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囊括道德领导力、社会创新和精神世界相互对照
的在线期刊

CONTEMPLATION-MISSION-MARTYRDOM

默觀 使命 殉道

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(Photograph by 摄影: Chan, Hin Io 陈显耀)

RECONNECTING TO CONTEMPLATION, MISSION AND MARTYRDOM DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

面对新冠肺炎大流行
重新认识默观、使命和殉道

STEPHAN ROTHLIN 罗世范

The pandemic of COVID-19 has provoked massive economic crises and left many people wondering how they may manage to survive. In the midst of such a situation of profound uncertainty we may recognise a unique opportunity to reconnect to key issues of life and death which all too often risk being dismissed as a pure waste of time by people obsessed with money and power. As we experience a massive collapse of economic growth we need to welcome this moment as a wake-up call for reflection on what really counts in our lives. Present experiences of stress and loneliness, as well as unprecedented outbursts of racist abuse and killings, have exposed a deep permafrost of social malaise, missed legal reforms and a pervasive loss of the spiritual dimension of life, even among believers who stick to a certain creed. The insights of the participants of the Symposium 2019 which marked the 20th anniversary of the Macau Ricci Institute form an excellent road map for a much needed spiritual journey that each one of us may undertake as the coronavirus puts an end to the easy escape of tourist travel. The Zen tradition describes the inner journey as an “ox path” as it does not hide the pains of a dreadful and bumpy road that leads to inner freedom. Coping with the pandemic may open a decisive new opportunity for each of us to wake up to our own unique “ox path” marked out by Contemplation, Mission and Martyrdom.

CONTEMPLATION

Buildings can be perceived as exclusively a matter of stone, steel and glass. However, they may also inspire a “contemplative break” or a “contemplative view” in midst of a stressful life. Chang He links architecture and the “informal space of contemplation.” In traditional Chinese cities, the collective memory is present within spiritual spaces such as ancestral halls and temples. Yet many sacred sites were demolished in the wave of urbanization and replaced by skyscrapers. The expanded city reflects the efficiency of civil engineering and the continuous progress of technology as hallmarks of modernization. However, the urban expansion also suffers from

a loss of the sense of belonging and the loss of a spiritual home in the city, witnessed by the fast disappearance of religious buildings in cities where people live in the shadows of skyscrapers. In his Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si'* on the “Care for Our Common Home” (2015, p. 86), Pope Francis highlights the need to protect those common areas, visual landmarks and urban landscapes that increase our sense of belonging, of rootedness, of “feeling at home” within a city which brings us together. The need for a spiritual home strongly resonates with a competition I conducted a few years ago with students of architecture from all over China on plans for a cancer hospital in Beijing. Several student groups strongly suggested the inclusion of chapels and sacred rooms in the cancer hospital in order to cater to the spiritual needs of the cancer patients and their relatives and friends.

Present experiences of stress, loneliness as well as unprecedented outbursts of racist abuse and killings, have exposed a deep permafrost of social malaise, missed legal reforms and a pervasive loss of the spiritual dimension of life, even among believers who stick to a certain creed.

This need of a sense of belonging and deep embeddedness in nature is echoed in the Psalms and their way of thanksgiving, as Wojciech Rybka explores the Biblical roots of the term *contemplation*. The coronavirus pandemic certainly offers a welcome chance to rediscover the richness of the Bible as a kind of home coming. In particular the 150 Psalms of the “Old” or “First” Testament offer us a key insight into the different stories of the “Book of Life.” However, Rybka also describes how missionaries in China used the Rosary in the process of spreading

新冠肺炎的全球流行引发了大规模经济危机，许多人希望找到得以继续生存的途径。这种极度不确定的局势或许给了我们一个独特的机会以重新思考有关生死的重要问题，而这往往被为金钱和权力所困扰的人们认为是纯粹的浪费时间。我们正经历着经济增长的严重崩溃，此时应该将其视作唤醒人们反思生活中真正重要内容的契机。人们当前承受的压力、孤独以及史无前例的种族主义肆虐和杀戮暴露出种种深层的社会弊病、法律改革的缺失以及在某些持有宗教信仰的人群中也存在的普遍的信仰缺失等问题。在标志着澳门利氏学社成立20周年的2019年研讨会上，与会者的见解为我们每个人都应实践的精神之旅提供了绝佳的路线图，而此时新冠病毒已经让通过普通的旅行轻松逃离现实变得不再可能。禅宗传统将内心的精神旅程称为“牛迹”，它没有回避通往内心自由的道路上所经历的种种可怕和颠簸。应对疾病的大流行可能成为我们每个人唤醒以默观、使命和殉道为标志的自己独特的“牛迹”的新机会。

默观

我们可以将建筑物看作是纯粹的石头、钢铁和玻璃。但是当人承受沉重的压力时，它们也能提供“默观式休憩”或者激发“默观的视角”。何昌（Chang He）将建筑与“非正式默观空间”联系起来。在以往传统的中国城市中，集体记忆存在于精神空间中，例如祖堂和庙宇。然而，许多神圣的场所在城市化浪潮中被拆除，并为摩天大楼所取代。扩张的城市反映了土木工程的效率和作为现代化标志的技术的不断进步。但是，城市扩张也造成归属感和城市精神家园的丧失以及城市中宗教建筑的迅速消失，人们则都生活在摩天大楼的阴影下。在《愿上主受赞颂——照顾我们共同的家园》的通谕（2015:86）中，教宗方济各强调保护那些共同区域、视觉地标和城市景观的重要性，这些区域、地标和城市景观会增加我们在城市中的归属感和“家的感觉”，这种感觉包容、接纳了我们，也让我们走到一起。这种对精神家园的需求让我想起几年前我主持的来自中国各地的建筑系学生就北京一家癌症医院的设计举行的一场竞赛。有几组学生都强烈建议在癌症医院中增加教堂和宗教用

的房间，以满足癌症患者及其亲友的精神需求。

伍兹切奇·雷布卡（Wojciech Rybka）探索了“默观”一词的在《圣经》中的渊源，指出这种归属感和融入自然的需求在赞美诗及其感恩方式中得到呼应。新冠病毒大流行无疑为重新发现《圣经》的丰富内容提供了一个很好的机会，这也是一种回归。《旧约》中的150首赞美诗尤其给了我们《生命册》“Book of Life”不同故事的重要见解。同时，雷布卡也记述了传教士如何使用念珠在中国传播基督信仰。从普通中国信徒的角度来看，诵念玫瑰经与他们所熟悉的佛教诵经有相似之处，即重复诵读某段经文或圣言。

人们当前承受的压力、孤独以及史无前例的种族主义肆虐和杀戮暴露出种种深层的社会弊病、法律改革的缺失以及在某些持有宗教信仰的人群中也存在的普遍的信仰缺失等问题。

王志远（Zhiyuan Wang）以耶稣会士的心灵视野探索了圣依纳爵灵性操练中一个至关重要的默观元素，它引导静修者响应万王之王耶稣的召唤，让每个人都加入他的劳作，与他一起完成救赎和解救的使命。正如王志远所特别提到的，奥斯卡·罗梅洛（Oscar Romero）主教于1980年3月在主持弥撒时被谋杀以及1989年11月在圣萨尔瓦多遇难的其他殉道者通过一种感人的方式履行了以真正的默观倾听人民的声音并成为仆人式领袖的愿望和承诺，同时为正义与和平而奋斗。

传播默观福音价值的一种特别有说服力的使命方法是上海的耶稣会士所发展的音乐和艺术教学法。大卫·乌罗斯（David Urrows）研究了法国耶稣会士弗朗索瓦·拉瓦里（François Ravary）的信件，拉瓦里因1856年在当时上海郊外的徐家汇“耶稣会士村”成立作坊而闻名，该作坊主要建造竹管风琴。乌罗斯为我们翻译的那封信描述了19

the Christian faith in China. From the point of view of the ordinary Chinese faithful, the outward appearances of praying the Rosary bore similarities to the Buddhist mantric practices they were familiar with, e.g. repetitive recitation of a given Sutra or a sacred text.

Within the horizon of Jesuit spirituality Pablo Juan Wang explores a crucial contemplative element of *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* which inspires the retreatant to answer the call of Jesus depicted as a King who calls each one to join him in his labours with the goal to join Him in His mission of salvation and liberation. As Wang highlights for us, Bishop Oscar Romero who was murdered in March 1980 while he was celebrating Mass and the other martyrs killed in November 1989 in San Salvador echo in a moving way this desire and commitment to become servant leaders through a genuinely contemplative listening to the voice of the people while they fight for justice and peace.

A particularly persuasive missionary method of fostering contemplative Gospel values was the development by the Jesuits in Shanghai of musical and artistic pedagogies. David Urrows is doing research on the letters of the French Jesuit François Ravary who is known for the workshop he established in 1856 at the *Zikawei* 'Jesuit village' outside Shanghai for the construction of bamboo pipe organs. The letter that Urrows translates for us here describes the killing of Father Luigi Massa by Taiping rebels in the context of the mission of the Jesuits in 19th century Shanghai. It suggests that even the most brutal killings can be transformed by the contemplative impact of music and art that makes the victory of the Risen Lord tangible.

Gerhold Becker analyses the role of contemplation in the life witness and theological reasoning of the German Jesuits Alfred Delp and Karl Rahner, both deeply involved in the personal experience of God, cultivated in the spirit of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises. Imprisoned in Berlin-Tegel prison by the Nazi regime, Alfred Delp on November 17, 1944 experienced most deeply that the world is full of God. Delp and Rahner thus point to the centre of Ignatian spirituality, which lies in the authentic experience of God

that enables the individual to bear and endure the ups and downs of life and give witness to the presence of God. The later writings of Rahner are particularly inspiring, as for example, when he explores the contemplative dimension of daily life such as walking.

MISSION

Facing the atrocity of the murders at the University of Central America in November 1989 Martin Maier asks: Why were the six Jesuits and the two women killed? The shortest answer can be read on the gravestone in the university chapel. Here the most important mission of the Society of Jesus in our present time is described in the words of the landmark Fourth Decree of the 32nd General Congregation which is the highest legislative body of the Jesuits: "What is it to be a Jesuit today? It is to engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes." This mission which integrates the struggle for faith and justice is always rooted in the profound experience of God, as the martyrs of El Salvador surely testified.

The experience of the encounter with God in midst of a murderous Nazi regime, as Dennis McCann points out, naturally fostered the ecumenical movement. Both Dietrich Bonhoeffer an evangelical pastor and Alfred Delp collaborated with members of the Kreisau circle seeking to construct a constitution for Germany once the Nazis were defeated, based on Christian social principles common to Catholics and Protestants. Mission in this context was defined as Christocentric responsibility as well as a concrete and personal response to God's calling as Vocation which admits of no distinction between religious and secular activities. In accepting his share of the guilt involved in the assassination plot against Adolf Hitler and acting with responsibility in it, Bonhoeffer's only concern was whether his action was truly the obedience that God demanded of him, in his life. Bonhoeffer joyfully surrendered his life, fully convinced that his obedience was true.

Antoine Ren further expands our

世纪上海耶稣会士使命期间，路易吉·马萨（Luigi Massa, S. J.）神父被太平天国叛军杀害的情形。它表明，即使是最残酷的杀戮也可以通过音乐和艺术的默观作用而改变，使耶稣的不朽精神清晰可见。

格霍尔德·贝克尔（Gerhold Becker）分析了默观在德国耶稣会士阿尔弗雷德·德尔普（Alfred Delp）和卡尔·拉纳（Karl Rahner）的现实见证和神学推理中的作用，他们两人都通过圣依纳爵灵性操练深刻地经历了与天主接触。纳粹政权将阿尔弗雷德·德尔普囚禁在柏林泰格尔监狱中。1944年11月17日，德尔普最深切地体验到了天主的无处不在。由此，德尔普和拉纳指出圣依纳爵的核心——即与天主接触的真实经历，它能使个人忍受人生沉浮并为天主的存在证言。拉纳后来的著作，例如探索行走等日常活动的默观作用，尤其具有启发性。

德国确立宪法。在这种情况下，传教的使命被定义为以基督为中心的责任，是对天主所召唤的天职的具体的和个人的回应，其承认在宗教活动和世俗活动之间没有区别。邦霍夫对他在暗杀阿道夫·希特勒计划中的罪行供认不讳并承担责任，他唯一关心的是他的举动是否真的是天主所要求他服从的。邦霍夫欣然地献出了自己的生命，完全相信他的服从是真实的。

面对宗教生活中的两难困境，安东·任（Antoine Ren）进一步扩大了我们对顺从的认识。在卡尔·拉纳的帮助下，他探索了当个人必须要服从的命令中出现两难困境时的情况，这些命令在客观属性上是错误的，甚至是邪恶的。在特定情况下，责任归咎于发出命令的上级。此时，很难说为什么和在什么意义上完成这一命令是天主的意志，尽管我们必须以某种方式相信它。

亚历山德罗·安德烈尼（Alessandro

对默观、使命和殉道内在联系的细致入微的探索不仅激起了将信任作为信仰主要方式的勇气，而且还表明信仰的宣示、争取正义的斗争和与其他本地智慧的沟通之间有着内在关联。

使命

面对1989年11月发生在中美洲大学的谋杀暴行，马丁·迈尔（Martin Maier）问道：为什么六名耶稣会士和两名女子被杀？最扼要的答案就在大学教堂的墓碑上。这里记述着耶稣会当今最重要的使命，即耶稣会最高立法机构第32届总会大会的第四号法令中所表述的：“今天成为一名耶稣会士意味着什么？意味着要按照十字架的标准加入我们这个时代至关重要的斗争——为信仰及其所包含的正义而进行的斗争”。萨尔瓦多的殉道者清楚地证明，这一为信仰和正义而斗争的使命始终植根于与天主接触的深刻经历。

正如丹尼斯·麦肯（Dennis McCann）所指出的，在嗜血的纳粹政权统治下，与天主相遇的经历自然地促进了教会合一运动。福音派牧师迪特里希·邦霍夫（Dietrich Bonhoeffer）和阿尔弗雷德·德尔普都与克莱稍团体的成员合作，寻求在纳粹被击败后根据天主教和新教共同的基督教社会原则为

Andreini）回忆起灾难性的第一次世界大战之后，教宗本笃十五世发出《夫至大》通谕（1919年），我们不难在其中看到“我的罪过”，即为教会未能使传教活动适应当地文化而道歉，尤其在中国和亚洲。当教宗方济各强调《夫至大》至高无上的重要性时，他主张教会与当地文化，尤其是他们的传统智慧进行对话。例如，教宗方济各和艾资哈尔·艾哈迈德·埃尔·塔耶布大伊玛目共同签署的《普世和平及人类兄弟情谊文录》不仅为宗教间对话提供了新见解，并且朝着共同的真理新领域迈进，其超越了宗教的分歧，确认了我们对人类尊严、和平与相互尊重、互惠与关怀的共同承诺。显然，这是另一个衡量我们是否在危机中吸取教训的试金石。

殉道

使命有其代价，即殉道，无论是用鲜血，还是仅仅只是忍受日常生活中令人不快的起起伏伏。在大卫·乌罗斯在描述1860年

awareness of the demands of obedience in the context of facing such dilemmas within religious life. With the help of Karl Rahner he explores the dilemma emerging from commands the subject

The blood of the martyrs is the seed of faith as in the example, recalled in David Urrows' piece describing how Luigi Massa was killed during the Taiping rebellion in 1860. Similarly, Joseph

The nuanced exploration of the intrinsic link between Contemplation, Mission and Martyrdom inspires therefore not only the courage to trust as a major act of faith but indicates also how the proclamation of faith is intrinsically linked with the struggle for Justice and with the outreach to other local wisdom traditions.

must obey which in the objective order are wrong or even evil. In given circumstances orders have been issued with real culpability on the part of the superior. In cases of this kind it is not easy to say why and in what sense the fulfilment of such an order could be the will of God, though we must trust that somehow it is.

As Alessandro Andreini recalls the Encyclical letter "*Maximum Illud*" (1919) that Pope Benedict XV issued after the catastrophe of the First World War, we can easily recognise the "*mea culpa*," apologizing for the Church's failure to adapt its missionary activities to the needs of local cultures, especially in China and Asia. When Pope Francis highlights the paramount importance of "*Maximum Illud*," he advocates a dialogue of the Church with local cultures especially with their wisdom traditions. The Document on "Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together" by Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmad Al-Tayyeb, for example, not only provides fresh insights on interreligious dialogue, but also advances toward a new frontier of shared truths that, beyond religious differences, affirm our common commitment to human dignity, peace and mutual respect, reciprocity and care. Clearly, this is another litmus test for measuring whether or not we learn our lessons in crises.

MARTYRDOM

Mission has its prize: martyrdom, no matter if it is paid for by blood or just by simply enduring the dreadful ups and downs of daily life.

Lee explores the exemplary life of "Watchman Nee", *Ni Tuosheng* 倪柝声 (1903–1972), and his eminent role in Chinese Protestant Christianity. When countries in East Asia developed into centralized nation-states, the secular governments often perceived Christianity as subversive and mobilized official resources to marginalize indigenous Christian communities. Watchman Nee, who founded an indigenous Protestant movement in the early 20th-century, was arrested in 1952 and died in a Chinese labour camp in 1972. His witness as a Christian martyr has had considerable influence beyond the boundaries of the communities he founded.

Another event which has had an impact well beyond Latin America happened on the evening of 15 November 1989 when the El Salvadoran army dispatched a special commando group to the José Simeón Cañas Central American University "UCA" run by the Jesuits. The soldiers dragged six Jesuit priests out of their apartment, forced them to lie face down in the grass and shot them at close range. Besides Ignacio Ellacuría, the rector of the university, those murdered were Segundo Montes, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Amando López, Juan Ramón Moreno and Joaquín López y López. The cook Elba Ramos and her daughter Celina were also executed because the soldiers had been ordered not to leave any witnesses of the massacre. Along with Bishop Oscar Romero the martyrs of El Salvador are truly servant leaders as their lives taught many people how to listen to the problems and sufferings of the oppressed, how to help them to analyse their social situation and

太平天国叛乱的那篇文章中提到的路易吉·马萨神父被害的例子中，殉道者的血是信仰的种子。李榭熙（Joseph Lee）研究了倪柝声（1903-1972）和他在中国基督教会中的杰出作用。随着东亚国家发展成为中央集权的民族国家，世俗政府常常将基督教视为颠覆力量，并动用国家资源边缘化本地基督教社团。倪柝声在20世纪初期创立了一个本地新教运动，他于1952年被捕，1972年在中国的一个劳改营中去世。作为基督教的殉道者，他在其所建立的社团之外也具有深远的影响。

另一个事件发生在1989年11月15日晚上，其影响范围远超出拉丁美洲。那晚，萨尔瓦多军队向耶稣会士组织的何塞·西蒙·坎纳斯中美洲大学派遣了一个特别行动队。士兵们将六名耶稣会士拖出他们的公寓，迫使他们面朝下躺在草地上，并近距离射击。除大学校长伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚（Ignacio Ellacuría）外，被射杀的还有塞贡多·蒙特斯（Segundo Montes）、伊格纳西奥·马丁-巴罗（Ignacio Martín-Baró）、阿曼多·洛佩兹（Amando López）、胡安·拉蒙·莫雷诺（Juan Ramón Moreno）和华金·洛佩兹·洛佩兹（Joaquín López y López）。由于士兵得到命令，不得留下任何屠杀行动的目击者，厨师厄尔巴·拉莫斯（Elba Ramos）和她的女儿赛莉娜（Celina）也遭屠杀。萨尔瓦多的殉道者们与奥斯卡·罗梅洛主教一道成为真正的仆人式领袖，因为他们的生命教会了很多人如何聆听被压迫者的问题和苦难，如何帮助他们分析自己的社会状况，最重要的是如何在争取正义与和平的斗争中找到具体的解决方案，特别是在土地改革和自我赋权方面。

奥斯卡·罗梅洛主教和耶稣会殉道者所体现的这种仆人式领导力体现了深刻的内在皈依。以罗梅洛主教为例，他在出任主教时被认为是一名过于谨慎和保守的神父，他与阿吉拉雷斯农村堂区的耶稣会士鲁蒂里奥·格兰德（Rutilio Grande）的友谊对他产生了深远的影响。当死亡行动队无情地杀害了格兰德神父时，罗梅洛主教深感震惊。罗梅洛越来越明确地意识到，正是在猖獗的腐败和权力滥用的背景下，为信仰的斗争才成为宣扬福音的决定性的因素。这种信仰的更新不可避免地激起了土地所有者和弄虚作假政党的仇恨和暴力。借用埃德蒙·埃（Ed-

mond Eh）所阐释的儒家精神修养的核心目标，我们可以认识到，罗梅洛受到他的朋友鲁蒂里奥·格兰德神父的启发，成为了真正的君子，即“道德高尚的人”。罗梅洛通过在日常事务中发现人性最深层的含义而逐渐意识到社会团结的深义。儒家的君子像进行灵性操练的耶稣会士一样相信人的天性，相信这是天赐的禀赋，甚至愿意为朋友而献出生命。

据此，马丁·迈尔介绍了中美洲大学的历史背景以及学校如何激发学生和教授选择加入争取信仰和正义的斗争，特别是迫切需要的土地改革。因此，1989年11月萨尔瓦多殉道者的鲜血体现的不仅是个人的牺牲奉献，也是天主教大学整个课程中包含的福音价值观的制度文化，即要求学生关心全社会的福祉。回想他们的经历，提醒人们牢记无数幸存者所面对的巨大苦难和问题。毁灭性的内战结束后，对十字架上基督的记忆成为了力量和勇气的源泉。罗梅洛主教抵制住了使用暴力的诱惑，他的生命和殉道以及那些在中美洲大学逝去的生命是鲜活的见证，要求教会事工必须关心饥饿者、无法接受教育者和那些权利被剥夺者。

在疾病流行和全球反对种族虐待大规模示威活动的当下，人们是否有独特的机会重新思考默观、使命和殉道这三个精神世界的核心维度呢？在许多人和团体为生存而挣扎之际，重塑相关的历史背景和天主教高等教育机构谋求更大社会利益的目标也成为当务之急。罗兰·雅克（Roland Jacques）证明了这一点。他回忆了1954年至1970年期间在老挝被游击队杀害的殉道者，到了2016年，教会希望通过为他们宣福以超越通常被认为是单方面的西方传统而遭摒弃的殉道概念，突出他们是信仰之“先贤”，以此作为信徒和非信徒间相互理解的基础。因此，“宣福”一词现在被用于将教会中最有功绩的人擢升为先贤以供教友铭记、尊崇和效仿。我们从雅克的叙述中了解到，在不同宗教间对话的背景下，教会也想承认佛教关于死亡的教义，以消除老挝人对死于暴力者的鄙夷态度。这样一来，教会就能摆脱先前可能招致新的迫害的被视为“国家敌人”或“革命敌人”的境地。

对默观、使命和殉道内在联系的细致入微的探索不仅激起了将信任作为信仰主要方式的勇气，而且还表明信仰的宣示、争取

most importantly how to find concrete solutions in their fight for justice and peace especially in the area of land reform and self-empowerment.

This type of servant leadership embodied in Bishop Oscar Romero and the Jesuit martyrs reflects a profound inner conversion. In the case of Bishop Romero, who was regarded as an overly cautious and conservative priest when he became bishop, his friendship with Father Rutilio Grande who served as a parish priest in the rural parish of Aguilares had a profound impact on him. When the death squads ruthlessly killed Father Grande, Bishop Romero was profoundly shocked. More and more it dawned on Romero that it was precisely the struggle for faith that had become a decisive factor in the process of proclaiming the Gospel, in a context of rampant corruption and abuse of power. Such a renewal of faith inevitably provoked the hatred and violence of the landowners and fraudulent political parties.

Adapting a central objective of Confucian spirituality as interpreted for us by Edmond Eh, we can recognize that Romero was inspired by his friend Father Rutilio Grande to become a 君子 *junzi*, “a morally refined person,” in the fullest sense. Romero came to realize the deeper meaning of social solidarity by discovering the most profound meaning of being human in the midst of the ordinary affairs of daily life. The Confucian *junzi*, like the Jesuit performing the Spiritual Exercises, trusts in human nature, which is an endowment from Heaven, and even to the point of risking his life for his friends.

Along these lines, Martin Maier shows how the profile of the University of Central America, “UCA”, was developed to inspire students and professors to opt for the struggle for faith and justice especially for the urgently needed land reform. The blood of the martyrs of El Salvador of November 1989 refers thus not just to personal sacrifices but also to an institutional culture of Gospel values embodied in the whole curriculum of a Catholic University, challenging students to care for the benefit of the whole society. Recalling their witness, the people will constantly be reminded of the enormous sufferings and problems of the countless left behind. The memory of the Crucified Christ

became a source of strength and courage of faith after the devastating civil war ended. While never giving in to the temptation to use violence, the lives and martyrdoms of Bishop Romero and those who died at UCA became a living witness to the demand that the ministry of the Church must concern itself for those who are hungry, for those who have no schools and those who are deprived.

In midst of the present pandemic, the massive demonstrations against racist abuse all over the world, is there any unique opportunity for reconnecting with the core spiritual dimensions of Contemplation, Mission and Martyrdom? As many people and groups just struggle to survive, the need to reshape the profile and aim of Catholic institutions of higher learning for the benefit of the larger society becomes increasingly more urgent.

As Roland Jacques demonstrates by recalling the process by which the martyrs killed by guerrillas in the period between 1954 and 1970 in Laos, in moving toward their beatification in 2016 the Church wanted to go beyond a notion of martyrdom which risked being rejected as one-sidedly Western, by putting the focus firmly on the notion of “ancestors” of the faith as a basis for mutual understanding between believers and non-believers. Therefore, the term “beatification” now was used to elevate the most meritorious members to the rank of ancestors for the community to remember, venerate and imitate. As we learn from Jacques’ account, the Church in the context of interreligious dialogue also wanted to make a point to acknowledge Buddhist teachings on the contemplation of death to overcome the deep-seated Laotian aversion toward those who have died a violent death. By doing so the Church went beyond the previous perception of being an “enemy of the nation” or “enemy of the revolution” which could have resulted in renewed persecution.

The nuanced exploration of the intrinsic link between Contemplation, Mission and Martyrdom inspires therefore not only the courage to trust as a major act of faith but indicates also how the proclamation of faith is intrinsically linked with the struggle for Justice

正义的斗争和与其他本地智慧的沟通之间有着内在关联。默观启发了如何真正在本地扎根，并且在寻求和解与和平时永不放弃信仰。



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Translated by 翻译: Zhou Shoujin 周守晋

and with the outreach to other local wisdom traditions. Contemplation inspires the process of faith genuinely taking root in local structures and never giving up while seeking reconciliation and peace.



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“CONTEMPLATIVUS IN ACTIONE IUSTITIAE” – THE TESTIMONY OF THE MURDERED JESUITS OF EL SALVADOR

“对行动正义性的思考” ——萨尔瓦多遇害耶稣会士的证言

MARTIN MAIER 马丁·迈尔

ABSTRACT

On the evening of 15 November 1989, the El Salvadoran army leadership gathered and decided to take out the alleged “heads” of the insurgency (cf. Doggett, 1993). A special commando group was sent to the José Simeón Cañas Central American University (UCA) run by the Jesuits. The soldiers dragged the priests out of their apartment, forced them to lie face down in the grass and shot them at close range. Besides Ignacio Ellacuría, the rector of the university, they were Segundo Montes, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Amando López, Juan Ramón Moreno and Joaquín López y López. The cook Elba Ramos and her daughter Celina had to die because the soldiers had been ordered not to leave any witnesses of the massacre.

