音譯為「媽利呀」,天主所擇「道女」,「不必 交感,遂化有孕」,而生耶穌,清楚說明無原罪受孕生子的聖母 形象。 4 另附於《天主實錄》之祈禱文〈拜告〉則稱為「仙媽利 呀天主聖母娘娘」。 5 這些佛道用詞後來在耶穌會脈絡雖不用, 但對聖母無原罪以及作為對天主代禱者之角色,已清楚定義。 6 到 1605 年左右初次完成的《天主教要》,已經看到「卒世童貞瑪

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⁴ 羅明堅:《新編西竺國天主實錄》,收入 Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink 編:《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻:Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus》(台北:台北利氏學社,2002;以下簡稱《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》),第 1 冊,頁 59、63。

⁵羅明堅:《新編西竺國天主實錄》,頁84。

⁶ 更多細節討論請見以本人下一文:陳慧宏:〈兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像: 兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉,《臺大歷史學報》59 期(2017 年 6 月), 百 81-83。

利亞,天主聖母,為我等祈,以致我等幸承基利斯督,所許洪 錫」之語。7上述文本已經詳盡解釋了天主聖母的角色以及與天 主的關係,從耶穌會士自己的中文著作,至少到 1600 年左右,天 主聖母瑪利亞的翻譯名稱及角色定位,已經定案,或已經有了一 個中文天主教義上的正式說法。作為一個包括天主經、聖母經、 要理問答和祈禱文等的《天主教要》,是一個信徒手冊。然而, 在《天主實義》比較傾向利氏的論説書籍中,重點是在於天主和 天主教的定義,聖母的角色實際上只限縮於「貞女」:「「天 主]……擇貞女為母,無所交感,託胎降生,名號為耶穌,耶穌即 救世也。」8 這句說明與上言《天主實錄》之「道女」,幾乎一 致,然《天主實錄》更多了聖母無原罪始胎的解釋:「媽利呀仍 前清潔,與未識人事者同。」9這點差異,可與胡國楨和藍克實 兩位《天主實義》英譯者的說法相符——《天主實錄》是一個絕 佳的初階教義問答(catechism),但《天主實義》由於缺乏關於 信仰啟示部分的說明,不可能作為一個教義問答,只能是一個 「福音前的對話」("pre-evangelical dialogue")。10 以中國天主教 史來說,影響較深遠的《天主實義》,對聖母的解釋幾乎不見。 這個「利氏」的中國天主教,聖母其實並不具備意義,「貞女」 或許說明無原罪始胎的部分意義,但文中沒有再說明,貞女一 詞,或是以當時中國認為的守貞與道德高尚之連結,來借用作為 對聖母之指稱。道女及貞女兩個詞彙,借用為翻譯聖母,對聖母

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 $^{^7}$ 《天主教要》,收入《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》第 1 冊,頁 336。

⁸ 利瑪竇: 《天主實義》,收入《天學初函》(台北:台灣學生書局, 1965),第1冊,頁628。

⁹羅明堅:《新編西竺國天主實錄》,頁59。

^{10 &}quot;Translators' Introduction," in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, trans. Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, S.J., ed. Edward J. Malatesta (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 13-15. 此書在 2016 年,由美國 Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College 出版再印擴充版,其書介亦強調利氏的重點在於"the purpose of life, human nature, and the existence of God." 換言之,天主之義和人類本性與之關係是為重心,這個對天主教中文化的說明方式,也可說是利氏開創的,是以他為中心的明末天主教教義說明代表作,流傳至日韓,影響不小。

的中文式理解是否產生如何的解讀,還待深究。康志杰對中國天主教貞女的研究,對獨身奉獻天主的中國貞女做了全面性的研究,聖母作為這群平信徒的最高女性典範也見於諸多資料。11 這部分在聖母貞女美德的強調上,確實可上溯至明末耶穌會中文著作中對聖母的翻譯,但同於明末亦可見聖母單一女神化的論述,似乎與貞女之謂又有重點不同的落差。如果從本文追溯的聖母中文文獻來看,《天主實義》單一強調聖母的貞女角色而無其他,是最與清代之後貞女之聖母信仰結合的。

《天主教要》對聖母無原罪和天主代禱者角色之定義,已經 清楚說明。對利氏作品詳細註解考證的德禮賢(Pasquale M. D'Elia, 1890-1963),指出利氏所著《基督宗教傳入中國史》中, 早在 1583 年 10 月就提到 Dottrina christana,即為《天主教要》 這類書籍,是專門給信徒之教義書,性質與《天主實義》略有不 同,後者不一定只給受洗信徒。12類似《天主教要》這類供信徒 使用的文本,從1600年後在耶穌會中文出版中,還為數不少,例 如聖母的祈禱用書,就有《誦念珠規程》、《天主聖教啟蒙》、 《聖母玫瑰經十五端》、《天主聖教日課》等。聖母的意義誘過念 珠玫瑰經的執行,逐漸在天主降生耶穌救世的教義中被說明及闡 釋。耶穌會十艾儒略(Giulio Aleni, 1582-1649)的《天主降生言 行紀略》(1635)和《天主降生出像精解》(1637),聖母之意 是作為耶穌之母親,為實現耶穌真正降於人世的重要工作,聖母 是人間母親受孕誕生耶穌:「降孕聖胎而生,真人而脈,乃知雖 為天主,亦真是人」,因此能讓世人「吾儕所當感恩而師法者。」 13 這個說明中,聖母是人母,在天主降生教義中不可缺席。艾儒

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¹¹ 康志杰:《基督的新娘——中國天主教貞女研究》(北京:中國社會科學出版社,2013),特別見頁 287-307。

¹² Pasquale M. d'Elia, Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615). Storia dell' introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina scritta da Matteo Ricci, 3 vols. (Roma, 1942-1949), 1: 193.

¹³ 艾儒略:〈天主降生言行紀略〉,收入《耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻》第4冊,頁46。

略兩書也不再使用道女及貞女,而聖母就是「聖母瑪利亞」。然在艾氏此著之前,約成於 1624 至 1629 年的《聖母行實》,卻傳遞些許不同的聖母形象。除了作為聖母無原罪童身受孕、和是作為天主代禱者之「天主之母」,聖母還是「母皇」,這是首次中文直譯出聖母之另稱"Queen of Heaven",亦可譯為「天后」。14至此聖母為天后之意才正式被翻譯和解釋。1631 年的《聖母經解》中,對母皇之意的說明,佔相當篇幅,其作為「……吾主耶穌之母,即天主降生之母,亦即天地萬物之母」,意義彰顯在為「諸天神之母皇」、「諸聖祖之母皇」、「諸先知之母皇」、「諸宗徒之母皇」、「諸致命之母皇」、「諸精修之母皇」、「諸童貞之母皇」、和「諸聖人之母皇」八個面向。15 然若從聖母聖像的圖像學來看,耶穌會士的文字翻譯還晚於圖像的引介。早於 1630年代已入明末中國的兩幅聖母聖像,表達聖母天后圖像學,早將聖母天后之意傳達。16

在艾儒略著作中,聖母是人母,在天主降生教義中不可缺席。 艾氏亦引用《聖母行實》來談聖母升天,將聖母的人性及神聖性, 實都做了完備的說明。但《聖母行實》更進一步的討論,就是李 奭學研究所言「三面瑪利亞」,呈現於該書卷三所談的聖母「靈 驗」和「奇蹟」。簡言之,聖母顯靈的諸多故事,顯示出聖母角 色神聖性的強調,《聖母行實》可能是首次有系統並大量地傳遞

 14 高一志:〈聖母行實〉,收入《天主教東傳文獻三編》(台北:台灣學生書局,1966),第 3 冊,卷 1,頁 7a(總頁 1297),和卷 2,〈欽崇聖母何義〉,頁 38a(總頁 1403)。從〈聖母行實〉所見聖母意義的解讀,最好也最詳盡的研究見李奭學:《譯述:明末耶穌會翻譯文學論》(香港:香港中文大學出版社,2012),頁 151-203;關於「母皇」,特見頁 196-197。

¹⁵ 羅雅谷:〈聖母經解〉,收入《法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻》(台北:台北利氏學社,2009),第 21 冊,頁 302-309。關於「母皇」一詞所具有的中文隱含,宋剛有精彩的分析:Song, "The Many Faces of Our Lady," 334-35.

¹⁶ 陳慧宏:〈兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉。

這個層面的聖母意義。¹⁷ 在明末的天主教,當了解聖母瑪利亞的 教義說明及重要意義後,聖母信仰應該是引導信者進入耶穌救世 和天主之意,但「靈驗」和「奇蹟」通常也指向一般民眾信仰層 次的脈絡。《聖母行實》對引介「靈驗」和「奇蹟」所給予的理 由是:

自聖母始胎,以迨升天,其間功德,為諸賢所讚美者,前論 已略析矣。茲述其所顯異跡,令人知所當趨,與所當避,以 致欽崇之全功,獲聖母之龍于不替焉。聖母至慈至靈,時感 時應,其靈驗聖跡,古今聖賢筆紀未能罄述。¹⁸

就所言異跡,是為了明瞭對聖母崇敬之由,並因此知道聖母之靈驗何在,事實上並不強調對天主了解的關係意義,反而顯示出聖母單獨信仰發展的可能,特別在靈驗及感應之意義上,為聖母發展為「獨立的」和「地方的」信仰,作了鋪陳。

另外,聖母童貞和貞女之意,也在地方上以另一種道德層次 形塑天主教社群的發展,就如上言康志杰的研究。所以當聖母在 中國可以為母皇之時,她亦是貞女。母皇或天后,瑪利亞可變成 有「神性」的女神,貞潔之道德崇尚,似乎又與儒家正統觀念連 結,雖然另有一類守身貞女,是與儒家傳統家庭觀中對女性角色 生育的預期,背道而馳。當中國讀者從他們的語彙和概念中以不 同面向的方式去理解,宗教的或非宗教的,聖母可能轉化為類似 的在地女神,而當這個角色出現,它與天主的關係,應該需要再 定義。

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¹⁷ 李奭學:《譯述:明末耶穌會翻譯文學論》,頁 151-203;——,〈三面瑪利亞—論高一志《聖母行實》裡的聖母奇蹟故事的跨國流變及其意義〉,《中國文哲研究集刊》34期(台北,2009),頁 53-110。

¹⁸ 高一志:〈聖母行實〉, 卷 3, 頁 1a-b (總頁 1421-1422)。

某種程度上,在明末耶穌會的中文著作中,聖母的神聖性和 升天,與天主唯一造物主之間的關係,以及其代禱角色的意義, 若回應到當時中國的宗教脈絡,這三個面向是完全異質的文化元 素?以《天主實義》的內容並流傳廣布來說,了解天主已經是中 國人了解天主教的第一項功課,了解聖母或為第二項,但代禱的 角色,中國的宗教信仰有類似的嗎?這兩個角色間的關係性,對 天主教有重大意義,但當聖母信仰似乎可獨立發展並在地化後, 這個天主與聖母的關係性是否也產生了變化?傳教士是不知道這 個可能產生質變,是漠視這個變化,還是運用了這個變化?再者, 以上幾項文本,其實是並存於明末中國的天主教脈絡,《天主實 義》和《聖母行實》都一直有再印,特別是前者版本很多,不止 作為利氏的「儒家天主教」代表作,也幾乎是明末天主教的指標 作品。若從《天主實義》的教義和神學來看,聖母一點也不重要。

再者,明末以來天主教還有一個另類的聖母角色解讀,就是從《易經》的陰陽之說。雖然明末邵輔忠《天學說》的解讀法似乎相當獨特,也可能並未流傳太多,但到清初法國耶穌會士索隱派的解經,《易經》佔有重要的地位。邵輔忠的聖母為「有坤之象焉,坤,母也,故懷子即天主」,而天主則「有震之象焉,震,乾之長男也,代乾行權」,以乾坤兩卦之概念理解天主及聖母的關係。19然《易經》中坤為地應服從於天之乾,陰陽對比又與天主教義其實並不相合。聖母若為坤為母,則絕不可能為「天」之「后」,這亦是邵氏沒有觸及的問題。20到索隱派耶穌會士白晉(Joachim Bouvet, 1656-1730),上帝是帝嚳,聖母是姜嫄,其子后稷則為神人兼備。21 聖母的角色作為母親,其實也意謂著耶穌是誰。

19 邵輔忠:〈天學說〉,收入《天主教東傳文獻續編》第 1 冊,頁 6a (總頁13)。

²⁰ 關於此文本的更詳盡討論,以下一文已處理:陳慧宏:〈兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉,頁 50-52,74-76。

²¹ 古偉瀛:〈明末清初耶穌會士對中國經典的詮釋及其演變〉,《臺大歷史學報》25 期(2000 年 6 月),頁 103-106。另,關於帝嚳,和相關的耶穌會士在十七世紀中國的翻譯,以及傳教士解讀中國史的討論,最新研究可見 Nicolas Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*:

在索隱解讀的耶穌會士心中,這個對古代經典溯源的做法,比起明末是再進一步追到中國最古老的經典(或其一),也是為了處理人類起源歷史的問題,因此點在中西雙方各自傳統中的說法還不一致。²² 聖母若解釋為姜嫄,但姜氏為人,不是童貞聖女而得受孕,與明末以來聖母的幾項定義,又有不合。就從明末到清初索隱派的文獻分析來看,聖母存在多種定義,而且彼此間甚至有衝突。我們是否可以再問,當白晉做出如此類同的解經時,他是否思考過聖母在天主教教義中的質變?

聖母在中國的圖像問題

在中國,就如同聖母的世界史所示,聖母信仰與其圖像緊密結合,因此更多的中國天主教中聖母的討論,亦集中在圖像上,雖然從明末以來,中國的聖母留存形象不多。聖母與觀音信仰與圖像結合或互用,是明末以來這雙圖像學最知名也最難解的問題,這也同時反映了聖母的在地化狀況,並不見於耶穌或天主像上。雍正時期禁教之後,中國天主教走向地下,或由民間教區自行運作,中國教會的在地化似乎更為全面,聖母信仰也更見在地深耕。羅孚在1910年於西安所獲的聖母抱子像,視覺上亦是一幅白衣觀音大士立像。然而,它的留存也經歷禁教之後的清末,和更可能為禁教時期的作品來看,它所顯現的聖母/觀音雙圖像學,放在清末中國天主教的發展史上,有何特殊的歷史意義?²³天主教在中

Chinese and European Stories about Emperor Ku and His Concubines (Leiden: Brill, 2016);

^{——, &}quot;Jesuit Accounts of Chinese History and Chronology and Their Chinese Sources," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine (EASTM)* 35 (2012): 11-87.

²² 這個議題的討論很多,可参看許理和(Erik Zürcher)較早一文的精要討論: "'In the Beginning': 17th-Century Chinese Reactions to Christian Creationism," in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture, ed. Chün-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 132-66.

²³ 將西安聖母像置於清末民初的脈絡再思考,參考本人以下一文:Hui-Hung Chen, "Shaping the Anthropological Context of the 'Salus populi

國幾個世紀以來,聖母信仰也被視為是深入民間的絕佳範例,或 者它獲致了最徹底的在地化。²⁴ 西安聖母像的留存到二十世紀, 應也是說明了一個歷時發展的成果。

再者,聖母/觀音雙圖像學的議題,可上溯自晚明,到清末 民初三百多年,聖母圖像或甚至信仰上與觀音混融借用的問題, 若配合聖母在文獻上定義的多樣,我們應該如何在整合這些史料 下,共同寫作聖母在中國發展的這段歷史?上述文字資料與圖像 資料似乎揭示了不同的議題,過去的研究或大多就圖像論圖像問 題,不論是傳教士借用了觀音,或觀音受到了聖母抱子像的影響 而有新的圖像等,兩種可見的推論都無法證實,也讓這個雙圖像 學的議題無法進一步討論。本人認為,無法進一步討論其實也牽 涉到,我們對聖母在中國天主教的發展歷史,所知不多甚有關係。

Sinensis' Madonna Icon in Xian, China," in *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90-116.

²⁴ Jean-Paul Wiest, "Marian Devotion and the Development of a Chinese Christian Art during the Last 150 Years," in *Jidu zhongjiao yu jindai zhongguo* 基督宗教與近代中國 (*Multi-Aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China*), ed. Weiying Gu and Xiaoyang Zhao (北京:社會科學文獻,2011), 187-221; Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*; 代國慶:《聖母瑪利亞在中國》(新北市:台灣基督教文藝出版,2014)。



圖1 聖母像,及其下方題記,《程氏墨苑》,約 1610 年,明萬曆滋 蘭堂原刊本,木刻,書尺寸 23.6*14.9 公分,國家圖書館(台北),索書 號 307.4 06841,◎圖片及版權:國家圖書館(台北)。

西安聖母像和《程氏墨苑》所收聖母木刻畫,是明末兩件唯一現存的天主教聖像類(icon)作品,西安像的歷史脈絡可上溯至明末,即使完成年代有爭議。²⁵《程氏墨苑》為徽州程君房(本名程大約,字幼博,1541-1610 後)出版之墨譜,其中的聖母一圖,出現年代在第二版的 1610 年(圖 1)。這兩個聖母聖像的圖像學,主要說明聖母無原罪及聖母為天后的兩層意義,換言之,圖像上所見較不為強調慈悲母親的陰柔女性面,而更在於天后之尊的神聖面,也呼應了後特倫托公會(Council of Trent,1545-1563)羅馬教會對這類圖像的倡導,和對聖母形象及特質的強調。然而,天后之尊的理解,如何與理解天主產生接軌?在還未發現傳教士有進一步文字說明之前,現有資料卻已經可以證實

²⁵ 關於這兩幅聖像更細緻的討論,參考本人以下出版:陳慧宏:〈兩幅 耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉。

聖母與觀音曾有的牽連:信教士人楊廷筠(1562-1627)駁斥聖母與觀音之不同,是首見的中文文字史料比較兩者,也顯示此文本《代疑篇》出現的 1621 年前,聖母與觀音的混淆已經出現。聖母在地化的容易,在於她易於被比附與在地女神類同,但困難也在於此:聖母不是「神」,以天主教來說,聖母與觀音是絕對需要區分的。聖母的主題,例證了「調適」的難題——過去對耶穌會在中國的觀察,大多在調適的成功,並以利瑪竇作為最代表性的人物。從 2007 年柏里安(Liam Brockey)的檔案研究,到 2009年梅歐金(Eugenio Menegon)對儒家天主教(Confucian Christianity)模式提出批判,兩位的研究對整體中國傳教區發展的性質,和如何思考過去所認知主導的利氏調適,都提出了批判性的思考。「聖母」的主題,比「天主」更呈現對這個議題多元討論的可能,因為以圖像及文字資料兩者而言,資料更為豐富,但各式說法也更見紛歧。

就如上言,聖母在地化的容易卻也是難題即為,聖母轉為在 地女神的話,卻與天主教神學背道而馳,而這個調適,似乎無助 於中國人了解耶穌,雖然過去學界甚至推論過,傳教士或許利用 了觀音信仰的普及,從聖母像與之類同來進行聖母的介紹甚而天 主教義的介紹。再者,西安聖母像,究竟是聖母抱子像的中國風 做法,或是白衣觀音像取材自羅馬古像,這兩種可能都有,在缺 乏進一步脈絡建構的可能時,而對真正使用欣賞它的中國人來說, 兩種圖像都是,還是必須擇一?這種討論的可能,使這類跨文化 混融的圖像學,有吸引人的神秘,卻也說明其難解甚至無解的文 化現象。再者,西安聖母像若是中國風的聖母抱子像,則耶穌頭 光消失,更顯示整幅圖的神聖人物只存在於女性立像,這絕非聖 母抱子像的圖像意義。而《程氏墨苑》所收聖母木刻畫,卻有標 題題為「天主」,雖然也是聖母抱子像,但天主究竟是哪一位, 在非基督宗教的文化理解中,解讀為中心女像亦相當可能。明末 以來,從圖像上已經看到借用觀音圖像學的可能,以及跨文化對 圖像解讀的難度。而且,這兩張聖像的解讀也隱含或預示了聖母 被單獨神祇化的可能。從圖像能觀察到的在地化,以聖母之例, 是可以觀察到文字資料所沒有呈現的可能文化互動。

世界史脈絡的思考

在天主教於非基督宗教文化發展的歷史中,聖母發展為獨立 女神,甚至信仰熱度超越耶穌,在西班牙美洲殖民史中是最顯著 的例子。其實,以耶穌會本身的發展來說,以耶穌命名自身團體, 就強調對耶穌為中心的信仰和神學之看重。早在羅耀拉(Ignatius de Loyola, 1491-1556) 時期,他所著的《神操》(Spiritual Exercises, 1548) ——耶穌會士最重要的靈修指導手冊, 其中提 到聖母出奇地少,即使有提到聖徒(saints)的祈禱,但卻並沒有 因此強調聖母,因為在天主教整體的聖徒信仰中,為首的就是聖 母,《神操》文本對聖母的著墨是非常冷淡的。對應早期耶穌會 歷史中聖母神蹟的意義,在如此重要的靈修指導中,聖母意義的 隱晦,著實耐人尋味。美國學者約翰·歐瑪雷(John O'Malley) 在提出《神操》的這點基督論(Christology)觀察時,更進一步 引述羅耀拉重要的助手耶穌會士那戴爾(Jerome Nadal, 1507-1580) 曾經說過的一句話:「注意避免聖徒的崇敬及祈求削弱了 對上帝的崇敬及祈求,後者應該總是增加中。後者也全然不同於 前者,而且全然地超越它。」26 在聖母信仰及圖像熱切發展的十 六世紀下半葉,耶穌會士似乎很清楚理解到聖母單一信仰過度化 的問題,其至發出警告。以耶穌為中心的取向,因應宗教改革新

²⁶ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 266-70; 那戴爾的引言在頁 269,歐瑪雷的英譯如下:"Take care lest devotion to the saints and their invocation weaken devotion to God and invocation of him, which ought always to be on the increase. The latter differs totally from the former and altogether excels it."

的神人關係的思考,中古時代發展以來的聖徒信仰確實面臨挑戰,在羅馬教會一樣也興起以基督為中心的信仰崇拜,耶穌會也是其一,由其組織名稱也可以獲得明證。²⁷ 但耶穌會士並沒有因此而有意地弱化聖母,但對其崇敬的警告,可以顯示出在會士及信徒雙方,因過度崇拜聖母所衍生的與上帝崇敬產生衝突的問題,確實不時發生。那戴爾本身最重要的著作之一,就是《福音史圖畫集》(Evangelicae Historiae Imagines,1593),跟羅馬大聖母堂的聖母抱子像一樣,是史料確記跟隨耶穌會士到達中國的物件,也是 1637 年在福建晉江出版的《天主降生出像經解》的圖像母本,後者可以稱得上是《福音史圖畫集》的中文翻譯簡縮版。那戴爾的想法,耶穌與聖母崇敬間的拿捏問題,與以耶穌為核心的《天主降生出像經解》之中文出版,之間有否何關係性,及其或許影響了中國天主教在形塑階段的內涵等問題,都還值進一步研究。

再者,羅馬大聖母堂的聖母抱子像,是 1569 年在教宗庇護五世(Pius V,在位 1566-1572)的核准下進行複製。然而,庇護五世早先於 1566 年,廢止了羅馬聖母大殿聖母升天日的大規模遊行,似乎與複製聖像提倡聖母信仰的做法剛好相反。羅馬聖母大殿的聖母抱子像是一個拜占庭傳統的古聖像,因為傳言為聖路加原始所畫或與其相關,大約六至七世紀或更早被帶到羅馬。它的信仰的起源跟這個聖像的神蹟力量有關,而它最早的傳世神蹟,就是教宗額我略一世(Gregory I,即 Gregory the Great,在位 590-604)在 590 年,手持此聖像在羅馬街頭遊行,為當時瘟疫流行的羅馬祈福,當遊行隊伍走到聖伯多祿大殿(St. Peter's Basilica)前,大天使彌額爾(Archangel Michael)出現在聖天使城堡(Castel Sant'Angelo,羅馬教會和教宗的守護城堡)上方,作勢將

²⁷ William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 31-33; Gianni Criveller, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China* (Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute, in collaboration with Fondazione Civiltà Brescian, Brescia, Italy, 1997).

有血跡的匕首放入劍鞘,表示他將以保護力非武器結束瘟疫。之後大約在九世紀,該聖像已被視為羅馬人的保護主,這個長期與羅馬緊密關聯的傳統,是它後來獲致尊號「羅馬人民的救贖」(Salus Populi Romani)之主因。

羅馬聖母大殿的建置,亦跟八月雪神蹟(Miracle of the Snow) 是有關的,此亦是羅馬與聖母的另一個神蹟。據聞在 352 年,聖 母顯靈在當時教宗利貝里烏斯(Liberius,在位 352-366)與另一 位貴族的夢中,聖母傳遞了要為她在羅馬阿斯奎林山丘 (Esquiline Hill)建立教堂的訊息,她指示他們將會在那裡發現白 雪,那時是八月。結果夢醒第二天,兩位做夢者果真前往山丘, 在那邊發現蓋滿白雪,因此促成了教宗在現場建置教堂,也就是 羅馬聖母大殿的起源。28後來再配合上8月15日的聖母升天節日, 這個盛大節慶活動,是羅馬聖母大殿的年度盛事,然牽洗到大量 信徒及聖像出巡等諸多細節,應是後庇護五世廢止活動的重要因 素,因其理由之一是大眾信徒或有不當行為減損了事件的神聖性。 此無疑顯示出某種官方力量對信徒行為約束的想法,也顯示出即 使在十六世紀下半葉,當羅馬教會極力透過特倫托大公會議 (Council of Trent)改革教會、盲揚圖像的宗教及教育性、並大力 護衛教會的傳統,諸如聖母信仰等,但對正統性等行為分寸問題, 特別牽涉到圖像和禮儀,也有其相當保守的一面。這個氛圍下, 聖母在地化的議題,不論在內涵或圖像表達上,若有挑戰正統規 節的可能,或處在邊界的模糊地帶時,不難理解也許相對應的警 告聲音就會出現。特倫托大公會議雖然維護了圖像使用的傳統意 義,但也在這波天主教改革中,圖像使用的範圍及合理性,受到 諸多神學家和藝術家的討論,例如 Johannes Molanus (Jean

²⁸ 以上關於大聖母堂的諸多背景,參見 Steven Ostrow, Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-4, 118-25; Reinhold Baumstart, ed., Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten (München: Hirmer Verlag; Bayerisches National Museum, 1997), 492-93.

Vermeulen,1533-1585)的 De picturis et imaginibus sacris(On Sacred Images,1570),和 Gabriele Paleotti(1522-1597)的 Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane(Discourse on the Sacred and Profane Images,1582)。 29 本人先前曾對徐光啟(1562-1633)署名的《造物主垂像畧說》(1615)進行過研究,其中對「聖像」的意義,與 Molanus 的闡釋互相呼應:聖像可以或應該再現「實體」,因此能夠引導觀者體會它所再現的主體,如耶穌或聖母,因此聖像可以作為崇敬的對象,因為它不會再現超出合理範疇的其他意義。 30 當然,就如張琼(Qiong Zhang)指出,若既要傳遞一個本質和實體上無誤的聖像(從其歐洲原生的角度),又要配合中國觀者作出調適,或以順應中國人理解的方式引介聖像,假設傳遞和調適兩者傳教士都做到的話,卻正也顯示出一種有趣的矛盾(intriguing paradox)。 31

這類對聖像的思維,對研究聖母的海外傳播是很有意義的角度,因為聖母的跨文化引介,圖像的層面常先於文字及教義的層面,聖像意義的翻譯與使用,有時亦主導了聖母在地如何被理解。再者,以上對於聖母信仰或圖像可能的疑慮,幾乎還沒在中國傳教的歷史脈絡中被討論。對耶穌會文化調適的正面理解,也幾乎是一般的認知,而在這樣的認知中,我們很少去注意到耶穌會士

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²⁹ Johannes Molanus, Traité des saintes images (Louvain 1570, Ingolstadt 1594), ed. François Bœspflung, Olivier Christin, Benoît Tassel, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1996); Gabriele Paleotti, Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane, in Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento: Fra Manierismo e Controriforma, ed. Paola Barocchi, vol. 2 (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1961).
³⁰ Hui-Hung Chen, "A Chinese Treatise Attributed to Xu Guangqi (1615): How the Jesuits in China Defined 'Sacred Images'," in Europe Meets China, China Meets Europe: The Beginnings of European-Chinese Scientific Exchange in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, Bernhard Führer, and Therese Geulen (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2014), 71-101.

³¹ Qiong Zhang, Review of Europe Meets China, China Meets Europe: The Beginnings of European-Chinese Scientific Exchange in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, Bernhard Führer, and Therese Geulen, Journal of Jesuit Studies 3 (2016): 515.

對文化調適方面的負面想法。32 就如中國的聖母/觀音的雙向議題,過去研究多從產生調適互融的正面性去理解,鮮少思考傳教士可能的焦慮,一如那戴爾的警語,如何在其中共同被考慮,這應是中國聖母主題可以進一步探討的世界史角度。

另一個世界史角度來看中國,是美洲案例所提供的比較性思考。若聖母與觀音,或中國女神產生的概念或圖像上的混融互動,確實與美洲聖母像和信仰發展可以類比,這個現象在中國東南沿海,觀音信仰盛行地區的發展,值得注意。上言《國家地理雜誌》稱墨西哥的瓜達露佩聖母像(Virgin of Guadalupe),是「世上被複製最多的女性形象之一」,其由早期流傳聖母曾經顯靈的故事,到逐步發展成廣布的聖母信仰,後變成聖母朝聖中心的顯靈地Tepeyac,之前就是地方女神Tonantzin的聖地,因此兩者比擬的認同很可能發生,也是促成後來聖母信仰生根的助力(圖 2)。後於1737年,瓜達露佩聖母被正式聲明為墨西哥的主保。331999年,教宗若望保祿二世(John Paul II,1920-2005)再聲明瓜達露佩聖母為全美洲主保(Patron saint of the Americas)。34這個起源於西班牙瓜達露佩一地的聖母,在中古晚期已具名聲,後再從美洲傳回西班牙,美洲對其再創造,使其信仰更具普世性的宗教意涵。35另一個有神蹟的聖母,是Virgin of Copacabana,1580年代

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³² 對耶穌會文化調適議題的一個比較研究,以下作者就提出,過去對耶穌會太容易接受異文化而調整基督宗教內涵的批評,最極致的例子就是中國,見 Andrés I. Prieto, "The Perils of Accommodation: Jesuit Missionary Strategies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4 (2017): 395-414.

³³ 瓜達露佩聖母像的研究很多,以下專著是廣被閱讀的其中一種,而 1990 年代關於拉丁美洲研究才剛開始在學界受到重視之時,這本書應名列關於此主題的首著之一:Stafford Poole, C.M., Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).

³⁴ D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix, Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³⁵ William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 14 (1): 9-10 (1986).

興起於秘魯,Copacabana 是之前一位印加神,而與瓜達露佩聖母像一樣,地方因之前所有神祇信仰的神聖性,可能也是促成這個聖母信仰在地化建構之因。這過程中,融合和取代兩個概念可能是很難區分的。再者,在南美玻利維亞(Bolivia)盛產銀礦的Potosi,有「山地聖母」(Virgin of the Mountain, Virgen del Cerro),亦起源盛行於十六世紀,在其圖像中,聖母描繪成與山地結合的形象,類似一位山地女神,因此聖母也被認為是物質及精神兩方面寶藏之來源,聖母不論在圖像及概念上,就是一位在地守護銀礦的山地神祇。36 這些與地方文化互動,甚至因此形塑獨特的地方聖母信仰及圖像,在中國聖母/觀音雙圖像可能面臨的文化調適和挑戰,其實與這樣的發展背景有極大的類似性,不過在中國的例子,還未得到更仔細的整體研究。對於中國之例在聖母傳布的全球史中進行比較研究,還待努力。



Nstra. Señora de Guadalupe

圖 2 瓜莲露佩聖母像(Our Lady of Guadalupe),Photo reproduction, Basilica of Santa María de Guadalupe, Mexico City

³⁶ Marjorie Trusted, *The Arts of Spain: Iberia and Latin America 1450-1700* (University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 174-79; Linda B. Hall, *Mary, Mother, and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995); Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Christina Esteras Matrtín, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 259-68.

再者,中國的程氏聖母像之原圖,可追溯至西班牙塞維亞主教座堂(Cathedral of Seville or Sevilla)的古像,一如羅馬聖母大殿之拜占庭古聖像,有長遠的傳統。程氏聖母像是根據一個日本銅版母本,其下拉丁文題記提到,這幅古像是為紀念卡斯提爾(Castile)國王費迪南三世(Ferdinand III,統治時期 1217-1252)與回教摩爾人征戰,於拿下塞維亞城之勝戰後製作。或另一傳說為這幅聖母古像原為主教座堂壁畫,因在回教時代教堂被轉為清真寺,古像因此被隱藏於壁面下層,1248 年費迪南三世征服後,重修教堂才再見天日。據說費迪南在一連串對抗回教世界的戰役中,攜帶聖母像並虔心祈求聖母保護,所以征城成功後,聖母被認為是征服及勝利的象徵,特別是爭戰異教成功的勝利象徵。這個逐漸演變的聖母信仰,在西班牙征戰美洲時,特別被傳述。37 塞維亞古像,因此被視為能對異教展現神蹟,為天主贏得勝利。這個與西班牙與美洲有關的象徵意涵,是否有隨著塞維亞古像在中國的再製,傳遞到中國而被討論,尚不得而知。

本人有一個初步觀察,例如聖母形象在美洲的塑造,經常以在地媒材製作,或穿上在地材質的衣服及加上特殊當地元素裝飾等,由這些物質面向顯示出不同於當時西班牙的聖母像,這個特色其實是很值得注意,因為它們已經表示了明顯在地化的努力,也就是一種從物質上做文化性調適,希冀轉向精神上和宗教上的認同。美洲聖母像也在人物面容上替換掉歐洲樣貌的聖母,最經典的代表就是美洲的瓜達露佩聖母像,又被稱為「黑聖母」(Dark Virgin, Black Madonna)——黑膚面容並穿上在地服飾的女神形象,不同於其西班牙原型。38 雖然不盡然是每一例都如此,但相對上,當研究聖母/觀音雙圖像混融議題時,美洲案例上述特色的發展,可以給中國之例一些觀察的視角,並由比較研究得出一些世界史脈絡的分析。1924 年,中國全國主教會議宣布的標準

³⁷ Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
³⁸ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (orig. 1996; New York: History Book Club, 2005), 78-79.

中華聖母像,以及當時流傳的幾件中國聖母圖,面容是否完全是中國人物形象,還存在不確定的解讀,但聖母聖子兩位人物,卻是明顯著裝中國宮廷式服飾(圖 3)。過去說法,大多集中在人物面容轉變的問題上來談圖像的漢化。³⁹從美洲十六世紀案例就已顯示,或許服飾及物質條件的調適,就已經達到一種聖母像的「漢化」,或圖像主角已經被視為一個「在地的」聖母。



以上說明地方文化的力量,甚至因此形塑獨特的地方聖母信仰及圖像,中國聖母/觀音雙圖像所可能面臨的文化調適和挑戰, 與這樣的發展有類似性,不過中國之例,尚未得到仔細的整體研究,而如何放在聖母傳布的全球史中來進行,也尚待努力。

³⁹ 宋稚青:《中華聖母敬禮史話》(台南:聞道出版社,2005); Wiest, "Marian Devotion and the Development of a Chinese Christian Art during the Last 150 Years," 187-221.

觀音:民間宗教和信仰

若論聖母觀音混融及互動,明末以來中國的北方和南方,也 有不同的條件。白衣觀音形象但據歐洲聖母母本的西安聖母像, 是在北方,高一志初出版《聖母行實》是在山西絳州。再者,山 西和陝西兩地,在耶穌會十七世紀及後來發展的階段,因地緣一 直與北京傳教區有最主要的往來。《聖母行實》的三位耶穌會士 審定者,龍華民(Niccolò Longobardo, 1565-1655)、羅雅谷 (Giacomo Rho, 1610-1638) 和湯若望 (Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1591-1666), 皆於 1620-30 年代在山陝和北京活動。湯若 望約在 1622 年後去西安,傳言著有《聖母堂記》,這文本僅存陳 垣紀錄說曾見其抄本,其他著錄未見。40 湯氏也是這邊所提幾位 傳教十中,後來在北京最有發展紀錄的,北京與西安後續發展的 關係,可否從湯氏身上獲得觀察,還待研究。《聖母行實》若是 首次勾勒出神蹟聖母的文本,則顯靈和母皇的概念,是否特別在 北方脈絡發展?顯靈及神蹟,是觀音信仰的顯著特徵,亦是毫無 疑義的。據李奭學對《聖母行實》文本分析,「三面瑪利亞」之 第三面即為「送子觀音」,是反應本土化女神信仰影響之一面, 或可顯示《聖母行實》中觀音信仰借用之可能。41 再者,徐光啟 的〈景教堂碑記〉中,提及絳州東南興建教堂,是由韓霖和韓雲 兩兄弟捐資籌劃,兩位皆從徐氏學兵法,而兩位信教士人還留有 其他文獻。42 若聖母與觀音的關係在山陝可見,則這與韓氏兄弟 與另位信教士人王徵(1571-1644)對地方天主教發展的影響等,

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⁴⁰ 陳垣之說在 1930 年,此處轉引自以下一文:顧衛民:〈中國的湯若望介紹與研究的回顧(1799-1992)〉,收入朱維錚主編:《基督教與近代文化》(上海:上海人民出版社,1994),頁112。

⁴¹ 李奭學:《譯述:明末耶穌會翻譯文學論》,頁 181-191。

⁴² 徐光啟:〈景教堂碑記〉,收入徐光啟撰,王重民輯校:《徐光啟集》 (台北:明文書局,1986),頁 532。關於韓霖,最細緻和精彩的研究參 考黃一農:《兩頭蛇:明末清初第一代天主教徒》(新竹:國立清華大 學出版社,2005),頁 229-310。

有否關連性也可以再深究。以上是對西安像和《聖母行實》相關 背景的追索。

在歐洲,聖母變成一個信仰(cult),在中古時期, Elisabeth Johnson 就定義其為中古時期精神崇敬面向上(medieval spirituality) 最顯著的一個特徵。從修道院內的崇敬開始,從教會、 神職人員到一般大眾,它演變成西方基督宗教內一個表示親密性 和廣泛性的元素 ("intimate and pervasive element") ——瑪利亞成 為一個中介的母親,介於帶罪者和耶穌之間,她在中古晚期已經 是一個基督宗教崇敬對象人性化最絕對之例("full-blown personalizing of Mary"), 連帶地,耶穌與她的個別性關係也被著 意凸顯。瑪利亞是耶穌的母親,擁有耶穌最多的神聖恩寵,也在 人類救贖上,能扮演最令人信服的代禱者。聖母從一個被崇敬與 祈禱的對象——「客體」(object),演變成一位行動的「主體」 (acting subject),也在其普及化的發展中,變成民間基督宗教很 重要的一面,與諸位聖徒一樣,聖母和聖徒的信仰,是中古基督 宗教最具特色的時代發展。43 它們的興盛,與一般信眾的宗教需 求之間是互相成長刺激的,而各式祈禱、圖像、方言手冊、和朝 聖等宗教物件及行為,都與聖母和聖徒的信仰脫離不了關係。在 宗教改革時期,聖母和聖徒信仰所受到的強烈抨擊,也表示了它 們在地的深根和普及。當馬丁·路德(Martin Luther, 1483-1546) 開始的新教神學家強調聖經的唯一權威性,而聖母因為聖經的文 本脈絡並不足以證明其信仰的諸多面向時,這個聖經權威的取向 很容易也合理地排除聖母於正統信仰之列。然而聖母和其信仰, 就更成為聖經權威和教義發展兩者二分下的一個主要分歧點—— 後者在十六世紀下半的天主教改革中,再度獲得教會法規的認定, 聖母的教義及信仰的傳統,因此都是羅馬教會定義天主教的關鍵

⁴³ Elizabeth A. Johnson, "Marian Devotion in the Western Church," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 392-410;上面兩個引文各出自頁 392 和 393。

要素。44 聖母學(Mariology)既然跟隨著教義的歷史發展,並與 護衛傳統是有關的,則她的神聖性絕不是在於轉化成單一女神而 獲致,而是在她與耶穌的獨特關係上。

然而在像明末,當耶穌的定義對大部分中國人都還很陌生之 時,紹出聖母學的多樣詮釋就有可能發生。在中國,天主教诱過 耶穌會士與儒家士人有諸多互動,而從宗教傳播及文化史的角度 來說,它則對明末中國人提供了一個新的宗教觀和宇宙觀。所以 若從宗教傳遞及交流互動的面向來看,天主教的「競爭對象」, 就是儒釋道三教,或三教合一,或其他的各式民間宗教和信仰。 在此指稱,採用歐洲漢學家柯若樸(Philip Clart)的定義:民間 宗教傾向指有組織的宗教,民間信仰則指涉廣泛的地方或社群信 仰等。45 聖母觀音混融互動的問題,應該從這個方向來檢視,因 為觀音在明末,正是一個橫貫佛道及各式民間宗教和信仰的宗教 人物,它與聖母若從圖像史料看來有所互動,那是否在說明這個 競爭關係的任何意義?觀音作為菩薩,發展成一個具特色的信仰, 它最顯著的宗教角色即在於慈悲及救世。觀音信仰及傳播,中國 有最關鍵的地位,西方學者尊其為半個亞洲都信奉的女神,而在 這個女神傳統中,最為突出的就是中國女性化的觀音。46 觀音因 為自身可以獨立行使救苦救難之能力,或賜子等福報之給予,因 此與天主教聖母意義上實不同。聖母是祈禱者與天主間的中介代 禱者,天主才是救世者。而在道教各宗派的救世信仰中,諸神祇

⁴⁴ 路德、新教和聖母的論述及演變,可見 Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*, 13-15, 153-63.

⁴⁵ Philip Clart 柯若樸主編:《Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions 中國民間宗教、民間信仰研究的中歐視角》(台北:博揚文化/萊比錫孔子學院合作出版,2012),頁 IV; Philip Clart, "The Concept of 'Popular Religion' in the Study of Chinese Religions: Retrospect and Prospects," 收在魏思齊(Zbigniew Wesolowski, SVD)主編:《輔仁大學第四屆漢學國際研討會:「中國宗教研究;現況與展望」》(台北:華裔學志漢學研究中心、輔仁大學出版社,2007),頁166-203。

⁴⁶ Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University, 2001), 1-7.

有時確實被視為天界與人界的代禱者(intercessors and mediators),而信者為了救贖和超生,需要敬拜神祇來祈求更高境界的獲致。在道教這個禮儀中,代禱者的幫助,大多並不牽涉指引信者更有意識地、並更複雜地理解天或天界。47 中國的宗教,其實沒有提供同樣聖母意義的角色,讓天主教聖母為了中國化而可以直接仿效,或在同質層面進行取代。當然,這個推論多少有些後見之意,文化交流常就是在轉譯或誤解中產生意義,即使沒有同樣的中國宗教的聖母,也並不代表中國宗教圖像中就一定需要抗拒天主教聖母。只是上面更細緻的思考,可以讓我們有更清楚的理解,聖母和觀音的互融,或許有很多層面的解讀,不只僅是因為形似,她們兩者就一定會進行宗教意義的互轉。48

至於在南方,普陀山的觀音聖地約在十三世紀後正式建置,中國東南沿海觀音信仰因此更見興盛,而同此地緣最盛的海神信仰,就是媽祖,正是歐洲傳教中心澳門最重要的地方女神。觀音與媽祖,在傳說生平故事上屢見混融或轉借,而觀音被再詮釋與轉化而與民間無生老母有關,都可見於明末的江南地區。從長江下游、普陀山、到福建北方,這一個廣大的區域,或模糊地指涉為長江下游的江南,不只民間無生老母信仰興盛,也是明末耶穌會重要的傳教區,並一路發展到清代。其實,我們從明末的耶穌會出版及相關圖像,是可以清楚看到天主是救世主的觀念,已經藉由白話文本在傳遞,例如徐光啟的《造物主垂象畧說》,就以白話語調說明耶穌是救世者,又稱造物主或天主,因為降生為人所以得見其聖像。以徐光啟的地緣,此白話小冊大約流通於松江

⁴⁷ 關於道教的諸神代祇角色,參考 Yü, Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation, 17.

^{**}本人另有一篇論文討論聖母神化與觀音在明末的關係,即聖母之天后 意義,促成在地方文化將聖母神祇化,因此與觀音的互動就更可見,見 陳慧宏:〈明末天主教聖母圖像所見的聖母神化與觀音信仰〉,《國際 比較文學》,第1卷第1期(上海,2018),頁61-75。

一帶的江南地區,也在而後南京教難時被官方文書提及。49

當然,具體指出聖母與觀音信仰的互通或混淆,就是明末信 教士人楊廷筠的《天釋明辨》,其〈觀世音〉一節:

西國奉事天主者,無不度奉聖母,藉之轉求,故所繪聖像, 有天主手撫天地者,有瑪利亞手捧 耶穌者,像有多端,而 聖母手捧則第舉出生之一時事……而竺國摹仿其事,遂以慈 悲救難歸之觀世音……令世之女流,便於奉事,其迹雖近似, 而來歷大相懸矣50。

另楊氏的另著《代疑篇》(1621),是目前唯一最早對聖母抱子像及聖母童貞生子提供天主教教義「正確」解釋的中文史料,文末也明確表示聖母與觀音之不同。⁵¹ 楊氏的文本顯示兩者相近和相同的意見可能頗為普及,楊氏為浙江杭州人,活動範圍亦是江南。因此,西安聖母像的兩者類同關係之視覺表現,在明末應該並非孤例。

就如鐘鳴旦(Nicolas Standaert)的楊廷筠研究指出,中國傳統並沒有天主教所言個人創世的觀念,除了民間宗教的無生老母信仰。⁵² Richard Shek 稱此信仰是所謂的中國「另類道德宇宙觀」("alternative moral universe")中最顯著的一個,亦即非儒家正統的「異端」。⁵³ 無生老母是一個中央化的中心女神,存在甚多不

⁴⁹ 徐光啟述:《造物主垂象畧說》,收入《天主教東傳文獻三編》(臺 北:台灣學生書局, 1966),第 2 冊,頁 547-563; 另參見 Chen, "A Chinese Treatise Attributed to Xu Guanggi (1615)," 71-101.

⁵⁰ 楊廷筠:《天釋明辨》,收入《天主教東傳文獻續編》(台北:台灣學生書局,1966),第 1 冊,〈觀世音〉,頁 22b-23a(總頁 284-285)。 51 陳慧宏:〈兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉, 百 98-99。

⁵² Nicolas Standaert, *Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China: His Life and Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 110.

⁵³ Richard Shek, "The Alternative Moral Universe of Religious Dissenters in Ming-Qing China," in *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China*,

同的民間秘密教派中。從較早白蓮教未來神彌勒佛,到明中葉後 無牛老母,前者還較多地在降牛救世的未來意義,後者無牛老母 則成了創世主和女上帝,同時又是救世主,在她的完整意義上, 其實與天主教之耶穌最為吻合。54 當時普遍流行的觀音信仰,也 在救世的意義,不在創造宇宙。所以明末以來,最流行的兩個救 世信仰,就是觀音與無生老母。大眾誦唸法華或觀世音,在劫難 時冀望得到拯救,已經是明末民間佛教很熟悉的觀音信仰特質。 宋剛的研究也推論,明末觀音女神救世信仰的普及,為聖母信仰 的引進提供一個有利的環境。55在這個思維下,我們應該可以加 入無生老母的更大脈絡,因為跟很多中國民間神祇一樣,無生老 母有時也被視為是觀音的化身。民間宗教或信仰的普及和通俗化, 其來世救贖的觀念是很重要的,幾乎是幾個較大派別的中心思想。 耶穌作為一位救世主,在宗教性質理解上,幾乎很難不與這個民 間觀念混融。再者,若我們在聖母/觀音圖像上,思索聖母被女 神化的可能,則明末天主教在最重要的兩位人物,耶穌與聖母, 都得見與民間宗教和信仰的關係。上述兩幅明末的聖母聖像,在 與中國觀者的宗教經驗接軌上,確實相當有可能在於「女神救世」 的觀念。比起耶穌或天主,聖母主題提供更明顯的一個跨文化互 動因素。

Russia, and the West, ed. James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13-51.

 $^{^{54}}$ 關於無生老母,參考以下:Shek, "The Alternative Moral Universe";Yü, Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation, 412-413, 449-486;喻松青:《民間秘密宗教經卷研究》(台北:聯經出版,1994),頁 30;洪美華:〈明末清初秘密宗教思想信仰的流變與性質〉,收入《明清之際中國文化的轉變與延續學術研討會論文集》(台北:文史哲出版,1991),頁 587-629;鄭志明:《無生老母信仰溯源》(台北:文史哲出版,1985),頁 1-3。

⁵⁵ Gang Song, "Between Bodhisattva and Christian Deity: Guanyin and the Virgin Mary in Late Ming China," in *The Constant and Changing Faces of Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia*, ed. Deepak Shimkhada and Phyllis K. Herman (New Castle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 117-18.

若無生老母提供女神中心一系的另類宇宙觀,則其羅教一系 有關的各秘密教派在江南的流行,與耶穌會在此區的大量活動, 究竟有否關係,是很值得深究的。唯一談過天主教在明末與秘密 教派「無為教」關係的,就是歐洲學者田海(Barend J. ter Haar)。 他實際舉出從無為教轉信到天主的例子,就是集中在明末江南地 區的杭州及福建北方。而天主教在多次教難常被官方類同於白蓮 教,也在田海更早的研究中,做過部分的分析。56 田海最重要的 論證,就是天主教進到中國,其實很大程度上與各式的新興宗教 派別(new religious group),彼此互動及挑戰。田海認為,作為 一個組織性的宗教,傳教士和羅馬教會,並不會認同天主教在此 跨文化脈絡中被解讀為新興教派。雖然此說有後設立場的推斷, 但呼應於明末傳教士對佛道兩教的漸行漸遠,並與儒家正統尋求 結合,天主教與民間秘密宗教與信仰,正因為正統與否,更不可 能有任何牽連關係,也因此相當影響了研究者的視角。耶穌會十 與佛道兩教的互動,近些年來也已有具體研究觸及,這些思維應 該超出以儒家正統範疇來觀察耶穌會的方式,甚至可以更進一步 說明耶穌會與佛教或民間信仰在明末的曖昧關係。57

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⁵⁶ Barend J. ter Haar, "The Non-Action Teachings and Christianity: Confusion and Similarities," in 柯若樸:《中國民間宗教、民間信仰研究的中歐視角》,頁 295-328; Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (1st ed., 1992; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

⁵⁷ 古偉瀛:〈從羅明堅到利瑪竇:早期教會詞彙中譯的演變〉,「跨國界的文化傳釋:東亞各國間的文化交流跨學科研究計畫」講論會論文(台北:臺大文學院,2013);古偉瀛:〈啼聲初試:重讀羅明堅的教會詞彙〉,收入姚京明、郝雨凡編:《羅明堅〈中國地圖集〉學術研討會論文集》(澳門:澳門特別行政區政府文化局,2014),頁 242-261;Liming Song, "Two Daoists Who Encountered Matteo Ricci in Nanjing: Xingshenzi 醒神子 and Li Chedu 李徹度," Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal 37 (2015): 1-11; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China," in Christianity and Cultures: Japan and China in Comparison 1543-1644, ed. M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 30-40; 夏伯嘉:〈宗教信仰與夢文化:明清之際天主教與佛教的比較探索〉,《中央研究院歷史語言研究就所集刊》,第 76 本第 2 分(2005 年 6 月),頁 209-248。



圖 4 The Virgin and Child, carved ivory statuette, Hispano-filipino or Chinese, ca. 1700-1720 ©圖片及版權: Victoria and Albert Museum, U.K., no.: 1459-1902.



圖 5 德化窯白釉觀音像,約 1690,高 13.5*長.3.5*寬 6 公 分,廣東省博物館藏(筆者 攝)。

再者,日本禁教後所產出的瑪利亞觀音,很多白瓷形象卻來自福建工坊,而福建的工匠移民,是菲律賓華人的主體,據說他們也因優秀的技術被西班牙教區聘請製作教會或教堂所需儀式物件等,包括聖母像。而菲律賓的工藝品,就是透過馬尼拉大航海船(Manila Galleon)的航線,運送至美洲和西班牙。現在所謂中國風的物件,十六世紀以降在這些地方的出現,都應是來自呂宋。58 再者,十六世紀印度洋的象牙貿易,讓沿海港口與葡萄牙及西班牙因商貿而結合,中國的廣州、澳門、和福建漳州等,也在這個國際貿易網絡中。聖母或耶穌聖子,是這段時期的象牙雕像主

⁵⁸ 現今西班牙的歷史和藝術史研究,都已經有了這部分世界史的視野,例如 Trusted, *The Arts of Spain: Iberia and Latin America*, 191-205; Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *Namban: Art in Viceregal Mexico* ([Madrid]: Estiloméxico Editores, 2005).

題之一,特別是聖母,歐式到中國風格都可見,或研究上慣稱為 中葡(Sino-Portuguese)、中西(Sino-Spanish)、或中菲(Sino-Filipino)、或西菲(Hispano-Filipino)風格的象牙雕,數量不少 (圖 4)。59 近些年更有 1601 年的馬尼拉大航海沈船遺跡報告出 版,在其中發現超過 300 件的象牙雕,聖母抱子、聖嬰、和聖徒 故事等主題皆有。60 這類象牙雕皆不大,約手掌大小,或為教堂 或教友使用,或早期研究者 Derek Gillman 認為大多為裝飾小物為 賞玩之用,雖然它所包含的宗教人物主題相當多,除了以上的基 督宗教類別,還有中國神祇人物等。61 這個象牙貿易,加上白瓷 外銷瓷器貿易—以德化窯為中心(圖 5),這個含括在中國東南 沿岸的浙江、福建、廣東,以及日本、呂宋、美洲和西班牙的貿 易網絡,也是一個聖母/觀音/媽祖共現並存的發展脈絡,福建工匠 對聖母抱子主題的興趣及關心,加上來自觀音/媽祖的女神信仰核 心地區,在製作經驗及地緣上,都有相當程度地跨主題重疊。這 樣的世界史還有待深究。就如《國家地理雜誌》的專題所示,聖 母信仰是一個世界性連結的宗教現象。62 聖母與觀音在中國的互 動,特別在圖像發展上,讓這個世界史脈絡具體呈現。

⁵⁹ Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1984); Portuguese Expansion Overseas and the Art of Ivory (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991).

⁶⁰ Marjorie Trusted, "Survivors of a Shipwreck: Ivories from a Manila Galleon of 1601," *Hispanic Research Journal* 14 (5): 446-62 (October 2013).

⁶¹ Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing, 35-64.

⁶² 對亞洲女神的研究,也將聖母/觀音議題引入的以下論文集,兩位編者就特別指出,相比於西方,亞洲的女神傳統豐富而多樣:Deepak Shimkhada and Phyllis K. Herman, eds., *The Constant and Changing Faces of Goddess: Goddess Traditions of Asia* (New Castle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008). 論文集所收宋剛的研究,上已提及,認為聖母及觀音在信仰和圖像上的互通,傳教士似乎也策略性地促成這類誤解,見 Song,"Between Bodhisattva and Christian Deity," 101-20。在上述編者鋪陳的思考下,聖母隨著傳教士進入中國,也進入了一個豐富的女神信仰地區,它們對聖母信仰的互動關係,理當值得更細緻的研究。

從明末到二十世紀,中國在圖像和文字雙方面對聖母進行過如何的翻譯,是這個統整但也初步探究的出發點,而聖母議題對於我們了解中國天主教史的意義,是本研究的目的,雖然此初步研究所達到的目的還相當有限。天主聖母若被理解成中國女神,背後可以反思的是,耶穌會士或相關史料顯示,耶穌會在「宗教」面向上與中國的互動。既然聖母之例,似乎是中國天主教「宗教」調適的最佳之例,則在重新思考利氏調適(可以說是「去宗教的」),和傳教士對中國宗教態度的兩個方面,本人認為聖母信仰及圖像的研究,可以帶來這些議題的新視野,並進一步討論中國天主教史學之「歷史資源」和「方法論」上的相關問題。

再者,上言中國之例在聖母傳布的全球史中進行比較研究, 應如何思考?

聖母的「多面」("many faces"),更早在美洲的聖母研究已經提出。⁶³ 聖母信仰除了在歐洲中古晚期發展成具多項身份特徵之外,在跨文化視野下,西班牙聖母信仰在美洲經歷的轉化和再造,也因此是讓聖母面容更見多元、信仰內涵更別具多重特徵之主因。李奭學的「三面瑪利亞」之稱,是首次具體地將耶穌會文本中的中國聖母做解析,這個三面之意,足以代表聖母的宗教意涵和功能甚至超越耶穌,這跟過去學者對聖母在世界史上的比較觀察,有一致性。⁶⁴ 因此宋剛的最新研究,則是首次指稱中國之例亦是「多面」聖母,不只擴充增補「三面瑪利亞」之意涵,最重要也能將中國聖母與其他地區與文化發展之例,進行世界史的比較,在聖母之「多面」論述中,中國之例不再缺席。

⁶³ 首次提出「多面」聖母,是 Douglas Monroy 對 Linda Hall 西班牙和美洲聖母的專著之書評,見 Douglas Monroy, Review of *The Many Faces of the Virgin:* Mary, Mother and Warrior: the Virgin in Spain and the Americas, by Linda Hall, *Anthropology Humanism* 31 (1): 94-95 (2006). Amy Remensnyder 有同主題之專著,亦論此義:Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 8.

⁶⁴ Remensnyder, La Conquistadora, 6-11.

[Abstract] Since the Jesuits entered China for active ministry in the late Ming Dynasty, the theology, beliefs, and images of the Virgin Mary have also been introduced to the country. Compared with how to "translate" the "Catholic God," how the missionaries "translate" the Virgin Mary is a less discussed topic. The faith of the Virgin Mary is closely integrated with her image, and thus the discussion of the Virgin Mary in the Chinese Catholic Church has been focused on the image. The issue of the integration or interoperability between the Virgin Mary and Guanyin (the Bodhisattva of Compassion) is the most wellknown and most challenging problem in iconography since the late Ming Dynasty. This also reflects the easiness and difficulty of the inculturation of the Virgin Mary, while this aspect is not apparent with the image of Jesus or God. After Emperor Yongzheng proscribed the Catholic Church, the operation of the Chinese Catholic Church turned underground, and the inculturation of the Chinese Church seemed to be more comprehensive. The faith of the Virgin Mary was also more deeply cultivated. If the Virgin Mary became a local goddess, it might be easier for the Chinese to understand but it would run counter to Catholic theology. This example of the introduction of the Virgin Mary to China seemed to indicate that the missionaries were bound to face the Chinese interpretation of having the image of Guanyin or other goddess being transformed into the Virgin Mary. This article is expected to make a systematic discussion on the issue of the Virgin Mary from the late Ming Dynasty to the end of the Qing Dynasty. There were different "interpretations" to the Virgin Mary during this period, both in terms of images and texts. It has yet to be discussed indepth for our understanding of the significance of Chinese Catholic history and this is also the purpose of this study.

The Rise of a Local Catholic Church Through Cross-Cultural Encounters in The Ordos Region (Inner Mongolia)

Patrick M.W. Taveirne

[Abstract] Because of the limitations of historical, geographical, human and material resources, most of the important academic activities and accomplished scholarship are concentrated in major metropolitan universities and academies in Beijing, Shanghai, or other major cities. Archival materials and research resources are thus closely related to these locales. Yet the presence and development of Christianity and in particular the Catholic Church in China was not confined to these places.

This article, by way of a case study, will explore the historical development of a small Mongol Catholic community at China's northern periphery from the Late Qing Dynasty until the Republican Era. It will focus on the available multicultural archival materials, the relevance and limitations of these resources regarding the writing of "A History of the Catholic Church in China."