Why were the six Jesuits and the two women killed? The shortest answer can be read on the gravestone in the university chapel. Here the most important mission of the Jesuit community in our present time is described, as it had been formulated by the 32nd General Congregation in 1975: “What is it to be a Jesuit today? It is to

摘要

1989年11月15日夜，萨尔瓦多军队领导层会议讨论后决定清除所谓的叛乱“首领”（参见Doggett, 1993）。一支特别突击队被派往耶稣会管理的何塞·西梅翁·卡尼亚斯中美洲大学。士兵们将教士拖出公寓，迫使他们面朝下躺在草地上并近距离射击。除大学校长伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚（Ignacio Ellacuría），被射杀的还有塞贡多·蒙特斯（Segundo Montes）、伊格纳西奥·马丁-巴罗（Ignacio Martín-Baró）、阿曼多·洛佩兹（Amando López）、胡安·拉蒙·莫雷诺（Juan Ramón Moreno）和华金·洛佩兹·洛佩兹（Joaquín López y López）。由于士兵得到命令，不得留下任何屠杀行动的目击者，厨师厄尔巴·拉莫斯（Elba Ramos）和她的女儿赛莉娜（Celina）也遭杀害。

为什么这六名耶稣会士和两名妇女惨遭杀害？最简单的答案可以在位于大学教堂的墓碑上找到。上面记述了耶稣会在当今世界最重要的使命，即1975年第32届耶稣会总会大会文件中所表述的：“今天成为一名耶稣会士意味着什么？意味着要按照十字架的

engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes.” (General Congregation 32: 1975) With this basic directive the Jesuits wanted to respond to worldwide injustice as the most urgent challenge in our times. Prophetically, however, the General Congregation also predicted: “We will not work for justice without paying a price.” This sentence is also engraved on the tomb slab.

The purpose of this paper is to serve as a memorial to the Jesuit martyrs of El Salvador, so that we may be challenged to deepen our understanding of martyrdom and its significance for overcoming our massive indifference to the sufferings of the poor and the marginalized throughout the world.

THE CASE OF THE JESUITS

The Jesuit murders became a political issue of the first order. At first the army and the government tried to blame the guerrillas for the crime. But this edifice of lies quickly collapsed. For the first time the army was on the defensive. A Salvadoran officer once said that during the years of war against the guerrillas nothing had harmed the army as much as these murders ordered by the army itself. Last but not least, it was the moral indignation at this crime in US public opinion that finally contributed to a change in the US government’s El Salvador policy¹.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, peace negotiations began in April 1990. The Peruvian Alvaro de Soto led these negotiations as representative of the then UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. Looking back he emphasized the key importance of the Jesuit murders for the negotiations: “The Jesuits had to lose their lives to cause the moral indignation that kept the Salvadoran forces on the defensive and forced them to make concessions at the negotiating table, without which lasting peace probably would not have been achieved. The

investigation of the murders and the negotiation process were interwoven like a fugue worthy of Bach; it seemed inspired by heaven” (de Soto, 1998). These negotiations led to a comprehensive peace treaty signed in January 1992, but little of which was subsequently implemented.

In September 1991, there was a trial in San Salvador in which, for the first time in the country’s history, eight soldiers and officers sat in the dock. However, only two of them were convicted, and in the Spring of 1993 they were released as part of a general amnesty. Although it is now clear that the entire army leadership was involved in the planning of the massacre, the crime has not yet been solved. After all efforts to reopen the trial in El Salvador had failed, the Spanish human rights organization APDHE and the Centre for Justice and Accountability (CJA) handed the case to the National Court in Madrid in November 2008. Judge Eloy Velasco took up the case, based on the universal jurisdiction that exists under the International Criminal Code when crimes against humanity are involved (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Moreover, five of the six murdered Jesuits came from Spain.

In El Salvador, justice and reparations remain to be seen. But the Salvadoran people have their own forms of remembrance. Resettlements of refugees after the civil war were named after the murdered Jesuits. Their pictures can be found in many churches and huts. Where they were murdered, roses bloom today. Their grave in the university church, like the rose garden cultivated in their memory, became a place of pilgrimage. Every year on the night of their anniversary in November thousands gather on the campus of the university. They sing, pray and celebrate their martyrs.

SCIENCE AT THE SERVICE OF THE POOR

The best known of the six murdered Jesuits was Ignacio Ellacuría,² who was born on 9 November 1930 in Portugalete in the Basque Country. In 1947 he entered the novitiate of the Jesuits in Loyola and in 1948 he was sent to the

1 For an investigative report on the Jesuit murders and allegations regarding the US government’s involvement in them, as well as subsequent changes in US policy toward El Salvador, see Morley (July 18, 1993).

2 For a basic outline of Ellacuría’s biography, see Aguilar, 2015.

标准加入我们这个时代至关重要的斗争——为信仰及其所包含的正义而进行的斗争”（第32届总会，1975）。在这一基本要求下，耶稣会士希望对世界范围内的不公正这一时代最紧迫的挑战作出回应。但是，总会大会也预见到：“我们将为正义付出代价”。这句话亦被刻在了墓碑之上。

本文旨在纪念萨尔瓦多的耶稣会烈士，以使我们加深对殉道的理解，并且面对全世界贫苦和被边缘化的人们所受到的冷漠，进一步认识殉道在此中的意义。

耶稣会士案

耶稣会士被害案成了首要的政治问题。起初，军队和政府试图将罪行归咎于游击武装，但是这个弥天大谎很快就被彻底戳穿。军队第一次站到了被动防御的位置。一名萨尔瓦多军官曾说，在与游击队多年的战争中，没有什么比军队下令进行的这场谋杀对军队造成的伤害更大。此外，美国公众舆论对这一罪行的道义愤慨最终促成了美国政府萨尔瓦多政策的改变。¹

在联合国的主持下，和平谈判于1990年4月启动。秘鲁的阿尔瓦罗·德索托（Alvaro de Soto）代表当时的联合国秘书长哈维尔·佩雷斯·德·库埃拉（Javier Pérez de Cuéllar）主持谈判。德索托在回忆当年的情况时，强调了耶稣会士被害案对谈判的关键意义：“正是耶稣会士的被害引起了人们道德上的愤慨，这使萨尔瓦多军队陷入被动，并迫使他们在谈判桌上作出让步。如果没有这起谋杀案，长久的和平可能无法达成。对谋杀案的调查和谈判过程就像巴赫的赋格曲那样交织在一起，似乎是上天的安排”（de Soto, 1998）。这些谈判促成了1992年1月全面和平条约的签署，但之后条约几乎没有得到执行。

1991年9月，在圣萨尔瓦多进行了一次审判，这是该国历史上第一次有八名士兵和军官坐在被告席上。然而，其中只有两名被判有罪，并于1993年春季的大赦中被释放。尽管现在很清楚，整个军队的领导层都参与了大屠杀的计划，但正义仍未得以声张。继在萨尔瓦多重新开庭的一切努力均告

失败之后，西班牙人权组织APDHE和司法与问责中心于2008年11月将该案提交至马德里的国家法院。埃洛伊·贝拉斯科法官（Eloy Velasco）根据涉及反人类罪的《国际刑法典》规定的普遍管辖权原则受理了该案（人权观察，2009）。受理的理由还包括，六名被谋杀的耶稣会士中有五名来自西班牙。

在萨尔瓦多，司法审判和赔偿程序尚未启动，但是萨尔瓦多人民有自己的纪念方式。内战后的难民安置以被害的耶稣会士的名字命名。许多教堂和小木屋中有他们的照片。他们的殉难处如今盛开着玫瑰。他们在大学教堂里的陵寝，与为怀念他们而开辟的玫瑰园一样，成为朝圣之地。每年11月的周年纪念之夜，数千人聚集在大学校园内，为这些殉道士吟诵、祈祷、祝福。

科学服务于穷人

六名被谋杀的耶稣会士中最著名的是伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚（Ignacio Ellacuría）。²他1930年11月9日出生于巴斯克地区的波图加莱特。1947年，他进入罗耀拉的耶稣会教士见习中心，并于1948年被派往在萨尔瓦多圣塔克拉新设立的中美洲教士见习中心。1949年至1955年，他在厄瓜多尔首都基多学习古典语言和哲学，随后在圣萨尔瓦多的教区神学院教授了三年哲学。1958年到1962年期间，埃拉库里亚在因斯布鲁克学习神学。在回顾过去时，他特别强调了卡尔·拉纳（Karl Rahner S. J.）主持的讲座和研讨会对他神学领域造诣的重要作用（参见Maier, 2004）。1962年6月26日，保罗·鲁斯（Paulus Rusch）主教任命他为神父。1962年，他开始在马德里康普顿斯大学攻读哲学博士学位，撰写了关于巴斯克哲学家泽维尔·祖比里（Xavier Zubiri）的论文。

1967年，埃拉库里亚返回萨尔瓦多，并开始在三年前由耶稣会士建立的何塞·西梅翁·卡尼亚斯中美洲大学教授哲学。1974年，他与乔恩·索布里诺（Jon Sobrino）一起创立了神学反思中心，该中心之后成为神学系的罗梅洛中心。1976年，埃拉库里亚接管了《中美洲研究》杂志，使之成为涉及萨尔瓦多政治、社会、经济和文化问题的最重

1 有关耶稣会士被害案的调查报告和有关美国政府参与其中的指控，以及随后美国对萨尔瓦多政策的变化，请参阅Morley（1993年7月18日）。

2 有关埃拉库里亚生平的基本概述，请参阅Agui-lar（2015年）。

newly founded Central American novitiate in Santa Tecla in El Salvador. From 1949 to 1955 he studied classical languages and philosophy in Quito, the capital of Ecuador. He then spent three years teaching philosophy at the Interdiocesan Seminary in San Salvador. From 1958 to 1962 Ellacuría studied theology in Innsbruck. Looking back, he particularly emphasized the importance of the lectures and seminars of Karl Rahner S.J. for his own theological development (cf. Maier, 2004). On 26 June 1962 he was ordained a priest by Bishop Paulus Rusch. In 1962 he began a philosophical doctorate at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid and wrote a thesis on the Basque philosopher Xavier Zubiri.

In 1967 Ellacuría returned to El Salvador and began to teach philosophy at the Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas (UCA), founded three years earlier by the Jesuits. In 1974 together with Jon Sobrino he founded the *Centro de Reflexión Teológica*, which later became the *Centro Monseñor Romero* within the Faculty of Theology. In 1976 Ellacuría took over the management of the magazine *Estudios Centroamericanos* (ECA), which became the most important magazine of the country about political, social, economic and cultural questions. In 1979 he became rector of the UCA, making it his life's work to implement the Church's option

In El Salvador, justice and reparations remain to be seen. But the Salvadoran people have their own forms of remembrance.... Where they were murdered, roses bloom today. Their grave in the university church, like the rose garden cultivated in their memory, became a place of pilgrimage.

for the poor³ in a scientific-academic way.

Ellacuría had come to the conviction that in the midst of the misery of the majority of the Salvadoran population crying out to heaven, science could not be done for the sake of science. The Central American University, as a university, was to advocate social reforms with the aim of a fairer social order. The university should become the voice of the voiceless. But it became more and more the target of the rich and the powerful.

Between 1976 and 1989, 16 bomb attacks were carried out against the university. Four times the printing house of the university was blown up in ruins. Here the books of the university's own publishing house and eight magazines are printed. Ellacuría quoted a Spanish poet, Blas de Otero, who, under the censorship of the Franco dictatorship, said: "They don't let people see what I write because I write what I see" (Galeano, 1997, p. 265).

The UCA was to be different from other Latin American higher education institutions financed by the rich upper class, where only the sons and daughters of the oligarchies received their education. It should not be an island of supposedly pure knowledge, like the palaces of the rich, islands of prosperity, delimited by walls to the outside, in a sea of social misery. A university so enclosed in an ivory tower inevitably contributes to the consolidation of unjust social structures. The UCA, as a university, should work for social change towards a more just social order.

In all this, Ignacio Ellacuría never left any doubt that the university must be a place of intellectuality and methodically developed rationality. He pointedly formulated it in various ways, arguing that a university that wants to

3 The Vatican's *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (2004) links the "option for the poor" with a basic principle of Catholic Social Teaching, namely, "the universal destination of goods" (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2004, pars. 181-184). Given the inequities apparent in the distribution of material resources, including access to all the things necessary for human beings to live securely with one another, this principle asserts that such a situation is unacceptable and contrary to the will of God. The preferential option for the poor is a practical response to this principle, mandating that care for the needs of the poor and vulnerable is a top priority in our dealings with one another, a hallmark of basic justice. The preferential option for the poor, as the *Compendium* explains, has deep roots in the Bible, as well as the traditions of Catholic moral theology.

要的杂志。1979年，他成为中美洲大学的校长，毕生致力于通过科学和学术的方式实现梵蒂冈教廷提出的“优先选择穷人”³。

埃拉库里亚坚信，在萨尔瓦多大多数人正遭受苦难呼唤来自天国的解救之时，不能单纯地为了科学而开展科学研究；中美洲大学作为一所大学，旨在倡导社会改革，以期建立更公平的社会秩序；大学应该为被压迫的无声者发声。但是这就使它却日渐成为富人和权势阶层攻击的目标。

1976年至1989年期间，中美洲大学遭遇了16次炸弹袭击。负责出版书籍和八份杂志的大学出版社印刷厂四度被炸毁。埃拉库里亚引用了西班牙诗人布拉斯·德·奥特罗（Blas de Otero）在面对弗朗哥独裁政权的审查制度时所说的：“他们不让人们看到我写的东西，因为我写了我看到的东西”（Galeano, 1997:265）。

在萨尔瓦多，司法审判和赔偿程序尚未启动，但是萨尔瓦多人民有自己的纪念方式……他们的殉难处如今盛开着玫瑰。他们在大学教堂里的陵寝，与为怀念他们而开辟的玫瑰园一样，成为朝圣之地。

中美洲大学与富裕的上层阶级资助的其他拉丁美洲高等教育机构不同，后者只接收政经界寡头的子女入学。中美洲大学不应是一个所谓的纯知识的孤岛，就像用高墙与周围一片现实苦海分割开的富人的宫殿或富庶的岛屿那样。象牙塔内的大学只能造成不公正社会结构的进一步固化。作为一所大学，中美洲大学应该为实现更加公正的社会

秩序而推动社会变革。

因此，伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚毫不怀疑，大学必须是一个由知识和进步理性建构而成的胜地。他以不同方式明确指出了这一点：“一所旨在改变社会的大学需要的不是更少，而是更多的科学严谨性。”1989年1月在马德里科米拉斯大学的一次演讲中，他谈到了萨尔瓦多学生，那些学生曾自豪地告诉他，在美国副总统访问期间他们向他扔了鸡蛋。埃拉库里亚告诉他们不要扔鸡蛋，而应该抛出统计数据。换句话说，在埃拉库里亚看来，中美洲大学的科学家必须把精力花在研究上，但不是故纸堆式的研究。他们的科学研究工作必须基于国家的现实，并旨在改变它。

与其他任何大学一样，除研究工作上，教学在中美洲大学占据核心地位。如今，大学拥有9000多名学生和超过300位老师。教学的目的是将学生塑造成社会变革的参与者。除了让学生获取专业资质，学校还教授他们道德和基督教价值观。“优先选择穷人”既是以知识为导向的前提，也是他们科学工作的实践目标。这里再次引用埃拉库里亚的话：“大学必须在知识上成为穷人的代表，这样才能为那些无法获得科学知识的人服务，成为那些无法接受教育、被压迫的沉默者的声音。……由于这项工作，我们受到了严酷的迫害……正是因为我们的大学近年来经历了萨尔瓦多人民遭受的苦难和死亡，它才能完成其大学使命，并使其基督教的精神特征变得不那么模糊。在一个充满谬误、不公正和压迫统治的世界，为真理、正义和自由而战的大学必然是一所受迫害的大学”（Ellacuría, 1999:226f）。

萨尔瓦多国内为正义的持续斗争

埃拉库里亚对大学的愿景与1968年麦德林会议上通过的拉丁美洲主教会议声明相一致。为使梵蒂冈第二届大公会议的法令适用于拉丁美洲的情况，这些主教承认拉美次大陆上众多呼唤天国的人们所遭受的苦难是教会面对的确切挑战。为了回应人们的呼声，他们提出了“优先选择穷人”，以提振教会在拉丁美洲复兴信仰和正义的承诺。拉丁美洲主教会议的这项工作还受到了一种新兴神学的启发，即解放神学。解放神学在信仰和正义间建立起新的关系。天主教徒的救赎不再只是死后之事，也是现时和现地之事。

3 梵蒂冈的《教会社会学说纲要》（2004年）将“优先选择穷人”与天主教社会教义的基本原则（即“众善的普世归宿”）联系起来（教廷正义和平委员会，2004年，第181-184节）。鉴于物质资源分配存在明显的不平等，包括无法平等地获得人与人之间安全生活所需的一切东西，这一原则认为这种情况是不可接受的，也是与天主的旨意背道而驰的。优先选择穷人是这一原则在现实中的应用，它要求将顾及穷人和弱势群体的需要作为我们彼此相处时的头等大事，这是基本正义的标志。正如《纲要》中所解释的那样，穷人的优先选择根植于《圣经》和天主教的道德神学传统。

have a changing effect on society does not need less, but more scientific rigour. In a lecture at Comillas University in Madrid in January 1989, he spoke of Salvadoran students who proudly told him they had thrown eggs during a visit by the Vice President of the United States. He told them not to throw eggs, but statistics. In other words, according to Ellacuría, the UCA scientist must work at his desk, but not from his desk. His scientific work must be based on the reality of the country and aimed at changing it.

As in any other university, teaching plays a central role for the UCA alongside research. Today it has more than 9000 students and more

THE ONGOING STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN EL SALVADOR

Ellacuría's vision of the university was consistent with the declarations issued by the Latin American Bishops' Conference (CELAM) approved at their meeting in Medellín 1968. In their effort to adapt the Second Vatican Council's decrees to the situation of Latin America the bishops recognized as the decisive challenge for the Church the misery of the great majority of the people living on the subcontinent crying out to heaven. They responded to their cry by formulating the "preferential option for the

"If our university had not suffered in recent years from the suffering and death of the Salvadoran people, it would not have fulfilled its university mission and made even less of its Christian orientation visible. In a world where falsehood, injustice and repression rule, a university that fights for truth, justice and freedom can be nothing but a persecuted university" (Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J.)

than 300 teachers. The aim is to shape the students into actors of social change. In addition to professional qualifications, the aim is also to teach them ethical and Christian values. The option for the poor is both the knowledge guiding premise and the practical objective of their scientific work. Once again, in the words of Ellacuría:

"The university must incarnate intellectually with the poor in order to be the science of those who have no access to science, the educated voice of those who have no voice. ... Because of this work we were persecuted hard. ... If our university had not suffered in recent years from the suffering and death of the Salvadoran people, it would not have fulfilled its university mission and made even less of its Christian orientation visible. In a world where falsehood, injustice and repression rule, a university that fights for truth, justice and freedom can be nothing but a persecuted university" (Ellacuría 1999, p. 226f).

poor," to galvanize the Church's commitment to a renewal of faith and justice in Latin America. CELAM's work was also inspired by a rising new theology: the theology of liberation. In this perspective faith and justice were brought into a new relationship with each other. Christian salvation was no longer only a matter for the hereafter, but also for the here and now.

For centuries the church in Latin America - apart from a few praiseworthy exceptions - had stood in an alliance with the powerful and the rich. With the documents of Medellín this alliance was dissolved, alarming certain circles in both the Latin American oligarchies and the United States government. In El Salvador the struggle for justice was intensified. The smallest country of Latin America combines all the beauty but also all the tensions and contradictions of the continent. Traditionally, El Salvador was an agricultural country with coffee, cotton and sugar cane as its main exports. It was ruled by the proverbial "14 families." In 1932 the army crushed a bloody uprising of the peasants and agricultural workers:

几个世纪以来，除少数值得称赞的特别情况外，拉丁美洲的教会一直与权势阶层和富人结盟。随着麦德林文件的发布，这种联盟被解散，同时令拉美寡头和美国政府的某些圈子提高了警觉。在萨尔瓦多，争取正义的斗争更加激烈。这个拉丁美洲最小的国家既融合了这片大陆所有的美，也汇聚了这片大陆所有的紧张和矛盾关系。萨尔瓦多传统上是一个农业国，主要出口咖啡、棉花和甘蔗。它由众所周知的“14个家族”统治。1932年，军队镇压了农民和农业工人的流血起义，几周内30000人在这场声名狼藉的“Matanza”（屠杀）⁴中死亡。直到1979年，该国一直在军事独裁统治之下，操控着虚假的“民主”过渡政府。随着1960年代工业化突飞猛进，工会、改革派反对党和学生组织陆续成立以推动土地改革和社会变革。

了他最亲密的顾问（参见Maier, 2016）。

然而，今天的萨尔瓦多又是如何呢？即使和平条约签署至今已经27年，问题仍未解决。从内战到真正的和平，从数十年的军事独裁到民主，从极端的社会两极分化到民族和解，这个国家仍然处于艰难而脆弱的转型过程中。

追忆的矛盾性

纳匝肋人人耶稣以犀利的口吻清晰地表明了文士和法利赛人竖立的纪念碑的矛盾性：“你们建造先知的坟，修饰仁慈者的纪念碑，说：‘若是我们在我们先人的时候，必不和他们犯同样的罪’。这就是你们自己证明是杀害先知的子孙了”（玛窦福音23：29-31）。对中美洲大学被害耶

“正是因为我们的大学近年来经历了萨尔瓦多人民遭受的苦难和死亡，它才能完成其大学使命，并使其基督教的精神特征变得不那么模糊。在一个充满谬误、不公正和压迫统治的世界，为真理、正义和自由而战的大学必然是一所受迫害的大学”
(Ignacio Ellacuría, S. J.)

由于持续的政治斗争，70和80年代在萨尔瓦多爆发了对教会同工和领导人的暴力迫害。成千上万虔诚的天主教徒、十八位神父、四位修女和奥斯卡·罗梅洛（Oscar Romero）大主教遭到杀害。1977年，耶稣会神父鲁蒂略·格兰德（Rutilio Grande）成为第一位遇害的神父，同时遇害的还有他的两名助手。当时三人主持的弥撒仪式已接近尾声，格兰德神父向阿吉拉雷斯的村民颂读福音的自由讯息。他经常在讲道中说：“天主不是躺在天堂高高的吊床上，他就在我们中间。”鲁蒂略·格兰德的被害对奥斯卡·罗梅洛大主教从一个顾虑重重和不愿表达政治立场的教士转变为富有预见性的穷人权益的捍卫者具有决定性作用（参见Maier, 2015）。罗梅洛主教对耶稣会士的态度也体现了这一变化。虽然他以前与他们保持着相当的距离，但在他担任大主教的三年期间，伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚和乔恩·索布里诺成为

耶稣会士的纪念应该激发我们在当今世界的全球背景下重新审视正义问题。这是一个克服“冷漠全球化”的问题，教宗方济各在地中海被淹死难民问题上谴责了这种冷漠（Brockhaus, 2019）。方济各教宗的评论与伟大的犹太作家埃利·维塞尔（Elie Wiesel）在一次演讲中的言论相呼应：“我一直认为，爱的对立面不是仇恨，而是冷漠。信仰的对立面不是自大，而是冷漠。希望的对立面不是绝望，而是冷漠。冷漠不是过程的开始，而是过程的结束”（Elie Wiesel, 1986）。我们对殉道者遗产的思考并非仅仅为了纪念。只有当对受害者的记忆使我们能够敏锐知悉人们当下的苦难并带来改变不公正结构的行动，这种记忆才能成为真正的记忆。



马丁·迈尔，比利时耶稣会欧盟社会研究中心秘书长

⁴ 有关萨尔瓦多对抗不公正寡头政治的斗争以及1932年大屠杀意义的历史记载，请参阅Lindo-Fuentes等（2007年）。

Translated by 翻译: Zhou Shoujin 周守晋

in the infamous “*Matanza*”(slaughter)⁴ there were 30,000 deaths within a few weeks. Until 1979, the country was ruled by military dictatorships that built a makeshift democratic facade. In the wake of a surge in industrialization in the 1960s, trade unions, reformist opposition parties and student organizations were formed to push for land reform and social change.

In connection with the ongoing political struggle, a violent persecution of church workers and leaders broke out in El Salvador in the 1970s and 80s. Thousands of committed Christians, 18 priests, four nuns and Archbishop Oscar Romero fell victim to it. The first priest to be murdered together with two companions was the Jesuit Father Rutilio Grande in 1977. The process of beatification for the three is nearing completion. Grande had learned to read the Gospel as a liberating message with the people in the farming village of Aguilares. He often said in his sermons: “God does not lie in a hammock high up in heaven, but he is among us.” Rutilio Grande’s murder was decisive in transforming Archbishop Oscar Romero from a rather fearful and apolitical churchman to a prophetic defender of the poor (cf. Maier, 2015). This change also manifested itself in Bishop Romero’s attitude towards the Jesuits. While he had previously kept a critical distance from them, Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino became his closest advisors during his three years as archbishop (cf. Maier, 2016).

But what does El Salvador look like today? Even 27 years after the signing of the peace treaty, the country’s problems are still far from being solved. It is still in a difficult and fragile process of transition from civil war to real peace, from decades of military dictatorships to democracy, from extreme social polarization to national reconciliation.

THE AMBIVALENCE OF REMEMBRANCE

Jesus of Nazareth articulated the ambivalence of monuments erected by scribes and Pharisees in polemical sharpness: “You build the

tombs of the prophets and adorn the monuments of the righteous, saying: If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have been guilty of the death of the prophets as they were. With this you yourselves confirm that you are the sons of the murderers of the prophets” (Mt 23:29-31). The remembrance of the murdered Jesuits of the UCA should inspire us to re-examine the question of justice in the global context of our world today. It is a question of overcoming the “globalization of indifference” which Pope Francis denounced in the face of the fate of the refugees drowned in the Mediterranean (Brockhaus, 2019). Pope Francis’ comment resonates with what the great Jewish writer, Elie Wiesel, said in a speech: “I have always believed that the opposite of love is not hatred, but indifference. The opposite of faith is not arrogance, but indifference. The opposite of hope is not despair, it is indifference. Indifference is not the beginning of a process, it is the end of a process” (Elie Wiesel, 1986). Our contemplation of the martyrs’ legacies is not for the sake of mere remembrance. The memory of the victims becomes real memory if it makes us sensitive to the present suffering of people and if it gives rise to a practice which transforms the structures of injustice.



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⁴ For an historic account of El Salvador’s struggle over the injustices of its oligarchy, and the significance of the massacre of 1932, see Lindo-Fuentes, et. al. (2007).

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ROMERO, JESUIT MARTYRS IN EL SALVADOR, AND POPE FRANCIS IN THE MISSION OF PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

罗梅洛、萨尔瓦多耶稣会殉道者和教宗方济各 推动和平与和解的使命

PABLO JUAN WANG 帕布罗·王隽

ABSTRACT

On March 24, 1980, Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Archbishop of San Salvador in El Salvador, was killed while celebrating Mass. On Nov 16, 1989, a unit of soldiers machine-gunned six Jesuits at the Central American University in San Salvador. Romero and the six Jesuits were murdered because they spoke out against injustice towards the poor and promoted non-violent national peace negotiations. Carrying Christ's mission, they even offered their own lives.

In recent decades, the Chinese government has been stricter with churches in China. O'Connell (2018) reported that, in a historic breakthrough, on September 22, 2018 in Beijing, the Holy See signed a "provisional agreement" with China on the appointment of bishops, to foster peace and reconciliation for the Chinese Catholic church. As a human person, a moral leader and a Christian, one must ask oneself: What is God's mission and my role in it? Inspired by the martyrs and Pope Francis, how can one carry out the mission of promoting peace and reconciliation?

摘要

1980年3月24日，萨尔瓦多首都圣萨尔瓦多的大主教奥斯卡·阿努弗罗·罗梅洛（Oscar Arnulfo Romero）在主持弥撒时被杀害。1989年11月16日，一队士兵在圣萨尔瓦多中美洲大学用机枪射杀了六名耶稣会士。罗梅洛和六名耶稣会士的被害是因为他们反对穷人遭受的不公正待遇，并推动非暴力的国家和平谈判。他们是在履行基督的使命，直至献出了自己的生命。

近几十年来，中国政府对中国教会的控制更加严格。据奥康奈尔（O'Connell）2018年的报道，2018年9月22日，罗马教廷在北京与中国政府签署了关于主教任命的“临时协议”，这是一个历史性的突破，有助于实现与中国官方天主教会的和平与和解。作为一个人、一个道德领袖和一个基督徒，我们必须问自己：天主的使命是什么？我在其中的角色是什么？在殉道者和教宗方济各的启示下，如何履行推动和平与和解的使命？



ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO

Following the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the Latin American church, especially the church in El Salvador, was bitterly divided between those who favored a traditional ecclesial model and those who preferred a model centered on the church's "option for the poor". Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who had been a staunch defender of the former model, eventually evolved into a proponent of the latter (Brett, 2017, p. 52). The option for the poor is a trend, throughout the Bible, of preference being given to the poor and powerless of society, especially in Jesus's teachings. During the twelve-year civil war in El Salvador, the country was also seriously divided economically and politically.

HOW DID ROMERO BECOME AN ADVOCATE FOR THE POOR?

Romero's life was gradually transformed, and he eventually offered his life for people who were suffering, especially the oppressed and the poor. He was born into a poor family and suffered



from hunger during his early years. He entered the seminary when he was thirteen years old and finished his studies in Rome. After he became the Bishop of Santiago de María, he had already begun to confront social oppression in his diocese (Brett, 2017, p.60). During the difficult and chaotic years of civil war, he showed deep compassion for the "campesinos killing themselves during the harvest" and "children dying because of water they were drinking" (Brett, 2017, p. 60). He often provided poor coffee growers shelter in two of his churches along with drinks of hot corn *atol* or milk (Brett, 2017, p. 60). Throughout his ministry to the poor, Romero tirelessly advocated for justice and for people's dignity, so they called him the "voice of the voiceless" (Brett, 2017, p. 63).

In 1977, as violence intensified in El Salvador, Romero was appointed Archbishop of San Salvador. During this time of turmoil many clergymen were kidnapped, tortured, beaten, or imprisoned and large numbers of foreign clergy were expelled from the country. Five diocesan priests and the Jesuit Rutilio Grande, were murdered by government-connected death squads, as were countless lay catechists and other lay church workers (Brett, 2017, p. 63). Grande, the first priest assassinated, was killed on March 12, 1977. After Grande's death, Romero changed his cautious attitude toward the government and urged the government to investigate the murder.

HOW AND WHY WAS ROMERO KILLED?

Romero also received many death threats. However, he continued to lead priests and Catholics to fight for the poor and the oppressed in non-violent ways. Romero said:

On March 24, 1980, Archbishop Romero was killed while celebrating Mass. Before he was killed, he regularly spoke out against injustice towards the poor and politically oppressed amidst an intensifying war between leftist rebels and the government and right-wing forces in El Salvador.

The church would betray its own love for God and its fidelity to the gospel if it stopped being . . . a defender of the rights of the poor . . . a humanizer of every legitimate struggle to achieve a more just society . . . that prepares the way for the true reign of God in history (Creighton University Online Ministry, (n.d.).

奥斯卡·阿努弗罗·罗梅洛大主教

梵蒂冈第二届大公会议（1962-1965）以来，拉丁美洲教会，特别是萨尔瓦多教会，在倾向传统教会模式和以教廷的以“优先选择穷人”为核心的模式之间产生了严重的分歧。曾是前一种模式坚定捍卫者的奥斯卡·阿努弗罗·罗梅洛最终变成后者的拥护者(Brett, 2017:52)。在《圣经》中，尤其在耶稣的教导中，给予社会上贫穷和弱势之人以优先照顾是一种趋势。在十二年内战期间，萨尔瓦多在经济和政治上也出现了巨大鸿沟。

罗梅洛如何成为穷人权利的倡导者？

罗梅洛的生活逐渐发生改变，他最终为遭受苦难的人们，特别是被压迫者和穷人，献出了生命。他出生于一个贫穷的家庭，早年遭受饥饿之苦。十三岁时进入神学院，并在罗马完成学业。在成为圣地亚哥德玛丽亚的主教后，罗梅洛便开始在他的教区中大胆直面



社会压迫(Brett, 2007:60)。艰难而混乱的内战期间，他对“丰收季节自杀的农民”和“因水污染而死的儿童”表达了深切同情(Brett, 2007:60)。他常把他的两个教堂作为贫穷咖啡种植者的庇护所，给他们提

供热玉米粥或牛奶(Brett, 2007:60)。在为穷人服务的整个教职生涯中，他不懈地倡导正义和人的尊严，因此被称为“代表沉默者的声音(voice of the voiceless)”(Brett, 2007:63)。

1977年，萨尔瓦多暴力活动加剧。罗梅洛被任命为圣萨尔瓦多大主教。在动荡时期，许多神职人员被绑架、折磨、殴打或关押，大批外国神职人员被驱逐出境。耶稣会士鲁蒂里奥·格兰德(Rutilio Grande)被政府背景的死刑队杀害，无数使命员和其他教会事工也遭杀害(Brett, 2007:63)。1977年3月12日，格兰德不幸成为第一位被暗杀的

神父。格兰德遇害后，罗梅洛改变了对政府的谨慎态度并敦促政府调查谋杀案。

罗梅洛如何以及为何被杀？

罗梅洛也收到了许多死亡威胁。但是，他继续领导神父和教徒以非暴力方式为穷人和被压迫者争取权利。罗梅洛说：

如果教会不再存在，它便背叛对天主的爱和对福音的忠诚……不再是穷人权利的捍卫者……不再是为实现更加公正的社会而进行一切合法斗争的人间代表……而这些都是为天主教在历史上的真正统治铺平道路(Creighton University Online Ministry, 日期不详)。

1980年3月24日，罗梅洛大主教在主持弥撒时被杀。在被害之前，他经常批判穷人和遭到政治迫害人士所受的不公，期间左翼反叛力量与萨尔瓦多政府及右翼势力间的对抗不断加剧。许多人聚集参加他的葬礼，葬礼上又有40人被狙击手射杀。

1980年3月24日，罗梅罗大主教在主持弥撒时被杀。在被害之前，他经常批判穷人和遭到政治迫害人士所受的不公，期间左翼反叛力量与萨尔瓦多政府及右翼势力间的对抗不断加剧。

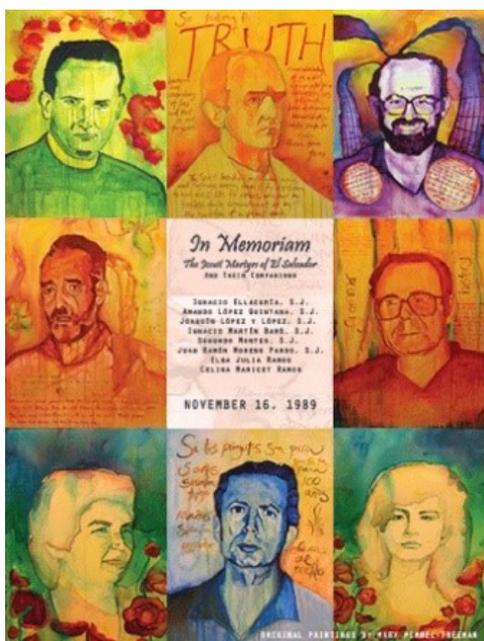
圣萨尔瓦多的耶稣会殉道者

1989年11月16日，萨尔瓦多的何塞·西梅翁·卡尼亚斯中美洲大学(UCA)八人惨遭杀害，消息震惊了全世界(Sobrinho, 1990, p. xi)。根据联合国安理会的报告，吉列尔莫·阿尔弗雷多·贝纳维德斯(Guillermo Alfredo Benavides)上校可能经萨尔瓦多总统批准后向一支精锐“反恐”部队下达命令，清除所有被怀疑同情左翼反叛组织的人以及起义的学者作家。在住所找到熟睡中的伊格纳西奥·埃拉库里亚(Ignacio Ellacuría)神父和其他五名耶稣会士后，

On March 24, 1980, the Archbishop Romero was murdered while celebrating Mass. Before he was killed, he regularly spoke out against injustice towards the poor and politically oppressed amidst an intensifying war between leftist rebels and the government and right-wing forces in El Salvador. Huge crowds gathered to attend his funeral, and forty people at the funeral were killed by snipers (Zraick, 2018).

JESUIT MARTYRS IN EL SALVADOR

On Nov 16, 1989, the world was shocked to learn that eight people were murdered on the grounds of the Jose Simeon Canas University of Central America (UCA) in El Salvador (Sobrino, 1990, p. xi). According to the United Nations Security Council report, Colonel Guillermo Alfredo Benavides, with possible approval by the president of the country (p. 47), gave the order to a unit of an elite “antiterrorist” force to eliminate all suspected of sympathizing with the leftist rebels and intellectual authors of the uprising. After finding Father Ignacio Ellacuría, and five other Jesuits asleep in their community residence, the troops forced them outside, had them lie on the lawn, and then scattered their brains with machine-gun fire (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 499).



In addition to Ellacuría, the other murdered Jesuit priests were Ignacio Martín-Baró, Segundo

Montes, Juan Ramón Moreno, Amando López, and Joaquín López y López, who was the National Director of the “Faith and Joy” catechetical movement. All of them taught at the university, fought for the faith and for justice for the poor, and were leaders for a nonviolent, negotiated settlement to the civil war in El Salvador. Two additional victims were Elba Ramos, their cook and housekeeper, and Celina Ramos, Elba’s sixteen-year-old daughter. Ironically, both Elba and Celina, frightened by the street fighting outside, had chosen to stay at the university because they believed that they would be safe (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 499). After the brutal killings, an international cry arose from diplomats, heads of state, religious groups, and the human rights community to find the perpetrators of the crime.

WHO WERE THESE JESUITS?

Ellacuría and the other five Jesuits were neither communists nor the intellectual “brains” of the “Communist” movement, as wrongly identified by right-wing propaganda. Jon Sobrino (1989) lived with and knew the Jesuit martyrs best, and he shared information about them during this tragic time. Sobrino said: They were “human beings, Salvadorans, who tried to live honourably and responsibly amid the tragedy and hope of El Salvador” (p. 3). They were men of spirit, of service, and of love. They lived and served the poor and oppressed during the chaotic and dehumanising war in El Salvador. They served with humility and generosity, and offered their lives for the poor, the oppressed and for God. They walked with God with compassion, kindness, and love.

WHAT WAS THEIR MISSION?

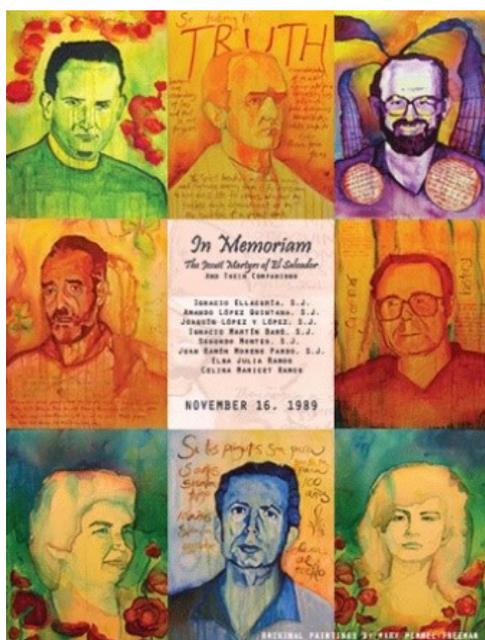
The Jesuit martyrs cried out for life and fought for justice, reconciliation and peace through teaching, writing, directing retreats, and other daily activities. Ellacuría and the other Jesuits consistently denounced the injustice and repression that fed the bitter civil war and sought to promote a negotiated settlement to the conflict in non-violent ways (Ellsberg, 2001,

部队强迫他们来到户外并躺在草坪上，然后用机枪射击他们的头颅(Ellsberg, 2001:499)。

除埃拉库里亚外，其他被杀的耶稣会神父包括伊格纳西奥·马丁-巴罗(Ignacio Martín-Baró)、塞贡多·蒙特斯(Segundo Montes)、胡安·拉蒙·莫雷诺(Juan Ramón Moreno)、阿曼多·洛佩兹(Amando López)和华金·洛佩兹·洛佩兹(Joaquín López y López)。华金·洛佩兹·洛佩兹是“信仰与喜悦”教义运动的全国领袖。他们所有人都在大学任教，为信仰而战，为穷人争取正义，并且领导着以非暴力方式谈判解决萨尔瓦多内战问题。另外两个遇难者是他们的女师和管家厄尔巴·拉莫斯(Elba Ramos)和厄尔巴16岁的女儿赛莉娜·拉莫斯(Celina Ramos)。谁能想象，厄尔巴和赛莉娜都因害怕外面的街头战斗而选择留在大学，认为在那里会很安全(Ellsberg, 2001:499)。残酷的杀戮之后，外交官、国家元首、宗教团体和人权团体在国际社会不断发声，要求找出肇事者。

耶稣会士是什么人？

埃拉库里亚和其他五名耶稣会士既不是共产主义者，也不是右翼宣传机器错误认定的“共产主义”运动的“大脑”。乔恩·索布里诺(Jon Sobrino, 1989)曾与耶稣会殉道者们同住，最了解他



们，在那个悲惨的时刻他分享了有关他们的信息。索布里诺说，他们是“普通人，是萨尔瓦多人，他们在萨尔瓦多的悲剧和希望中努力诚实而认真地生活”(第3页)。他们是有精神、有付出、有爱的人。他们生活在萨尔瓦多混乱而不人道的内战期间，服务于穷人和被压迫者。他们谦卑慷慨地服务，为穷人、被压迫者和天主献上生命。他们带着同情、仁慈和爱同天主同行。

我们被要求尊重和理解彼此之间的差异，以个人或团体的方式相互宽恕与和解。这样，中国教会就能得以治愈、和解并获得和平、喜悦和希望。这将对那些沉浸在消费主义、享乐主义和无神论中的中国人带去裨益。

他们有着怎样的使命？

耶稣会殉道者通过教学、写作、指导静修和其他日常活动呼唤生命并争取正义、和解与和平。埃拉库里亚和其他耶稣会士始终谴责导致内战加剧的不公正和压迫，并寻求以非暴力方式通过谈判解决冲突(Ellsberg, 2001:499)。在数周辛劳的日常工作之余，他们在礼拜日去往穷人居住的教区和社区开展教务。他们很少放假或休假，而是致力于为穷人服务。确实，他们非常努力地实践耶稣的教导和教廷的“优先选择穷人”(Ellsberg, 2001:500)。

耶稣会总会长·阿鲁普(Pedro Arrupe)在1968年致拉丁美洲耶稣会士的信中强调了“优先选择穷人”。之后的耶稣会第32届总会大会将耶稣会士的精神和使命定义为“服务信仰和推动正义”。由此，从1975年到1990年，在整个所谓的第三世界，包括鲁蒂里奥·格兰德和萨尔瓦多的其他六名耶稣会殉道者在内的共32名耶稣会士被谋杀，为其使命付出了最高的代价(Sobrino, 1990, viii-ix)。

p. 499). They did pastoral work in poor parishes and communities on Sundays after spending exhausting weeks at their regular jobs. They seldom had holidays or sabbatical years but dedicated themselves to the poor (Sobrinho, 1989, p. 28). Indeed, they tried very hard to live out the teaching of Jesus and the church's "option for the poor" (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 500).

Pedro Arrupe, Superior General of the Society of Jesus had emphasized this "option for the poor" in a letter to the Jesuits of Latin America in 1968. Later, the 32nd General Congregation defined the Jesuits' spirit and mission as "serving faith and promoting justice." As a result, throughout the so-called Third World, from 1975 to 1990, thirty-two Jesuits, including Rutilio Grande (Mawhinney, 2002) and the six other Jesuit martyrs in El Salvador, were murdered and paid the ultimate price for their mission (Sobrinho, 1990, pp. viii-ix).

HOW COULD THEY CARRY OUT THEIR MISSION IN A CRITICAL SITUATION?

Inspired by the spirit of the "preference for the poor" (Locatelli, 2009, p. 14), and impelled by the love for God and the poor, Ellacuria often articulated the meaning of faith and the gospel from the perspective of the poor and of Yahweh's suffering servant—Jesus, who suffered so much and even offered his life for the people. Hence, for Ellacuria, the task of the Christian was not simply to contemplate the mystery of suffering, but to "take the crucified down from the cross," to join the poor and the oppressed in mutual compassion and effective solidarity (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 500). Thus, to be a Jesuit, for him, was to be a contemplative in action, to do what Jesus did and to love as Jesus loved. To be a companion of Jesus is to "engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and the struggle for justice which it includes" (Society of Jesus, 1977, p. 401). Aware of the dangers all of them faced, Spanish-born Jesuit Segundo Montes, the rector of the community spoke to the Jesuit community about their decisions to remain with the people. He said:

This is my country and these people are my people...The people need to have the church stay with them in these terrible times—the rich as well as the poor. The rich need to hear from us, just as do the poor. God's grace does not leave, so neither can we (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 500).

Romero and the Jesuit martyrs in El Salvador died for social justice, peace, and reconciliation, and caring for the poor and marginalised. Afterwards more and more Jesuits volunteered to continue the mission there, as well as in China, and in other countries. Their spirit and mission continue to inspire more and more people to follow their examples.

POPE FRANCIS AND THE "PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT"

China first broke off diplomatic ties with the Holy See in 1951, and Catholics were forced to go underground until the 1980s when religious practices were allowed again (*BBC News*, 2018). In 2014, hundreds of towering red church crosses in the Zhejiang Province (known internationally as "China's Jerusalem") were removed, according to government officials, for violating building codes (Cao, 2017, p. 30). Since the 1980s, some Catholic bishops in China have been appointed by the Chinese government without authorisation from the Pope. Therefore, much confusion and division arose between the Chinese government and the Holy See. Pope Francis has continued the former popes' efforts to dialogue with the Chinese government, to promote peace, reconciliation and unity within the Chinese church. These efforts culminating in a historic breakthrough, the Holy See signed a "provisional agreement" with China on the appointment of bishops on September 22, 2018 in Beijing (O'Connell, 2018).

As a world leader, Pope Francis has been well-known for his humility and extraordinary love for the poor (Padden, 2013). He has inspired countless people with his edifying life example. But he humbly portrays himself: "I am a sinner whom the Lord looks upon with mercy" (NCR staff, 2016). In *the Spiritual Exercises* (No. 95), Ignatius encouraged Jesuits and Ignatian leaders

他们如何在危境中履行使命？

受“优先选择穷人”精神的启发 (Locatelli, 2009:14), 并出于对天主和穷人的热爱, 埃拉库里亚经常从穷人和耶和華遭受苦难的仆人、为普罗大众而献生的耶稣角度阐述信仰和福音的含义。因此对埃拉库里亚而言, 基督徒的任务不仅是思考苦难, 还在于“从十字架上解救受刑之人”, 加入穷人和被压迫者, 与他们真正团结一心, 互相关怀 (Ellsberg, 2001:500)。所以对他来说, 成为耶稣会士是在行动中默观, 去做耶稣所做之事, 去爱耶稣所爱之人。成为耶稣的同伴就是“按照十字架的标准加入我们这个时代至关重要的斗争——为信仰及其所包含的正义而进行的斗争” (Society of Jesus, 1977:401)。出生于西班牙的耶稣会士塞贡多·蒙特斯 (Segundo Montes) 意识到他们所有人都会面临的危险, 这位教区神父向耶稣会讲述了他们继续与人民站在一起决定。他说:

这是我的国家, 这些是我的人民……在这可怕的时代, 无论贫富, 人民都需要教会与他们同在。和穷人一样, 富人也需要聆听我们的声音。天主的恩典不会消失, 我们也不会离开 (Ellsberg, 2001:500)。

萨尔瓦多的罗梅洛和耶稣会殉道者为社会主义、和平与和解以及照顾穷人和社会边缘人而献出生命。此后, 越来越多的耶稣会士自愿去那里继续其使命, 他们也去中国和其他国家。他们的精神和使命继续激励着越来越多的人效法他们的榜样。

教宗方济各与“临时协议”

中国于1951年与教廷断绝外交关系, 天主教徒被迫进入地下, 直到1980年代宗教信仰再次被允许 (BBC News, 2018)。据政府官员称, 由于违反建筑法规, 2014年浙江省 (国际上称为“中国的耶路撒冷”) 数百座高耸的红色十字架被拆除 (Cao, 2017:30)。1980年代以来, 中国政府未经教宗授权任命了一批主教。因此, 中国政府与罗马教廷之间产生了许多困扰和分歧。教宗方济各延续了前任教宗与中国政府对话的努力以推动中国教会内部的和平、和解与团结。这些努力带来了历史性的突破。罗马教廷于2018年

9月22日在北京与中国签署了关于任命主教的“临时协议” (O'Connell, 2018)。

作为世界领袖, 教宗方济各以谦卑和对穷人的关爱而闻名 (Padden, 2013)。他具有教化意义的人生成为无数人的榜样, 但是他谦卑地形容自己道: “我是得到天主怜悯的罪人” (NCF staff, 2016)。在灵性操练 (第95号) 中, 依纳爵鼓励耶稣会士和依纳爵派的领袖成为基督的追随者和同伴, 为天主的国度劳作和斗争, 并帮助普罗大众 (Puhl, 1951:44)。罗梅洛、耶稣会殉道者和教宗方济各是真正的仆人式领袖, 他们倾听他人的声音, 为正义、和平与和解而努力。他们是基督使命 (Society of Jesus, 1995:18) 的仆人, 他们履行着耶稣的教导和教廷的“优先选择穷人” (Ellsberg, 2001:500)。

教宗方济各对大小诸事的领导都受到依纳爵理想的启发。他不仅洗净了十二名囚犯脚, 包括妇女和一名穆斯林男子 (Pullella, 2017), 还敦促人们斋戒以为叙利亚乃至世界的和平祈祷 (Gomes, 2018)。本着同样的精神, 在达成“临时协议”之后, 教宗方济各接受了七名非法中国主教恳求赦免的请求, 并同意他们与他和普世教会的和解。在审阅了他们的文件之后, 教宗宣布它们全部合法。这是临时协议的主要成果 (Mariani, 2018)。

我们在推动和平与和解的使命中起什么作用? 郭主教曾经说过, “我们工作的主要目的是努力维护信仰的完整性, 而不是在服从和谦卑面临挑战时追求个人的权利或荣誉” (Worthley, 2019)。天主给予我们的使命还在于专心倾听当地教会, 聆听教宗, 尤其是内心深处天主的声音。我们被要求尊重和理解彼此之间的差异, 以个人或团体的方式相互宽恕与和解。这样, 中国教会就能得以治愈、和解并获得和平、喜悦和希望。这将对那些沉浸在消费主义、享乐主义和无神论中的中国人带去裨益。这是一个非常有意义却富于挑战的任务。

有些人认为“临时协议”并非完美的协议。确实, 摆在我们面前的挑战仍然很多, 例如主教的任命、中国主教会议的合法性、教会领袖自由访问梵蒂冈和北京、梵蒂冈确立的144个教区还是中国政府确立的98个教区, 等等。但是, 天主教会与中国之间的直接联系以及对话而非对抗的政策应该对中国的教会和中国政府都有利。在圣灵的指导

to be followers and companions of Christ, to labour and to fight for the kingdom of God, and for helping souls (Puhl, 1951, p. 44). Romero, the Jesuit martyrs and Pope Francis are truly servant leaders, listening to others and fighting for justice, peace and reconciliation. They are servants of Christ's mission (Society of Jesus, 1995, p. 18) living out Jesus' teaching and the church's "option for the poor" (Ellsberg, 2001, p. 500).

We are called to respect and understand the differences between us, forgive and reconcile with one another individually and communally. By doing so, healing, reconciliation, peace, joy and hope will come to the Chinese church. This will help souls in China who are filled with consumerism, hedonism, and atheism.

Pope Francis' leadership is inspired by this Ignatian ideal, in both small ways and great things. He not only washed twelve prisoners' feet including women and a Muslim man (Pullella, 2017), but also urged people to fast and pray for peace in Syria and in the world (Gomes, 2018). In the same spirit, after the "provisional agreement," Pope Francis accepted seven illegitimate Chinese bishops' pleas for pardon and reconciliation with him and the universal church. After reviewing their files, the Pope legitimised them all. This was the main public fruit of the provisional accord (Mariani, 2018).

What is our role in the mission to promote peace and reconciliation? Bishop Guo once said, "The main purpose of our work is to try to preserve the integrity of our faith, not the pursuit of our rights or personal honor when obedience and humility are at stake" (Worthley, 2019). God's mission for us is also to listen attentively to the voices of local churches, of the Pope, and especially of God deep within our hearts. We are

called to respect and understand the differences between us, forgive and reconcile with one another individually and communally. By doing so, healing, reconciliation, peace, joy and hope will come to the Chinese church. This will help souls in China who are filled with consumerism, hedonism, and atheism. It is a very meaningful yet challenging mission.

Some people regard the "provisional agreement" as an imperfect agreement. Indeed, there are still many challenging issues before us, such as the nomination of bishops, the legality of the Chinese bishops' conferences, church leaders freely visiting the Vatican and Beijing, diocesan boundaries for 144 dioceses for the Vatican or 98 dioceses for the Chinese government, and so on. However, the direct link between the Catholic Church and China, and the policy of engaging in encounter and not in confrontation, should benefit both the Chinese church and the Chinese government. With the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the efforts of every individual with a good heart, the agreement may favor a fruitful and forward-looking process of institutional dialogue and may contribute positively to the life of the Catholic church in China (O'Connell, 2018).

To sum up, Romero and the Jesuit martyrs laid down their lives for justice, faith, peace, reconciliation, and service to the poor. Pope Francis not only makes peace and reconciliation with Muslims and other religions and for countries at war such as in Syria, but also in dialogue with the Chinese government and bishops for the sake of the church in China. They have truly lived out their identity as companions and servants of Christ's mission in action. Can we do no other?



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下，在每个善良之人的努力下，这份协议可能有利于推动富有成果和前瞻性的制度性对话进程，并可能为天主教会在中国的发展做出积极的贡献(O'Connell, 2018)。

综上所述，罗梅洛和耶稣会殉道者为正义、信仰、和平、和解以及服务穷人而献出了生命。教宗方济各不仅推动与穆斯林和其他宗教以及战争中国家（例如叙利亚）的和平与和解，并且为了中国教会的利益与中国政府和主教对话。他们以行动真正实现了自己作为耶稣的同伴和仆人的身份。我们能无能为为自己寻找借口吗？



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DYING FOR FAITH, TRANSFORMING MEMORIES: CHINESE CHRISTIAN MARTYR WATCHMAN NEE (1903- 1972)

为信仰而死，转变的记忆： 中国基督教殉道者倪柝声（1903 - 1972）

JOSEPH LEE TSE-HEI 李榭熙

ABSTRACT

Martyrdom is an integral part of the narrative of all three monotheistic religions. This article draws on the story of Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng 倪柝声, 1903-1972) to investigate the meaning of martyrdom in Chinese Protestant Christianity. When countries in East Asia developed into centralized nation-states, some of the governments often perceived Christianity as subversive and mobilized official resources to marginalize, persecute and destroy indigenous Christian communities. Watchman Nee, who founded an indigenous Protestant movement in the early 20th century, was arrested in 1952 and died in a labour camp in 1972. His story reveals his consistent efforts to invoke Christian transcendental ideas against the state's antireligious measures and to recast the traumatic experience of persecution as a spiritual struggle. Even in the most depressing circumstances, he formed new networks among cellmates for mutual support. His defiance against the state outside and inside the prison walls has greatly shaped the dynamics of Chinese church-state relations today, and Protestants worldwide often refer to martyrs like Watchman Nee to develop new paradigms for negotiating with anti-Christian forces.