The second half of the 19th century saw the conjuncture of two unprecedented trends of expansion: that of sedentary Han Chinese pushing forward the frontier of settlement into Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, and that of Western powers forcing their way into China through gunboats and unequal treaties. At the forefront of the Western expansion were Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

The Sino-French Convention of Beijing in 1860 allowed the missionaries to penetrate into not only the Chinese interior or eighteen provinces of China proper, but also the Mongolian territory outside the Great Wall 塞外, where they rented or leased land, and constructed churches, on behalf of the local Christian community. The Qing considered its dependencies of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet off bounds to the missionaries. In 1864 the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide (SCPF, present Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples, CEP) at Piazza d'Espagna in Rome entrusted the propagation of the Catholic faith in Mongolia to the fledgling Belgian Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary—Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae, CICM, also known as Scheut, called after Scheutveld, the Brussels suburb in which it originated.

Some Belgian Scheut Fathers developed a missionary strategy centering on land acquisition, converting Mongol pastureland into agricultural farmland. The alliance of foreign missionary activities with Han Chinese agricultural colonization turned out to be remarkably successful in attracting converts, mostly recent migrants from north China. At the same time, the expansion of the Catholic Mission caused tensions and disputes with the local non-Christian Mongol and Chinese communities, that culminated in the Yihetuan Movement (Yihétuán yùndòng 義和團運動) and Boxer Uprising in 1898-1900. It also resulted in growing Qing state intervention that climaxed in the official land reclamation campaign of 1902.

Since Christianity mainly developed along the Great Wall, it did not spread deeply into the extensive area of Vassal Outer Mongolia 外 藩蒙古 with its more than 200 banners that enjoyed a greater autonomy. The banner's ruling prince (jasay 紮薩克) governed directly its territory and people. During the Qing era, the earliest Catholic penetration occurred in Southwest Mongolia, the seven Ordos banners of the Great Temple League (Yeke juu čiyulyan, also spelled Yekhe Juu 伊克昭盟), 1 which jurisdictionally belonged to Vassal Outer Mongolia, adjacent to Shanxi, Shaanxi and Gansu provinces. These banners were directly ruled by Mongol ruling princes and supervised by judicial superintendents of the Qing Court of Vassal Affairs (Lifanyuan 理藩院, often translated as Court of Colonial Affairs or Dependencies) in Shenmu county 神木 and Ningxia prefecture 寧夏 (Irgai in Mongolian, present Yinchuan in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, NHAR), together with the Manchu brigade-general of Suiyuan city 綏遠, present day Höhhot.

The sequence of events in the 1860s and 1870s had made the Ordos region an ideal place for missionary activities. The Han Chinese Muslim Uprising (1862–1877) and its suppression by Qing troops led by General Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠(1812-1885) provided a unique opportunity for the Scheut missionaries to expand into the war devastated Ordos.

Between 1867 and 1870, the Ordos Plateau was a main battlefield between the Hui Muslims and the Qing army, assisted by Mongol troops led by Janagardi 劄那嘎爾迪 (d. 1901). The brutal warfare left the entire region in ruins. Otoγ (Otog) banner lost over half of its population, and Qanggin (Khanggin) and Üüsin (Üüshin) banners also suffered great human loss, with all the livestock either

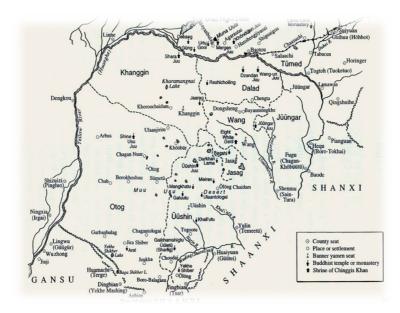
¹ Otoγ, Qanggin, Dalad, Üüsin, Wang, Jeyüngar, and Jasay.

commandeered by the Qing troops or looted by the Hui Muslims. The combats also left many Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist monasteries demolished and lamas dispersed. The Muslim rebels also ravaged the Chinese market town of Ningtiaoliang 寧條梁, with nearly all its population slaughtered or having committed suicide.

The warfare was immediately followed by the great famine of 1876 through 1879 that swept across the provinces of Shanxi, Henan, Shandong, Zhili, and Shaanxi, caused by severe drought and back-to-back harvest failures that resulted in the demise of a roughly estimated nine to 13 million people. The famine also struck the areas outside the western pass, while producing a swarm of refugees across the passes into the grasslands. The severity and scope of the catastrophe were beyond the means of the Qing court and officials. It thus provided a chance for the missionaries to penetrate into these regions by offering relief among famine refugees and by helping to restore morale and social order. The Scheut Fathers acquired abandoned farm estates and developed new Chinese chrétientés along the Yellow River and the Great Wall.²

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² See Yi Wang [Huang Yi 黃怡], Transforming the Frontier: Land, Commerce, and Chinese Colonization in Inner Mongolia, 1700—1911 (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2013), especially Chapter 5: Cultivation for Salvation: Land, Boundaries, and Christianity in Nineteenth-century Inner Mongolia; Patrick Taveirne, Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao), 1874-1911 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004); and Jozef Leonard Van Hecken, Les Missions chez les Mongols aux temps modernes, (Peiping: Imprimerie des Lazaristes / Pétang, 1949).



The Ordos Region Map, 1926

Boro Balyasun's Catholic Mission

In February 1874, Scheut Fathers Remi Verlinden (1830-1892) and Alphonse Devos (1840-1888) undertook an expedition to the Ordos leaving from the new Catholic community of Xiyingzi 西營子 "Western Encampment"—originally called Qadan Qanču "Rock Sleeve," later renamed Nanhaoqian 南壕塹 "Southern Moat" in present Shangyi 尚義 county. Samdadchiemba (bSam-gtan-'dzin-ba 1816?-1900), 3 a Monguor lama-convert from Qinghai province and former guide of the Vincentian Frs. Joseph Gabet (1808-1853) and Évariste Huc (1813-1860), accompanied them. They first reached the court of Janagardi in Jeyüngar (Jüüngar) banner of eastern Ordos,

³ Valère Rondelez (Xénia de Heering, translator), "A Faithful Servant Samt'anjimba (1816?-1900)" in Gerald Roche & C.K. Stuart, eds., *Asian Highlands Perspectives 36 Mapping the Monguor* (2015), 116-138, 301-332.

where they were welcomed. From there they headed southwest to reach Üüsin banner. In April, the missionaries crossed the plain of Boro Balyasun (abbr. Borbalyas, in Urdus dialect *boro balgasu/balgusu*), Mongolian for "grey/brown ruins of an old city," in present Otoy Front Banner, Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR). Lying north of the Great Wall, it used to be the dominion of the Tangut people of Xixia (1038–1227), and got its Chinese name, Chengchuan 城川, from a ruined walled city of Youzhou 宥州 prefecture dating back to the 9th century.

Unknown to the Scheut Fathers, a small Catholic Han community had thrived since 1750 in Ningtiaoliang, a nearby Chinese market town southeast of Chengchuan. The Friars Minor used to visit them from Xi'an before the invasion of Hui Muslims, which reduced the Catholic community from 200 to 40 members. In July 1874, at the site of a ruined farm estate in Boro Balyasun offered by a Chinese local lay leader, the missionaries established the first Ordos Catholic Church mission.

At first, the aim was to convert the Mongols. The Scheut missionaries succeeded in converting several Mongol households by offering them livestock and free medicine. Badai, the first Mongol convert at Boro Balγasun, used to work as a day laborer hired by Han farmers before turning to the missionaries, attracted by the double salary they offered. In 1875, the Scheut Fathers obtained permission from the authorities of Οtoγ banner to cultivate a tract of land at Subaγyin eki east of Chengchuan, where they began to settle a number of destitute Mongol herders along with some Han Chinese households from northern Shaanxi, and provided them with livestock, agricultural tools, and seed grain. The Han migrants were registered as subordinated Mongols (隨旗蒙人). The title to the mission land was

held from the grand duke of Otoγ banner, but the neighboring Üüsin banner had claimed this land in a dispute that had festered for decades.

With the help of Samdadchiemba, the Scheut missionaries successfully converted several local lamas and a group of migrant Mongols from Qinghai. According to Bishop Joseph Ma Zhongmu 馬 仲牧 (Tegüsbilig, 1919-) the 12 households of Qinghai Mongols had been converted before moving to Boro Balγasun. Because of the prestige they enjoyed among the local Mongols, the Mongolian dialect of Chengchuan became completely assimilated to the Mongolian dialect of Qinghai. During the great famine, the missionaries' relief work had attracted many Mongol and Han Chinese converts, whose number soared to 100 households at one point, but dropped sharply afterwards. Nonetheless, there were many abandoned children of famine victims on the streets of Ningtiaoliang. The missionaries kept these orphans and had them raised by childless Mongols. Thus the Mongols of Boro Balγasun were called mixed-bloods (混血兒, in Urdus dialect alak jast' an).4

This unique intersection of ethnic groups and cultures, coupled with the conjuncture of human and natural disasters, contributed to the growth and survival of the Mongol Catholic Church mission on the southwestern periphery of Ordos. By 1880, the number of converts in Chengchuan had increased to 40 households. It remains to this day the single surviving Catholic community among the southern Mongols.

The Scheut Fathers also endeavored to establish missions at locations where Mongols often gathered, such as Ejen Qoroo "The Lord's Enclosure," the memorial sacred site of Chinggis Qan (1162?-1227), and Dingyuanying 定遠營 "Encampment Pacifying the Far-off,"

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⁴ Wang, Transforming the Frontier, 325-326.

(present Bayanhot, IMAR), the court of the Prince of Alašan special banner and a major monastic and trading center northwest of Ningxia. Another Mongol mission was established at Bayan Toqai in western Otoy banner. However, none of these missions would last very long. Rather, the Han Chinese missions established in their proximity all endured, such as Sandaohe (三道河 1876), Ligangbao (李崗堡 1880) and Xiayingzi (下營子 1881) across the Yellow River in Ningxia prefecture. As the Scheut Fathers soon realized, the Mongols' entrenched practices and beliefs in Tibetan Buddhism, Chinggisid ancestral cult, and the feudal-like jasay system created an insurmountable barrier for their missionary activities. In other Ordos banners, their presence invited such strong opposition from the Mongol upper class that they were either unable to obtain any foothold, or their missions were destroyed and their converts dispersed. The resistance of the Mongols forced the missionaries to shift their attention to the Han Chinese migrants, whose status as uprooted refugees and farmers made them more susceptible to conversion.

The first Scheut missionaries were surprised to find a network of scattered Chinese settlements in Ordos Mongol territory and even a Catholic community in the market town of Ningtiaoliang with connections up to Ili 伊犁 in Xinjiang province. The great distances between these old Christian communities made any type of close-knit ecclesiastical organization impractical. From 1874 until 1883, the CICM missionaries developed three ecclesiastical districts around fixed mission stations at the fringes of the Ordos Plateau. Their initial plan of connecting these districts with intermediate missionary

⁵ B. Gorissen, "The Most Unfruitful Mission in the World: CICM Fathers Frans and Jozef Hoogers in Xinjiang: 1895-1922" in W.F. Vande Walle & N. Golvers, eds., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing era (1644-1911)*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 325-342.

residences never materialized. They also envisaged the establishment of a Trappist monastery, similar to the numerous Mongol lamaseries (Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist monasteries), in the plain of Boro Balγasun.⁶ This idea was also never implemented.

The only Mongol Catholic Church mission, Boro Balyasun, was located on the Mongol-Han Chinese border along the Great Wall, where the Mongols had already been exposed to Han-style agriculture and gradually adapted to a semi-nomadic and semi-settled lifestyle. Thus the Han migration had in many ways paved the way for the missionary enterprises in the Mongol territories, as well as provided potential converts for their expansion. The success of a Mongol mission in Chengchuan was by far the exception rather than the rule. Elsewhere the missionaries encountered fierce opposition from the Mongol nobility and clergy.

Among these, the disputes with Üüsin banner from the 1870s through the 1890s were especially noteworthy. In 1876, Fr. Verlinden established a small mission in Wulong 烏龍, where he attracted some famine victims from northern Shaanxi. The foreign settlement incited hostility from local nobles and lamas, and there were incidents of the beating of converts and horse theft. The banner officials, however, simply turned deaf ears to the missionaries' protests.

In 1878, the latter filed a complaint against the Üüsin jasay, who was also the incumbent head of the Great Temple League, to the Qing Foreign Affairs Office (Zongli Yamen, abbr. for Zongli geguo shiwu yamen 總理各國事務衙門 "Office for the Administration of the Affairs of Different Nations") via the French legation. On this occasion, the Court of Vassal Affairs informed the ruling princes of the Ordos

⁶ Taveirne, Han-Mongol Encounters, 233-235.

banners that they had to abide by the Treaty stipulations and protect the missionaries and their converts. It became clear that the Treaty provisions regarding Catholicism were also valid in Vassal Outer Mongolia, the Ordos. When in 1880 Scheut Frs. Alfons Lievens (1854-1917) and Louis Roofthooft (1855-1926) entered Vassal Outer Mongolia, the Manchu brigade-general of Suiyuan city translated their safe conducts into Mongolian for the league and banner heads of the Great Temple and Ulanchabu leagues in order to protect the missionaries according to the Treaties.⁷

Meanwhile, another incident of a more serious nature occurred. A group of Mongols led by a Üüsin noble burned down the Wulong mission and dispersed the converts. He and two other nobles were also responsible for the disturbance in Οtογ banner, in which over 100 Üüsin Mongols looted the converts there, and occupied a tract of land that had been granted to the mission by the jasaγ of Οtογ banner. Following a joint investigation by the officials of the Lifanyuan in Suiyuan city, Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces in 1880, the Üüsin jasaγ agreed to punish a lama, a janggin, and several others for stealing horses from the mission compound, but denied all allegations about looting, the burning of the church, and harassment of converts.

As stated by Fulehonga, the Court of Vassal Affairs-dispatched judicial superintendent of Ningxia in charge of the investigation, the feud between the Mission and Üüsin banner arose from an incident in 1876 in which Scheut Father Jan-Baptist Steenackers (1848-1912) shot and killed a noble Damrinjab's dog as it attacked his horse. A bitter

⁸ Wang, Transforming the Frontier, 341.

altercation ensued; the angry noble had the missionary tied up and his beard plucked, and his Mongol companion badly beaten. As Üüsin banner fell under the jurisdiction of the judicial superintendent of Shenmu county, Fulehonga urged Steenackers to report to Shenmu. The latter, however, was only ready to appear in front of a mixed court in Peking. In his report, the superintendent accused the missionary of being "heterodox" (異端) for not abiding by the Treaties and the "king's rule" (玉化). In the end, the Lifanyuan dismissed the case as a trifling matter of no particular importance.

Thus the disputes ended up with the demise of the Wulong mission in Üüsin banner. It was one of those rare cases in which the intervention of the French legation and Qing high authorities were less than effective in overturning a decision made on the local level, due to the autonomy of Mongol *jasays* in administering their own banners, backed by the Court of Vassal Affairs officials who were keen to preserve the old social and political order from foreign challenge. Eventually, in the wake of the Boxer Protocol in 1901, the banner had to pay 3,500 taels of silver in indemnities for these early offenses. ¹⁰

Regarding the acquisition of land, the Manchu brigade-general of Suiyuan received a communication from the Qing Foreign Affairs Office regarding the re-negotiation of the Berthemy convention in 1893 and 1895, namely that all missionaries could purchase public property on behalf of the local Catholic Church without the prior

⁹ Yang wrongly identified the missionary as Alfons Bermyn. See Yang Haiying, "Catholicism in the Ordos Today. Focusing on the life story of Rev. Joseph and his family" in K. Sagaster, ed., *Antoine Mostaert (1881-1971): CICM Missionary and Scholar* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1999), vol. 1, 205-223.

¹⁰ Wang, Transforming the Frontier, 342.

consent of local officials. ¹¹ This Mongol archival evidence shows that starting from the 1880s officials of the Foreign Affairs Office and other central agencies together with local officials in the Chinese provinces did not distinguish anymore between the area of China proper, the interior provinces, and the area beyond the Great Wall, the outer provinces.

In Southern Ordos, a Yihetuan (Boxer) leader from Shanxi had established himself in Ningtiaoliang since late May 1900, where he recruited over 200 followers. However, local officials of Shaanxi suppressed them and threw him into prison. The area remained relatively quiet through July, thus allowing time for the missionaries to reinforce self-defense forces in Xiaoqiaopan 小橋畔. There a stockade had been constructed in 1895 to guard against possible attack by the Hui Muslims of Gansu province, making the church a stronghold for the fourteen missionaries—nine Scheut Fathers and five Friars Minor from Shaanxi province—and over 300 Catholics taking refuge there. On August 7 the Yihetuan attacks began upon the release of the leader. While the Yihetuan targeted mainly the Han Catholic settlements within the Black Boundary lands, the Mongols of Otoy and Üüsin banners organized vigilante forces or round robins (獨貴龍, Mong. duyuyilang "circles"), burning down the churches of Chengchuan, Köber, and Shiber, destroying the homes of Mongol Catholics, and taking away their livestock and grain. The siege of Xiaoqiaopan lasted for 52 days-49 according to Western sources-from August 9 through September 29, during which time hundreds of Yihetuan, assisted by around 200 vigilantes and 300 horsemen from Otoy, Üüsin, and Jasay banners, launched a series of attacks, yet the Catholics overpowered them with better weapons and tactics. In the end, the

¹¹ 蘇德畢力格主編,《准格爾旗紮薩克衙門檔案基督宗教史料》,頁 100-101。

local officials of Shaanxi disbanded the Yihetuan and persuaded the Mongol troops to return to their own banners. The church of Xiaoqiaopan remained intact, with a relatively small Catholic casualty figure of one missionary and 10 converts, as compared to the over 200 Yihetuan adherents and 10 Mongol soldiers killed in the battles.¹²

After the Boxer Uprising (1900), the Qing exacted payment from the Mongol banners through the official sale and taxation of their territory in order to settle foreign indemnities. To sell and tax plots, the state set up land reclamation bureaus (墾務局) to measure, map, and categorize some 1.5 million acres in this area. In her dissertation, Wang Yi has shown how reformist writings by Manchu and Han officials established these new institutions in order to bring the jasays under more direct rule. Yigu 貽 縠 (d. 1926), the imperial commissioner in charge of land reclamation in central Inner Mongolia, for example, threatened the more obstinate jasays that they would lose their positions if they did not comply with the 1900 New Policy (Gēngzi Xīnzhèng 庚子新政, Mong. Šine jasay) reforms from 1901 until 1908. While Wang described this process of dispossession as "multiple levels of negotiations and mutual accommodations," it eventually led to the integration of the Mongol territories into a nationalized administrative structure. 13

Hence, the activities of the Catholic missionaries in Ordos did not meet any more opposition from Otoγ banner authorities. When on October 7, 1903, the Church—represented by Frs. Frans Van den Abbeele (1868-1904) and Johannes Braam (1869-1954)—signed a second agreement with the three Ordos banners of Otoγ, Üüsin and Jasaγ regarding the compensation for losses incurred during the

¹² Wang, Transforming the Frontier, 365.

¹³ Wang, Transforming the Frontier, 381.

uprising, they agreed to a comprehensive peace treaty under the supervision of the Manchu brigade-general of Suiyuan city.¹⁴

Nonetheless, as believed by Christopher P. Atwood, "the turbulent political life of the Ordos Plateau gave no quarter to those unable to arm themselves in self-defense: banner fought banner, the people gathered in vigilante "circles" and fought the dukes and princes, bandits fought the banner militia, and the strong-men commanding the militia fought the popular vigilantes, while all resented impotently the repeated incursions of the neighboring Chinese authorities on Mongol rights and privileges. But in the multiplicity of warring parties, the missionaries fully able and willing to defend their flocks, found their opportunity. By the 1920s, they had become power-brokers in Otoγ banner, collecting pastureland and soda lake leasing fees for the grand duke, mediating the periodic quarrels of the vigilante forces and the local strongmen, and enjoying both the admiration and resentment which the successful exercise of power always brings." ¹⁵

Religious Incidents (jiao'an 教案) in Ordos

The reasons for Mongol hostility towards the Catholic mission in Ordos and the small number of conversions among the Mongols are complex. According to Wang Yi, within the context of the feudal-like rule of *jasays* and high lamas in the secular and ecclesiastical spheres, the commoners (*albatu*, "persons with duty") and serfs (*unayan*

書局,1998),頁 113-114。

¹⁵ Christopher P. Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades*, 1911-1931 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002), vol. 1, 8-11.

shabinar, "followers since childhood") were personally and hereditarily bonded to the nobility (*noyad*) or monastery through various duties, including military service, corvée labor, and taxes. They could not freely depart from the banner that they were born into or the monastery to which they belonged since childhood. Indeed, the Scheut missionaries in Chengchuan often complained about the continuous harassment of the Mongol Catholics by banner officials and lamas. ¹⁶

Moreover, the practices and beliefs of Tibeto-Mongol Buddhism together with the Chinggisid worship posed a major obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the Ordos Mongols. The inexperience of missionaries not knowing Mongolian and Mongol customs, their European ethnocentrism and extraterritorial privileges, often leading to arrogance and contempt for local authorities, as well as the lack of financial resources further impeded their proselytizing efforts. But it often took some specific historical conjuncture to turn the incompatibility of religious practices and beliefs into that of violent actions. Therefore, Wang Yi suggested that it was the Han Chinese encroachment of Mongol pastures that ignited the conflict of 1878, in which the Üüsin nobles not only destroyed the Wulong mission, but also proceeded to expel the converts in Otoy banner and occupy the pastureland along the border that was disputed between the two banners. As a result, the Scheut Fathers had to give up the foothold in Üüsin banner and organized instead a Han Chinese Catholic mission, Xiaoqiaopan, within the Black Boundary land.¹⁷

Several studies in the PRC and Taiwan have focused on Western influence beyond the Great Wall from 1861 until 1909 based upon Qing archival evidence in the *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* 教務教案檔. For

¹⁶ Wang, *Transforming the Frontier*, 342-345 and Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters*, 415-416.

¹⁷ Taveirne, Han-Mongol Encounters, 256.

instance, Huang Lisheng 黃麗生 analyzed 50 religious incidents and divided them into seven different categories: incidents related to land and rent (34%), return of churches (2%), threat of litigation (8%), levies for local cults (4%), opposition to missionary activities (4%), Boxer Uprising related incidents (14%), protection against hostility from local people following the Boxer Uprising (20%), and other incidents (14%).

In the opinion of Huang, Western influence in Inner Mongolia undermined both the authority of the Qing rulers among the Han and Mongol population, as well as the authority of traditional social relations during the late Qing dynasty and early Republic. Both Mongol and Han Chinese societies were affected, as Manchu authority gradually weakened in the area. Christianity not only introduced a new religion and religious leaders, but also inaugurated a new type of Western education and knowledge. Consequently, Western missionaries subverted the authority of the traditional Qing elite. 18 Within this context, Wang Yi surmised that the Christian tenets of absolute loyalty to God and egalitarianism posed a threat to the feudal Qing establishment.

Father Chang Fei 常非 (1906-1968) and Bishop Wang Xueming 王學明 (1910-1997), both Han Chinese, blamed the ignorance of non-Christians about Catholic practices and beliefs and the bias of local officials towards the Catholics for the secluded living of Chinese and Mongol Catholics in southwestern Mongolia. However, in 2001 the

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¹⁸ Huang Li-sheng 黃麗生,〈從教案問題看西方對內蒙社會的衝擊〉[A Study of the Impact of the West upon Inner Mongolia in the perspective of the Conflicts between the Christians and the non-Christians],《臺灣師大歷史學報》 Bulletin of Historical Research National Taiwan Normal University,第十六期 (中華民國 77 年 6 月 No.16, 1988).

PRC neurologist and professor at the Inner Mongolia University, Niu Jingzhong 牛敬忠 still criticized the foreign missionaries for causing the rift between Christians and non-Christians. Since this rupture was brought about by outside forces, traditional society was unable to mend the situation. According to Niu, Christian culture and customs are incompatible with Chinese traditional culture and lore in form and content. This cultural conflict determined that the mass character of the Yihetuan movement could not be reconciled with Christianity. 19

On the eve of the Nationalist movement, in the eyes of many southern Mongol and Chinese non-Christians, the Catholic Mission was regarded as a haven for many landless farmers and destitute herdsmen. The research outline of Suiyuan-Hetao (Suiyuan Hetao zhiyao 終遠河套治要) published in 1924 pointed out, "In the Hetao area the Church under the undeserved reputation of spreading religion fully carries out the forceful occupation of cultivated land. It links up with local bandits, coerces the government, engages in pettifoggery, and oppresses the non-Christian people. All the troops on garrison duty are only interested in protecting the Church and its institutions. Hence, most people flock to the Church's land to escape the burden of taxes and the fear of banditry. The Church profits from it; and takes advantage of the people's weaknesses in a variety of ways to enforce obedience. She not only most ardently seeks to offer remedies but also turns the Hetao into a foreign concession."²⁰

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¹⁹ Niu Jingzhong 牛敬忠 et al.,〈近代綏遠地區民教民教衝突—也說義和團運動爆發的原因〉 [A Conflict between Christians and non-Christians in modern Suiyuan region—on the reasons for the Outburst of the Yihetuan Movement] in, Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu, eds., 蘇位智、劉天路主編《義和團運動 100 周年國際學術討論會論文集》 Symposium of the Boxer Movement (Jinan: Shandong University Press 山東大學出版社, 2002), vol. 1, 591-592. ²⁰ Tuimür 忒莫勒,《建國前內蒙古方志考述》[A critical review of Inner Mongol Gazetteers before the founding of the People's Republic of China],

From this point of view, as well as seen from the Mongol manifesto of the Inner Mongol People's Revolutionary Party (IMPRP) in 1925, the Catholic missionaries were lumped together with the imperialists—including the Chinese money-lenders, officials, and warlords—as "foreign reactionaries," that is social figures and forces, who through their own selfish ambition stood in the way of social progress. The "domestic reactionaries" were the Mongol dukes and princes. According to Christopher P. Atwood, many Mongols in Ordos opposed the missionaries not because they were against imperialism, but because as Mongols they supported the established Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist monastic community.²¹

The pressure of Chinese migration and nationalism in the Great Temple League of southern Ordos increased after the suppression of the Boxer Uprising and the introduction of New Policy Reforms in China proper and Mongolia. The Qing high official Yigu 貽 轂 intimidated or bought off the League's ruling nobility, but the commoners, lamas, and minor gentry resorted to the vigilante forces. They agitated against the corrupt Mongol higher nobility, the powerful Chinese land-merchants and Yigu's opening-up of uncultivated pastures. As a result of the Yihetuan indemnities, the Church acquired large tracts of uncultivated land as mortgage.

with an introduction by Zhou Qingshu (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia University Press 內蒙古大學出版社, 1998), 14.

²¹ Christopher Atwood, *Revolutionary Nationalist Mobilization in Inner Mongolia*, 1925-1929 (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1994), vol. 1, 127.

1928 - A Year of Significance

By 1928, the golden age for Boro Balyasun had come to an end; and for a few months the parish priest of the mission station, Scheut Father Florent Claevs (1871-1950), felt that the days of martyrdom might have returned. Two years earlier an army of "Qaračins" 喀喇沁 had come into Üüsin and Otoy banners. Strictly speaking, the Qaračins was one of the sub-ethnic groups in the far-eastern part of Inner Mongolia, and one of the most accomplished both in education and in monopolizing positions in the Chinese Republic's Mongol bureaucracy. The Ordos Mongols, however, used Qaračin in a broader sense to mean any one from the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, where long intermixing with the Chinese had given the Mongols a strongly sinicized cast. This group of "Qaračins" came not in the name of Peking or the Chinese Republic, but in the name of the Soviets in Outer Mongolia, where they had also enrolled a fugitive Buddhist monk and vigilante leader from Ordos, Öljeijirgal (Shin-e Lama, 1866-1929), and made him commander of the Üüsin regiment of the Inner Mongolian Red Army.

Suddenly in the spring of 1928, the Qaračin propagandists again bullied the grand duke of Otoy into making threats against the small colony of Catholic Mongols. The mission station's chief catechist assisted the agitators from within; the catechist held a bitter grudge against the commander of Boro Balyasun station's Christian militia, and the wily Qaračins had promised him the command should they come to power. With the catechist as go-between, the new powers in the land demanded a personal interview with Fr. Claeys. The chronicler of the mission described the encounter:

"The Reds, convinced that the mission could not sustain a vigorous attack, directed all their guns on Poro Balgason; they personally visited the mission and were even led into the quarters of the missionary. With an astounding and utterly shameless insolence they insulted the priest and demanded the immediate return of the mission's lands and of all its arms.

A categorical refusal by Fr. Claeys petrified them with shock. With a fury like erupting volcanoes, they expressed in the face of the missionary all their hatred of the Church and religion, and threatened the Mongol catechists with prison and tortures, assuring them that they would soon come with a strong army and great cannons to pound the mission into powder.

At the same time, their ally, the lama Öljeijirgal, now holding full power as the military commander of Üüsin banner, demanded that the mission station return to his control those Mongols within its walls who originally hailed from Üüsin. Faced again with refusal, he joined with the Qaračins who dominated Otoγ for a combined attack on the mission station."²²

On June 15, 1928, the red armies of Üüsin and Otoy appeared near the sand dunes that lay just north of Boro Balyasun. Fr. Claeys had called on all his Mongol converts wandering on the plain tending their herds to gather together in a strong place. That very day, the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the native Üüsin Mongols, led by Öljeijirgal, came to blows with the Qaračin strangers, and after a brief affray, the Üüsin troops decamped back to their home banner, while the Qaračins fled west, to Ningxia, never to return.

²² Van Hecken, Les Missions chez les Mongols aux temps modernes, 181-184.

As stated by Atwood, in early 20th-century China, the form that revolution took of state-building was obviously related to the paradoxical weakness and growing strength of the state. The late Qing state had been historically a very weak one, compared to those of Japan or Europe, at least if measured in terms of the government's take of the total national income.²³ The late Oing New Policies had given local and provincial governments all over China a new task of more effectively policing and culturally transforming their residents, at the same time it allowed, and even encouraged, the increased involvement of local private interests in designing the plan of these new reforms. The result, as Prasenjit Duara has shown, was a government afflicted with an ultimately toxic combination of growing intrusiveness, cultural illegitimacy, corruption, and dysfunctional decentralization. ²⁴ These trends, together with the warlord conflicts and the spectacular rise in banditry, drove the more responsible gentry out of local government and encouraged armed "local bullies," entrepreneurs of government who took on, for a hefty commission, the unpopular task of transmitting to the villagers the increasingly heavy demands of local and provincial government.

The southern Mongol scholar Sodbilig Shirnuud 蘇德畢力格 noted that the development of Christianity in Inner Mongolia was related to the immigration wave from northern China during the late Qing dynasty and early Republic. His study is based upon an analysis of local Mongol archives. These sources show that the Ordos Mongols were willing to rent out land to Han Chinese farmers, but not to foreign missionaries. This is confirmed by the missionary sources. Following the suppression of the Boxer Uprising by Qing authorities, the missionaries in support of the destitute Catholics demanded

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²³ Atwood, Young Mongols and Vigilantes, 1911-1931, vol. 2, 971.

²⁴ See Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China,* 1900-1942. (Stanford, Calif: Standford University Press, 1988).

indemnities in silver. These indemnities were mainly redeemed with large tracts of Mongol uncultivated land as mortgage. Consequently, Sodbilig argues that the missionaries were instrumental in the conversion of these Mongol pasturelands into Chinese agricultural land and the transfer of jurisdiction from the Mongol banners of the Great Temple League to the adjacent Han counties of Shaanxi province.²⁵

However, on April 18, 1934, the Flemish Scheut Father Antoon Mostaert (nom-un baysi Tiyen 田清波, 1881-1971) responded to a defamatory article published in the *China Weekly Review* of 7 April 1934: "Where Imperialism Penetrates through the Church" by C.Y.W. Meng. On the one hand, Mostaert acknowledged that "the mission allowed Chinese farmers to settle on originally Mongol land and moreover it worked—in modest measure, it is true, but efficiently—towards the realization of the National Government's plan, aiming at the Chinese colonization of Mongolia." On the other hand, he argued that "if the mission was to cede these plots of land again, they should return them not to the Chinese authorities but to the Mongol banner, from which the mission bought [leased] them." ²⁶

In 1935, the influential lama or Living Buddha Jamyang Šarab 章文軒 (1887-1946) from Aral-yin sume was able to unite the duyuyilang in Otoy banner. He also redeemed most of the Church

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²⁵ Sude Bilige (Sodbilig Shirnuud) 蘇德畢力格,〈天主教會與清末鄂爾多斯地區蒙旗土地關係的變遷〉[Land Issues between the Catholic Church and the Ordos Mongol Banner], in Temur Temule, ed., 特木勒編《多元族群與中西文化交流:基於中西文獻的新研究》[Multi Ethnic Groups and Sino-Western Cultural Exchange: Based upon New Research of Sino-Western Historical Materials] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Press 上海人民出版社, 2010), 162-177. See also Wang, *Transforming the Frontier*, 351-352.

²⁶ See Patrick Taveirne, "Antoine Mostaert and the Issue of the Catholic Mission's Property in Ordos" in K. Sagaster, ed., *Antoine Mostaert (1881-1971): CICM Missionary and Scholar*, (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1999), vol. 1, 145-175.

indemnity land in Otoγ banner and the Catholic Church agreed to pay the banner an annual tax of 1,000 ounces of silver.²⁷

Father Antoon Mostaert and the Cultural Knot

Scheut Father Antoon Mostaert belonged to a generation of missionaries who came to China after 1900. Probably due to growing Chinese and Mongolian nationalism, these missionaries gradually broke away from the Eurocentric contempt for Chinese and Mongolian culture and religion that had permeated Western attitudes—Protestant as well as Catholic—toward Mongols and Han Chinese in the 19th century.

Attitudes and beliefs do change over time. One example is the unique worship of the "wind-horse" (祿馬杆, in Urdus dialect *k'ī-mori*) prayer-flags by the Ordos Mongols. The first Scheut missionaries considered these to be "superstitious flags" and demanded that Catholics abolish them. Yang Haiying 楊海英 pointed out that non-Christian neighbors considered the Mongol Christians without *k'ī-mori* heretics. ²⁸ Similar to the prayer wheel, the wind-horse prayer-flag is also a Tibetan Buddhist symbol. The attitude of the Scheut Fathers towards these *k'ī-mori* prayer-flags changed over the years. One of the last Scheut missionaries in Ordos, Fr. Frans Maertens (1916-1987) was inclined to accept the *k'ī-mori* prayer-flags. But Yang does not mention the fact that Catholic converts also had to destroy the Buddhist shrine

²⁷ Yu Zhilong 余志龍、Li Juyi 李巨義編《鄂托克前旗志 *Etuoke qianqi zhi*》[Otoγ Front banner Gazetteer] (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House 内蒙古人民出版社 1995), 163; and Hecken, *Les Missions chez les Mongols aux temps modernes*, 186-190.

²⁸ Yang, "Catholicism in the Ordos Today. Focusing on the life story of Rev. Joseph and his family," vol. 1, 205-223.

(idols) in their dwelling, and were not allowed to participate in the seasonal Buddhist festivities, such as the annual sacrificial *oboya* (ritual cairn) festival. The Mongol Catholics abolished the offerings of sacrifice to the fire deity and the ancestors, respectively on the 24th and 30th of the 12th moon. In 1930-32, Jamyang Šarab forced all Mongol Catholics to establish the wind-horse prayer-flags and participate in the annual cairn (*oboya*) ritual.

1956. Mostaert published his article: "Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos" in the Central Asiatic Journal, while he stayed at Missionhurst in Arlington, Virginia. For his article he borrowed some materials from Fr. Braam's unpublished manuscript "Folklore Ordos," which Braam had written with the assistance of Bishop Alfons Bermyn (1853-1915), Frs. Mostaert and Jozef Van Oost (1877-1969) in 1908-1909. A list of questions compiled by the editors of the ethnographic journal Anthropos served as a guide in organizing these materials. In 1906, SVD Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954) had founded this journal in Vienna. The manuscript was sent to Anthropos, but it was not accepted for publication. In 1911, Braam and Van Oost published parts of this ethnography in the French missionary journal Missions Catholiques (Lyon) under the title: "Au Pays des Ortos." A similar study by Van Oost, Au pays des Ortos (Mongolie) was published in Paris in 1932. These ethnographic materials offer us a view of southern Ordos Mongol society through the lens of the Scheut missionaries towards the end of the Qing period.

In 1908, Mostaert wrote that his main source for the study of Tibetan Buddhism was Laurence Austine Waddell, *Lhassa and its Mysteries* (1904). Fr. Braam started to study Buddhism in 1911. He did not mention the work of Waddell, but he had read two Western books on the subject: Paul Labbé's *Le lama en Sibérie* and the French translation of Albert Grünwedel's 1900 work *Mythologie des*

Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei. Führer durch die Lamaistische Sammlung des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij, published in Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus and Paris, Hachette. In Braam's manuscript Part 2, Chapter 21 on religious practices one finds a rudimentary description of Tibetan Buddhism as practiced in Southern Ordos.²⁹ In the 1920s Van Oost wrote a chapter on Buddhism in his Au pays des Ortos (Mongolie), in which he criticized lamas for their lack of education and moral degeneration. At the same time, he noted the religious similarities between Tibetan Buddhism and Christianity and the pervasive influence of the lamas in Ordos Mongol society.

Mostaert did not really study Buddhism in great depth, since he wanted to focus on the study of the Mongolian language and not on Tibetan or Sanskrit. In his article "Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos" he simply avoids the subject by saying that it is well known. Scheut missionaries in Southern Mongolia did not develop a dialogical relationship with the Tibetan Buddhist monastic community like the Norwegian Lutheran missionary Karl Ludvig Reichelt (1877-1952) in China.

Their collections of southern Ordos' folktales and songs, as well as observations on customs and taboos related to birth, marriage, illness, death and daily life have been widely used by linguists, anthropologists, sociologists and historians. A comparison between Mostaert's ethnographical notes (1956) and the Folklore Ordos manuscript (1908) shows how Mostaert gradually removed the pejorative remarks by missionaries. Mostaert, like his confreres, had no formal training either as an anthropologist or ethnologist, but his knowledge of the Mongolian spoken and written language and his

²⁹ This unpublished manuscript *Folklore Studies* is now kept in the archives of CICM-Scheut at KADOC-KU Leuven, 6529.

long-term exposure to Mongol daily life made him into an ethnographer, historian and linguist. He wrote: "Since linguistics, history and folklore are closely related and complement each other, I had to pay attention to the history and folklore of the Ordos during my linguistic studies." For Mostaert, the key to a better understanding of Mongolian culture and religion remained the study of the local spoken and written language.

Following the confiscation of Mission/Church land by the local authorities in 1925, Mostaert left the Mongol mission of Boro Balγasun to continue his Mongol studies in Peking. In 1929 the Scheut Father Gaspar Schotte (1881-1944) wrote to Archbishop Celso Costantini (剛恒毅 1876-1958): "His [Mostaert's] health forced him to leave the mission of Poro Balgaso [Boro Balγasun], he suffered from neurasthenia with phobia which made him fear to be alone at his mission station and having to bear responsibilities."³⁰

Later on, Mostaert published his most important works such as *Textes oraux ordos, recueillis et publiés avec introduction, notes morphologiques, commentaires et glossaire* (1937) and *Dictionnaire Ordos* (1941-1944) at the newly established Fujen Catholic University 天主教輔仁大學 in Beijing.³¹

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³⁰ CEP (SCPF) Archives, NS 1929-1931, Vol. 1007, File 251-257.

³¹ CEP Archives, NS 1926-1928, Vol. 904, File 296-297. Taveirne, "Antoine Mostaert and the Issue of the Catholic Mission's Property in Ordos," vol. 1, 145-175; and Taveirne, "Eurasian Cultural Encounters beyond the Great Wall: the Case of Inner Mongolia in the late Qing and early Republican Era" in Wu Xiaoxin, ed., 吳小新編,《遠方敘事:中國基督宗教研究的視角方法與趨勢》 [Narratives from the Hinterland: Perspectives, Methodologies and Trends in the Study of Christianity in China] (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press 廣西師範大學出版社, 2014), 363-366.

From a Foreign Mission towards a Local Church

In Southern Mongolia, the CICM missionary medical, educational and social activities became much more urban centered, since most Church agricultural land was confiscated by the Warlords and the Republican government (since 1927). ³² In 1929, in a confidential letter to Archbishop Celso Costantini, Scheut Father Gaspar Schotte wrote:

Many missionaries that I met during my visit in 1926 feared the difficulties of this work [a new Mongol mission in Ulaanbaatar], also I believe one should not start the conversion of the Mongols like one has done for the conversion of the Chinese: occupying as many stations as possible by dispersing the missionaries; but one should adopt a method more appropriate to the circumstances and the life of the Mongols.

Instead of dispersing and isolating the missionaries, one would better do by starting in the capital or its vicinities, a house where the missionaries would live in community, to dedicate themselves from the start to charitable works that will make them accepted and desired, like dispensaries, medical care and the distribution of medicines, a clinic; like works of instruction and education that young Mongols seem to desire for their utility. To these charitable works one would add the example of Christian life with the decorum of the liturgy and prayers in common, and the seeds of the word of

³² Taveirne, "Antoine Mostaert and the Issue of the Catholic Mission's Property in Ordos," vol.1, 145-175; and Liu Qingyu 劉青瑜 《近代以來天主教傳教士在內蒙古的社會活動及其影響 (1865-1950)》[On Activities and Influences of Catholic Missionaries in Inner Mongolia in Modern Times (1865-1950)]. (PhD Dissertation, Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University 內蒙古大學, 2008).

God would be sown in all directions of the wind, through the grace of God obtained by the force of prayers and sacrifices they would certainly sooner or later blossom and bear fruit.

Life in community, the occupation with these works will avoid in part the dangers of leisure and discouragement in a mission without tangible success, the danger for Christian life and piety within the environment of a population with easy and dangerous habits.

If a first foundation of this type gives satisfaction, one could multiply it in different centers, even at a long distance from each other.

At the proper time one will call religious Sisters for similar works for females. Because of the weak density of a floating and nomadic population, evangelization must be done by creating centers where the public cult is practiced and where the inhabitants will join at certain occasions and festivals, in the manner religious life actually manifests itself in these nomadic countries. In order to test this kind of apostolic method I think it will be indispensable to call contemplative orders but I think that our Congregation will be up to the task to undertake this work with possible success through the grace of God.³³

In 1933, the vicar apostolic of Ningxia, Bishop Gaspar Schotte introduced a school curriculum of secular subjects exclusively in Mongolian, a Mongol printing press and a dispensary at Boro Balγasun. His initial ideas about the establishment of missionary or contemplative communities among the Mongols were not realized. Yet,

³³ My translation from the French original. CEP Archives, NS 1929-1931, Vol. 1007, File 251-257, Rome.

the development of a local Mongol clergy was brought to fruition. In 1937, Titular Archbishop Mario Zanin (蔡寧 1890-1958), in the presence of Fr. Mostaert, ordained Ma Yuanmu 馬元牧 (Möngkejirgal, d. 1979), a graduate from the CICM regional seminary in Datong 大同, Shanxi province, and ethnic Mongol Catholic from Boro Balyasun. His brother Joseph Ma Zhongmu 馬仲牧(Tegüsbilig, 1919-) was ordained a priest in Sanshenggong 三盛公 (Sandaohe) in 1947 and clandestinely consecrated bishop in 1984.³⁴

Cross-Cultural Encounters in History

Whenever two or more objects collide and come into contact with each other, they always leave some traces on each other, like a scratch on a wall. This is true for the physical as well as the ideological or cultural spheres. Perhaps we should look at the history of Sino-Mongol encounters and Catholic missionary endeavours in Ordos as a textile. Nicolas Standaert used the metaphor of texturing cloth and the paradigm of interaction to interpret the history of Sino-Western cultural encounters in 17th century Ming China. Also the Church and Mission history beyond the Great Wall in late 19th and early 20th century Qing and Republican Ordos could be described with the help of the image of texturing cloth.

"The image of weaving has the advantage of insisting on the complexity of the diffusion, on how borrowing is often like the interweaving of many different threads and fibres. [...] The metaphor

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³⁴ Yang, "Catholicism in the Ordos Today. Focusing on the life story of Rev. Joseph and his family," vol. 1, 205-223; and Philip Borla, ed., *The Mongols and the Catholic Church* (Ulaanbaatar: Antoon Mostaert Center for Mongolian Studies, 2017).

of the texture allows us to look at what happens to specific fibres, but also to look at the usage, meaning, form and function of the textile as a whole. It also helps us to understand how there can be very different reactions at the same time, within the same person, or within the same geographical setting, or the same social group. [...] These can all coexist within the same textile."³⁵

The Ordos situation during the late Qing and early Republican era was far more complicated with several cultures interacting, rather than simply Sino-Western or Sino-Mongol cross-cultural contacts. The American Presbyterian historian of mission, Stanley H. Skreslet proposed a more missionary and theological perspective, namely, the image of a river ecosystem, but it follows the same line and supplements the image of textiles. ³⁶ So we may also imagine the history of cross-cultural exchanges beyond the Great Wall in Ordos as a riverine system, a great flow of ideas, events, personalities, and human encounters taking place over time. This riverine system is a kind of huge interconnected ecosystem with many different microenvironments.

According to Eugene Chen Eoyang 歐陽槙, from the perspective of comparative literature, cross-cultural exchanges have developed in two stages.³⁷ Initially, cross-cultural interactions have been two people looking at each other but each through the intermediary of a one-way mirror. The idea of a one-way mirror is that from one side, it acts like a

³⁵ Nicolas Standaert, SJ, "Christianity in Late Ming and Early Qing China as a Case of Cultural Transmission" in S. Uhalley Jr – Xiaoxin Wu, eds., *China and Christianity. Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2001), 86-116.

³⁶ Stanley H. Skreslet, "Thinking Missiologically about the History of Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 31:2 (2007): 64.

³⁷ See Eugene Chen Eoyang, *Two-Way Mirrors: Cross Cultural Studies in Glocalization* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007).

mirror and is reflecting, but from the other side, the glass is transparent: the subject in front of the mirror can be viewed by someone unseen. However, the subject could not see beyond the mirror. Subsequently, there developed the idea of the two-way mirrors, meaning that in focusing on the other reveals as much about the self. It is like looking at oneself at the shop window, seeing one's own reflection as well as the objects (or persons) behind the glass.

Nowadays, some historians focus their study of cultural contacts on the mirror itself, the in-betweenness 之間 and the periphery/frontier (邊緣/邊疆, *jecen* in Manchu) seen as center or middle ground (Mark Elliott, Richard White), which opens up new perspectives for the study of cross-cultural exchanges in the Sino-Mongol hinterland. In the opinion of Wang Yi, "it is more fruitful to conceptualize the frontier as a multiplicity of overlapping and intersecting boundaries: geographical, ecological, linguistic, ethno-cultural, ecclesiastic, and administrative. The existence of these crisscrossing boundaries in turn opens grey areas in which the smart and bold actors thrive. The Scheut Fathers were just such actors. Their advance into Mongolia was punctuated by events in the international arena as well as within the Qing Empire itself." 38

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³⁸ Wang, *Transforming the Frontier*, 375. See also Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Mark Elliott, "Frontier Stories: Periphery as Center in Qing History," *Frontiers of History in China* 2014, 9(3): 336–360.

〔摘要〕由於歷史、地理、人力物力等資源的限制,大部分 重要的學術活動和研討成果都集中在北京,上海等大都會或主要 城市的重點大學和院校。故此,檔案資料和研究資源與這些地區 密切相關。然而,基督宗教的存在和發展,特別是中國天主教會, 並不局限於這些地方。

本文將以案例研究的方式,探討華北周邊地區從清末到民國 時代的一個蒙古天主教小社區的歷史發展。它將側重於現有的多 元文化檔案資料,這些資源對《天主教在中國的歷史》的寫作的 相關性和局限性。

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利用民間文獻,深化中國天主教歷史研究——以中國天主教經濟生活史為視角討論

康志杰

〔摘要〕「民間文獻」是指深藏於民間的知識載體,類型多樣,如契約文書、碑刻、族譜、楹聯,另有一部分深藏在群體記憶中,如民謠、民歌等。過往的天主教歷史研究,偏於「形上」,多以「官方文獻」為主,利用民間文獻對中國天主教歷史進行深入解讀的學術成果十分罕見。本文選擇了與天主教經濟生活相關的契紙、稅單以及民謠作為藍本,以中國天主教經濟生活相關的契紙、稅單以及民謠作為藍本,以中國天主教經濟生活為研究物件,由此透視中國天主教歷史發展的若干特點。作為學術研究一個新嘗試,本文的主旨是客觀、理性地從特殊文獻的角度探尋一種異質文化進入中國之後的發展變化規律,進而為這一領域的研究提供更多的新史料、新視角與新方法。

引子

「民間文獻」是指深藏於民間的知識載體,類型多樣,如契約文書、碑刻、族譜、楹聯,另有一部分深藏在群體記憶中,如民謠、民歌等。1 過往的教會歷史研究,資料的擷取多以文本為

¹ 學界在使用「民間文獻」這一概念時,偏重於其現存收藏狀態。實事上,公共機構(圖書館、檔案館)中也收藏相當數量的「民間文獻」(如族譜、碑刻等),但並沒有改變民間文獻的性質,這些「民間文獻」無須經田野調查獲得,研究者依然可以作為民間文獻來使用。

康志杰 〈利用民間文獻,深化中國天主教歷史研究——以中國天主教經濟生活 史為視角討論〉

基礎,研究的領域有斷代史、區域史、文化交流史、藝術史以及教育、醫療、慈善、人物、女性等,而利用散而難見民間文獻,從經濟生活的視角對中國天主教歷史進行研究,可謂鳳毛麟角。

但是,生存於世俗社會中的天主教,常常需要用世俗的方式 表達其信仰理念,如此才能不斷發展。而宗教的「神聖」與經濟 的「世俗」之間的內在張力,一直融匯在天主教的經濟活動之 中,如何在神聖的、超驗的、超世俗的宗教活動中,尋覓經濟活 動軌跡,尋覓出世與入世之間的「契合點」,如何透過民間文 獻,深入挖掘中國天主教財務經濟的種種特徵,是本文的重心。

天主教涉獵的經濟「問題」十分豐富,如傳教資金如何進入中國,進入中國後的資金如何分配、使用,教會的財務管理機構「帳房」如何運作,為了推動教務,各地教會如何購置不動產等等,由於財務經濟研究的內容宏大繁瑣,且民間文獻種類繁多,本文選擇了與天主教經濟生活相關的契紙、稅單以及民謠,由此透視中國天主教歷史中的若干特點。

一、契紙

自晚明天主教傳入中國之後,購置不動產成為傳教活動的基本前提,²其表現是大量購買土地和房產,此為教務發展的物質基礎。就購買土地來說,可分兩類:一是投入基礎建設,如修教堂,蓋醫院,建學校;二是作為耕地,購地之後租給無地的農民,由此打造出一個又一個教友村。購置房產亦有兩種類型,一是購房用之於傳教;二是相中房產之土地,購買後重建(後一種情況更為常見)。隨著天主教房地產增多,政府對教會購置不動

²不動產(immovable property)是指依自然性質或法律規定不可移動的土地、土地定著物、與土地尚未脫離的土地生成物、因自然或者人力添附於土地並且不能分離的其他物。

產進行限制,這種情況在教外契紙亦有表現,因而此節分為兩個 版塊進行闡釋。

(一)教內契紙:以宜昌教區的房地契為例

契紙,也稱契書,購買不動產需要訂立契約,於是,各類契紙(地契、房契等)成為研究中國天主教不動產的第一手文獻資料。由於各種複雜因素,具有法津效力的契約多已遺失,即使找到少量契紙,由於分散於不同地區,提供的資訊不夠充分,難於構成實證研究之框架,無法進行整體性研究。3 幸運的是,經過努力,筆者找到了一批與鄂西南天主教購置不動產相關的契約憑證,契紙共三十一份,始於同治 12 年(1873 年),迄至民國 24年(1935 年)。其中晚清二十六份(同治 2,光緒 21,宣統 3),民國僅五份,通過一張張契紙可以發現,教區在晚清已成功搭建起不動產的主體架構。

1、契紙內容及格式分析

作為一種歷史文獻,這批契紙具有以下幾個特徵:

(1)契紙(書)是買賣土地(或房產)時,雙方訂立的法律文據,是轉讓不動產所有權的證明檔,當事人雙方和見證人簽字蓋章後,經政府相關部門驗證而產生法律效力。這些契紙,除四份為房地同賣(房地契合一),餘下全部為地契,說明土地交易是教會發展的重中之重,由此展現出晚清天主教深入中國內地之後求生存、求發展的態勢。

³ 筆者收集到陝西西安、河北景縣等地的地契房契,但數量極少,無法形成對某一地域的研究報告,而鄂西南教區的三十一份不動產契約,相對集中,時間連續,信息量大,可為近代中國天主教不動產研究提供佐證。

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(2)契紙全部為「紅契」⁴,契文由賣方書立;契紙的中段為保人、代筆人、領錢人的簽字畫押等內容,擔任交易「見證人」,多是賣方的親戚或鄰里,體現出中國式「熟人社會」的特色。⁵ 契尾(左段,主要為晚清契紙)是布政使司頒發的「證明」,⁶ 以印章為界,分為兩部分。天主教購地多在晚清,因而實施「粘連契尾」的方法,即由布政司統一刊印契尾,編號發行,粘連在「民寫地契」之後,以此作為官府驗契的憑證。布政司刊印的契尾有文字說明:「時將契價稅銀數目大字填寫鈐印之處,令業主看明,當面騎字截開,前幅給業戶收執……」交易完成後,契紙需送交政府相關部門驗收,因而地契房契上粘貼著各類驗契憑證,以及驗契的紅印,由於時間久遠,一些驗契憑證被毀壞,印章及字跡模糊。

「驗契憑照」是交易之後,地方政府進行檢驗的憑證,因而 紅契更具有法津效力。⁷

⁴未向官府納稅前的地契稱為「白契」或「草契」,經官府驗契並納稅後稱為「紅契」,只有「紅契」具有法律效力。一般來說,地契由買方保存,作為土地所有權憑證。

^{5 「}熟人」通俗地說是「小圈子」社會,20 世紀費孝通在《鄉土中國》中提出的概念,他認為中國傳統社會存在一張複雜龐大的關係網。

⁶ 立契後要經官府驗證交納稅費,官府為其辦理過戶過稅的手續之後,在 白契上粘貼由官方排版統一印刷的契尾,鈴蓋縣州府衙的官方大印,規 正三寸許,方制,篆體,紅色赫然,這就是具有法律效力的紅契(亦稱 官契)。地契由買方保存,作為土地所有權的憑證。

[「]這批契紙,文字最多的為蔡毛氏,約七百字,最短為劉紫垣,二百零五字。由於時間久遠,紙張已發黃破損,但字跡大多清晰。在賣方中,除私家(家庭、家族)的地產出讓,亦有三家民間機構將不動產賣於天主教堂,他們是葆元堂、同業堂和賓興館。就契約的格式來說,與世俗社會的地契無大的差異,契頭(右段)正上方印有「縣正堂官契」幾個大字,但由於其上多處粘貼「驗契憑照」,字跡常常被覆蓋;右邊印有粉紅色線條若干,以方便書寫契文。



圖:光緒十七年甘思親賣地契紙

契紙的右上角貼有「稅票」,此為契稅憑證,是土地、房屋權屬轉移時,政府向其承受者徵收的一種稅收,亦是土地私有、 民間自主買賣的產物。三十一份契紙均有稅票,說明鄂西南天主 教的土地交易按照國家法律完稅,土地買賣得到法律的認可。

稅票的具體數目根據不動產交易量確定,因而稅票的顏色不一,價位也不盡相同。

(3)天主堂為法人代表:三十一份契紙,業主均為「天主堂」(亦有少量用教堂的名稱如「永信興」、「愛德堂」),而非個人。也就是說,「教堂」置產體現出「公共性」,⁸教會組織由此成為具有民事權利主體資格的社會團體(機構)。

⁸ 同治四年(1865 年),法國公使柏大臣與總理事務衙門制定《傳教士置買田地房屋章程》,其主旨是為天主教購置不動產進一步掃清障礙,促使實操作程式更加規範。章程規定:「如人內地置買田地房屋,其契據內寫立契人某某,此系賣產人名,賣為本處天主堂公產字樣,不必專列傳教士及奉教人之名……」台灣中央研究院近代史研究所編:《教務教案檔》第四輯(一),光緒五年一光緒十二年,1981 年,第 578 頁,「總署收湖廣總督卞保第文,附荊宜施道與祈教士來往信函三件・法教士祈棟樑私買江陵縣民屋經援章指駁情願退約寢事」。

(4) 契文是獲取交易資訊的重要管道,從內容來看,契文 依次為賣主的姓名、賣出不動產的主要原因(如外遷、還債等), 所賣土地的編號、稅畝(丈積)、四至邊界、買主姓名、價格等。 文字簡要,字跡工整,折射出教區不動產的分佈、格局以及教務 發展等諸多資訊。

2、購置土地的手段

利用「血緣+地緣」的模式「置產」,契文有清楚的反映。 三十一份契紙,除少量購地作為耕地出租(如蔡毛氏出賣青草鋪 田地,時周圍已有教堂耕地),大量土地用於教會的基本建設, 因而所購土地,必須連為一體,於是出現了父子(張大鏞與張如 榮、張如華)、兄弟(郭家全與郭家柱)、同宗(劉熊氏劉光澄 母子與劉紫垣)、鄰里(張運鴻與賓興館、唐立勳與郭氏兄弟) 等陸續與天主教進行房地產交易的情況,短時間內形成的交易鏈, 為教區不動產「增容」,發揮了重要作用。

通過尋覓交易中的「連鎖反映」,不難發現:不僅血緣關係保證了交易的連續性,地緣關係也成為天主堂「蠶食土地」成功的重要條件。如光緒十五年(1889年),毗鄰賓興館而居的張運鴻將土地賣給教堂,於是賓興館的地界直接與教堂「連接」。十三年後(光緒二十八年),天主堂又從賓興館買下田地,教會的地盤由此進一步擴大。

為了使不動產得到法律的保護,交易中須有多位元證人。「憑中人」、「鄉保」、「見錢人」甚至「憑中證親族人」等多種名目出現於契文之中,並且簽名畫押。這些扮演「證人」、「保人」角色者多是賣方的親戚、鄰里,由此形成一個不斷向天主教出售不動產的「熟人鏈效應」,這種捆綁式的「熟人鏈」,不僅為教會的不動產交易提供了更多的機會,而且增加了契約效力的信用度。如劉舜臣是光緒年間天主教購置不動產交易中的活躍人物,從光緒十一年至二十年(1877-1894),有六次出現在契

紙「憑中證」的行列,前後為唐立勳、楊修泰、葉天富、包永祥、郭家柱、郭家全等人擔保;鄔宣義同樣積極參與這種商業運作,從光緒二十三年至二十七年(1897-1901年),四年時間十次為張大鏞、葉天富、劉作愷、馬世楨、覃寶三、郭家柱、郭家全、蔡海東、劉紫垣、劉熊氏等人「擔保」。更有意味的是,賣主葉天富以及郭家兄弟(郭家全、郭家柱),均請劉舜臣和烏宣義擔任中保,說明劉、鄔二人熟稔以及對他們的信任,顯然,教會在購置不動產的過程中,成功地構築了一張充滿人情味的關係網絡,並充分利用這張網路和人脈資源,去推動不動產的滾動式發展。

總之,透過契紙的格式、內容,不僅能夠撲捉到天主教與中國社會關係互動等諸多資訊,而且能夠尋覓出鄂西南教區不動產增容的基本特色,其表徵集中體現在兩個方面:

其一:土地位置是決定天主教發展的關鍵,而集中在某一地域購置不動產來推動教務的思路和策略,可通過一張張契紙得以映證: 9晚清教區購置土地,基本鎖定在長江北岸的二馬路、長江南岸的石榴紅(十里紅)以及南關(門)外三個區域,其中,毗鄰長江的二馬路和南關外是發展的重心,此處除主教府,修女院,還建有大型綜合醫院、各類學校等。但這些土地交易非一次性完成,通過不斷購置周邊土地,終於形成了頗具規格的教會公產,而隨著城市建設的拓展與增容,教會不動產日漸升值。

其二:天主教購置不動產,絕非隨心所欲的舉措,一系列房 地產交易,擇地的重心、主教府及中心大教堂對地域和人文環境 的要求,主體建築群向周邊地區的輻射功能等等,均是教會考慮

⁹ 鄂西南歷任主教為:董文芳(Alexius Filippi,1870-1888)、祁棟樑(Benjaminus Christiaens,1889-1899)、德希聖(Theotimus Verhaeghen,1900-1904)、楊睦多(Modestus Everaert,1904-1922)、鄧炳文(Trudo Jans,1923-1924)。1923 年 12 月,鄂西南宗座代牧區更名為宜昌代牧區(1924-1938);1936 年 7 月 7 日,擁有十五位傳教士的沙市監牧區由宜昌代牧區分出,正式成立沙市監牧區。管轄江陵、松滋、化安、石首、監利等縣,美國人狄降(Julian Dillon,1897-1961)為首任主教。

康志杰 〈利用民間文獻,深化中國天主教歷史研究——以中國天主教經濟生活 史為視角討論〉

的內容。正因為如此,鄂西南教區抓住一切時機購置不動產,最終用了三十七年的時間(1873-1910),建構起方濟各大教堂、天官橋愛德堂、白衣庵教堂等數個傳教中心,搭建起教區的不動產的基本框架,由此帶來教會發展的「多米諾效應」。

不動產是教務之基石,因此,契紙作為珍貴的「原生態文獻」,不僅向後人展示了區域天主教發展的線索、輪廓及心路歷程,同時也為學人研究天主教的經濟生活史提供了確鑿的證據。

(二)教外契紙:以天主教景縣教區博物館收藏教外契紙為 例

天主教不動產積累,為教務發展奠定了基礎。但是,對於天主教不動產的持續增容,中國政府是一種什麼態度?天主教購置不動產是否順暢?面對天主教持續購置不動產,對天主教充滿疑慮的地方政府採取什麼方法遏制?這些問題或許可以從教外的契紙獲得答案,下文以收藏於河北景縣天主教博物館內的一批契紙為例證進行闡說。



圖:景縣博物館收藏教外契紙

景縣博物館收藏有一批民國契紙,多為民間不動產交易的憑證,但幾乎所有的契紙上都蓋有「抵押典賣於外國人作為無效」醒目的印章,也就是說,民間交易完成之後,買方如果再將土地房屋轉賣於天主教,將惹上「官司」,地方政府將給予相應的處罰。為何中國民間出現阻止買方將不動產轉於天主教現象,弄清事情原委,需從晚清政府對天主教置產的策略說起。

近代為天主教置產打開綠燈的是 1860 年簽訂的《中法北京條約》,其第六款規定:「並任法國傳教士在各省租買田地、建造自便。」¹⁰ 所以說,「一八五八年和一八六零年的條約革命性改變了傳教士們和華籍基督徒們的處境,使得教會的大規模擴展成為可能。」¹¹ 在不平等條約的保護之下,天主教信仰徹底合法化了。通過前文對鄂西南教區契紙的梳理與分析,可以發現,晚清是天主教置產的重要階段,教務發展之根基由此夯實。隨著教務發展,持續置產仍然是教務的重中之重。

1865年,「柏爾德密協定」出台,該檔在《中法北京條約》的基礎之上,規範了教會購置不動產的程式與規則。¹² 但面對教會置產中不斷出現的種種麻煩與問題,1895年,「法國教堂入內地買地來往照會」頒佈,此文件不僅重申 1865年柏爾德密協定內

¹⁰ 王鐵崖編:《中外舊約章彙編》,第一冊,(北京:生活、讀書、新知三聯書店,1957),頁 147。

¹¹ 賴德烈(Kenneth S. Latourette)著,雷立柏等譯:《基督教在華傳教史》(A History of Christian Missions in China)(香港:道風書社,2009), 百 239。

¹² 為了使法規條文便於實施,1865 年,「法國教堂入內地買地照會」重申了天主教置產操作程式,茲錄如下:「一八六五年二月二十日,同治四年正月二十五日,北京總理衙門致法國公使函

本王大臣茲將天主教堂公產一事所作決定知照貴大臣:嗣後法國傳教士如人內地置買田地,房屋,其契據內寫明『立文契人某某(此系賣產人姓名)賣與本處天主教堂公產』字樣,不必專列傳教士及奉教人之名。本王大臣已諮行江蘇省李照辦。該函抄件附上,即希查照為荷。」文獻載王鐵崖編:《中外舊約章彙編》,第一冊(北京:生活、讀書、新知三聯書店,1957),頁227。

容,且公開廢除了「賣產人報官酌定」的限制辦法,並強調天主 教所買不動產為「教會公產」,交易完成後需向政府交納稅款。

民國以後,隨著教產的積累,政府為了對基督宗教在華不動產進行控制、整頓及管理,開始出台相關法令法規,如 1928 年 7 月,政府頒佈了《內地外國教會租用土地房屋暫行章程》(簡稱《暫行章程》)¹³,《暫行章程》明確規定教產不可用之於「收益與營業」,但近代以降天主教不動產的投資已漸成氣候,對這類教產如何處理,政府並沒有提出明確意見。

或許是為了彌補《暫行章程》的缺失,1929 年 11 月,國民政府又公佈了《外國教會租用土地房屋應強制於契約載明必要事項四項》(簡稱《四項》),強調「教會地產無論是定期還是永租,契約上都要加上『此項基地只限於傳教之用。』」顯然,《四項》的宗旨是強化對基督宗教不動產的管理力度,儘量將教會不動產限定在「自用」範圍之內。14

1937年之前,天主教基本完成了向政府「登記立案」,教育、醫療衛生機構也置於政府的管制之下,但「教產」仍由教會掌控。因此,「國民政府外交內政兩部,於1937年7月30日會同司法行政部,開會商討,將外國教會永租土地契式妥予修定,並呈政院核准施行。」¹⁵

^{13 「}章程」為中文與拉丁文對照,載《公教教育叢刊》(Dossiers de la Commission Synodale; Digest of the Synodal Commission),北京:公教教育聯合會,September, 1928, pp.365-366.