摘要

殉道是所有三个一神宗教叙事不可或缺的一部分。本文利用倪柝声 (Watchman Nee, 1903 - 1972) 的故事，探讨了殉道在中国基督新教中的意义。当东亚国家发展成为中央集权的民族国家时，一些政府往往认为基督教具有颠覆性，并调动官方资源来边缘化、迫害、摧毁本地基督教团体。倪柝声在20世纪初创立了一个本土基督新教运动，1952年被捕，1972年死于一座劳改营。他的故事揭示了他在召唤基督教先验理念以反对国家的反宗教措施，将受迫害的痛苦经历重塑为精神斗争等方面付出的不懈努力。即使在最令人沮丧的情形下，他也在狱友间建立了新的互助网络。他在狱墙内外对国家的蔑视极大地塑造了当今中国政教关系的动态。全世界的新教徒为发展与反基督教势力进行谈判的新模式时，都经常会提到倪柝声这样的殉道者。



MARTYRDOM AS AN ANALYTICAL LENS

This article explores the martyrdom of Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng 倪柝声, 1903–1972), who founded the Christian Assembly (*jidutu juhuichu* 基督徒聚会处), also called the Little Flock (*xiaoqun* 小群), a homegrown Protestant movement in modern China. An influential Chinese church leader, Nee was arrested in 1952 and died in a labour camp in 1972. His tragic story recasts the church-state conflict as a spiritual and moral struggle, healing the emotional wounds of persecuted Christians and inspiring them to defend their faith.

Thematically, the martyrdom of Watchman Nee highlights the complexity of memory production in China. The Reform Era saw a flood of personal memoirs recalling persecution and hardship suffered during the Cultural Revolution, including Rae Yang's reflection on her experience as a Red Guard and Harry Wu's moving account of his suffering in a labour camp (Yang 1998; Wu and Wakeman 1994). These memoirs, widely known collectively as the wounded literature (*shanghen wenxue* 伤痕文学), provided a vehicle for healing the psychological scars associated with political turmoil. With a similar emphasis on trauma in the Maoist period (1949–1976), the narratives of Chinese Christian martyrs, such as Watchman Nee's, reveal both the lived experience of individual believers and their ongoing resistance against a totalitarian state. As with other marginalised groups, Chinese Christians are determined to reclaim their own voices long sub-merged under the official Communist historiography of Western imperialism. When they interpret the memory of prison ordeals, they transform it from a period of bitter suffering into a unique experience of survival and try to extract theological insights for spiritual consolation. They delve into their traumatic past to seek new meanings about self and nation, and about the role of Christianity in a socialist state. While many countries have launched truth and reconciliation commissions to address the aftermaths of regime transition, these Christian reflections offer a

unique Chinese perspective on the differences between pluralistic and repressive approaches toward truth telling.¹

On the day of his death, Nee allegedly left a note under a pillow. The note, which his niece later found among his belongings, said, “Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and resurrected [sic] after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ.”

With respect to primary sources, the Chinese national, provincial and municipal bureaus of public security have not yet released the dossier of Watchman Nee. This study has had to rely on accounts given by his cellmate Wu Youqi (吳友琦). Such eyewitness accounts must be used with great caution (Wu, 2014). The accounts are problematic in their hagiography, portraying Watchman Nee as a remarkable example of those church leaders who refused to compromise with the anti-Christian officials and sacrificed themselves for the faith. Their acts of defiance displayed an absolute obedience to God rather than to Chairman Mao. This image of victorious enthronement and vindication over the Communist rulers represented the triumph of the spirit over the flesh, and established that martyrdom, as part of the imitation of Christ's Passion, was obligatory and fundamental to Christianity. Beginning with an overview of Watchman Nee's life, however, this article explores his own understanding of martyrdom

1 Examples from Germany, South Africa and South Korea show that the pursuit of transitional justice entails more than judicial procedure (Welsh, 2006; Hanley, 2016; Kesselring, 2016). These countries launched truth and reconciliation commissions to investigate previous cases of human rights violations in order to consolidate the reestablished rule of law and educate future generations about historical injustices.



如解析透镜一样的殉道

本文探讨了倪柝声的殉道经历。他创立了基督徒聚会处，亦称“小群”，一个在现代中国的本土新教运动。倪柝声是一位有影响力的中国教会领袖，1952年被捕，1972年死于劳改营。他的悲剧故事将政教冲突重塑为一场精神和道德的斗争，治愈了受迫害基督徒的情感创伤，鼓舞他们捍卫自己的信仰。

从主题上讲，倪柝声的殉道彰显了中国回忆录作品的复杂性。在改革时代，大量的个人回忆录回顾了文化大革命期间遭受的迫害和苦难，其中包括杨瑞（Rae Yang）对她作为红卫兵的经历的反思，以及Harry Wu对他在劳改营中痛苦经历的感人描述（Yang 1998；Wu和Wakeman 1994）。这些回忆录被广泛称为“wounded literature”（伤痕文学），它提供了一种治愈政治动荡所带来的心理创伤的慰藉。与毛泽东时代（1949-1976年）的创伤相似，像倪柝声这样的中国基督教殉道者的叙述既揭示了基督教徒作为个体的生活经历，也揭示了他们对极权国家的持续反抗。与其他被边缘化的群体一样，中国基督徒决定重申他们自己长期以来被共产党官方所撰写的西方帝国主义史所淹没的声音。当他们解读监狱苦难的记忆时，他们将它们从一段痛苦的受难经历转化为一种独特的幸存体验，并试图获得灵性慰藉的神学洞见。他们深入研究他们痛苦的过去，寻求关于自我和民族的新意义以及基督教在社会主义国家中的作用。虽然许多国家都首创了真相与和解委员会，以解决政权过渡的后遗症，但这些基督教的反思提供了一个独特的中国人视角来看待多元化方式和镇压方式在讲述真相时的差异。¹

就主要资料来源而言，中国国家、省、市公安局尚未公布倪柝声的卷宗。这项研究不得不依赖于他的狱友吴友琦的叙述。这些目击者的陈述（Wu，2014）必须十分谨慎地使用。其理想化传记叙述方式是有问题的，这些陈述把倪柝声描绘成拒绝向反基督

1 德国、南非和韩国的例子表明，追求过渡正义需要的不仅仅是司法程序（Welsh，2006；Hanley，2016；Kesslerling，2016）。这些国家首创了真相与和解委员会，以调查之前的人权侵犯案件，巩固重建的法治，并教育后代了解历史上的不公正。

教官员妥协并为信仰献身的教会领袖的杰出榜样。这些教会领袖的反抗行为表现出对天主的绝对服从，而非对毛主席的服从。这种胜利即位及向共产主义统治者证明无罪的形象代表了精神战胜肉体的胜利，并将殉道（一定程度上是对基督受难的模仿）作为基督教的义务和基本原则。本文从概述倪柝声的生平入手，探讨了他在1949年前对殉道的理解。然后讨论了他在监狱和劳改营中支撑自己的一系列神学资源，以及小群成员用来保持记忆鲜活的跨国机制。

据称，在他去世那天，倪柝声在枕头下留下了一张字条。他的侄女后来在他的物品中发现了这张字条，上面写着：“基督是上帝的儿子，他为赎罪而死，三天后复活。这是宇宙中最伟大的真理。我死是因为我信仰基督”（吴，2004，第143页）。

倪柝声的故事

倪柝声出生于1903年，成长于一个第三代圣公会家庭。1920年在福州圣公会管理的三一学院学习期间，他在余慈度（Dora Yu，1873-1931）主持的一次会议上经历了情感上的皈依。余慈度曾在1900年代和1910年代在中国新教徒中主持奋兴集会，并在上海建立了一个圣经学习和祈祷室，教妇女传福音的技能。倪柝声皈依后便离开圣公会学校去上海和余慈度一起工作。1920年，17岁的他决定成为一名全职福音使命者。1923年，他与和受恩（Margaret E. Barber，1860-1930）一起学习圣经。和受恩是来自英国的圣公会传教士，她于1899年来到福州，在教会学校教书七年后回国。1911年，清朝被推翻的那一年，和受恩受到弟兄运动（Brethren Movement）的影响，回到了中国，在福州东南创办了一所圣经学校。她还向倪柝声介绍了闭关弟兄会（Exclusive Brethren）的思想和组织。

before 1949. Then, it discusses a range of theological resources that he employed to sustain himself inside the prison and labour camps, and transnational mechanisms that the Little Flock members use to keep his memories alive.

THE STORY OF WATCHMAN NEE

Born in 1903, Watchman Nee grew up in a third-generation Anglican family. While studying at the Anglican-run Trinity College in Fuzhou in 1920, he underwent an emotional conversion at a meeting held by Dora Yu (1873–1931), who had conducted revival gatherings among Chinese Protestants during the 1900s and 1910s, and founded a Bible Study and Prayer House in Shanghai to teach women evangelistic skills. Upon his conversion, Nee left the Anglican school for Shanghai and worked with Dora Yu. At the age of 17, in 1920, he decided to become a full-time evangelist. In 1923, he went to study the Bible with Margaret E. Barber (1860–1930). An Anglican missionary from England, Barber came to Fuzhou in 1899 and taught in a mission school for seven years before returning home. In 1911, the year the Qing dynasty was overthrown, Barber, influenced by the Brethren Movement, returned to China to found a Bible school southeast of Fuzhou. She also introduced Nee to the ideas and organization of the Exclusive Brethren.

The spread of Biblical primitivism complemented the growth of the Little Flock. Nee subscribed to John Nelson Darby's (1800–1882) theory of dispensationalism, by which human history is divided into separate periods, each of which represents a different stage in God's salvation plan. Inspired by two tenets of dispensationalism, the empowering of the Holy Spirit and strict adherence to the Bible, Nee drew on the Brethren's writings to articulate his ecclesiology. Dissatisfied with the hierarchy that he saw in the Anglican Church and other denominations, he rejected the pastoral office because he felt that the status of priesthood obstructed believers' communion with God. Calling for a return to primitive Christianity, Nee urged Christians to serve as a spiritual body of Christ, and to break away from missionary control. He implemented plural

eldership, disavowed the clergy-laity distinction, and organized worship around the Lord's Supper (Lee, 2005; Woodbridge, 2019).

Combining Biblical primitivism with modern business practices and printing techniques, Nee attracted affluent and educated followers in the coastal cities, and the Little Flock quickly expanded into every corner of the country. So many Chinese Christians left their denominations to join the Little Flock, that the Protestant missionaries in Fuzhou often accused the Little Flock of "stealing sheep." By 1949 the Little Flock was estimated to have as many as 70,000 followers. The Communist authorities viewed the rapid development of the Little Flock with suspicion and plotted against Watchman Nee. In 1950, the Communists mobilized Chinese Protestants to support the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. Initially, many Little Flock leaders, including Nee, thought that the Communist attitude towards Protestantism, as expressed in the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, was one of cooperation rather than confrontation. But seeing the Communists' policies to expel foreign missionaries and interfere with the spiritual affairs of the church after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, they boycotted the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. The government then turned against Watchman Nee in order to undermine his credibility and control the Little Flock from within. In 1952, Nee was put in a detention centre. In 1956, he was given a fifteen-year sentence and taken to Shanghai's Tilanqiao (提篮桥) Prison, where Catholic Bishop Ignatius Gong, Jesuit priest George Bernard Wong, other Little Flock leaders, and female dissident Lin Zhao were held (Mariani, 2011; Lee, 2017; Lian, 2018).

During the mid-1950s, the prison supervisors recognized Nee's bilingual skills and assigned him to translate technical manuals from English into Chinese rather than doing manual work. This was a common practice, as the state utilised those prisoners with bilingual knowledge to work on specific projects. As time passed, Nee was appointed by the prison authorities as a team leader in his cellblock, supervising inmates to complete daily work quotas. Even though this

圣经原始主义的传播促进了小群的成长。倪柝声赞同约翰·纳尔逊·达秘（John Nelson Darby, 1800-1882）的时期分配理论，根据这个理论，人类历史被划分为不同的时期，每个时期代表着天主救赎计划的不同阶段。受时期分配理论的两个信条的启发，即圣灵授权和严格遵守圣经，倪柝声借鉴弟兄会的著作来阐述他的教会学。他对圣公会和其他教派的等级制度不满，因此拒绝了牧师职位，因为他觉得牧师的职位阻碍了信徒与天主的交流。他呼吁回归原始基督教，他敦促基督徒当好有灵性的基督身体，摆脱传教士的控制。他实施多重长老制，否认神职人员与平信徒的区别，并围绕主的晚餐组织礼拜（Lee, 2005; Woodbridge, 2019）。

异议人士林昭（Mariani, 2011; Lee, 2017; Lian, 2018）。

20世纪50年代中期，监狱监管人员发现了倪柝声的双语能力，指派他将技术手册从英文翻译成中文，不做体力劳动。这是一种常见的做法，国家会利用掌握双语知识的囚犯从事具体项目。随着时间的推移，倪柝声被监狱当局任命为牢房里的组长，监督囚犯完成每日的工作定额。尽管这种优待随时可能被剥夺，但这种特权使他成为一名特殊囚犯，免受暴力罪犯的骚扰。1960年，倪柝声相识并结交了一位狱友吴友琦。1969年底，两人都被送到安徽省北部的一个劳改营。倪柝声在营地经常受到公开羞辱。尽管存在敌意，倪柝声还是与吴友琦分享了他的人生故事和圣经知识。这些谈话鼓舞了吴友

这并不意味着他没有改革政治体制或拯救犹太民族的权力。他在世上的目的是拯救罪人。他的作用是灵性的，而非世俗的；它和政治没有任何关系……我们不应成为政治计划的牺牲品。我们在世上的目的是提升神的天国之重要性（《倪柝声作品集》第49章“基督徒和他的国家”）

通过将圣经原始主义与现代商业实践和印刷技术相结合，倪柝声吸引了沿海城市富有和受过教育的追随者，小群迅速扩展到全国各个角落。很多的中国基督徒离开他们的教派加入了小群，以至于福州的新教传教士经常指责小群“偷羊”。到1949年，小群的追随者估计多达7万人。共产党当局对小群的迅速发展持怀疑态度，并暗中策划对付倪柝声。1950年，共产党动员中国新教徒支持三自爱国运动。最初，包括倪柝声在内的许多小群领袖都认为共产主义对新教的态度会像对待三自爱国运动一样，是合作而非对抗。但是看到1950年6月朝鲜战争爆发后共产党驱逐外国传教士并干涉教会灵性事务的政策，他们抵制了三自爱国运动。政府随后转而反对倪柝声，以削弱信徒对他的信任，并从内部控制小群。1952年，倪柝声被关进看守所。1956年，他被判15年，并被带到上海的提篮桥监狱，这里也关押着天主教龚品梅主教（Ignatius Gong）、耶稣会神父George Bernard Wong、其他小群领袖和女性

琦认真对待基督教。有一次，倪柝声请求吴友琦在获释后与其他小群基督徒取得联系。当他们的友谊越来越牢固时，倪柝声的健康状况却每况愈下，因为他患有心脏病和慢性胃病。1972年5月30日，他在牢房里孤独离世，享年69岁。据称，在他去世那天，他在枕头下留下了一张字条。他的侄女后来在他的物品中发现了这张字条，上面写着：

基督是天主的儿子，他为赎罪而死，三天后复活。这是宇宙中最伟大的真理。我死是因为我信仰基督（吴，2004，第143页）。

倪柝声留下的这张字条是20世纪70年代中期被从中国私带出去的，被他的追随者誉为一位垂死的殉道者深刻的神学声明。谁也想不到32年后，倪柝声的遗言会被发表，揭示他对基督教天主毫无保留的虔诚。在那痛苦而孤独的时刻，他欣然接纳了一位殉道者的死亡，并开始直面他的痛苦。

favourable treatment could be taken away from him at any time, such privileges made him a special prisoner, protected from harassment by violent convicts. In 1960, Nee met and befriended a cellmate, Wu Youqi. In late 1969, both were sent to a labour camp in northern Anhui Province. Nee was subject to regular public humiliations in the camp. Despite the hostility, Nee shared with Wu his life stories and Biblical knowledge. The conversations inspired Wu to take Christianity seriously. On one occasion, Nee urged Wu to get in touch with other Little Flock Christians once he was released from the camp. While their friendship grew stronger, Nee's health deteriorated, as he suffered from a heart ailment and a chronic stomach disorder. Nee died alone in his cell on May 30, 1972, at the age of sixty-nine. On the day of his death, Nee allegedly left a note under a pillow. The note, which his niece later found among his belongings, said,

WATCHMAN NEE ON MARTYRDOM

In the Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Protestant traditions, martyrdom is held as the highest form of faith, manifested through self-sacrificial acts to witness personal faith even unto death. Martyrdom is praised for its generative and inspirational effects among Christians. Martyrs do not just die; they motivate their contemporaries and future generations to follow Jesus Christ. Watchman Nee conducted two leadership training sessions in Guling in Fujian Province to address the subject of martyrdom among his followers in late 1948 and early 1949. According to historian Paul Chang (2015), the theology of Watchman Nee embodies “a millenarian vision of the spiritual victory over the evils and trials of the world through identification with Christ's death and, for those who thereby are the victors or ‘overcomers,’ (*desheng de* 得勝的) to be with

This does not mean that He did not have the power to reform the political system or to save the Jewish nation. [Our Lord's] goal on earth was to save sinners. His work was spiritual, not worldly; it had nothing to do with politics.... We should not fall prey to political agendas. Our purpose on earth is to advance God's heavenly kingdom. (*Collected Works of Watchman Nee*)

Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and resurrected [*sic*] after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ (Wu, 2004, p.143).

The note left by Nee was smuggled out of China in the mid-1970s, and it was hailed by his followers as a profound theological statement from a dying martyr. No one could have imagined that thirty-two years later, Nee's last words would be published, revealing his unreserved devotion to the Christian God. In that painful and lonely moment, he embraced a martyr's death and came to grips with his suffering.

God and Christ in the timeless New Jerusalem.” He also aptly points out that, “Ethics and practice stand at the heart of their [Watchman Nee and Witness Lee's] theological systems, and even this basic emphasis can be considered broadly Chinese, in its preference for the practical over the speculative” (Chang, 2015).

When framing a martyrdom narrative, Nee referred to the account of Smyrna's Christians in Revelation 2, and argued that any torture could be overcome because at the end time, the “crown of life” would be given to those who endure, and there would be a vindication for the sufferers. Nee wrote,

Whenever a believer faces persecution, he has to take heed to the Lord's word, be faithful unto death, and be ready

殉道的倪柝声

在天主教、东正教和新教的传统中，殉道被认为是信仰的最高形式，通过自我牺牲的行为来见证个人的信仰，至死不悔。殉道在基督徒中因其发育效果和神感效果而受到赞扬。殉道者不只是死，他们还激励同代人和后代跟随耶稣基督。倪柝声于1948年底和1949年初在福建省古蔺举办了两次领导力培训班，以解决其追随者殉道的问题。根据历史学家Paul Chang (2015)的观点，倪柝声的神学体现了“千年的愿景，即：通过将自己认同于基督之死，也为了那些因此在永恒的新耶路撒冷与天主和基督同在的胜利者或‘得胜’之人，而取得对世界上的邪恶和磨难的灵性胜利。”他还恰当地指出，“伦理和实践是他们（倪柝声和见证者Lee）神学体系的核心，甚至这种基本的强调也可广义上被认为是中国式的，因为它更倾向于实践而不是纯理论。”（Chang, 2015年）。

在构思殉道者叙事时，倪柝声提到了启示录2中士麦那的基督徒的叙述，并认为任何酷刑都可以克服，因为最终“生命的皇冠”会授予那些忍受苦难的人，且受难者终会被证明是无辜的。倪柝声写道：

信主的人，无论何时遭到迫害，都要谨守主的话，忠心至死，随时准备献出自己的生命。天主的要求无非就是我们的生命（《倪柝声作品选集》第51章：“殉道”）。

倪柝声意识到反基督教的强烈迫害，首先是言语攻击，然后是酷刑和监禁，他断言殉道构成了天主和撒旦之间宇宙斗争的一部分。在领导力培训班上，他避免攻击共产党人，并重申不参与政治立场：

我们的主在世的时候，无论走到哪里，他都保持他的地位。他从来没有当过执法者。他从未试图执行任何法律，无论是民事的还是刑事的……我们的主从来没有接触过政治。他在世的时候，许多犹太人愿意为他而死，只要他愿意做他们的王。但我们的主不是他们的王。这并不意味着他没有改革政治体制或拯救犹太民族的权利。他在世上的目的是拯救罪人。他的作用是灵性的，而非世俗的；它和政治没有任何关系……我们不应成为政治计划的牺牲品。我们在世上的目

的是提升神的天国之重要性（《倪柝声作品集》第49章“基督徒和他的国家”）。

他的言论中没有任何表明基督徒应该反对政府的内容，即使面对迫害和死亡的威胁。他认为殉道是一种基督教的生活方式，并且指出：在殉道的精神下，为基督而死是日常门徒训练的一部分。1972年，当倪柝声去世的消息传到香港和英国的教堂时，海外华人和英国基督徒决定翻译他的灵性著作，使他的灵性遗产永存。1973年，金弥耳（Angus Kinnear）出版了著名的传记《中流砥柱—倪柝声传》，用以回忆和保存这位灵性巨人的人生经历。

为了默观的教训

对于各派神学的中国基督徒来说，毛主义国家只会给他们制造麻烦。尽管其世俗取向，毛主义却通过发展完备的神学而显示了许多宗教装饰品，它要求公民无条件的忠诚，拒绝和基督教妥协。共产党的监狱当局肩负着把基督教囚犯改造成社会主义新公民的任务，依靠严厉而残酷的审讯手段，将囚犯的宗教信仰重塑为对国家的绝对忠诚。倪柝声无法改变敌对现实，但他对基督教的虔诚培养出了他坚持异议的精神，这给他提供了一个神学框架，让他得以开辟一个有限的精神空间，得到灵性的授权。他着手孤独中敛心默祷的实践，获得了一个神圣的沉默时刻，把注意力凝聚在天主身上。遵循这种虔诚的实践体现了一种自我否定的感觉，放弃了个人的野心，欢迎天主的到来，让其居住在你的灵魂之中。这一经历突出了一种有历史根基的灵修的特征，这种灵修在中国作为一种反抗的神学或苦难的福音而出现。倪柝声经历了一个渐进的过程，一个在受迫害期间慢慢体会作为一个忠实的基督徒的精髓的过程。

倪柝声殉道故事的流传，让人们对中国教会的历史反思有了更深的了解。根据Elizabeth A. Castelli (2004年)的观点，宗教迫害的残酷性必须注入新的见解，以便读者能够体会到殉道的道德教训。因此，关于谁的正义感将占上风则成为了讨论的核心。虽然中国教会把殉道史视为与基督的劝诫一致的灵性注释，但他们解读殉道的方式取决于不断变化的环境。随着人们对毛主义

to sacrifice his very life. The Lord's requirement is nothing less than our very life ("Martyrdom, Chapter 51," *Collected Works of Watchman Nee*).

Aware of the intensity of anti-Christian persecution, beginning with verbal abuse, and followed by torture and imprisonment, Nee asserted that martyrdom constituted an integral part of the cosmological battle between God and Satan. During the leadership training sessions, he abstained from attacking the Communists and reiterated a position of political non-engagement:

When our Lord was on the earth, He maintained His position wherever He went. He never acted as a law enforcer. He never tried to enforce any law, whether civil or criminal. ... Our Lord never touched politics. When He was on the earth, many Jews were ready to die for Him if He would only agree to be their king. But the Lord would not be their king. This does not mean that He did not have the power to reform the political system or to save the Jewish nation. His goal on earth was to save sinners. His work was spiritual, not worldly; it had nothing to do with politics.... We should not fall prey to political agendas. Our purpose on earth is to advance God's heavenly kingdom ("A Christian and his country, Chapter 49," *Collected Works of Watchman Nee*).

Nothing in his remarks suggests that Christians should oppose the government, even when faced with the threat of persecution and death. He considered martyrdom to be a Christian way of life, and stated that with the spirit of martyrdom, dying for Christ was part of daily discipleship. When news of Watchman Nee's death came to churches in Hong Kong and Britain in 1972, overseas Chinese and British Christians decided to translate his spiritual writings and keep alive his legacy. In 1973, Angus Kinnear published the famous biography, *Against the Tides: The Story of Watchman Nee*, to recall and preserve the history of this spiritual giant.

LESSONS FOR CONTEMPLATION

For Chinese Christians of all theological stripes, the Maoist state had nothing to offer but trouble. Despite its secular orientation, Maoism displayed many of the trappings of a religion, with a well-developed theology, demanding unconditional loyalty from citizens and refusing to come to terms with Christianity. Charged with the task of remoulding Christian prisoners into new socialist citizens, the Communist prison regime relied on harsh and brutal interrogation techniques to reshape the prisoners' religious commitment into an absolute devotion to the state. Watchman Nee could do nothing to change the hostile reality, but his Christian piety instilled a spirit of dissent, giving him a theological framework to carve out a limited mental space for spiritual empowerment. Embracing the practice of contemplative solitude, he secured a sacred moment of silence in order to focus intensely on God. Observing this devotional practice embodies a sense of self-denial, surrendering one's ambitions and welcoming the presence of God to reside in one's soul. This experience highlights the characteristics of a historically grounded spirituality that emerged in China as a theology of defiance or a gospel of suffering. Nee went through an incremental process of appreciating the essence of being a faithful Christian in a time of persecution.

The circulation of the story of Watchman Nee's martyrdom contributes to a better understanding of historical reflection within the Chinese churches. According to Elizabeth A. Castelli (2004), the brutality of religious persecution must be infused with new insights so that readers can appreciate the moral lessons of martyrdom. Therefore, the contest over whose sense of justice will prevail lies at the centre of the discussion. While the Chinese churches see martyrologies as spiritual commentaries in line with the exhortation of Christ, their way of reading martyrdom depends upon changing circumstances. As memories of the political campaigns in the Maoist period fade, most of the surviving religious prisoners have refrained from attacking the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

时期政治运动的记忆逐渐淡化，大多数幸存的宗教犯都没有攻击三自爱国运动。然而，未登记的会众仍然反对国家干预教会的灵性事务。记住受迫害的经历是基督徒缅怀那些殉道者的最重要方式，他们以这种方式缅怀殉道者和曾鼓舞了他们的事件。关于所遭受的痛苦描述可能会随时间而改变，但是在这些描述中对复苏的信仰的了解则不会改变。

归根结底，倪柝声的故事需要我们探索重新想象无望局面的新模式，不忽视迫害的暴力，拓宽我们对摆在中国基督教信徒面前的有限选择的看法。尽管倪柝声无意挑衅一党制，但他的努力体现了宗教蔑视，号召人们遵从良心，从而为我们在新世纪反思历史提供丰富的资源。



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Yet, the unregistered congregations still oppose the state's intervention into the spiritual affairs of the church. Remembering the experience of persecution is the most important means by which Christians commemorate those martyrs and events that inspired them. The content of the suffering narrative may change in time, but the knowledge of a resurrected faith in this narrative remains unchanged.