¹⁴ 詳見「關於教會在內地永租土地或房屋問題,由中華民國政府行政院給予中華公教進行會會長陸伯鴻之批示」,載《教務叢刊》(Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis)Martius., 1933, p.744.

^{15 「}政府訂定教會永租土地契式(寵光社南京通訊)」,載《聖教雜誌》 第三一冊,1937年第10期,頁493。

政府關於天主教不動產的限制,影響到地方政府對天主教置 產的態度。河北是天主教徒最多的區域,選擇從「買方管道」阻 止、遏制天主教發展,也就順理成章了。

作為民間文獻中的一類,輕盈單薄的契約文書,承載了中西 文化衝突、碰撞、交流、融匯等一系列深刻而厚重的歷史。地契 具有文物和史料的雙重價值,就文物來說,它幫助人們去恢復歷 史的本來面貌;就史料來說,它不僅見證了晚清以降土地權屬的 複雜變更,而且對於研究近代中國土地制度、賦稅制度、土地房 產的買賣關係具有參考價值。它所釋放出來的大量資訊,有助於 今人認識天主教傳入中國特殊的歷史背景及其發展中的複雜元 素,同時對於政府管理宗教事務,瞭解天主教不動產的動態和實 情,把握處理教會財產的力度,提供了重要依據。

二、稅單

稅單是個人或社會團體向國家交納稅收的憑證,天主教作為 宗教團體,自進入中國之後一直依法交納各種稅款,其中土地稅 和房稅最為普遍。由於歷史的原因,天主教稅單大多散佚,但通 過搜羅相關文獻,仍然能夠發現天主教交納各種稅款的資訊。

天主教交納稅款大體有以下幾類:

(一) 土地稅

土地稅是天主教交納的基本稅種。文獻記載:「康熙十二年,編僉立甲如故,知數人劉英托劉岳宗管理田數,完納糧白共實在田二百六十四畝一分二厘八毫。」¹⁶ 這是清初上海敬一堂交

¹⁶ 無名氏:《敬一堂志》「田房」,載鐘鳴旦、杜鼎克、王仁芳編《徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻續編》第 13 冊 (台灣:台北利氏學社, 2013),頁585。

納土地稅的情況。此處需要對「糧白」稍作解釋:明清時期,有田者須向官府繳納兩種實物稅,一為漕糧,一為白糧,合稱之為「糧白」。文獻記曰:「(康熙)九年議准:凡起解兵餉協餉漕糧白糧……或致錢糧中塗(途)失誤者降一級調用。」「17,意思是說,國家要打仗了,無論北漕南糧都統統送到前線附近。又,漕糧北運,又稱北糧。白糧在官府收糧後就地分配給當地官員,因為中國納糧之區大多在南方,故留在原地之糧亦大多為南方地區,所以白糧又稱南糧,南糧往往收米。米者,又稱白米。18 敬一堂「完納糧」,說明教會依法向官府繳納了兩種糧食實物稅,而之所以要寫明「糧白」二字,是因為有些田,只須繳納一種,或北漕或南糧,有些田連一種都不用繳,如學田。

(二) 房稅

購置房產是教務發展之契機,因而房產稅是教會財務支出的重要內容。關於交納房稅,文獻亦有記載:「懷寧縣總堂在城東黃家獅子,洋式樓一座,瓦屋二重;光緒九年,價買趙、楊、李姓等屋,契已稅。」¹⁹由於房產是天主教發展的最基本的需求,因而關於房稅的記載頗多,茲不贅述。

(三) 濠租

濠租是政府把廢棄的城濠空地租給百姓建房,並徵之稅款,如「雍正八年三月初一日,署理江西巡撫印務太常寺卿謝旻奏:

^{17《}欽定大清會典則例》(文淵閣四庫全書本),卷三十六。全文為:「(康熙)九年議准:凡起解兵餉協餉漕糧白糧本色顏料等項,該管司道府官不委見任佐貳、濫委廢員匪人者,罰俸一年,或致錢糧中塗(途)失誤者降一級調用。」

¹⁸ 制度規定,北漕是運往北方是糧食,即有稻殼者,因為路途遠,稻穀好保存;而南糧繳米,因為就地分配,且免官員去輾米。制度如此,但實際執行中未必都是如此。

^{19 (}清)馮煦:《皖政輯要》(未刊),轉引自楊堤等著:《安徽省天主教傳教史資料彙編》(台灣:輔仁大學出版社,2007),頁136。

此外更有各處城濠隙地賃民搭房居住之濠租銀 , 每年七百餘 兩。」²⁰

民國以後,政府加大了這項稅收的力度,以江西為例:

江西省政府訓令財總字第九七四七號

令浮梁、星子、玉山、萬年縣縣長,查該縣教堂地租、救租、 學租、濠租自二十五年度起,撥充縣地方經費,除查照二十 四年度省預算原列數額,代為編列該縣二十五年度縣地方預 算,暨分令外,合行令仰該縣長即便知照,並轉飭財委會知 照!

此今。

中華民國二十万年万月廿八日

熊式輝 21

此處「租」即為稅,共四類:除「地租」外,「救租」用於 賑災,「學租」用於教育。民國時期,「濠租,無定額,每徵銀 壹兩,折收銀元壹元柒角,徵價外另外手擻料洋捌分。」²² 這份 文獻說明,江西教會對於政府的各項稅收,能夠給予配合,並按 照規定交納稅款。

²⁰ 《世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨》卷 138 上,文淵閣四庫全書版。濠通「壕」, 原意為底部安放竹刺的護城溝壑,如城壕、戰壕。

²¹《江西省政府公報》第 510 期,1936 年,頁 3;訓令標題:「浮梁、星子、玉山、萬年等縣教堂地租、救租、學租、濠租相應撥充縣地方經費令仰知照」。

²²《南昌初元紀事》卷一,「賦稅類」(縣公署稅目),轉引自付小紅: 《南昌民國初元紀事的整理與南昌朱橋梅氏研究》(碩士論文,江西師 範大學,2007),頁38。

(四)警稅

警稅又稱「員警捐」,相當於保安稅或治安稅。「光緒三十三年,呼蘭知府李鴻桂與駐蘭法司鐸薄若望商納學警各費。薄司鐸言教堂自設學堂,經費出自教堂公產,若再出學費,地力未免難給。至租賦系屬正課,巡警保衛地方公產,應一律照繳。至教民本屬華人,伊等產業如學費、警費,凡民人應盡義務,自不容辭。李守旋稟撫憲函知法主教藍祿業,並通飭各屬遵照辦理。」²³或許是民國東北匪患成災,地方政府加大了治安力度,由此警稅成為呼蘭的一項經濟負擔。對於天主教會來說,警稅與土地稅同等重要,如在呼蘭:「教堂購買民地六百六十五晌五畝六分六厘,歲約租糧如額,並納員警捐。」²⁴鑒於天主教宗教團體的特性,政府又規定:「教堂公產納警費不納學費,教民產業各費照納。」²⁵即學費類稅款免去,但警稅照交不誤。

教會不僅主動交納稅款,還督促教友依法納稅,在塞外傳教的聖母聖心會士王守禮主教曾告誡教友:「賴天主教會的發動和不斷的努力,那些土地已經能供給善良人民的需要。從開始時,全部收入即用於人民的社會需要,而人民也向政府盡了納稅的責任。」²⁶

自晚明天主教進入中國,交納各種稅款是天主教會的一項重要支出,除常見土地稅、房產稅,還有各種雜稅,除前文提到濠租、治安稅,還有堤稅、厘金、大戶捐(戰爭期間的稅款)等,限於篇幅,茲略去。

²³ 張先清、趙蕊娟編:《中國地方誌基督教史料輯要》(上海:東方出版中心,2010),頁 254。原文載《呼蘭府志》(民國四年鉛印本)。

 $^{^{24}}$ 張先清、趙蕊娟編:《中國地方誌基督教史料輯要》,頁 $250\,\circ$

²⁵ 張先清、趙蕊娟編:《中國地方誌基督教史料輯要》,頁 254。

^{26 [}比]王守禮 (Mgr. C. Van Melckebeke) 著,傅明淵譯:《邊疆公教社會事業》 (EN MONGLIE L'action sociale de l'Eglise Catholique) ,(台灣:華明書局,1965),頁 16。

稅單是直接反映天主教與中國社會關係的一種「歷史憑證」, 生存在中國土壤中的天主教既是「社會團體」,同時也是納稅人, 歷史留下的稅單以及相關文字材料,證明了天主教自進入中國之 後,遵守國家的相關稅法以及與社會和諧共存的歷史事實。

三、反映天主教經濟生活的「民謠」

民謠是中國民間文學的一種表現形式,是老百姓集體創作的 口頭文學,多在坊間流行,且富於民族色彩。中國民謠涉及的內 容有宗教、愛情、戰爭、勞作、婚喪嫁娶以及飲酒作樂、舞蹈祭 典等,總之,生動活潑的各類民謠反映了民族的情感與風尚。天 主教傳入中國以後,教會內逐漸出現了反映信仰生活的種種民謠, 各類民謠折射出天主教在不同時代的特點,是研究中國天主教歷 史不可多得的原生態文獻。

天主教民謠涉及的內容較多,限於篇幅,本文僅選擇與教會 經濟相關的民謠推行分析。

清中葉朝廷禁教結束了明清之際「著書多格言 ,結交皆名 士」²⁷ 的傳教格局,教會在向偏僻鄉村轉移的過程中,一批批「草根」進入教會。關於信徒結構的變異,近代著名天主教徒蘇 雪林有段評說:「乾嘉教難後,天主教轉入下層階級,地位自然 低落;拳亂後,中國國恥,大都與教案有關,國人對基督教積憤 愈深。天主教禮儀較繁,形式亦頗嚴肅,國人對之格格不入,情 咸遂更隔閡。」²⁸

^{27 〈}贈思及艾先生詩〉,載(明)徐光啟等撰:《天主教東傳文獻續編》 (一),梵蒂岡圖書館藏本(台灣:學牛書局,2000),頁433。

²⁸ 蘇雪林:〈一個皈依天主教的五四人的自白〉,載張澤編注:《中國 天主教歷代文選》(非正式出版),頁 190。

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鴉片戰爭以後,為了讓更多的人皈依,也為了解救那些在災 荒中尋求逃生的難民,一些教會以物質利益為誘餌,吸引下層百 姓信教,於是出現了所謂的「吃教」現象。例如:

光緒年間天主教傳入河南滑縣,凡入教者可以吃上教會施捨的小米飯,並得到「哀憐錢」,故天主教很快在小寨、齊繼、前草坡、康莊、李瑩一帶發展起來。²⁹

衡水的薛清化神父「善作生意,倒賣糧食,用以周濟窮人, 所以各村皆有教友,新領洗的很多,這說是所謂『高梁教』的由 來。」³⁰

20 世紀初,雷鳴遠在涿州城內開辦要理學校,凡是前來受教的人,每月給予一塊現洋(銀幣),³¹ 但他發現這種「佈施法」很難找到皈依的人。

由於吃教現象一度比較普遍,一些地方出現了諷刺吃教者的 民謠,下文列舉幾例:

以十字,聖架號,沒有米,就信教。(東北)32

²⁹ 參見滑縣地方史志編纂委員會:《滑縣誌》(鄭州:中州古籍出版社, 1997);轉引自劉志慶、尚海麗編:《河南天主教資料輯注》(北京: 宗教文化出版社,2011),頁 350。

³⁰ 參見范文興、耿永順等:《景縣(衡水)教區史資料彙編 1939-2002》 (台灣:輔仁大學出版社,2005),頁 7。

³¹ 參見自由太平洋月刊社編:《雷鳴遠神父傳》(越南:自由太平洋協會,1963),頁 114。

^{32 《}要理問答·聖號經》(山東兗州府天主堂印書館,1934),頁 122。 是書封面有文字說明:「此系根據上海會議所草定,參照各區校改所修 正,而後謹遵宗座駐華代表命令所印行者。」這段東北民謠由遼寧撫順 潘世勝神父提供。

你為什麼進教?我為三塊北洋造;花完再向神父要,神父不 給就退教。(河北)³³

你為什麼進教?我為銅錢兩吊;為什麼念經?為了黃米三升。 (蒙古)³⁴

《要理問答》的原文是:「問:你為什麼進教?答:為恭敬 天主,救自己的靈魂。」³⁵天主教徒改變教理中的話語,從一個 側面反映出中國鄉村百姓因為生活極度貧困而進入教會的現實, 一些人甚至把入教作為改變貧困狀況的一種有效途徑。

吃教類民謠反映了窮苦百姓被生活所迫,為了生存而皈依的 現實。對於這種歷史現象,旅法中國神父衛清心的著作用較為生 動的描述:

大部分中國教徒(特別是內地剛剛入教的教徒)都生活在社會的最底層,其中鄉下人居多,有農民、有連住處都沒有只好住在船上的漁民,有苦力、小商販,也有窮困潦倒的貧民。他們入教不過是為了混碗飯!耶穌會士鄂爾璧說過:「你對他們講天堂、地獄時,他們就說天堂對他們來說,就是早晚能吃飽飯,而地獄卻意味著挨餓。」36

因此,對那些窮人來說,皈依基督教和加入其他教派或秘密 會社是兩碼事。可憐人人教的目的是為改變自己的貧困生活尋求

³³ 河北省地方志編纂委員會編:《河北省志》第 68 卷〈宗教志〉(北京:中國書籍出版社,1995),頁 302。

³⁴ 宿心慰:〈天主教傳入磴口地區述略〉,載磴口縣政協文史委員會編: 《磴口縣文史資料輯》第六輯,1989,頁 16。

³⁵ 無名氏:〈聖事問答〉,載鐘鳴旦、杜鼎克、蒙曦編:《法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻》第二十冊,(台灣:台北利氏學社,2009),頁399。

^{36 [}法]衛清心著,黃慶華譯:《法國對華傳教政策》(北京:中國社會科學出版社,1991),頁 356。鄂爾璧的原話,衛清心引自葛光被:《在華傳教五十年——記耶穌會士鄂爾璧神甫》,頁 20。

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依靠,因此,與其說是為了尋求精神支柱,不如說是為了得到物質上的保障。³⁷

因窮困(亦有懶惰)而滋生的「高粱教徒」、「米教徒」尚不是真正的信仰者,當生活發生變故的時候,這些人會退出教會。1920年甘肅發生地震,「地震之後有成千的非基督徒民眾得到教會的幫助,他們接受洗禮。1923年,幾乎有七千人接受天主教信仰,但此後仔細檢查這些人的動機和傾向,他們中有三分之二放棄了信仰。這個地區大部分信徒來自貧困階級,而且他們大部分住在洞穴中。」38

用物質手段吸引下層民眾信教,是天主教在複雜形勢下的「不得已而為之」,事實證明這種方法存在弊端。為了消除吃教者帶來的負面影響,教會開始調整策略,將經費投入要理學校的興辦,開啟了對慕道者和信徒進行宗教培育的艱難之路。

為生存而進入教會者多是掙扎在社會底層的農民,中國是農耕社會,也是自然災害頻發的國家,如果遇上天災,靠天吃飯的窮苦農民為了活命只得背井離鄉,去尋找新的生活空間。而教會為了安置災民,曾購置大量土地給無地農民耕種,但接受教會土地的條件是領洗進教,由此導致晚清以後「教友村」快速增長,較著名的有河北本篤莊、范家圪墶,內蒙的二十四頃地等等。教友村以河北、山西、內蒙等地為多,聖母聖心會在內蒙、河套一帶能夠迅速發展,就是以土地為契機,吸引農民進教的結果,於是塞外出現了農民獲得土地的民謠:

天主聖母瑪利亞,熱身子跪在冷地下,

³⁷ 馬特吉:《文人的中國》;轉引自衛清心:《法國對華傳教政策》, 百 359。

³⁸ Rev. Gabriel McCarthy, O.M.CAP, "The Cave Men of Kansu," in *Catholic Mission*, Number 8, 1927, p.239. 1920 年 12 月 16 日甘肅發生的 8.6 級地震,死亡 20 萬人。

神父!哪裡撥地呀?噢來!紅盛義去種吧!39

此類民謠還有相似版本:「天主聖母瑪利亞,神甫給我撥地 呀!」⁴⁰

土地是農民生活之根本,有了土地就有了生存的希望。經過 教會的幫助,經過信徒們的辛勤付出,教友村的生活大為改觀, 於是又有民謠唱道:

燒紅柳,吃白麵,好不自在。41

吃教現象曾引起中國官綁的質疑和詬病,由此刺激教會痛下 決心改變這種格局。經過教會的培育,當年的吃教者多轉化為良 心教友。所以,「吃教→購地→自養」類民謠,在時空中形成了 一個邏輯鏈——教會接納了因生活窘迫而進入教會者,但很快調 整策略:一是對新皈依者進行宗教培育,開辦男女全日制小學以 及要理學校,通過「神形之培植」來提高教友的信德;二是不斷 提高教友村的生活品質,除了提供土地,教會還開展農具維修, 提供耕牛、籽種等活動。經過多年的營建,教友村多發展為自給 自足式的鄉村社會,鄉村教友過上了「燒紅柳,吃白麵,好不自 在」的日子。

民謠具有族群記憶溯源的功能,那些在時空上相互關聯的民謠,從一個側面反映出晚清以降天主教進入中國鄉村的基本線索和特徵,而創造民謠、傳頌民謠的草根,則成為了歷史潮流中的「不在場的在場者」,但他們留下的具有生命力的「口傳資料」,承載著歷史的集體記憶,是今人理解、研究中國天主教歷史的珍貴文獻。

³⁹ 宿心慰:《天主教傳入磴口地區述略》,頁16。

⁴⁰ 朱永豐:《磴口縣天主教堂的農林水牧》,載磴口縣政協文史資料委員會編《磴口縣文史資料輯》第六輯,1989年,頁83。

⁴¹ 朱永豐:《磴口縣天主教堂的農林水牧》,頁 21。

康志杰 〈利用民間文獻,深化中國天主教歷史研究——以中國天主教經濟生活 史為視角討論〉

結語

在天主教研究領域,學界不僅要關注那些可以稱為「哲學」、「思想」或者「經典」的東西,也需要關注那些底層的、世俗的內容;不僅要關注那些可以在歷史和文獻中發出聲音的「精英」,也要關心那些被遺忘的「草根布衣」。但是,關注下層(小傳統),需要深度地發掘材料,特別是豐富的民間文獻,如此才能在複雜的「互動關係」中鉤沉探佚出中國天主教歷史動態中的規律與特色。

天主教自晚明傳入中國,數百年的發展中自然而然地滋生一批極具歷史文化價值的民間文獻,作為一種「知識載體」,涉及 天主教的民間文獻數量大、種類多、範圍廣,不僅收藏狀態特殊,且話語權更多來自社會底層,但如何搜集、發掘、整理、使 用天主教民間文獻,深入瞭解這些鮮活的文字記錄與話語產生的 時代背景,考察不同的文本生成和發展脈絡,並將林林種種的民 間文獻與文本資料(特別是官方文本)、口頭文獻與文字相證、 互勘,並科學理性地解讀文獻,仍然是學術空白。

民間文獻的特性是原創性、生動性,能夠為學術研究提供了諸多生動鮮活的細節史料,對歷史的解釋更直接,反映歷史真像更清晰,可以給學術研究帶來新的視野,讓學術研究更接地氣。中國天主教經濟生活史涉及多種文獻,而民間文獻是其中的重要組成部分。本文利用民間文獻對中國天主教的經濟生活史進行分析討論,是學術研究一個新嘗試,其主旨是客觀、理性地從特殊文獻的角度理解一種異質文化進入中國之後的發展變化規律,進而為中國天主教研究提供更多的新資料、新視域和新方法。

[Abstract] "Folk literature" refers to various types of knowledge carriers, such as contracts, inscriptions, genealogies and couplets, which are deeply hidden in popular society. Some others are deeply buried in collective memories, such as folk songs and ballads. Past studies of Chinese Catholic history have been slanted towards metaphysics, and mostly based on "official documents." The use of folk literature to make in-depth academic interpretation on the Chinese Catholic history was rare. This article adopts the economic life of the Chinese Catholic Church as the research object, with deeds, tax bills and ballads as related examples, to interpret several characteristics in the development of the Chinese Catholic history. As a new attempt in academic research, the main purpose of this article is to explore objectively and rationally, through special literatures, the development and the rhythm of change after a heterogeneous culture has entered China, and to provide more new historical sources, new perspectives and new methods for research in this field.

天主教史研究的深化——以「語文」為中心

古偉瀛

[摘要]中國天主教史的研究在改革開放以後逐漸恢復,且漸漸能擺脫意識型態的干擾而更具學術性。而且各地方有不少新的史料出土和公開,有些人便積極學習外語以直接利用外文史料,也有些人以身為華人的優勢,努力蒐求中文史料,在不同方面都獲致頗多的成果。此外,近數十年來更出版了流落在海外的許多中文天主教的文獻及檔案,使得此方面的研究更加多元而豐富。雖然近數十年已擺脫了只重耶穌會以及少數明星傳教士的研究,不過仍有細緻化及深化的空間,本文即是以「語文」為例,指出不只可以在傳教初期的「辭彙」鑄造的過程中可以看出文化的交流,也可以在「譯文」的檢視中,進一步提昇教會史研究的水平。

前言

自從上世紀八十年代中國大陸改革開放以來,中國天主教史的研究逐漸恢復,而且也愈來愈能擺脫意識型態的干擾而具有學術性。更重要的是,各地方的史料逐漸公開,使得不少新的史料出土。有些人積極學習外語,希望能直接利用外文的直接史料,也有一些人想運用作為一位華人的優勢,努力蒐求散布在中華大地的中文史料,因而獲致頗多的成果,像是從地方誌,中央及各省縣市的檔案館及圖書館,文集,年譜及族譜中,甚至是來往的

信簡或是實地的採訪中,得到許多前所未有的史料。此外,近數十年來更出版了流落在海外的許多中文天主教的文獻及檔案,使得吾人的研究更加多元而豐富。本人在數年前曾有一文綜觀近數十年的研究成果,以及未來可以研究的方向,1然而已有一段時日,本文即是想簡單回顧 2010 年以來,中國天主教史的研究發展進步情形,同時指出仍有細緻化及深化的空間,即以「語文」為例,指出不只可以在傳教初期的「辭彙」鑄造的過程中可以看出文化的交流,也可以在「譯文」的檢視中,進一步提昇教會史研究的水平。

一、2010年以來的研究進展

(一)推動機構與人物

自從 2010 年以來,中國天主教史研究的變化是前述趨勢的 進一步發展,前面提到的研究人員愈來愈成熟豐富,所撰寫的著 作也愈來愈反映整個史學界的大趨勢,像是對於較小或弱勢的團 體或人物的重視,對於中文以及不同語種史料的更廣泛挖掘,以 及更具有全球化的意識等。金國平從旅居葡萄牙多年返回中國後, 與其研究夥伴吳志良等人推動澳門研究,澳門大學的湯開建也有 系統地進行澳門天主教史的研究,出版不少澳門天主教的文獻及 研究。²《澳門理工學報》的發行也鼓勵了不少教會史的研究。香 港原來有梁潔芬修女的中梵外交史研究,加上中文大學成立天主 教研究中心的推動,香港大學宋剛、李紀,以及浸會大學的基督 宗教史料庫以及朱益宜等人的推動及研究,廣東的暨南大學葉農 推動龐迪我的系統研究及文獻翻譯,復旦文史高等研究院的董少

¹ 古偉瀛:〈守望:三十年來的中國天主教史(1980-2010)〉,香港浸會大學主辦,天主教史上的人物國際學術討論會,未正式出版。

² 湯開建:《利瑪竇明清中文文獻資料匯釋》(上海:上海古籍,2016); 《明清天主教史論稿二編——聖教在中土》(澳門:澳門大學,2014); 《明清天主教史論稿初編》(澳門:澳門大學,2012)。

新進行的翻譯葡萄牙天主教史料的工作;上海大學陶飛亞及肖清和等整理當前海內外中國基督教史料的分布及整理的工作,北京外國語大學張西平教授及其團隊的研究及出版;中國社科院宗教研究所資深研究人員卓新平、任延黎、王美秀等人外,新進的劉國鵬出版了對首位宗座代表剛恒毅的研究。河南安陽師範學院的劉志慶對於近現代天主教教區建立及劃分的研究等。

香港中文大學的天主教研究中心夏其龍神父及譚永亮神父推動,出版《香港天主教研究學報》已有八期;香港大學的宋剛也有新的著作。2017年香港的巴黎外方傳教會組織了一次大規模的有關巴黎外方傳教會在華歷史的學術會議。

台灣方面原來的一些研究人員像是古偉瀛³、陳方中⁴、陳聰 銘⁵、潘鳳娟⁶、陳慧宏⁷、林月惠、李奭學等人繼續有論著出 版。在香港多年的寶血會修女梁潔芬來台推動台灣天主教史的研

³ 古偉瀛:〈啼聲初試-重讀羅明堅的教會辭彙〉,《羅明堅中國地圖集學術討論會論文集》(澳門:澳門文化局,2014),頁 242-261。〈近代中日天主教高教機構開創的比較研究——以輔仁大學與上智大學為例〉,《輔仁歷史學報》,38 期,2017 年 11 月,頁 109-136。"Father Tomás Pereira, SJ, the Kangxi Emperor and the Court Westerners," in Artur K. Wardega, SJ, António Vasconcelos de Saldanha ed., In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China. (London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp.64-84.

⁴ 陳方中:《崩落天朝的天國子民——義和團時期的直隸天主教會》(台北:光啟文化事業,2017);〈江寧還堂案——由一張中法文契約說起〉,《輔仁歷史學報》,38期,2017年11月,頁73-108。

⁵ 陳聰銘:《中梵外交史——兩岸與教廷關係(1912-1978)》(台北: 光啟文化事業,2016)。

⁶潘鳳娟:〈龍華民《論中國宗教的幾點問題》翻譯初探——以考證邊欄中文和比對註釋為中心〉,在《哲學與文化》,44卷11期(總第522期)2017,頁23-44。〈龍華民、利安當與中國宗教:以《論中國宗教的幾點問題》的四幅圖像與詮釋為中心〉《澳門理工學報》(人文社會科學版),2018年第2期(總第70期),頁45-56。

⁷ 陳慧宏:〈兩幅耶穌會士的聖母聖像:兼論明末天主教的「宗教」〉, 《台大歷史學報》,59 期,2017 年 6 月,頁 49-118。

究,2018 年在美國的 Palgrave 出版社出版了兩冊的台灣天主教史論文集。

(二)在史料編纂上,海外、大陸及台灣都有一些新的出版 品:

鐘鳴旦、杜鼎克、王仁芳等編,《徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻續編》(台北:利氏學社,2013)。

張西平教授、任大援教授,梵蒂岡圖書館副館長裴佐甯(Ambrogio M. Piazzoni)博士,意大利羅馬智慧大學副校長馬西尼(Federico Masini)博士共同擔任主編,《梵蒂岡圖書館藏明清中西文化交流史文獻叢刊》(第一輯)共收錄一百七十部天主教類文獻,分為四十四冊。(河南:大象出版社,2014)分四輯出版,總計三百冊。

輔仁大學發現了一批原來在江南代牧區的地契檔案,經整理 出版了《南京教區契約文書選輯》(輔仁大學校史室典藏,輔大 書坊,2016)。

也由於大陸出版不便,輔大出版社出版了高龍鞶(Aug. M. Colombel, S. J.)著,周士良、張廷爵等人譯,《江南傳教史》(前二冊及第五冊由周士良譯;第三冊第四冊譯者張廷爵)(新北:輔大書坊,2009;2014;2017;2018)。

中原大學宗教研究所也出版了一些點校過的天主教清代的文獻

漢語基督教經典文庫:

《天儒同異考:清初儒家基督徒張星曜文集》(肖清和、王善卿編注,2015)。

《畏天愛人極論:王徵天主教文獻集》(毛瑞方編注, 2014)。

同時也編了一些歷史文化叢書:

《修辭·符號·宗教格言:耶穌會士高一志《譬學》研究》 (林熙強,2015)。

《聖母瑪利亞在中國》(代國慶著,2014)。

《再——解釋:中國天主教史研究方法新拓展》(吳昶興編著,2014)。

中央研究院文哲研究所在李奭學的推動下,也陸續出版了一些清代的天主教文獻:

李奭學、林熙強主編,《晚明天主教翻譯文學箋注(全四卷)》 (台北:中央研究院文哲所,2014)。

(三)研究趨勢:

雖然三十年來的中國天主教史已有了相當的研究成果,本人在〈守望〉一文中已經綜合一些學者的建議,加上自己的觀察,指出一些未來可以努力的方向,像是從意識型態的侷限中突圍,也建議要從單一國家或地區的眼光中超越:研究中國的天主教會史必需從整個亞洲,特別是東亞的角度來切入。8也呼籲仍應儘早蒐集 1949 年後所留下的原來天主教會在各地區所存的檔案,以及1949-1979 三十年的歷史資料,進行口述訪問。

⁸ 此論述的開展,請參考拙文:〈東亞為視域的文化交流史——以天主教 東傳的方法論思考〉,甘懷真主編:《台大東亞文化研究》第五輯, (台北:臺大出版中心,2018),頁 239-259。

這些呼籲目前仍值得參考及繼續努力。新近的一些著作也有 一些顯著的優點,例如福建研究利瑪竇的專家林金水的高徒張先 清的《小歷史:明清之際的中西文化相遇》(商務印書館, 2015)即是很好的呈現。此書除了吸取學者的外文研究成果外, 特別勤於蒐集散存於中國各地及文獻、方志、家譜、文集中的史 料, 甚至流散在日本的相關史料, 將明清天主教會的一些重要著 作或人際網絡進行廣泛而有系統的探討,寫出很有歷史意義的微 觀文章。9 另外像是北京大學研究明末清初天儒之學的孫尚揚教 授的弟子,目前在上海大學任教的肖清和,他近年密集蒐集一些 教會有關人物的史料,深入其生平及其宗教信仰,例如對於李祖 白及徐光啟的宗教思想研究, 都顯示其努力及貢獻,增進吾人對 中國天主教會史的了解。出版有《「天會」與「吾黨」:明末清 初天主教徒群體研究》(北京:中華書局,2015)。最近更出版 了《天儒同异:清初儒家基督徒研究》(上海:上海大學出版 社,2019)。河南安陽師範的劉志慶則專注於中國天主教教區的 建制及沿革,出版了《中國天主教教區沿革史》(北京:社科文 獻出版社,2017)。湖北的康志杰則推出了《基督的新娘》 (2015),她的最新另闢蹊徑的著作則是《天主教會在華財務經 濟研究(1582-1949)》(北京:人民出版社,2018),全書共十七 章,分為歷史篇,收支篇,教產篇及管理篇,加上結論超過五百 首。

9 作者自述在整理「明清文人文集天主教史料」,見張先清:《小歷史: 明清之際的中西文化相遇》(北京:商務印書館,2015),頁 88。 近幾年來,還有一些遠赴歐洲懂得外語的學者,像劉國鵬 ¹⁰、董少新、謝明光、蔣薇等,直接探入歐文史料中研究,其未來研究成果可期。

此期間也看到前期就已相當著名的資深學者更見發揮,在海外像是在賓州大學任教的夏伯嘉在許多國際會議中不斷發表新作,也陸續出版著作,以其在史學界的聲望,提高了中國天主教史的能見度。比利時魯汶大學的鐘鳴旦、杜鼎克的著作及中譯,南懷仁研究中心的韓德力,舊金山大學的吳小新以及德國波昂聖言會的研究中心在增進中國天主教史在全球學界的能見度都頗有貢獻。北京外國語大學的張西平,澳門的湯開建、金國平,再加上中山大學的梅謙立,人民大學的雷立柏,復旦的李天綱,中國社科院的卓新平等人以及剛剛提到的一些國內年青學者使得此領域的研究不再是中國史學界的邊緣學科。我們希望不久中國天主教史的研究成為中國史學界不可或缺的重要領域。

中共十九大以後,在宗教上採取「中國化」的呼籲,而近年 在中國的天主教史研究的學者的研究方向,像是重視並蒐求本地 的史料及文獻,研究西方傳教士的本地化政策,以及努力打破西 方中心論的思維等也都須合乎此方向。

不過仍有細緻化及深化的空間,本人以為,正如李天綱及狄德滿指出的,我們可以在語言及文字上發揮我們作為國人的優勢。「但是,中國學者也並非一無是處,其從主體角度對中國近現代史的心理認知,比之西方學者從純客觀角度出發的材料解剖,更能理解當時歷史情景下天主教會在中國傳播中所遭遇的種種問題。」"我們有了主體性的自覺,又較能掌握歷史的背景及情境,加上對於語言文字的精準理解,應該更能呈現過去的真相。

¹⁰ 劉國鵬:《剛恒毅與中國天主教的本地化》(北京,社會科學文獻出版社,2010)。

¹¹ 劉國鵬:《剛恒毅與中國天主教的本地化》,頁9。

以下就從名詞以及翻譯兩方面加以展開討論。

二、名詞與翻譯:

(一)教會名詞的鑄造:傳承與發明

在傳教初期的「辭彙」鑄造的過程中可以看出文化的交流。中國的文字與西方很不同,這是來華西人要進行交流時首先遇上的問題。利瑪竇一到中國便寫信給友人,提及中文的特殊性。¹² 也就是說,由於中國語言文字與西方有異,所承載的文化價值也不同,基督宗教傳入中國時,最重要的是引入造物主人格神上帝的概念,不過,從謝和耐的研究來看,中國人從古迄今就很難有這種外在的、永恒的、全能的人格神造物主的概念,因此要鑄造出一個名詞讓中國人了解並接受,這是一個很大的問題,也是很困難的工作。

眾所周知,基督宗教很早以前就曾有過一些名詞,例如景教時期,但早已失傳或不通用了。教會的一些要素,像是教義,儀式及教士階級都需要有一些中文來表達,才能在中華大地立足,以最重要的兩組詞「天主」及「耶穌」為例,可以查考一下其在華逐漸定型的過程。

「天主」之名乃拉丁文 Deus 的音譯兼意譯,此名稱的出現早有許多文獻討論。剛開始時有人直接用音譯,在馬尼拉的華人稱之為「寥奼」或「刁氏」,在中國大陸的稱為「陡斯」,「天主」一詞的入華有一說是從日本傳入,但更多人認為是利瑪竇有一次從澳門回廣東時看來留守的助手在祭台上貼了「天主」二字,他

 $^{^{12}}$ 1583/2/13 撰於澳門,〈利氏致巴都阿德·富爾納里神父(P. Martino de Fornari)書〉,羅漁譯:《利瑪竇書信集(上)》,(台北:光啟文化事業,1986),頁 31-2。

認為很好而開始使用。不過從最早的中文天主教教理書的出版來看, Deus 的中文譯名是羅明堅取的「了無私」。¹³或許因為此詞太接近佛教及道教,此書再版時,這個詞就消失了。不論如何,「天主」一字是在 1584 年出版《新編西竺國天主實錄》時就開始普遍使用,雖然有些人偶而還用「陡斯」。

至於現在通用的「耶穌」一詞也是逐漸成型的,最早的中文稱呼是從馬尼拉的福建教友傳入的,稱為「口熱口所」,而「耶穌」的稱號,據方豪的考証是在 1603 年首次出現在出版物上。據德禮賢之推測,耶穌一名之見於文獻當在萬曆三十一年(1603),極可能在萬曆二十三年(1595)之前。

今學生書局影印之《天學初函》,所收《天主實義》,李之 藻序前已說明為重刻,但上下卷之首既署明「耶穌會中人利瑪竇 述」,故書末不得不對「耶穌」二字作一解釋:

但民善性既減,又習乎醜,所以易溺于惡,難建于善耳。天 主以父慈恤之,自古以來,代使聖神繼起為之立極。逮夫淳 樸漸瀉,聖賢化去,從欲者日眾,循理者日稀,於是大發慈 悲,親來捄世,普覺群品,於一千六百有三年前,歲次庚申, 當漢朝哀帝元壽二年冬至後三日,擇貞女為母,無所交感, 託胎降生,名號為耶穌,耶穌即謂捄世也。14

這只是最早在教會文獻上看到耶穌的名字,合理的揣測,此 名稱應更早開始與其他名稱同時使用,只是在 1603 年成為耶穌會 對外一致的稱號。

2010),頁475-476。

¹³ 古偉瀛:〈啼聲初試:重讀羅明堅的教會辭彙〉,收入《羅明堅中國地圖集學術討論會論文集》,澳門文化局,2014),頁242-261。14 方豪著,李東華編:《方豪晚年論文集》(新北:輔仁大學出版社,

「天主堂」的稱呼:舉行宗教儀式進行宗教生活,進行宗教 儀式的地方,西文稱 ecclesia 或是 church。但是中文應該如何取名 較為適當?大家都知道利瑪竇人華後的第一間教堂是在肇慶所建, 當時他與前輩羅明堅都以天竺僧自稱,因此他們所蓋的教堂命名 為「僊花寺」也不令人意外,不過在 1595 年後改以儒冠儒服,教 堂當然不能再用「寺」來指稱了。對於蓋教堂,利瑪竇有下列的 觀察及態度上的轉變: 15

1596 年,利瑪竇決定不是如同他到達廣東時在肇慶所做的那樣開設一間教堂,而是一間「書院」,他聲稱這就如同最著名的理學大師們所做的那樣。完全如同要用中文讀傳教士們的教義一樣,在傳教士們一方也用當時的西方術語來讀中文文獻,在這兩種情況下,詞滙本身便揭示了這些同化,我們不掌握其証據,但很可能是圍繞著某些傳教士而形成的、並且很可能是以教堂為中心的基督徒文士團體,諸如在杭州那樣的情況,都是根據中國那些互相勸善的學會或學社的模式建立起來的,其中有許多都與書院有關。……聖母會,貞女會,主保會,善終會等。

顯然利瑪竇受瓊明末講學風氣及書院普設的影响,因而有了設立「書院」式的教堂。本人參考了其他學者所寫有關當時天主堂的書,未見最早名宣武門西堂為「天主堂」的確切實據。¹⁶ 有一小文專門討論後來成立正式名稱「天主堂」的大致經過,¹⁷ 此處要提的是為何不用佛道教的寺廟道觀而用「堂」字是有「中國化」的思考在內,不過早期並未都用「天主堂」來稱呼,西安教

^{15 《}利瑪竇全集》,(台北:光啟文化事業),頁354。

¹⁶ 余三樂:《中西文化交流的歷史見証——明末清初北京天主教堂》

⁽廣州:廣東人民出版社,2006)。

¹⁷ 參見拙文:〈基督宗教的「適應策略」——以天主堂為例〉,收入侯 杰主編:《基督教與中國社會文化》第二輯(北京:宗教文化,2018)。

堂稱為「崇一堂」¹⁸,1638 年時福建的教堂名號就有泉州景教堂、 天學堂,永春桃源堂等。¹⁹

當時還有一個名字是必需確定的,因為經常會遇到,就是耶穌的母親 Maria,在十六世紀再傳初期,這些教會聖人的名字之漢名有兩種系統,一種是以閩南語為主的在馬尼拉通用的名字,20一種則是在中國澳門及內地通用的,以官話為主的名字,後來由於耶穌會在華成為主要的天主教傳教主體,因而這些人的漢名就逐漸統一成為耶穌會所通用的了。以 Maria 為例,馬尼拉通用的是一個礁麻里耶,可是在華通用的則是聖母瑪利亞,不過由於「聖母」又可以指是皇帝母親之尊稱,因此有時也加上「天主聖母瑪利亞」,此「天主聖母」又可與閩南及台灣通用的「天上聖母」很類似,但卻是完全不同的指涉,天上聖母是指台灣民間普遍供奉的瑪祖婆。

以上只是以一些天主教常見的名詞的起源,其實還有其他許多與名詞有關的問題也都值得進一步探討,例如:傳教士的名字,這些外國來華與士大夫交往,需要一個中國名字,有時不但需要名字,還要另取「字號」,例如,利瑪竇(Matteo Ricci)的中文名字有點異國情調,他也有個字號,稱為「西泰」;南懷仁(Ferdinand Verbiest),他的字號為「勛卿」。南氏的名字又頗具有儒家的價值意涵在內,因此「懷仁秉德」成為西方傳教士取名的最愛。²¹ 此外,像是《聖經》中之人名,例如伯多祿、保祿等常見的聖人,似乎中國人喜歡用世俗功名利祿的名字來取;明清

¹⁸ 〔法〕謝和耐著,于碩、紅濤、東方譯,徐重光校:《中國文化與基督教的沖撞》(瀋陽:遼寧人民出版社,1989),頁 351。

¹⁹ 張先清:〈貿易、儒學與傳教:明末閩南天主教會的社會網絡〉,收入《小歷史》,頁 71-2。

²⁰ 像是聖若瑟-仙士習,神父-巴禮,見張先清,頁78。

²¹ 本人曾有文章探討西方傳教士的中文取名,參見 Ku, Weiying, "A Close Friend from Afar: A Profile of Early Sino-Belgian Relationship." in *China and Europe, Yearbook 86* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 157-165.

官職以及教會機構之名也都呈現具中華特色之考量,值得進一步探討。

- (二)、教會史著作的「譯文」問題:吾人也可以在「譯文」 的檢視中,進一步提昇教會史研究的水平。
 - 1. 两文譯為中文: 國籍學者的英文翻譯問題:
- (1). 兩岸翻譯西文名詞時多年以來的用字不同,使得閱讀時發生誤解或困難。例如有很多世界知名的人物,兩岸的譯名有異,例如學者在一段文字中提到幾位宗教學者對於宗教的定義:「奧托,繆勒,斯特倫,斯塔克,宗德邁耶爾,蒂利希,伊利亞德。」²²大陸學者引西方人名時,往往不附上西文原文,可能會削弱讀者吸收全文的意義,因為若有其全名,可以配合讀者原有的背景知識,吸收更多作者所要表達的內容。更且,若不標名原文名字,會誤導讀者,因為到底西方人的名字可能有重複的,也有不同譯名的,例如蒂利希在台灣就被譯為「田立克」。若不附上其西文名字 Paul Tilich,台灣的學者初讀「蒂利希」時,不易認出。
- (2). 有時不是譯者的外語能力的問題,而是疏忽所造成的錯誤,例如有一位學者在翻譯時提到:19 世紀和 20 世紀初葉的新教傳教士們,都對他們為把基督教論點譯成漢文時所遭遇到的困難怨聲載道。他們中的一人嘆息道:「漢語是一種如此不完善和如此臃腫的工具,以至於很難用它來傳播神學真詮。」另一人說:「正如我們已有機會發現的那樣,語言本身就是用於介紹新真諦的最方便的手段之一。」²³ 然而西文的原文英譯卻是:Chinese is such an imperfect, unwieldy instrument for conveying spiritual truths! The language itself is one of the most unsuitable means for making

 ²² 卓新平, 〈總序〉, 劉國鵬: 《剛恒毅與中國天主教的本地化》, 頁 1。
 ²³ 〔法〕謝和耐著, 耿昇譯: 《中國與基督教:中西文化的首次撞擊 (增補本)》, (上海:上海古籍出版社,2003), 頁 218。

new truths known.²⁴ 此處「最不方便」卻譯成了「最方便」,如此 的錯誤使得原意剛好完全相反,對讀者有很大的誤導。

(3). 對於天主教內的組織,儀式,經文等的誤解。中華天主教徒四百多年來已有一套慣用的語彙,如果寫錯了,會造成誤解,也大為削弱原作者所想呈現的論證之力道。也有不少學者對於宗教的差異認知不清,天主教與基督新教不同,許多名詞應加以區別,例如下面這句話:「安文思神父於 1609 年生於葡萄牙。他最初的歲月是在他的叔父家度過的,叔父是牧師會會員,負責教育他虔誠敬主……」。²⁵

在天主教神父的傳記中怎麼會有「牧師會會員」?這顯然有 誤,很可能是當地教區的「聖職班」成員,亦即由教區神父組成 的團體。

另一個例子更是不知所云:

龍華民於十七世紀初年講道:

一天,一位新教徒來找我們的神父,抱怨他的妻子在那時仍 是異教徒,她找了個理由,從那堆準備被燒毀的偶像中請了 一位回來,因為他相信,通過它,她將更容易分娩。神父命 令將他救出的「偶像」以聖母像取而代之,她每天應<u>背誦問</u> 日禱詞並向天使致意七次,使聖母瑪利亞每日有七次高興的 記憶,事實上,這婦女順從了她的丈夫。分娩日期來臨時, 她值得誇耀地順利地生了個兒子。²⁶

²⁴ Jacques Gernet, Janet Lloyd (trans.), *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 239.
²⁵ 利類思 Lewis Buglio, 〈安文思傳略〉,收入安文思 Gabriel de Magailles 著,何高濟、李申譯:《中國新史》[A New History of the Empire of China] (鄭州: 大象出版社, 2004),頁 181。

²⁶ 謝和耐著:《中國文化與基督教的沖撞》,頁 101。

英文的原文為:At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Longobardo relates:

Another neophyte came one day to seek out our Father, complaining about his wife, still at that time a pagan, on the grounds that she had removed an idol from the collection of all those that were about to be burned because she believed that, through it, she would have an easier confinement. The Father ordered that the idol, Choima, which she had saved, should be replaced by an image of the mother of God and that the woman should everyday recite the Sunday orisons and the salutation to the angels seven times, in memory of the seven joys of the Virgin. Eventually, the woman obeyed her husband. When it came to the delivery, she gave birth to a son with admirable ease and, to make sure that there could be no doubt about whose assistance had made this possible, the birth fell upon the very day of the presentation of our Lady at the temple. 27

而另一個中譯的版本則譯成下列文字:

龍華民於十七世紀初葉介紹說:「另外一名新教徒於某日前來找我們的神父。他對其夫人發出了抱怨,她當時還為異教徒。她偷留下了一尊本應一併投入大火中焚燒的偶像,因為她認為用這種偶像的辦法可以更容易地分娩。神父命令不用她偷留下來的觀音(Choim)神像,而是供奉上了聖母像,女子每日七次祈禱天主和跪拜天使,以紀念同一位聖母的七樂。最後,女子要委身其夫。在分娩時,她會以令人驚訝的

²⁷ Gernet, China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures, 90.

順利程度產下一男嬰。為了大家不懷疑她受到了誰的幫助, 這次生產恰恰發生於聖母於其廟中出現的同一天……²⁸

事實上這兩種譯文都有錯誤,主要是譯者不了解天主教的儀式及紀念日的規定。首位譯者的錯誤在於他錯解了劃底線的部分,應該譯為:「她每天應誦念星期主日的祈禱文以及天神禱文七次,以紀念聖母的七樂。」而首位譯者可能看不懂最後一句而竟跳過不譯。第二位的譯文有三處錯誤,首處應譯為:「女子每日七次誦念星期主日的禱文及天神禱文,以紀念聖母的七樂。」其次,不能譯為「女子要委身其夫」而應譯為「女子服從了她的丈夫」。最後一句應譯為:「這次生產恰恰發生於『獻聖母於主堂』的瞻禮日,亦即每年的十一月二十一日。」

雖然有些翻譯的錯誤近年來已少見許多,但是如果檢視較近的一本重要譯作《東遊記》,²⁹仍能看到一些翻譯上專業知識上的錯誤。以下分為數段,每段先註明頁碼,再出以中譯,其次是原文及原文頁碼,最後指出錯誤之所在以及錯誤的原因:

頁3,註3

「近代初期天主教」是 John O'Malley 發明用於替代「天主教改革運動」和「反天主教改革運動」以及最近出現的「**告解化**」(Confessionalization)等術語的短語。

"Early modern Catholicism" is a phrase coined by John O'Malley to replace terms such as "Catholic Reformation" and "Counter-Reformation" as well as the more recent notion of "Confessionalization."...p.429, 3。此處 Counter-Reformation 譯作「反天主教改革運動」有誤,應為「反宗教改革運動」;而

²⁸ 謝和耐:《中國與基督教:中西文化的首次撞擊(增補本)》,頁 73-74。

²⁹ 柏里安(Liam Matthew Brockey)著,陳玉芳譯,湯開建審訂:《耶穌會在華傳教史(1579-1724)》(澳門:澳門大學出版中心,2014)。

Confessionalization 譯成「告解化」也錯,因為此字除了「告解」 外,還有一義,是「信仰宣示」。

頁 100

對於耶穌會士來說,這些祈禱十分有用,因為這樣做不僅灌輸了一些教義知識,而且通過反復提到「三位一體」、**聖貞女 the** Virgin, p.139、天使和聖徒,中國信徒瞭解了基督信仰的主要奧跡。諸聖連禱之後是為「皇帝、臣子、國泰民安、大地聖果」的祈禱,還為「聖律之王」(教宗的稱呼)、基督教的傳播、異教徒的根除、牧者、華人基督徒和亡者靈魂禱告。結束時,教友誦主禱文 the Paternoster, p.140 和聖母經(Ave Maria),然後跪拜五次,並向天主和聖母稍作禱告。……徐光啟(洗名保祿)的孫女,即許續曾之母徐甘地大(1607-1680)。

「聖貞女」(the Holy Virgin)是專指童貞聖母瑪利亞,並非 泛指其他守貞的教會女子。全書的「聖貞女」均應改為「童貞聖 母」,例如頁 172, 174, 242, 270, 277。

「主禱文」為基督新教的名稱,此處天主教的稱呼是「天主經」,全書所有的「主禱文」都應改為「天主經」,例如,頁 163,213,251,282,284。

頁 171

「聖會」原文 Confraternity,天主教會譯為「善會」。「贖罪券」(Indulgence)天主教譯為「大赦」,亦即在告解赦罪後,進行某些教會規定的善事而可以得到罪罰的免除,並沒有「券」這種東西的存在。全書中的「聖會」均應改為「善會」,「贖罪券」全應改為「大赦」,例如頁 63,164,277,281。

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北京的女教徒每年舉行兩次「全體大會」,一同參加彌撒。 在其它時間,他們每月(有時是每個禮拜)參加北京二十六個配 有**禮拜堂和懺悔室**(**chapels and oratories**, **p.364**, 應改為「小聖堂」 和「聖堂」)的女聖(應改為「善」)會中某一會社的集 會。……這就是為什麼十八世紀二十年代副省發生根本性改變時, 天主教義(the Teachings of the Lord of Heaven)**p.365**, 並沒有從 中國消失的原因。

作者柏里安在此書中,一下子用西文的 Catholic,一下子又用中文的「天主教」,此 the Teachings of the Lord of Heaven 就是作者的中文天主教的英譯,並非指「天主教義」。

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······耶穌會不僅力圖通過會社組織改造現有的虔敬模式,而且通過宣傳新的教友虔敬形式實現「共和國宗教改革這一雄心勃勃的工程。」

此譯文一看就知有誤,因為「共和國」是二十世紀之事,此處原文在 to carry out the ambitious project of the "spiritual reformation of the republic," p.368 意思是,其實現「這個團體中的靈修改革」這一雄心勃勃的工程。republic 是指一個成員個個平等的團體,不是指共和國。

(4). 西方學者的中文誤譯:

在閱讀西方漢學家的外文著作時,有時會讀到這些學者誤譯中文史料的情況,以下舉一個相當離譜的翻譯,作者是西方漢學中很有名的學者列文森(Joseph R. Levenson),他在一篇重要的文章中翻譯了明末清初大儒顧炎武的一段名言。其中提到「亡國」與「亡天下」的重要區別:「有亡國,有亡天下,亡國亡天下奚

辨?易姓改號,謂之亡國,仁義充塞,以至於率獸食人,人將相 食,謂之亡天下……」30

可是列文森教授卻譯成英文如下:

"Change the surname, alter the style"—this is a description of the destruction of kuo. The widespread dominion of benevolence and righteousness decayed into the rule of beast-eat-man, men, leaders, eating each other—this is a description of the destruction of t'ien-hsia.31

若我們再轉譯成中文,會變成如下:

易姓改號——謂之亡國;當仁義充滿逐漸墮落成為一種規則 (率):獸食人,人、領導者互相吃的時候——這就是亡天下。

顯然,列文森將「仁義充塞,以至於率獸食人,人將相食」 完全理解錯誤。「率」原來是帶領,作動詞用,被誤譯成名詞 「規則」(率);而人「將」相食的「將」,原來是語助詞,現在 被誤作名詞「將領」(領導)!

此句原義應該是指仁義無法成為社會主流價值,滯礙難行之 際,會造成統治者會帶著野獸吃人(亦即虐政害民之意),人與 人互相殘殺咬噬的野蠻情況,完全沒有文化。列氏卻誤為仁義滯

³⁰ 顧炎武在《日知錄》卷十三,頁 5-5B。

³¹ Joseph R. Levenson, "T'ien-hsia, and kuo, and the 'transvaluation of values'," in Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1952, p.449. 後來也同樣出現在他的名著 《儒教中國及其現代命運——三部曲》[Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: a Trilogy] (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972) pp.101-102. 此 節之討論請參見筆者的博士論文, The Political Theories of Ku Yen-wu and the Manchu (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1983).