In the final analysis, the story of Watchman Nee challenges us to explore new modes of reimagining hopeless situations, without losing sight of the violence of persecution, and to broaden our view of the limited options available to the Christian faithful in China. Even though Nee had no intention of challenging the single party-state system, his efforts embodied elements of religious defiance and called on people to follow their consciences, thereby giving us rich resources for historical reflection in the new century.



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MARTYRS OF LAOS: FROM “ODIUM FIDEI” TO THE VENERATION OF ANCESTORS

老挝的殉道者： “因为信仰而被憎恨”到对先人的敬奉

ROLAND JACQUES 罗兰·雅克

ABSTRACT

This paper concentrates on the endeavour of the Bishops' Conference of Laos to expand the Thomist definition of “martyrdom” to make it relevant for their social, religious and political context. In that way, they hoped, the beatification of those whose deaths (1954-70) are attributed to the predecessors of the present-day regime could be understood and accepted by Laotian people of all faiths and affiliations and their political leaders, and could facilitate rather than inhibit social and interreligious dialogue.

They asked: While the traditional crucial underpinning of martyrdom is “*Odium Fidei*”, is there a deeper understanding of this same mystery, which can be usefully applied in our context? Their reasoning, leading to the beatification in 2016, rests on four major points:

- Acknowledge the local objections to a one-sided Western notion of martyrdom;
- Focus on the notion of “ancestors” (of the faith), as a basis for mutual understanding;
- Define “beatification” as elevating the most meritorious members to the rank of ancestors for the community to remember, venerate and imitate;
- Acknowledge Buddhist teachings on the contemplation of death to overcome

摘要

本篇论文将聚焦于老挝主教会议关于“殉教”议题的努力，这次会议试图拓展托马斯所提出的“殉道”定义，将这一概念与殉道者的社会、宗教和政治语境联系起来。参会者希望，对那些死于当下政权前任者手下的老挝殉道者（1954-70）的宣福礼，能通过这种方式被不同信仰和不同隶属关系的老挝人民及其政治领袖所理解和接受，能促进而非禁止社会的、跨宗教的对话。

参会者们发问：尽管殉道的传统关键一句是“*Odium Fidei*（因为信仰而被憎恨）”，但是对这样的神迹是否有着更为深刻的理解，能够有用地应用于我们的语境中呢？导致2016年那次宣福礼的理由，主要取决于四点：

- 一承认当地对西方单方面殉道观的异议；
- 一聚焦于（有信仰的）“先人”观，作为相互理解的基础；
- 一把“宣福礼”定义为把最值得赞扬的成员抬升到社群共同记忆、崇敬、模仿的先人的行列；
- 一承认佛教关于死随念，以克服老挝人对暴力致死者根深蒂固厌恶的教义。

the deep-seated Laotian aversion toward those who have died a violent death.

MARTYRS OF LAOS: FROM “*ODIUM FIDEI*”¹ TO VENERATION OF ANCESTORS

After unsuccessful attempts by Jesuits in previous centuries, Christianity, especially in its Catholic form, gained a foothold in Laos at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the midst of the incessant wars and conflicts of the last century, Laos’ local history has been without much brilliance (Costet, 1999). It suffered a violent backlash in 1975, when the faction supported by international communism took power. Until today, the country has no dioceses, only “missionary circumscriptions” from where the last European missionary left in 1977 (Jacques, 2018).

On the occasion of the Great Jubilee of 2000, however, Pope John Paul II asked this “young Church” to wake up to the hidden values it carries. “*Te martyrur candidatus laudat exercitus*”—“The noble army of martyrs praise Thee”—sings the liturgical hymn proclaimed every Sunday (John Paul II, 1994).

Between 1954 and 1970, seventeen men—lay persons and priests—were killed in Laos. Sixteen died at the hands of those who established the government of the Democratic Popular Republic of Laos. For the leaders of the Laotian Church, proclaiming this loud and clear was a tough challenge, even as their Church was living in semi-liberty, closely watched by that regime (Chevroulet, 2004; Jacques, 2007, 2019; USCIRF, 2009).

After a protracted time of reflection, their unanimous decision was to proclaim these Christian Martyrs before the entire Laotian

people, even as the Government deemed it a hostile act; not to confront them, but in a desire to join forces for a more harmonious future. This meant contextualising the event in the social and religious framework of the nation, in which the Catholic Church is but a tiny minority. They were confident that, in this way, the beatification of the martyrs could take place in Laos itself, and be understood and accepted by their political leaders as well as by the Laotian people of all faiths and affiliations (CELAC, 2013).

Though the absence of any Western priest was viewed as a positive asset—“we are not a religion of foreigners”—the makeup of the Catholic community in Laos posed a particular problem. The core nucleus are descendants of slaves, redeemed from Burmese raids and resettled on virgin lands by the Missionaries of Paris in the 1880s (Bayet, 1981). These Catholic communities, whose mother tongue is Laotian, have lived largely in isolation, severed from their cultures of origin, and especially cut off from the core of the Laotian nation, which is deeply rooted in Theravada Buddhism. Beyond this nucleus, increasing numbers of converts came from ethnic minorities who practice animism and shamanism, and speak their own unrelated languages (Sion, 1969).

The Bishops’ conference mirrors this composition, remaining marginal to the dominant culture and its values received from Buddhism, not to mention the set of values promoted by the Revolution. Just as their flock, they tend to be regarded as second-class citizens. Thus, they empowered a small committee of lay Catholics to dialogue with the Ministry of Home Affairs (Interior) and the Lao Front for National Construction, jointly in charge of religious affairs.

NAMING THE MARTYRS

Contextualising meant reinterpreting the classical, Thomist definition of “martyrdom”—a key element of the report demanded by Rome for the beatification of martyrs—in such a way that it would be relevant for their own social, religious and political context. Meanwhile, in 2006, Pope Benedict XVI restated forcefully the traditional

1 The term, “*Odiur Fidei*,” literally means “hatred of the Faith.” It is used traditionally to define a “martyr” or “martyrdom,” that is, a person whose persecution or execution is motivated by hatred of his or her (Catholic) faith, or an act so motivated. The criterion was used to distinguish martyrs from others who may have been murdered for other reasons, for example, for political reasons. The broadening of Catholic understandings of martyrdom, as in this case study on the martyrs of Laos, is part of a larger trend, and has surfaced again in the recent Canonisation to sainthood of Bishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador (San Martin, 2015).

老挝的殉道者：从“*Odium Fidei*”¹ 到对先人的崇敬

在前几个世纪耶稣会士不成功的尝试之后，尤其是天主教形式的基督宗教，终于在19与20世纪之交的时候，获得了老挝的一席之地。上个世纪，老挝陷入连绵的战争和冲突之中，老挝本地的历史没有多少熠熠生辉的东西（Costet 1999）。1975年，当国际共产主义支持的派别取得政权的时候，这个国家遭受了一场暴力冲击。直到现在，这个国家仍旧没有主教管辖的教区，仅仅是一个“传教士区域”，最后一位欧洲传教士于1977年离开了那里。（Jacques 2018）

但是，在2000年这一大赦年之际，教宗若望·保禄二世要求这个“年轻的教会”重新振作她被隐藏的价值，这就是他们每周日所唱礼拜颂歌中提及的“*Te martyr candidatus laudat exercitus*（大批高尚的殉道者赞美您）”。（John Paul II, 1994）

从1954年到1970年，共有十七人在老挝遇害，这些人有的是平信徒，有的是神父。十六人死于老挝人民民主共和国政府的建立者之手。对于老挝教会的领导者而言，大声而清晰地宣告这一点本身就是一个艰巨的挑战，甚至是在他们的教会受到当局严密监视，处于半自由的状态之时（Chevroulet 2004; Jacques 2007, 2019; USCIRF 2009）。

在持续反思了一段时间之后，尽管当地政府将此视作敌对行为，但是他们的一致决定是在老挝全体人民面前公布这些基督徒殉道者；不是为了和他们对抗，而是想要团结各方力量，争取更和谐的未来。这意味着将国家社会宗教框架中的事件语境化，在这个国家中，天主教会只是一个非常小的少数群体。他们相信，通过这种方式，对殉道者的祈福能够单单在老挝发生，并且被他们的政治领袖以及各种信仰和不同隶属关系的老挝人民所理解和接受（CELAC 2013）。

1 “*Odium Fidei*” 字面意思为“因为信仰而被憎恨”。它传统上被用来定义“殉道者”或“殉道”，换言之，殉道者是指一个人之所以受到迫害或被处决是因为其（天主教）信仰而受到憎恨，殉道是指由此而引起的行为。这一标准曾被用于分辨殉道和因为其他原因造成的谋杀，比如因政治原因的谋杀。正如这篇文章关于老挝殉道者的研究那样，拓展对天主教殉道的理解已经成为一个更大潮流中的一部分，并且又随着对萨尔瓦多主教奥斯卡·罗梅洛的封圣而再次引发重视。

尽管没有西方神父被看作一个有利条件——“我们不是洋人的宗教”——但是，在老挝，天主教团体的内部构成有其自身的具体问题。核心的问题是奴隶的后代，他们被巴黎的传教士在18世纪80年代从缅甸的劫掠中赎回，并被重新安置在处女地地上（Bayet 1981）。这些天主教团体的母语是老挝语，但是，他们却很大程度上孤立地生活着，他们从自己自己原来的文化中被割裂开来，特别是，他们被切断了与老挝民族的核心联系，这一民族深深根植于部派佛教中。在这一核心之外，越来越多的天主教皈依者来自信仰泛灵论和萨满教，说他们自己与老挝语无关联语言的少数民族（Sion 1969）。

在持续反思了一段时间之后，尽管当地政府将此视作敌对行为，但是他们的一致决定是在老挝全体人民面前公布这些基督徒殉道者；不是为了和他们对抗，而是想要团结各方力量，争取更和谐的未来。

这次主教会议反映了这种文化构成，面对主流文化以及来自佛教的价值观念，这种构成仍旧停留在边缘的位置，更不必说革命推进的那套价值观了。正如他们的信众一样，他们更容易被看作是二等公民。因此，他们授权一个小的平信徒委员会，来和共同负责宗教事务的内政部和老挝建国阵线对话。

命名殉道者

语境化意味着重新诠释托马斯关于“殉道”的经典定义——罗马为给殉道者行宣福礼所要求的报告的关键因素——它以这样一种方法而同其自身的社会、宗教、政治语境相关联。同时，在2006年，教宗本笃十六世强有力地重申了对殉道的传统理解：“必须……直接或间接地……确定迫害者‘因为信仰而生憎恨’。如果缺乏这一要素，那么，根据教会的长期神学与律法教义，就不会有真正的殉道。”（Benedict XVI 2006）。

understanding of martyrdom: “It is... necessary, directly or indirectly... to ascertain the “*Odium Fidei*” of the persecutor. If this element is lacking there would be no true martyrdom according to the perennial theological and juridical doctrine of the Church” (Benedict XVI, 2006).

Therefore, the Catholic bishops of Laos tackled the following question: With the understanding that we maintain the “perennial doctrine” integrally to enlighten the faithful, isn’t there a complementary point of view, a reverse side of the same mystery, that can be understood here and now in our context? Otherwise, proclaiming the martyrdom of our men would jeopardise all interreligious dialogue, and result in additional restrictions for our Church (CELAC, 2013).

Since the Christian wording, “*Odium Fidei*,” betokens its foreign origin, a new terminology was sought, to resonate more harmoniously with the local cultures. A striking example is the term “martyr,” common to most Western languages. In Laos, because of the strong influence of Vietnam on both the regime and the Catholic Church, it is ambiguous. “Martyr” is widely used in the English language media in both countries to render “*liệt sĩ*” (烈士), designating the Vietnam troops that were killed in Laos in the endeavour to conquer the land for socialism. Laos has a Monument to the Martyrs of Laos, and a Remembrance Day for the Martyrs, with patriotic celebrations promoted by the Vietnamese People’s Army. The same English word “martyr” renders the Christian phrase “*tử đạo*” or “*tử vì đạo*” (死(爲)導). Thus, the Catholic Church in Laos, resorting to Pāli rather than Greek, proposed မင်းသားသံဃာ (“*molanasakkī*”, Pāli “*maranasakkhī*”), which translates “bearing witness through death” (Jacques, 2014).

Removing the ambiguity made it possible to negotiate with the Laotian authorities: The Catholic community wished to honour their own “martyrs of Laos,” but under this new name, which underlined a different side of those men who died in the same years of the war. Though they were undeniably on opposite sides, all victims had died courageously to bear witness to a peaceful and harmonious coexistence of all members of the nation.

HONOURING THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS

Government authorities raised objections about the very notion of beatification: The Catholic community in Laos had never needed any such thing; to what purpose should it now introduce a new festival unknown in its (local) tradition? The short answer was: we need to recognise and honour those who are our ancestors, our forebears in faith. This statement resonates deeply with the mentality of Laotians. The notion of “ancestors,” *tổ tiên / tổ tông*, 祖先 / 祖宗, “ပံ့ပေးပုဂ္ဂိုလ်” (“*banphabulud*”, Pāli “*pubbapuris*”) is widely understood in Southeast Asia, transcending all religious denominations.

Indian and Chinese practices reverencing ancestors are prevalent here as they are throughout Asia. The adoption of Buddhism in the ethnic Lao population did not erase them, and a lot can be learned from their reinterpretation through the Laotian Buddhist rites and customs (Zago, 1972). The social aspect of the funeral ceremony (involving cremation or other means) ritualises the separation from the community of the living, and the entry into the community of ancestors. The rites reflect the need to believe in a life beyond, the desire to erase death as a mere manifestation of the non-permanence of all things. In Laos, to this day, marriage rituals include great offerings to parents and ancestors: the intention is to ask for their blessing and to show the will to be faithful to the good tradition they have left us. The same is true for the other main rites of life.

In this context, in spite of Roman concerns and doubts, the Bishops’ conference did not hesitate to showcase the martyrs through this designation. The Veneration of Ancestors, as promoted by Catholic teaching and practice in Southeast Asia in the late 20th century, has roots in the Confucian tradition of filial piety; this helps to shed light on the martyrdom of the newly beatified in Laos, which is blossoming for today through the cult rendered to them, as a living link to the True Origin of All Things (萬有真源) (Jacques, 2001). “Beatification” means elevating the most meritorious members of the community to the rank of venerated ancestors. Similarly, the regime recently asked everyone

因此，老挝的天主教主教们着手处理如下问题：以这样一种理解：即我们完整保持“长期的教义”来启蒙信仰者，难道就没有一种补充观点，一种在这里、现在在我们的语境中可以被理解的相同神迹的相反方面吗？此外，宣称我们的人殉道，会危及所有的跨宗教对话，导致对我们教会的额外限制。(CELAC 2013)

政府当局对宣福礼观念提出异议：老挝的天主教会从来就不需要这样的东西；现在引入一种当地传统中闻所未闻的新节日究竟是出于什么目的呢？一个简短的答案是：我们需要认识并纪念我们的祖先，我们在信仰上的祖先。这种说法与老

老挝殉道者的宣福礼将会是“*Odium Fidei*”这一定义的里程碑，也有可以被看作一个重要的先例。就其本身而论，它可以为了英雄的基督徒的事业而被援引到不同的文化语境中，这些基督徒没有接受他们正确地判断与福音核心信息不相符的新意识形态，而是献出了自己的生命。

由于“*Odium Fidei*”这个基督教用语表明是外国的词源，因此，一个新的术语被找来和当地的文化产生更为和谐的共鸣。一个显著的例子是“martyr”这个词，和西方大多数语言相同。在老挝，由于越南对当局和天主教会的强烈影响，这个词是含糊不清的。在这两个国家的英文媒体上，“martyr”被广泛地用于翻译“*liệt sĩ*”（“烈士”）这个词，这个词指代那些在老挝被杀死的越南战士，他们致力于攻克这片土地以建立社会主义。老挝有一座老挝烈士纪念碑，也有烈士纪念日，以及越南人民军促进的爱国主义庆典。同样的英语词“martyr”表示基督教用语“*tử vi đạo*”[死(爲)導]。因此，老挝天主教会从巴利文而非希腊文中挑选词源，他们选择了 *ມໍລະນະສັກຂີ*（“*molanasakkī*”，巴利文“*maranasakkhi*”），这个词可以被翻译为“通过死亡来见证”（Jacques 2014）。

消除歧义性使得与老挝官方的协商成为可能：天主教团体想要纪念他们自己的“老挝martyrs”，但是在这个新的名称之下，这个名称强调了那些死于相同战争年代之人的另外一面。尽管，不可否认的是，这些人站在了对立面上，但是所有的受害者的都勇敢地死去，见证着这个国家的所有成员都平静而和谐的共处。

挝人民的精神世界能产生深刻的共鸣。祖先的概念（*tổ tiên / tổ tông*，祖先 / 祖宗，“*ပိယမာပုဂ္ဂိုလ်*”，“*banphabulud*”，巴利文“*pubbapuris*”）在东南亚地区被广泛地接受，这种概念超越了所有的宗教派别。

印度人和中国人的祭祖习惯在这里如同在整个亚洲一样都很流行。老挝民族对佛教的接受并没有抹杀这些习惯，从他们通过老挝式佛教礼仪与习俗而进行的重新解释可以学到许多东西。(Zago 1972)。

葬礼（包括火葬和其他方式）的社会化方面就是将脱离活人圈子而进入祖先行列仪式化。这种仪式反映了相信彼岸生活的需求，即想要将死亡作为万物非永恒性的表现而抹去的愿望。时至今日，在老挝，婚礼仍旧包括向父母和祖先大量献供：意图是为了求取长辈们的祝福并表明他们仍旧信奉那些逝去者留下来的优秀传统。这一点同样存在于其他重要的生活仪式之中。

在此语境下，尽管有罗马方面的关注和质疑，主教会议还是毫不犹豫地以这种称号展现殉道者。20世纪末东南亚天主教的教义和实践中所倡导的尊敬祖先已经植根于儒家的孝传统中；这有助于理解这些刚刚被行宣福礼的老挝信徒，通过对他们的膜拜，他们作为一个通向万有真源的活生生环节而在今天兴旺发达(Jacques 2001)。

“宣福礼”意味着将团体中最具值得称颂的成员提升到受尊敬的先人行列。与此相仿，当局最近要求老挝的每一个人都记得革

in Laos to remember the ancestors of the Revolution: ເລົ່າມູນເຊື້ອ ບັນພະບູລຸດ (“*leāmunseu banphabulud*”) (literally, to “recount the ancestors”), telling the new generations of their deeds and sacrifices for the Cause, that they are invited to ponder—to contemplate.

CONTEMPLATING THE DEATH OF THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS

A last difficulty remained. How do non-Christians in Laos understand and assess the death of the martyrs? Zago writes: “For the Lao

After a protracted time of reflection, their unanimous decision was to proclaim these Christian Martyrs before the entire Laotian people, even as the Government deemed it a hostile act; not to confront them, but in a desire to join forces for a more harmonious future.

The Buddhist theology of merit provided a further argument. Even before Buddhism, “merit” was used with regard to ancestor worship, but in Buddhism it gained a general ethical meaning. Zago writes: “As part of the cult of the ancestors ... this is a sign of the universal mercy and the cosmic communion between all beings... The formulas of transmission open in this respect endless horizons about the human beings who can benefit from this communion” (Zago, 1972, p. 128). These realities are expressed in the formulas of transmission (Pāli *pattidānagāthā*, 迴向功德) chanted by the bonzes. Other rites and beliefs show the role played by ancestors as protectors of the living.

Doesn’t this evoke the communion of saints, and their humble invocation (δουλεία *douleia*) as patron-saints? In the history of the Catholic doctrine around the intercession of the saints, were not the martyrs the first to be so honoured—so contemplated? From the viewpoint of Asian civilisations, rites connecting to the ancestors are not anecdotal, but essential: Their veneration is constitutive of the human person and of the whole social fabric.

The martyrs officially recognised by the Church as “Blessed” have taken the first place among the “Founding Fathers of the Christian faith in Laos.” The honours they receive from the faithful will testify to everyone that the Laotian Christians are true Laotians, proud of their roots, and firm in their faith as were the martyrs.

people there are two quite distinct types of death, with very different rituals. Natural death by illness is considered normal, the fruit of a good life. Then there is bad death—unforeseen and violent... considered dangerous for the community, being a punishment for some past behaviour... The body of the unlucky is buried the same day amidst fear, almost with shame, to get rid of something dangerous” (Zago, 1972, p. 242).

The violent death inflicted on the martyrs should logically be seen as a nefarious episode in the social life of the community. Buddhism, however, enshrines a fundamental practice, called “contemplation of death” (*maranānussati*, ມຣະນານຸສະຕິ, 死随念), one of the “Ten Recollections” that punctuate the *Visuddhi Magga*, the Way to Purification. This Buddhist teaching helps span the above-mentioned contradiction. In chapter VIII, this 5th century CE “Great Treatise” of Theravada Buddhism specifies: “Recollection of death... yields great reward, great blessing; it has deathlessness as its goal and object” (Nyanatiloka, 1956). In other words, the contemplation of death—the profound thought that this will happen to us one day—softens the hardest hearts and connects people with bonds of love and compassion; it abolishes social barriers, beliefs and races among people who are subject to the common destiny of death; it helps to destroy vanity and longing for bodily pleasures; it gives balance and a sense of proportion to our minds, conditioned with false values.

命先烈们：告诉新一代人他们的事迹和为事业做出的牺牲，要他们深思（*လောကုဘဒ္ဒါပိယမ္မဒုဂ္ဂ*，“*leāmunseu banphabulud*”，字面意思：“详细描述”）。

佛教的功德神学提供了进一步的论据。甚至在佛教之前，“功德”被用于先人崇拜方面，但是在佛教中，功德获得了普遍的伦理意义。扎戈（Zago）写道：“作为先人崇拜的一部分……这是普世仁慈和众生间大融合的一个标志……迴向功德在这方面打开了关于能得益于这种融合的人类的无边无际视野”（Zago, 1972, p. 128）。这些现实在由僧侣唱诵的迴向功德中表达出来。其他礼仪与信仰表明了先人作为生者保护神所扮演的角色。

这难道不会唤起圣人的融合，以及他们作为主保圣人的谦卑祈祷（*δουλεία*）吗？在围绕圣徒代人祈祷天主教义史上，难道殉道者们不正是首先被这样纪念——被如此默观的吗？从亚洲文明的观点来看，与先人相关的礼仪不是趣闻式的，而是关键性的：对他们的崇敬是个体生活的构成，也是整个社会组织的构成。

被教会正式承认为“真福”的殉道者在“老挝基督教信仰的创立神父们”中间居首位。他们从信仰者那里得到的荣耀将向每一个人证实老挝的基督徒是真正的人，他们为他们的根感到自豪，像殉道者一样坚定自己的信仰。

对基督教殉道者的死随念

最后一个困难仍然存在。老挝的非基督徒们是如何理解和评价这些殉道者之死的呢？扎戈写道：“对老挝人而言，有两种非常不同的死法，分别对应着不同的仪式。因疾病而自然死亡被看作是正常的，是一生行善之果。还有一种恶性的死亡——不可预见而且暴力……被看作对社群很危险，是对过去某种行为的惩罚……不幸者的尸身在当天的恐惧中几乎带着羞耻下葬，以摆脱危险的事情。”（Zago, 1972, p. 242）

殉道者们所遭受的暴毙逻辑上应该看作是团体的社会生活中一个充满邪恶的片段。但是，佛教祀奉一种基本的实践，叫死随念（*maranānussati*，*မာရ်နာယုဒ္ဓါ*），这是强调《清净道论》的“十随念”之一。在第八章中，这部5世纪的部派佛教“大作”具体解

释：“死随念……能够产生功德与福报；它有不朽作为其目标和对象”（Nyanatiloka 1956）。换言之，死随念——认为有一天死将发生于我们中间的深刻思想——能软化最硬的心肠，用爱和慈悲的纽带将人们联系起来；它在共同遭受死亡命运的人们中间消除了社会障碍、不同信仰和不同种族；它有助于摧毁虚荣和对肉体快感的向往；它为我们受伪价值观支配的思维提供平衡和分寸感。

换言之，“死亡是开启明显生命神迹的关键。正是通过理解死亡，我们才理解生命，因为死亡在很大程度上是生命的一部分。所以，通过理解死亡，我们也理解了生命”（Jacques 2014）。通过死随念，我们思考生命的短暂和脆弱及导致死亡的众多可能原因——包括事故、突然伤害、敌人袭击。有一首传统的佛教偈诵说：“当智慧地看待他人生命的终结，将此比作风中之灯时，一个人应默观死亡……如果死亡能在瞬间来到赋有伟大荣耀、英勇、功德、神通力和智慧的佛陀面前，我有何可说呢？”（Anonymous 2012）。

在老挝殉道者们被行宣福礼之后差不多三年，老挝天主教会的牧灵人该建议所有信众来崇敬殉道者遗骸的时候到了。在以往年代，这样的事情从来没有发生过，但是，尽管对于暴毙之人的尸体有着根深蒂固的厌恶，提议却没有遭受反对。佛教的教义绝对有助于实现对这类仪式的接受。

一些总结的想法

老挝和柬埔寨的主教会议选择了一种主动而创新的方式去为那些在战争的黑暗年代中为他们的基督教信仰献出生命的人行宣福礼。他们将同政府的对话委托给更加熟悉主流文化或各种主流文化的信众成员。这种方式在2016年12月11日获得了成功的结局。

内政部在6月批准了教会的提议，内容如下：“这应该是一次建立团结、相互理解和互助的机会，这团结、相互理解和互助是来自我们先人的宝贵遗产和形象；这也是为了共同进步而保持天主教徒与政府组织以及与非天主教徒的良好关系的机会。”教宗方济各在2016年12月3日发布的教宗牧函回应了政府的关切；殉道者将被称为“真福”，作为“主耶稣基督与和平、正义、和解之福音的见证者”（see Jacques 2019）。

In other words, “Death is the key that opens the apparent mystery of life. It is through the understanding of death that one understands life, because death is, to a large extent, part of the process of life. So, by understanding death, we also understand life” (Jacques, 2014). By contemplating death, one reflects on the brevity and fragility of life and the many possible causes of one’s death—including accidents, sudden injuries, attacks by enemies. A traditional Buddhist recital says: “Seeing with wisdom the end of life in others, and comparing this to a lamp kept in a windy place, one should meditate on death... If death could come in an instant to the Buddhas endowed with great glory, prowess, merits, supernormal powers and wisdom, what could be said of me?” (Anonymous, 2012).

The Ministry of Home Affairs had given its approval in June 2016, in the following terms: “This should be an opportunity to create solidarity, mutual understanding and mutual help, which are the precious legacy and image received from our ancestors; and to maintain good relations (of Catholics) with governmental organisations, as well as with the non-Catholic people, for the sake of progress for all.” The Apostolic Letter of Pope Francis, dated December 3rd, 2016, addressed the government’s concerns: The Martyrs will be called Blessed, as “heroic witnesses of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Gospel of peace, justice and reconciliation” (see Jacques, 2019).

At the end of the solemn beatification rite, in an astonishing dialogue, the same concepts were developed in their respective allocutions by

The beatification of the Martyrs of Laos is a landmark for the definition of “*Odium Fidei*,” and ...could be invoked in different cultural contexts, for the causes of heroic Christians, who gave up their lives rather than following new ideologies that they rightly judged incompatible with the core message of the Gospel.