行,獸食人,人與領導者(將)互相咬噬,而成為一種規則 (率)。³²

而舉一個與本領域有關的例子。一些有名的西方學者在應用中文材料時,因為對於中文的理解不夠,加上作者自己原有的想法,將中文錯譯而使得其論證變得不夠堅實可信,例如美國的孟德衛(David Mungello)在他的近著 *The Catholic Invasion of China*,裡面所用的中文史料誤譯得十分離譜。舉例如下:

真女在江南傳教區的重要性,由於神父稀缺,在十八九世紀禁教時期貞女所負責的角色就很重要了,事實上說貞女是在此時期維持國人信仰的最重要的一群人並不為過。孟氏提到,在十九世紀中葉耶穌會士重回江南後,艾方濟(Esteve)神父曾讚美這些貞女,說她們是「基督國度中的繁花,她們在教導無知者、為棄嬰付洗並教養他們,而且在面臨死亡危機時勸導那些異教徒等很有貢獻。他們似乎是屬於「聖母會」的一員,此會在江南是由Francesco Brancati 神父所組成的。南格祿(Gotteland)代權稱她們「聖母及聖女、教眾」"Gotteland referred to them (a form of Confraternity of Holy Mother) as 'Shengmu ji shengnu jiaozhong' 聖母及聖女教眾(the Holy Mother and her religious group of holy women)"33 這段話看起來好像是用史料中的引文來佐證。但事實上我們去查一下原來的前後文如下:

³² 此段譯文的討論曾出現於古偉瀛:〈顧炎武政治思想研究之回顧〉, 《史學評論》09(1985/01),頁 161-2。

³³ D. E. Mungello, *The Catholic Invasion of China: Remaking Chinese Christianity*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), p.35.

再者,吾主耶穌升天後,宗徒預備聖神降臨,與聖母及聖女、 教眾,共聚一堂,誦經祈望。此時一堂之上,同聲讚頌,豈 非男女念經之明證乎?³⁴

這段話原來是教友們要來抵制上海主教當時要求男女教友齊聚一堂,輪流誦經的命令,教友們認為這樣破壞了以往由貞女們 念經的傳統,不願受命。代權主教南格祿則提出辯護,說當年聖神降臨時,聖母聖女及教友們共聚一堂,一起念經祈禱,這就初期教會男女教友們輪流念經詠唱的證據。然而孟德衛卻截取其中一個不完整的句子,來証明當時的教會婦女的善會組織。

另一個錯譯是頗典型的西方學者易犯的,由於他們常有成見在先,在尋求史料佐證時往往就會朝其意識型態的方向解讀。溺女是一個西方對傳統中國人的一種相當常見的「刻版印象」(stereotype),也就是認為多年來中國人因為重男輕女,女嬰生下來覺得是賠錢貨,因而往往加以溺死,這在十九世紀中葉時成為西方成立「聖嬰會」的一個重要原因,當時有傳教士邀請西方的兒童隨手捐出一點錢來救助中國的嬰兒,而一時之間成為西方的兒童隨手捐出一點錢來救助中國的嬰兒,而一時之間成為西方的重要慈善運動,也的確協助了來華的傳教士建立了許多育嬰堂,專門收養大部分為女性的棄嬰。不少學者認為這種溺女的風氣是真的,孟德衛寫了一本書專門探討中國的溺女傳統。他在解讀1850年代再度入華的耶穌會士與江南在地的信友團體發生衝突時所寫的指控及答辯書時,就大量誤讀了這些文獻。

在江南教友所寫的《昭然公論》中,他們反對教會當局對「育嬰」的新規定。因為傳教士再度入華時,看到中國人的母親在小孩出生後,常常由於和嬰兒在同一張床上,由於嬰兒太弱小,同睡容易壓到嬰兒致死,因此下令嬰兒出生後,應該和母親分開來睡,以免發生不幸。但是國人拒絕接受此要求:

³⁴ 南格祿:〈誣謗論〉,收入鐘鳴旦(N. Standaert)、黃一農等編: 《徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻》V,(台北:輔仁大學神學院,1996), 百 2102-3。

第九論 育嬰

按主教代權諭云:「<u>大凡人家新生子女,為母者,不宜同牀</u> 而睡(註:新式),丟於籃圈之中,不致壓死。」然而天性 攸關,誰人能守,不亦多此一命乎?<u>憶我中邦自有人類以來,</u> 亦有四千餘年之久,使為母者,將子女一概壓死,早絕人類 矣。要之為母者,而壓死子女,決不能撫育子女之長大,而 其母之困笨可知,不勝為母之任。語有云:「橫抱三年難得 大,豎抱三年難得長。」中儒云:「七歲不同席,男女當 別。」究之不同席之說,就是不同牀之意也。<u>故我中華名物</u> 之邦,雖無超性之識見,而於本性之至情,豈無明訓者耶。 耶穌云:「如雞覆子,亦為本性不能相離。」何況畜類皆然, 而人類獨不然,有是理乎?<u>嗟嗟,主教代權,常與不通聖教</u> 經書、中國儒書者同伴,焉能識書中之奧旨哉!³⁵

可是很可能是孟氏成見在先,竟然將這段話分開解讀,首先是「羅主教及代理者南格祿下令,當一位未婚母親生下嬰兒後,被遺棄在籃子當中時,這個嬰兒不應當被窒息而死。」(Bési and Gotteland ordered that, in Christian families, when the infant of an unwed mother was discarded in a basket, it should not be suffocated.)在跳過數句後,孟氏又將原文解讀為「四千年的中國歷史已經建立並許可下列的作法,亦即一位母親若無法養育其嬰孩可以把他/她給悶死。」(Four thousand years of Chinese history had established and justified the practice of a mother smothering a (p. 75) newborn infant she was unable to rear.)

接下去的翻譯更離譜,孟氏說中國雖然缺乏對於超越性真理的知識,但早已發展出相當成熟的人性的了解。結果是歐洲神父們無法了解到西方基督宗教文本與中國的儒教經典是具有同樣的

^{35《}昭然公論》,收入鐘鳴旦(N. Standaert),黃一農等編:《徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻》,V(台北:輔仁大學神學院,1996),頁2065-2067。

價值的文本。They were unable to see that although China lacked knowledge of transcendental truths, it had developed a sophisticated understanding of human nature. As a result, the catechist wrote that the European priests failed to see that Christian scripture and Confucian texts were companion texts of equal validity.

事實上,原文應該是十九世紀中葉的上海在地的教友領導人由於看不慣重回江南的外國傳教士不找這些原來在地的教友領袖幫忙,反而去找一些社會層級較低,宗教及傳統中國學問都較缺的人作為助手,因此批評主教與主教的代理人常常和一些不懂得《聖經》,也不懂得中國儒教經典的中國籍助手在一起作伴。然而孟德衛很可能認為西方傳教士具有優越感,殊不知中國的經典和西方《聖經》具有同樣的價值(對「同伴」二字的錯解,譯成具有同樣效力的不相上下的文本)。

三、結束語

中國大陸改革開於四十年來,在中國天主教史的研究上,不論是出版品的數量或品質,都有長足的進步,史料的出版頗為豐富,投入的人力資源也很多,一些學術界的重要學者也投入此領域,也有春秋正富,才學並茂的學者參與,使得此領域不再是邊緣性的學術。此文大致以十年為期,介紹了這四十年來的中國天主教史料的編纂及出版,主要的研究學者以及當時的未來趨勢等。最後並提出一個看法,就是建議在語言文字的研究以及中西文的翻譯方面,我們華人學者作為歷史的主體以及對於中文的敏銳意識,進行研究將有可能完成極佳的結果。

曾有人指出在中國天主教史的翻譯者中常犯的錯誤有下列四個種:³⁶一、因常識欠缺而造成的錯誤;二、因專業知識欠缺而造成的錯誤;三、因外語知識欠缺而造成的錯誤;四、因責任心欠缺而造成的錯誤:此又可細分為四小點:其一是疏忽大意,其二是隨心所欲,其三是瞎猜胡編,其四是「跳越障礙」,即隨意刪除原文,不予翻譯。³⁷ 這些看法正好可以用來說明目前在中國天主教史中,不論是西譯中,或是中譯西,都需要注意的問題,都需要避免的錯誤,以及要加強的訓練及學習。尤其是教會的專業知識。

要深化中國天主教史的研究,有一個必要條件,就是一定要加強自己的專業知識,尤其是對於天主教的組織、教義、儀式、傳教方法以及聖統制等要很清楚,否則容易犯下很可笑的錯誤。以下試舉一例,是基督新教在華的另一名字又稱「誓反教」,這是從西文(Protestant)翻譯而來,不過有些人顧名思義,以為是在民國初年馬相伯對非基督教運動的描述:「然而這場被馬相伯稱作『誓反教』的非基督教運動,無論參加的成員,追求的目標,還是發生的原因,都和當年的義和團運動大不相同。」³⁸顯然,這是把「誓反教」從文字表面的意義上看成了民國初年五四運動之後的非基督教運動的一個名詞,是大陸多年來没有機會接觸到基督宗教的相關知識及名詞的結果。今日大陸學者對於天主教的專有名詞之認識進步許多,不過還是要儘量充實這方面的知識。

 $^{^{36}}$ 馮國平:〈如何評價耿昇的譯文?〉此文採用許明龍〈[榮振華著]《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編》擇誤〉,https://bit.ly/2S1XkEV,2018 年 4 月 10 日。

³⁷ 許明龍:〈《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編》擇誤〉,《博覽群書》, 上海:光明日報社,2001年第8期,頁6。

³⁸ 朱維錚:〈近代中國的歷史見証——百歲政治家馬相伯〉,收入朱維 錚編:《馬相伯集》(上海:復旦大學出版社,1996),頁 1210。

總之,近年中華天主教史的研究已有很大的進展,但是還有 許多議題值得進一步研究,本文提出有關教會的辭彙以及翻譯這 兩方面的問題,都屬於語言的大範圍,值得吾人深入探討,使得 這個領域更加細緻以及深化。

[Abstract] The study of the Chinese Catholic Church history has gradually resumed since the Reform and Opening of mainland China, and it has been able to shake off ideological interference and become more academic. Moreover, historical materials in various places have been unearthed and made public. Some people took the initiative to learn foreign languages, hoping to make direct use of the foreign original sources. Others want to make use of their advantage as a Chinese and strive to search for Chinese historical materials scattered over China. These efforts have come up with abundant results in different aspects. In addition, in recent decades, with the publication of many Chinese Catholic documents and archives that have been disseminated overseas, it allows more diverse and ample researches. Although lopsided research interests on the Society of Jesus and a few star missionaries has been reduced in recent years, there is still room for refinement and deepening. This article uses "language" as an example to point out that while cultural exchanges could be scrutinized from the coining of "terminologies" in the early missionary period, it could also be done through inspecting the translations in order to enhance further the level of studies in Church history.

巴黎外方傳教會所藏滿洲代牧區檔案的 整理與研究¹

李 紀

「摘要」巴黎外方傳教會是 1658 年成立於法國巴黎的一個 傳教士組織,旨在培訓本地傳教士、幫助建立本地教會、以及監 管海外傳教事業。19世紀中葉,天主教滿洲代牧區成立,由巴黎 外方傳教會管理。與中國其他具有天主教傳統的地區不同,19 世 紀之前,涉足滿洲的天主教傳教士很少,而滿洲的天主教徒則多 為來自山東等地的天主教移民。在 19 世紀歐洲天主教傳教運動復 興的大背景下,由法國傳教士組成的巴黎外方傳教會成為滿洲代 牧區天主教發展的主要推動力量。在東北,許多天主教移民村落 延續至今,多得益於 19 世紀這批傳教士的工作。他們不但致力於 建立一套嚴格有序的教會制度,以地方天主教移民家庭為中心建 立天主教村落,還留下了大量珍貴的文獻手稿。本文基於筆者過 去十餘年對巴外方滿洲代牧區材料的發掘和整理,系統介紹巴外 方滿洲代牧區檔案的收藏和歸類狀況,並著重解讀兩類文獻:1) 教会系统文献,2)私人手稿。通過對這兩類文獻的歷史分析,本 文力圖梳理天主教在東北地方社會的發展過程,探討如何發掘和 利用教會材料,運用文獻與田野並行的方法進一步推動天主教在 中國的研究。

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巴黎外方傳教會是 1658 年成立於法國巴黎的一個傳教士組織,旨在監管海外傳教事業、培訓本地傳教士、並幫助建立本地教會。傳教會的成立,最初來自於兩位耶穌會士的建議。早在1651 年,在越南傳教多年的亞歷山大·羅德(Alexandre de Rhodes)神父就向教宗英諾森十世建議成立一個傳教組織,以支持在遠東的傳教事業。他的建議直到 1658 年才得到傳信部的採納。儘管受到在亞洲擁有特權的葡萄牙人的激烈反對,同年,教宗亞歷山大七世還是派遣了兩位法籍主教,陸方濟(François Pallu,1626-1684)及郎伯特(Pierre Lambert de la Motte,1624-1679)神父前往越南,分別成為北部灣及交趾支那的宗座代牧,直接向傳信部負責,不受葡萄牙保教權影響。陸方濟和朗伯特神父遂成為巴黎外方傳教會的第一批傳教士。

巴黎外方傳教會進入中國之時,天主教已傳入中國幾個世紀。 中國境內最早的天主教記錄,可追溯到大秦景教流行中國碑。它 於唐建中二年(781),立於今西安大秦寺中,記錄了景教在唐代 流傳的情形。2 從史料角度而言,大秦景教流行中國碑可謂最早的 基督教中文史料。其後數百年,天主教在中國未有重大發展。直 至明代中葉,以利瑪竇為代表的西方天主教傳教士開始深入中國 内地,天主教才成為中西文化交流中重要的組成部分。西方傳教 士在中國,留下了大量以中文和西文書寫的手稿,我們今天對於 中國基督教史的瞭解和研究,也多得益於這些傳教士文獻。至 19 世紀,尤其是鴉片戰爭之後,由於中外關係的急劇變化,保護傳 教的中外條約簽訂,大量的歐洲傳教團體重扳中國。中國傳教版 圖呈現出前所未有的多樣景象。從 19 世紀中葉至 20 世紀中葉, 傳教士們留下了更為系統和豐富的文獻資料。尤其是經過了 20 世 紀後半葉各種政治運動的破壞,留存在中國大陸的各種教會資料 所剩無幾。相較之下,保留在西方傳教團體里的文獻手稿,就更 顯可貴。這些教會資料大部分記錄了天主教在中國地方社會的傳

² 景教,即唐代正式傳入中國的基督教聶斯脫里派(Nestorian Church), 學界視其為最早進入中國的基督教派。

播狀況,以及普通教友的日常生活。這些材料,不但能彌補中文 資料的缺乏,更為研究者打開了了解中國底層社會的窗口。

在 19 世紀到 20 世紀中期的天主教傳教團體中,借助於 19 世紀法國保教權的逐步建立,巴黎外方傳教會逐漸成長為其中最有影響力的傳教組織之一。從 1838 年到 1848 年,短短十年間,巴黎外方傳教會在中國建立了五個新的代牧區:蒙滿代牧區(1838)、西藏代牧區(1846)、廣東代牧區(1848)、廣西代牧區(1848)、以及海南代牧區(1848)。從 1822 至 1921 年,巴黎外方傳教會為遠東地區一共派出了 2932 名傳教士,而從 1658 到 1822 近兩百年時間裡,他們總共才派出 287 人。這些數字,顯示出法國傳教士在 19 世紀中國天主教傳播及中外關係中舉足輕重。對 19 世紀以來中國天主教史的研究,法國傳教士及其教會檔案也就具有特別重要的歷史價值。

基於筆者過去十餘年對巴外方滿洲代牧區材料的發掘和整理,本文將系統介紹巴外方滿洲區檔案的收藏、歸類和使用狀況,並著重解讀兩類文獻:1)教會系統文獻,2)私人手稿。通過對這兩類文獻的梳理和歷史分析,本文力圖探討如何發掘和利用教會材料,運用文獻與田野並行的方法進一步推動天主教在中國的研究。

一、巴外方滿洲代牧區檔案的分類與保存

天主教蒙滿代牧區成立於 1838 年,傳信部委託巴外方進行管理。當時,法國遣使會已在今內蒙古和遼西地區傳教多年。為避免兩個傳教團體之間的紛爭,兩年之後,傳信部將蒙滿代牧區一分為二,遣使會負責管理地跨今內蒙及遼西的蒙古代牧區,而遼東地區則設立滿洲代牧區,由巴外方管理。巴外方神父方濟各(Emmanuel Jean François Verrolles, 1805-1878)被任命為滿洲代

牧區第一任宗座代牧。3 在 1840 年滿洲代牧區成立之初,方濟各 在滿洲形單影隻,直到兩年後,才有另一位巴外方神父加入。 1844 年,巴外方在滿神父增至四人,1846 年變為八人。在此後的 十餘年,人手和物資的匱乏,一直阻礙著滿洲代牧區的發展。直 到 1870 之後,狀況才大為好轉。1898 年,由於南北滿發展不均 衡,以及加強對北滿的傳教工作,滿洲代牧區被一分為南滿和北 滿兩個代牧區。自 1870 到 1900 年,巴外方總共向滿洲派出 48 位 傳教士,到 1911年,共有 58 名巴外方神父在滿工作。1875年, 法國照顧會女修會也加入到滿洲代牧區的傳教工作中。這些傳教 士,大部分在滿洲度過了數十年的傳教生涯,很多人甚至客死他 鄉,永久留在了滿洲的土地上。他們的傳教工作,除了按教會要 求完成例行的傳教巡視、儀式、記錄、報告,同時還包含著大量 和底層教民的交流與互動。這類記錄大部分以私人手稿的方式流 傳下來,其中包括寫給家人和親友的書信、日記、個人編寫的語 言學習資料、以及繪畫、地圖、詞典和照片。這些文獻,有的日 後得以發表,有的至今仍保存在位於巴黎 rue de Bac 的巴外方總 部檔案館,等待被發掘和利用。

相較於其他天主教修會,巴外方的檔案並不以數量見長,但 因巴外方的傳教活動深入中國內地和邊遠地區,往往保留下很多 難得一見的檔案。例如在四川檔案中,保留了一部以拉丁文撰寫, 長達七百余頁的李安德日記。李安德是巴外方在四川的本地神父, 他的日記詳實地反映了 18 世紀禁教時期四川地方社會的狀況。在 貴州和雲南,巴外方也保存了大量難得一見的文獻,很多涉及這 些邊遠省份的少數民族。同樣地處邊緣,滿洲代牧區因成立時間 晚,傳教士檔案得以系統收集和保管。巴外方檔案通常以時間順 序按區域分類,以滿洲代牧區為例,其檔案分類為以下九卷:

³ Bishop Emmanuel Jean François Verrolles 的中文名字通常被翻譯為「方若望」。本文根據巴黎外方傳教會檔案(AMEP)記錄,作「方濟各」。 AMEP 0563: 34.

- a. 滿洲 Mission Mandchourie1840-60
- b. 滿洲手稿 Mandchourie (Lettres)1824-65
- c. 滿洲手稿 1865-80
- d. 滿洲手稿 1881-98
- e. 滿洲/南滿 1838-1898/1899-1905
- g. 滿洲/南滿 1906-20
- i. 北瀛 II 1906-1920⁴

這是巴外方檔案館採用的簡單分類體系。對研究者而言,重要的是如何處理這些以時間順序保存的內容繁雜各異的文獻資料。首先,按照語言分類,我們可以發現,其中中文檔案包括手稿(通信、日記)、語言教材(字典、詞典)、以及各類中文出版物。滿洲部分的中文檔案數量不多,中文手稿多來自本地傳教士、普通教友、以及會中文的法國傳教士。相比之下,滿洲代牧區大部分檔案為法文,其中包括傳教區年度報告、統計圖表、傳教士手

⁴ 巴黎外方傳教會滿洲代牧區檔案編號為:AMEP 0562, Mandchourie 1840-60; AMEP 0563 Mandchourie (lettres) 1824-65; AMEP 0564 Mandchourie (lettres) 1865-80; AMEP 0565 Mandchourie (lettres) 1881-98; AMEP 0566 Mandchourie/ Mandchourie Méridionale 1838-1898/1899-1905; AMEP 0567 Mandchourie Septentrionale 1899-1905; AMEP 0567A Mandchourie/ Mandchourie Méridionale 1906-20; AMEP 0567B Mandchourie Septentrionale 1906-1920;以及 AMEP 0567M Mandchourie Septentrionale 1906-1920。

稿(通信,日記)、傳教資料(要理問答,傳教士條例,通告等)、 教會出版物等。因滿洲代牧區成立於 19 世紀中葉,其時巴外方官 方已較少使用拉丁文,所以滿洲檔案中幾乎看不到拉丁文檔案。

除了語言,更重要的是理解不同的檔案類型,因不同的檔案 類型具有不同性質,對應不同的研究和分析方法。從類型看,滿 洲代牧區檔案可細分為以下兩大類:

- 教會系統檔案,其中包括:
 - 傳教十報告與統計表
 - 要理問答
 - 傳教條例
 - 教會年報及其他出版物(包括語言學習材料)
- 私人檔案,其中包括:
 - 傳教士書信、日記及其他手稿
 - 本地神父手稿
 - 本地教友書信、日記及其他手稿

這兩種不同的檔案類型背後,是兩種不同的文獻解讀方式。 對於教會系統檔案,例如《要理問答》、《傳教士條例》、傳教士報 告(文本和統計)等,所反映的是教會視角的傳教政策與狀況, 包括很多具有社會調查性質的統計數字。這部分檔案通常是教會 內部的公開文獻,很多會被發表,用於向社會募捐。而私人檔案 部分,從內容到風格,則更加多樣化,主要包括傳教士書信日記 和本地教友的書信日記,很多是具有人類學意義的觀察與描述。 對於這類私人文獻,要求研究者著力進行個案的文本分析與歷史 背景考察。以下部分,我將以巴外方滿洲代牧區為例,討論如何 運動不同的分析方法,處理不同類型的教會文獻。

二、教會系統檔案:對舊材料的新解讀

滿洲代牧區自 1840 年建立到 1952 年傳教士被新中國政府驅逐,約一百年間,保留了大量關於天主教在東北社會發展的文獻,對我們考察東北天主教的發展提供了比較完整和系統的資料。在這部分研究中,我主要使用了巴黎外方傳教會所藏滿洲代牧區傳教士年度報告及統計圖表。教外研究者通常比較忽略對教會系統材料的運用和解讀,因其格式規範、內容單調,往往不太認可其作為歷史材料的價值。我認為,這種認識的局限主要來自於過去研究方法的相對單一,無法全面利用和解讀這些系統的教會材料。事實上,在對 19 世紀地方天主教和普通信徒的研究中,由於相關中文文獻的缺乏,教會系統檔案記錄了大量地方社會人口、風物等信息。如果能以新的研究角度和方法加以利用,就能顯示出獨特的價值。

以巴外方系統保存的滿洲代牧區從 1840 至 1920 年的傳教士年度報告及統計年表為例,從內容、形式、目的三方面考察,這批材料可大致分為三個階段。第一階段,從 1840 至 1870 年代,沒有規範的報告模式,傳教士報告的個人色彩較重,關注的對象也多是個體天主教群落(chrétientés)的建立。具有特色的是,這個階段的代牧區統計報告都附有傳教士對具體各天主教群落宗教性的評估。從歷史人類學的研究角度,我們注意到,傳教士統計報告在統計數字和定性闡釋及文字評估之間建立了一種對應關係。例如,在某一年度統計報告中,某一個天主教村落的狀況會被歸納為「極度虔誠」,或者「比較虔誠」,或者「完全喪失信仰」等。也就是說,傳教士常常在仔細登記了各天主教群落生死婚配、各例行儀式等數字後,在數字(量化)和概念(評估)之間建立了

一種解讀模式。對這種解讀模式的研究,為我們瞭解 19 世紀天主教會對「宗教性」的強調及原則性規定,以及個體傳教士對「宗教性」的定義,提供了非常有價值的原始材料。

第二個階段大致從 1873 至 1898 年。這期間,教會印製了統一的年度統計表格,對各具體天主教群落的詳細統計也讓位於對整個代牧區的總體報告。1898 年,滿洲代牧區分為南滿和北滿兩個代牧區,年度統計表格也由此分為南、北兩個部分。從 1898 到1920 年,這第三階段的統計則包括更多具體的項目,例如對孤兒院、醫院、以及本土及外籍傳教人員的統計。教育和慈善成為這一時期的重點,顯示出教會和地方社會的互動也愈加頻繁。

從系統教會報告形式的變化,我們可以看出 19 世紀傳教工作逐步規範化的歷史過程,日常制度的建立和規範也成為滿洲代牧區一個重要的傳教策略。尤其值得注意的是,由於東北是個移民社會,很多外方傳教會管理的天主教村落都是由來自山東或河北的天主教移民家庭發展而成的。因此教會體系在當地建立的過程中,一些核心天主教家庭也就發展成為當地的名門大戶。他們在這些缺乏本地鄉紳和傳統的新的天主教村落中,和傳教士及教會一起與地方政府互動,形成了一種新的村治形式。而系統的教會檔案,從這個角度,也能夠成為研究中國地方社會史的重要資料。另一方面,由於這些系統的教會檔案詳細記錄了幾百個天主教村落的信徒人口的死亡、婚配等數據,對於社會史、人口史和經濟史的研究也能提供一些新鮮的資料和研究角度。

那麼,如何具體分析這些系統和單調的教會文本與統計數字 呢?我以下幾種文獻為例。

1 · 《要理問答》與《傳教條例》

我們探討滿洲代牧區的設立和發展過程,實質是在探討天主 教作為一種異質文化,在 19 世紀新的歷史情境下,如何系統進入 中國鄉村社會,並以灌輸教義和規範儀式為手段,建立新的天主教群體。在這個過程中,首要的任務是信仰的確立。而信仰的確立,又要依賴於兩個極其重要的方面。一是宗教知識、即教義的灌輸;二是信仰生活、即教徒行為的規範。在巴外方管理的東北地區,前者所依據的文本是《滿洲代牧區要理問答》(後稱《要理問答》),後者是《滿洲代牧區傳教條例》(後稱《傳教條例》)。5

作為教義文本的《要理問答》是神學或傳教學研究的重點。 而《要理問答》除了常規的教義闡釋,還有一個重要但往往被忽略的方面是,《要理問答》作為識字課本的作用。19 世紀巴外方在東北使用的《要理問答》全文共 368 條 12068 字,其中包括856 個獨立漢字。初學者被要求掌握 87 條要理問答,其中涉及475 字。很多普通中國天主教家庭,因無法進入私塾接受中國傳統教育啟蒙,會將子女送入教會接受免費要理教育。要理教育的前提是信教,目的是傳教。但在中國地方初級教育尚未普及的 19 世紀中後期,要理教育為很多鄉村天主教徒尤其是女教徒提供了最基礎的識字教育。

與《要理問答》的識字教育和宗教知識灌輸相輔相成的,是《傳教條例》中對於聖事儀式的重視及其對儀式細節的強調。這是因為在「禮儀之爭」中,巴黎外方傳教會堅決站在耶穌會士的反對面。他們尤其強調信仰和儀式的神聖性與純潔性。加之 18 世紀的禁教,使得許多原有的本地天主教眾聚居區長期缺乏傳教士或本地神父的指導。在無神父的狀況下,仍然有很多信友聚集堅持天主教聖事,但他們的儀式,卻往往並不規範甚至有褻瀆的嫌疑。這讓 19 世紀重返中國的傳教士非常憂慮。因此,巴外方在19 世紀建立新的代牧區時,從一開始就非常強調要建立一個虔誠

⁵ Catéchisme des Missions de Mandchourie: Texte Chinois—Romanisation et Traduction Française,中文譯作《滿洲代牧區要理問答》。Règlement de la Mission de Mandchourie, adopté à la réunion générale des missionnaires. Année 1881. (Paris: Imprimerie de l'œuvre de Saint-Paul. L. Philipona, 51, rue de Lille, 1882),中文譯作《滿洲代牧區傳教條例》。這份條例 1881 年在天主教滿洲代牧區會議通過,翌年在巴黎出版。

而純潔的本地天主教徒團體。這就決定了他們對於教徒行為規範的重視。以「領聖體」為例,《傳教條例》中有一些特別細節的規定。例如,「聖體必須吞咽,而非含在口中任其融化。我們的教徒有時對此極為無知。」⁶

由此可見,宗教知識灌輸和宗教行為規範是 19 世紀巴外方 在東北傳教的核心策略。支撐這個傳教策略的是廣泛建立的天主 教村落和地方教會體系。只有在理解這個傳教策略的基礎上,我 們才能深入理解具體的個案。

2 · 《傳教士統計報告》

自 1840 年滿洲代牧區成立以後,從數字上看,滿洲代牧區的發展是非常迅速的。根據傳教士年度報告,從 1840 到 1898 年南北滿代牧區分離,滿洲代牧區的天主教徒數量從最初的 2319 人增至大約 25000 人。義和團運動之後,20 世紀的頭二十年,天主教人數的增加更加迅速。1919 年,人數比 1900 年翻了一番,達到了約 56000 人。20 世紀以來,中國社會各種革命和運動不斷。社會運動對傳教活動的影響主要表現在受洗人數的變化。因為受洗這個儀式必須要依賴於教會人員的參與,而社會動盪時期,教會人員的減少或者隱蔽都會直接影響到洗禮的舉行。在 20 世紀初,兩次比較明顯的受洗人數下降都出現在運動之中,一次是 1900 年的義和團反教,一次是 1911 年左右的辛亥革命期間。但就總體而言,兩次運動並沒有改變信教總人數上升的趨勢。再仔細分析統計數字,我們會發現信教人數的增長主要來自於新的天主教村落和傳教點的建立。

與此相應的是本地神父、傳道員、守貞女人數的增加。到 1898 年,滿洲代牧區共晉鐸了 17 位中國神父。7 但直到 20 世紀

^{6《}滿洲代牧區傳教條例》第一篇編第三章第四條,後作 RMM 1.3.4。

⁷ 巴黎外方傳教會檔案記錄了這十七位中國神父的姓名、年齡、晉鐸年份等基本資料。AMEP 0563: 37。

初,本地神父的數量也一直有限,增長最快的是本地傳道員。他們通常都是普通信徒,由於熱心而承擔著協助教會傳道的任務。他們的數量在 19 世紀一直較少,直到 1893 年,登記在冊的傳道員數量達到了 105 人,並在 20 世紀初達到了超過 200 人。同傳道員一樣,守貞女的數量也在 20 世紀初大幅度增長。1919 年,滿洲代牧區共登記了 258 名守貞女。所謂守貞女,是指因奉教而守貞不嫁的女子。她們大多出自數代信奉天主教的老教友家庭中。8 東北地區的守貞女,沿襲早期四川地區貞女會的規矩,以《童貞修規》為行為規範,居住在家並主要協助當地教會要理學房的工作。9

如前面所介紹,傳教士年度報告除了文本,通常還附有統計圖表。統計圖表中詳細記錄了傳教士日常工作中最重要的部分,即他們對於本地信眾參與聖事的觀察和記錄。這些與信仰和宗教儀式直接相關的數字,從側面反映了傳教士們對「信仰」的定義和理解。一份統計報告圖表,通常會列出當年各個天主教傳教點教徒參與聖事——受洗、堅振、告解、領聖體、結婚、終傅等——的具體數字。傳教士根據這些數字和他的觀察,評估每個天主教村落「信仰」的虔誠度。

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^{*}對天主教守貞女的研究,參見 Eugenio Menegon, "Child Bodies, Blessed Bodies: The Contest between Christianity, Virginity, and Confucian Chastity" in Nan Nü: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Late Imperial China, 6.2, (2004), pp.177-240; Eugenio Menegon, Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009; 康志杰:《基督的新娘-中國天主教貞女研究》(北京:中國社會科學出版社,2013)。對四川天主教守貞女以及貞女會的研究,參見 Robert Entenmann, "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan" in Daniel Bays ed., Christianity in China: From Eighteenth Century to the Present, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 180-193;秦和平:〈關於清代川黔等地天主教童貞女的認識〉,《四川大學學報》(2004年第6期)。

⁹ 對東北地區守貞女和女性天主教團體的研究,參見筆者"God's Little Daughters: Christian Virgins and Catholic Communities of Women in Northeast China," in *Chinese Historical Review* 20. 1 (2013), pp.16-33.

以遼東三台子村聖事統計為例。三台子村是滿洲代牧區保存 系統教會統計比較完整的村落之一。從滿洲代牧區建立到 1890 年 左右,三台子村在洗禮、堅振、年度告解、年度領聖體這四項基 本聖事的參與度保持了比較平穩和緩慢的增長。變化,即大幅度 的增長出現在 1890 年之後。這一趨勢和整個滿洲代牧區的聖事參 與度趨勢是一致的。再比較三台子村 1848 年到 1915 年辦告解的 人數變化,我們可以看出,1890 年之後,三台子的天主教徒的宗 教參與度高了很多,尤其是那些辦過一次告解的人會更加多次的 辦告解。如果宗教參與度是評價一個宗教群體的基本指標的話, 那麼,我們可以說,在三台子村 1890 年後的儀式的參與度(或傳 教士口中的「虔誠度」)提高了很多,而那些原本就很虔誠的人 變得更加虔誠。¹⁰

從數字到闡釋,這個過程實際上是一個由「定量」記錄到「定性」解讀的過程,是傳教士由「觀察」到「闡釋」的過程,也是從宗教行為的「本土經驗」到異文化的「傳教士解讀」的過程。我們注意到傳教士對一個傳教點的正面評估,大多由受洗人數、教會教育即教義講授、女教徒熱心的程度及人數、以及虔誠的天主教家庭的數目來決定。也就是說,在統計數字和正面評估之間是有密切聯繫的。但是,當我們考察負面評價的時候,這個聯繫就斷裂了。傳教對本地天主教村落的負面評估跟數字幾乎沒有關係,主要由本地教徒日常和世俗活動的違規行為,例如吸食鴉片、賭博、酗酒、非法婚配來決定。這說明,儘管在理論上,滿洲代牧區非常強調教義和教規的純潔性,並且極力和有悖於教規的本地習俗劃清界限,但在現實中,本地的天主教群體仍根植於地方社會,本地天主教徒的行為模式仍然由當地的習俗決定。

¹⁰ 對三台子村宗教行為及其歷史背景的分析,參見 Ji Li, "Measuring Catholic Faith in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Northeast China," in Owen White and J. P. Daughton eds., *In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.173-194.

或者說,地方傳統的風俗習慣,甚至惡習對一個本地教民的影響 往往大於傳教士灌輸的天主教徒行為準則。

三、私人檔案:以杜氏書信和高德神父手稿為例

發掘史料是深化中國基督教史研究的一個出發點。2004年夏天,我開始在巴黎外方傳教會檔案館工作,著重梳理巴黎外方傳教會滿洲代牧區檔案。這期間,我的工作主要集中於查閱用法語書寫的傳教士報告,但在這個過程中,我意外發現了三封中文書信,即日後成為我早期研究重點的杜氏書信。2010年起,我開始在東北進行比較深入的田野工作。隨著田野的深入,2015年,我發現了曾久居東北的巴外方神父高德的事蹟。高德神父在滿洲生活了半個世紀,留下了大量從未發表過的私人手稿,成為我近期研究的重點。以下將以這兩組材料為例,介紹我對私人文獻的發掘和利用。

1· 杜氏書信

所謂杜氏書信,一共有三封信,分別以黑色墨汁寫於三張黃色毛邊紙上。自右向左豎行書寫,筆跡笨拙。錯字、別字、漏字以及塗改、添加痕跡很多。通讀全文,三封書信皆以「叩稟 耶穌聖心 愛我的恩神父」開頭,落款分別為「神女果肋大杜小二妞」、「斐樂美納瑪大肋納杜小大子」、「杜小十一瑪利亞」。其中一封提到收信人為「林神父」,而另一封則記錄了寫信的日期為「救世一千八百七十一年五月初一日 淚矩」。根據教會檔案目錄,這三封信於 1871 年 11 月 14 日寄達巴黎外方傳教會總部。11 細讀信件,內容豐富,情感真摯。杜小二妞寫道:「不之恩父病好了沒有……

¹¹ 巴黎外方傳教會檔案 (AMEP), AMEP 0564: 565a-572a。

恩父的病若是好了情恩父回來 求慈父回來巴」。¹² 杜小大子寫道:「我恩父 我慈父 神女想我父的教訓 無情可感 雙眼淚下泣思」。「到如今三台子沒有常神父 包神父立路道 神女不願進去 他規矩小女不願意 想要常住他們院 小女心不安平」。¹³ 她在信末還寫道:「要能非女也 非到父跟前聽聽父教訓」。¹⁴ 令人遺憾的是,杜氏書信送抵巴黎的時候,「林神父」已經去世。這幾封無處投遞的書信遂被保留在教會,留存百餘年後才被發現。

相較於我們之前發現的中國天主教徒書信,杜氏書信來自於 19 世紀中國鄉村天主教女教徒,極其少見。同時,信件內容非常「私人化」,甚至包括個人情感的宣洩和性別意識的明確表達。在天主教研究、性別研究和文化史研究中都有很大可供發掘的空間。此外,信件中提及女修道院的建立(「立路道」)和杜氏女子的反抗,所涉及的是 19 世紀下半葉大量外國女修會進入中國的歷史背景,這一段歷史以及中國女教徒對此的反應至今甚少被研究者關注。最後,從書寫史角度考察信件,我們發現信件中有大量錯別字,這說明杜氏女子受教育的程度有限,但與之相對的,卻是她們能夠比較熟練地運用一些宗教詞語和概念來闡述個人情感和訴求。這裡涉及的是教會教育及其對女教徒的影響。換言之,這幾封普通書信為我們考察 19 世紀天主教會如何深入影響普通中國教徒的信仰、情感及個體表達提供了一份難得的原始文獻。

要更進一步解讀杜氏書信,更多的問題就不可避免。比如, 誰是「林神父」,誰是「包神父」?杜氏女子到底是些什麼人?她 們所在的「三台子」在哪裡?在 19 世紀識字率尤其是女性識字率 極其低下的中國社會,她們在哪裡獲得其書寫能力?這些書信如 何抵達法國並至今存於巴黎外方傳教會?這些書信所展現的是怎 樣一個東北天主教信徒集體?他們和法國傳教士是怎樣一種關係?

¹² 杜小二妞信件,AMEP 0564: 0565a,行 1-7。杜氏書信中均無標點符號,原文照錄,保留了信中錯別字和其他書寫錯誤。

¹³ 杜小大子信件, AMEP 0564: 572a, 行 10, 行 31-33。

¹⁴ 杜小大子信件, AMEP 0564: 572a, 行 39。

19 世紀天主教在東北的狀況如何?這些問題皆從這幾封普通中國 信徒的日常書信中出發,由小到大,綜合起來,為我們研究 19 世 紀東北天主教提供了一個比較全面且具體而微的研究起點。

同時,杜氏書信的發現,為我們從信眾視角研究宗教史提供了一個新的角度。從傳統史料的角度看,這幾封出自山野村婦的普通信件,並未涉及任何重大人物和事件,且行文粗糙,情感瑣碎。倘若跳出這類對史料的定義,在 19 世紀中國天主教信徒手稿極其稀少的情況下,杜氏書信就不但珍貴而且具有鮮明的特色。在對杜氏書信的解讀中,我從以下四個方面著手:書信文字的文本分析、天主教概念和詞語的運用、宗教話語與私人書寫的性別分析、以及名字與身份的解讀。15

首先,杜氏書信存在大量書寫錯誤。除了漏字、語序錯誤外, 還包含同音字誤用、折音字誤用、形折字誤用、以及錯字。以 「到」字為例,杜小二妞在信中使用了 14 次,但 9 次都用錯,與 「道」字混淆。同樣,杜小二妞在書寫中也分不清楚「誰」與 「隨」,這或與東北方言語音有關。但杜小二妞信中最明顯的錯 誤是對「知」「之」二字混淆,習慣以「不之」代替「不知」。 如果將這一奇怪的書寫錯誤比對巴外方在東北地區使用的教會課 本《滿洲代牧區要理問答》,很明顯,《要理問答》中多次出現 肯定表達的「知」字而從未出現否認表達之「不知」。這提示我 們,杜氏女子對「知」字的掌握很可能來自她們對教義文本的刻 意模仿,在試圖表達「知」字之否定意義時,因為缺少模仿對象, 轉而選擇了其他同音字。由此可知,這些普通中國女教徒習慣於 口語化的書寫方式,這不但是一種對教義文書的刻意模仿,也是 接受教會教育(以要理灌輸為主要方式)的自然結果。天主教及 天主教會的要理灌輸為鄉村女教徒創造了一種新的讀寫能力。一 方面,信仰與教義講授為她們形成和表達自己的宗教及性別身份

¹⁵ 對杜氏書信的具體研究,參見筆者:〈信仰、性別、表達:杜氏書信 與 19 世紀東北天主教〉,《清華大學學報》2014 年第 2 期,頁 7-16。

提供了方式和途徑。她們利用因信仰而獲得的宗教語言來表達個人情感、建立個人信仰及性別身份認同。另一方面,她們的表達也受限於宗教信仰。這一點尤其可與她們的宗教語言相比較。因為與通過信教而獲得的有限的讀寫能力相對的,是她們頻繁且熟練地使用宗教概念和詞匯來表達個人情感。

以她們對「聖心崇拜」的挪用為例。聖心崇拜來自於法國貞 女瑪加利大(St. Margarete-Marie Alacoque)的聖心啟示,在 19 世紀法國尤為盛行。相對於貞女瑪加利大的啟示,杜氏女子對 「聖心」的挪用非常的私人化。杜小大子寫道:「有時想起何日 見我父,神女心悲痛憂甚,神女到我耶穌聖心去,看我神父。」 她又寫道:「神父求我耶穌教我進在聖心吧,總不相離也。」杜 小二妞也寫道:「我要想慈父,我也就在耶穌聖心裡看。」在她 們的書寫中,抽象的「聖心聖寵」被具化為神父和信徒的見面與 交流。「聖心」敬禮的神學意義被挪用為世俗情感的個人表達。 「聖心崇拜」成為了杜氏女子個人情感的表達方式和途徑。在模 仿宗教文本的過程中,她們利用宗教語言在異文化中的模糊性, 將信仰與世俗情感需求並列。同時,「宗教崇拜「和私人情感表 達的借用與錯位,也體現了信仰通過宗教語言的方式,在傳授過 程中被普通信眾內化、挪用、再創造的過程。

2 · 高德神父手稿

我對杜氏書信及其歷史背景的研究,最終成為我出版的第一本英文專著。¹⁶ 這本書以巴外方滿洲檔案為主體,梳理了 19 世紀天主教在中國東北地區的發展。這本書修訂期間,我回到香港工作,開始利用假期前往三台子村進行田野工作。機緣巧合,我結識了杜家後人,並開始著手撰寫三台子村的歷史。和中國其他地區的天主教村落相比,三台子最大的不同在於這是一個移民村,最早的村民是來自山東的天主教移民。也就是說,三台子的天主

¹⁶ Ji Li, God's Little Daughters: Catholic Women in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

教村民要先於巴外方傳教士來到當地。作為移民,他們首先需要在當地紮根,這個過程中天主教扮演了特殊的角色。事實上,在整個東北,大部分天主教村都是類似於三台子這樣的移民村。這一特點,使三台子具有了鮮明的特色:對中國其他地區大部分天主教村而言,都有一個傳教士給當地帶來新信仰一>傳教士傳教一>當地人皈依的過程,其中還有天主教與本地文化的衝突及整合。而三台子的歷史過程則不同。作為後來者的傳教士,首先需要和已經世代信教的當地教友溝通互動,進而傳播教義,其中規範教義教規成為了重點。這個過程在19世紀滿洲,既是天主教又一次本地化的過程,也是移民村落和本地社會形成的過程。

以三台子為例。三台子村原名杜家莊 ¹⁷,老杜家原是來自山東萊州的老教友家庭,約在 18 世紀末 19 世紀初,移民到遼東地區。¹⁸ 據杜家家譜記載,杜家祖先名杜壽山,育有二子,杜平與杜海。杜平定居沙嶺,杜海定居三台子。定居三台子的杜家分為五支,至今還有其中一支後人生活在村中。杜家世代信教,延續至今。20 世紀初,杜家有人成為本地神父,20 世紀中葉,也有杜家女性入修院,成為修女。¹⁹ 作為當地有名望的教友家庭,杜家和巴外方的法國神父有著密切的交往。1952 年之前,三台子一直都有常駐的巴外方法國神父,這些神父通常和當地教友家庭保持密切聯繫,杜家也是其一。三台子所在的遼中縣直到 1906 年才有建置。在漫長的沒有建置和地方政府直接管轄的 19 世紀裡,三台子村的日常運作主要依靠本地教會(三台子村教堂建於 1864 年,由巴黎外方包神父主持修建,後歷經三次重建),傳教士及有聲望的天主教家庭如杜家主持。雖然三台子教堂也經歷了 1900 年義和

^{17 〈}娘娘廟的傳說〉,《遼中資料本》,中國民間文學三套集成遼寧卷, 遼中縣「三集成」編委會,1986,頁 37-38。

¹⁸ 筆者在田野工作期間,和杜家後人一起重新整理了杜家家譜。家譜記載不全,據推算,山東萊州杜家移民時間最有可能在 18 世紀末到 19 世紀初。具體時間有待進一步研究。

^{19 2012} 年,筆者在台中為 1948 年隨修院離開瀋陽的杜家修女杜鳳芝做過 口述史記錄。

團圍攻,1905年日俄戰爭的影響,但從 19世紀中到 20世紀中,這個天主教村仍然維持著相對平靜的日常生活。作為歷史學家,如何發掘這一段歷史呢?教會材料以概述為主,細微的日常生活幾乎沒有呈現。而中文史料,又以教案和衝突為主。在撰寫這部分歷史的期間,我又一次機緣巧合,發現了高德神父留下的大量家書,為我的研究提供了新的方向。

高德神父(Alfread Caubrière,1876-1948)生於法國西北部芒什省小城瑟堡一個虔誠的天主教家庭,九個孩子中他排行第八。他十八歲那年加入了巴黎外方傳教會,並在四年後晉升為神父。1899 年他被派往滿洲教區傳教,並於同年底抵達東北。第二年,高德神父被派往三台子村做本堂神父。高神父在三台子村呆了二十七年,其後轉往臨近地區工作,直到 1948 年死於海城。1900年,高神父初來三台子不久,就和天主教村民一起經歷了義和團圍攻三台子教堂。激戰不下兩月,最終義和團沒有攻下教堂。第二年,儘管清政府已平息義和團之亂,三台子仍然不平靜。軍督部堂檔案顯示,光緒二十七年(1901)十一月,三台子村的天主教村民,在杜蔭堂的帶領下綁架了途徑此地的總巡單瀛。究其原因,竟然是因為頭年單瀛曾經義和團大臣派令帶隊在三台子攻擊之故。20 這一則史料告訴我們,三台子天主教村民有相當大的凝聚力,而三台子杜家是當地有聲望及號召力的家族。

在高德神父留下的手稿裡包括他在三台子村期間撰寫的十三冊中文口語語言教材,以及他寫給父母和兄弟的六百一十六封家書。和大部分傳教士編寫的中文教材不同,高神父編撰的中文口語教材,逐字逐句記錄了總共兩千餘條村民的日常生活對話。這裡面就有不少是杜家人的對話。更讓人吃驚的是,這些對話的內容儘管也涉及信仰和宗教生活,但大部分是家長裡短的日常瑣碎。話題包括懷孕、生產、接生、坐月子、下奶(本地俗語,即給新

²⁰ 〈增祺為總巡單瀛被三台子天主教民綁去事給俄武廓米薩爾的照會〉, 《東北義和團檔案史料》,遼寧省檔案館遼寧社會科學院歷史研究所編, 1981,頁 184。

生兒送滿月禮)、夫妻吵架、婆媳矛盾、外出打工、分家、認乾親 等等。高神父記錄這些日常對話,本意是學習當地語言,融入當 地生活,以便傳教。但事實上,他卻為我們留下來一份極為難得 的人類學觀察記錄。與這些日常對話記錄類似,高神父的家書總 共有六百一十六封。除去來滿洲之前寫的數十封,有五百餘封寫 於滿洲,其中近三百封寫於三台子村。在書信裡,高神父不但詳 細描繪三台子天主教村民的日常生活,他還善於作畫,留下一百 餘幅插圖,生動再現了三台子天主教村民的衣食住行以及宗教活 動。目前我正在整理和解讀高神父的這些手稿,寫作新書,力圖 用這些材料重現一個中國天主教村的日常生活。對杜氏書信和高 德神父手稿的發現和利用,也給我們一個啟示,即系統的教會材 料中仍然還有發現新材料的可能。

四、餘論

歷史研究從史料出發。中國基督教史曾在很長時間裡主要依 靠西文文本,尤其是傳教士撰寫的專著、書信、報告、日記等。 這些教會及傳教士文獻不但是教會學者發展「差傳學」的基礎, 也是很多漢學家依賴的史料。受到「在中國發現歷史」的影響, 九十年代以來,一批海外學者開始轉變研究視野,著力發掘和利 用中文文獻。²¹ 其中具有代表性的是由裴士丹(Daniel Bays)所 主持的「中國基督教史」(History of Christianity in China Project) 研究項目。該研究項目成果論文集,收錄多位學者代表性文章, 因其廣泛的論題、跨學科的研究方法,以及對中文文獻的重視, 對中國基督教史的研究產生了很大影響。²² 稍後,Brill 出版社相 繼 推 出 了 由 鐘 鳴 旦 (Nicolas Standaert) 和 狄 德 滿 (R. G.

²¹ Paul Cohen *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past.* New York: Columbia University, 1984.

²² Daniel Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Tiedemann)主編的《中國基督教史研究手冊》前後兩卷,對中國基督教史的文獻和研究領域提供了一個全面的梳理和介紹。²³ 同時,海內外學者也更加強調「本地化」的研究取向,將中國基督教史融入中國地方社會史研究範疇。²⁴

我的研究是以 19 世紀歐洲天主教復興以及傳教熱再度深入 中國為歷史背景,展現 19 世紀天主教在東北地區的歷史發展過程, 以及作為個人的天主教信徒,尤其是天主教女信徒,如何在接受 教義講授中形成個人信仰,並在建立宗教身份認同的過程中,發 展出對個體和性別身份的認知。從方法論的角度,我的研究可以 概括為:對傳統教會檔案的新解讀,以及對私人檔案的不斷發掘。 教會傳統檔案,以要理、條例、傳教士報告這類規範文本為主, 過去常常受到研究者的忽視。但我認為,天主教地方教會的建立 為中國信眾提供了一個新的系統空間,並建立起一套與支撐日常 生活之傳統綱常不同的制度和觀念體系。在教會及傳教士的引導 下,信仰天主教的人時常需要脫離自己在綱常倫理中的角色,直 接面對自己作為信徒的個體命運。教會的系統檔案,其實展現的 是天主教在華傳播過程中,教會和傳教十對規範和宗教性的強調。 其中《教義要理問答》和《傳教規條》,可以促使研究者將社會 史與教會史結合起來,對教會統計報告的解讀,可以運用歷史人 類學和社會科學的方法。這些都為我們研究傳統教會檔案提供了 新思路。而對私人文獻的研究,則還有更大的空間。很多藏匿於 教會的私人手稿,如高德神父的家書,還有待研究者去發掘。這

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清:《官府、宗族與天主教:17-19 世紀福安鄉村教會的歷史敘事》(北

京:中華書局,2009)。

²³ Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One:* 635 – 1800, Leiden: Brill, 2001; R.G. Tiedemann (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume Two:* 1800 – present, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

24 其中具有代表性的專著包括 Alan Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province 1860-1900*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009; 康志杰:《上主的葡萄園:鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究》(台北:輔仁大學出版社,2006);張先

些私人手稿,類似人類學家的觀察記錄,需要研究者逾越語言的 障礙,進行細緻入微的分析,同時對不同國家的歷史和宗教文化 傳統有比較準確的理解。還需要將田野考察和文獻解讀兩者結合, 運用跨學科的研究方法,探索新的研究課題和研究方向。

[Abstract] The Paris Foreign Missions (MEP) is a missionary society founded in Paris, France in 1658 to train local missionaries, help establish local churches, and oversee overseas missions. In the middle of the 19th century, the Catholic Apostolic Vicariate of Manchuria was established and managed by the MEP. Unlike other areas in China that have a Catholic tradition, there were few Catholic missionaries involved in Manchuria before the 19th Century, while Catholics in Manchuria were mostly Catholic immigrants from Shandong and other provinces. At the backdrop of the revival of the Catholic missionary movement in Europe in the 19th century, the MEP, composed of French missionaries, became the main driving force for the development of Catholicism in the Vicariate of Manchuria. In northeastern China, there were a number of Catholic immigrant villages remaining today, thanks to the work of these missionaries in the 19th Century. They not only committed to the establishment of a strict and orderly Church system for the establishment of Catholic villages centered on local Catholic immigrant families, but also left a large number of precious manuscripts. This article is based on the author's archival research and fieldwork of the Vicariate of Manchuria under the MEP management in the past 10 years. It introduces the MEP collections and classification of archives of the Vicariate of Manchuria, and focuses on the interpretation of two types of documents: 1) official church records 2) private manuscripts. Through a historical analysis of these two types of documents, this article attempts to sort out the development process of Catholicism in the northeastern society, to discuss how to discover and utilize Church materials, and how to use church records along with field research to further promote Catholic research in China.