Almost three years after the beatification of the Martyrs of Laos, the time came for the pastors of the Catholic Church in Laos to propose to all faithful the veneration of their relics. This had never been done in any way in past years, but, in spite of the deep-seated aversion for the bodies of those who died a violent death, it met with no opposition. The Buddhist teaching definitely helped to achieve acceptance of this ritual.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The Bishops’ Conference of Laos and Cambodia chose an active and innovative approach to the beatification of those who had given up their lives for their Christian faith in Laos during the dark years of war. They entrusted the dialogue with the Government to members of the faithful more familiar with the dominant culture, or cultures. This approach came to its successful conclusion on December 11, 2016.

the Deputy Director of the Lao Front for National Construction and the Apostolic Delegate to Laos, nuncio Tschang In-nam. Though the “*Odium Fidei*” was certainly present in the memories of those who had known and loved the martyrs, it now faded in the background, to allow the present generation to write a new chapter of Christianity in Laos. “The martyrs teach us that, by the force of love, by gentleness, one can fight against arrogance, violence, war, and one can bring about peace with patience” (Pope Francis, Sep. 25, 2019).

The above-mentioned intervention of the Apostolic Delegate also opens up new perspectives for a careful reinterpretation of the criteria for martyrdom, that we inherited from Thomas Aquinas and Benedict XIV and were restated by Pope Benedict XVI. The Bishops’ Conference of Laos never considered advancing on their own on this doctrinal issue, restricting themselves to the local cultural and political

在这场庄严的宣福礼仪式结束时，老挝建国阵线副主席和被派往老挝的宗座代表、教廷大使张仁南（Tschang In-nam，汉译名为音译）在一次令人震惊的对话中，以各自的训示阐述了同样的概念。尽管“*Odium Fidei*”无疑存在于那些认识并爱戴殉道者之人的记忆里，但是，现在它现在已淡化到背景上，允许当下的一代人去书写老挝基督宗教的新篇章。“殉道者们教导我们的是，用爱的力量，用儒雅，一个人能够与傲慢、暴力、战争做斗争，并且能够用耐心来实现和平”（Pope Francis, Sep. 25, 2019）。

上文提及的宗座代表的介入也打开了新视角来认真重新解释我们从托马斯·阿奎那和本笃十四世那里继承来、本笃十六世所恢复的殉道标准。老挝主教会议从未考虑过在这个交易问题上发展他们自己的说法，而是让自己局限于当地的文化政治语境；但是，一位罗马教廷大使，借助他所受的训练和国际经验，有着更为开阔的眼界。无论如何，老挝殉道者的宣福礼将会是“*Odium Fidei*”这一定义的里程碑，也有可以被看作一个重要的先例。就其本身而论，它可以为了英雄的基督徒的事业而被援引到不同的文化语境中，这些基督徒没有接受他们正确地判断与福音核心信息不相符的新意识形态，而是先出了自己的生命。时间将会证明一切。



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context; but a Nuncio, through his training and international experience, has a wider outlook. In any case, the beatification of the Martyrs of Laos is a landmark for the definition of “*Odium Fidei*,” and may be considered an important precedent. As such, it could be invoked in different cultural contexts, for the causes of heroic Christians, who gave up their lives rather than following new ideologies that they rightly judged incompatible with the core message of the Gospel. Only time will tell.



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THE BIBLICAL ROOTS OF MEDITATION AND AN EXAMPLE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHINA

默观在《圣经》中的起源及其在中国天主教会历史上的发展

WOJCIECH RYBKA 吕博侃

ABSTRACT

This paper consists of two parts. First, it aims to show how the Bible regards meditation and similar prayer practices. The analysis will start with collecting and explaining the primary Hebrew and Greek terms related to meditation (e.g. *הגה* *haga(h)*, 'to murmur', 'to meditate'; *שיח* *siyah*, 'to speak', 'to meditate') and their use in the Bible. Some Biblical examples of the meditative prayer will also be shown. These analyses and examples will provide a number of features which constituted meditation or were characteristic to it in the Old Testament times and early Christianity. Such features include (but are not limited to) the following characteristics: 1) Meditation was always directed to God; it was a prayerful relationship with God. 2) Meditation often started with, and even consisted of, the reciting of a Biblical text (or some other pious texts) from memory or reading it in an undertone. 3) Meditation was connected with the constant repeating of the same Biblical (or pious) phrase and committing it to memory. In times when possessing a written scroll was a luxury, people depended on their memory much more than nowadays, and frequent repeating was necessary to learn the words of the Bible by heart or not to forget them. Second, the paper presents one of the prevalent prayers in the history of the Catholic Church in China, the Rosary, which

摘要

本文分为两部分。首先，指出《圣经》对默观以及类似的祷告活动的看法。本研究将首先概括并解释与默观有关的希伯来语和希腊语主要术语（例如，*haga(h)*，即“喃喃自语”、“默观”；*siyah*，即“说话”、“默观”）以及它们在《圣经》中的用法。同时也将列举一些与默观祷告有关的《圣经》例子。这些分析和举例将揭示默观的某些构成特点或默观在《旧约》时代和早期基督教中独有的特征。这样的特征包括（但不限于）以下方面：1）默观总是指向上帝；它是祈祷者与上帝之间的一种虔诚关系。2）默观通常始于抑或或完全是背诵或低声朗读一段《圣经》祷文（或其他一些虔诚的祷文）。3）默观是与不断重复同一段圣经（或虔诚的）句子并将其记在心中联系在一起。在纸张和书本都很昂贵的年代，人们比现在更依赖记忆，要想把圣经的祷文背下来或牢记于心，就必须经常重复阅读这些文字。其次，本文介绍了中国天主教会历史上流行的祈祷之方式——用念珠祈祷，从中能够清晰地看出《圣经》对默观的解释。本文最后将简要总结默观在《圣经》中的起源与这种祈祷方式之间的联系，这一祈祷方式是中国天主教精神遗产的一部分，在其发展历史上起着重要的作用。

contains clear traces of the Biblical teaching about meditation. The paper will conclude with a concise summary of the connection between the Biblical roots of meditative practices and this prayer which forms a part of the spiritual heritage of the Chinese Catholics throughout their history.



In contemporary English, the term “to meditate” is often associated with thinking about something, pondering something. In this way, its meaning does not depart from its Latin etymological root, *meditor*, *meditari* which also denotes the process of reflection. The connection of meditation with thinking is also evident in the Bible, especially in the use of words such as μελετάω *meletáo* (‘think about’, ‘meditate upon’) or διανοέομαι *dianoéomai* (‘think over’, ‘consider’)¹.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the terms denoting meditation in the Bible, as well as examples of this practice, reveal other important features. In the Hebrew Bible, there are two prominent words which are used to express the idea of meditating. The first one is הגה *haga(h)*: It appears, for instance, in Joshua 1:8 and Psalm 1:2 which encourage reflecting upon the Law of God, or in Psalm 63:7 where the author admits that he thinks about God during his night-watch. The root of this word, however, is not primarily associated with thinking, but with “sound-emitting”: among its 28 occurrences as a verb in the Hebrew Bible,² 14 times it has to be rendered into English as a verb associated with the emission of voice or sound, for example, depending on the context, as, “speak”, “tell”, “utter”, “proclaim”, “mutter”, “moan” or even “growl”. Thus, it is not surprising that also in verses where הגה *haga(h)* is generally translated as, “to meditate”, its meaning is nevertheless associated primarily with a sound:

Holladay explains it in his dictionary as “read[ing] in an undertone” or “ponder[ing] (by talking to ones[el]f)” (Holladay, 2000, en. 1932).

The second word used to denote meditating is שיח *siyah*. Its meaning is also connected with a voice emission, and in a number of occurrences, it is rendered as, “tell”, “speak”, “complain” or even “sing”.³ This root in its verbal form is used in the Hebrew Bible more often (11 times) than הגה *haga(h)* (5 times) to express the idea of meditating as a prayer.⁴

The use of words associated with sound emission to express the notion of a mental process appears to be no coincidence: it simply underlines the fact that in ancient Israel pondering something not infrequently began from saying or reading words aloud or muttering/whispering them in a low voice. The frequent repetition of a phrase or two containing the revealed truth enabled an individual to commit such words to his long-term memory.⁵ This fact, in turn, created an opportunity for him to think about their meaning more often and thereby influence his decision-making process.

Repetition of short phrases in prayer is well attested in the Bible. A number of Psalms, whose composition must have had a strong connection with mental prayer, contain regular repetitions in the form of a refrain occurring every couple of verses or even a repeated phrase in every single verse. As the famous example of the latter, Psalm 136 can easily be named: each of its 26 verses ends with a phrase וְדָסָה פְּלוּעַל יְיָ *ki ləolam hasdo* “for His steadfast love is forever”. Apart from the Book of Psalms,⁶ there are other examples of the repetitive prayer in the Bible: In Daniel 3:57-88,

1 For instance, in Sirach 6:37, where both words are used as synonyms.

2 It also occurs three times as a noun in the Hebrew Bible (Job 37:2, Psalm 90:9 and Ezekiel 2:10). The research about the occurrences of the Biblical words and texts have been done with the help of the search engine of the *BibleWorks 8* (Bushell, Tan & Weaver 2008).

3 See, for instance, Judges 5:10, 1 Chronicles 16:9, Job 7:11, Job 12:8 or Proverbs 6:22 in various English translations.

4 שיח *siyah* : Psalm 77:4; 77:7; 77:13; 119:15; 119:23; 119:27; 119:48; 119:78; 119:148; 143:5; 145:5; הגה *haga(h)*: Joshua 1:8; Psalm 1:2; 63:7; 77:13; 143:5.

5 Obviously, many ancient Israelites could not read, but we can reasonably surmise that they had the opportunity to listen to the words of the Torah in order to repeat them, memorize them and pass them on to their children: Cf. Block, 2015, pp. 107-108.

6 Examples of psalms containing the repetitive prayer: 24, 42 (together with 43), 57, 67, 103, 104, 107, 118, 135.



在当代英语中，“默观”一词常与思考、思索某事联系在一起。这样，它的意义就与它的拉丁文词源，meditor、meditari、meditari联系在一起，也表示反思的过程。默观与思考的联系在《圣经》中也很明显，特别是在meletáo（“思考”，“默观”）或dianoéomai（“思考”，“考虑”）¹等词的使用上。

“唱歌”³。在希伯来语《圣经》中，这个词根的动词形式使用的频率（11次）比哈加(h)（5次）更多，用祈祷表达默观的理念。⁴——使用与发音相关的词语来表达心理过程的理念似乎不是巧合：它只是强调了一个事实，即在古代以色列，思考某事常常是从大声说或朗读单词或低声嘀咕/耳语开始的。一个人经常性地重复一两个包含公开真理的短语，就能够把这些话长期记在脑子里⁵。这一事实反过来又为他创造了一个机会，让他更频繁地思考它们的意义，从而影响他的决

最后，《圣经》默观的一个更关键的特征需要提及。作为一种祈祷，默观总是指向上帝；这是一种与上帝建立联系的方式。

不过，仔细考察《圣经》中有关默观的用语，以及默观的例子，就会发现默观还有其他重要的特征。在希伯来《圣经》中，有两个显著的词用来表达默观的意思。第一个是哈加(h)：例如，它出现在《约书亚书》1:8和《诗篇》1:2中，这两篇鼓励反思神的律法，或者在《诗篇》63:7中，作者承认他在守夜的时候思考神。不过，这个词根主要不是与思考有关，而是与“发出声音”有关：在希伯来《圣经》中²，这个词作为动词出现了28次，其中14次译成英语与发出声音或声音本身有关。例如，在不同的上下文中，这个词可被译成“说话”，“告诉”，“发出”，“宣告”，“咕哝”，“呻吟”，甚至“咆哮”。因此，在一般译为“默观”的诗句中，haga(h)的意思主要与一种声音有关，这也就不足为奇了：哈勒戴在他的字典中将其解释为“低声朗读”或“沉思（通过与人交谈）”（哈勒戴，2000，en.1932）。

第二个用来表示默观的词是siyah。其意义也与发音有关，在许多情况下，它被译为“告诉”，“说话”，“抱怨”甚至

策过程。

在祷告中重复一些简短的句子，这在《圣经》中得到了充分的证明。《诗篇》的许多章节，其组成一定与宗教祈祷有很强的联系，包含有规律的重复形式，每对诗句出现一个叠句，甚至在每一个单独的诗句中出现一个重复的短语。作为后者的著名例子，人们很容易想到《诗篇》(Psalms)第136章：它的26段每一段都以一句כִּי לֹאֵלֶּם יִשְׁרָאֵל ki lə'olam hasdo “因为他坚定不移的爱与世长存”结尾。除了《旧约》的《诗篇》，⁶《圣经》中还有其他重复祷告的例子：在《但以理书》3:57-88中，“三个年轻人的颂歌”是以重复表达“祝福主”为基调的。此外，值得注意的是，在《客西马尼园》中，耶稣自己也用“重复同样的话”来祷告，正如《马可福音》14:39所记载的那样。最后，《圣经》默观的一个更关键的特征需要提及。作为一种祈祷，默观总是指向上

1 例如，在《西拉书》6:37中，这两个词是同义词。

2 在希伯来《圣经》中，它也曾三次作为名词出现（《约伯记》37:2，《诗篇》90:9和《以西结书》2:10）。有关《圣经》用语及其文本出处的研究利用了Bushell、Tan和Weaver（2008）编写的BibleWorks 8的搜索引擎。

3 例如，见《士师记》5:10，《历代志(上)》16:9，《约伯记》7:11，《约伯记》12:8或《箴言》6:22的不同英译本。

4 siyah: 《诗篇》77:4; 77:7; 77:13; 119:15; 119:23; 119:27; 119:48; 119:78; 119:148; 143:5; 145:5; haga[h]: 《约书亚书》1:8; 《诗篇》1:2; 63:7; 77:13; 143:5。

5 很明显，许多古代以色列人不识字，但我们可以合理地推测，他们有机会聆听《妥拉》的话语，以便复述，记忆并传给他们的孩子：cf. 参见：)Block, 2015年，第107-108页。

6 包含重复祷告的《诗篇》例子：24, 42（连同43），57, 67, 103, 104, 107, 118, 135。

the Canticle of the Three Young Men is built on the repeated expression εὐλογεῖτε...τὸν κύριον *eulogéite...ton kyrion* “bless the Lord”. Also, it is worth noting that, in the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus himself prayed by ‘saying the same words’, as recorded by Mark 14:39.

Last but not least, one more crucial feature of Biblical meditation needs to be mentioned. As a prayer, meditation was always directed to God; it was a way of having a relationship with God. In the Old Testament, this focus on God was often expressed by pondering on what God revealed which was labelled in different ways as God’s law, precepts, statutes, wonders, word, etc. Relevant examples can be found, for instance, in Psalm 119 or Psalm 1 which together with Psalm 2 “provide an introduction to the Psalter as a whole” (Limburg, 1992, p. 534). Of course, it is true that the words denoting the process of meditation were sometimes used to express the idea of merely thinking about something (or planning, plotting, etc.),⁷ but meditating is never portrayed in the Bible as a fitness exercise or a self-centred spiritual practice. Meditation in the Bible is a way of interpersonal encounter between a human being and God.

To sum up, prayerful meditation in the Bible appears as a mental process which not infrequently began with reading / pronouncing pious words aloud in a repetitive manner with a simultaneous focus on God and what pertains to Him.

Now, the question arises how this Biblical heritage was introduced among the faithful in the history of the Catholic Church in China. There is no proof that some religious practices of the Chinese faithful appeared as a result of their familiarity with the Biblical examples of meditative prayer. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to see similarities between their practices and the roots of meditation in the Bible, as described above. When we ask which prayer, widespread in China, combined the elements of speaking, repeating and reflecting upon matters pertaining

to God, it is the Rosary that comes first to mind.⁸ In China, as it is stated in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, there have been “countless texts on the Rosary, [and] the method of its praying, always including introductions to the mysteries, i.e. to the life ... of Jesus” (Malek, 2017, p. 110).

Last but not least, one more crucial feature of Biblical meditation needs to be mentioned. As a prayer, meditation was always directed to God; it was a way of having a relationship with God.

It is not easy to determine who first introduced the Catholic Rosary to China. On the one hand, the prayer of the Rosary was strongly associated with the Dominicans and their tradition (Thurston & Shipman, 1912). This tradition was strengthened in the second half of the 16th century by the introduction of the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary and the subsequent resolution of the Dominican General Chapter in 1574 which “advocated a widespread promotion of the rosary” (Clarke, 2013, p. 30). Consequently, the Dominicans in China, acting in accordance with the resolution, zealously promoted the Rosary already during the Ming dynasty (cf. Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 3181-3186; Menegon, 2009, p. 252). On the other hand, the Jesuits also used the Rosary in their missionary efforts during the same period: For example, Rosary beads were among the objects of piety that the Jesuits gave to Joseph Wang, a Catholic layman and a eunuch in the service of the Chongzhen emperor, to be distributed among the converts in the imperial palace (Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 2816-2832).

In any event, already in the first half of the 16th century (or perhaps even earlier), the Rosary was practiced by Catholics in different parts of China, for example Mindong (Fujian Province),

7 Cf. e.g., Psalm 2:1; 38:13; Proverbs 24:2.

8 According to David Bryan, the Rosary is “Christianity’s most popular method of meditation” (Bryan, 1994, p. 756).

帝；这是一种与上帝建立联系的方式。在《旧约全书》中，这种对上帝的关注常常通过思考上帝所启示的内容来表达，这些内容分别被称为上帝的律法、戒律、律例、奇事、话语等。相关的例子可以在《诗篇》第119章或第1章中找到，它们与第2章一起“打开了通向整个《诗篇》的大门”（林伯格，1992:534）。当然，表示默观过程的字眼有时的确用来表达只想某事（或计划，策划等），⁷但《圣经》从来没有把默观描绘成一种健身运动或以自我为中心的属灵修行。

《圣经》中的默观是人与神之间的一种交流方式。

总而言之，《圣经》中的祷告默观表现的是一种心理过程，常常是以重复的方式大声朗读/念出虔诚的话语，同时专注于上帝和与他有关的事物。

现在，问题来了，在中国天主教会的历史上，这一《圣经》文化遗产是如何在信众中推出的。没有证据表明，中国信众的一些宗教活动的出现是因为他们熟悉《圣经》中的默观祷文的事例。尽管如此，正如上文所述，我们不难看出他们的做法与《圣经》中默观的根源有相似之处。如果问在中国广为流传的祷告方式中，哪一个结合了谈论、重复和思考与神有关的事情的元素，我们首先想到的是持念珠祷告的玫瑰经。⁸正如《耶稣基督的中国面孔》一书中所说，在中国，“玫瑰经有无数的经文，[和]诵经的方法，其中总有对神秘的耶稣（……）生命事迹的介绍”（马利克，2017:110）。

难以确定是谁最早把天主教的玫瑰经用念珠祷告介绍到中国。一方面，持念珠的祈祷与多明我会士及其传统有很强的联系（Thurston, H., & Shipman, A., 1912）。16世纪下半叶，这一传统因引入玫瑰经的圣母节和随后于1574年通过的多明我会总章决议而得到加强，该决议“倡导广泛推广玫瑰经”（Clarke 2013:30）。因此，在中国的多明我会士根据该决议采取行动，在明朝期间就已积极推广玫瑰经（参看Charbonnier, 2007:3181-3186; Menegon, 2009:252）。另一方面，耶稣会士在同一时期的传教活动中也使

用了玫瑰经：例如，耶稣会士将玫瑰经的念珠送给崇祯皇帝的太监兼天主教居士王约瑟，以便在皇宫内向皈依者分发（Charbonnier, 2007, Loc. 2816-2832）。

无论如何，早在16世纪上半叶（或者更早），天主教徒就已经在中国的不同地区，例如闽东（福建省）、杭州和北京修习玫瑰经（参见Menegon, 2009:206-207; Charbonnier, 2007:2821-2832, 3296-3302）。

如果问在中国广为流传的祷告方式中，哪一个结合了谈论、重复和思考与神有关的事情的元素，我们首先想到的是持念珠祷告的玫瑰经。

当然，玫瑰经在中国的流行很难被看作是人民对《圣经》默观修行的思考结果。造成这一现象的原因是多方面的：从许多传教士的观点来看，教导人们用念珠诵经玫瑰经是让耶稣基督和他生命的奥秘更接近大众的最佳途径之一（Malek, 2017:110）。从普通信众的观点来看，持念珠诵经的外在表象与他们所熟悉的佛教仪轨有相似之处，例如重复背诵（或者更确切地说是“半音吟诵”）某一特定经文，或者使用珠环/串珠诵经（参见Menegon, 2009:245-246; Harrison, 2013:27-28）。

然而，这些相似之处并不能抹杀念珠与圣经的渊源关系，即使中国的信徒不一定知道这种渊源的存在。这些渊源不仅在表现祷告的形式上，而且首先表现在它的内容上。在玫瑰经的祷告过程中，重复的祈求中使用的大多数词语都直接取自《圣经》文本（根据《马太福音》的主祷文和根据《路加福音》的《万福玛利亚》的前半部分），而其他祈祷或其部分内容都是根据《圣经》信息创造的。然而，最重要的是对耶稣生命奥秘的思索，它向我们展示了玫瑰经与《圣经》密不可分的渊源关系。

传教士们意识到念珠的重要性，但也意识到口头祷告和精神祷告相结合的困难，他们中的一些人采取具体措施教导信徒注意这个问题。例如，让-马丁莫耶（1730-1793）曾在川东和贵州工作，他写了特别的默

7 参看《诗篇》2:1; 38:13; 《箴言》24:2。

8 根据大卫·布莱恩的说法，念珠是“基督教最受欢迎的默观方法”（布莱恩，1994年，第756页）。

Hangzhou and Beijing (cf. Menegon, 2009, pp. 206-207; Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 2821-2832, 3296-3302).

Of course, the popularity of the Rosary in China can hardly be seen as a result of the reflection of the people on Biblical meditation practices. The reasons for this phenomenon were manifold. From the point of view of many missionaries, teaching people to pray the Rosary was one of the best ways to bring Jesus Christ and the mysteries of His life closer to the people (Malek, 2017, p. 110). From the point of view of the ordinary faithful, the outward appearances of praying the Rosary bore similarities to Buddhist practices they were familiar with, e.g. repetitive recitation (or rather “chanting in semitone”) of a given text, or the use of chaplets/strings of beads (cf. Menegon, 2009, pp. 245-246; Harrison, 2013, pp. 27-28).

in east Sichuan and Guizhou, wrote special meditations to be said during the Rosary between each “Hail Mary” prayer. He intended to help the faithful not to recite the prayers automatically but to direct their thoughts to the mysteries and learn to imitate the examples from them (Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 4566-4598).

Teaching the faithful this type of meditative prayer was without a doubt very fruitful for the growth of the Church in China. It helped people to preserve their faith, especially in times of persecution. Fr. Charbonnier relates that in 1983, during his ministry in Singapore, he was visited by a twenty-three-year-old sailor from Fuzhou in China who wanted to see a priest. It turned out that he was a Catholic, from a Catholic family, but he did not know much about his faith; his growing up in the turbulent times of the Cultural Revolution contributed significantly

When we ask which prayer, widespread in China, combined the elements of speaking, repeating and reflecting upon matters pertaining to God, it is the Rosary that comes first to mind.

Such similarities, however, do not nullify the Biblical roots of the Rosary even if the Chinese faithful practising this form of prayer were not necessarily aware of them. These roots are the most visible not only in the form of this prayer but first of all, in its contents. Most words used in repeated invocations during this prayer are taken directly from the Biblical text (the *Lord's Prayer* from the Gospel according to Matthew and the first half of the *Hail Mary* from the Gospel according to Luke) whereas other invocations or parts of them have been coined on the basis of the Biblical message. Most importantly, however, it is the meditation on the mysteries of the life of Jesus, which show us the deep Biblical roots of the Rosary.

The missionaries were aware of the Rosary's importance, but also of the difficulty of combining oral and mental prayer and some of them took steps to teach the faithful to pay attention to this issue. For example, Fr. Jean-Martin Moye MEP (1730-1793) who worked

to this ignorance. What he knew, however, was the Rosary that he was praying with his family members at home every night (Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 76-98).

Nevertheless, the Rosary was not only the prayer of the beginners in faith. It was also practised by the faithful whose very advanced level of spiritual life was proved by their martyrdom. For instance, on 7 November 1814 in Sichuan, Wu Guosheng (吳國盛), one of the 120 Chinese Martyrs canonized by Pope John Paul II in October 2000, was condemned to death for refusing to renounce his faith and it was the Rosary he chose to pray when he was being led to the place of execution (Charbonnier, 2007, loc. 4398-4409; 天主教台灣地區主教團宣聖委員會 *Tianzhujiao Taiwan Diqu Zhujiaotuan Xuansheng Weiyuanhui* [Special Committee of the Chinese Regional Bishop's Conference], 2000, p. 76).

To conclude: In the Bible, meditation as a prayer is often associated not only with the

观，要在每次用念珠背诵“圣母颂”祷文时说出。他试图将信徒的思想引向耶稣，而不是机械地背诵祷文，并学习模仿祷文中的具体事例（卡波涅尔，2007. 4566-4598）。

教导信徒这种类型的默观祷告，无疑对教会在中国的发展是非常有成效的。它帮助人们传承自己的信仰，尤其是在受迫害的时候。夏邦尼神父说，一九八三年，他在新加坡使命期间，有一位来自中国福州的二十三岁水手来拜访他，他想见一位神父。原来他是一个天主教徒，生于一个天主教家庭，但他不太了解自己的信仰；他成长于动荡的文化大革命时期，他对宗教信仰了解很少，这在很大程度上归因于那个特殊的时代。然而，他却知道每晚在家里与家人一起用念珠诵经的事情（卡波涅尔，2007:76-98）。

然而，用念珠诵经并不只是入门信徒的祈祷方式。资深信徒也这样做，他们的精神境界很高，他们的殉道证明了这一点。例如，1814年11月7日，在四川，2000年10月被教宗若望-保禄二世册封的120名中国烈士之一吴国盛因拒绝放弃信仰而被判处死刑，他在被带到行刑地点时选择了用念珠祈祷玫瑰经（卡波涅尔，2007:4398-4409；天主教台湾地区主教会议特别委员会，2000:76）。

总之：在《圣经》中，默观作为一种祷告，常常不仅与思考上帝和他的话语的过程相关联，同时也与重复的口头祷告相关联。这种做法的线索可以在世界各地基督徒的信仰活动中找到。玫瑰经是这一传统的突出例子之一。口头和心理因素的结合产生了这种祈祷，它在中国十分流行。它既简单又意义深远，源于《圣经》并适应当地的表达形式，受到新皈依天主教的人和为信仰献出生命的英勇信徒的赞赏和推崇。它提醒人们，在祷告中重复特定的固定短语很简单，这种祷告方式在《圣经》和教会历史中有着悠久的传统。应用得当，就有可能通过默观与上帝建立具有深远意义的联系。



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process of thinking about God and His word but also simultaneously with a repetitive oral prayer. Traces of this practice can be found in a number of devotional activities of Christians around the world. The Rosary is one of the prominent examples of this tradition. The combination of oral and mental elements produced this prayer which became extremely popular in China. It was both simple and very profound, rooted in the Bible and adapted to the local forms of expression, appreciated and practised by both fresh converts to Catholicism and by the heroic believers who gave their lives for the faith. It is a reminder that the simplicity of repeating specific fixed phrases in prayer has a long tradition in the Bible and the history of the Church. When done properly, such practices make possible a profound meditative encounter with God.