「龍華民方法」(Longobardi's Approach) 與「利瑪竇路線」(Riccian Methodology) 之比較

李天綱

[摘要] 龍華民在中國傳教四十五年對中華天主教會,對中西文化交流的深遠影響,絕不亞於利瑪竇。他的《論中國宗教的若干問題》與利氏的《利瑪竇中國札記》《天主實義》對西方學者認識中國信仰的本質和中國文化的認定同樣重要。從這些著作中亦看到兩位重要西方傳教士對在中國的傳教方法有相當不同的看法。龍華民在韶州民間傳教取得不錯的成績,受到利瑪竇的讚賞,後來更成為他指定的接班人,儘管利瑪竇未必知道龍華民否定自己所走的上層路線。若說利瑪竇的《天主實義》開始了中西文化之間「求同」的探索,那麼龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》則開啟了兩種文明之間「存異」的對峙。本文無意判定兩種觀點及兩位傳教士更值得肯定,而是想要指出:當兩大宗教(文明、文化)剛剛相遇的時候,「求同」和「存異」的討論同樣重要,兩者都是「對話」的一部分,具有同等的思想價值。

在中西文化交流過程中,龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》 是和利瑪竇的《利瑪竇中國札記》《天主實義》一樣重要的開拓 性著作。歐洲學者是在參看利瑪竇和龍華民的著作之後,經過比 勘對照,對中國宗教、儒教,以及對理學思想追根溯源,才開始 認識中國人的信仰本質,並對中國文化做出定性的判斷。毫不誇 張地說,《論中國宗教的若干問題》框定了西方學者對於中國宗 教的認識方法和問題論域,對諸如儒家是否是宗教、中國有沒有 宗教、「理」「氣」是物質還是精神等等問題的討論具有決定性 的影響。眾所周知,這一系列設問在 19、20 世紀又從歐洲轉回中 國,成為漢語學者關注的核心議題。遺憾的是,四百年間這一重 要文獻只在歐洲籍的神學家、哲學家和漢學家中間流傳,並未翻 譯成中文,為漢語學者知曉。某種意義上來說,如上有關中國文 化重大問題的討論,中國學者只是接受了歐洲學者的結論,而對 其源頭、過程和思想方法並未有深入瞭解。因此,翻譯和研究龍 華民《論中國宗教的若干問題》,對於中國宗教、儒家思想和東 西方的中學思想比較會有重要意義。

一、「龍華民方法」和「利瑪竇路線」

龍華民(Nicolas Longobardi, 1556-1654)¹,漢語字精華。 生於意大利西西里島卡爾塔吉羅鎮(Caltagirone)的貴族家庭。 1582 年加入耶穌會,在本島莫西拿城(Messina)的耶穌會士修院

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¹ 龍華民生卒年有不同說法,費賴之《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》以為是 1559 年誕生,1654 年 12 月 11 日去世。馮承鈞注引耶穌會士歷史學家布魯克爾(J. Brucker)神父說:龍華民生於 1556 年 9 月 10 日,去世於 1654 年 9 月 1日。方豪還看到有一種生於 1565 的說法,見於他的《中國天主教史人物傳》;另有杜寧-茨博特(Dunyn-Szpot)說他去世於 1655 年。龍華民的生卒年不很確定,布魯克爾來華耶穌會士歷史研究的著作出版晚於費賴之《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》(1875),他的著作《中國與遠東》(La Chine et L'Extrème-Orient, 1885)應該是訂正了費賴之的錯誤,故這裡採納布說。費賴之著,馮承鈞譯:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》(北京:中華書局,1995),頁 64。

學習文學、哲學和神學達七年之久,畢業後還留校擔任了三年教師。1597年,因耶穌會士日本-中國省監管范禮安神父的招募,四十二歲之年來到中國傳教。龍華民世壽九十九歲,居中華國土五十八年,其間再也沒有回過歐洲。中國天主教會的奠基人無疑是更加著名的人物利瑪竇(Matteo Ricci,1552-1610),但是龍華民在利瑪竇去世以後,繼任為耶穌會中國區會長,內地傳教長達四十五年,其影響極其重大。考慮到龍華民論文《論中國宗教的若干問題》的重要性,我們甚至可以說他對中華天主教會,對中西文化交流的深遠影響,絕不亞於利瑪竇的《天主實義》《利瑪竇中國札記》。就耶穌會士「漢學」對歐洲啟蒙哲學家如萊布尼茨、伏爾泰等人而言,法文版的《論中國宗教的若干問題》(Traité sur Quelques Points de la Religion des Chinois)作用更大,因為它首次採用了歐洲思想中的「形而上學」(Metaphysically)方式來談論中國人的信仰和哲學,是西方第一本有概念體系的儒學、儒家和儒教研究著作。

一般來講,龍華民是利瑪竇教會事業的忠實繼任者,但也是 利瑪竇神學路線的一位斷然反對者。由於龍華民的發難,在華耶 穌會遭遇了重大挫折,經受了「譯名問題」和「中國禮儀之爭」, 天主教會在清中葉時跌落到谷底。教會歷史學家總結說:「當其 (龍華民)僅為傳教師時,對於其道長利瑪竇之觀念與方法已不 能完全採納,但為尊敬道長,不便批評。一旦自為會督後,以為 事關信仰,遂從事研究,而在理論與事實上所得之結論,有數點 與前任會督之主張完全背馳。」²龍華民反戈一擊,但沒有人懷疑 他的人品,爭論純粹為了教義,屬於「不得已」之辨。利瑪竇生 前和龍華民交往不多,大概只有一面之緣,卻受到了利瑪竇的信 任,被指定為繼承人。

²費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,頁64。

利瑪竇為什麼把衣缽傳給並不贊成他的龍華民?這個繞不開 的尷尬問題天主教會有點回避,但必須回答。1609年,利瑪竇預 感到身體不能支撐,隨時可能離世,他除了開始尋找墓地、殺青 回憶錄之外,還把龍華民從廣東韶州(今韶關)召來北京見面, 具體時間大約是在 9 月間。3 然而,1610 年 5 月 11 日晚上利瑪竇 去世時,京城的高官教友徐光啟、李之藻之外,泰西教師中接受 和執行利瑪竇遺囑,料理後事的是兩位跟隨他多年的傳教助手龐 迪我 (Didace de Pantoja, 1571-1618)、熊三拔 (Sabatino de Ursis, 1575-1611)。然而, 利瑪竇遺書指定的接班人並不是自己 的左右手龐、熊二人,或者是在南方的老搭檔郭居靜(Lazzaro Cattaneo, 1560-1640), 而是只有「一面之緣」的龍華民。遺囑 有兩份,「一份是為北京寓所」,關於北京傳教區的事務,交代 給龐、熊二神父;「一份是為了整個的傳教工作,關於整個傳教 工作的那份計畫,是寄給中國傳教團負責人龍華民神父的,寄信 人寫的是『本傳教團前負責人利瑪竇神父』」。4 利瑪竇去世,龍 華民不在北京寓所的臨終現場。用現有資料來查考,龍華民是在 1611年5月3日(西曆)才到達北京,並在稍後以主持人的身份

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³費賴之著:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,第 65 頁提到「1609 年華民被召赴北京,次年利瑪竇神父於未死前任華民為中國全國之會督。」費賴之神父閱讀量非常大,他的說法不能輕視。但是費氏沒有提到龍華民什麼時候到的北京。按照利瑪竇《耶穌會於天主教進入中國史》(北京:商務印書館,2014 年,根據德禮賢整理出版的意大利文 Fonti Ricciane,1942/1949 翻譯),1609 年 7 月 25 日,傳教夥伴杜祿茂(Barthelemy Tedeschi,1572-1609)神父去世的時候,龍華民本人在韶州教堂現場。杜神父去世後,原在韶州的駱入祿神父和原在南昌的李瑪諾(Emmanuel Diaz Senior,1559-1639)護送杜神父遺體到澳門,並留在那裡任職澳門傳教區主管。該年上半年,韶州教堂因為有一位青年信使從澳門帶來的信件被搜查,立案審判,定罪受罰,龍華民差一點被驅逐出境,故肯定滯留在當地。龍華民北上面見利瑪竇,應該和駱、李兩神父去澳門同時,而到達北京要在 9 月份以後了。當時的情景韶州教堂一人不留,傳教團似乎就是解散了,此見於上揭書第 471-476 頁「這段時間在韶州寓所發生的事情(1609 年 5 月底-10 月 21 日)」。

⁴ 利瑪竇著,文錚譯,梅歐金校:《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》(北京: 商務印書館,2014),頁 481。

出現在利瑪竇的葬禮上。5 1609 年 10 月到 1611 年 5 月期間,龍華民在哪裡?現有的史書都沒有提及。我們在《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》「1609 年 5 月底—10 月 21 日」傳教記錄中間發現:「龍華民神父被任命為南京寓所負責人。」6 也就是說,龍華民在面見了利瑪竇之後,被任命為南京傳教區的負責人,一年多的時間內在江南傳教。

韶州是耶穌會士長期經營的根據地,對利瑪竇和龍華民都有重要意義。1583年,羅明堅、利瑪竇從澳門進入肇慶,辟建「仙花寺」,是耶穌會士定居內地的第一個城市。但是,他們並沒有辦法紮下根來,最後只能遷走。1587年,利瑪竇得到兩廣總督的保護和承諾,到韶州開闢傳教區。1589年8月23日,利瑪竇到達韶州,孟三德、麥安東、石方西、郭居靜先後陪伴他傳教。7直到1595年離開,利瑪竇在這座粵北城市住了六年。1597年,郭居靜北上協助利瑪竇,龍華民從澳門進入,接手韶州教區。龍華民傳教很有成就,曾在一年之間就皈依信徒八百人,直到1609年被當地官員驅走,他在韶州一共住了十三年。放棄兩代人合共經營了二十二年的韶州傳教區,對於利瑪竇和龍華民都不是一個容易做出的決定,一定是發生了什麼變故,原因很值得探討。龍華民在韶州挑戰佛、道、儒教,導致了一系列排教事件,導致他個人被

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⁵ 此見羅光:《利瑪竇傳》(台北:學生書局,1973),頁 231。《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》也提到龍華民在利瑪竇去世時不在現場,只是要求「在他合眼的那一天,打開它的抽屜,閱讀那份與他們(指龐迪我、熊三拔)相關的計畫,再把另一份計畫寄給龍華民神父。」(第 481 頁)寄給龍華民,可見他不在北京。該書還記錄了,是在葬禮之前,「中國傳教事業的最高負責人龍華民神父也來到了北京。」(第 505 頁)說利瑪竇「臨終前把這部回憶錄的手稿交給了他的繼任者龍華民」(文錚:〈譯者序言〉,載於利瑪竇:《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》,頁 II)是誤會了日期和著作。

⁶ 利瑪竇:《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》,頁 471。

⁷ 此據高龍槃著,周士良譯:《江南傳教史》(上海:光啟社,2008), 頁 34。

驅除肯定是個原因。8 還有一個原因,便是韶州傳教區三位教士杜 祿茂神父的去世,駱入祿神父撤到澳門擔任要職,再加上龍華民 任職南京,已經沒有傳教士居留,實際上就是放棄,或者乾脆撤 銷了。

從利瑪竇的回憶錄來看,他對龍華民在韶州的工作非常滿意, 亟表讚賞,還努力向羅馬教廷推薦。可是,利瑪竇與龍華民的傳 教方法完全不同,利瑪竇先後在南京、北京建立傳教區,走通了 一條上層傳教路線,龍華民則在努力發展下層傳教方法。利瑪竇 表揚龍華民,說「在他以前的神父們所取得的成果太少,他們只 是待在家裡,等著城裡和近郊的人上門。於是,他決定到周邊眾 多的村鎮中去試一試」。9龍華民「慣用的方法是:先委派一個教 會中的人到神父想去的地方,讓他作為使者告訴那裡的人們,過 些天將有泰西教士到此地,向他們講解聖教問題,請大家來聽」。 龍華民的傳教工具不只是《天主實義》,而主要是「十誡」和聖 像。「講解完畢,他要讓大家瞻仰傳此『十誡』的救世主的聖像。 他把聖像安置好,前面燃起香燭,讓大家在聖像前跪拜叩頭,並 許諾放棄其他神祇偶像,從此開始信奉他們的造物主。」利瑪竇 在南昌、南京和北京傳教,走士大夫的「實學」和「心性論」路 線,參與儒生們的雅集、講學,從討論學問開始,迂回地接觸信 仰。然而, 龍華民在「利瑪竇路線」之外發明了一套辦法, 到社 會底層去,與一般農民、商人直接討論信仰,傳遞天主資訊,有 點像基督新教傳播「福音」那樣,激發靈性,傳教成績相當不錯。 1604 年,龍華民「在韶州寓所受洗的教友就達 140 人」10 這種傳 教方式立竿見影,可以稱為「龍華民方法」,正是中國天主教會 迫切需要的。

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⁸ 高龍槃《江南傳教史》第 34 頁提供的《韶州住院大事年表》中說:「1609 年,龍華民被判驅逐,得利瑪竇斡旋,離韶州北上,費奇觀接代龍華民。」

⁹ 利瑪竇:《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》,頁 314。 10 利瑪竇:《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》,頁 375。

後人把利瑪竇的傳教方法概括為「學術傳教」, 11 是一條適 應本地處境的「人文主義」12 傳教路線,這當然是正確的。通過 官宦、士大夫走「上層路線」,固然是利瑪竇思想的一張標籤, 是他在華傳教的不二法門。但是,再推導下去,認為利瑪竇只走 此單一路線的「獨木橋」,這是不對的。無論是在羅馬帝國時期, 還是在中世紀,天主教傳教方法上的精英和大眾路線之差別固然 是存在的,神學家用「佈道學」(Missiology)來做此學術研究。 但是,對於剛剛在印度、日本、中國開闢的「遠方傳教」來說, 當務之急是在一個完全陌生的文化環境下建立教會,佈道學上 「大眾」和「精英」的區別並不是利瑪竇這樣的開拓者時時都強 調的。相反,他需要有人來補充皈依信徒數量的不足,無論其來 自上層,還是下層。利瑪竇對自己用《萬國坤輿全圖》(1584)、 《天主實義》(1595)、《交友論》(1595)、《幾何原本》 (1607) 等著述在儒家十大夫群體中打開局面很自豪,同時也對 中國傳教區的傳教成績不著,皈依教友太少的狀況非常著急。利 瑪竇並不排斥「下層路線」和「直接傳教」,相反在取得皇室、 士大夫的保護之後,希望儘快儘量地皈依下層教徒,建立天主教 會。任何人都能看出來,這個時候更需要「龍華民方法」來補充 和平衡「利瑪竇路線」。羅光(1911-2004)主教觀察到這一教史 事實,說:「龍華民在韶州停止了學術工作,親往各城鄉市鎮, 公開宣講教義,激動人心,多收教友。但是不久便激起韶州士紳

¹¹ 馬相伯:〈學術傳教〉,收李天綱編:《馬相伯集》(北京:中國人民大學出版社,2014),頁 532。

¹² 對利瑪竇路線「人文主義」性質的論述,參見裴化行《利瑪竇傳》的第七章〈遠東的人文主義〉。裴化行:《利瑪竇傳》(北京,商務印書館,1993)頁 133-152。原有王昌祉譯:《利瑪竇司鐸和當代中國社會》(上海:東方學義社,1943)。學術界最近的利瑪竇研究,搞清楚了耶穌會士在意大利的學業背景,更加證明利氏是一個「人文主義」學者,如夏伯嘉:《利瑪竇:紫禁城裡的耶穌會士》(上海:上海古籍出版社,2012);柯毅霖:〈利瑪竇學術及科學才能培養之背景〉,《利瑪竇:一位耶穌會士肖像》(澳門:利氏學社,2010)。

的憤怒,幾至於關閉韶州的聖堂。利瑪竇並不責怪龍華民,臨死時遺囑派龍華民繼他為中國傳教區區長。」¹³

龍華民在 1610 年到 1622 年期間,擔任耶穌會中國區的負責 人;1623 年到 1640 年期間,降級擔任耶穌會中國區北京地區的 負責人。14 龍華民不被重用的原因並不清楚,可能和年老不便捷 有關,也可能和他喜歡到各地(西安、杭州、濟南)農村開闢基 層教區,並且引起很多民教糾紛有關。15 利瑪竇選擇龍華民做自 己的接班人,肯定是看到了他出眾的基層傳教能力,以及他自己 還沒有發展出來的民眾傳教方法。利瑪竇想依靠龍華民配齊左右 兩條關,將新生的教會支撐起來。截至 1609 年,中國內地有十三 位歐洲耶穌會士,他們是北方的利瑪竇、龐迪我、費奇觀、熊三 拔,江南的羅雅谷、郭居靜、王豐肅、林斐理,南昌的李瑪諾、 蘇儒望,韶州的龍華民、杜祿茂、駱入祿。利瑪竇在十二個會友 中挑中龍華民,有其必然。利瑪竇在去世前半年才見過龍華民, 但對他在韶州的工作一直瞭解和欣賞,包括他去農村傳教,與巫 婆和觀音抗爭,和憨山法師論戰,被誣陷有強姦罪,韶州教區面 臨危機等等,都以表彰和讚美的口吻,寫在每年的報告和書信中, 彙報給羅馬。16 但是,利瑪竇肯定是沒有瞭解到,龍華民本人對 他的傳教路線早有不滿,龍氏傳教法蘊含著對自己的反叛。

¹³ 羅光: 《利瑪竇傳》(台北:學生書局,1973),頁 190。

¹⁴ 榮振華,耿升譯:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編》(北京:中華書局,1995),頁 378。

¹⁵ 參見費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,「龍華民」條;榮振華: 《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編》,「龍華民」條。

¹⁶ 見利瑪竇《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》和羅光《利瑪竇傳》中的有關章節。利瑪竇採用自己的日記和書信,加上收集的資料,用意大利文編寫了完整的回憶錄,後經德禮賢編輯為 Fonti Ricciane(《利瑪竇全集》),即今譯為《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》。利瑪竇寫完回憶錄後,燒掉了原始資料(此說見鄧恩:《從利瑪竇到湯若望》(上海,上海古籍出版社,2003)。該回憶錄經金尼閣用拉丁文翻譯、編著為《利瑪竇中國札記》,出版後風行歐洲。《耶穌會與天主教進入中國史》更代表利瑪竇本人的看法,其中對龍華民的評價非常高,讀者自可參見。

利瑪竇來自教宗國的屬地馬切拉塔,那裡是「意大利文藝復 興」的中心,他那一代耶穌會士,正是「文藝復興的兒子」,淵 博、開放,富有想像。就這一點而言,利瑪竇和來自南方西西里 島的龍華民有很大的不同。雖然他們同是耶穌會士,都使用意大 利語,但兩人之間的神學差異比他們的南北方言差異更大。利瑪 竇精涌天文、地理、哲學、數學、語言、音樂等學問,喜歡著述、 講學。概括地說,利瑪竇是基於《神學大全》的阿奎那主義,強 調信仰和理性的平衡,天主啟示和人類經驗的融合,他認為不同 民族歷史上形成的知識、禮儀、習俗、語言,既合乎人性的自然 表達,也是天主在世界各地的奧秘顯現。龍華民不同,他認為天 主的呈現有固定的形式,必須要用教會已有的教義方式來理解。 在中國的傳教工具必須是十字架、聖像和福音書的「西教」,而 不是「西學」。翻檢龍華民的中文著述,僅有一本《地震解》聯 繫到世俗學術,這是「丙寅京師邊地大震」17,龍華民應李之藻 要求寫作的。按 19 世紀末教會歷史學家費賴之所知,龍華民的著 作《聖教日課》《死說》《念珠默想規程》《聖人禱文》《聖母 德敘禱文》《急救事宜》《聖若瑟法行實》《喪葬經書》,都是 在 1602 年於韶州刊刻的。18 這些著述都是純粹教義、教理、教規、 教儀的翻譯,表明龍華民只關注教會內部建設,後來有一部《靈 魂道體說》(原刻年代未詳,有 1918 年土山灣重刻本),也是靈 修文字,表明龍華民是當時的在華耶穌會士中確屬另類。

龍華民的靈性著述,利瑪竇肯定讀過。但他排斥在華耶穌會士主流做法的激進觀點,利氏未必知道。在《論中國宗教的若干問題》的開宗明義之處,龍華民說:「抵達中國之初,按照我們傳教士的慣例閱讀了孔夫子的四書之後,我發現不少注釋給出的『上帝』觀念與其神聖的性質多少是對立的。但是,我們那些長期以來做福音傳播工作的神父們告訴我:那個『上帝』,就是我

¹⁷ 龍華民〈地震解〉,收於《法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻》(五) (台北:利氏學社,2009)。「丙寅」,天啟六年(1626)。地震應為 1626年6月28日山西靈丘大地震,北京有感。

¹⁸ 費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,頁 68、69。

們的神。於是我擱置了疑慮,並且以為只是個別注疏者們的錯誤,因為他們沒有好好地理解古代教義。我在韶州駐留的前十三年間,一直停留在這個想法上;雖然我應該把這些難點與我們散在其他駐地的神父們一起討論清楚,但卻一直沒有機會。」¹⁹ 拉丁文「四書」(Tetra Biblion)是利瑪竇在韶州開始翻譯的,供新來的耶穌會士學習中文之用。²⁰ 龍華民從頭到底不喜歡《天主實義》用「四書」中的某些章句來證明「天主」,他對「混合式信仰」(Syncretism)的抵制終其一生。

二、寫作背景和討論問題

1593 年,耶穌會日本-中華傳教區負責人范禮安(Alexandre Valignani,1538-1606)在澳門核准了利瑪竇的「合儒」方案。此後,方濟各(François Xavier,1506-1552)在日本奠定的與佛教僧侶對話(「西僧」)策略,就由他們兩人最後決定修改為「西儒」——即利用儒家的思想文化來傳播天主教義——路線。²¹ 1589 年,利瑪竇甫定居廣東韶州,便立志走儒家路線傳教,開始學習「四書」,並用拉丁文翻譯;1595 年,利瑪竇遷江西南昌,

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¹⁹ 龍華民:《論中國宗教的若干問題》,李天綱等譯,《〈論中國宗教若干問題〉箋注》(上海:復旦大學出版社,待出版)。本文引用該著作的中文本均出自此本,不再一一注明。

 $^{^{20}}$ 事見金尼閣《利瑪竇中國札記》記載,轉見於費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,頁 46。

²¹ 耶穌會遠東巡視員范禮安第四次巡視中華教區,居留時間為 1592 年 10 月 24 日至 1594 年 11 月 15 日。1593 年 2 月,利瑪竇從內地回到澳門彙報工作,范禮安非常欣賞他,讚揚為:「他智力超群,德才兼備,為人謹慎,雖然還缺乏管理大機構的經驗,但是主持一個堂所或者一所學院,似乎是不成問題的。」在這次會面中,利瑪竇提出了改變「西僧」形象,改換儒服,扮作「西儒」,並使用儒家六經來適應中華文化的申請。范禮安利用自己的權威,予以批准。此事件見於 D'Elia, Fonti Ricciane, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, vol. 1, no. 7, p.323. 轉見於 Edward J. Malatesta, SJ, "Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li An 1539-1606," in Alessandro Valignano, Portrait of a Jesuit, (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2013), p.126.

開始用中文寫作《天主實義》,在漢語中尋找適合天主教的 「Deus」(上帝)。《天主實義》延續了羅明堅(Michel Ruggieri, 1543-1607)《聖教實錄》22中肇端的儒學主張,是中華耶穌會第 一部實踐「利瑪竇路線」的中文要籍,23 出版以後成為綱領性作 品,幾乎就是中華天主教的法典。《天主實義》一版再版,還翻 選成日文(1604);後來,又有了高麗文譯本。²⁴ 換一句話說, 范禮安想讓日本、韓國等漢字民族的天主教,也都採用「利瑪竇 路線」。耶穌會士的中文著述基本上都遵循了「補儒易佛」的 「西儒」路線,當代學者認為:在明末清初天主教漢語著作中, 已經呈現出一個初步的「基督論」(Christology)。也就是說, 利瑪竇時代的華人天主教徒,已經可以借用「六經」中的概念、 術語、語言和文字,在一個全漢語的環境下來理解天主教義。如 果說這是最初的「漢語基督論」(Chinese Christology),或者

²² 費賴之稱羅明堅《聖教實錄》是「歐羅巴人最初用華語寫成之教義綱 領,於 1584 年 11 月杪刻於廣州」。費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書 目》,頁 29。從《天主教東傳文獻續編》(台北:學生書局,1965)收 錄的羅明堅〈天主聖教實錄〉(「萬曆甲申(1584)歲秋八月望後三 日」)版本看,利瑪竇《天主實義》延續了前輩開闢的話語,如羅氏 「真有一天主」「解釋世人冒認天主」等,衍為利氏「論天主始制天地 萬物而主宰安養之」「解釋世人錯認天主」等。根據近年來陳倫緒 (Albert Chan)、魯保祿(Paul Rule)和張西平對羅明堅著述的研究, 發現他的中國文化造詣不低,詩文、書法、儒學都很好。細檢《天主聖 教實錄》,可以發現羅明堅已經激烈批判佛教「天堂地獄」觀;在 《〈天主聖教實錄〉引》中,羅明堅提到「嘗謂五常之序,仁義最先; 故五倫之內,君親至重……」,也開始尊重儒家,初具「補儒易佛」傾 向。但是,按張西平查考到羅馬耶穌會檔案館藏羅明堅《新編天主聖教 實錄》,署名為「萬曆甲申歲秋八月望三日天竺國僧書」,則可以知道 羅明堅在 1584 年仍然使用「西僧」名號,並且在《聖教實錄》中還沒有 引用任何一本儒家經典來論述「天主」。我判斷當時的情況是這樣:羅 明堅和利瑪竇一起商量了從「西僧」到「西儒」的戰略轉變,但這個戰 略的真正實施,是利瑪竇在范禮安的支持下完成的。

²³ 利瑪竇出版的第一部中文作品是 1595 年在南昌寫作的《交友論》,在 南方士大夫中間影響很大,但其中討論的問題多關於倫理學,沒有直接 討論天主教和儒教的本體論問題。

²⁴ 費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,頁41。

「儒家天主教」(Confucian Christian)、「中華處境神學」 (Chinese Contextual Theology) 也是蠻有依據的。²⁵

《天主實義》體現的「利瑪竇路線」,最大特點就是其「合 儒」「補儒」策略,即採用「天」「帝」「上帝」等「六經」神 祇之名來對譯天主教的「Deus」(神),然後用天主教神學對 「古儒」哲學加以詮釋,加上耶穌會士的修訂,令其符合天主教 義。龍華民在後來的著作說,他一開始就對「利瑪竇路線」有著 懷疑,為此而感到痛苦。「中國的『上帝』(意即上天之帝王) 這個詞,讓我感到痛苦已經二十多年了。」26 儘管龍華民被「上 帝工譯名困擾,但他仍然服從耶穌會的紀律,還是使用《天主實 義》作為傳教工具。有一條史料證明他曾努力遵循「利瑪竇路 線」,但有著嚴重的懷疑。1609 年(己酉),上海(雲間)有一 位當官差的天主教徒顧鳳翔,在廣東韶州拜訪了龍華民(「己西 夏,餘以陪巡之役過韶陽,聞有西十龍先生者,以天主之教行化 中國,廬此者二十餘年,其人奇也,乃造訪之。」)龍華民遇到 這位上海來的天主教徒,見是個讀書人,便熱切地與他討論《天 主實義》。「(龍華民)出《天主實義》得研討焉,其教約而不 煩,言言皆實境,悉掃二氏之藩籬,直登吾儒之堂奧。及探其精 微所旨,則儒氏亦糟粕矣。」²⁷ 兩人「研討」後的結論竟然是說 「儒氏亦糟粕矣」,不但排斥釋、道「二氏」,還如此嚴厲地否

²⁵ 以上的觀點和概念,參見鐘鳴旦:《可親的天主:清初基督徒論「帝」談「天」》,(台北:光啟出版社,1998);柯毅霖:《晚明基督論》(成都:四川人民出版社,1999);Claudia von Collani, "Did Jesus Christ Really Come to China?" in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, XX, (Waco, Texas, 1998), p.34-48.

²⁶ 龍華民《關於中國宗教不同意見的論文》的法文本說他對「上帝」譯名的懷疑「已經二十多年了」,英文本則說「已經二十五年了」。龍華民 1597 年剛到韶州就開始懷疑利瑪竇的「上帝」譯名,二十五年之後則是 1622 年,從這一句話可以考訂他開始寫作《論中國宗教若干問題》正是在這個年份。

²⁷ 顧鳳翔的序文沒有收錄在李之藻重刻的《天主實義》中,在楊廷筠的 《絕徼同文紀》保存。《絕徼同文紀》為明末西書的序跋集,今本收藏 在俄羅斯聖彼德堡國家圖書館,《明末天主教文獻》有影印。

定儒家,表明龍華民在去北京面見利瑪竇之前,已經對「利瑪竇路線」忍無可忍。利瑪竇當然知道儒教非天主教,天主教要謹慎對待儒教,但他主張「合儒」「補儒」,絕不至於「攻儒」「非儒」。

1610 年,利瑪竇去世以後,龍華民繼承中華耶穌會會長。他對「利瑪竇路線」的合法性繼續懷疑。果然,龍華民上任伊始便在北京討論這個問題,提出修正主張。龍華民的同情者有曾在日本傳教的耶穌會士巴範濟(François Passio,1554-1612);有躲避德川幕府「教難」到澳門,後來中國內地巡視的陸若漢(Joan Rodrigues,1561-1633)²⁸;有同樣被驅除到澳門的耶穌會巡閱使維艾拉(François Vieira,1555-1619)。他們都認為中華天主教會不應該採用儒經「上帝」之名來稱呼自己的「Deus」。值得注意的是:提出異議的都是外籍神父,且都有日本傳教經驗。挑戰「利瑪竇路線」,日本的耶穌會士起了決定性的作用。龍華民回憶說:「巴范濟神父向我很直率地承認,(日本神父的懷疑)給了他極其深刻的印象。這個意見加重了我以前的懷疑,於是我花費了全部精力來尋求真相,並將其公之於眾。之後因為工作關係,我必須移駐北京。我到北京之後發現熊三拔神父在『上帝』這個問題上與我有同樣的懷疑。」²⁹「懷疑」首先來自有日本傳教經

²⁸ 陸若漢的原文為 Fr. Jean Ruiz,拉丁文名應為 Joan Rodrigues,即著名葡萄牙籍日本耶穌會士陸若漢。陸若漢出生於葡萄牙北部貝拉省的塞南斯勒(Sernancelhe, Beira),1577 年,16 歲時到達日本,被耶穌會招募入會。在日本留居三十七年,曾擔任天主教會的外交秘書和司庫,1589年隨范禮安一起見過豐臣秀吉;1604 年見過德川家康。1610 年,因家康迫害天主教定居澳門。1614 年,他和耶穌會巡視員王豐肅(Alfonso Vagnoni,1566-1640)一起在中國各大城市住了十八個月,考察中國天主教會的狀況。陸若漢曾率領澳門葡萄牙軍人北上志願抗清,聽從徐光啟指揮,其生平事蹟見於 Michael Cooper, Rodriuges the Interpreter, An Early Jesuits in Japan and China, (New York: Weatherhill, 1994);榮振華:《在華耶穌會是列傳及書目補編》(北京:中華書局,1995),頁 564等。 ²⁹ 龍華民:《論中國宗教的若干問題》中譯本。熊三拔與利瑪竇的不同意見,在中文文獻中也有表現,見於徐光啟《〈泰西水法〉序》。當時,熊三拔很不願意配合徐光啟繼續利瑪竇的做法,翻譯科學技術著作,「間以請于熊先生,唯唯者久之。察其心神,殆無吝色也,而故又作

歷的歐洲神父們,原因是聖方濟各·沙勿略在日本開教時曾經把Deus(天主)誤譯為佛教徒的「大日如來」30,後來驚呼為「大錯誤」。吸取教訓以後,日本教會在使用本土化意譯方法時非常謹慎,「那些主張將天主教教義中所必須的有關信仰的那些葡萄牙和拉丁文詞彙用日文注音的方式來表達的人勝利了」。31 他們對於中華天主教採用儒家「六經」的「上帝」來翻譯 Deus,並且要求東瀛天主教會援引「上國」經驗,採用利瑪竇《天主實義》來改變日本傳教路線的做法不以為然。

與通常認定龍華民是挑起中國禮儀之爭的「第一人」³² 稍有不同,「譯名問題」(Term Question)最先在中國和日本教會之間發生,地點就在中、日、歐交通樞紐澳門。為解決多年的爭議,1621 年,龍華民在韶州的傳教夥伴,繼承維艾拉擔任日本-中國省巡閱使的駱入祿神父,在澳門召集了中日傳教士大會討論譯名問題。會上中華天主教會的意見占了上風,決定繼續在中、日天主教會推行「上帝」譯名。³³ 對此決議,龍華民堅持自己和維艾拉神父商定的反對態度,並在 1623 年用拉丁文寫了一篇駁議文章,題名《關於上帝、天神、靈魂和其他中文譯名爭議的大概回應》

色」。朱維錚、李天綱主編:《徐光啟全集·泰西水法》(上海:上海 古籍出版社,2011),頁290。

^{30 「}大日如來」是日本佛教真言宗崇拜的主神,有「光明遍照、常駐不變和眾德全備」的含義,但在民間俚語中還暗指男女性器官。沙勿略在鹿兒島地區傳教時採用「大日如來」意譯 Deus,經常被當地人起哄。一天有人告知後,他驚慌失措得到大街上高喊,「不要再禮拜大日了!」轉引自戚印平:《日本早期耶穌會史研究》(北京:商務印書館,2003),百216。

³¹ 鄧恩:《從利瑪竇到湯若望》(上海:上海古籍出版社,2003),頁 267。

^{32 「}龍華民蓋為引起中國禮儀問題之第一人。」費賴之:《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》,第65頁。拙作《中國禮儀之爭:歷史、文獻和意義》(上海:上海古籍出版社,1998)引用了這個「第一人」的說法,見第25頁。龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》幫助我們瞭解到是日本耶穌會士挑起「譯名問題」,並觸發了後來的爭議。

³³ 鄧恩:《從利瑪竇到湯若望》,頁 269。

(Reposia breve sobre as Controversias do Xamty, Tien Xin, Lim horn, e outrot Nome e termos sinicos) ³⁴

龍華民站在了日本耶穌會士一邊,和他並肩的有一位中國耶穌會士,就是人在北京的熊三拔(Sabatino De Ursis,1575-1620)。維護「利瑪竇路線」的中華天主教徒人數眾多,龐迪我、王豐肅等北、南耶穌會士,還有就是以徐光啟代表的「儒家天主教徒」。中華天主教徒竭力維護由他們參與建立的「中華基督論」,當龍華民為「上帝」譯名徵求「天主教三柱石」徐光啟、李之藻、楊廷筠等人的意見時,他們都表態要堅持「利瑪竇路線」。「隨後我們與保祿進士,以及其他幾位學問極好的進士做了幾次交談,以便找到可以將注釋與經文相協調的辦法,他們一直認為我們不應在這個問題上自尋煩惱,對經文酌情採納即可,對經注者駁謬之辭無需小題大做。我們也在其他不同的時機和場合下向若望進士和彌格爾進士諮詢了此事,他們的回答別無二致。」35 這裡的「保祿」是上海人徐光啟,「彌格爾」是杭州人楊廷筠,「若望」可能是來自澳門的鐘鳴禮。36

³⁴ 轉見於鄧恩《從利瑪竇到湯若望》(第 285 頁)第十七章「禮儀問題」的注三,龍華民本文藏於羅馬傳信部檔案館,卷宗號:APF SR Congr. I, 145-168。本文不見於費賴之《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》和榮振華《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編》,惟榮振華書提到 1631 年龍華民在北京有《論反對使用「上帝」譯名》一文,藏於馬尼拉道明會檔案館手稿第 30、74 號,應是與本文,以及《論中國宗教的若干問題》同一內容和觀點的爭辯文章。

³⁵ 龍華民:《論中國宗教的若干問題》。

³⁶ 龍華民寫作本文(約 1622 年)時,入教士大夫中有進士功名,且洗名「若望」(Jean)者並無一人。早期入教華人名為「若望」者,只有廣東澳門籍的鐘鳴禮,為鐘巴相之弟。據方豪《中國天主教史人物傳・鐘鳴禮傳》(上海:天主教上海教區光啟社,2003)頁 66:「鐘鳴禮聖名若翰」,萬曆九年(1581)生,1610年加入耶穌會,為修士,曾在南昌、南京、杭州協助歐洲神父傳教,1616年「南京教難」時受捕入獄,《破邪集・南宮署牘》「會審案牘」中有鐘鳴禮供詞:「平日受天主大恩,無以報答,近日就拿也不怕。」後受刑三年,罰為縴夫,致殘。1621年被耶穌會除名,原因未明,卒年亦不詳。鐘鳴禮沒有舉名,但鐘巴相

在日本和澳門神父們的支持下,龍華民在北京對「利瑪竇路線」展開調查。歐洲神父為了保持自己宗教的純潔性,第一次把梵蒂岡「宗教裁判所」(Inquisition)搬到明朝來。這一次還不是嚴格意義上的「異端審判」,但隨著這一調查發生的「中國禮儀之爭」(Chinese Rites Controversy)卻實實在在地進入了審判程式,導致了轟動法國思想界的巨大爭議。因此,如果我們把龍華民主持的這次「譯名問題」看作是以後所有中西文化爭議的開端,它便具有了牽動兩大文明的對峙與對話的非凡意義。如果我們再設定利瑪竇的《天主實義》開始了中西文化之間「求同」的探索,那麼龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》則開啟了中西文明之間「存異」的對峙。在這裡,我們完全無意判定「求同」比「存異」更積極,利瑪竇比龍華民更值得肯定。相反,我們認為:當兩大宗教(文明、文化)剛剛相遇的時候,「求同」和「存異」的討論同樣重要,兩者都是「對話」(Dialogue)一部分,具有同等的思想價值。

1610年,在北京、南京持正方(「求同」)意見的龐迪我、王豐肅,以及持反方(「存異」)意見的北京熊三拔,各自按照規定的題目提供了詳細的書面答案。三位耶穌會神父的證詞之外,在澳門和內地巡察,反對「利瑪竇路線」的陸若漢也提供了長篇論文。這樣,正方和反方就各有了二篇證詞,這四篇論文是龍華民寫作《論中國宗教的若干問題》的基礎。《論中國宗教的若干問題》和龍華民在別的論戰場合寫的答辯文章不一樣,它不僅僅是對自己主張的陳述,而是對四篇論文的再研究,因此層次更高,鑽研更深。四篇論文各執一詞,龍華民的《論中國宗教的若干問題》則作為總報告,被認為是代表中華耶穌會的主導意見。聽證調查集中在三個問題上,即漢語中的「上帝」(Xang Ti)、「天神」(Tien Xin)和「靈魂」(Ling Heon),與西文中的「de Dieu」(God,神)、「des Anges」(Angeles,天使)和「de

⁽鳴仁)、鐘鳴禮兄弟家境優裕,富有教養,父親也入教,又是最早入會的華人修士,深為利瑪竇、龍華民、龐迪我、熊三拔等神父倚重。

L'Ame」(Soul, 靈魂)到底有沒有本質上的聯繫?即這些詞彙可不可以用來對譯天主教的核心概念?龍華民雖然徵求過徐光啟、李之藻、楊廷筠等天主教徒,還有其他中國「進士」們的意見,「最近幾年在南方諸省的駐留期間,特別是最近兩年我在宮裡這段時間裡,我從來不忽略任何一個可以與文人士子交流的機會」。

37 但是,在這樣跨越中西文化,涉及到「經學」與「神學」比較的領域,並不熟悉歐洲語言、文字、經典、宗教的「文人士子」,整體來說是無緣置噱,完全沒有參加進來。

「關於中國宗教的若干意見」在歐洲神父之間激烈辯論,中 華學者基本上是袖手旁觀。歐洲神父在中國、日本長期居住,都 曾刻苦研讀中、日語言、文字和文化,對儒家經典有相當的發言 權。徐光啟、李之藻、楊廷筠等「進士」們渴求西方知識,翻譯 西方典籍,還皈依了天主教會。但是,他們都還沒有學習歐洲語 言,所謂的「翻譯」只是以一種「筆受」的形式,記錄神父們的 「口述」,也就是說明末學者如天主教徒、「大學士」徐光啟雖 然接觸外語,但並不通曉。³⁸ 《論中國宗教的若干問題》挑起的 有關「上帝」的「基督論」(Christology)、「本體論」 (ontology)爭議,儒家天主教徒、儒家經學家們都缺席了這場 「對話」,中華學者的意見都由執行「利瑪竇路線」的耶穌會士 代理。顯然,造成這種單邊話語狀況的原因,並不是歐洲學者的 「霸權」,而是儒家學者自身的局限。徐光啟等儒家天主教徒與 利瑪竇一起制定了「利瑪竇路線」,利瑪竇去世後卻無法為自己 的「補儒」主張辯護,只能聽任龐迪我、高一志與龍華民、熊三 拔去辯論。對「上帝」問題的探討,本應是在中西學者之間進行,

³⁷ 龍華民:《關於中國宗教不同意見的論文》,中譯本。

³⁸ 徐光啟與耶穌會士合作,一共翻譯了五本西學著作,都是第二譯者。 按他們的署名方式,可以看出中西學者在工作中的分工情況:《幾何原本》(1607)是「利瑪竇口授,徐光啟筆譯」;《測量法義》(1607) 是「利瑪竇口述,徐光啟筆受」;《簡平儀說》(1611)是「熊三拔撰說,徐光啟札記」;《泰西水法》(1612)是「熊三拔撰說,徐光啟筆記」;《靈言蠡勺》(1624)是「畢方濟口授,徐光啟筆錄」。這樣的翻譯合作,依賴耶穌會士的中外文理解,徐光啟只負責中文的對譯工作。

卻不得不在西方學者中間展開,儒家與天主教之間的「比較經學」 成為天主教內部的「神學審核」,這當然是一件遺憾的事情,卻 也是中華儒學轉成國際儒學後不可避免的一個階段。

1610年,龍華民邀請兩派耶穌會士撰寫報告,正式提出這一 爭議;1622年,龍華民據兩派的報告意見整理成文,做出了否定 性結論。此間以及此後,耶穌會內部圍繞「譯名問題」展開討論。 據統計,自 1603 年至 1665 年之間,中華耶穌會維持舉行過七十 四次內部會議,決定是否要採納儒家的「上帝」來翻譯「Deus」 (神)。 39 最激烈的一次辯論於 1627 年 12 月至 1628 年 2 月在上 海附近的嘉定舉行,史稱「嘉定會議」,龍華民、金尼閣、郭居 靜、艾儒略、高一志、魯德昭、畢方濟、費奇觀、李馬諾、黎甯 石等會士出席。會士們肯定就此會議爭議內容繼續諮詢徐光啟、 李之藻、楊廷筠和孫元化等「儒家天主教徒」,但會議的日常語 言是葡萄牙文,學術語言用拉丁文,漢語學者仍然不能參與。龍 華民給自己的論文定名為《論反對使用「上帝」譯名》(1631, 北京),明確地表達了反對立場。論文用中華耶穌會的工作語言 葡萄牙文撰寫,這應該是最早公佈的和《論中國宗教的若干問題》 相關的文本。「嘉定會議」之後,形成了用「天主」替換「天」 「天學」「上帝」的決議,同時封存龍華民的論文,不再討論, 更不讓耶穌會內部的「譯名問題」流傳到外面。40 但是,龍華民 並沒有收回自己的主張,1633 年,他又寫了一篇論文,反對使用 「上帝」和「天主」的譯名。費奇觀神父作了反駁,他又寫了一 篇更長的論文來回應。龍華民在 1633 年的作品環沒有找到,但應 該和《論中國宗教的若干問題》無關,而是另一場合的辯論文章。 很多年前在羅馬看到過這個本子的人說,文章反對「天主」譯名,

³⁹ 参見: J. Metzler, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea, 1570—1931*, (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980), p.12. 由魏明德 (Benoit Vermander) 教授惠子提供。

⁴⁰ 參見李天綱:《中國禮儀之爭:歷史、文獻和意義》(上海:上海古籍出版社,1998),頁 25-29。

提出要用「太初」來對譯「Deus」⁴¹,這個主張不見於現在的本子。「太初」的建議有一定的合理性,當初被採納的話,今天的「天主教」就會被改稱為「太初教」。

⁴¹ 龍華民在這篇論文中,「乾脆抵制使用『上帝』和『天主』這兩個中文詞彙,而主張將拉丁文中的 Deus 音譯成中文來代替。」(鄧恩《從利瑪竇到湯若望》,頁 270)。據《湯若望傳》作者魏特在羅馬檔案館看到的資料,說龍華民設想用「太初」來對譯「Deus」。

[Abstract] Longobardi's 45 years of missionary work in China had a far-reaching impact on the Chinese Catholic Church and on the cultural exchanges between China and the West, not less than Matteo Ricci. His treatise Traité sur Quelques Points de la Religion des Chinois and Ricci's De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas and The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven were equally crucial for Western scholars to understand the nature of Chinese belief and to evaluate Chinese culture. From these writings, one could also see the two important Western missionaries had quite different views on the missionary methods in China. Longobardi achieved good results in his missionary work in Shaozhou and was praised by Matteo Ricci. He later also became Ricci's designated successor, even though Ricci might not know that Longobardi did not accept his methodology. If Matteo Ricci's The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven was regarded as the beginning of imploring "common ground" between Chinese and Western cultures, then one might say that Longobardi's Traité sur Quelques Points de la Religion des Chinois opened the confrontation of "differences" between the two civilizations. This article does not intend to judge which of the two views or the two missionaries were more worthy of affirmation. It is rather to point out that when two major belief systems (civilization, culture) encounter, the discussion of "common ground" and "differences" are equally important as both are part of the "dialogue" with equal ideological values.

Sancian: Landscape and Architecture In the Burial Place of St Francis Xavier

Matthieu Masson

[Abstract] St Francis Xavier, died in December 1552 on Sancian Island (上川島), Guangdong Province. Even though the remote temporary burial place of Francis Xavier was symbolically important for the Catholic missions in China, it was rarely frequented by pilgrims. A memorial stone, engraved in Macau in 1639, was however erected there in 1644. In 1700, this stone became the center of a larger sanctuary staged on the slope and facing the maritime landscape, but it was soon abandoned and fell into ruins. The pilgrimages started only during the 19th Century and the church visible today still shows the date of completion as 1869, even though it has been since intensely modified. It was built together with a second church and two granite pyramids, which extended the sanctuary in the surrounding landscape. The main purpose of this article is therefore to offer reconstructed views of the lost monuments, architecture and landscaping of Sancian. These views will help us to understand how the same place and meanings prevailed in different times. These monuments were metaphors of the life and death of Francis Xavier, connecting earth and heaven, the East and the West, land and sea. They were designed to be seen from afar and from the sea. Conversely, they spare the view that overlooks China, for which St Francis Xavier forever longed to reach.

The origins of the Sanctuary

An Empty Burial Place

Francis Xavier was one of the first members of the Jesuits. Appointed as Apostolic Nuncio to the Eastern part of the still expanding Portuguese empire, he had the commitment to organize the Catholic missions in the Diocese of Goa. This mission was placed under the sponsorship of the King of Portugal, a sponsorship called *Padroado*. Thus, he travelled on the Portuguese trade roads up to Japan. At the time, China closed its door to the foreigners since the confrontation of 1521 between Portuguese and Chinese in the Pearl River Estuary. However, Sancian (now known as Shuanchuang), a coastal island 150 km from this estuary, became thereafter a stop between Malacca and Japan and a tolerated anchorage of the Portuguese where they traded with Guangzhou's merchants.³ Francis Xavier came to Sancian the first time during his return trip to Japan. Convicted while in Japan that China was the first priority for evangelizing Asia, he believed he could put an end to the ban on foreigners in China and came again to Sancian, daring to enter China and accompanied by a young Chinese named Antonio. Francis Xavier finally died on Sancian in the early morning of 2 December 1552.4

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¹ The most complete biography of St Francis Xavier is Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier, His Time, His Life*, vol. I-IV, trans. Joseph Costelloe, (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1982).

² Ronald Bishop Smith, in *The First Age of the Portuguese Navigations, Embassies and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia (1509-1521)*, (Maryland: Bethesda, 1968). See also, Pascale Girard, *Prisonniers de l'Empire Céleste. Le désastre de la première ambassade portugaise en Chine (1517-1524)* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2013).

³ Albert, Kammerer, La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème Siècle et la Cartographie des Portulans, T'oung Pao (通報), Seconde Série, vol. 39, Supplément, (Leiden: Brill, 1944). Chap. 5, "Sancian," pp.88-95.

⁴ In September 1557, Jesuit Manuel Teixeira, the first biographer of Francis Xavier, asked Antonio, the Chinese companion of Francis Xavier, for an account of his death and burial. The Spanish manuscripts of his interview

After being buried by Antonio for two and half months, his body was discovered, preserved and brought to Malacca and from there to Goa, where his preserved body is still being venerated. In Sancian, nothing of Francis Xavier remains, except the place where he was temporary buried

The Mass Said by Nunez Barreto (1555)

The first Jesuit who visited Sancian after the death of Francis Xavier was Pedro Alcaçova. Actually, he did not go there as a pilgrim, but reached there on his way from Japan to Malacca in 1553, and he learned about the death of Francis Xavier when he arrived on the island. In 1554, two years after the attempt of Francis Xavier to enter in China, Leonel de Sousa negotiated with Wang Bo (注稿), the Governor of Navigation in Guangdong, to legalize Portuguese trade by paying taxes. Then, the Portuguese moved their seasonal market from Sancian to Lampacau, which was closer to the Pearl River Estuary. Soon after, the Portuguese helped the Chinese to catch pirates in the estuary. As a reward, they were granted permanent settlement in Macau in 1557. Thus, Sancian was abandoned by the Portuguese, but some went there as pilgrims.

The first recorded pilgrim of Sancian was Father Melchior Nunez Barreto, who wrote in 1555: "By the great favor of the Providence, I had the joy to celebrate the sacred mysteries on the very spot where the

indicated "Saturday 3 December" as the date of death of Francis Xavier; the Portuguese manuscript indicated "Sunday 2 December." There was a mistake in both manuscripts because 2 December was actually a Tuesday and 3 December was a Wednesday. All other sources stated the date of death as 2 December. The bull of canonization mentioned that Francis Xavier died on 2 December and placed his feast day at 3 December. With respect for the date of the feast day rather than for the sources, Schurhammer defended 3 December as the date of the death. *C.f. Documenta Indica III*, pp.662-664. *Monumenta Xavierana II*, pp.791-792 and 812-814.

mortal remains of Francis Xavier had once rested." ⁵ Thus, the pilgrimage in Sancian was basically the celebration of a Mass at the burial place.

Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509-1583), author of the famous and partly fictionalized monument of Portuguese literature "Peregrinação," was a Jesuit postulant and a friend of Nunez Barreto. He was probably not with Nunez in Sancian. However, having heard about the Mass that Nunez said in Sancian and pretending to be present, he wrote: "We went to the place where he died. The hut was invaded by bushes. We cleaned it and surrounded it with a strong barrier and a trench. At the entrance, we planted a Cross. Then Father Nunez said a solemn Mass..." Pinto said that the Mass was held at the place of the death, whereas Nunez mentioned that it was at the burial place. Furthermore, the works mentioned by Pinto were probably not done. But his description of a sanctuary bounded by an enclosure and a trench, and identified by a cross, could have been inspired by a wish of Nunez or of other Jesuits to set up such sanctuary.

Sancian as the Threshold of the Promised Land

Nunez wanted to see the burial place before entering China. He would then go to Lampacau and from there, joining Estevao de Gois

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⁵ Melchior Nunez Barreto à la Société de Jésus en Europe, Canton, le 21st novembre 1555, in Antoine Faivre, *Lettres des missions du Japon* (Lyon: M.P. Rusand, 1830), p.77. "Par une insigne faveur de la Providence, j'ai eu le bonheur de célébrer les saints mystères sur le lieu même où les restes mortels de François Xavier avaient autrefois reposés."

⁶ The *Pilgrimage* of Mendez Pinto was published in 1614. The English translation by Henry Cogan (1692) omitted the passages about Sancian and Francis Xavier. They can be read in the French translation by Bernard Figuier: *Les voyages adventureux de Fernand Méndez Pinto* (Paris, 1645), p.994. A shorter version of the same passage can be read in Fernand Mendes Pinto, *Voyage Aventureux*, ed. Jacques Boulanger (Paris: Plon, 1932), pp.267-269. See also Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais*, p.94.

(1526–1588), to Guangzhou. They were allowed to stay there for a few months. Thus, Nunez Barreto not only fulfilled the wish of Francis Xavier but also founded a pilgrimage site in Sancian.

For the missionaries who were also able to enter China later on, Sancian would be like the "threshold of the Promised Land." St Francis was therefore compared to Moses who, after guiding the people of God for 40 years in the desert, was yet to cross the Jordan River to enter into the Promised Land, but could only see it from afar and died.

Yet, Father Louis Le Comte (1655-1729), in a book published in 1696, underscored differences between Francis Xavier and Moses: first, Moses wanted to enjoy the wealth of the promised land, but Francis wanted to bring to China the treasure of the Gospel. Second, Moses died before reaching it as a punishment for his lack of faith, but Francis Xavier died in Sancian as a reward for his zeal. In 1700, Castner also compared Francis Xavier to Moses, emphasizing that Francis guided the next generation of missionaries to China: "As well as for Moses, it was given to Xavier to contemplate from afar the promised land, by an inscrutable mystery of the Divine Providence, the entrance to China was reserved to his followers."

When Francis Xavier was in Sancian, he might have seen his "Promised Land" from afar, since the coast of China were sometimes

⁷ Louis Le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, 1696, vol. 2, pp.206-207.

⁸ Gaspar Castner, *Relatio Sepulturæ magno Orientis apostolo S. Francisco Xaverio erectae in insula Sanciano anno saeculari MDCC* (1700) p.6 (3b). We consulted the digital copy of the book of Georgetown University Library. Every other page of Castner's book is numbered in Chinese. For instance, the 11th page have the Chinese number ★ (6), the 12th page is not numbered, the 13th page have number ★ (7), etc. We indicate both page numbers, for instance: p.11 (6a); p.12 (6b); p.13 (7a), etc. Repository of Georgetown University Library: http://hdl.handle.net/10822/556052 [2020-01-21]

visible in the wild when the weather is clear, especially in autumn. Later the Sanctuary of Sancian would be designed as a belvedere.

The Memorial Stone of 1639

Today, in the church of Sancian, there is a tomb covered with a granite slab engraved in Chinese and Portuguese and dated 1639 (Fig. 1a). Behind this tomb is a fragment of another stele engraved in Chinese and dated 1699. This mixed combination is rather confusing. We have to remember that the body of Francis Xavier was temporarily buried in the soil rather than in this kind of tomb. The stone placed in front is probably a fragment of a Chinese inscription which was on the wall above the altar of the sanctuary of 1700, and the stone dated 1639 is the replica made in 2006 of a stele originally made to be erected vertically and embedded onto the ground, on the temporary burial place of Francis Xavier. The original stele visible in a picture taken circa 1935 (Fig.1b) had already undergone many transformations when it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Even though this stone has been modified, destroyed and finally replaced, it remains the reference point of the sanctuary for now almost four centuries.

The origins of this stone can be traced from a letter of the Jesuit Gaspard Citadella dated 1644. According to Citadella, in 1637, Father Bonnelli landed Sancian in his trip from Macau to Vietnam, and then rediscovered the burial place thanks to an old man living on the island. The rediscovery means that the temporary burial place of Francis Xavier remained unfrequented for decades after the Portuguese were allowed to settle permanently in Macau in 1557, which since then

⁹ Baltassar Citadella, Relatione di quel che segui nel viaggio di Macao fino all'Isola di Sanciam, e della prima pietra, o Memoria collocata nel luogo della sepoltura del Santo Padre & Apostolo dell'Oriente S. Francesco Savierio nell'anno 1644. (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu) ARSI Jap.-Sin. 118, pp.46-48.

Macau had the duty to fight against piracy at Pearl River Estuary. However, the remoted Sancian became a pirate hideout, difficult to reach from Macau.





Fig. 1a: Replica of the memorial stone of 1639 made in 2006. (M.M.)

Fig. 1b: The memorial stone of 1639 circa 193510

In 1638, Macau experienced an economic crisis because of the shutdown of the trade between Guangzhou and Nagasaki. Shortly after, in 1639, Gaspard d'Amaral (1608-1646), superior of the Jesuit College in Macao from 1637 to 1646, ordered a granite stone with Chinese and Portuguese inscriptions to be placed on the burial place of Francis Xavier in Sancian. According to Citadella, the purpose of erecting a monument was to honor the Saint who was regarded as the patron of the city of Macau, and thus obtain from him its economic healing.

¹⁰ Photo published in *The Rock*, a monthly Catholic magazine of Hong Kong, Supplement of February 1935, p. III; same picture in *The Rock*, December 1935, p.506. (Consulted in the Holy Spirit Seminary Library, Hong Kong)

¹¹ Charles E. O'Neill and Joacquin M. Domonguez eds., *Diccionario historico de la Compania de Jesus* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), p.97. See also Louis Pagès, *Histoire de la religion Chrétienne au Japon de 1598 à 1651* (Paris: Charles Douniod, 1869), p.881, and Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine*, T.1 (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1932), p.217.

Before getting into details about the history of this stone, we will try to trace back its original look.

About its general shape, the stone was resized and the edges modified in 1869 to fit on the floor of the new church (Fig. 11). Therefore, the pictures taken after 1869 (Fig. 1b) did not show the original shape of the stone. This original shape, with the edges in right angle, was revealed by an engraving made from a picture taken in 1864 (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Pilgrims of 1864 behind the memorial stone in the ruins of the Sanctuary of 1700. 12

The stone was also measured more or less precisely by different visitors along the centuries. Based on these measurements, we can estimate that the original stone was about 270 to 290 cm in height, with about 80 to 100 cm buried into the ground and 190 cm above ground, 80 cm in width, 16 cm in thickness, ¹³ and hence about 900 kg in weight. ¹⁴

¹² Archivio Pittoresco: Semanario illustrado (Lisboa: Castro Irmão & Ca, 1864), 8° Ano, n°24, 1864, p.185.

¹³ In 1644, Citadella indicated that the stone comparable in height as a tall man and its foot was buried "half cana" (about 80 to 100 cm) into the ground. Citadella, *Relatione*, p. 48a). In 1696, Louis Le Comte wrote that the stone has a height of 5 "*coudées*" ('cubit' or forearm) and 3 of width. (Le Comte,

As for the inscriptions and positioning of the stone, Citadella explained that the side facing the sea showed a cross above the Chinese inscription, and the side toward the hill showed the name of Jesus (IHS) above the Portuguese inscription. ¹⁵ This distribution of the inscriptions and symbols was confirmed by Gaspard Castner in 1700. ¹⁶ Besides, Bouvet de la Touche who visited the place in 1702 confirmed that the Chinese inscription faced towards the sea and the Portuguese inscription towards the hill. ¹⁷

An approximate survey of 1813 showed roughly the layout on both sides (Fig. 3a & 3b). ¹⁸ Apart from the cross omitted in the front side, it confirmed the general layout described by Citadella, Castner and others, but also showed that the Portuguese inscription was already copied under the Chinese in 1813. Besides, picture taken circa 1935 (Fig. 1b) revealed the latest layout on the front side before the destruction of the stone. However, in this picture we can also see that

Nouveaux mémoires, p.170). In 1698, François Froger measured a height of 5 feet and 10 inches above the floor, a width of 2.5 feet, and a thickness of 6 inches. Froger used French measure units: ft = 32,5cm, in = 2,7cm, his measurements were converted as 190/80/16 cm; [François Froger, Relation du premier voyage des Français à la Chine, (Leipzig: Ernst Arthur Voretzsch, 1926), pp.59-60]. Castner indicated 5 Chinese "Cubitus" above the floor," (Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ. p.9). A measurement of 1813 indicates: "O padrao tem de altura seis côvados chinos pouco mais ou menos, de largura dois, de grossura quatro pontos". (Ljungstedt, Historical sketch, p.199).

¹⁴ Granite density: 2,64 kg/dm³.

Height of 2.7m: $0.16 \times (0.8 \times 2.3 + (\pi \times 0.4^2) \div 2) \times 2.64 = 0.883 \ ton$ Height of 2.9m: $0.16 \times (0.8 \times 2.5 + (\pi \times 0.4^2) \div 2) \times 2.64 = 0.950 \ ton$

¹⁵ Citadella, *Relatione*, p.48b.

¹⁶ Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p. 50 (25b).

¹⁷ Bouvet De La Touche, "Journal de Voyage," in Claudius Madrolle, *Les premiers voyages des Français à la Chine* (Paris: Challamel, 1901), p.75.

¹⁸ Anders Ljunstedt, *Historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China*, (Boston: James Munroes & Co., 1836), pp.198-199. The drawings were done in 1813, when the bishop of Macau, Francesco Chacim, organized a two-day pilgrimage to Sancian (31st August-1st September). Another drawing of the Portuguese inscription was published in *The China Magazine* (Hong Kong), June 1869, n°24, vol. 3, p.120.

the inscriptions were framed as the result of successive erasing and rewriting. The layout of the Portuguese inscription in the picture of 1935 being very different from the survey of 1813, it could have been modified in between, most probably in 1869.



Fig 3a: The front of the memorial stone in 1813¹⁹

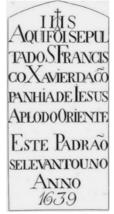


Fig. 3b: The back of the memorial stone in 1813²⁰

We assume that the Chinese inscription was originally written in three vertical rows rather than five. At a time when the stone was laid on the floor, the Portuguese inscription behind was copied on the side up, below the Chinese, on the foot of the slab originally embedded. In order to have enough space, the Chinese inscription was also packed upwards, thus having the need to bring the last characters of the first and the second row up to the top and insert them in the gap between the rows.

¹⁹ Ljungstedt, *Historical sketch*, p.198.

²⁰ Ljungstedt, *Historical sketch*, p.199.

One problem remains was about the date of 1639 in the Portuguese inscription. François Froger, who saw the stone in 1698, read the date as 1688.²¹ Louis de Chancel de Lagrange (1678-1747), who was together with Froger read instead 1689.²² Castner, in his book published in 1700, wrote twice that the stone dated as 1640,²³ and he also mentioned that the inscription was restored in 1688 (*renovatis in primis litteris*). ²⁴ These discrepancies indicate that the date of the Portuguese inscription was illegible. The explanation is in the account of Citadella mentioned below.

According to Citadella, the stone engraved in Macau in 1639 was brought to Sancian the same year by Father Gasparo Luiz. But they could not carry the stone up to the burial place, maybe because it was too heavy or because they could not find the site. Therefore, they buried it close to the northern cape of the island, 10 kilometers away from the burial place.

The opportunity to erect the stone was an anti-piracy expedition organized by Macau in the first days of September 1644. It included two vessels, each one with a team of 60 men and their captains. Four Jesuits came along with them. Arrived in Sancian, they rediscovered the stone and carried it onto a little boat. While the captains and their men fight against the pirates, the priests reached the northern shore where the islanders were watching the battle. This battle was rather a show of force, with musket blows, drum and trumpet, to flee the enemy. Neither the captains nor the pirates wanted their man to get wounded. Among the islanders was the old man who indicated the burial place to

²¹ Froger, Relation, p.60.

²² Louis Chancel de Lagrange, *Voyages curieux faits dans diverses provinces*, p. 254. Unpublished Manuscript.

²³ Castner, op.cit., p.9 and p.51.

²⁴ Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p.12 (6b): "quae in vicinia jacebat Petram, mundatam pariter, ac renovatis in primis litteris, Sepulturæ restituit."

Father Bonnelli few years before. Called by this man, about 80 villagers offered to transport the stone up to the burial place. When the stone was erected, the date of 1639 was changed into 1644 in the Portuguese inscription but not in the Chinese. Actually, in Chinese the date must include the name of the emperor. But Chongzhen, the last emperor of Ming Dynasty suicided in April 1644, and the name of the next emperor was still unknown in September 1644. Citadella explained in his letter that he hoped that the Chinese inscription could be changed later according to the Portuguese. But, on the contrary, the date of the Portuguese inscription was changed, probably during the restoration of 1688, according to the date of the Chinese inscription. The figures twice erased and rewritten were probably badly engraved and difficult to read, therefore, around 1700, Castner read it as 1640 instead of 1644, and Froger and Lagrange read it as 1688 or 1689 instead of 1639.

Based on these elements, we assume that the original layout of the inscriptions could be reconstructed as follow (Fig. 3):

²⁵ Citadella, *Relatione*, p. 48b.

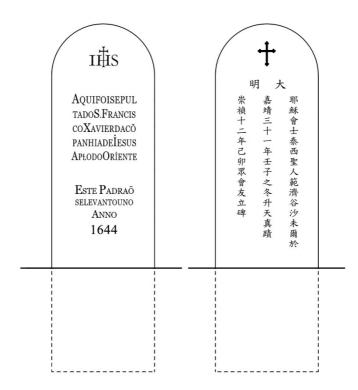


Fig. 3: Hypothesis of reconstruction of the original size and layout of the inscriptions of the memorial stone raised in 1644 in Sancian (M.M.)

It is also noteworthy that the Chinese text was to read in this order: 耶穌會士泰西聖人範濟谷沙未爾於 大明 嘉靖三十一年壬子之冬升天真蹟; 崇禎十二年已卯眾會友立碑. It means that "The Jesuit St Francis Xavier coming from the Extreme-Occident ascended to the sky in the winter of the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty. This stone was erected by his fellows in the 12th year of the reign of the Emperor Chongzhen, the Year of the Rabbit." The Portuguese text means "Here was buried St. Francis Xavier of the Company of Jesus, Apostle of the Orient. This stone was raised in the year of 1639."

According to a legend recounted by Castner in 1700,²⁶ although the Chinese inscription indicated that it was just a grave, villagers believed that the Portuguese inscription, which they could not understand, was a secret message to indicate a buried treasure there. Therefore, they overturned the stone to search and dug for the treasure, until leaving with disappointment. As a punishment for the violation of this holy place, rain stopped falling for years. In 1688, a vessel carrying Andrea Coelho, the governor of Macau, and Filipo Carrossi, an Italian Jesuit, on board was miraculously pushed by the wind to the island. They remembered that St Francis was once buried there and sought for the burial place. They discovered the stone overturned among some trees. So they chopped the trees, straightened the stone and said a Mass. After that, rain fell again, and the villagers, who rejoiced for this miracle, understood that they had to respect this holy place.

Although it is a legend, this story contains interesting elements about the history and meaning of this place: it is first of all an "empty" place: there is no remains of the body of Francis Xavier, nor any "treasure" buried there. Second, it is a "holy" but "abandoned" place, where pilgrims had not come for decades. Lastly, a restoration of the stone might have really been commissioned by the Governor of Macao and the Jesuits in 1688.

In a book published in 1696, Louis Le Comte also gave an account of the visit by Coelho and Carrossi to Sancian, in which he described a sanctuary they would then have built:

²⁶ Castner, *Relatio Sepulturæ*, pp.12-14 (6a-7a).

"In order to keep the memory of this place, they decided to build a great wall forming a square all around the grave and to dig a trench to protect it from the running water. In the center of the four walls, they erected the stone which was found overturned and built an altar to commemorate the holy Mass which they celebrated and to serve again some priests, if by chance or by devotion, would come."²⁷

Soon after, French readers of Le Comte went to Sancian and found that he had lied, for only the stone was visible on the spot.²⁸ But Le Comte's description of the sanctuary purportedly built in 1688 may however not be totally invented. Like Mendes Pinto more than one century before him (see above), Le Comte could have boast as an achievement the sanctuary that the Jesuits have long wanted to build in Sancian. This project was to build a wall, dig a trench and raise an altar, but the circumstances had not yet allowed the wish to become true.

The Sanctuary of 1700

Struggles in the Jesuits Mission of China

At the end of the 17th Century, the development of a struggle among the Jesuits in China accelerated the construction of a sanctuary in Sancian. The first issue was a divergence among missionaries about evangelizing method. In the 1580s, the superior of the Jesuits of Japan and China, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), defended the "Adaptation method" and wanted to exclude from Japan and China the missionaries of the medicant orders who would never accept it. Then,

²⁷ Louis Le Comte, *Nouveau Mémoire sur l'état présent de la Chine*, Tome 2, Lettre XI, 3rd edition, Paris, 1697. pp.170-171.

²⁸ François Froger, *Relation*, p.60. About the invented description of Sancian by Le Comte, see also Madrolle, *Les premiers voyages*, p.75.

the Jesuits obtained from the Pope and from the King of the united crowns of Spain and Portugal the exclusivity of the mission in Japan and China.²⁹

According to Valignano's method, Michele Ruggeri (1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) adopted some of the local customs and avoided to speak too loud about the most shocking point of Christianism. Besides, the Jesuits hoped that the entire China would become Catholic if the emperor converted himself, and they aimed to settle in Beijing. In 1610, Niccolò Longobardi (1565-1654) succeeded Ricci as superior of the Jesuits in China and questioned some of his predecessor's choices. As a consequence, the Jesuits were divided into two schools prefiguring the parties of the "Chinese rites controversy."

In 1631, the Pope reopened fully the China mission to the mendicant orders.³⁰ These missionaries worked in various provinces of China, rather with the Jesuits belonging to the school of Longobardi than with the Jesuits in Beijing.³¹ They considered that evangelizing could not shut up the scandal of the Cross and did more converts, which displeased the imperial authority. Meanwhile, in Beijing, Johann Adam Schall (1592-1866), Ferdinand Verbiest (1523-1688) and other Jesuits continued the footsteps of Ricci to serve the emperor.

During the second half of 17th Century, the French became the majority among the missionaries in China, and the King of France started to challenge the Portuguese *Padroado*. Thus, in 1685, six

²⁹ Jean-Pierre Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*. Le rôle des jésuites en Chine, de la mort de François-Xavier à la dissolution de la compagnie de Jésus (1552-1774), (Paris: Arguments, 1994), p.12.

³⁰ Joseph Sebes, "Les prédécesseurs de Ricci," in Michel MASSON, (ed.), *Matteo Ricci, un jésuite en Chine*, (Paris: Éditions des Facultés Jésuites, 2010). p.66.

³¹ Duteil, Le Mandat du Ciel, pp.96-100.

French Jesuits sailed for a diplomatic mission to the Orient. They first accompanied the Ambassador of King Louis XIV to the Kingdom of Siam. Then, five of these Jesuits, who were given the title of "Mathematicians of the King," continued their way to China. One of them, Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737), settled in Guangzhou and cooperate with the Jesuits in Macau. He built a church in Guangzhou and another one in Foshan. Four other Jesuits (Jean de Fontaney, Joachim Bouvet, Jean-François Gerbillon and Louis Le Comte) continued their way to Beijing where they settled in 1688. Bouvet and Gerbillon were then admitted to the imperial court, thanks to a Portuguese Jesuit. Their settlement in Beijing in 1688 was remembered as the foundation of the so-called "French mission in Beijing."

In 1689, Jean Basset (1662-1707), a MEP missionary who previously went to Siam with the French ambassador, finally reached China. From 1695 to 1701, he was the procurator of the MEP in Guangzhou and did some pastoral works there, serving in the churches built by Visdelou. The latter had since became one of the main opponents to his fellows in Beijing, who were followers of Ricci's method. These French missionaries took part, according to their opinions, in the dispute which ended in 1700 with the construction of a Sanctuary by the "Portuguese Jesuits in Macao" rather than by the "French Jesuits in Beijing."

The Vow of the Passengers of the Amphitrite

In 1693, Father Joachim Bouvet was sent back to France by Emperor Kangxi with the commitment to bring back artists and scientists to Beijing. In France, Bouvet tried to convince King Louis XIV to send an ambassador to China. Louis XIV refused because the Emperor of China only accepted to establish relations with tributary kings. He also refused to provide a royal vessel because of the risk that

its cargo would be regarded as tribute. Bouvet however obtained from him some materials and financial support for the French mission in Beijing. For the vessel, he convinced a merchant, Jean Jourdan de Groucé, to create a company to trade in China. Then, the "Compagnie Jourdan" chartered a ship, the *Amphitrite*, to sell mirrors in Guangzhou.³²

The vessel sailed twice to China, in 1698-1700 and in 1701-1703. During the first trip, when close to Sumatra, the *Amphitrite* encountered difficulties due to the weather. The passengers prayed to St Francis Xavier, regarded as the protector of Seamen, and made a vow "to build a little chapel at the grave of the Apostle in order to cover it from the rain and to say Mass conveniently." Believing they had been saved from a shipwreck by St Francis, they now must fulfill their yow.

On 5 October 1698, the *Amphitrite* anchored at the south of a coastal island of China. They did not realize that it was Sancian until a fisherman explained to them that a Westerner had his grave on the island. Then, on 8 October, the Jesuits and some other passengers of the *Amphitrite* reached the bay of Dawan 大灣 on a little boat and walked across the island until reaching the burial place. ³⁴ They observed the memorial stone and said the Mass. They might have spent about one hour on the spot. Several accounts of this visit remained,

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³² Paul Pelliot, *L'origine des relations de la France avec la Chine. Le Premier Voyage de L'Amphitrite en Chine*, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930), pp. 28-29. See also, Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1910), p.29.

³³ "Lettre du père Prémare au père de la Chaise," Canton, 17 février 1699, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. 3, (Paris: Aimé-Martin, 1863), p.10.

³⁴ Carte des isles qui sont à l'entrée de la rivière de Canton, dressée sur les lieux par le P. Dolcé de la Compagnie de Jésus. (Map of Father Dolcé describing the arrival of the Amphitrite in Sancian in October 1698.) Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE SH 18 PF 179 DIV 9 P 2 D.

written by Joachim Bouvet and his Jesuits fellows, ³⁵ by Italian painter Gio Gherardini ³⁶ and by a naval officer and scientist François Froger. ³⁷

After that, they faced, for one year, problems with the custom of Guangzhou who wanted to know whether the *Amphitrite* was a commercial boat or a tribute from the French king. Bouvet tried to convince the customs that it was a royal vessel with cargo for business in order to obtain an exception of customs duties. ³⁸ Waiting to be allowed to leave Guangzhou for Beijing, they thought out how to fulfill their vow by building a monument in Sancian. According to François Froger: "Brother Belleville designed a pyramid and an altar shaped like a mausoleum. It should have been in marble or in any stone that could withstand the test of time."³⁹

This project was presented by Charles de Belleville (1657-1730) to his fellows on the feast day of St Francis, 3 December 1698. Then, they collected money among themselves to build it. The cargo of mirrors was finally exempted of customs duties and the Jesuits were allowed to go to Beijing. Benoît de Bénac of the Jourdan Company stayed in Guangzhou to sale the mirrors while the *Amphitrite* returned to France. Bénac promised Bouvet that he would provide anything that was needed for the completion of the monument. But it was not

³⁵ Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, vol. 3 (Paris: Aimé-Martin, 1863): "Lettre du Père Bouvet au père de la Chaise," Pékin, 30 novembre 1699, pp.17-18;

[«]Lettre du père Chavagnac au père Gobien», Cho-tchéou, 30 décembre 1701, pp.50-51; "Lettre du Père Tartre à son Père," Canton 17 décembre 1701, pp.33, 38-41.

³⁶ Gio Ghirardini, Relation du voyage fait à la Chine sur le vaisseau l'Amphitrite en l'année 1698, Paris, 1700, pp. 66-67.

³⁷ François Froger, *Relation du premier voyage des Français à la Chine*, (Leipzig: Ernst Arthur Voretzsch, 1926), pp. 56-61.

³⁸ Pelliot, L'Origine des relations, p.53.

³⁹ Froger, Relation, p.84.

realized because, according to Froger, the Italian Jesuit Carlo Turcotti had another project. 40

Bouvet de la Touche, the French officer and supposed author of the journal of the second journey of the Amphitrite to China (1701-1703), ⁴¹ gave more details about the veto of Turcotti. He explained that Father Joachim Bouvet boasted with much fanfare to his project, provoking the reaction of the "Portuguese" who felt that the honor to build a sanctuary in Sancian was rightfully theirs. 42 These Jesuits mentioned in some instances as "Portuguese Jesuits" or "Jesuits in Macau," 43 were actually not Portuguese nationals, but missionaries acting according the rules of the Portuguese Padroado. Among them, the Italian Carlo Turcotti (1643-1706) was the Jesuit Provincial of Japan and China, and thus was in a position to refuse the initiative of Joachim Bouvet. He instead entrusted the construction of a sanctuary in Sancian to two other Jesuits in Macau, Caspar Castner (1655-1609) and Giovanni Laureati (1666-1727), a German and an Italian respectively. 44 Besides, Claude de Visdelou, a French Jesuit settled in Guangzhou since 1685 as we already mentioned, helped Turcotti to bypass the attempt of Bouvet, getting for him the authorization to build the sanctuary from the Viceroy of Guangzhou.

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⁴⁰ Froger, Relation, p.84.

⁴¹ An anonymous manuscript of the BNF titled *Traité du commerce de l'étranger avec la France* (BNF, Mss. fr., n. acq. 2086) was published in: Claudius Madrolle, *Les Premiers voyages français à la Chine; la Compagnie de la Chine, 1698-1719*. (Paris: A. Challamel, 1901). Madrolle attributed this manuscript to a Tenant of the Amphitrite called "Bouvet de la Touche". However, Pelliot considered that Madrolle do not give any evidence to sustain this attribution. See Pelliot, *L'Origine des relations*, pp. 8-9.

⁴² Madrolle, Les Premiers Voyages, pp.75-76.

⁴³ "Lettre du père Fontanay au père La Chaise," Londres, le 15 janvier 1704, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. 3, (Paris: Aimé-Martin, 1863), p.134.

⁴⁴ Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de Chine*, (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission, 1932), p.488.

As the passengers of the *Amphitrite* did not want the refund of their donations, they gave the money to Jean Basset, a MEP priest neutral in this dispute among the Jesuits, and he used it for charity purpose in the churches of Foshan and Guangzhou. At the end, Castner was commissioned to be the in-charge of the construction of the sanctuary and of the Jesuit mission towards the local people.

The Relatio Sepulturæ of Gaspar Castner

The rare Latin book of Gaspar Castner, titled *Relatio Sepulturæ*, was printed in China in 1700 by hand-rubbing damp sheet onto inked wood blocks, on which the text was carved. ⁴⁵ The book described the history of the burial place of St Francis from his death to the completion of the sanctuary in 1700. A German translation was published in 1729. ⁴⁶

This book was controversial for the passengers of the *Amphitrite* and aimed to shame them. According to Castner, they were "condemned" by their vow for not building a monument in Sancian.⁴⁷ Castner did not mention that their project was actually rejected by Carlo Turcotti. He stated instead that the *Amphitrite* passengers had an argument among themselves on how to build the monument and would have given the money to their local fellows to build something else. But Turcotti refused this money and found the means to build the sanctuary from a Spanish merchant in Guangzhou, while the money of the French Jesuits "was given to the poor and used for other charity

http://hdl.handle.net/10822/556052 [2020-01-21].

⁴⁵ Georgetown University Library:

⁴⁶ Gasparis Castner, "Grab-Statt des heil[igen] indianer Apostels S. Francisci Xavierii è Soc[ieta] Jesu auf des insel Sanciano, 1728," in Joseph Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 14, n°309, Ausburg, 1729. pp.2-13.

⁴⁷ Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p.17 (8a); "ecce brevi se voti damnatam vidit."

purposes."⁴⁸ Castner also insisted that the passengers were passing by and in hurry to go elsewhere, while Turrcoti had been engaged for a long time in the local missionary works.

To be fair, Castner could have mentioned that the *Amphitrite* passengers decided themselves that their money would be used for charity purpose, rather than being returned. Anyway, the passenger remained embarrassed and worried about not having their "vow" fulfilled because of the religious value of a "vow" and the high miraculous power attributed to St Francis Xavier, and also because Castner publicized that they did not fulfill it though they announced that they would do so.

Apart from this little wickedness, the book of Castner is a treatise on the missionary's methods. He dealt with the beliefs and behavior of the local people and explained how some villagers and other Chinese people were interested in Christian faith and eventually converted during the construction of the sanctuary. Castner first instructed and baptized two Chinese, and then send them as catechists in the island. After three months, he visited the six villages and baptized 50 people among a population he estimated to be 3,000. The connection between the mission toward the local people and the construction of the sanctuary pointed out by Castner was confirmed by a short comment of Father Tartre in 1701, in which the mission toward the local people seemed to be a project rather than a done deal:

"Our Portuguese fellows, since they built a chapel there, converted some inhabitants of the island. They want to settle a mission in the city of Coang-haï [廣海], which is at only 4 or 5 miles, and from where the one who will live there could go for some outing in

⁴⁸ Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p.16 (8b).

Sancian and in the nearby islands. Thus, they hope that this place, sanctified by the death of the Apostle of India, will not anymore be profaned by the cults of the idols, and that they will soon have there a fervent Christianity."⁴⁹

In 1702, Bouvet de la Touche, the official already mentioned, was on board of the *Amphitrite* for his second journey to China (1701-1703). He had read the book of Castner and the opportunity to study the newly built sanctuary in Sancian. He confirmed the size and the architecture of the sanctuary described by Castner and gave some additional details. However, about the works of evangelizing of the "Portuguese" Jesuits, he said that he could not found any Chinese converts on the island. The mission extolled by Castner might therefore not have been the success as he described. 51

The main idea of Castner's book remains that the missionaries who wanted to honor the memory of Francis Xavier had to be involved in evangelization works toward the local people. Now, one may wonder whether this point of view was more consistent with Francis Xavier's life than the vision of the mission of those who aimed to settle in Beijing. The two viewpoints might not be completely contradictory since Castner also followed their path and died in Beijing in 1709.

The Architecture of the Sanctuary

To attempt a reconstructed view of the sanctuary of 1700 (Fig. 6) we made use of Castner's extensive written description of the sanctuary and the floor plan printed at the end of his book (Fig. 5), as

⁴⁹ Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, vol. 3 (Paris: Aimé-Martin, 1863), p.41.

⁵⁰ Madrolle, Les Premiers Voyages, pp.74-75.

⁵¹ Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages*, p.76.

well as the descriptions and archeological elements mentioned in this paper.

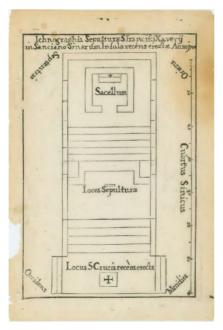


Fig. 5. Floor plan of the Sanctuary of 1700. Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p. 61 (31a).

Castner's floor plan is not very precise and some elements such as the doors are missing (Fig.5). Yet, every stroke on the floor plan could be considered as describing something. Especially the strokes dividing the enclosure wall in different sections would correspond to the tiers at the top of the wall, which was built on a hillslope.

The sanctuary was organized in three parts, each one having one of the three main elements: the Cross, the memorial stone and the chapel. For the Cross, Castner said that it was 3 meters in height and 1.5 meters in width. In 1864, three fragments of this Cross were discovered and drawn. The drawing showed the sharp of the

extremities of the Cross⁵² (Fig. 7). Castner said that the purpose of the wall built around the sanctuary was to prevent intrusion. He indicated the height of the wall on the side and on the top, but not in the front. However, he mentioned that the Cross was to be seen from boats on the sea as a sign that Christianity has already reached China. To allow the view of the cross, the front wall should not be higher than the parapet. Given the location of the sanctuary was on a hillslope, even the height of the parapet would be tall enough to prevent any intrusion. Conversely, the wall was higher on the top.

Castner said that the chapel had a "peaked roof" without mentioning whether it was a gable roof or a hip roof. The word used to describe this roof is "acumen" in Latin and "zugespitzt" in German.⁵³ These words are unusual to describe a roof and could mean that it was very sharp, like a slender pyramid or a pinnacle. This peaked roof could also be described as sharp because of curved edges, as it is common in traditional Chinese constructions. It seems however to have been designed to obtain from afar a similar effect than the pyramid projected by Belleville, and a gable roof painted white would be more consistent with this purpose than a hip roof. Castner also mentioned that two fake columns were painted on both sides of the door and that the date of 1700 was written above the door. Lastly, a celestial sphere (armilla) mounted by a little cross was placed on the top of this "peaked roof." These elements confirmed that it was a gable roof. However, we have no idea of the tilt degrees of the roof, and Castner might have emphasized the sharpness of this roof just because this shape was unusual in Chinese architecture.

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⁵² Ricci Institute of San Francisco, Canton Archives, Folder 3.19-VI.I, doc. 001. ⁵³ In Latin: "superior in acumen" (Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, pp.49-50 (25a-b); in German: "oben aber zugespitzt." (Stöcklein, Der Neue Welt-Bott, vol.14, n°309, Ausburg, 1729, p.11, col.2.)

Bouvet de la Touche provided additional information: ⁵⁴ inside the chapel was a simple stone altar without decoration. Above this altar, the Chinese inscription on a stone sealed on the wall read that this chapel was built by Father Turcotti and Portuguese Jesuits. On the facade, the date was written "MDCC" and also engraved on a stone, and the celestial sphere on the top was made of stone.

Yet, some questions remain: Exactly how high were the steps? Was the wall covered with tiles? What was the exact shape of the chapel's door and its peaked roof? What about the gates of the enclosure wall? Nevertheless, the available information was enough to get an idea of the look of this sanctuary. Staggered on the slope, it was designed as a belvedere opened to a large maritime landscape and a place to be seen from the sea. Its bright colors served the purpose of being visible from afar. The alternation of red and white color is still used all over the world on landmarks and other maritime navigation signals. Thus, the place is both conceived, for those who come there to celebrate the Mass, and for those who see it from afar, to signal a presence of Christianity in China.



Fig. 6: Reconstructed view of the sanctuary of 1700 (M.M.)

⁵⁴ Madrolle, Les Premiers Voyages, pp.74-75.

Construction and Ruins

In Guangdong, it was far better to do construction works during the dry and cool season before the heavy rains in Spring. Castner mentioned this concern because these made the works start a bit late. It was however built in less than three months, between 19 March and 2 June 1700.⁵⁵

A cargo of lime was imported to Sancian. As it was insufficient to complete the sanctuary, a lime kiln was made for burning shells, which were the only limestone material present on the island. ⁵⁶ The walls were entirely covered with plaster and painted. ⁵⁷ It means that irregularly shaped construction materials were used and needed to be coated. Despite this, the bright colors of the construction produced an impressive impact when the works were just finished, as explained by Father Tartre in 1701: "The Chapel built by the Portuguese Jesuits is beautiful. It is only in plaster, but the Chinese painted this plaster with their nice varnish red and blue, which made it bright and clean."

However, after visiting the place in 1702, Bouvet de la Touche did not mention the bright colors but pointed out some details which suggested that the plaster already started to crumble, and that the construction was of a poor quality. He wrote that the steps were carved straight in the rock and completed with bricks, and that the walls were of "bricks and soil."

Due to heavy rains in spring, humid weather in summer, and typhoons by autumn, this sanctuary would require ongoing maintenance to stay upright. Meanwhile, since its completion in 1700,

⁵⁵ Castner, Relatio Sepulturæ, p.53 (27a).

⁵⁶ Castner, *Relatio Sepulturæ*, p.54 (27b).

⁵⁷ Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, vol. 3, p.41.

there were only two recorded visits, in August 1701⁵⁸ and in 1702. Therefore, we assume that not much maintenance work was carried out and that the conditions of the sanctuary worsened soon, first with problem such as fading of colors, stifling of coatings, weakening of the walls due to winds and infiltration of rainwater, and dilapidating of the chapel roof. As a result, the sanctuary was probably ruined after a few years, even before 1724, when the destruction of churches and the expulsion of the missionaries was ordered in China. There is no evidence that this remote and unfrequented sanctuary was ruined by anything else than by the weather and the years.

The Sanctuary of 1869

Pilgrimages of 1813 and 1814

In 1813, the Bishop of Macau, Francesco Chacim (1767-1828), organized a pilgrimage to Sancian. The pilgrims discovered the memorial stone of 1639 on the floor, with both Chinese and Portuguese inscriptions facing up (Fig. 1b). Seeing a pit nearby, they believed that it was the burial place and decided to bring the stone closer to it. When they moved the stone, they discovered the Portuguese inscription on the back (Fig. 1c). They erected the stone to the edge of the pit, and the Bishop said the Mass.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, vol. 3, p.134.

⁵⁹ Jean Garaix quoted an account of the pilgrimage by Francesco Chacim (Garaix, *À Sancian*, p.15-17). A Portuguese newspaper in Hong Kong reproduced the same account of the pilgrimage of 1813 and another one of the pilgrimages of 1814: *O Echo do Povo*, Hongkong, segunda-feria, 3 de maio 1869, vol. XI. n°18, p.1 col. 3–p.2 col.1-2. (AMEP, vol. 555P, doc.111)

Bishop Chacim and the pilgrims had actually a poor knowledge about the history of the place and were unable to understand the remaining elements of the Sanctuary of 1700. They believed that the pit was there since Antonio removed the coffin in February 1553. They also regarded the remains of the walls of the chapel as the ruins of a house where St Francis died.⁶⁰ The pit was perhaps a part of the ditch surrounding the 1700 sanctuary while the "little house" three meters above the memorial stone was definitely the Chapel of 1700. Thus, they were in the ruins of the sanctuary of 1700, but their mistaken interpretation of these ruins raised doubt about any sanctuary ever built in Sancian.⁶¹

In 1814, a second pilgrimage was carried out. ⁶² Since then, Bishop Chacim did not go to Sancian again, but he paid a villager to take custody of the stone and the pit for some years. ⁶³

Competition to Build a New Sanctuary

In 1848, Rome assigned the French missionaries (MEP) to Guangdong. Zéphyrin Guillemin (1814-1886) arrived in China as a missionary priest. In a writing of 1850, he mentioned about the ruins of the sanctuary on Sancian Island and his wish to rebuild something there. ⁶⁴ Guillemin was appointed as the Apostolic Prefect of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1853. After he was ordained bishop in Rome in 1857, he stayed in France until the end of 1858 for

⁶¹ Ljungstedt, *Historical sketch*, p.8.

⁶⁰ Garaix, À Sancian, p.17.

⁶² The newspaper *O Echo do Povo* indicated the year 1814, *op.cit.* p.2 col.1-2, whereas Garaix indicated the date as 1815. There are however plenty errors of date and facts in the book of Garaix and it might be one of them.

⁶³ Garaix, À Sancian, p.18; see also Ljungstedt, Historical sketch, p.9.

⁶⁴ Zéphyrin Guillemin, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, T.22, Lyon, 1850, p.436-437.

fundraising. In 1862, he started the construction of a large granite cathedral in Guangzhou.

Meanwhile, Father Francisco Xavier Rondina (1827-1897), an Italian Jesuit in Lisbon, was preparing himself to be one of the last missionaries of the Portuguese *Padroado*. He arrived Macau in 1862 and thought about the tomb of his patron saint. Thus, Rondina, as a supporter of the ancient Portuguese *Padroado*, and Guillemin, as supporter of the new French protectorate of the Catholic Mission to China, competed to build a new sanctuary for the patron saint of the Catholic Mission to China. There was, however, a remarkable improvement in this new squabble between the French and Portuguese missionaries, since the two were competitors respectful to each other.

Given that Sancian was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Guangzhou, Rondina contacted Guillemin and organized a pilgrimage there. On 20 November 1864, they discovered the granite stone standing, a bit tilted, in the remains of the Sanctuary of 1700.⁶⁵

Since Rondina had read the book of Castner, he was able to understand the ruins. He also found three fragments of the former granite Cross (Fig. 9) and decided to come back later with a new Cross of the same size.

The second pilgrimage was organized for 3 December 1866, the feast day of St Francis. The cross engraved with "S.P. FRANCISO XAVEIRIO - MACAENSES DIE 3 DEC. 1866"66 was brought there

⁶⁵ Francisco Xavier Rondina, "Histoire et description du sanctuaire de saint François-Xavier à Sancian, " in *Études de théologie, de philosophie et d'histoire*, par les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, T.XI 1866, pp.546-553; see also Garaix, *À Sancian*, pp.19-22.

⁶⁶ Ricci Institute of San Francisco, Canton Archives, F3.19-VI.I, p.001.

the day before. ⁶⁷ Bishop Guillemin was among the 750 pilgrims. However, bad weather spoiled the pilgrimage and only a few people landed to attend the Mass disturbed by rain and wind.

On the return trip to Macau, Father Rondina delivered a talk and called for donations for the construction of a monument on the burial place by the Portuguese in Macau. An anonymous document kept in the archives of the MEP mission of Guangzhou showed the Cross brought by the pilgrims of Macau in 1866, and a pyramid with a statue of the Saint on the top (Fig. 10). ⁶⁸ We assume that this pyramid was actually the project of Rondina.

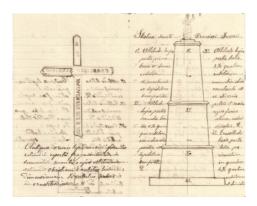


Fig. 7: Sketch of the fragment of the cross of 1700 and of a project of pyramid. The cross of the Macanese pilgrims of 1866 is drawn at the back.

The collection of Rondina was the starting point of his conflict with Guillemin. The later deemed that it was up to him to supervise the building of a new monument in Sancian, whereas, according to Rondina, the Portuguese donors refused contributing their money to a monument built by a French. ⁶⁹ Then, availing himself with huge

⁶⁸ Ricci Institute of San Francisco, Canton Archives, F3.19-VI.I, p.002.

⁶⁷ Garaix, À Sancian, p.22.

⁶⁹ Zéphyrin Guillemin to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Guangzhou, 20th December 1866. AMEP, vol.555B-2, pp.1360-1361.

human, financial, and material resources for the construction of the Guangzhou cathedral, Guillemin decided to bypass Rondina's initiative. He wanted to do much more than the monument desired by the Portuguese, 70 though it might jeopardize the finance of the cathedral's construction in doing so.

Upon returning to Guangzhou, Guillemin immediately stepped up the construction of a new sanctuary in Sancian. Since he also read the *Relatio Sepulturæ*, he knew the main idea of Castner was that the construction of the sanctuary on the burial place of Francis Xavier must be included in an evangelization plan. So, Guillemin asked Achille Hermitte (1840-1871), the architect of the Guangzhou cathedral, to plan for two churches,⁷¹ one for a memorial chapel on the burial place, and the other one for a mission church to be located in a village on Sancian Island. ⁷² On 8 January, 1867, Guillemin left Guangzhou for Sancian. He was accompanied by five Chinese Catholics of Guangzhou and Father Auguste Braud ⁷³ who stayed there to inspect the works. ⁷⁴ In the spirit of Castner's book, they travelled by the land route to Guanghai to evaluate the possibility of evangelizing this area. They arrived in Sancian on 12 January and first went to the burial place. Then, they visited all villages on the island and finally,

⁷⁰ Zéphyrin Guillemin to Ozouf, 22nd December 1866, AMEP, vol.555B-2, pp.1365-1367.

⁷¹ Plans of Hermitte for the churches of Sancian, AMEP, vol. 631, pp.6s. Other plans on tracing paper in the Map Department of AMEP (not numbered).

⁷² Zéphyrin Guillemin, *A MM. Les Directeurs de l'Œuvre pour la Propagation de la Foi de Lyon*, Guangzhou, 25th January 1867, Lyon, (Lithographed letter, AMEP, vol. 631, pp.489-503). See also: Guillemin, *Lettres au sujet de l'érection de la chapelle de saint François-Xavier dans l'île de Sancian*, Rome, 1870, p.30

⁷³ Auguste Braud (1838-1873), his name is sometimes written as "Brand."

⁷⁴ Zéphyrin Guillemin, "Lettre aux Membres du Conseil de l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi," Canton le 12 juin 1869, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, T.41, Lyon, 1869, p. 421.

bought a piece of land in Xindi (新地), the closest village to the burial place, and hired villagers to prepare the two construction sites.

Meanwhile, Rondina wanted to ask the Viceroy of Guangzhou whether the Jesuits in Macau could recover the concession of the burial place. However, because of the French Protectorate on the Catholic mission to China, Rondina had to make this demand through the French Consul in Guangzhou, Gilbert de Trenqualye (1849-1851). Being a French and bishop of Guangzhou, Guillemin was in a better position to win the case, but he had bad relationship with the Consul and the stone of 1639 was a strong evidence that the disputed piece of land once was belonged by the Jesuits in Macau.

Guillemin was awarded of Rondina's claim by the English Consul, and then also claimed the concession of the land. The French Consul asked him to ground his claim substantially and Guillemin found an argument in the book of Castner. As mentioned above, it was actually the French Jesuit Claude de Visdelou, who obtained from the Viceroy the concession of the land of the burial place. For Guillemin this was an evidence that the land was previously granted to a French missionary in Guangzhou rather than to the missionaries of the *Padroado*. Finally, the new French Ambassador, Charles de Lallemand, visited Guangzhou in July 1867 and settled the case. The ambassador just communicated the demand of Guillemin to the Viceroy, who granted him the land. In Sancian the works had started six month ago.

St Francis Chapel

The church designed by Hermitte to be built on St Francis' burial place (Fig. 8) was a kind of abstract Gothic chapel that could have been built anywhere.

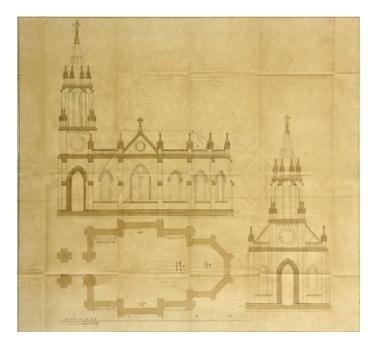


Fig. 8. Plans of the St Francis Chapel of Sancian, 1867, architect Achille Hermitte. AMEP, Maps and plans department, China (unnumbered document). The colored parts are in granite.

Developed between the 1830s and 1870, and based on the study of the 13th Gothic architecture, the French neo-Gothic architecture was characterized by an extreme codification of this style, which gave rise to two main models of churches. One is the "ideal cathedral" with two towers, three portals, three naves and three rose windows. It was to be located in the center of a capital city and to be the see of the bishop. For the villages or the countryside, the "ideal chapel" will be a smaller church with one tower and one portal at the center of the main elevation, but still has three naves and a Latin cross floor plan. The chapel of Sancian was too small to have three naves and a transept, but its elevations are composed as if it actually was. Thus, the chapel of Sancian can be regarded as an "ideal chapel," complementary to the "ideal cathedral" that Hermitte was by the time building in Guangzhou.

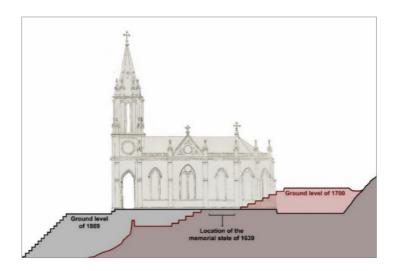


Fig. 9: Location of the memorial stone in the sanctuaries of 1700 and in the chapel of 1869, and earthworks of 1867 for the implementation of the new Chapel. (M.M.)

In Sancian, this rather abstract architecture was made meaningful by its positioning in relation to the burial place and the landscape. First, there was the need to create a platform on which a chapel could be built (Fig. 9). As the ruins of the sanctuary of 1700 were still visible, there was no difficulty to identify the burial place on the mid-level terrace. This terrace was widened as the result of mountain digging and building a platform facing towards the sea. On this new platform, the church had to be positioned in order that the burial place would be located right in front of the main altar. The memorial stone of 1639 was reinserted on the floor as a tombstone, just behind the altar.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Site Plan of St Francis Chapel of Sancian with the memorial stone and the panoramic terrace, December 1866. AMEP, vol.631, p.7.



Fig. 10. Interior of St Francis Chapel of Sancian in 1869. (M.M.)

Our reconstructed view of the interior of the church aims to give an idea the original shape of the vaults and of the position of the tombstone in relation with the altar (Fig. 10). This view is based on a short description of the interior written by Jean-Baptiste Berthon in the 1880s, in which he mentioned that the vault was made of "three-centered arches." ⁷⁶ We do not have more precise indication about their design. We assume that the arches of brick were completed of false wooden vault covered with plaster. Therefore, our reconstructed view is just a hypothesis. The "three-centered arches" (or "basket handle vault") is a classical pattern of the 16th and 17th Centuries architecture. According to Berthon, the arches were supported by semicircular pilasters with Corinthian style capitals. Thus, the interior was "eclectic," combining Antic, Gothic and Renaissance styles.

⁷⁶ Jean-Baptiste Berthon, "Autour du Tombeau de S. François Xavier à Sancian," in *Les Missions Catholiques* (Paris: Challamel, 1886), p.402.

The floor was covered with marble. The tombstone was laid exactly on floor level, in front of the main altar, highlighted by a white marble frame carved with flowers. The memorial stone had been resized to fit in the white marble frame. A cut of the original stone has been sent as a relic to Vuillanfans, east of France, the hometown of Guillemin, and is still in the church of this village.

The main altar, made of teak wood and golden, was a replica of Gothic altar of the 13th Century. A communion bench and the Way of the Cross were added after the inauguration.

From the outside, the enlargement of the terrace towards the sea enhanced the overhang effect of the tower to the sea and also its visibility from the sea (Fig.13). Thus, the key symbolic elements of the church were the front tower and its octagonal spire. Guillemin wrote about it: "this elegant spire will rise from the foot of this rock like the soul of the apostle rose to the heaven." This interpretation refers to the Chinese inscription of the tombstone which said that St Francis ascended to the Heaven (升天).

⁷⁷ Guillemin, *A MM. Les Directeurs*, 25 January 1867, (AMEP, vol. 631, p.501): "Sa flèche gracieuse s'élèvera du pied de ce rocher comme l'âme de l'apôtre s'est élevé vers le ciel."



Fig.13: View of the church of 1869 according to Hermitte's design. (M.M.)

The Mission Church of Xindi

The church in the village of Xindi (Fig. 14) was designed as a functional building fitting the needs of the Catholic mission or of a religious community to host a school. The nave of the church was like a double-story hall with a gallery between the priests' rectory and other rooms. This church was equipped with a Gothic altar and an organ. The main elevation of the church was adorned with ogival windows and Gothic pinnacles. The small tower sheltered a bell. The two houses built on both sides of the church were planned for a school and other activities. The enclosure wall as well as its gate and the steps still exist.

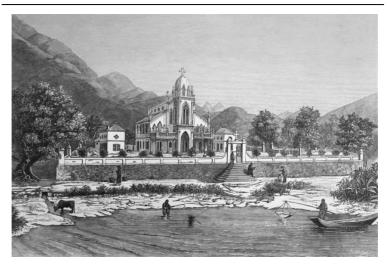


Fig. 14: View of the church of the mission in Sancian, Lithography by Canedi, from a drawing of Father Berthon circa 1880. APMEP, "Album des Missions Etrangères."

Constructors and Construction Materials

Except for the embankment, all the construction materials were imported from other places of Guangdong. To obtain the granite, Guillemin signed a contract with Shen Fu (伸福), called A-Fuk, one of the 10 chief stone cutters of granite quarries in Kowloon who provided the stones for the Guangzhou cathedral. 78 The required amount of stones for the churches in Sancian was not much because granite was only used in the base of walls, the top of the buttress, the pinnacles and top of the spire. Other coated parts of the walls were in grey bricks imported from Hong Kong.

⁷⁸ Contract between Bishop Guillemin and A-Fuk for the stones of the churches of Sancian (立合同單字人伸亞福承接廣東主教建造天主聖堂並書 房共兩座之石料人工), signed 1st of March 1867 in St Francis Seminary, Dang long jau, (燈龍州書樓處), Hong Kong. Bilingual document in Chinese (p.4) and Latin (p.5), (AMEP, vol. 631, pp.3-5.)

Hermitte designed the plans for free and might not have involved much on site for he was then busy with the construction of the Cathedral of Guangzhou and the completion of the City Hall of Hong Kong. Furthermore, he also drew a plan for the Colonial Government's palace of Saigon, in Vietnam, and was awaiting to build it. Hermitte finally left for Saigon in June 1868 while the construction of the Chapel of Sancian was proceeding.

Thus, the construction of the two churches of Sancian was entirely carried out by Father Braud, by Wei Shouquan (魏壽全), who was usually called "Agny"(阿 義), the main contractor of the Guangzhou cathedral, by the stone masons of the cathedral and by the people of Sancian hired on the site.

Inauguration on 25 April 1869

Few times before the completion of the churches, Rondina stopped to protest against the constructions of Guillemin and decided to join the inauguration with the representative of Macau and a large number of Macanese pilgrims. The ceremony was hold on 25 April 1869. The day before the ceremony, about 200 Europeans and 100 Chinese Catholics reached the island. Women slept on the boat, while the men slept in the new parish buildings of Xindi.

In the morning Guillemin celebrated a solemn Mass in St Francis Chapel with Timoleon Raimondi (1827-1894), the Bishop of Hong Kong, and Pierre-Marie Osouf (1829-1906), then *Procureur Général* of the MEP in Hong Kong.

Two Chinese seminarians received their tonsure during the Mass. Thus, Guillemin dedicated the new sanctuary to the Chinese clergy. He would continue to ordain Chinese priests in this Chapel. ⁷⁹ Bishop Mérel did the same from 1904 and Sancian was a fruitful evangelization field of the Chinese clergy of Guangdong until 1924.

Unexpectedly, after the tonsure, Father Rodina gave a "sermon" in which he praised the Portuguese protectorate as well as the bishop of Guangzhou. His main idea was that 1869 would be remembered as the year of the fifth pilgrimage of the diocese of Macau to Sancian (after 1813, 1814, 1864 and 1866). During this pilgrimage, a chapel built by the bishop of Guangzhou, who also wanted to honor a saint very important for Portuguese and people of Macau, was inaugurated.⁸⁰



Fig. 12: Engraving of the inauguration of the church of Sancian with people of Sancian bringing grilled pork.

⁷⁹ Comptes rendus des travaux de la Société des Missions Etrangères de l'Années 1876, Paris, December 1876, p.18. (AMEP, Lettres Communes, 1876).

⁸⁰ Francisco Xavier Rondina, *Romaria ao Sepulchro do Thaumaturgo S. Francisco Xavier. Sermao*, AMEP, vol. 631, pp.1897-1918. (Copy dedicated to Guillemin by Rondina)

The ceremony was concluded with the *Te Deum*. Soon after a group of people of Sancian arrived with cymbals and trumpets to offer grilled pork. After a while of astonishment and a short negotiation to avoid the pork being brought and eaten in the chapel, the feast continued outside. Guillemin appreciated this welcome gift highly and had it presented in the printed engraving which commemorated the inauguration of the churches (Fig. 15). After the inauguration he stayed one week in the island to visit the villages.

The Two Pyramids

The construction of a peaked monument visible from afar as a maritime signal has been a recurrent project in the history of Sancian. The first person who had the project to build a pyramid in Sancian was Charles de Belleville in 1698. For the sanctuary of 1700, the peaked roof of the chapel and the 3-meter high granite Cross undertook the role of maritime signals. In 1866, there was a project, which we attributed to Francesco Xavier Rondina, to build a pyramid topped with a statue St Francis. From 1869, the spire of St Francis Chapel fulfilled this role. However, Guillemin also wanted to build a pyramid topped with a statue, ⁸¹ and a second one topped with a Cross and erected on the top of a mountain. ⁸²

When the construction of the churches was in progress, the pieces of tow slender pyramids or obelisks were cut in Kowloon and brought to Sancian. But they were completed later, since the statue was not ready and people had to climb up to the mountain top with the

⁸¹ Zéphyrin Guillemin, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, T.41, (Lyon, 1869), p.421.

⁸² Guillemin, A MM. Les Directeurs, 25 January 1867, (AMEP, vol. 631), p.501.

heavy stones. Since there was no hurry, it was done as a part time job, at the convenience of the Sancian people.

Between 1870 and 1875, Guillemin was in Europe. He first participated the Council of Vatican and then stayed for four years to do fundraising for overcoming financial difficultly partly due to the construction of the churches in Sancian, which consumed 120,000 francs. They were eventually paid by the donations of French Catholics solicited through the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*⁸³ and the newspaper *L'Univers*. ⁸⁴

In France, Guillemin ordered Jean-Marie Bonnassieux, a sculptor, to create a statue of St Francis Xavier. Bonnasieux was famous for the gigantic statue of Our Lady of France in Puy-en-Velay and for some sculptures in Louvre. His statue for Sancian portrayed St Francis as a priest with sacerdotal garment and also as a missionary showing the Cross (Fig. 16a). At his foot was an anchor, which symbolized the maritime vocation of the sanctuary and St Francis' being a traveler and protector of seamen.

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⁸³ Guillemin, in *Annales de la Propagande de la foi*, T.41, (Lyon, 1869), pp.408-425.

gá Zéphyrin Guillemin, "Bénédiction de la chapelle élevée sur le tombeau de Saint-François Xavier dans l'île de Sancian," Guangzhou, 1 June 1869, in *L'Univers* (Newspaper), n°866, Tuesday 14 September 1869, pp.1-2; and n° 868, Thursday 16 September 1869, pp.1-3.







Fig. 13a: Statue of St Francis Xavier by Jean-Marie Bonnassieux⁸⁵.

Fig. 13b: The pyramide of Sancian c. 1910.86

Fig. 13c: The pyramide of Sancian in 1930⁸⁷.

The statue was cast in bronze in triplicate, ⁸⁸ one for Sancian (Fig. 16 b-c and 17), one for the St Francis Seminary of Guangzhou (Fig. 18), and a third one for being placed in a somewhat Chinese style kiosk built in Échevannes (Fig. 19), East of France, near the hometown of Guillemin. A Chinese bell from Sancian was placed at the top of the monument. Only the statue of Échevannes still exists. It is however exactly the same as the one which was once in Sancian.

⁸⁵ S.A. des Hauts-fourneaux et fonderies du Val d'Osne, Catalogue n°3, 1876, pl.716. https://e-monumen.net/patrimoine-monumental/vo3_pl716-statues-religieuses/

⁸⁶ Picture from Colomban, *Zéphyrin Guillemin*, Macao, 1919, p.362. (The cross and the anchor of the statue where then broken and are drawn on the picture.)

⁸⁷ H. O'Brien, "In Quest of a Tomb," in *The Rock*, Hong Kong, October 1933, btw. pp.314-315.

⁸⁸ "Le Monument de S. François Xavier dans l'île de Sancian," in *Annales des Missions Étrangères*, n° 204, Mars-Avril 1932, p. 62. See also Patrick Joy, "The Pyramid of Sanchian," in *The Rock* (Hong Kong Catholic Magazine), November 1931, pp.338-340.



Fig.14: The statue in the St Francis seminary of Guangzhou, in 1934. (OPM Lyon)



Fig.15: The monument of Francis Xavier in Échevannes (Photo by Jean-Guy Simonet.)

The statue was brought to Sancian on 29 January 1877 and placed at the top of the Pyramid the same day. It was blessed the next day at the presence of three bishops, 36 priests, the French Consul of Guangzhou and many pilgrims. ⁸⁹

The completion of this pyramid reinforced the main axis of the Sanctuary, where it now located the burial place, the memory stone of 1639 and the altar, the Gothic chapel with its spire, the stairs leading up to the chapel, and the pyramid with its statue (Fig. 17 & 18).

Father Jean-Batiste Berthon described the second pyramid, on the top of the mountain, in the 1880s:

⁸⁹ Les Mission Catholiques, T.9, 1877, pp.419-420.

"Following a path, we arrive on the top of a 2,000 ft mountain. There, a pyramid of 25 ft topped with a cross is the signal wanted by Bishop Guillemin for the vessels. Unfortunately, they sail too far at East or at West. From twenty miles away, a telescope would be needed to see it.⁹⁰

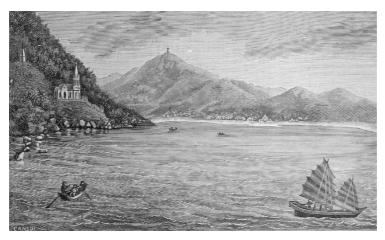


Fig. 17: View of Sancian, c. 1880, Lithography from a drawing of Fr J.-B. Berthon, c. 1880, Mission catholiques, 1886, p.337. From left to rigth: the pyramid completed in 1877, the memorial chapel of 1869, the cross on the top of the hill and the village of Xindi with the second church.

According to a drawing of Berthon (Fig. 17), this mountain was *Tadingshan* (塔頂山), which is actually 1233 ft (376 m) high⁹¹ rather than 2000 feet as estimated by Berthon. Although this pyramid was not really visible for the vessels sailing 30 km away, it extended the pilgrimage to Sancian on a hike. Thus, Berthon used to bring the pilgrims up to the Cross because the view on the island and the sea was wonderful.

1946; revised in 1957. N° 6421.

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 ⁹⁰ Les Missions Catholiques, Autour du Tombeau de S. François Xavier, p.416.
 ⁹¹ Map of Shang-Ch'uan Shan (St. John Island), United States Navy Hydrographic Office, Washington, D.C., 1st Ed., July 1945; 2nd Ed., December

Hopes and Setbacks since the Completion

The development of pilgrimages and of the missionary works in Sancian were compromised because of the Sino-French War (1881-1886). The sanctuary was looted in 1884 and the missionaries abandoned the Island in the 1890s. The damaged sanctuary of Sancian was further altered due to poor restoration and looting. A temporary lower roof was rebuilt in 1899 to replace the one rotted by the white ants. The Church was restored in 1910 with the support of the Jesuits in Macau. 92 During this restoration, the memorial stone of 1639 was settled as the cover of a sarcophagus (Fig. 2a). Since the white marble frame of the memorial stone disappeared during the looting of 1884, the purpose was to save the precious relic from laying straight on the floor and also to avoid the presence of a fence which would hide the burial place. However, the meaning of the inscription on the stone that read: "Here was buried Francis Xavier" to indicate a burial in the soil, was thus distorted, suggesting that the body of St Francis was placed in this sarcophagus, rather than in the soil.

The chapel was looted again in April 1912 during the Xinhai revolution. 93 Despite the poor condition of St Francis Chapel, Sancian was a great source of pride during the first decade of the 20th Century since the number of Catholics had reached 2,000, thanks to the activity of Father Eugène Thomas and of the Chinese priests. In 1918, the new MEP Bishop of Guangzhou, Budes de Guébriandt, wanted to give Sancian island to the Jesuits in Macau, but they did not have any priest

⁹² Garaix, A Sancian, p.3; and at Ricci Institute of San Francisco, Canton Archives: Fr. Eugène Thomas to Bishop Mérel, (Annual report of 1904-1905, Sancian, 16th August 1905), F.5.25.48; Eugène Thomas to Bishop Mérel, Sancian, F.10.45.4, pp.7-8.

⁹³ Les Annales Catholiques, n° 2 193, 16 Juin 1912, p.267.

to appoint there. 94 Finally, the Marykoll fathers took over Sancian in 1924. Father Walsh was ordained as Bishop of Jiangmen in the mission church of Xindi in 1928.





Fig. 18 Saint Francis Chapel before the renovation of 1932. (OPM Lyon)



Fig. 19 Saint Francis Chapel after the renovation of 1932 (AMEP)

The Maryknoll restored St Francis Chapel in 1932, with financial support of the Archdiocese of New York. Father Cairns managed the work himself but he was a better parish priest than architect. The Gothic octagonal spire was replaced by a cubic lantern in concrete and the 24 granite pinnacles crowning the church were scrapped. Inside the chapel, the former three-centered arches were replaced by ogival arches. Since the space under the roof was insufficient to fit this kind of arches, they were distorted, which explains their awkward shape.

On 12 July 1941, the church of Xindi was bombed by a Japanese destroyer offshore. 95 The damaged church was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution along with the tomb stone of 1639 and the granite pyramid with the bronze statue. After years of abandon and closure, St Francis Chapel was restored in 1986 and again in 2006. A new fake

⁹⁴ Budes de Guébriant, "L'Apostolat missionnaire de la France," in Bulletin de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, novembre 1923.

⁹⁵ James Kroeger, On the Maryknoll Road in China, vol. III, Sancian, (New York: Maryknoll Press, 1996), p.38.

sarcophagus was made in 1986. It was replaced by another one in 2006 covered with a replica of the disappeared granite slab of 1639 (Fig.1a). The layout of the inscription of this new slab was inspired by the survey of the inscription found in the book of Andreas Ljungderst (Fig. 3a). The granite pyramid was covered with concrete and with a new statue of granite placed on top.

In 2018, as part of the "Belt and Road Initiative," a museum of maritime relations was built in Xindi, behind the former mission church. Meanwhile, the guard house of St Francis Chapel (Fig.18), which was the very last original building of 1869 still standing in Sancian, has been replaced by a construction of somewhat Gothic style to match with the church. However, this house was purposely not in Gothic style because in 19th Century, the Gothic was regarded as suitable for sacred architecture and not for a house of secular use.

The current state of the Sanctuary inevitably raised regrets if it is compared to the state of the period from 1869 to 1884. On one hand the place is thus more conducive to a meditation on failure and desolation consistent with the end of the life of Francis Xavier. On the other hand, Francis Xavier's death in Sancian is related to the hope for future generations, and it is still possible to hope for a revival of the place, grounded on its centuries of history.

[摘要]聖方濟各·沙勿略(St Francis Xavier)於 1552 年 12 月在廣東省上川島逝世。雖然此地對中國天主教傳教事業有重 要的象徵意義,但聖人的暫時墓地因位處隔涉之地,一直以來甚少有朝聖者前往。然而,一塊於 1639 年在澳門雕刻的紀念碑於 1644 年在該處豎立了。1700 年,這塊石碑成為一座較大的聖所的中心點。該聖所建於斜坡上,面向海洋。不過,它很快又被遺棄和遭到破損。朝聖活動於 19 世紀才真正開始熱絡。大家今天看到的這座教堂顯示它是於 1869 年建成,雖然它經過不斷整修。它是與另一教堂一起建興,有兩座花崗石的尖塔,使聖所在周圍的景觀中得以伸延。本文的首要目的是重塑這些已失去的紀念碑、建築物和上川島的地形圖像。它們將有助我們理解,這同一地點在不同年代的變化和意義。這些紀念性的建築是聖方濟各·沙勿略生與死的隱喻,連接著天與地、東方和西方、海洋和陸地;其設計是讓人從遠處和海上都能清晰可見。相反地,它們沒有眺望中國的景觀,那裡卻是聖方濟各·沙勿略一生渴望到達的地方。

「隱修院將成為中國之家」 從天主教隱修生活歷史的角度 看教會在中國的本地化

馬明哲(Matteo Nicolini-Zani) 吳家齊 譯

〔摘要〕基督徒隱修院於 19 至 20 世紀之間來到中國的歷史,為歷史上中國天主教的本地化進程,提供了一個一直被忽視或被低估了的獨特視角。它基本上表明了,基督徒隱修生活在中國文化處境的發展過程中,需要對未來採取一種開放的精神,以及接受隱修模式從西方傳統轉變。本文以 20 世紀上半葉四川省西山本篤會隱修院的案例作特別的研究對象,回顧了這一過程中的主要問題和張力(培育、建築和教規架構)。

一、前言

19 至 20 世紀天主教隱修會在中國的歷史,為天主教在中國本地化的過程提供了一個獨特但仍然被忽視或低估的視角。¹ 透過

¹本論文據英文原文翻譯而成,論文曾於 2017 年 3 月 28 至 29 日於江西省南昌市召開的「利瑪竇與南昌:中國教會的本地化」會議上以中文發表。關於基督徒隱修院在中國創建的歷史,可參考 Matteo Nicolini-Zani, Christian Monks on Chinese Soil: A History of Monastic Missions to China (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2016).

本地化的角度檢視這段歷史的一些篇章,對了解天主教會在中國的往昔,乃至今日的中國天主教會,均甚具啟發性。

如同在世界各地一樣,隱修生活在中國曾經是,也應該是教會生活中不可或缺的一部分,並參與著教會的福傳使命。在梵蒂岡第二屆大公會議(梵二會議)及其後,隱修生活與教會福傳使命兩者息息相關的觀點,得到重申及發展,並強調團體生活作為隱修生活的獨特形式之見證。2默觀與福傳兩者是密不可分,從這個角度來看,隱修院既是默觀淨土,也是與福傳和活動的場所,但這並不是指他們要讓自己涉足教會的牧養工作,而是提供一個地方,以祈禱作為基督徒生活核心,及以寂靜與聆聽作為一種學習,讓人們追求自我更新,探索自己內心世界。

這是 1965 年梵二會議專門針對天主教會獻身生活團體的《修會生活革新》法令(Perfectae Caritatis)交託給隱修士的使命:「使隱修院成為感化信友的園地」。3 透過禮儀和待客之道,默觀成為行動和福傳。因此,隱修團體作為教會的實體,也參與了教會的內在福傳本質。換言之,隱修生活參與了教會的生活,而教會生活的本質就是福傳。4

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² 可參考 José Cristo Rey García Paredes, "Missione," in Ángel Aparicio Rodríguez & Joan María Canals Casas eds., *Dizionario teologico della vita consacrata*, (Milan: Àncora, 1994), pp.1038-63, 1049。關於默觀/隱修生活的神學要點亦可參考 Jean Leclercq, "Monachisme chrétien et missions," *Studia Missionalia*, 28 (1979): pp.133-52, in particular pp.142-47。

³ 梵蒂岡第二屆大公會議,《修會生活革新》法令(Perfectae Caritatis), 第 9 節;亦見於教宗若望保祿二世:《奉獻生活》勸諭(Vita Consecrata),第8節。

⁴ 可参考 Sandra Mazzolini, "Missione e monachesimo. Una prospettiva missiologica," in Conrad Leyser & Hannah Williams eds., *Mission and Monasticism. Acts of the International Symposium at the Pontifical Athenaeum S. Anselmo, Rome, May 7–9, 2009*, (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo Sant'Anselmo / Sankt Ottilien: EOS, 2013), pp.197-210, in particular pp.203-4.

隨著時間推移,人們更好地理解到「隱修制度的角色是將之帶到福傳事業,包括教會生活所需要的一切,而不是為了別的事情。」5當這一點變得更加清晰,大家亦開始關注到隱修生活植根到其他文化及屬靈環境的本地化問題,又或是梵二會議的《教會傳教工作》法令(Ad Gentes,1965)中所言,如何「在那裡適應著各民族的真正宗教傳統」來活出隱修生活。6以上議題使人不住反思,在特定土地上的隱修院怎樣成為一個處所,讓那些獲天主召叫度隱修生活的人,能根據最近似他們的文化、宗教和屬靈形式,在自己的國家中體驗和活出隱修生活。

在眾多這些反思聲音中,我將在此扼要地講述比利時本篤會 聖安德肋隱修院(Abbey of Saint Andrew)南文院長(Théodore Nève,1879-1963),他曾涉及在中國建立隱修院的計劃。他強調, 如要使隱修生活發揮出傳教的功能,只有透過徹底地活出其原初 的生活模式(forma vitae),即切合群體修士(coenobites)的生 活形式。南文院長基於這根本的信念,勾勒出確保隱修院在傳教 區「可以植根和發芽」的元素,即使之能夠自治。這種自治,正 確地理解,其實是最終目標,因為這是一個團體生根發展的印記。

那麼,隱修生活今天在傳教區裡扮演什麼角色呢?首先,它 必需植根和發芽。隱修會受使徒運動的驅使到傳教區,其目 的不是為母會建立分會,而是建立新家,在某程度上有自己 招募的成員,變得自主。⁷

⁵ Leclercq, "Monachisme chrétien et missions," p.146.

⁶ 梵蒂崗第二屆大公會議《教會傳教工作》法令(Ad Gentes)第 40 節。

⁷ Théodore Nève, "De la fondation de monastères en terre de mission," in *Autour du problème de l'adaptation. Compte rendu de la quatrième semaine de missiologie de Louvain (1926)* (Louvain: Éditions du Museum Lessianum, 1926), pp.36-46, here p.40.

二、向中國基督徒隱修生活邁進

在對傳教和隱修的反思背景之下,我們就更容易理解幾個團體及隱修會在中國土地上無懼地立足的歷史。這段歷史約始於1869年建立的第一個加爾默羅團體,而終於1955年最後一批外籍修女被迫離開中國。此段期間,加爾默羅會(Carmelites)、嚴規熙篤會(Trappists,在中國也稱為苦修會)及本篤會(Benedictines)在現代中國的發展曾開花結果。與他們一起的,還有雷鳴遠(Vincent Lebbe,1877-1940)所創立的半隱修半傳道修會:耀漢小兄弟會(Little Brothers of Saint John the Baptist)和德來小妹妹會(Little Sisters of Therese of the Child Jesus),這兩修會為有中國特色的天主教隱修生活的誕生作出了光輝的見證。

我想簡要總結一些人物的反思,他們直接或間接參與協助發起並延續,教會內的隱修生活及中國文化之間的關係。從 1920 年代開始,天主教傳教學在歷史上首次審視「中國基督徒隱修生活」(Chinese Christian monasticism) ⁸的前景,而這反思主要聚焦於基督徒隱修生活與華人靈修的兼容性,以及基督徒隱修生活在中國土壤上紮根的可能性。

要做到這一點,最重要的是隱修士必須時常保持是中國人。 這個觀點似乎是顯而易見,但實際上多年來,來自傳教地區參加 隱修生活和一般獻身生活的候選人,被期望與自己的文化根源切 割,而那些在西方發展出來的宗教生活形式,也被一成不變地移 植至傳教地區。

「本地化」這個過程的最終目的是,假以時日,包括長上在內的整個隱修團體都應該是中國人。熙篤會楊家坪聖母神慰院院長汪類斯(Louis Brun)司鐸寫道:「隱修院由一位本國的長上管

^{8 &}quot;For a Chinese [Christian] Monasticism" (建構中國基督徒隱修生活)是 1927 年 *Bulletin des Missions* (傳教公報)—篇評論文章的題目。("Pour un monachisme chinois," in *Bulletin des Missions* 8 [1926–1927], p.257).