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“PUT OUT INTO DEEP WATER” (LUKE 5:4) MEANINGS AND METHODS OF CATHOLIC MISSION FROM POPE BENEDICT XV TO POPE FRANCIS

“划到深处去”（路 5:4）¹：从本笃十五世到 教宗方济各，天主教传教的意义与方法

ALESSANDRO ANDREINI 亚历桑德罗·安德烈尼

ABSTRACT

Issued one year after the end of World War I, the apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XV *Maximum Illud* attempted to renew the Catholic church's commitment to its mission. Highlighting the universality of Christian mission and fostering a new attention to the richness of cultures, the letter places itself at the starting point of the concept of inculturation. This new theological understanding deals with the awareness that the Spirit of God operates in the heart of men and cultures even before the arrival of the Gospel. It has found an astonishing fulfilment, one hundred years later, in the signing of a *Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together* by Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmad Al-Tayyeb that demonstrates a new approach not only toward interreligious dialogue, but also toward a new frontier of shared truths that, beyond religious differences, affirm our common commitment to human dignity, peace and mutual respect, reciprocity and care. The study suggests that this theological shift has been partially developed thanks to the spiritual experience of some of the protagonists of the Chinese “missionary laboratory” in the first decades of XX century, i.e. the two Lazarist priests Cotta and Lebbe and, above all, Cardinal Celso Costantini.

摘要

在第一次世界大战结束之后的一年中，时任教宗本笃十五世颁布了一封宗座牧函《夫至大》（apostolic letter, *Maximum illud*），这封牧函试图重新诠释天主教会的传教使命。这封牧函既强调了基督教传教事工的广泛性，又更加注重不同文化的丰富性，因而这封牧函成为“因地制宜的文化适应”（inculturation）这一概念的起点。这种新的神学理解包含着对圣灵的认识，即圣灵一直在众人的内心和诸文化的核心处工作，甚至在福音降临之前，这种工作就已经开始了。一百年后，教宗方济各和阿兹哈清真寺大伊玛目泰耶伯共同签署了《人类兄弟情谊文件》（*Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together*），这封新的文件将《夫至大》的理念推向完美，它不仅展示了一种全新的跨宗教对话方法，而且也提供了一条通向宗教共同真理的道路，即在差别之外，各宗教都充分肯定人性尊严、和平与相互尊重、互利互惠与宗教关怀的价值。本文提出，在20世纪初的中国，这种神学转向已经有所发展，一些在中国进行“传教试验”的领导者们已经开始

1 译者注：由于本文着眼于天主教，因此，文中提及的《圣经》经文将遵照《圣经》思高本的翻译

A SPIRITUAL CRY IN FAVOUR OF PEACE

Issued on 30 November 1919, one year after the end of World War I, the apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XV *Maximum Illud*, “On the propagation of the faith throughout the world,” was an attempt to renew the Catholic church’s mission after the devastating havoc of the war. From this perspective, *Maximum Illud* sought to foster the primacy of the Gospel inside the Church, in an awareness that a serious spiritual rebirth of Christians was urgently needed (Iheanacho, 2015). Benedict XV’s message was also a denunciation of the odious contrasts that characterized the work of missionaries with a much too nationalistic understanding of their mission: “It would be tragic indeed if any of our missionaries forgot the dignity of their office so completely as to busy themselves with the interests of their terrestrial homeland instead of with those of their homeland in heaven” (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 19). Among the various dangers deriving from such behaviour, Benedict XV points out the worst, i.e., the corruption of the true image of God:

Such a situation could easily give rise to the conviction that the Christian religion is the national religion of some foreign people and that anyone converted to it is abandoning his loyalty to his own people and submitting to the pretensions and domination of a foreign power (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 19).

It is useful to recall that *Maximum Illud*’s warnings against a nationalistic interpretation of Christian religion were inspired by the Church’s experiences in China. Scholars, in fact, have clearly pointed out that Benedict XV and his advisors in the *Propaganda Fide* were moved by a report by the Lazarist missionary,¹ Antonio Cotta (1872-1957) (Anderson, 1999, p. 154), who on 6 February 1917 wrote concerning the challenges he and another Lazarist priest, Vincent Lebbe, (1877-1940) (Anderson, 1999, pp. 388-389; Iheanacho, 2015, pp. 185ff), faced in the Chinese mission. Sent to Tientsin in 1906, where Lebbe had already been working since 1901, the

two missionaries became staunch advocates of the Chinese and found themselves increasingly opposed to the elitist mentality prevailing in the missionary communities. They attempted to make the Chinese church more Chinese through a work of inculturation and training of the local clergy. This was an effort that really fostered a new understanding of the church not as a servant of the foreign nations, but as a mission deriving from the nature of Christian community (Gabrieli, 2015). In hindsight, China served as a “missionary experiment” that prompted a wide rethinking of the evangelization process of the Catholic church (Parolin, 2019).

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

Benedict XV’s letter has been rightly praised as the *magna charta* of Catholic missions in the twentieth century. One of its first aims is to renew a more broad-minded understanding of the openness of the Christian message to all cultures and civilizations: “The Catholic Church is not an intruder in any country; nor is she alien to any people” (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 16). Neither an intruder nor an alien: Benedict XV’s affirmation is the modest starting point of a process that lasts until today:

It is only right that those who exercise her sacred ministry should come from every nation, so that their countrymen can look to them for instruction in the law of God and leadership on the way to salvation (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 16).

If, on the one hand, *Maximum Illud* stresses the need of establishing a local hierarchy and clergy, on the other, it considers local priests ready for their mission just when and if their preparation manages to move far beyond national belonging. The education of local priests - the document explains - “should be complete and finished, excellent in all its phases, the same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive” (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 15). In the mind of the Pope, such an indication intends to counter a way of considering local priests as a “subordinate priesthood,” doomed - the letter states - “to perform the humbler duties

¹ The Lazarists are the priests of the Congregation of the Mission founded in 1625 by Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660).

应用这种方法，比如，两位遣使会司铎，汤作霖（Antonio Cotto, C.M.）和雷鸣远（Vincent Lebbe, C.M.），以及刚恒毅主教（S.E. Celso Costantini）。

1. 支持和平的灵性呼喊

1919年11月30日，也就是第一次世界大战结束一年以后，教宗本笃十五世颁布了宗座牧函《夫至大：论向普世传教事工》，¹这封牧函尝试在战争的浩劫之后重新诠释大公教会的福传使命。从这一角度出发，《夫至大》明确认识到基督徒灵性重生的迫切需要，致力于提升福音在教会中的首要位置（Theanacho, 2015）。本笃十五世的牧函也谴责了传教士们对于他们事工的那种过分民族主义的理解，这种理解与传教的使命是极端对立的，为此，他说道：“传教士如果忘记自己的真正身分，将是很可悲的事情，以致只想世上的祖国，而忘记了天国，以致专务扩展尘世祖国的光荣和利益在万有之上”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 19）。这种基于民族主义的传教事工带来了种种的危险，本笃十五世指出了其中最为恶劣的一条，即上帝真实形象的败坏：

“这样，各族人民就容易拥护他们作为他们生活的导师及救恩的向导”
（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 16）。

“他们的福传工作会令人怀疑，很容易误导人们认为天主教是洋教，谁进了教就归属外国的政权之下，而背弃自己的祖国了”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 19）。

受到当时中国教会经历的启迪，《夫至大》警告了那些将基督教过分民族主义化的宗教解释，在今天，重提这一点是十分有价值的。事实上，学者们已经清晰地指出了，本笃十五世和他在万民福音部（*Propaganda Fide*）的顾问们曾经被遣使

会士²汤作霖（1872-1957）的报告所感动（Anderson, 1999, p. 154）。汤作霖在1917年2月6日写下了这篇报告，向教会展示了他和另一位遣使会士雷鸣远（1877-1940）在中国的福传工作中所面临的挑战（Anderson, 1999, pp. 388-389; Theanacho, 2015, pp. 185ff）。汤作霖在1906年被派遣到天津，而雷鸣远则在1901年就已经在这座城市传教了。在中国，这两位传教士坚定地支持中国人，并且日益强烈地反对当时传教团体中的精英主义心态。他们尝试通过一些因地制宜的文化适应工作和培养当地的神职人员来推动中国教会的中国化：这种努力促进了对教会的新理解，教会不再是外国的仆人，而是一个根植于基督教团体本性的传教团队（Gabrieli, 2015）。如今回想起来，中国在当时成为了一次“传教试验”，这场试验促进了一场对于天主教会福音进程的广泛反思（Parolin, 2019）。

2. 光明与暗影

本笃十五世的这封牧函被恰当地赞誉为“20世纪天主教福传事工的《大宪章》”。这封牧函最主要的目的之一就是重申一种更为心胸开阔的理解，即基督教的讯息是面向所有文化与文明的：“天主教既是大公的教会，就不能对一个民族或国家呈现洋教的形象。”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 16）。既非入侵，又非洋教：本笃十五世对于教会的这一主张谦逊地开启了这样一个持续至今的进程：

“这样，各族人民就容易拥护他们作为他们生活的导师及救恩的向导”
（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 16）。

如果说，《夫至大》一方面是在强调建立起本地的教阶体系并培养当地的神职人员，那么另一方面，它也考虑到当地的司铎应当为他们的传教做好准备，以便他们能够在他们准备好超越国家归属的时候能够去往更远的地方传教。这封牧函解释道：当地司铎的教育“必须要有充足的教学科目，就如文明国家培育司铎那样”（Benedict

1 译者注：本文《夫至大》的译文援引自孙峥神父的翻译版本

2 遣使会士指遣使会（Congregation of the Mission）中服侍的司铎，该修会由圣文生·德·保禄（saint Vincent de Paul, 1581-1660）在1625年创建。

of the ministry, acting as the assistants of foreign priests” (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 15). Local priests - the Pope continues - “must take up God’s work as equals, so that someday they will be able to enter upon the spiritual leadership of their people” (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 15). Nevertheless, even this model of priestly formation continues to assume the subtle Eurocentric pretence that western education remains the point of reference for the whole church.

A richer and more encouraging perspective towards a deeper connection of Catholic mission with peoples and cultures is *Maximum Illud*’s insistence on languages.

Among the attainments necessary for the life of a missionary, a place of paramount importance must obviously be granted to the language of the people to whose salvation he will devote himself. He should not be content with a smattering of the language but should be able to speak it readily and competently (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 24).

“It is only right that those who exercise her sacred ministry should come from every nation, so that their countrymen can look to them for instruction in the law of God and leadership on the way to salvation.” (Benedict XV, 1919, *Maximum Illud*)

Indeed, the attention to languages and their more serious study and understanding should launch a progressively richer contact with various cultures and promote a “science of missiology” that the letter hopes will develop as “a branch of study that from now on is to be included in the curriculum” of missionaries (Benedict XV, 1919, n. 23).

“CHINA BELONGS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE”: THE LEGACY OF CELSO COSTANTINI

Beyond the exhortations just acknowledged, the movement started by *Maximum Illud* led to a significant renewal of the missionary action of the church, shaping it for the greater part of the twentieth century (Iheanacho, 2015, pp. 229ff). The main protagonist of the implementation of the letter in the Far East lands was surely Cardinal Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini (1876-1958), the first apostolic Delegate to China (Gabrieli, 2015; Rampazzo, 2012).

Having arrived in China in late 1922, Costantini’s work from the beginning moved in the direction indicated by *Maximum Illud*: promoting a strong evangelization and helping the local church to become fully indigenous. In his recollection of the eleven years he spent in China, published in 1946, Costantini summarized his goals with these clear words:

The Apostolic Delegate’s mission has an exclusively religious and missionary dimension: it has not to have any bond or political aim. ... I depend only from the Pope and just represent the Pope. The Holy See ... has no imperialistic goal in China. ... China belongs to the Chinese people (Costantini, 1946, p. 4).

Missions must serve China and not take advantage of it.

When the time comes to institute somewhere the church with its local hierarchy, then foreign missionaries have achieved their goal and have to leave and go elsewhere to prepare and promote the institution of other local churches (Costantini, 1946, p. 4).

Costantini’s slogan “China to the Chinese” was, indeed, a clear reaction against the colonial perspective that associated the experience of converting to Christianity with the loss of Chinese identity. On the contrary, love for homeland, its culture and traditions is deeply rooted in the Christian experience. In a spiritual reflection written in Beijing in 1927, Costantini clearly

XV, 1919, N. 15)。³在这位教宗心里，这句话驳斥了那种将本地司铎看作是“次要的祭司”，这封信否定了“要他们用较卑下的服务来辅助外籍的传教士”这种观点（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 15）。这位教宗继续说到，当地的司铎必须平等地“履行侍奉天主的义务，终有一日管理他们自己的人民”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 15）。但是，这种对司铎组织的范式也仍旧带有一种轻微的欧洲中心式的自吹自擂，西方的教育模式仍旧被当作整个教会的基准。

《夫至大》对于语言的强调是一种更为丰富且更具有启发性的观点，这种观点引导天主教福传工作与当地人民和文化产生更为深刻的联系：

“那些在异国传教的人，献身于宣扬救恩，应当有所学习。传教士首先必须学习的，是民众的语言。不是一知半解的语言，而是要准确流利”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 24）。

的确，对语言的注意和更为精深的学习与理解能够为与不同文化进行逐渐丰富的交流奠定基础，这也能够促进“传教学”的发展，正如牧函之中所说的，“课程中另设一个学科，专门讲授有关传教的学问”（Benedict XV, 1919, N. 23）。

3. “中国属于中国人民”：刚恒毅的遗赠

《夫至大》开启了一场新的运动，这场运动超越了这封牧函所针对的内容，引领了教会传教事工的更新，塑造了20世纪剩余时间中的传教活动（Iheanacho, 2015, pp. 229ff）。在远东地区，实现这封牧函的主要人物当然就是刚恒毅主教（1876-1958），他也是第一位被派往中国的圣座大使（Gabrieli, 2015; Rampazzo, 2012）。

自从1922年下半年抵达中国，刚恒毅主教的事工一直都沿着《夫至大》指明的方向推进：有力地传播福音并帮助本地教会充分实现本土化。一本记录了他在11年经历的回忆录在1964年被出版，在这本书中，刚恒毅清晰地总结了她的目标：

“圣座大使的使命唯有宗教和福传的维度：它与政治没有任何关系，也不具备政治的目标……我只依靠教

宗并且也只代表教宗。圣座……在中国没有任何帝国主义的目标……中国属于中国人民”（Costantini, 1946, p. 4）。

福传事工必须是服务于中国，而非利用中国：

“当教会建立起她本土的教阶体系时，外国传教士已经达成了他们的目标，也必须在这一时刻离开，去往其他地方，为其他本土教会的建构做好准备，促进他们建立本土的教阶”（Costantini, 1946, p. 4）。

刚恒毅的口号是“中国属于中国人”，鲜明地反对殖民主义的观点，即将皈依基督教的经验与剥离中国人的身份认同相结合。相反，热爱祖国这种文化和传统深深地根植于基督教的经验之中。在1927年，刚恒毅在北京写下了他的灵性反思，在这篇反思中，刚恒毅明白地指出了仁爱应该是基督教福传工作的唯一基础：

“基督教宣道工作的根基是仁爱，宣道的手段也必须展示仁爱、温和与谦虚的特点：‘跟我学罢！因为我是良善心谦的’（玛11:29）”（Pighin, 2019, p. 50）。⁴

刚恒毅在中国的主要成就广为人知：1924年，他在上海召开了第一届中国主教会议——这次会议讨论了如何培养本土的神职人员以及本土司铎和外国司铎的平等问题——这次会议也颁布了规范中国福传工作的新章程，协助创办了北京辅仁大学，确定了六位中国本土的司铎为主教的候选人，并且开办了几个地区性的重要神学院。主徒会在1927年创办，这格外的令人感兴趣，这支修会致力于为本土的神职人员提供更好的中国式训练，并且致力于克服中国人把天主教看作是外国宗教的怀疑心理，从而完成《夫至大》的深层目标（Tai Fai, 2015, pp. 13-15）。尸

4. 教宗方济各的“人传人”方法

这次福传使命的更新极其重要，为日后梵蒂冈第二次大公会议的方法奠定了基础，这就是“按照福音的启示审时度势”（Second Vatican Council, 1965b, n.

³ 译者注：此处“文明国家”，原文为“a European”。

⁴ 原文标注为Matthew 11:19，与引述语句不符，建议调整为11:29。

points out that charity has to be the exclusive foundation of Christian mission.

The bedrock of Christian preaching is charity and also the means of preaching must show the characters of charity, mildness and humility: ‘learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart’ (Matthew 11:19) (Pighin, 2019, p. 50).

The more the church develops its spiritual identity in the direction of the mystery of the Incarnation, the more it experiences a fruitful openness to every culture and tradition.

the deep correspondence between Costantini’s vision and the missionary method described by Pope Francis as the “person to person” approach (Francis, 2013, nn. 127-129). This becomes the sole way through which we can experience a real and profound missionary renewal: a kind of informal preaching that can take place everywhere and out of any institutionalized context. “Being a disciple - Francis observes - means being constantly ready to bring the love of Jesus to others, and this can happen unexpectedly and in any place: on the street, in a city square,

“In the name of God, in order to safeguard peace, we need to enter together as one family into an ark which can sail the stormy seas of the world: *the ark of fraternity*.” (Francis I, 2019)

Costantini’s main achievements in China are known: he called the first episcopal conference in Shanghai in 1924 – discussing how to foster local clergy and equality between foreign and native priests, made new constitutions for the missions in China, helped the founding of the Fu Jen Catholic University in Beijing, identified six indigenous Chinese candidates for episcopal ordination and established several regional major seminaries. Of particular interest, is the foundation in 1927 of the religious congregation of the Disciples of the Lord, which sought to promote a better Chinese training for the local clergy and also to overcome Chinese skepticism about Catholicism as a foreign religion, thus fulfilling the deep aims of *Maximum Illud* (Tai Fai, 2015, pp. 13-15).

POPE FRANCIS’ “PERSON TO PERSON” APPROACH

It is difficult to overstate the significance of such a renewal of missionary practice and its role in laying the groundwork for the Second Vatican Council’s general method of “scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel” (Second Vatican Council, 1965b, n. 4). Once more, China reveals itself as an incredibly fruitful laboratory for the future of Christianity. In particular, we can notice

during work, on a journey” (Francis I, 2013, n. 127). A preaching that must always be respectful and gentle, grounded on personal dialogue and permeated by a profound and loving listening to the other person who “speaks and shares his or her joys, hopes and concerns for loved ones, or so many other heartfelt needs” (Francis I, 2013, n. 128). Only then, Francis continues, it is possible to bring up God’s word, “but always keeping in mind the fundamental message: the personal love of God who became man, who gave himself up for us, who is living and who offers us his salvation and his friendship” (Francis I, 2013, n. 128). Furthermore, the message has to be given not as an imperious truth, but it has to be “shared humbly as a testimony on the part of one who is always willing to learn.” In other words, our listeners must first of all “have an experience of being listened to and understood” (n. 128).

This “person to person” approach is based on a deep theological truth embodied in the process of inculturation, which we’ve already seen communicated in the efforts of Benedict XV and Costantini: the message of the Gospel has its own ways through which it reaches the hearts of people. Somehow, we simply have to realize that God’s word is already there when we start our evangelization: the mission that will be more a realization of what is already present in those we serve, promising an experience in which

4)。又一次，中国成为天主教未来发展的“试验室”，并且取得了惊人的成果。同时，我们能够注意到刚恒毅主教的视野与教宗方济各提出的“人传人”这种福传方法如出一辙（Francis I, 2013, nn. 127-129）。二者的契合之处正是我们当下唯一能够真实而广泛地更新福传工作的路径：非正式传教，这种传教方法可以随时随地展开，也能够应对任何文化制度的背景。“作为门徒，就是要时刻准备好把耶稣的爱带给他人，这会在意想不到的地方发生：在大街、在广场、在工作期间、在旅行中”（Francis I, 2013, n. 127）。⁵使命必须是恭敬而温和的，这种使命是建立在人际对话的基础之上，为了渗透到被使命者的内心，使命者需要深刻而富有爱心地聆听，“让对方分享个人的喜乐、希望、对亲爱的人的关心、或很多其它的内心需求”（Francis I, 2013, n. 128）。教宗方济各进而说到，只有做完这些，我们便有可能带出上帝的话语，“但要记着最基本的信息：天主爱每个人，这爱变成人，并为我们牺牲自己，但仍是活生生的，又将祂的救恩和友谊送给我们”（Francis I, 2013, n. 128）。此外，这种信息不应该被表达为一种傲慢的真理，而是“须以一份谦厚分享出去，如同一个总愿受教的人所作的见证”。换言之，我们的聆听者必须有“被聆听和被理解的体验”（n. 128）。

这种“人传人”的方法建立在深厚的神学真理之上，而这种真理正是在文化适应的过程中逐渐形成的，我们能够从本笃十五世与刚恒毅的努力中见到这种交流的方式：福音的信息有祂自己的途径，通过祂的途径，这些信息能够传递到每个人的内心之中。借着不可名状的方式，我们能够意识到，在我们传福音的时候，上帝的声音总是在那儿：福传工作是去实现那已经在于那些被使命者心中的东西，传教士们应该更多地接受、更少地输出，更多地聆听、更少的说教，进而，福传者能够全新地认识到如何将福音和被传福音者自身文化结合起来（Second Vatican Council, 1965a, n. 1; Theobald, 2009, pp. 56ff）。

5 该文献引自：http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/zh_cn/apost_exhortations/documents/pa-pa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html

5. 同为人类，千张面孔

文化适应的挑战是当下基督教福传事工以及任何传递福音尝试的前沿问题。这种策略的出发点是实现“恩宠预设文化，天主的恩宠降孕于领受者的文化中”（Francis I, 2013, n. 115）。教会历史提供了无数案例去证明一个基督徒富有成效的生命是要根据世界上不同的文化去加以体验和塑造的。这是一个过程，在这个过程中不去伤害教会的统一性，并且更好地表达她真实的普遍性，并丰富作为基督徒的经验：

“以上帝的名，为了守护和平，我们需要聚集在一起成为一家人并进入一个新的方舟，这方舟将带领我们渡过此世那充满狂风暴雨的大海，那就是兄弟情谊的方舟”（Francis I, 2019）

“教会通过本土化，‘引导各民族，连同他们的文化，一起进入她自己的团体中’，因为‘每种文化都提供正面的价值和形态，可以丰富宣讲、理解和活出福音的途径’”（Francis I, 2013, n. 116）。⁶

教宗方济各的洞见是想要通过培养福音的跨文化内容，从而充分发挥道成肉身的逻辑：“在新文化……中福传时，不一定要将一种特定的文化形态连同福音强行加入，即使该种文化是多么美丽或远古”（Francis I, 2013, n. 117）。正是由于基督的道成肉身，上帝的恩典已经临在每个人身上，我们也必须敢于去改造人类存在的基本认识。每个人不仅是外在律法和规定的接受者，而且神圣的恩典也亲切而原初地被赐予我们并改造我们。换言之，人类生命从一开始就承担着这样一个任务，即促进世界及其历史日益丰富多彩（Francis I, 2016, n. 77）。

6 此处原文标注为n. 115，但是根据梵蒂冈网站上提供的文献，此处引文引自n. 116。

missionaries receive more than they give, listen more than they speak and, above all, discover that a new and original synthesis between the Gospel and the cultures of our recipients has already started (Second Vatican Council, 1965a, n. 1; Theobald, 2009, pp. 56ff).

ONE PEOPLE WITH MANY FACES

The challenge of inculturation is the contemporary frontier of Christian mission and any attempt at evangelization. The firm point of departure is the realization that “grace supposes culture, and God’s gift becomes flesh in the culture of those who receive it” (Francis, 2013, n. 115). The history of the Church shows countless examples of a fruitful Christian life experienced and shaped according to the various cultures of the world. This is a process that does not harm the unity of the church and can even better express her genuine catholicity and enrich the experience itself of being Christian.

Through inculturation, the Church introduces peoples, together with their cultures, into her own community, for every culture offers positive values and forms which can enrich the way the Gospel is preached, understood and lived (Francis, 2013, n. 115).

Francis’ insight does justice to the logic of the incarnation, by fostering the transcultural content of the Gospel: “In the evangelization of new cultures ..., it is not essential to impose a specific cultural form, no matter how beautiful or ancient it may be, together with the Gospel” (Francis, 2013, n. 117). Since Christ’s incarnation, God’s grace has reached every human being: fully realizing this truth, we must dare to transform our basic awareness of human existence. Each person is not simply the recipient of external laws and prescriptions but is intimately and originally gifted and transformed by divine grace. In other words, human life holds from its very beginning the task of contributing to the enrichment and beautification of the world and its history (Francis, 2016, n. 77).

“PUT OUT INTO DEEP WATER”

A promising indication of this new Christian understanding is the recent signing of the *Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together* by His Holiness Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmad Al-Tayyeb, in Abu Dhabi, 4 February 2019. In it, in fact, we can easily discover the two perspectives we have discussed: on the one hand, the importance of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel; on the other, the claim to look to cultures and religions as expressions of the one mystery of the divine.

In the speech he gave before signing the document, Francis sets himself in the footsteps of St. Francis of Assisi meeting the Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil in Damietta, in September 1219, during the fifth Crusade: “I came here” - he says - “as a believer thirsting for peace, as a brother seeking peace with the brethren. We are here to desire peace, to promote peace, to be instruments of peace” (Francis, 2019).

Pope Francis proves to have a profound and clear awareness of the moment in which our whole humanity lives. The world is approaching a devastating flood, he claims, and, because of this, as Noah did, we too need to enter into a new ark: “In the name of God, in order to safeguard peace, we need to enter together as one family into an ark which can sail the stormy seas of the world: *the ark of fraternity*” (Francis, 2019). The sooner we agree and submit ourselves to mutual scrutiny, the faster we can be ready to listen to the appeal of God for us in this very moment and enter in the new ark of fraternity.

This ark will surely move us in the direction of that “deep water” Jesus recommended for his disciples’ nets (Luke 5:4): moving us toward a full awareness that “God is at the origin of the one human family” and “wants us to live as brothers and sisters, dwelling in the common home of creation which he has given us,” because “all persons have equal dignity and that no one can be a master or slave of others” (Francis, 2019). Human fraternity is indeed the deepest revelation of God’s grace in the world and the strongest

6. “划到深处去”

2019年2月4日，教宗方济各和阿兹哈清真寺大伊玛目泰耶伯共同签署了《人类兄弟情谊文件》，这封文件的签署很好地展现了一种新的而且前途光明的基督教理解。事实上，在这篇文件中，我们很容易发现两条我们已经讨论过的观点：一是“按照福音的启示审时度势”的重要性；另一则是将诸文化和诸宗教看作是天主的神秘表达。

在签署这份文件之前，教宗方济各发表了一篇演讲，在这篇演讲中，他将自己放在了亚西西的圣方济各曾经走过的道路上，这位圣徒曾在第五次十字军东征，也就是1219年的九月，在杜姆亚特与阿尔-马里克·阿尔-卡米尔苏丹会面：“我来到这里，”教宗说到，“是作为一位渴求和平的信徒，一位寻求与在座同胞和平相处的弟兄。我在这渴望和平，促进和平，并成为和平的工具”（Francis I, 2019）。⁷

教宗方济各证明了自己对于我们全人类所共处的时代有着深刻而清晰的认识。他声称，这个世界正在接近一场毁灭性的洪水，正因为此，我们要向诺厄诺亚一样，我也需要进入一个新的方舟：“以上帝的名，为了守护和平，我们需要聚集在一起成为一家人并进入一个新的方舟，这方舟将带领我们渡过此世那充满狂风暴雨的大海，那就是兄弟情谊的方舟”（Francis I, 2019）。我们越快认同并相互遵从对方的真理，我们就能越快做好准备，聆听上帝在此时此刻对我们的召唤，进入兄弟情谊的新方舟。

这艘方舟必定将带我们向“深水”的方向前进，正如耶稣建议他的宗徒去深水撒网（路：5:4）：这艘方舟将带着我们充分认识“上帝是人类大家庭的起点”以及“上帝想要我们像兄弟姐妹们一样共同生活，居住在他所赐予我们的造物的家园，”因为，“所有的人都有着平等的尊严，没有谁是他人的主人或奴隶”（Francis I, 2019）。人类的兄弟情谊的确是上帝恩典在此世最为深沉的启示，也是为我们所有人开创未来的最有力途径。简而言之，正如教宗方济各所言，这是我们唯一的可能：

“除此之外，我们别无他选：我们要么共同建立未来，要么我们将不再有未来。特别的，宗教不能放弃这个

急迫的任务，在众人与诸文化之间搭建桥梁。已经到了这样的时刻，宗教需要带着勇气和胆量发挥自身的作用去帮助人类大家庭深化和谐共处的能力、对于希望的愿景以及通向和平的具体道路”（Francis I, 2019）。

再没有见解比这一关于世界兄弟情谊的讲述更加清楚地指示了当今福传事工的方向：一个急迫的、高要求的而且影响广泛的任务，这个任务是为了我们的当下与未来。



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Translated by 翻译: Zhang Xu Liang

⁷ 本文尚无官方译本，引文为译者自译。

means for building a possible future for all of us. In a word, our sole possibility, as Francis claims:

There is no alternative: we will either build the future together or there will not be a future. Religions, in particular, cannot renounce the urgent task of building bridges between peoples and cultures. The time has come when religions should more actively exert themselves, with courage and audacity, and without pretence, to help the human family deepen the capacity for reconciliation, the vision of hope and the concrete paths of peace (Francis, 2019).