理,是更加自然的事,並更能保持天主教精神。而這是我們必須 努力達成的。」⁹

在這背後一直繞著的問題是:「西方隱修生活與本地文化環境的相遇,應該是以何種形式進行?」換言之,人們該如何進行「適應」或後來稱為「本地化」的過程?

儘管基督徒隱修傳統的起點肯定是從西方而來,但只應保留 其精粹,換言之,盡可能把西方文化元素明確地去掉,再被延續、 傳遞和送到中國人的環境,這樣才可允許它以「新形式」重生。

在 1920 至 1930 年代,已出現於中國的各隱修團體的創辦人和領袖,都很清楚這是必需的。例如,為嚴規熙篤會而言,這種適應的意願在他們於遠東創建第一所隱修院時特別明顯。建立遠東首間隱修院的歷史慢慢地教會了熙篤會士面對適應的必要,以及理解汪類斯於 1930 年代所寫的話語:

雖然隱修院需依規章行事,亦受轄於母院熙篤修院(Abbey of Cîteaux)……即便如此,作為一個本地自治組織,從他地移植,必須自其根本剝離,並由本地的元素孕育,這樣將成為一個本土產物……天主教隱修生活在華的適應,成為本土產物,非一朝一夕的事情。10

在本篤會中,南文院長指出,保證隱修院能「適應」當地環境的關鍵,乃取決於它在當地的自治程度,而這種「適應」的明顯表現在於「建造的隱修院以它所處國家的風格來興建」,但更重要的,是初學院要「開放並適應本地的聖召」。

⁹ Louis Brun, "La vie contemplative en Chine," in Alphonse Hubrecht, *Une trappe en Chine*, (Peking: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1933), p.95.

¹⁰ Brun, "La vie contemplative en Chine," pp.95-96, 103.

隱修院要成為隱修院,必須植根在其所處土壤的深層。若隱修院在傳教國家靠不斷加入歐洲的新血來生存,其生命是不牢固的。我們的隱修院終有一日必須本地化……只有這樣,隱修士和院長將會很快由本地人組成,他們將能優化適切地區的會規,因為隱修會的一般規定有著充足的空間,使它可以直正做到度身訂造。11

本篤會當中最能發出先知的吶喊,提倡適應中國基督徒隱修生活,並曾身體力行建構一個真正中國的隱修院,無疑非余同仁(Jehan Joliet, 1870-1937)莫屬。他不欲「引入來自西方『已經完整』的隱修生活,套用在中國上;與之相反,中國自己應重新開始基督徒的隱修經驗,並憑藉《聖本篤會規》的核心原則,產生一套真正屬於中國人的隱修生活」¹²。余同仁深知這項工作的大膽性質,他在1928年的一封書信中承認:

真正地適應本地文化非靠舞文弄墨,亦非一蹴而就,更非無可爭議。這是持續革新的努力,所要求的犧牲在各方面都比修道誓願更為艱巨和徹底,因為這並非在隱修誓願中有明確要求的領域,甚至在實踐中可能會出現相反團體原有的神聖和珍視的習俗。13

這項工作實踐起來則更見困難,如余同仁在兩年後致函南文院長時所說,因為它要求西方隱修傳統,特別是本篤會,廢除他們已穿著數個世紀的「拉丁會衣」,換上「中式會衣」:

我知道本篤會現在的規矩,但我相信我們在中國就是為了改變自己來適應……漸漸地,你越來越想我們複製歐洲已有的一套,以帶給(中國人)一個最新版本、已有的會衣,一套

¹¹ Nève, "De la fondation des monastères en terre de mission," pp.43-44.

¹² Henri-Philippe Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet (1870-1937)*. *Un project de monachisme bénédictin chinois* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), p.197.

¹³ Letter of Johan Joliet to Édouard Neut, 2 October 1928, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, pp.161-162.

二十世紀的現代西方隱修生活模式,但要中國與隱修生活接觸和縫合更依賴古代的方式。¹⁴

渴望化解當中矛盾似乎成為了余同仁在中國所有工作的動力。 正如余同仁痛苦地指出,加上經過西山隱修院的經歷後所顯示, 他感到所需要的自由和自主程度,以達致他提出的中國式隱修生 活,總是不被理解,因此常常不獲長上准許。他相信,如果隱修 生活要保持忠於自己的聖召,它必須「不包含工作」。因此,在 中國臨在的隱修士,應該沒有直接的任務,而其身分不被傳教士 的身分所掩蓋。余同仁相信,只有這樣,隱修院才能在中國發揮 其真正的作用:「通過其學術和屬靈刺激的能力,成為中國文化 與福音之間相遇和潛移默化的地方。」¹⁵

三、個案研究:(四川)本篤會西山隱修院

接下來,我們會以四川省本篤會西山隱修院為例,以顯示傳統與創新、西方模式與華化調適、制度的框架與自由的空間之間的張力。

若非索萊姆(Solesmes)本篤會法籍修士余同仁的努力,沒有人會想像、期待,並最終實現一個真實的,至少如提議一樣——中國式本篤會隱修院,即使它是由外國人建立的,但如余同仁所述,這隱修院「有著顯著的中國特式……且在各方面都是一個中國的房舍。」¹⁶ 當西山隱修院的創始人去世後,文嘉禮院長(Raphaël Vinciarelli)總結了創始人及其工作的本質特徵。

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¹⁴ Letter of Johan Joliet to Théodore Nève, 27 November 1930, in Delcourt, Dom Jehan *Joliet*, pp.202-203.

¹⁵ Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.306.

¹⁶ Jehan Joliet, "A Project for a Chinese Monastery (1922)," in Nicolini-Zani, Christian Monks on Chinese Soil, Appendix 2, pp.321-325, here p.325. 關於余同仁更詳細的介紹,可參考他的傳記:Delcourt, Dom Jehan Joliet。亦可見:Un moine de Saint-André, "Dom Jehan Joliet," Les Cahiers de Saint-

余同仁的個性充滿活力,全心為一個經過三十年已趨成熟的 想法服務,並能夠為它賦予生命。為中國引進隱修生活,其 根源將是尋求中國文明的原本潮流:這是他的目標,這就是 西山。¹⁷



圖:西山首任院長余同仁(中)與第三任院長文禮嘉(右)及雲先·馬丁(Vincent Martin)。[照片來源:比利時布魯日,本篤會聖安德肋隱修院檔案室。攝於1937年9月,河埧場大修院]

1917 至 1926 年是余同仁「中國夢」的孕育期。在該段時間, 他個人生活上和在教會裡所發生的事使他的中國計劃日漸成熟, 但他本初的願景始終沒變:

André 1 (1938), 1, pp.30-52 (also published as a pamphlet); Raphaël Vinciarelli, "Dom Jehan Joliet et son œuvre monastique en Chine," in Contemplation et Apostolat (1938), no. 10: pp.6*-11*; "Dom Jehan Joliet," in Bulletin M.E.P. 1938, pp.245-47; Henri-Philippe Delcourt, "Dom Jehan Joliet (1870-1937). Un projet de monachisme bénédictin chinois," in Mélanges de science religieuse 43 (1986), 1, pp.3-19; Henri-Philippe Delcourt, "The Grain Dies in China," AIM Bulletin 1986, no. 40, pp.45-55.

¹⁷ Vinciarelli, "Dom Jehan Joliet et son œuvre monastique en Chine," p.6*.

(我的計劃)是在中國建造的隱修院的基礎,與索萊姆的生活有著相同方向,即以日課和禱告為首要,一般沒有牧職或外派差事,並以學術為主要工作。但隱修院不會沒有隱修士,最終需要的自然是華人隱修士,並且要是真正的華人隱修士。完全由歐洲人創建的隱修院,必須堅決而明確地採納來自中國的一切,除了罪惡。18

從一開始他對這項目便非常清楚,不過除了那要是一座中國人的隱修院,沒有計劃是提前安排的。1924年,余同仁寫道:「我的夢想是盡可能不要有太多支持或反對某種形式或工作的具體計劃帶去當地······我希望不要操之過急,在那裡開展生活之前,不作出什麼決定。」19

但是,余同仁如果沒有找到一個願意在中國土地上執行其計劃,並提供必要人員和金錢的隱修團體,他的中國夢就不會實現。比利時的聖安德肋隱修院自然是余同仁多年來耕耘和改良的隱修士傳教計劃的不二之選。1927年,經過近三十年靜默等待和祈禱,余同仁的夢想終於成真。聖安德肋隱修院院長南文先以一封信向駐華宗座代表剛恆毅(Celso Costantini,任期 1922-1933年)通報了這一決定。這封信值得在此引述,因為它表明在這第一階段,南文和余同仁有非常相似的願景,亦與剛恆毅的傳教理念互相呼應。

我們希望將本篤會的隱修生活帶到中國,在國籍代牧區中建立隱修院……我們希望這隱修院盡可能適應中國人的風俗習慣。《聖本篤會規》有足夠的廣闊空間允許自然地適應…… 上主會在適當的時候指示我們給余同仁神父所需要的幫

¹⁸ Letter of Johan Joliet to Charles Rey, 30 August 1917, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.69.

¹⁹ Letter of Johan Joliet to Charles Rey, 3 August, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.88.

助……以使他能盡速建立起一個本地團體,使團體中的歐洲 神父除了與中國人一起成為中國人之外,別無所求。²⁰

1928 年,南文院長以同樣的口吻訓勉兩位前往中國的比利時 隱修士:「與中國人一起成為中國人。在你們判斷為合宜和審慎 的程度內,嘗試適應該國的做法和習俗。」²¹

這當然是基於明確的意識立場上,亦即為隱修院而言,要成為教會一部分的首要職責,是要忠於教會的本質,這相同的本質在中國與在其他地方是一樣的。隱修生活是不能沒有真正兄弟友愛的生活和團體的禮儀祈禱。但是,在適應中國處境的過程中,面臨的主要問題和張力是多樣的,例如新隱修院的建築風格,賦予中國保守生和初學生的培育,以及隱修團體的禮儀。以下將簡要地探討這些問題。

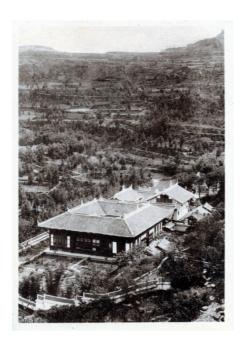
關於隱修院的建築,以照片解說當時在西山所做的一切,更勝文字。在記載中,隱修院「雖不宏偉,卻是雅致,且完全是本地風格。」²² 建築物的靈感來自中國傳統民居的佈局,由兩座長二十米建築物組成,屋頂鋪上黑色瓦片。第一棟建築主要是為接待訪客之用,有來賓招待室、會客廳和客房。

²⁰ Letter of Théodore Nève to Celso Costantini, 15 February 1927, in Christian Papeians de Morchoven, *L'abbaye de Saint-André Zevenkerken*, vol. 2: *Un défi relevé par dom Théodore Nève* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2002), p.192.

²¹ Cited in Papeians de Morchoven, *L'abbaye de Saint-André Zevenkerken*, vol. 2, pp.203-4.

²² Un moine de Saint-André, "Dom Jehan Joliet," p.11.

馬明哲 〈「隱修院將成為中國之家」從天主教隱修生活歷史的角度看教會在中國的本地化〉



後面有一小聖堂,祭台是中式風格,祭衣房亦然,聖所中供奉著 聖女小德蘭的聖觸,聖骨盒的設計也完全是中式風格。第二棟建 築包含各個隱修區域:集議室、宿舍、消遣室和隱修間。周圍的 土地被圍牆包圍,內面有一個花園、果園(種有柳橙、橘子和桃 子),以及一個葡萄園。²³

²³ 可参考 Ma Wan Sang, "Le Monastère de Si shan en Chine," *Bulletin des Missions* 13 (1934), supplement no. 1: *Le Courrier de l'Apostolat Monastique*, pp.4*-14* (with photograph); Théodore Nève, "Le monastère des SS. Pierre et André de Si-Shan," in *Bulletin des Missions* 15 (1936), supp. no. 1: *Le Courrier de l'Apostolat Monastique*, pp.6*-11*.





當余同仁於 1934 年被迫從院長位置退休並移居西山附近的 靜修所後,他的繼任人盧格斯(Gabriel Roux,1900-1936)努力 不懈地繼續其前任所提倡的本地化路線。他在中國語文上下過一 番苦功,對中國文化的熱愛使他深切渴望隱修院無論從外觀上和 感覺上都是中國式的。他盡力添加室內的裝飾和陳設,以增添隱 修院樓房的中式建築風格。為此,他請了一位年輕的雕塑師,用 附近山區的石材雕制聖堂內的十字架和燭臺。至此,余同仁堅持 給西山的隱修生活盡可能具有中國化的特點,已得到了團體完完 全全的認同。



圖左:聖伯多祿聖安德肋隱 修院小聖堂前的內庭。圖 下:從南方遠眺聖伯多祿聖 安德肋隱修院。依山而建的 修院房舍和人口都清晰可見 〔照月來源:比利時布魯 日,本篤會聖安德肋隱修院 檔案室。攝於西山,1932 年〕



建築物裡裡外外完全是中國式的。在西山,甚至聖堂也是以中國風格裝飾。由其中一位神父設計的哥特式祭衣,是以中國刺繡製成。隱修士穿著中國服飾,(用筷子)吃中國菜,而除了彌撒和日課,還用中文吟誦禱文。24

保守生和初學生的培育是余同仁願景「中國式」隱修生活的 成功關鍵。自他到達中國之初,他一直關注讓隱修院「從一開始 便要給所有真誠尋找天主(vere quaerunt Deum)的人敞開大門。」 ²⁵「若你要建設一間中國式的隱修院……中國式的初學院是必不 可少。」²⁶余同仁於1927年底寫信給南文院長,向他詳述這事:

保守生該如何培育?依我之見,若將他們派到聖安德肋隱修院,在現在的情況下是不可行的……若我向這些保守生建議, 他們或至少部分人,可以到比利時接受初學,我可以預計到 他們會無比沮喪:「原來你和其他人都一樣,想將我們西化, 你將不會平等看待我們,除非你在中國以外地方獨立地培育 我們」……假設對此置之不理,有些人真的到了比利時…… 而他們成為優秀的隱修士返回中國。因為只有他們當中最好 的才被派往歐洲,又由於他們有良好的培育,他們回來後被 委以重任,是在所難免。這只會坐實其他人和信徒的成見, 都還未考慮到隱修院內部的分化……這裡需要初學院來接收 保守生,只有確保開辦初學院,我們才能認真正對待這些萌

²⁴ Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Thaddeus Yang(楊安然神父的生平軼事), 引用於 David J. Endres, "The Legacy of Thaddeus Yang," in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 34, (2010) 1, pp.23-27, here p.24.

²⁵ Letter of Johan Joliet to Gaston Aubourg, 3 July 1928, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.151. 余同仁此處是指《聖本篤會規》中,對有志度隱修生活的人,必需要考察他是不是真誠地追尋天主 revera Deum quaerit (《聖本篤會規》58.7條)。

²⁶ Letter of Johan Joliet to Théodore Nève, 26 September 1928, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.158.

芽中的聖召……總言之,我們急切請求你催促羅馬批准在四 川成立隱修院的這一年,同時馬上開辦初學院。²⁷

如前所述,羅馬教廷批准了依聖教法典在當地建設初學院,並於 1930 年正式成立。但這初學院的培育方式卻造成余同仁與南文院長的進一步誤解。依照教律,若沒有「接受適當的基礎教育」 28,是不可能開始接受鐸職培育。余同仁多年來確信,「把歐洲式的訓練強加在中國人身上,作為司鐸職必要的準備,是十分困難而且是災難性的。」 29 在第一批中國保守生到來之前,他已提議隱修聖願應該和司鐸聖召分開,而那些對隱修生活顯示出有資質但不適合接受語文和哲學學習的人,應容許他們進入初學院和宣發隱修聖願。余同仁反對隱修群體把隱修士分為兩種類別,所以他作了個大膽的建議:

我一直希望只有一種隱修士。這是完全中國化的,避免了兩種等級的危險,即歌侶修士(歐洲人和少數中國人),以及由眾多中國人組成的輔理修士……我決定……在這個意義上……從他們的保守期開始,他們就和我們一起唱經,背誦或以中文標音的方法學習和閱讀聖詠。30

余同仁和南文之間的通信顯示了此事的重要性。這位聖安德 肋隱修院院長採取防禦的態度,援引教律和教規,而不是嘗試理 解真實的情況:

²⁷ Letter of Johan Joliet to Théodore Nève, 6 September 1927, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, pp.126-127.

²⁸ Codex Iuris Canonicis Pii X Pontificis Maximi (n.p.: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1932), canon 589, p.176. Inferioribus disciplinis rite instructi (duly taught in inferior disciplines) 基礎教育所指是包括拉丁語及以拉丁語教授的神哲學。因此基礎的拉丁知識必須學習。

²⁹ Letter of Johan Joliet to Théodore Nève, 9 April 1930, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.191.

³⁰ Letter of Johan Joliet to Gaston Aubourg, 8 October 1929, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.184.

你的困難是源於一個誤解。這工作並非為聖安德肋或索萊姆 聖伯多祿隱修院的榮耀而努力,而是跟從了你自己的意願。 羅馬是讓我而不是院長負責創辦西山。創辦章程預視了這一 點。西山是一個簡單的隱修院,其一切都要依賴母院。因此, 除非有特權,它必須根據聖安德肋隱修院的會憲精神和文字 來發展。³¹

面對這樣的反對, 余同仁決定走自己的路。他在接受申請進 人初學院及准發隱修初願的問題上不再諮詢母院院長的意見。但 由於他找不到人選能確保保守生和初學生的培育, 他們所有人最 終都離開了隱修院。還有是學習法語的問題, 余同仁爭取到只有 極具天賦的學生才需要學習法語。

儘管余同仁的繼任人盧格斯在隱修院建築風格上追隨其前任的步伐,在隱修士的培育方面卻並不如是。他極力依從聖安德肋隱修院對於教育隱修人選的指示,並為獻身會士(oblates)設立學校,為未來的隱修士提供基礎教育。所有余同仁先前數年的建議都因此被擯棄了。

文嘉禮(Raphaël Vinciarelli, 1897-1972)作為隱修團體的院長,是余同仁的第二位繼任人,儘管余同仁敦促他追求其「惟獨隱修生活」的理念,但他繼續為附近的居民開辦了一所小學和一所藥房來實現聖安德肋隱修院關於「使徒牧職」的願景。他適應中國處境的理想,若是有的話,比余同仁的熱情觀點更為慎重。在文嘉禮看來,中國化的適應過程必需謹慎和循序漸進。

若然要適應,讓它在經驗過程中慢慢地、自然地進行。但是, 我們不要說:讓我們改變,讓我們適應。中國人自己也忙於適 應歐洲的生活模式。他們正要作出很多改變。讓他們繼續,讓

³¹ Letter of Théodore Nève to Johan Joliet, 27 February 1931, in Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.204.

我們等待。有一種適應是必要的,就是要愛他們,並讓他們感 受到這一點。³²

本篤會隱修士在西山的工作是一個歷史明證,顯示教會本地 化的過程中,不同參與者之間的「合作」與「對話」是異常重 要,並要在「自主」與「共融」間取得適當的平衡。若「中心」 與「邊緣」間、創新的動力與制度的韁繩間,很快便欠缺坦誠對 話,就證明了該計劃從起初便已經缺乏成功的元素。即使如余同 仁般兼具睿見與承擔的人經過長時間準備,他的中國計劃沒有取 得成功,這是因為準備的工作只有他單獨行事,沒有與他的長上 和團體在重大要素上有真誠和開放的對話。正如最熟悉「余同仁 計劃」的人指出,「雖則余同仁神父個人準備好面對困難,所缺 乏的是共同的反省和準備,假如長上和計劃委員會的成員一起議 聚,並且只有在共同規劃和實施的情況下對工作達成共識,才能 取得成功」³³。

四、結語

基督徒隱修生活在中國過去的歷史中,基本上反映了要在中國文化處境中發展,其過程需要有對未來開放的勇敢屬靈態度,並願意接受對源自西方傳統的隱修模式作出改變。可惜的是,由於外在因素,把適應和本地化急切需要的意識,化為計劃、抉擇和具體成果的時間,只有短短二十年。即使當中最成功的個案,充其量亦尚在試驗階段。隨著 1940 年代末及 1950 年代初,外國隱修士被逼離開中國,及後中國隱修士和修女也不能再度隱修生活,成為了中國式隱修生活發展的重大障礙。

³² Letter of Raphaël Vinciarelli, 19 April 1935, in Papeians de Morchoven, *L'abbaye de Saint-André Zevenkerken*, vol. 2, p.220.

³³ Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.272.

雖然如此,過去的種種成就、矛盾、實驗,以至錯誤,都可以成為中國教會今天和將來穩步發展的參考,引導它成為一個帶著中國人視野和大公精神的教會。正如余同仁所說:「我們希望它成為中國式隱修院的原因,就是希望它成為真正完全屬於大公教會精神的隱修院。」34 真誠希望有一天,願天主應許它快點來臨,隱修團體在中華大地埋下的種子再次盛放,延續先賢未完的事業。

[Abstract] The history of the Christian monastic presence in China between the nineteenth and the twentieth century offers a peculiar, even if still neglected or undervalued, perspective on the process of inculturation of the Catholic Church in China in history. It basically shows that the process of development of Christian monasticism in the Chinese cultural context required a bold spiritual attitude of openness to the future and a willingness to accept the transformation of monastic forms that had been received from Western tradition. This paper reviews the main issues and tensions at stage in this process (formation, architecture, and canonical structures), with particular attention devoted to the case study of the Benedictine monastery of Xishan (Sichuan), in the first half of the twentieth century.

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³⁴ Delcourt, *Dom Jehan Joliet*, p.209. (重點由筆者加上)

The Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide In Rome as a Necessary Historical Resource For the Historiography of the Catholic Church In China¹

Louis Keloon Ha

[Abstract] Historians often encounter problems of lacking historical source material in writing history. The Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (CEP, previously called *de Propaganda Fide*) has been diligently collecting information worldwide in the past four centuries in order to know accurately the situation in the mission lands for making decisions on its missionary strategy. Its Archives contain precious resources left behind for consultation. Initially for internal use of the Congregation for its meetings, the documents up to 1939 are now open for the access of scholars. This article discusses the important use of the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome as a necessary resource for the writing of local Church history, demonstrating with the case of Hong Kong Catholic Mission in the 19th century.

¹ This paper presented in the roundtable conference is based on the author's previous article written in 1994.

The lack of historical source is always claimed by scholars as the most serious problem to be solved in writing history. In the last 400 years, the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (CEP, previously called *de Propaganda Fide*) has been diligently collecting information worldwide in order to know accurately the situation in the mission lands for making decisions on its missionary strategy. Its Archives contain precious resources left behind for consultation. Initially for internal use of the Congregation for its meetings, the documents up to 1939 are now open for the access of scholars.

Since China has been one of the foci of Catholic missionary effort from the 17th century, documents collected in the Archives concerning China are many. A rough calculation gives an estimation of about 200 volumes. The quantity does not express all the importance inherent in these documents kept in the Archives. The official understanding of the situation in Rome about China, followed by decisions made on appointment of personnel and distribution of resources forms part of the Church history in China. And the viewpoint formed by considering different sources represents a more comprehensive understanding of the local situation. Even biases might exist because of cultural differences they give us the chance to be in touch with the reasons of these biases.

In Father Patrick Taveirne's presentation, he mentioned that the Propaganda Fide entrusted the propagation of the Catholic faith in Mongolia to his Belgian Congregation, the CICM, in 1864. Some of his citations also came from the Archives of Propaganda Fide for the Evangelization of Peoples. It is perhaps a good opportunity to continue our co-presentation about the important use of the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome as a necessary resource for the writing of local Church history.

I intend to present my part with the case of Hong Kong Catholic Mission in the 19th century.

The Historical Archives

The Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome are currently situated in Pontifical Urbanian University Campus (Via Urbano VIII, 16). It is the official Archives of Propaganda Fide for the Evangelization of Peoples which is established in 1622 with the name "de Propaganda Fide" as the central and supreme body responsible for the spread of the Catholic faith among the pagans as well as for the fostering of the union with the Protestant and Orthodox Churches.

The Congregation directs and coordinates the work of evangelization of peoples and missionary cooperation. It has jurisdiction over its territories in almost all of Africa, the Far East, some regions of South East Europe and America, and Oceania with the exception of Australia and most of the Philippines. The Congregation presides over the government of the missions; examines reports sent by the Ordinary, and Nuncios and by the Episcopal Conferences; monitors the Christian life of the faithful, the discipline of the clergy, charities and Catholic Action; as well as supervises the Catholic schools and seminaries.

The Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide was first stored at the Vatican Palace in 1627. It was later transferred to the Congregation's Palace in Piazza di Spagna until 2002, when it was moved to the present place. The Archives store 12,500 volumes of historical documents dating from 1622 until 1959.

In order to collect the necessary information regarding the ecclesial and missionary situation in the different mission territories, the Congregation's first Secretary (1622-1649) contacted Apostolic Nuncios, General Superiors of different Religious orders and individual missionaries for information. These sources of information continuously supply the Congregation with up-to-date materials. The documents collected are carefully kept in Rome. However, during the French occupation, Napoleon (reigned 1804–1814, 1815) had the entire Archives transferred to France. Some precious volumes were therefore lost when the archives were brought back to Rome.

Around 12 million documents are now kept in the Archives on the people of Africa, Asia, Oceania and others in a period of almost 400 years. In fact, it contains not only mission and church information, but also cultural, ethnographic and geographic information.

Started in 1883, scholars could access partially these documents. Today, documents up until the end of the papacy of Pius XI (February 1939) are open for consultation. They can be searched using the finding tool of the general inventory in 136 volumes of about three inches thick each.

Summary Presentation

The large quantities of the Archives require a summary presentation of their content in order to understand the importance and diversity of these documents. For the documents before 1893, they are arranged by the following system:

1. Acta (Acta Sacrae Congregationis):

The minutes of the monthly general meetings of the Congregation in 311 volumes. These documents include reports and resolutions taken by the members. Thus, the Acta reflect the main Congregation's activities and decisions regarding its various duties and competences.

2. SOCG (Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali):

The original documents referred to in the general meetings in 1,044 volumes.

These documents include letters and notes from bishops, missionaries and princes, dispatches from nuncios and Apostolic Delegates, the Synods Acta, apostolic visitations, the consultor's opinion, etc.

3. CP (Congregazioni Particolari):

Papers of special commissions with suggested solutions in 161 volumes.

These documents include also the special commission on questions of *China and the East Indies* (Acta CP in 24 volumes) and the original documents from the special commission on the *Indies and China* (SOCP in 78 volumes).

4. SC (Scritture riferite nei Congressi):

Documents referred to in the weekly meetings in 1,558 volumes.

This collection contains letters that reached the Congregation from the mission lands. These documents reflect the daily life of the missions from those letters and correspondence from all the continents. Among the documents of special interest to the Chinese Mission are the 35 volumes from the *China and the East Indies*, and the 40 volumes from the *Indies and China*.

This collection also contains materials which refer directly to the internal organization of the Congregation or the institutes dependent on it. They include the foundation and regulations of the Congregation, appointment decree of Cardinals, Secretaries and other Congregation's Superiors and officials. Other documents consist of the requests for admission, approval and appointment of missionaries, the register of the missionary examiners and examinees with the examination results, the register of personal outfit objects and sacred furnishings and vestments sent to missionaries, documents concerning goods and buildings in the possession of the Congregation, the history of the Polyglot Printing Press, the foundation, history, students, regulations, oaths of the Urbanian College, the material on the different colleges and missionary societies dependent on the Congregation, documents concerning hospices in Rome for pilgrims and Oriental Rites ecclesiastical students, the reports on visits in various missions, and colleges dependent on the Congregation.

The most related documents to the Chinese Mission in this collection are the Missionaries' oath taken between 1844 and 1892 promising to observe the papal decision on the Chinese rites, signed by all the missionaries in the Far East.

There are five other collections in addition to the above. They are related to records of audiences with the Pope, briefs and bulls, instructions, decrees and letters from the Pope and the Congregation.

Lesser Collections

Other than the above nine major collections, there are ten lesser collections in smaller quantity, including volumes transported to Vienna by the Napoleon government, documents related to synods held in the Congregation's territories, the revision of Rules of institutes dependent on the Propaganda, the temporal state of the Propaganda, faculties granted to missionaries, Instructions, Circular Letters and Decrees from the Congregation, even volumes from the Archives of the Jesuits. Among these lesser collections, the one specially related to China is the "Archives of the Procure of the Congregation in the Far East" in 47 volumes.

The Procure was established in Canton in 1705 by the Papal Legate Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon (鐸羅, 1668-1710) for the missions in China after he was expelled by Emperor Kangxi (康熙, 1654-1722) over the controversy on the Chinese Rites.

Documents of this collection include matters concerning the duties of the procurator who administered the properties of the congregation in China and the nearby countries and made subsidies available to the missions. Later on, the procurator became the trusted representative of the Congregation for all the missions of the Far East and occupied a central position in missionary strategies. So, he kept very important correspondence to Rome and instructions from Rome. The procure was moved to Macao soon after its establishment. It was moved to Hong Kong in 1842 until 1922, when the Apostolic Delegation in China was established, and the duties of the Procurator were assumed by him who transferred all the documents to Rome. Although most of the documents are in deplorable condition due to an incident in the transportation, fortunately the staff of the Archives worked very hard to make part of them available for consultation.

The New Series after 1893

The archival documents after 1893 are arranged in a new system called NS (New Series) consisting the Protocol numbers and Code numbers. The Protocol numbers indicate the order in which the documents are received while the Code numbers 1 to 62 stand for the subjects, and numbers 101 to 162 are geographical divisions. China being assigned the Code number 130.

Later in 1923, subtitles are introduced in the New Series, providing an additional element of identification of archival material.

The Case of Hong Kong

The Congregation as the body overseeing the governance of local missions under its jurisdiction, possesses all information necessary for discharging this responsibility. In the case of Hong Kong, the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide keep over 1,000 records concerning Hong Kong up to 1900. Although they are mainly related to persons in charge of the mission during that time: Joset, Feliciani, Forcade, Ambrosi and Raimondi, these records are indispensable for scholars to form a comprehensive view of this local mission.

Theodore Joset (若瑟神父, 1841-42) was the pioneer to establish the Catholic mission in Hong Kong, who experienced the expulsion from Macao by the Portuguese authorities. Documents not available from other sources, are found in the Archives of Propaganda Fide, presenting a whole picture of this incident.

Documents related to Anthony Feliciani (裴神父, 1842-47, 50-55), who was in charge of the mission on a temporary basis for 10

years, show the deliberation and hesitation of the Congregation on the choice of a missionary group to take charge of Hong Kong. This point of view can only be discovered through the reading of the documents in the Archives of Propaganda Fide. Further documents show Feliciani also re-established a working relationship with Macao and started to petition Papal decorations for persons deserving recognition. One document shows that Feliciani encountered the problem of taking the oath of loyalty to the British Government (1852) and asked for advice from Rome. Although these are minor issues, the process of corresponding with the Congregation exposes the character of Feliciani and the quality of his administrative decisions.

Augustine Forcade (科主教, 1847-50), a French missionary for Japan, was put in charge of the mission in Hong Kong. He brought in help from the French missionary society—the Paris Foreign Missions, and the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres. Mysteriously no correspondence was found related to him. Only four documents concerning his appointment and resignation were indicated in the index.

A lot of the documents in the Archives of Propaganda Fide related to Italian diocesan priest Louis Ambrosi (盘神父, 1855-67) are about the dealing with the conflict between the St. Paul Sisters and the Italian missionary. Ambrosi also invited the Canossian Sisters to Hong Kong and made proposals to Rome for the choice of missionary group which would take charge of the Hong Kong mission. These were all done under the watchful eye of the Congregation which means somehow endorsement was given to him to act.

During the period of Timoleon Raimondi (高主教, 1867-1894), the documents show that main consolidation work was done and development of the mission was in full swing. So much so that in 1874 the Hong Kong Catholic mission was erected by Rome as a Vicariate

Apostolic with more autonomy from the procure of the Congregation. This also signifies that the Congregation had made its definite decision on choosing the Italian missionaries of Milan to be in charge of the Hong Kong mission. The subsequent problem was whether to maintain the procure of Propaganda Fide in Hong Kong. The Congregation resolved to keep the procure in Hong Kong but assign another person as the procurator starting from 1874.

The documents from the Archives of Propaganda Fide also testify to the dispute with the colonial Government on wedding registration (1875) and on religious teaching in Catholic schools (1877). Documents kept in the local site are not as comprehensive in comparison with those kept in the Archives of Propaganda Fide. Some details on events in Hong Kong can be discovered only through the documents in the Archives of Propaganda Fide, such as the synod of missionary bishops held in 1880, the selling of procure properties without prior authorization in 1881.

Some letters in Latin from Chinese priests are preserved in the Archives of Propaganda Fide, so are some letters to the Congregation in Chinese by the Catholics. These are precious documents containing complaints of the local community against the local Church authority. Although communications from the mission to Rome took some three to four months, sometimes questions were asked on very minute details of the Church life, such as whether the colour of the vestment of the deacon and subdeacon should be the same with the celebrating priest for high Mass or whether Catholics from Macao residing in Hong Kong should observe the fast and abstinence according to the custom in Macao. These all show how much local practices depended on the directive of the Congregation and how close was the link between Rome and the mission.

Conclusion

Certainly, it is imperative for scholars of local Church history to collect various historical materials kept in local sites and to initiate oral history for the continuation of memories. But the documents kept in the Archives of Propaganda Fide are crucial for the writing of local Church history as I was trying to show in the case of Hong Kong.

However, the hard reality is that the difficulties in consulting the Archives of Propaganda Fide are many. First of all, the expense involved is enormous in travelling to Rome and staying there to work within limited hours on the five working week days.

Secondly, the languages normally used are Italian, Latin, French and very few documents are in Chinese although they are dealing with matters in China.

Thirdly, the documents from the collection of the Procure of the Congregation in the Far East are not yet completely consultable, although this collection keeps very meaningful records concerning individual missions in China.

Despite advancement in modern technology, with microfilmed or digitized copies of documents available for order, the cost and the time in getting them done are often out of consideration for individual scholars working on a topic under the pressure of time and budget.

The example of the Korean Bishops' Conference is worth our admiration. They made a concerted effort to have all documents concerning the Korean Catholic Church in the Archives of Propaganda Fide scanned and brought back to Korea for the use of local scholars some 20 years ago. But when will scholars in writing Chinese Church history enjoy the same convenience as the Koreans is something that

deserves to think about, and perhaps, even take initial action after this roundtable conference's occasion.

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PROPAGANDA FIDE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES

Via Urbano VIII, 16

00120 Città del Vaticano

E-mail: arch.storico@propagandafide.va

Website:

http://www.archiviostoricopropaganda.va/content/archiviostoricopropagandafide/en.html

〔摘要〕缺乏一手史料一直是歷史學家在書寫歷史時最感頭痛的難題。在過去的四個世紀,教廷宗座萬民福音傳播部(前稱傳信部)一直在全球各地努力收集信息,以便準確地了解傳教地區的狀況,制定宣教策略。其檔案中包含寶貴的資源可供查閱。最初這些檔案只供該聖部內部會議使用,直至 1939 年才開放供學者研究。本文討論使用羅馬傳信部的歷史檔案作為書寫本地教會歷史的必要資料,並以十九世紀香港天主教傳教區作為說明例子。

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歷史檔案對中國天主教教史重要性的 認識和建議

胡世斌

〔摘要〕改革開放以來,中國天主教教史研究工作取得了很大的進展,成績顯著,但是由於史料限制,在研究方面呈現不平衡和不足之處。比如重中西文化交流,輕教會發展;重教會與社會衝突,輕教會與社會融合;重教士傳教活動,輕教徒宗教生活;重古代史,輕近現代等現象。這種局面形成的原因固然很多,但困擾學者的原因主要是史料不足,使研究人員無從著手,其中尤為突出的是中國天主教會對歷史檔案重要性的認識不夠所致。故本文就與大家分享本人從事教史經歷的經驗及不成熟的建議。

前言

我為了寫《陝西天主教》走遍了陝西各教區的絕大多數教堂, 查閱了陝西省檔案館,陝西省、西安市地方志辦公室,西北大學 和陝西師範大學等圖書館有關教會歷史檔案等,為了彌補史料不 足又採訪了一些老年神職、修女和教友。¹親身感受到中國天主 教史史料不足,尤其是教會歷史檔案史料奇缺。現分享如下:

¹ 因他們對歷史不夠重視,有的人已說不清在他們親身經歷的歷史事件的 具體時間地點。

一、教會歷史檔案現存狀況

首先,教會內部歷史檔案。僅以某教區歷史檔案為例,所藏檔案:一類屬於清朝、民國時期一些教會購買房產契約,以及解放初期政府登記教會財產登記表;幾份民國時期本市兩個教堂教徒花名冊及向省、市政府反映土匪軍閥侵犯教會權利的報告等。二類屬於改革開放以來教區落實教產的政府文件,主教開會有關落實教產的政協提案,落實教產中出現的糾紛及解決糾紛的相關協議等。三類屬於教區會議資料及教區人事調動方面的教會文件和房地產證,主教牧函,還有一些堂區教會資料等。四類屬於近年來收集教會自清末以來本地區教會出版的經書、教理書和聖教歌本,以及教堂用品(如銅鐘、銅蠟台、祭衣和祭器)等。

社會各大檔案館中,如陝西省檔案館:現存清朝檔案僅幾件 教案——奏摺而已,民國檔案有抗日戰爭時期,省政府與中央有 關防止外國傳教士向母國從事間諜活動,對德、意、奧、日等軸 心國教士實行「集中管制」,以及戰爭後期解除對軸心國傳教士 自由傳教的來往電報為主;教會辦醫院(診所)、學校(大、中、 小學和幼稚園)、養老院、孤兒院和殘疾智障院,以及賑災救濟 等;政府對各宗教財產的登記、保護措施和管理辦法,限制外國 教會在中國購置土地的法規條例等檔案。共和國時期(1949 年 後),涉及教會的檔案很多,分佈於黨、政、軍、人大、政協各 領域,分別在統戰、民政、宗教、衛生、教育、司法,軍事(文 革時期軍事管理文員會接管黨政各機構)等諸多部門的檔案卷宗 內,當然 1949 年以後的有些檔案還未公開,僅顯示目錄。

教會歷史檔案存於天主教會羅馬教廷傳信部和各個來華傳教 修會的檔案館,以及海外各大圖書館中,這部分歷史檔案從學者 引用資料和歐美留學生發現的不少大陸教會歷史檔案資料可以知 曉。這些檔案資料從內容分為:中西文化交流類,傳教報告類², 教會年鑒類(各修會和各教區),個人傳記類,風土人情類(見 聞錄)等;按語言分為:漢語、拉丁語、意大利語、葡萄牙語、 法語(分古法語與新法語)、西班牙語、英語、德語、波蘭語等。

其次,教會歷史檔案利用狀況。現存教會歷史檔案資料不少, 但是相比社會歷史檔案利用低下。造成教會歷史檔案資料利用率 低下的主要原因如下:

一是缺乏高度的思想認識。縱觀中國天主教史,自清廷弛禁 教以來,天主教傳教十面對當時教會的現狀,以恢復教務,落實 教產,發展教友為重點工作,在各地建設了不少宏偉教堂,而缺 乏以文化(包含科技)福傳的高度思想認識,雖然也建立了著名 的上海徐家匯藏書樓和北京西什庫圖書館,但是這些機構的管理 人員以外籍教士為主,藏書和歷史檔案資料不對外開放,利用率 不高,僅以保存史料為主要目的,所以在社會和教會起到的作用 也不大。眾所周知,中國天主教經過歷次運動,尤其是十年「文 革」浩劫,除了教會辦大型圖書館和藏書樓由政府接管外,各教 區的小型歷史檔案資料室(相當於檔案館兼藏書樓)均被焚毀。 從八十年代初,改革開放以來,教會百廢待興,教士奇缺,教會 能做的除了建修院培養修士修女,再一次返回到恢復教務,落實 教產,發展教友的歷史覆轍中,對於建立歷史檔案等文化福傳工 作無暇顧及。教會人士上自主教下到教徒對歷史檔案資料保存使 用不夠重視,據我所知大陸只有很少的教區設有歷史檔案室,有 專人負責管理檔案的更少,絕大多數教區還沒有歷史檔案室,以 陝西為例,八個教區中只有西安教區設有檔案室,由教區神父兼 管,其他教區的歷史檔案資料裝在檔案袋內存於主教書櫃中,據 我瞭解的幾個省教會各教區亦大致如此。

² 按教會規定:代牧區或教區負責人每五年要向教廷述職彙報本區教務情況。

二是缺乏專業的管理人員。現存於國內外的外文歷史檔案缺乏翻譯人員,致使大量教會歷史檔案塵封館內。現代學者以英語、德語、法語等大語種為主,對於教會以拉丁語、葡萄牙及古法語為主的歷史檔案卻無能為力,如在建國後,國家為了支助寧夏自治區建設圖書館,將原天主教北京西什庫藏書樓的大量外文圖書用火車運送銀川,我於 1997 年 10 月看望同學時順便去圖書館,看到很多拉丁語、法語書籍和教會資料堆放在書庫中,我只認識拉丁文彌撒經書和日課經書等,經管理人員介紹,因館方無人懂相關語言,沒有辦法分類整理,圖書館派了一位年輕學者去法國學習回來不久,僅整理出二十幾頁的目錄,聽說他學的是現代法語,這些資料以古法語為主,整理起來有心無力。近二十年來教會派出留學的神父、修女不少,但是學歷史專業者不多,這些海歸回國後忙於修院教育和堂區教務,僅有極少數神父從事教會史研究工作。

三是缺乏應有的辦公經費。中國經過四十年的改革開放,經濟有了很大的發展,但是中國大陸教會的資金堪憂,很多地方還處在為教堂建設和改善神職修女的生活條件層面,因此嚴重的制約了教會歷史檔案工作的開展,教會將僅有的資金重點用於修建教堂方面,對於歷史檔案,甚至其他的文化福傳工作缺乏相應的資金,只能暫緩,等待將來經濟好轉了再開展工作等不良現象。

二、對教會歷史檔案的建議

教會各級人員提高對歷史檔案工作的高度思想認識。教區應嚴格按照《天主教法典》規定:「一切有關教區或堂區的文件,均應極為妥善加以保管。」³ 教區必須建立歷史檔案室,「教區主教也應設法在教區內設置歷史檔案室,並將有歷史價值的文件

³ 天主教法典翻譯小組編譯:《天主教法典——拉丁文中文版》,第 486 條 1 項,(台北:天主教教務協進會,1985),頁 101。

妥善保管在內,而且有系統的加以整理編排。」 4 法典亦要求堂區應設置檔案。5 教會要認真學習法典對歷史檔案的存檔、分類編排、管理和利用6的法律條文。各教區主教(教區長)、修會會長、堂區主任司鐸必須提高思想認識,必須認識到歷史檔案是教會自身建設不可或缺的重要組成部分,也是教會管理工作可持續性發展的重要依據和依法舉行宗教活動的法律保證。如在某教區就發生過因堂區主任司鐸不慎丟失教堂土地使用證,致使鄰舍建房時發生界線糾紛的事件。我在某所修女辦了十幾年的孤兒院找資料時,竟一無所獲,甚至她們說不清開辦的具體時間和收養孤兒的確切人數。7 更尷尬的是幾年前某教區主教逝世後,他的「悼詞」中出現了與他生前傳教的時間地點不符的可笑現象。

教會必須重視歷史檔案的收集是搶救教會歷史。共和國成立後,非常重視歷史檔案工作,周恩來總理將已退位的皇帝、清朝遺老、民國和社會知名人士安排在文史館工作,以搶救清末和民國的歷史文化。國家、省、市、區縣各級政府均設有文史館、檔案館和地方志辦公室,社科院和大專院校有歷史(或檔案)研究所,政協由文史委員會等機構和大批工作人員從事專門收集、整理、編撰和研究歷史。反觀教會,受解放後的歷次運動和「文革」浩劫對教會歷史檔案的毀滅性破壞的社會原因,開放後教會對歷史檔案的認識不夠,甚至還有少數神長教友因受運動迫害(指運動中用檔案資料給教會人士羅織罪名)反對建檔,不寫教會歷史、不做教會年鑒,不寫個人日記、回憶錄、紀念文章等。現在若再不提高思想認識不重視歷史檔案的重要性,中國天主教教會的歷史可能會出現斷代史。

⁴ 同上,第491條2項,頁102。

⁵ 同上,頁 113-114。第 535條 1-5 項是針對堂區檔案的法律條文。

⁶ 同上,頁99。有關法律條文詳見:第486-491條。

⁷原因:一是修女不重視歷史檔案,二是也當時國家計劃生育政策有關, 國家嚴格控制人口,嚴禁超生,除民政局外,不允許收養孤兒。

教會一定要學習和借鑒海外教會和社會的經驗。在歷史檔案 建設方面,大陸教會可以說剛剛起步,沒有經驗,缺乏方法,因 此教會一定要學習和借鑒海內外教會和社會的先進經驗,從香港 或歐洲教會學習教會歷史檔案工作的做法;在社會上從中央到地 方設有歷史檔案館,有辦公經費,有管理人員從事歷史檔案工作 的經驗。這些均值得我們借鑒和學習,在工作實踐中,切勿死搬 硬套,要結合地方教會的實際情況,建立有本地特色的、具有教 會特點的教會歷史檔案室。

總之,中國天主教應該從教會自身建設和福傳使命的高度來認識歷史檔案的重要性,對歷史檔案有充分的思想認識,切勿對歷史檔案視作可有可無的事。雖然建設教會歷史檔案室(館)任重道遠,但是千里之行始於足下,只要從現在做起,還不為晚。希望各教區、修會、堂區已有歷史檔案室的要不斷完善,沒有的儘快建立歷史檔案室,徹底解決教會歷史檔案工作處於無人員、無資金和無房屋的「三無」狀態的尷尬局面。依法使用歷史檔案為教會服務,使歷史檔案在教會福傳事業和教務發展中起到積極的作用。

[Abstract] Since the reform and opening up, research work of the history of the Catholic Church in China has made tremendous progress, achieving remarkable results. However, due to limited historical sources, there are imbalances and inadequacies in these researches. For example, these studies emphasize cultural exchanges between China and the West while neglecting church development; pay attention to the conflicts between the Church and the society while overlooking its integration. They may also pay too much attention to missionaries' activities while neglecting laypeople's religious life; too much

attention to ancient history while ignoring the modern one. There are many reasons for this but the main reason that plagues the scholars is the insufficiency of historical sources, which makes it difficult for them to begin their work. The most typical problem is that there is a lack of knowledge towards the importance of keeping archives for the Catholic Church in China. This article will share the author's experience in doing Church history and some humble suggestions.





圖左: 道光二十七年(1847) 西安北堂在糖坊街買房契約

圖右:光緒十七年(1891)西安南堂在琉璃街買房契約

史料分類與分析—— 研究歷史與中國天主教史的方法

陳方中

〔摘要〕在中國天主教史,特別是十九、二十世紀這個時段,關於教案及義和團的研究中,對於發生這些衝突事件的原因,往往存在著截然不同立場的說法。本文嘗試從史料的源頭,以1862-63年的南昌事件、1863年的重慶事件及1898年山東的神拳事件為例,說明經過比對後,可以檢驗不同類型史料及個別報告者的可信度,重塑事件發生的經過,建立不同但更有可信度的因果關係等。在累積足夠多案例後,將能修正以往討論教案及義和團的「刺激—反應模式」,而「反帝愛國史觀」更是一個需要認真檢討的觀點,代之以更實事求是的說法。

前言

早在 1999 年博士論文口試的時候,就有口試委員質疑我的立場,因為他知道我是天主教教徒。他問我官方檔案比較可信, 還是傳教士的報告比較可信?我幾乎是不假思索的回答他:「相 對來說,傳教士的報告比較可信。」我還記得這位教授不以為然 的表情。這篇文章可以說是多年來持續對這個問題的回應。 歷史研究必須根據史料,要根據各說各話的史料形成敘述及解釋,最基礎的方法是史料的比對及分析。不論是研究中國天主教史及一般的歷史,這樣的方法都沒有差別。除了使用史料外,受政治學、社會學、人類學及心理學等影響,二十世紀以後的歷史學也有以理論為研究架構的,本文不批評這種研究方式,但每種理論有其時空限制,不能完全一體適用。本文最後也會以個案的綜合結果,說明某些理論及史觀的錯誤。

本文嚴格說來不算是正式的論文,因為所使用的事件已經寫過單篇的論文。有關南昌事件的部分,在一篇專書論文〈明清時期的漢文化結構及其與基督信仰的碰觸〉中,曾以其為範例。重慶事件的部分,最早寫過一篇〈重慶教案再論〉登載在《輔大歷史學報》第十七期。以後以這兩個案子為例,再增加新的資料,寫成〈史料分析與史實建構——研究近代中國天主教史的個人經驗〉一文,登載在《宗教與歷史:漢語文獻與中國基督教研究》一書中。有關神拳的部分,最早是一篇 2005 年的會議論文〈文獻、訪談與事實——從義和團研究的案例看歷史記憶的形成〉(中文完整稿刊登在《義和團研究會通訊》總第 31 期),以後成為個人專書《崩落天朝的天國子民——義和團時期的直隸天主教會》內容的一部分。綜合這些個別事件對史料的選擇與分析,可以看出一些共同的現象。

各種類型史料

一、官方檔案及文書

在 1840 年鴉片戰爭以後,「夷務」開始受到注意,將這一類清廷與國外交涉的官方文書整理出來,即是《籌辦夷務始末》,計有道光、咸豐、同治三朝。1860 年清軍第二度被英法聯軍擊潰,在北京淪陷的情況下被迫簽訂「北京條約」,正式進入條約

保護傳教的時期。「總理各國事務衙門」即是清廷在英法強權的壓迫下,成立的對外交涉機構。台灣的中央研究院近代史研究所,即將總理衙門檔案中 1860年至 1911年間,與基督宗教交涉有關的案件,在 1974-1981年間陸續影印出版,此即《教務教案檔》。這是兩種研究清末「民教衝突」最基本也最重要的官方檔案。

中國第一歷史檔案館及福建師範歷史系合編了《清末教案》
1-6 冊,也是研究天主教相當重要的整理後的檔案。該叢書 1-3
冊屬於官方文書,係中國第一歷史檔案館所收藏。據第一冊所附的〈中文檔案部分編輯說明〉,「大致可分為三類,第一類為清政府官方文書,主要包括上論、奏摺、咨文、稟文、函稿、電報、教案合同與清單等。第二類為清政府保存的外交文書,主要係清政府與各國使領官員間的照會、函電、會談節略等。第三類為館藏檔案中所附的各地反洋教揭帖、告白、公啟、檄文等。」「第4-6 冊,分別是法國、美國及英國有關教案的史料,翻譯成中文後出版。這批資料的缺點是經過挑選,編者認為被挑選的檔案是最具代表性的,已足以看出事件發生的經過,但往往類似檔案的細微差別是很有意義的,有可能形成截然不同的敘述。因此在與《籌辦夷務始末》或《教務教案檔》相比時,其等級即有差別,最重要的功用是補充上述兩資料的不足。

近年一些地方政府的檔案「出土」,對研究工作可謂是一大福音。這些下級道府州縣的報告,可以補充上一級總督、巡撫給中央報告的不足,但更有價值處是可和上一級官員的報告比對,若與上級檔案不同,在實際運用中等於另一種史料。這些資料可遇不可求,出現的機運各式各樣,例如個人在研究 1746 年福安教案時,用了吳旻、韓琦編校的《歐洲所藏雍正乾隆朝天主教文獻匯編》,其中有大量福建地方府縣官員關於此案的審訊記錄及

¹ 中國第一歷史檔案館及福建師範大學歷史系合編,〈中文檔案部分編輯說明〉,《清末教案》第一冊(北京:中華書局,1996年),頁2。

報告²,可和《清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料》中的督 撫奏章互相比對與補充。義和團時期的《山東義和團案卷》是山 東省各府州縣的稟文,經巡撫批示後,滙抄發給各府州縣的底稿, 和《籌筆偶存》一樣,出自山東巡撫衙門。³可以和中央層級的 《義和團檔案史料》及《義和團檔案史料續編》等資料互相比對 及補充。

二、傳教士信件及資料

個人語言能力有限,基本上只處理法文的傳教十出版品。 十九世紀二十年代以後,法國籍的傳教團體最多,在四川、雲南、 貴州、廣東、廣西及東三省,是由巴黎外方傳教會(Missions étrangères de Paris) 掌握派遣傳教士的權力。遣使會 (Congrégation de la Mission) 在直隸的三分之二地區、浙江及 江西傳教。耶穌會(La Société de Jésus)則在江南,包括江蘇及 安徽,以及直隸的三分之一地區傳教。他們傳教士的人數佔在華 傳教士的一半以上,轄下的教友人數在不同時期,達到全中國教 友人數的四分之三到五分之四。在近代天主教史的研究中,特別 是民教衝突的研究中,不斷有人質疑不同國籍及不同團體的傳教 士,是否會因不同的傳教方式而有不同的情況?在我的研究中, 我基本上認為大同小異,因為傳教方式的差別很小,中國漢人區 域的社會及文化狀態也很類似,所以在法國三個團體傳教區的狀 態,可以大致說明方濟各會(Ordo Fratrum Minorum)在湖廣、 晉、陝、魯,以及道明會(Ordo Praedicatorum) 在福建、台灣 傳教區的狀態。也能說明在十九世紀中後期加入的聖母聖心會 (Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae) 在內蒙,米蘭外方傳

² 吳旻、韓琦編校,〈導言〉,《歐洲所藏雍正乾隆朝天主教文獻匯編》 (上海:上海人民出版社,2008年),頁 1。根據編者的說明,這些資料來自巴黎外方傳教會位於巴黎的檔案館。

³ 中國社會科學院近代史研究所近代史資料編輯室編,〈編者的話〉, 《山東義和團案卷》(濟南:齊魯書社,1950 年 6 月一版),頁 1。中國社會科學院近代史研究所、中國第一歷史檔案館編,〈序〉,《籌筆偶存》(北京:中國社會科學出版社,1983 年 5 月一版),頁 1。

教會(Pontificium Institutum pro Missionibus Exteris)在河南, 聖言會(Societas Verbi Divini)在山東南部的傳教概況及衝突。

從 1822 年開始的《傳信善會雜誌》(Annales de la Propagation de la Foi)、1846 年開始的《聖嬰善會雜誌》 (Annales de l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance) 是這時期報導傳教狀 態一般性的雜誌,因為大量支持在中國的傳教活動,因此每期常 有傳教士寫自中國的報導。1868 年後傳信善會又出版了一份周 刊,名為《天主教傳教區》(Les Missions Catholiques),相對 於前面的月刊,有更及時的訊息。1834年開始的《遣使會雜誌》 (Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission)顧名思義屬於遣使 會,《中國新傳教區通信》(Lettres des Nouvelles Missions de la Chine) 是耶穌會士重來中國後,在 1842 年至 1868 年間的書信 集。1857 年在華的法籍耶穌會士分家,由香檳省(Province de Champagne)的耶穌會士負責直隸東南代牧區,他們到 1898 年 才出版了屬於香檳省的傳教雜誌,名為《中國與錫蘭》(Chine et Ceylan),隨著傳教區的擴大,這份雜誌改名為《中國、錫蘭 與馬達加斯加》(Chine, Ceylan, Madagascar)。這些傳教雜誌 雖然經過刪修,但對了解傳教經過及重大事件仍是非常重要的。

有傳教士將這些資料或個人經歷編寫成書,例如化名 A. Thomas 的包士杰(Jean Marie Planchet),寫了《北京傳教史— 遺使會時期至拳亂》(Histoire de la Mission de Pékin-Depuis l'Arrivée des Lazaristes Jusqu'à la Révolte des Boxeurs) 4,是 1900 年前遺使會在華傳教的重要史書。關於義和團時期,包士杰神父另有法文版的《義和團迫害時期北京殉教者資料》(Documents sur les Martyrs de Pékin Pendant la Persécution des Boxeurs)。 樊國陰(Octave Ferreux)的 Histoire de la Congrégation de la Mission en Chine (1699-1950) 由吳宗文翻譯為

⁴ 這本書另有上冊,名為 *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin-Depuis les origines jusqu'à l'arrivée des lazaristes* (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1923) 。 這份下冊沒有正式的出版社,是個人印的。

中文《遣使會在華傳教史》⁵,是中國天主教史研究者普遍參考的重要史書。Adrien Launay 是巴黎外方傳教會最重要的歷史學者,他所寫的 Histoire des missions de Chine: missions du Se-Tchoan, Histoire des missions de Chine: missions du Kouy-Tcheou,……等系列叢書是描述巴黎外方傳教會在華傳教的史書。耶穌會方面在江南地區則有兩套同名的《江南傳教史》(Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-Nan)作者分別是高龍鞶(Augustinus M. Colombel)及史式徽(Joseph de la Servière)⁶。直隸東南代牧區則有鄂恩濤(Paul Bornet)及貝興仁(René Petit)所寫的《直隸東南代牧區百年史》(Cent Ans - 1856-1956-au Tcheu - Li Sud - Est),目前只是打字稿,尚未出版。

在個人研究十九世紀民教衝突及 1900 年的義和團這兩個主題時,教會方的中文史料相對較少,為了調查直隸東南代牧區殉難者的事蹟,劉斌(又稱劉賴孟多)神父根據蕭靜山神父的調查,翻譯了一些法文資料,再加上自己的補充調查,完成了《獻縣教區義勇列傳》一、二兩冊。包士杰神父對直隸北代牧區也做了類似的調查工作,完成了《拳時北京教友致命》共十八卷,相關的作品還包括《拳時北堂圍困》、《拳時上諭》等。包士杰神父法文版的《義和團迫害時期北京殉教者資料》,因為是面對法文讀者,內容及敘述方式與上述中文史書不盡相同。李杕(問漁)是上海的耶穌會神父,他請各地匯報義和團時期的災難狀態,編著的《拳禍記》上、下兩冊是非常重要的綜合性史料。這些就是討論義和團目前僅見的教會方中文史料。

⁵ Octave Ferreux(樊國陰)著,吳宗文譯,《遣使會在華傳教史》(臺北: 華明書局,1977 年)。

⁶ 史式徽的《江南傳教史》二卷中文版,1983 年由上海譯文出版社出版。 高龍鞶的《江南傳教史》共有五冊,2009 年由上海光啟社與輔大出版社 聯合出版了第一冊,輔大出版社單獨出版了二至四冊,第五冊正在準備 出版中。

三、時人筆記

因為義和團運動的影響重大,1940 年代就有將其時的各種資料蒐集的計畫。這些史料主要保存在中國史學會出版的《義和團》四冊巨著中。該叢刊共搜羅四十八種資料,其中三十餘種屬於當時親眼目睹者的見證。例如《平原拳匪記事》,是當時平原縣令蔣楷對平原事件前後的紀錄,《拳匪紀略》是艾聲擔任定興縣幕友時,記載他眼見耳聞定興、淶水一帶的義和團事件。祝芾是其時的淶水縣令,編輯了《庚子教案函牘》。《拳案雜存》則是吳橋縣令勞乃宣對答式的筆記。1982 年中國社會科學院近代史研究所近代史資料編輯組編輯出版了《義和團史料》,其中劉春堂的《畿南濟變紀略》,是以總督衙門幕僚身份記載了保定一帶的衝突及官方的處理。曹倜的《古春草堂筆記》中,則有他在擔任冠縣縣令時處理所謂梅花拳的經過。

在 1860 年至 1900 年的民教衝突方面,幾位處理過民教衝突的地方大員,如曾國藩、李鴻章、沈葆楨等人的文集是必要的參考資料。在個別事件中,若有下層參與者記載其事,則更會有參考價值。例如在江西巡撫衙門擔任幕僚的夏燮,1871 年出版的二十四卷本《中西紀事》中有一節名〈江楚黜教〉,在其中對1862 年到 1863 年兩次在南昌發生的衝突事件及中間交涉,提出自己的觀察。

這些時人筆記以參與者的角度,提供了與上層官員的不同 視角;或是同一個人,在官方檔案及其個人的回憶中,提供了不 盡相同的說法,這些是時人筆記重要的理由。

四、其他

(一) 訪談記錄:由於中共政府對義和團運動的重視,於 是由路遙等人率領,在 1960 年代在山東及接壤的河北一帶進行 了相當有規模的訪談。因為訪談的對象多半是義和團的參與者及 親見者,使得根據這些訪談在 1980 年代出版的《山東義和團調查資料選編》,及其後在 2000 年出版的更為精詳的《山東大學義和團調查資料匯編》兩大冊,成為相當具有價值的史料。至於天津南開大學根據 1958 年至 1960 年做的調查編成的《天津義和團調查》,因為不是直接出版訪談記錄,而是根據訪談形成敘述,就很難避免受 1960 年代意識型態影響,選擇史料有不夠客觀的情形。2001 年黎仁凱亦編有《直隸義和團調查資料選編》,2007 年李金鵬等人編有《景廷賓起義史料匯編》出版,但其訪談的廣度較不足,時間也在 1980 年以後,可信度就會再打折扣。

- (二)反教者言論:在檔案的附件中可以看到單張的「揭帖」,例如 1862 年南昌教案時有所謂〈湖南闔省公檄〉;1870 年天津教案發生前後,〈辟邪紀實〉、〈辟邪實錄〉等書在湖南、江西、山東及河南等地流行;1891 年周漢刊印的《鬼叫該死》、《謹遵聖諭辟邪全圖》對於長江流域的反教情緒,有推波助瀾的作用。到了義和團時期,這些反教言論的蒐集更齊全,陳振江和程獻編著了《義和團文獻輯注與研究》一書,基本上搜羅並分類了這一時期的反教者言論。這些反教者言論一方面反映了製作者的反教理由,另一方面,因其流行,也能視之為接收端的反教理由。在研究反教原因時,要特別重視這一方面的材料。
- (三)各國外交檔案:個人在研究中並未以此類資料為主, 第一是因為台灣機構蒐集整理的外交檔案以英美為主,法國外交 檔案必須到法國巴黎去看。第二是因為外交官是根據傳教士報告, 然後形成他交涉及報告的文件,傳教士報告是這類資料的上手, 理論上根據傳教士報告即已足夠。但在實際研究中,仍然會有外 交官有報告,但找不到前手傳教士報告的情況,因此在更仔細的 進一步研究中,各國外交檔案仍然是有其價值的。
- (四)地方志:由於大型的民教衝突是地方上的特殊事件, 在大眾的記憶中能留存較長久的時間,有時也覺得係應記載的重 大事件,故在某些地方志中可找到相關的敘述。呂實強教授在研

究 1863年重慶教案時,用了《民國巴縣志》;在研究 1890年代的余棟臣教案時,用了《大足縣志》。這些資料對於重建相對較小地域的社會及地理環境,有一定的幫助。但一般而論,多半的地方志中找不到民教衝突的完整資料,或是根本沒有相關的敘述,能找到的有限材料僅可做為其他資料的補充或佐證。

五、運用各種類型史料形成敘述的原則

- (一)給予各種類型史料公平地位。多半的研究者不自覺的較相信官方檔案,認為其他類型的檔案,可信度不如官方檔案。 其實每種類型的史料皆有其限度,有其不完全準確的原因,官方 檔案亦然。
- (二)若有三種以上不同類型的史料對同一事件皆有描述, 其中兩種以上不同來源的史料敘述雷同,則其可信度較高,可採 用之。與已採信之史料相反或不同者,代表此種史料有很大可能 性不可靠。敘述者很可能在某種情況下說謊、混淆或是記憶扭曲。
- (三)同源的史料敘述雷同不足為奇,若其敘述不同則值 得注意。例如同為官方檔案,州縣官對某事件的報告,與總督巡 撫向中央的奏報不同;或是同一層級官員有不同敘述。或是同一 事件,兩位傳教士的報告有明顯差別。或是同一位事件的參與者, 在官方檔案中與個人回憶中有不同的記載。對於這種不同的敘述, 若有另一種來源史料可供比對,則往往可建立可信的敘述。
- (四)某位個別的敘述者或史料在與其他史料比對後,建立了可信度,因此在同一事件後續的敘述,若缺乏三種以上史料 比對時,某位個別的敘述者或某種史料較為可信。
- (五)仍有不能清楚判斷者,則以邏輯性及情理輔之。但 若仍不能做出初步判斷,則述而不論。

- (六)使用這種史料比對方法,對眾多民教衝突事件進行研究,當累積到一定數量,可對某種類型的史料定性,更深入的分析其敘述的方式,並從中得到表面敘述隱藏其下的理解。
- (七)保持謙虛和彈性的態度,更多資料的挖掘及出土,可能會改變已有的定見,但可採用同樣的方法繼續檢驗。

案例說明

一、1862-1863 年南昌教案

根據教務教案檔的內容,在咸豐十一年十一月(1861年 12月)間,「有法國通事方安之前來江西省城傳教,在筷子巷地方置買民房。」當時的巡撫毓科遂派夏燮、張國經為接伴使,伴同法籍傳教士羅安當(Antoine Anot)等前來南昌,羅安當通報給中國官方他的頭銜是「法國總理天主教務代全權大臣」。「這一個敘述有夏燮的回憶為補充,當時在江西巡撫衙門擔任幕僚的夏燮,在他的回憶中說:

中國傳教之姦民,互相煽引,滋擾無休;江西撫州門外, 有法夷在義冢之旁,租賃民屋一區,常以黑夜傳教,亦不 敢自立教堂名目,其他如撫、建、袁、瑞、臨、吉等處, 亦多似此。惟吳城東菜園地方,設有教堂,多歷年所,道 光間新建知縣某,援禁撤毀,嗣又于望湖樓下改設一區; 咸豐五年,水師統領今兵部侍郎彭玉臟,復率兵勇毀之,

⁷ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收軍機處抄出署江西巡撫李桓 片〉,《教務教案檔》第一輯第二冊(臺北:中央研究院近代史研究所, 1974年),頁 914。

以其地為龍王廟。時天津新議未行,法人及傳教之士不敢 阳也。⁸

夏燮的說法去除其負面的形容詞,大致上與傳教士的報告 相似。大概自 1830 年代以後,到 1860 年之間,江西在平均起來 三至四名外籍傳教士的管轄下,有為數不詳的國籍神父擔任助手, 全境共有九千名教友散居各地。南昌進賢門(撫州門)外的教友 點,應是一個有兩百多年歷史的老教友點,人數多少無法得知, 但由於較少提及,可以判斷規模不大,應是屬於小型但穩定的會 口。可能巡視各地會口的是以國籍神父為主,教友們則為多年的 老教友群體,已習慣低調的與周遭的外教群眾相處。其他各個夏 燮提及的撫、建、袁、瑞、臨、吉等處的教友點,也多歷年所, 其中建昌府、撫州府及吉安府,有比較大的教友據點。1853年3 月太平天國佔領南京後回師西征,此後江西全境擾攘不安,但太 平軍一直未攻下南昌。在清軍與太平軍的對峙中,法籍遣使會士 曾福定(Ferdinand-Felix Montels)於 1857年6月在吉安府被殺。 從浙江調換來的代牧主教顧鐸德 (François-Xavier-Timothée Danicourt)被清軍所捕,但挑渦死劫。在戰爭狀態下,傳教士 只能以維持現有教友群體為最高目標,其他不敢奢望。9

在 1850 年代,顧鐸德和羅安當曾一度對太平天國抱有幻想,¹⁰ 為了撇清過去與太平軍的關係,羅安當這位僅存的外籍遣使會士,還特別先在 1861 年從江西到上海去,再從上海乘船入

⁸ 夏燮,〈江楚黜教〉,《中西記事》卷二十一(台北:文海出版社影印本,1962年),頁 181。

⁹ 這是綜合羅安當和田嘉璧(Louis-Gabriel Delaplace)等傳教士信件的說法。Lettre de M. Anot à M. Etienne, 19 septembre 1845, Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission(A.C.M.), Tome XI, pp.534-592, Paris,1846. Lettre de Mgr. Delaplace à la Soeur Mazin, 8 octobre 1852, A.C.M., Tome XVIII, Paris,1853, pp.438-439. Octave Ferreux (樊國陰)著,吳宗文譯,《遣使會在華傳教史》,頁 184-186。

¹⁰ Lettre de Mgr. Danicourt à M. Salvayre, 17 février 1857, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (A.P.F.), TomeXXX, Paris, 1858, pp.135-139.要強調這個幻想是個別的,也是短暫的。

潯,希望使人認為他是在條約簽訂後,新入江西的傳教士。但這個企圖並不成功,同時他以「代理全權大臣」名義請見巡撫,亦引起地方士紳不滿,

既出,有識之者曰,此二十餘年前,潛匿廟巷中(廟巷即 其舊天主堂地名)被前撫吳文節公驅逐出境者也,又有識 方安之者,以為即江西之撫州人,適羅安當攜其傳教告示, 請飭地方官張貼,眾議洶洶,逾年而難端作。¹¹

在南昌事件中第一個爭議是匿名揭帖〈湖南闔省公檄〉是 誰張貼的。這篇聲稱流傳在湖南的匿名文書在 1862 年初傳到了 江西,官方報告稱:適值學院考期,生童雲集,不知何人帶來 〈湖南闔省公檄〉二紙,痛詆天主教不敬祖先,不分男女,甚且 有採生折割,暗取元紅等事,遍貼街市。然後又有匿名傳單,約 期於陰曆二月十七日(1862 年 3 月 17 日)打教,於是當日二更 起,「群眾」首先將筷子巷育嬰堂搗毀,又拆筷子巷教民所有之 店屋民房數十間。然後城內袁家井,城外附郭進賢縣廟街天主堂, 一些與教友有關的商家,及羅安當搭乘來南昌的船隻皆被搗毀 12。

沈葆楨報告稱不知何人帶來,其實全為推託之詞。按夏燮說法,係告歸之翰林院檢討夏廷榘,在籍之甘肅按察使劉于潯等,將湖南闔省公檄鳩貲付梓,一日夜刷印數萬張,遍揭省城內外通衢。¹³ 夏燮指出了與其相關的士紳領袖,打臉官方報告不知何人的說法。但夏燮及沈葆禎的說詞都指出,這是一起因揭帖引發的群眾騷動事件,但事實就真是這樣嗎?

¹¹ 夏燮,〈江楚黜教〉,《中西記事》卷二十一,頁 182。稱係二十餘年前被逐者不確,因羅至江西至此時最多十八年。吳文節公指的是吳文鎔,1841 年至 1847 年任江西巡撫。所以可能是在 1845 年左右,羅安當有被捕後驅逐之事。這個「逾年而難端作」是從咸豐十一年十二月,至同治元年二月,實際上只有兩個月。

¹² 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收江西巡撫沈葆楨文附湖南公 檄原單二件〉,《教務教案檔》第一輯第二冊,頁 915-916。

¹³ 夏燮,〈江楚黜教〉,頁 182。

要追索真相,夏廷榘及劉于潯的身份是重要的線索。在 3 月 17 日的群眾事件之前,南昌府縣官員與夏燮商量扼止群眾的方法,南昌府縣謂夏燮:「檢討主講豫章,雖不預謀,可以止之。」夏燮曰:「檢討日飲無何,杜門謝客,惟兒子識其小阮數人,請往覘之。」但夏燮的兒子未及行動,而群眾已毀筷子巷育嬰堂。14 這位「檢討」就是夏廷榘。在官方文書中送來教堂搜獲之銅管血膏,所謂傳教士採生折割證據的「新建夏紳」15,夏燮指出就是夏廷榘 16。根據夏燮的敘述,夏廷榘比劉于潯重要,但其實劉于潯在地方上的重要性超過夏廷榘。

劉于潯是舉人出身,1844 年開始任官,主要在揚州一帶任職。1853 年因丁艱回到南昌梓溪,因太平軍興,地方紛組團練自衛,劉于潯正是建立南昌團練的核心人物。除了協建省城的官團及紳團,他又在家鄉梓溪(又稱中洲)設團練局,然後在此過程中聯繫南昌縣其他宗族領袖,建立了以梓溪為首的「五局勇」。由於五局勇在南昌保衛戰中屢立戰功,劉于潯不次擢升,成為所謂「江軍」的統帥。1862 年清政府授其甘肅按察使銜,但這只是頭銜,他真正的工作還是在江西省內帶領團練與太平軍作戰。1862 年太平軍尚未肅清,劉于潯這位在籍官員並不是致仕在家、安享天年,而是手中握有至少數千名練勇的實力派人物。17 他的實權是夏廷渠遠遠不及的,甚至連有行政大權的地方官員,自巡撫以下都要敬他七分。

¹⁴ 夏燮,〈江楚黜教〉,頁 183。

¹⁵ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收江西巡撫沈葆楨文〉,《教案教務檔》第一輯第二冊,頁 923-924。撰寫 1862 年 3 月 17 日及 23 日事件報告的是南昌知府王必達,沈葆禎表面上沒加入個人意見。

¹⁶ 夏燮, 〈江楚黜教〉, 頁 183-184。

^{17 2013} 年 寫 南 昌 教 案 的 文 章 時 , 用 了 「 南 昌 梓 溪 劉 氏 網 」 http://15270862270.8.sunbo7.net/上對劉于潯的介紹,但此次上網時已無相關資料。由其過去資料提供的線索,孔飛力 (Philip Kuhn) 在其《中華帝國晚期的叛亂及其敵人》一書中探討過劉于潯。2007 年南昌大學應宗華的碩士論文《鎮壓太平天國運動的社會武裝—南昌士紳劉于潯及其江軍研究》有較詳細對劉于潯及江軍的描述,看原找到的網路文件,與應宗華碩士論文相似,其源頭應為此碩士論文。

其實夏燮的史家之筆並沒有說謊,他只是沒有明說。在夏燮〈江楚黜教〉筆下,南昌府縣說夏廷榘「主講豫章,雖不預謀,可以止之。」或是夏燮說「檢討日飲無何,杜門謝客。」都是暗示夏廷榘與群眾無涉。另一方面夏燮則是藉此說明劉于潯與群眾有關,只是夏燮自己沒有身份地位說得動劉于潯,因此必須靠雖不預謀其事,但在地方上有清望的夏廷榘去勸阻劉于潯。

由此可以進一步推論,群眾不是真正的群眾,而是劉于潯 手下的團練。這件打教事件很明顯並非群眾臨時起意,而是有組 織的行動,因為這些群眾很有紀律,只打搶而不傷人,這可不是 受〈湖南闔省公檄〉煽動的群眾樣貌,真正的群眾應該是義憤填 膺,總有些人控制不住情緒的。另一個佐證是當沈葆楨報告事件 經過後,總理衙門並未詢問地方的治安力量,包括衙役、綠營乃 至團練,為何都未參與彈壓群眾的過程?因為了解南昌政軍結構 的軍機處官員,看到這些不合理的報告,也心知肚明這不是單純 的群眾暴動,而他們不追究地方官員的處理缺失,正證明了他們 知道追究下去,會碰到不能被追究的劉于潯。

另一方面羅安當的報告稱沈葆楨及地方士紳與打教行動有關 ¹⁸,中國官方當然否認。羅安當覺得在南昌討不到公道,於是立即前往北京。經過法國公使哥士耆的施壓,清政府將南昌府在進賢門外官辦的育嬰堂作為賠償給了羅安當,另外教士教民財產損失的部分,則和地方官紳再行商議。¹⁹ 沈葆楨得知北京對南昌 毀堂案的處理方式後,立即向總署表示礙難遵辦。報告中稱:撫

¹⁸ Lettre de M. Anot à M. le Directeur de l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance, sans date, *Annales de l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance(A.S.E.)*, Tome XVII, Paris, 1865, pp.166-167.

¹⁹ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收法國照會附章程諭單〉, 《教案教務檔》第一輯第二冊,頁 931。

州門外之育嬰堂,係闔省士民捐建,人人得起而爭之,斷非官所 能做主。²⁰又說有官員到民間密訪,百姓稱將與洋人拼命。

問:你們紛紛議論,都說要與法國傳教士拼命,何故?

答云:他要奪我們本地建的育嬰堂,又要我們賠他許多銀子,且叫從教的來佔我們舖面田地,又說有兵船來挾制我們。我們讓他一步,他總是進一步,以後總不能安生,如何不與他拼命?

問:我等從上海來,彼處天主堂甚多,都說是勸人為善。 譬如育嬰一節,豈不是好事?

答云:我本地育嬰,都是把人家才養出孩子抱來乳哺。他 堂內都買的十幾歲男女,你們想是育嬰耶?是借此採生折 割耶?而且長毛都是奉天主教的,他們必定要在城內及近 城地方傳教。譬如勾引長毛進來,我們身家性命不都休了。

問:你們地方官同紳士主意如何?

答云:官府紳士,總是依他。做官的只圖一日無事,騙一日俸薪,到了緊急時候,他就走了,幾時顧百姓的身家性命。紳士也與官差不多,他也有家當的,也會搬去。受罪的都是百姓,與他何干。我們如今都不要他管,我們只做我們的事。

問:譬如真有兵船來,難道你們真與他打仗嗎?

答云:目下受從教的欺凌也是死,將來他從教的黨羽多了, 奪了城池也是死。勾引長毛來也是死,橫豎總是死。他不

²⁰ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收軍機處交出江西巡撫沈葆楨 片附議覆哥使條款清單及匿名揭帖密訪問答〉,《教案教務檔》第一輯 第二冊,頁 947。

過是炮火厲害,我們都拼著死,看他一炮能打死幾個人? 只要打不完的,十個人殺他一個人,也就彀了。²¹

然後又聲稱出現了一份新的匿名揭帖,名為〈撲滅異端邪 教公啟〉,文稱:

……有奸民羅安當方安之倡行邪教,煽惑愚民,甚至採生 折割,姦淫婦女,錮蔽幼童,行蹤詭秘,殊堪痛憾。本年 二月,經闔省義民齊心拆毀天主教堂,洩我公憤,正欲誅 殛羅方兩賊,惜彼先期逃遁。近聞赴京控訴,幾他國領事 官來文,膽敢問我撫台大人要賠還銀七萬兩,並要城外育 嬰堂產業,蓋還城裏原堂。種種無賴,意圖訛詐。目下軍 需緊急,我中國金銀,豈能填無厭之求。為此遍告同人, 共伸義憤,倘該國教士膽敢來江鼓惑,我等居民數十百 萬,振臂一呼,同聲相應。鋤頭扁擔,盡作利兵。白叟黃 童,悉成勁旅。務將該邪教斬除淨盡,不留遺孽。殺死一 箇,償爾一命。殺死十箇,償爾十命。其有中國人投習彼 教者,經各鄉族長查出,不必禀官,公同處死。以為不敬 祖宗,甘心從逆者戒。……22

延續前面 1862 年 3 月事件的分析,劉于潯及所屬團練才是 打教的主角,所以所謂的公啟,固然有號召群眾的作用,但真正 的作用是在未來發生衝突時,預先為真正的行動者開脫。而在 「密訪問答」中所謂官員士紳臨難退縮,不能成事,同樣是預先 為官紳開脫,將責任推到不知姓名、義憤填膺的無名大眾身上。 這再次表明沈葆楨所寫的奏章,內容不是真的。這些欲蓋彌彰的 做法,也可以反過來說明,沈葆禎已與地方紳團聯成一氣,成為 阻止天主教入城的重要參與者,也證明羅安當的說法是對的。

²¹ 同上,頁 948-949。

²² 同上,頁 948。

羅安當自恃拿到清中央政府的許可,堅持要回到南昌。在 北京嚴命下,1863 年 5 月,沈葆楨派人至九江,護送羅安當等 到省城。抵達之日,先不讓其登岸,理由是住處尚未安排妥當。 根據羅安當的說法,次日某時原來負責保護其安全的官員和士兵 都不見了,然後出現了四十名所謂的「群眾」,向著他們咒罵並 丟擲石塊,接著四名身手矯健的群眾跳上羅安當的船,船夫見情 況危險,立即撐船離岸。四人中有一人逃離不及,為羅安當所獲, 其內衣露出兵勇服色。因其威脅要自殺,為了避免引發事端,羅 安當將之釋放。當船隻行經省城牆外時,只見萬頭鑽動,聲喧勢 眾,皆為阻其入城而來;羅安當知事不可為,放棄入城企圖,船 隻由河入湖,復返九江 ²³。圍觀的群眾或許真的是群眾,但這些 兵勇化裝的群眾,再一次證明了阻止羅安當入城的是官方。

二、1863年重慶教案

關於重慶教案,在張力、劉鑑唐的《中國教案史》中的描述是:

教士范若瑟持清廷文牒,強行拆除長安寺,修建真原堂,並侵及附近民產民居,就連川東三十六屬團體保甲辦公暨 八省首事聚會之地,均被逼從長安寺遷出。不久,范若瑟 升任川東教區主教,又擴建真原堂,強占民房。重慶人民 在忍無可忍的情況下,於 1863 年 3 月,一舉搗毀真原堂及 教士住宅。24

《中國教案史》使用了《民國巴縣志》及類似《教務教案檔》的官方檔案,但引文中「拆除長安寺,修建真原堂,並侵及附近民產民居」的說法,在上述文件中找不到根據。

²³ Lettre de M. Anot à M. le Directeur de l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance, sans date, *A.S.E.*, Tome XVII, Paris, 1865, pp.168-169.

²⁴ 張力、劉鑑唐,《中國教案史》(成都:四川省社會科學出版社, 1987年),頁 397。

呂實強教授〈重慶教案〉一文認為,法使哥士耆(Michael Alexandre Kleczhowski)向總理衙門要求將崇因寺(按即長安寺)予川東主教范若瑟(Eugène Desflèches),用以抵還川東各地應查還的舊堂。巴縣紳商閩聚福、劉成章、李聚義、沈玉軒等數十人聯名遞稟,以崇因寺為地方名勝,有八百年以上歷史,又位於巴山之巔,已做為川東三十六屬保甲團練總局,「便於哨諜策應」,因此不便給予。25雖然川東道吳鎬與重慶府及巴縣知縣,願意在城中另覓一閒曠處所抵換,但哥士耆及范若瑟仍堅持原議,非要崇因寺不可。在官方報告中,吳鎬表示在以崇因寺抵還聖旨的命令撥下後,他即督飭重慶知府和巴縣縣令籌辦,正月二十四日(按:陽曆三月十三日),

巴縣知縣張秉堃傳集閣城紳士,正在籌議撥給間,忽有各街無知之徒,輒集多人,找尋天主教士理論。互相爭鬥,將天主教所設真原堂公所、傳經公所、病院學堂三處,門窗戶格一併打毀。經該道督憲會營,帶領兵役馳往彈壓驅逐,拿獲滋事痞匪八名,始行各散,查驗並未傷人,當將范主教善為保護安頓。……26

范若瑟的說法則有相當大差異,稱巴縣縣令張秉堃在一月 二十四日辰刻到了長安寺,對局紳表示長安寺為官有寺廟,對於 設置保甲團練總局,至所利便。雖然地方道府縣官員百方設法阻 攔范若瑟取得長安寺,但現在將軍和總督嚴催,他們也無法繼續 拖延。只有「爾等齊力阻撓,獲便匪淺,如有別故,儘有伊等揑 秉卸過。」於是士紳程益軒、張先釗、陳桂林及金含章等人,召 集局勇團民千餘人,由陳桂林等率領,自崇因寺出發,先至重慶 城中姜家巷,將主教駐地真原堂打毀,有羅壁立其人,並將范若 瑟所有「祭器、書籍、銀錢、衣物、契約及川黔滇藏四省寄存貨

²⁵ 呂實強,〈重慶教案〉,《中國近代現代史論集》,第四編:教案與 反西教(臺北:台灣商務印書館,1985 年),頁 324-325。

²⁶ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈成都將軍崇實、四川總督駱秉章致總署函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1156-1157。

物掃掠一空。」然後團民分隊四出,將城內傳教士住處、男女學堂、病院、育嬰堂、孤老院、醫館共十八處,「房屋概皆拆毀, 銀錢衣物家具悉行掃掠。約值銀十萬餘金。」此外「石板街、桂 花街、回回溝、南紀門教民二十餘家,金玉衣飾銀錢契照,罄盡 無從。」團民行搶時並高喊:「格殺洋賊,誅戮教民。」²⁷

第二天,團民「復從道轅起首,跟至縣門口,將教民舖戶, 挨戶毀劫,川蘇洋廣疋頭雜貨綢緞,寸縷無遺。」然後第三日, 繼續搶掠,有教民劉金光被殺斃,男女十餘人負傷。三日總計 「屠劫教民七十餘家,約計搶項三十餘萬之譜。」²⁸ 在范若瑟寫 回歐洲的報告中則稱在事件發生後,他避居於一穀倉中,後來教 友帶他從暗門逃出,坐入一兩人小轎,混入一個葬禮隊伍中出城, 在風波平息後方重返城中。²⁹ 范若瑟還指控毆搶之後,團民並不 散去。仍聚集於崇因寺中,「演戲冶酒、結盟賀功,日同心會。」³⁰

呂實強在〈重慶教案〉一文中,部分採信了吳鎬的說法, 認為巴縣知縣張秉堃是執行聖旨,並不是鼓動群眾的人。但另一 部分他採信了范若瑟的說法,這些打教的是保甲局的團練局勇, 由局紳程益軒、張先釗召集,由陳桂林率領。³¹ 在採信范若瑟說 法的部分,可能原因是崇實絕大部分採信范若瑟一方,在其主導 下將吳鎬撤任,派曾署理川東之恒保接任查辦,而恆保的報告與

²⁹ Notice Nécrologique de Mgr. Desflèches.

 $^{^{27}}$ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈川東主教范若瑟遞單〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1167。

²⁸ 同上,頁 1167-1168。

http://archivesmep.mepasie.org/recherche/index./php. 這個網路資料現在也找不到了。

³⁰ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈川東主教范若瑟遞單〉,《教務教 案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1168。此遞單內容應相同於其予總督將軍之 具稟。

³¹ 呂實強,〈重慶教案〉,《中國近代現代史論集》,第四編:教案與 反西教,頁 326。

范若瑟雷同。³² 至於為何採信吳鎬的部分說法,可能只是呂教授的主觀認知。因為在該文的分析中他認為:「引發教案的原因,……最主要者卻為屬於基督教在華傳教的侵略特質,對外人的一種疑懼與反感。」³³

研究 1863 年重慶教案的關鍵處在於官方文書中,兩組官員的敘述不同。成都將軍崇實及署川東道恆保為一組,1861 年以後任四川總督(實任在 1862 年初)的駱秉章與川東道吳鎬為另一組。呂實強的論文中採信了吳鎬關於崇因寺的說法,稱地方士紳一致表示反對意見,說該寺建於宋代,為古蹟名勝;現奉關帝為主神,並旁祠文昌、呂祖諸神,又有二丈餘高銅佛三尊。「且地處適中,勢最高敞,便於哨諜策應」。因咸豐九年滇匪騷擾,當時川東道遂將被寺僧典當之民房贖回,作為川東三十六屬保甲團練總局。因此長安寺並非閒廢廟寺,「若以長安寺為天主堂,則公局無處可設,團練即易廢弛,哨望失所憑依,兼與地方有礙。」34 但吳鎬的這個說法是有背景的,是在他之前的署川東道恆保,向范若瑟提供了這個地方作為賠還川東各屬教堂之地,並非范若瑟主動要來的。

法國駐華公使哥士耆照會的說法可以看出其中端倪:

現訪得重屬之巴縣城內,有空閒廟宇一所,名長安寺,曾 有游僧占踞二年,地方官查其無契,已經逐去。意欲蓋造 兵舍,旋即終止。現在此廟久已閒廢,與地方官無干。該

³² 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈四川總督駱秉章致總署函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁1175-1176。

³³ 呂實強,〈重慶教案〉,《中國近代現代史論集》,第四編:教案與 反西教,頁 334。

³⁴ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈四川總督駱秉章致總署函附川東道 吳鎬稟〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1186-1187。

地方官待我川東范主教亦不虐,原有意將此廟償抵眾堂, 務望各行川督辦理此事可也。³⁵

這裡「地方官」三次出現,是地方官告訴范若瑟崇因寺是空閒廟宇,也是地方官將沒有地契的所謂遊僧逐走,又說此廟與地方官無干。在照會中對地方官採取加重語氣,也可以推測范若瑟多少了解崇因寺有地方紳商聲稱為保甲局所在,但「意欲蓋造兵舍,旋即終止」,表示並未成為事實。這位地方官應該就是恆保。

其後駱秉章在 1862 年初接任四川總督,在處理天主教各種案件上,在駱秉章抵署辦公後成了兩頭馬車。隨後的發展是吳鎬接任川東道,其時恆保署川東道未及一年。雖有總理衙門命令撥給,但吳鎬立即對范若瑟示以強硬立場,在 1862 年 11 月兩人見面時,表示不能撥付崇因寺。36 新任川東道吳鎬為何敢將此前協商作廢?合理的懷疑是其背後有人指使。他背後的人應該就是駱秉章,因此哥士耆的照會才會說:「乃駱制軍隨將恒道撤任,另委吳道接辦,其時必有授意之處。……37」

哥士耆以後向總理衙門抱怨,「駱制軍及所屬官員,憎惡本國人,並在彼傳教諸人,每欲因事摧壓之。」哥士耆又比較恒保與吳鎬的差別,說:

從前川東道有位旗員(按:恒保),凡於本地民人教民, 及本國傳教諸人事物,無不秉公處置,該處無論何人,亦 無不同聲愛戴。……自吳姓到任後,任意妄為,該處遂無 一日安靜。……並唆使民人,隨後即應焚毀教中房屋,驅

³⁵ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈法國公使哥士耆致總署函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1139。

³⁶ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收哥士耆函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1144。

³⁷ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收哥士耆函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁 1144。

逐夷人出境,謂眾民人絕無勇敢,不能如湖南等處辦法, 眾民人為所激發,遂欲藉端生衅,幾有焚掠毆逐教中之勢。 旋因該道出示,凡貨物到關,均加數倍納稅,其假公濟私 之心,竟被百姓看破,所有不奉教之人,不但不肯擾害教 中,且多面訴主教,求其將該處情形,轉為達之制軍,或 代陳都中總理衙門,俾得申飭吳道,毋許貪酷不法,貽害 地方。現在該處民人,甚欲該道離任。該道亦幾受百姓窘 逼,脫身幸免。38

另一邊的崇實對吳鎬的處理並不滿意,他在批示中說吳鎬 的處置不合理,還誇贊了范若瑟以少抵多,通情達理:

渝郡地面遼闊,高曠之處甚多,無在不可以修建倉庫;設立公局,原可不必拘定地方。……請以長安寺改建,乃條以少抵多,事屬情理之至,業經奉旨允准,飭令撥給,何可另易他所,轉致有涉嫌疑,藉資口舌。……倘各紳民等實因長安寺地勢高敞,可以俯瞰全城,遠瞭四境,便於哨諜策應,為渝城最要之區,自願別籌款項,另買閒曠處所修建經堂,范主教近在渝城,亦當指定地方銀數,與范主教面為商酌,非一稟所能定局。……39

所以同樣是清朝官員,崇實的做法及看法與駱秉章截然不同。一方面可以發現以前的研究者選擇了與其立場相同的敘述,忽略了哥士耆(也就是范若瑟)的敘述與崇實的敘述有呼應之處。另一方面要問題是:吳鎬為何敢於違逆上級?或是剛擔任川督的駱秉章要與久任四川的崇實唱反調?這都違反了為官之道,這些不合理處顯然另有原因。

³⁸ 同上,頁 1148。重慶打教發生在同治二年正月二十四日,在北京的哥 十耆應還未得知此事。

³⁹ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈總署收四川總督駱秉章函附川東道 吳鎬稟署川東道恆保稟艾嘉略移文〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊, 頁 1188。駱秉章其時還負責與石達開的作戰,是崇實批閱吳鎬稟文的理 由。

一個被研究者們忽略的名詞—「川東三十六屬保甲總局」,提供了可能的答案。梁勇 2007 年發表的論文〈重慶教案與八省客長:一個區域史的視角〉,除了使用《教務教案檔》及《民國巴縣志》之外,還用了前人未用過的《巴縣檔案》。作者認為這時重慶城中的商業活動,主要掌握在八省會館中的首事,也就是「八省客長」所掌握。四川是一個移民城市,名之為客,但已在重慶落地生根。因為地方防匪的需求,嘉慶以後開始編練團勇,負責其事者就是八省客長。這些以會館為基地的紳商領袖,主持夫馬局、釐金局及保甲局等,以抽取釐金的方式,籌措編練團勇的經費。其中保甲局 1859 年初設於城隍廟,1861 年改設於崇因寺。他們掌握的權力,其時也在承受其他商民團體的挑戰,這一以重慶「二十三坊紳民」名義組成的商人團體,指控局紳帳目不清,又說他們為客籍,以賺錢為目的,並不真正關心地方安危。40。

其中重中之重則在釐金。重慶設關卡抽取釐金,始於 1856年,「以軍興,仿揚州抽辦百貨釐金,由納商設局,凡市埠買賣貨品,按值每兩抽取六釐,俱由牙行代收,月總其數交于局,局又彙解於川東道庫,是為老釐。」⁴¹有老釐即有新釐,在咸豐十年底,王廷植任川東道時,

縣紳段大章會同府縣,召集客商,擬于正釐六釐,積穀附加二釐外,再抽九釐以為本城團練城防之用。……同時並於下游唐家沱設卡,抽出口貨釐兼收船釐百分之二,助水師軍餉,章程明載,商捐商辦,不必禀咨立案,軍務告竣,即行停止,是為新釐。42

⁴⁰ 梁勇,〈重慶教案與八省客長:一個區域史的視角〉,《社會科學研究》 2007 年第 1 期(成都:四川省社會科學院,2007 年),頁 173-174。

^{41 《}民國巴縣志》, 卷四, 賦役下, 頁 545。

⁴² 同上, 百 545-546。

老釐少而新釐多,加起來已達百分之十七,船隻又加船釐百分之二,復以商人自辦為名,避開上級監督,雖稱軍務告竣後即行停止,但實際上則一直實施至民國時期。⁴³

按梁勇論文,此時在重慶有八省客長與二十三坊紳民這兩股商人團體的對抗,釐金收取掌握在八省客長一方,另一方二十三坊紳民因繳納釐金吃虧,於是 1861 年先向重慶府縣呈控,不得結果後就再往省城上訪。其時署理川督的崇實派恒保署川東道,目的之一即在清理釐局。但按理應由川東道主管之釐金乃至崇因寺地產,下級的府縣官員及地方士紳,不讓這個滿洲皇族官員經手,官紳之間發生磨擦,因此恒保才會把這個「廢廟」交給范若瑟。

崇實的一段話,可證明崇因寺問題主要在釐金。他說:

渝城乃八省商貨雲集之區,人心最易搖動,崇因寺久已曠 廢,經前任道員王廷植驅逐僧人,改設保甲總局,添出九 釐名目,地方事權,漸歸局紳把持。又抽取貨釐,名曰養 勇自防,實則冒支濫用,諸弊叢生,而道縣兩衙門,難保 不藉之生發也。所募各丁,多係無賴遊民,黨類日增,動 暫恃眾抗官。44

所以局紳團勇不是為反范若瑟而反教,是為釐金權利而反 教也。

另一個可探討的問題:從重慶事件可以看出范若瑟是一個 倚仗帝國主義勢力,膽大妄為,強取崇因寺的人嗎?綜合各種史 料來看,以崇因寺改建天主堂,事前范若瑟與崇實、恒保已建立 了默契。在崇實主導或單獨的報告中,他對范若瑟亦無太惡劣評

⁴³ 同上,頁 547。

⁴⁴ 呂實強、王爾敏、李恩涵等編,〈成都將軍崇實函〉,《教務教案檔》,第一輯第三冊,頁1190。

價,稱范若瑟狂妄誇張的是以後處理的漢人官員。在十九世紀的 中國傳教史上,范若瑟的確是具有爭議性的人物,但不要將他想 像成某種帝國主義的模型。范若瑟此前已在川東地區傳教二十年, 在老教友的引介下,他也對重慶周遭的經濟及社會環境有所了解, 他不要捲入八省客長及二十三坊紳民,或是成都與重慶的官紳糾 紛中。在重慶的教友群體與地方紳商達成和解後,范若瑟連起初 堅持的崇因寺都不要了。藉由地方者老調解而達成的協議,其效 果遠大於由上而下的皇帝諭旨。在該協議中,范若瑟用放棄崇因 寺換來的不只是十五萬兩賠償,還有:

肆後各屬境內教民,如有典買田宅,修理經堂醫館等項, 該處士民均宜玉成。其事公買公賣勿得阻撓滋擾。……倘 四民中有藉故與教民生事者,應稟與地方官宪治。如教中 有無故藉勢尋四民滋事者,應由本地方之教內司鐸,指名 出首宪治,不得容隱護底。45

此後重慶城廂的社群範圍內,民教相安了二十餘年,直至 1886 年風波再起,卻是因英美新教傳教士至重慶傳教所引起 ⁴⁶, 基本上天主教是遭池魚之殃。

三、1899年平原事件

當時的山東巡撫毓賢是向朝廷匯報平原事件的權威者,根據他光緒二十五年十月六日(1899年11月8日)的奏報,平原事件發生原因先是因教民李金榜與平民李長水不睦,教民乃欺壓平民;該縣縣令蔣楷「人本顢預,遇事粉飾」,在處理教民控案時不能持平,且縱容手下差役陳德和,藉下鄉辦拳會名義,多方訛詐,然後拏獲平民六人,稱其為拳匪,濫押在縣城牢中。百姓因此不服:

^{45 《}民國巴縣志》,卷十六,交涉,頁1987。

⁴⁶ 呂實強,〈重慶教案〉,《中國近代現代史論集》,第四編:教案與 反西教,頁 328-329。

斯時,良民及拳會之民雖屬人多勢眾,不過四五百人,欲 往縣城求恩保釋。於是有盜匪朱紅燈乘機而入,附近百姓, 亦有附和,幾千人恃眾挾制,搶劫教民十多家。

蔣楷聞民鬨鬧,乃帶勇下鄉彈壓,因為不能分別良民和拳匪,差役隨便捕拏民眾,以致激成眾怒,傷及兩名勇役。蔣楷於是緊急向毓賢發電報請兵。毓賢聞訊,派濟南知府盧昌詒帶領馬步隊前往查辦。毓賢為瞭解事發原因,另加派候補知府王紹廉、候補知縣趙烱分別前往密查。盧昌詒率隊到平原縣以後,認為民眾鬨鬧,罪在陳德和濫拿平民,於是將其鎖銬收禁,並將陳德和逮捕六人釋放。盧向民眾報告處理方式,於是良民大多解散,紛紛回家。「乃拳會仍未散盡,盜匪在村外廟中負嵎,意圖抗拒。」盧昌詒仍然勸導解散。步隊的管帶袁世敦帶隊往寺廟附近行動,於是盜匪從廟中衝出,然後兵員開槍轟擊,是役「傷斃營勇三人,轟斃匪徒二三十名,該匪隨即四散,附近民人傷斃四人,廟旁客店兩家亦失少物件。」此即森羅殿之役。事後袁世敦步隊綑縛十六人前來,經盧昌詒問訊皆係良民,立即釋回。

毓賢在報告中總結,縣令蔣楷前在莒州任職時,即因辦事 昏庸,又不能持平,幾釀大禍。到平原後,「始而縱役詐贓,繼 則張皇失措」應為此事件負主要責任,故請旨將其革職,永不錄 用。而步隊管隊袁世敦,雖然彈壓行動孟浪,搜查匪黨時又未能 約束勇丁,致客店失物,誤傷良民,但其心地直爽,勇於任事, 乃屬無心之過。故建議將其統帶撤除,發交袁世凱隨營歷練。47

毓賢的敘述成了平原事件的權威版本,但往往與其他來源 史料的說法不同。有關教民李金榜欺壓平民李長水。根據蔣楷的 《平原拳匪紀事》,李長水在平原杠子李莊是里長,在地方上有

^{47 〈}山東巡撫毓賢摺(光緒二十五年十月初六)〉,收錄於故宮博物院明清檔案部編,《義和團檔案史料》,頁 34-36。

勢力。⁴⁸ 根據口述訪談,光緒二十五年時十七歲的李勝雲描述,早在光緒十幾年時,李長水和李金榜為了土地發生糾紛,當時杠子李莊既無天主教,也未設神拳。李金榜當時官司打贏了,縣令將土地判給李金榜,當時地裡種著蔥,李長水要求先收蔥再還地,李金榜不願,雙方因此「鬧了很大的彆扭」。以後李金榜入了天主教,李長水則入了神拳。⁴⁹ 綜合上述兩個說法,李長水與李金榜有宿怨,但並非教民欺負平民,李長水的勢力還比李金榜大。至於為何毓賢有教民欺負平民的說法,因為這是官方報告的固定說辭,也是有話語權的官員士紳的普遍見解,不必調查糾紛原由即可落筆斷言。⁵⁰

至於以杠子李莊的小衝突,當作平原事件的起點,其實也不是事實,是大事化小的鋸箭法。根據《平原拳匪紀事》的說法,1899年4月份神拳就已在恩縣興起,5月平原境內在堤上小魏莊、小屯村 51 也有人開始練義和拳。於是蔣楷召被傳教士控告之拳首王甲三前來,蔣楷稱王甲三、張澤等拳首雖表面服從,但並未就此散去,義和拳並自此後在平原傳佈。52 在山東下層官員的報告中,恩縣縣令提出:「於八月初間,該匪傳習邪術,妄稱吃符念咒,請神附體,可避槍砲,煽惑勾結,在平原一帶尋覺滋事,

⁴⁸ 蔣楷,〈平原拳匪紀事〉,收錄於中國史學會主編,《義和團(一)》 (上海:上海書店出版社,2000年),頁 355。

⁴⁹ 路遙主編,《山東大學義和團調查資料匯編(下)》,頁 968。

⁵⁰ 在蔣楷的〈平原拳匪紀事〉356 頁,也描述了教民欺負平民是一種不證 自明的經驗,但蔣楷沒說杠子李莊事由為何。

⁵¹ 現在恩縣基本上已劃入平原縣,當時的恩縣縣城是現在的恩城鎮。兩縣以馬頰河為界,靠平原一側現有地名為堤上王莊村者,小魏莊、小屯村現皆可找到,皆位於馬頰河平原一側,或當時沿馬頰河有堤,故稱堤上。

⁵² 蔣楷, 〈平原拳匪紀事〉, 頁 353-354。

到處蔓延,隨聲附和,日見其多。」⁵³ 這些資料都說明事態發展 遠比毓賢報告的要大,時間要早。

至於下鄉查緝的二快陳德和藉機訛詐,挐獲平民六人,引發百姓不服,於是招來朱紅燈的說法,也是經不起其他資料驗證的。李勝雲回憶說:「都是拿的在義和團的,有時也冤枉了許多好人。……當地辦事的就生辦法,把他們保出來,在義和的不敢保。」54 濟南知府盧昌詒的取供,也證實了這沒保出的六人是神拳成員,也打搶了李金榜家。55

森羅殿之役結束後,拳民四散,消息傳出,各地舉「興清滅洋」、「扶清滅洋」、「保清滅洋」等旗幟,搶掠燒殺教民者蜂起。官方檔案的統計是光緒二十五年十月二日在禹城縣搶苗家林,十月六日在長清縣搶李家莊,十月七日早搶長清縣鄭家營教民,同日晚上,在茌平縣張官屯殺教堂教讀王觀杰,九日抵博平縣,在四周對付教民,勒索錢財。十三日再經過茌平張莊,因該莊教民放槍阻攔,遂放火燒燬洋樓,殺死教民三人。十五日在吳楊二莊行搶、勒索七百兩;同日又在博平搶教民牲口,十六日又在長清縣訛詐教民四十兩。56

教會方面《拳禍記》的記載是:

己亥十月初四日,禹城苗家林莊教民十七家被搶,教堂內 所有什物同時被搶。初五日他匪至,因無物可搶,將大堂 及十六家教民之屋,縱火燒之。重傷教民王書修,幾至殞

^{53 〈}恩縣會稟(光緒二十五年八月二十五日)〉,收錄於《山東義和團 案卷》,頁4。不管是恩縣稱神拳起於平原縣,或是反向的說法,都是官 員推諉責任的習慣說辭。

⁵⁴ 路遙主編,《山東大學義和團調查資料匯編(下)》,頁 968。

^{55 〈}濟南府稟(光緒二十五年九月十九日)〉,收錄於《山東義和團案卷》,頁 13-14。只是盧昌詒雖然自己得了六人口供,承認隨李長水等打搶李金榜家,卻仍將六人釋放,看來是依照上級指示。

^{56 〈}濟南府稟(光緒二十五年十一月初一日到)〉,《山東義和團案卷》,頁 20-21。

命。初六日,茬城正東劉家莊教民兩家,王官屯教民三家,長清鄭家營教民三家,朱莊教民兩家,均被刀匪搶劫。初七日長清鄭家營教民七家,教堂一座,同遭匪火。 教外某姓家,因留藏教友,亦即殃及。十月初七日,茬平梁莊八家,王香爐莊兩家。初八日吳官屯八家,小張莊五家,八里莊四家,姚張莊十三家,均遭搶掠,二教民被殺。初九日,張官屯十六家,焦莊六家,馬家沙窩十四家,均被劫。茬平張莊洋式教堂,價逾萬金,頓成焦土。 教民三百餘,盡數逃出。57

官方報告中這些打搶事件都歸給朱紅燈,以及後來和他勾結的僧人本明和尚。不過在茌平張莊的回憶者,沒人提及當地神拳是由朱紅燈指揮,反而提到郝虎臣、于清水等人的名字。因此很有可能在平原、禹城、高唐、茌平等地,是各地的神拳搶掠燒殺當地及鄰近的教堂,朱紅燈率其徒眾遊行的範圍並不如官方檔案說得如此遙遠而迅速。

攻打茬平張莊這個大型教友點,是神拳與大刀會的聯合行動,也是主要的大行動,依據官方報告時在光緒二十五年十月十三日。按照口述材料有好幾股人,拳首分別是于清水、王立言及劉林。58 這幾個人有不同的背景,于清水是神拳的習練者,會武術。王立言不習練武術,但參與拳壇降神附體的活動,解釋乩語,是神拳的先生。劉林是張莊一帶的團頭,和大刀會有關係。但似乎劉林並未參與之後的神拳行動。

綜合下層官員檔案和口述材料,朱紅燈及其部眾在光緒二十五年十月上旬就到了博平縣的華岩寺。此地為一大市集,附近 又有教民可供勒索搶掠,在此情況下,朱紅燈是否參與了茌平張 莊的攻擊是很值得懷疑的。無論如何,當時在華岩的兩股神拳,

⁵⁷ 李杕,《拳禍記》下編,頁417-418。

⁵⁸ 路遙主編,《山東大學義和團調查資料匯編(下)》,頁 871、895、 920。

因分贓不均,在十月十五日自家人打了起來,朱紅燈一邊人少被 打走,朱紅燈也傷得不輕,被人揹著送到了茌平五里莊,躲著養 傷。不過他受傷的消息被官兵探子得知,十月十九日官兵夜裡逮 走了朱紅燈。十月二十一日官兵則在茌平楊莊抓到了本明和尚, 照口述材料當時他所率的神拳已散夥,本明孤身一人。59

同一時間高唐、茌平、齊河、恩縣等地,各股神拳仍在各自活動。十月二十六日王立言組織的神拳,攻打禹城韓莊,⁶⁰ 這是一個老教友點,與茬平張莊一樣,都是神拳主要攻擊之處,但並未攻下。十月底按察使吉燦升及高唐知州李恩祥,共同督軍攻擊聚集在李集及涸河的神拳,于清水、董元邦被捕。⁶¹ 這時王立言正在籌劃第二次攻擊禹城韓莊的行動。王立言在十一月十六日第二次攻打禹城韓莊,結果這次攻打因王立言受傷也迅速失敗,草草告終,王立言隨後被捕。⁶²

另一邊的毓賢仍在試圖編造故事,將影響縮至最小。光緒 二十五年十一月二十四日(1899年 12月 26日),毓賢再報告 平原事件之原因及經過,在他的報告中說:

⁵⁹ 同上,頁 890。在官方檔案中說當時楊家村西首的關帝廟裡有馬匪二十一名,步匪三百八十餘名未被驚動。

⁶⁰ 佐藤公彥著,宋軍、彭曦、何慈毅譯,《義和團的起源及其運動——中國民眾 Nationalism 的誕生》(北京:中國社會科學出版社,2007 年 4 月一版),頁 465。

⁶¹ 李集及涸河在高唐州城東邊約十七、十八公里,涸河在北,李集在南,兩地相距約二點五公里。董元邦在檔案中的口供說是被徐大香脅迫而來,本身不是神拳。但在 1960 年代的訪談中,當地的同鄉說他是神拳英雄。 路遙主編,《山東大學義和團調查資料匯編(下)》,頁 897-898。

⁶² 韓承良,〈義和拳與天主教會〉,《義和團運動與中國基督宗教》, 頁 497。有關第二次進攻的日期,是根據地方官報告。在口述訪談中,確 定有兩次進攻,由王立言主導,以及他日後逃回老家,在夾牆中被捕, 在濟南被斬首,只是被捕時間在臘月。路遙主編,《山東大學義和團調 查資料匯編(下)》,頁 894-895、1001。這些不同來源,大同小異的說 法,最有可信度。

據朱紅燈、心誠、于清水供稱,向習拳棒,均未為匪。心 誠即本明,早年出家為僧。……朱紅燈因平民屢被教民遇 事科罰不平,本年十月初間,適聞平原縣人李長水等被教 民李金榜等欺訛,起意糾允心誠、于清水,……各執洋鎗 刀械,逼脅人眾,齊至李金榜家滋鬧。

毓賢稱:森羅殿一役後,朱紅燈等人率領拳團逃至茌平縣,因被大張莊教民放槍攔捕,於是拒殺大張莊教民三人,放火燒燬了大張莊教堂。然後一行人在博平縣搶劫教民劉開太家,因有平民張萬春出面阻撓,於是他們用槍將張萬春扎傷,致其身死。然後又在高唐劫取生員陳玉振家衣物騾馬,又在禹城、長清等縣搶劫教民財物,放火擴人勒贖。毓賢總結朱紅燈等人,「膽敢糾脅人眾,搶劫各處教民財物,放火殺人,波及平民,復抗官拒捕,傷斃勇丁,實屬形同土匪,不法已極。」因此經審訊後,將朱紅燈、于清水、心誠等人,「綁赴市曹,即行正法,傳首犯事地方梟示,以昭炯戒。」63

在這份官方報告中,毓賢把各地自主的、有各自地緣關係的神拳及大刀會,集合在以朱紅燈為首的虛擬股匪之下,朱紅燈成了惡性最重大的匪首。然後在時代更替以後,新的意識型態將朱紅燈塑造成農民起義的英雄。在三個月神拳紛起狀態中,不算大型的平原杠子李莊事件,取代了拳團聯合對茬平張莊及禹城韓莊的攻擊,成了義和團運動的重要起始點。孰以致此?就是缺乏史料比對及分析的結果。

^{63 〈}山東巡撫毓賢摺(光緒二十五年十一月二十四)〉,故宮博物院明 清檔案 部編,《義和團檔案史料》,頁 41-42。

肆、史料比對分析後的結論

這是個人在二十餘年研究民教衝突後,在七八個「三種以上不同來源史料」的事件中,找到的三個顯例。由於史料的比對分析相當繁瑣,限於篇幅,無法再一一例舉。綜合這些案例可以發現一些共同結論,是在做過史料分析後可以獲致的。

一、清朝的官方文書相對較不可信。

經過史料比對後可以發現,南昌事件中江西巡撫沈葆楨的報告有許多虛假之處,所謂群眾打搶天主教,其實是劉于潯率領的「五局勇」,或是更大規模的「江軍」。在重慶事件中,四川總督駱秉章引用川東道吳鎬的報告,稱打天主教的是無知群眾,其實也是無稽之談,真正打教的是重慶當地士紳設局團練的局勇。1899年的神拳事件中,毓賢為了大事化小編造了朱紅燈的神拳領袖地位;在報告中所說的教民欺負平民,更是相反事實;甚至為了減少自己的責任,毓賢可以對神拳的起因及經過,用後面的報告,否認自己前面的說法。

官方文書不盡然全都不實,但部分的虛假不是偶發的個案,而是結構性的。這種結構性的虛假來自於中國方圓廣闊,天高皇帝遠,官場中習慣性的文過飾非。當眾多官員都在報告中掩飾自己的過錯時,甚而會形成習慣性的說法,例如造成禍亂的原因都是外來的:恩縣的縣令說神拳從平原來,平原的縣令說從恩縣來,而毓賢則說神拳源自江蘇的紅拳。同樣的以為直隸的義和團來自山東,也是受這種習慣性謊言的誤導。在南昌事件中也可以問:〈湖南闔省公檄〉真的是湖南傳來的嗎?

與教案有關的官方文書不實的另一個原因,由於這些奏章 的半公開性質,教會方及駐北京的外交使節經常很快的得知,撰 寫公文書者不想讓天主教一方得到事情的真相。但另一方面,地 方督撫與中央也還是要以公文傳遞訊息,若配合良好,在習於造 假的默契中,雙方會齊跳一場虛幻之舞,不明究裡者以為實情就 是如此,但看得懂的人,知道需要以另一種閱讀方式,看出表象 裡的實情。相比之下,傳教士所提供的訊息,除了主觀性及人性 的誇大外,總體而言,相較起來比官方文書真實多了。

二、眾多的事件需要重新敘述。

比較史料後可以得知,南昌事件中沈葆楨一定程度上參與了前後兩次驅趕傳教士的行動,但組織反教行動的主角是劉于潯。 〈湖南闔省公檄〉反映了官紳的反教心理,但並不是鼓動群眾打 教的主要理由,因為打教的並不是群眾,而是團練。另一方面的 傳教士,是在條約簽訂後,認為得到條約保護,希望可以在南昌 設立傳教中心公開傳教,然後發生打教事件。基本上在南昌的新 傳教工作尚未展開,在南昌城中及近郊的是人數有限的老教友上 群體,並沒有教民欺負平民的情況。上述數點是描述南昌事件的 新架構,在這架構中不平等條約是一個因素,但不是唯一的因素, 還要考慮當地的社會及文化狀態。

重慶事件與南昌事件類似,都是「入城事件」,但成都與重慶間官員的利益糾葛,由此連帶的重慶八省客長與二十三邑商民的利權爭奪,以及滿族大員與湘軍新貴的競爭,是打教的主因。重慶的老教友在該地社群已能被接受,川東主教范若瑟了解並利用這種人際關係。上述諸點是比較史料後,敘述重慶事件的新架構。1899年的神拳事件,可以架構為一個區域性的全面打教行動,神拳遍地大起,對於天主教的各教友點,不論其新舊,或是過往有無衝突,其實是無差別對待的。毓賢扮演的不是制止其發展的地方大員,而是暗中支持這類行動的影武者。

三、必須重新解釋民教衝突原因。

藉由檢視這些個案,可以發現因果關係也必須重新建立。因果關係其實沒那麼簡單,表面的或深層的,個別的或結構性的

因果關係,都是史學甚至哲學長期討論的題目。當我們在做因果 關係的分析時,由於資料的限制其實多少是主觀的,因此當然有 見人見智的空間,但在證據面前,分析史料重新敘述後,我們至 少可以得到一些初步的意見。

綜合這些事件,可以看到幾個發生衝突的原因。在南昌事件中,主要是沈葆楨及劉于潯代表的官方,不讓傳教士入城,因為他們認為這些傳教士代表外國勢力。〈湖南闔省公檄〉及〈撲滅異端邪教公啟〉雖然不是真的引發衝突的揭帖,但它可以代表官紳反教的另一個原因:認為天主教是不容於眾的異端邪教。重慶事件中,基本上傳教士入城建堂不是重點,但它成了省府整筋地方的工具,省府的滿官並不覺得傳教士所為不當,只是漢人官員對同樣的行為另有解讀。至於推動神拳大起的狀態,則是結合了民間宗教及拳壇而來的神拳,將這地區所有天主教點,視為威脅,必欲除之而後快。在這樣的狀態中,神拳自視為維護文化、保全社會的正統,而外來的天主教是破壞文化及社群關係的異端。

這三個事件基本上呈現了差不多所有 1860 至 1900 年間民教衝突的原因。1866 年耶穌會傳教士嘗試依條約,請中國官方歸還江寧(南京)教產,李鴻章為首的地方政府以各種理由推託,甚至說地方紳民不准,與南昌事件類似。1870 年天津教案同樣是以詆譭天主教的謠言及地方的群眾團體「水火會」引發事端,但作為配角的天津法領事豐大業(Henri Victor Fontanier),卻在官方報告中成了引發事端的主角。在 1899 年至 1900 年初義和團運動的局部期,眾多的區域型拳團攻擊教友點事件,在官方文書中變成了民教互毆。狂亂期在絕望中負隅頑抗的教友堡寨,被官員說成是洋人進攻中國的內應,或是北京主教樊國樑被形容為妖術邪教之首,類此種種才是中國發生民教衝突的主因。

以這些有足夠史料比對的事件來檢視,不管是費正清的刺激—反應論,或是中國歷史學者習慣的反帝愛國說都不適用。刺激—反應說要在相似的社會文化架構下才適用,兩個有相當大差

距的社會文化系統,則其反應模式不一定會符合另一個社會文化的預設,中國民間社會當時並非西方民族主義盛行的社會模式。 反帝愛國史觀同樣是在民族主義的預設下,想當然爾的解釋了這 從 1860 年以來的反教反洋現象。但在對許多個別事件進行考察 後,可以發現有的反教事件與外來的刺激沒有關係,除非廣義到 天主教本身就代表是外來的刺激。過去的歷史研究者,或受費正 清刺激—反應論的影響,或受民族史觀籠罩而不自覺,或必須言 必稱反帝愛國,或是賦予了檔案類史料優勢的地位,以致於曲解 了史料,將不一定存在的或次要的原因,視為主要且核心的原因。 本文僅以實證說明這樣的看法是錯的。

[Abstract] In the history of the Catholic Church in China, especially regarding the studies of conflicts between the Church and the society and of the Boxer Uprising during the 19th and 20th Centuries, there are often entirely different views over their causes. This paper attempts to examine the primary historical sources with examples of the Nanchang incident in 1862-63, the Chongqing incident in 1863, and the Shenquan ["spirit fists"] incident in Shandong in 1898 to show that different types of historical materials and the credibility of individual reporters could be tested after comparison. From this, one could reconstruct the events, creating different but more credible causal relationships. Through accumulating enough cases, one will be able to correct the "stimulus-response model" that was prevalent in the past discussions over those incidents and the Boxer Uprising; whereas, the "anti-imperialist patriotic history perspective" is a viewpoint that needs to be carefully reviewed and replaced with more realistic points of view.

約稿

為強化大中華地區和國際間對華人天主教團體的學術研究工作,雙語性質的《天主教研究學報》接受以中文或英文的投稿,並附以相對語文的摘要。《學報》偶爾或包括書評及本中心的活動簡訊。本刊每年出版一次,主要以電子方式發行。我們鼓勵讀者及作者以本刊作互動討論的平台,並歡迎對本刊批評及提出建議。

《天主教研究學報》以同儕匿名審稿方式選稿以維持一定的學術水準。本刊的性質大體屬於人文學科,以社會科學方法研究天主教與中國及華人社團,同時著重文本及實證考察的研究。本刊歡迎個別投稿及建議期刊專題。本刊下期專題為「靈修」。

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