There is no clearer indication of the direction of Christian missionary work today than this claim for world fraternity: an urgent, demanding and widespread task for our present and future.



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OBEDIENCE FOR MISSION, MISSION IN OBEDIENCE: A JESUIT CONTEMPLATIVE-ACTIVE WAY OF PROCEEDING

为了宣教使命的服从，服从中的使命： 耶稣会士既默观又积极努力的行事方式

ANTOINE REN 任安道

ABSTRACT

Obedience and mission are two essential elements which determine the particular Jesuit way of proceeding. The first characterizes Jesuits' identity; the latter is the goal of their existence. For Jesuits, obedience is more of an interior disposition corresponding to the original meaning of obedience - "listen to": vertically, Jesuits listen to God, that is, to discern and to do His will; horizontally, they listen to or try to understand the people they serve. This interior disposition or capability of listening implies a process of discernment which can only be acquired by contemplation. As the will of God is nothing other than His love for the world, the Jesuits' mission consists in showing this love of God to the world. That is why Jesuits are "contemplatives in action". Based on analysis of the foundational documents of the Society of Jesus, the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, this paper will show how Jesuits obey and carry out their mission in a contemplative-active way, and how their obedience correlates with their mission.

摘要

服从和使命是决定耶稣会士独特行事方式的两大基本要素。前者是耶稣会士的身份象征，后者是其生存的目的。对耶稣会士来说，服从更是与服从一词原始意义相对应的一种内在天性，即“倾听”：纵向上来说，耶稣会士倾听天主，也就是说，要洞察并遵循天主意志；横向上来说，他们“倾听”或试图理解他们所侍奉的人。这种倾听的内性格或能力意味着只有通过默观才能实现的某种识别过程。既然天主意志无外乎是他对世人的爱，那么耶稣会士的使命便在于向世人展示天主的爱。这就是耶稣会士之所以是“行动中的默观者”的原因。在对耶稣会基本文献、耶稣会的《神操》和会宪加以分析的基础上，本文将说明耶稣会士是如何用既默观又积极的方式服从和执行使命的，以及他们的服从和使命如何互相关联。

THE SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION OF JESUIT MISSION AND OBEDIENCE

According to the *Documents of the 35th General Congregation*, “the practice of obedience in the Society has its roots in the spiritual experience of Ignatius and his first companions” (d. 4, n. 23). The same thing holds true for Jesuit mission. The *Spiritual Exercises* and their *Deliberations* in 1539 are worthy of particular notice, because the first is the spiritual foundation of their apostolic service (cf., GC 35, d. 4, n. 2), and the second, which precisely dealt with the issue of mission and of obedience, historically paved the way for the beginning of the Society of Jesus as a religious order.

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, what we should consider first, is the *Principle and Foundation*, because it is “the framework... containing the key ideas that are to run through all the meditations” (Rahner, 1965, p. 15). It defines the end of man as praising, reverencing and serving God or as “glorifying God” (cf., SE, 152, 167, 179, 180, 185, 189, 339). From this primary end follows the second: to “save souls”. It is important to notice that “the salvation of souls, in fact, is not numbered in the order of ends with God’s glory. It is interior to it” (Courel, 1958, p. 40). It is unpacked in the meditations of the second week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, starting with contemplation on the decision of the Trinity to send the Son into the world “in order to save the human race” (SE, 102). Just as Christ accepted the decision of the Trinity to send him for saving the world, so too are the retreatants called to follow him to better glorify God by sharing in his mission (SE, 93, 102, 109, 139, 145, 152).

Since Christ’s will is to save souls, the purpose of Jesuit obedience is mission. In his rules for thinking with the Church, Ignatius concretized obedience to Christ into obedience to the Church, because he believes “that between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, his Spouse, there is the one same Spirit who governs and guides us for the salvation of our souls” (SE, 365).

The *Deliberations of the First Fathers* were the first concrete implementation of their

spiritual experience of mission and obedience. After deciding to put themselves at the disposal of the Pope, they confronted a serious question: as the Pope wanted to send them in various places, they had to consider whether they should be bound in one apostolic body. The reason why they decided to bind themselves together in a religious society is related to an apostolic purpose: union enables them to have “sights aimed at the greater profit of souls” and prepares them to deal with difficult undertakings when they carry out mission (cf., *Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 3).

They had the same concern regarding their obedience to one of them as superior: on the one hand, without obedience, they might lack cohesion in their work, and their congregation “could not long endure and persevere” (*Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 6); on the other hand, they believed that “the man who truly lives under obedience is most ready to carry out whatever is enjoined” (*Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 6). Their fourth vow of obedience to the Roman Pontiff then was just a surer way of sharing the Church’s mission. Consequently, Jesuit obedience may be understood “as availability for apostolic mission” (Alphonse, 1993, p. 78). We will see further on how Jesuits concretely live out this vow of obedience.

OBEDIENCE AS CONTEMPLATIVE AVAILABILITY FOR MISSION

The question of obedience is specifically treated in the third (*Constitutions*, 284-286) and sixth (*Constitutions*, 547-552) parts of the *Constitutions*. The third part is aimed at the spiritual formation of those in probation; the sixth, at the religious life of those already incorporated into the Society. In addition, the first chapter of the eighth part, which gives “aids toward the union of heart” (*Constitutions*, 655-676), is also indispensable for understanding the Jesuit spirit of obedience.

The most important thing in Jesuit obedience is its spiritual principle. Ignatius mentioned it in the first and the last phrase of number 284: to obey is to “conform [ourselves] more completely to the first and supreme rule

耶稣会士使命和服从的灵性基础

根据第三十五届修会大会的文件,“耶稣会的服从实践起源于依纳爵及其最初伙伴的灵性体验”(d. 4, n. 23)。这也同样适用于耶稣会的使命。1539年的《神操》及其《修会第一代会士的决定》值得引起特别的注意,因为前者是他们的使徒宗教仪式的灵性基础(参见GC 35, d. 4, n. 2),而作为精确讨论使命和服从问题的后者,历史性地为耶稣会作为宗教修会的开始铺平了道路。

在《神操》中,我们应该首先考虑的是“原则和基础”,因为这是“包含了贯穿所有默观中关键想法的…框架(拉纳,1965, 15页)”。它把人的目的定义为赞美、敬畏、侍奉天主或“膜拜天主”(参见SE, 152, 167, 179, 180, 185, 189, 339)。在首要目的之后是第二目的:“拯救灵魂”。很重要的是要注意:灵魂的救赎事实上不归入为了天主荣耀的目的顺序的。它内在于天主荣耀(库雷尔, 1958, 40页)。它是在第二周《神操》的默观中揭示出来的,始于关于“为了拯救人类”(SE, 102)而将圣子送入人世的三位一体决定的默观。正如耶稣基督接受了送他去拯救世界的三位一体决定,深居修道院的静修者也受召唤追随他,通过分享他的宣教使命更好地膜拜天主(SE, 93, 102, 109, 139, 145, 152)。

由于耶稣基督的意志是拯救灵魂,所以耶稣会士服从的目的就是为了宣教使命。在他作为教会一员进行思考的法则中,依纳爵·罗耀拉将对基督的服从具体化为对教会的服从,因为他相信“在新郎我主基督和他的配偶教会之间,有同一位圣灵为了拯救我们的灵魂而主宰和引导我们”(SE, 365)。

《修会第一代会士的决定》是他们的使命和服从灵性体验的首次具体贯彻。在决定了让自己受教宗支配后,他们遇到了一个严肃的问题:因为教宗想把他们派遣至不同的地方,他们不得不考虑他们是否应该联合在一个使徒团体中。他们之所以决定在某个宗教团体中联合起来的原因与一个使徒目的有关:联合使它们能“着眼于灵魂的更大利益”,并使他们在践行使命时做好应付困难担当的准备(参见《依纳爵纪念碑》I, 3)。

关于他们对于他们当中之一作为长者来服从,他们都有着同样的担忧:一方面,

没有服从,他们就会在工作中缺乏凝聚力,他们的修会“就无法持久和坚持下去”(参见《依纳爵纪念碑》I, 6);另一方面,他们认为,“真正生活在服从之下的人是很愿意执行任何命令的”(参见《依纳爵纪念碑》I, 6)。他们对罗马教宗的第四次服从誓约仅仅是一种分享教会使命的更加可靠的方式。因此,耶稣会士的服从可以被理解为“使徒使命的有效性”(阿方索, 1993, 78页)。我们将进一步了解耶稣会信徒是如何具体地践行这服从誓约的。

作为福传使命的默观有效性的服从

耶稣会会宪的第三(会宪, 284-286)和第六(会宪, 547-552)部分对服从问题进行了具体讨论。第三部分针对的是候补会士的灵性形成方式;第六部分针对的是已经被吸收入会者的宗教生活。此外,第八部分的第一章“有助于心神团结”(会宪, 655-676)也是理解耶稣会士服从精神所不可或缺的。

耶稣会士服从中最重要的事情是它的灵性原则。依纳爵在第284条首要的、权威性的短语中提到它:服从是“使(我们自己)能更正确地符合于一切意志和判断的第一最高准则,就是天主的永久美和上智。”虽然这种对天主意志和判断的遵循是通过长者的服从实现的,但是对依纳爵而言,这与耶稣会士服从的人无关,而是“该注意是为谁,并在一切事上所服从的是谁。那原是吾主耶稣。”(会宪, 286)。依纳爵的服从理念有三重一致性:个人自身意志和天主意志之间的一致性保证了个人内在天性(意志和理解)与长者的意志和理解之间的一致性;后一种一致性是另一个一致性,即个人内在态度和外在服从的践行之间一致性的先决条件。

在《会宪》第八部分第一章(655-676)对服从的三重一致性从其他两个角度做了更深入的解释:心心融合和长者的品德。依纳爵认为耶稣会士的团结是维持修会、践行其使命的先决条件(参见会宪, 659)。他坚持认为,无论是臣民还是长者都应该把彼此的融合根植于他们与天主的融合及对天主的爱中(参见会宪, 671),因为一个人只有将自己与天主融合,他才能“通过同样的从神圣的仁慈中降临的爱”与其他人融合起来

of all good will and judgment, which is the Eternal Goodness and Wisdom.” Although this conformity to God’s will and judgment is realized through obedience to superiors,¹ for Ignatius, it is not so much about the person whom the Jesuits obey, but rather “for whose sake [they] obey and whom [they] obey in all, who is Christ” (*Constitutions*, 286). There is a triple consistency in Ignatius’ idea of obedience: the consistency between one’s own and God’s will guarantees the consistency between one’s interior disposition (will and understanding) and the superior’s will and understanding; the latter consistency is a prerequisite for another consistency of one’s own interior attitude and the exterior execution of obedience.

In the first chapter of the eighth part of the *Constitutions* (655-676), this triple consistency of obedience is explained in a deeper way from two other considerations: union of hearts and the superiors’ qualities. Ignatius considers union of hearts among Jesuits as a preliminary condition for maintaining the Society and achieving its mission (*cf. Constitutions*, 659). He insists that either subjects or superiors should all root their union with one another in their union with and love for God (*cf. Constitutions*, 671), for only if one unites himself to God, can he unite with others “through the same love which will descend from the Divine Goodness” (*Constitutions*, 671); only if both superior and subject unite themselves to God, could the subject conform his will and understanding to that of the superior which ultimately should emanate from God.

That is why the first quality required for a superior general is his spiritual quality: “He should be closely united with God our Lord and have familiarity with him in prayer and in all his operations, so that from him, the fountain of all good, he may so much the better obtain for the whole body of the Society a large share of his gifts and graces, as well as great power and effectiveness for all the means to be employed for

the help of souls” (*Constitutions*, 723). In other words, the quality that the superior general needs for governing the Society is acquired from his close relationship with God especially through prayer. The same thing holds true for other superiors as well.

Their fourth vow of obedience to the Roman Pontiff then was just a surer way of sharing the Church’s mission. Consequently, Jesuit obedience may be understood “as availability for apostolic mission”

In order to make sure that subjects’ obedience and the superiors’ command lead to the fulfillment of God’s will, Ignatius also gives five concrete means of communal discernment. The yearly *manifestation of conscience* provides “the superior with the information that he will need for seeing the Society’s goal achieved in his subject” (O’Gorman, 1971, p. 64). The *suggestion* is a form of communication made by the subject prior to the decision of the superior proposing what is better for the subject to carry out God’s will. It presupposes an attitude of indifference on the part of the subject (*cf. Constitutions*, 292, 552). The same attitude is also required for the representation which would follow upon a decision already made by the superior (*cf. Constitutions*, 627-628), and which could take place when a subject thinks that his representation might lead to a better decision. Another ordinary means is to offer information about oneself to superiors through letters (*cf. Constitutions*, 673-676). The last means of communication is consultation which superiors seek from others to help them to discern and make a decision (*cf. Constitutions*, 618, 667). The last four means can also be applied to a community or to a province as a “communal subject,” that is, when a community has to make a decision with the provincial or a province has to make a decision with the general.

1 The following are designated as Jesuit superiors: the general - head of whole Society, the provincials, and the superiors of specific communities. Every Jesuit belongs to a community, the community superior is the direct superior of all members of this community, but it is the provincial who assigns the mission to each member of his province.

（会宪，671）；只有长者和臣民都与天主融合起来，臣民的意志和理解才能符合长者的意志和理解，而上级的意志和理解最终应该来自于天主。

这就是一位修道会总会长之所以首先需要具备的品德是他的灵性品德：“是在祷告和一切行动中他同天主我们的主紧密的结合，好能为本会全体由天主就如由一切美善的从他根源一样，求得丰厚的恩典，以及巨大的力量和可以用来帮助灵魂的一切方法求得更高的价值与效力”（会宪，723）。换言之，总会长管理修会所需之品德是从他与天主的亲密关系，特别是通过祷告获得的。这同样也适用于其他长者。

他们对罗马教宗的第四次服从誓约仅仅是一种分享教会使命的更加可靠的方式。因此，耶稣会士的服从可以被理解为“使徒使命的有效性”。

为了确保臣民的服从和长者的命令导致天主意志的实现，依纳爵还给出公共识别的五种具体方法。每年的良心显示为长者提供了“他为看到修会的目标在他的臣民中实现而需要的信息”（O’戈尔曼，1971，64页）。暗示是在长者提出什么更有利于臣民践行天主意志的决定之前由臣民所做出的一种交流方式。它预设了臣民的一种淡然面对的态度（参见会宪，292, 552）。在长者已经做出决定后进行的表述中（参见会宪，627-628），以及在一位臣民认为他的表述可能有利于做出更好决定时也可能产生的表述中，也会要求有这种态度。另外一种通常方法是通过信件传递关于自己的信息（参见会宪，673-676）。最后一种交流方式是咨询，长者会向其他人寻求咨询，帮助自己识别和做出决定（参见会宪，618, 667）。最后这四种方式也可以用于作为“共同臣民”团体或一个省，也就是说，当一个团体或一个省需要和总会长一起做出决定时。

所有这些方法都是为了帮助臣民和长者来共同识别天主的意志。“在指挥其臣民时，长者可以替代基督，但是对依纳爵来

说，长者不会因此而变成一个灵性暴君。在他表露服从理念之前，他应该已经用尽一切手段尽可能向自己保证，他已经正确诠释了神的意志”（O’戈尔曼，1971，67页）

如卡尔·拉纳指出的那样，尽管有这些识别方法和日常祷告，“事实仍然是可能有臣民必须服从的命令……这些命令在客观秩序上是错误的，其发出是在特定的情形下，长者实际上应该受到责备。在这种情况下，很难说为什么和在什么意义上实现这样一种秩序可能是天主的意志”（拉纳尔，1966, 168-169页）。拉纳试图解开这个难题：

“无论是谁加入一个宗教团体，谁就为自己选择了一个不可预见的命运。因为这样一种选择和对于团体的献身及其全部理由的后果是无法详细预见的。所有这些后果很可能是困难甚至痛苦的。但这场赌局涉及人类的每一项义务，借助这项义务另一个有自己正当意愿的人将成为生活中不可分割的一部分……如果宗教团体及其基本理想是正当且有意义的，那么对其所有不可预见之后果的义务也是正当且有意义法的。在于自由服从高于自身的事物的人类生活模式，没有风险的因素是不可能存在的。而没有这样的屈服，个人将仍然留在自身存在焦虑的防御工事背后他自己的利己主义中，这是走向毁灭的最确定方式。但是，献身于更高、更崇高目的人那些把自己交给更高级更高贵的东西的人，参与赌局的人，都知道自己只是在做基督在服从中所做的事情。”（拉纳，1966，175-176页）

在这里，拉纳认为模仿基督就是服从的最终理由：正如信任天父的意志而不得不承受残酷的世俗条件来完成自己使命的基督那样，那些选择了宗教修会来完成自己天职或使命的人也是如此。正如第三十五届修会大会的文件所指出的那样，如果在修会中并通过修会来达到“有意义的结局”比单独实现更好，那么这是因为“服从使我们传为福音服务而献上自己。服从使我们摆脱个人的“私爱，私意和私利”，并进而能使我们为天主所爱的一切及祂所特别关怀的人们，完全奉献自己”（GC 35, d. 4, n. 12）。这种个人意志的屈服会很痛苦，这就是为什么

All of these means are there for helping subjects and superiors to discern together God's will. "The superior may stand in the place of Christ when commanding his subjects, but for Ignatius the superior does not thereby become a spiritual despot. Before he uses his voice of obedience he should have used all means at his disposal to assure himself as far as possible that he has rightly interpreted the divine will" (O'Gorman, 1971, p. 67).

Despite these means of discernment and daily prayer, as Karl Rahner pointed out, "the fact remains that there can be commands the subject must obey...which in the objective order are wrong, and in given circumstances have been issued with real culpability on the part of the superior. In cases of this kind it is not easy to say why and in what sense the fulfillment of such an order could be the will of God" (Rahner, 1966, pp. 168-169). Rahner tries to address this difficulty:

Whoever enters into a religious community, whoever chooses for himself an unforeseeable destiny. For the consequences of such an election and dedication to the community and its rationale of action cannot be foreseen in detail. All these consequences can be difficult and painful. But this gamble is involved in every human obligation whereby another person with his own proper will becomes an inseparable part of one's own life.... If the religious community and its basic ideals are justified and meaningful, so too is the obligation toward all its consequences which cannot be seen in advance. A human mode of life which consists in the free subordination to something higher than itself cannot exist without this element of risk. And without such surrender the individual will remain in his own egotism behind the defenses of his own existential anxiety, which is the surest way to destruction. But the man who gives himself to what is higher and nobler, who takes the gamble, knows that he is only doing what Christ himself did in his obedience. (Rahner, 1966, pp. 175-176)

Here, Rahner considers the imitation of Christ as the ultimate reason of obedience: just as Christ who, by trusting in the will of the Father, had to assume cruel worldly conditions in order to fulfil his mission, so too do those who have chosen a religious congregation for carrying out their vocation or mission. If it would be better to attain "the meaningful end" in and through the congregation than to do it individually, as *The Documents of the 35th General Congregation* pointed out, it is because "by freeing us from our own 'affection, desires and interests,' obedience lets us dedicate ourselves totally to what God loves and to those who are the object of God's special concern" (GC 35, d. 4, n. 12). This surrender of one's own will might be painful, that is why, speaking of obedience, the same document says that "some degree of participation in Jesus' kenosis will never be absent from our lives. Like Jesus, we spend ourselves day after day, trustfully handing ourselves over to the will of God" (GC 35, d. 4, n. 15).

MISSION AS APOSTOLIC ACTION IN OBEDIENCE

In the presentation above, we have showed the relationship between Jesuit mission and obedience from the perspective of the latter; in order to have a fuller and balanced view on this relationship, we also should demonstrate it from the perspective of mission. *The Documents of the 31st General Congregation* define Jesuit mission in these words: "Ignatius and his companions saw this as their unique call, their charism: to choose to be with Christ as servants of his mission, to be with people where they dwell and work and struggle, to bring the Gospel into their lives and labours" (GC 31, d. 1, n. 7). This definition includes two aspects of Jesuit mission: vertically, Jesuits are men who are "with Christ"; and horizontally, they are with the people in their situation and bring them the Gospel. These two distinct yet inseparable aspects of Jesuit mission are explained concretely in the seventh part of the *Constitutions*.

In this part of the *Constitutions*, the vertical aspect of Jesuit mission is embodied

说到服从，同一份文件说，“某种程度地参与基督的神性放弃，将永远不会缺席我们的生活。像耶稣那样，我们日复一日地献身，信任地将自己交付给天主的意志。”（d. 4, n. 15）。

服从中作为使徒行为的使命

在上面的描述中，我们从耶稣会士的视角说明了使命和服从之间的关系；为了更全面、更均衡地看待这一关系，我们也应该从使命的角度来论证它。第三十一届修会大会文件是这样定义耶稣会士的使命的：“依纳爵和他的同伴们认为这是对他们的独一无二的召唤，是他们的神秘魅力之所在：选择与基督同在，作为践行基督使命的仆人，与居住、工作和奋斗在一起的民众同在，将福音带到他们的生活和劳动中去。”（d. 1, n. 7）。该定义包括了耶稣会士使命的两个方面：纵向上来说，耶稣会士是“与基督同在”的人；横向上来说，耶稣会士是与民众处于同一境遇并带给他们福音的人。耶稣会士使命这两个明显不同但又无法分割的方面，在会宪第七部分有具体解释。

在会宪的这部分中，耶稣会士使命的纵向方面体现在对代表教会给臣民指派使命的长者的服从上。如果依纳爵坚持在使命上服从教会的重要意义，那是因为耶稣会士“受召唤而分享教会本身的使命”（GC 32, d. 4, n. 13; GC 34, d. 2, n. 3），这使命是基督托付给教会的。至于耶稣会士使命的横向方面，依纳爵说，耶稣会宣教士应该悉心观察其工作周遭情形，便于抓住一切机遇并采用一切适当方式来更好地膜拜天主和拯救灵魂（参见会宪，616, 622, 633, 636, 645, 646, 647）。这种践行使命的方式特点在于其灵活性和文化融入，即耶稣会士考虑历史、社会、文化、宗教、个人等语境意义上的文化融入（参见GC 35, d. 4, n. 15），这样他们就会明白什么可以有利于福音的传播，以及他们将福音带给他们的那些人有什么需求。

这就是为什么在“寻求最佳方式参与主的使命，寻求最佳方式侍奉这时候的教会，寻求耶稣会士以其现有条件努力争取更大的礼拜和更普遍之善而能做出的最大贡献的愿望”激励下（索萨，2019），总会长阿图罗·索萨神父为今后十年颁布了四条耶稣

会普遍的使徒优先考虑：（1）指明通过《神操》和识别力走向天主的道路；（2）通过与穷人同行，促进和解与正义；（3）陪伴年轻人；（4）参与照料我们的共同家园。

在于自由服从高于自身的事物的人类生活模式，没有风险的因素是不可能存在的。而没有这样的屈服，个人将仍然留在自身存在焦虑的防御工事背后他自己的利己主义中，这是走向毁灭的最确定方式。

作为他在整个耶稣会内两年公共识别的结果，这些优先考虑不仅反映了对教会的服从——教宗方济各说它们“符合教会当前的优先考虑”——但是也反映了对世界的“服从”或倾听的态度，因为所有优先选择都是对世界实际需求的回应。同样需要引起我们注意的是，这四条普遍的优先考虑在默观（第一优先考虑）和行动（后三个优先考虑）之间实现了平衡。关于这种平衡，教宗方济各在他给耶稣会的信中强调了耶稣会士使命的纵向方面：“第一优先考虑是至关重要的，因为它把个人和公共生活的祷告和识别中的耶稣会士和主的关系预设为基本条件……没有这种虔诚的态度，其他优先考虑就无法开花结果”（索萨，2019）。

结论

教宗方济各的评论再次表明了耶稣会士使命和服从的灵性基础。对耶稣会士来说，服从最终就是服从天主的意志，正如基督所做的那样（会宪，284）。因此，祷告在耶稣会士的生活中有着第一重要性。天主的意志无外乎是他对世界的爱。耶稣会士的使命恰恰在于通过识别世界当下的形势和需求，尤其通过福音的价值、力量和希望帮助那些困难中的人，来彰显天主对世界的爱。通过为了使命而服从，并在服从中实现使命，耶稣会士以一种既默观又积极的行事方式来标记自己的生活：“存在与行动；默观与行动；祷告与先知性生活；和基督完全结

in obedience to superiors who represent the Church in assigning subjects to their mission. If Ignatius insists on the importance of obedience to the Church regarding mission, it is because Jesuits “are called to share the mission of the Church itself” (GC 32, d. 4, n. 13; GC 34, d. 2, n. 3) which was entrusted to the Church by Christ. Regarding the horizontal aspect of Jesuit mission, Ignatius says that Jesuit missionaries should observe the situation where they work in order to seize all opportunities and to use all suitable means for better glorifying God and saving souls (*cf. Constitutions*, 616, 622, 633, 636, 645, 646, 647). This way of carrying out mission can be characterized by flexibility and inculturation, inculturation in the sense that Jesuits take the historical, social, cultural, religious and personal context into account (*cf. GC 35, d. 4, n. 15*), so that they may figure out what is beneficial for the spread of the Gospel and what are the needs of the people to whom they bring the Gospel.

“A human mode of life which consists in the free subordination to something higher than itself cannot exist without this element of risk. And without such surrender the individual will remain in his own egotism behind the defenses of his own existential anxiety, which is the surest way to destruction.”
(Karl Rahner, S.J.)

That is why, motivated by “a desire to find the best way to collaborate in the Lord’s mission, the best way to serve the Church at this time, the best contribution Jesuits can make with what they are and have, seeking to do what is for the greater divine service and the more universal good” (Sosa, 2019), Father General Arturo Sosa promulgated four universal apostolic preferences

of the Society for the next ten years: (1) to show the way to God through the *Spiritual Exercises* and discernment; (2) to promote reconciliation and justice by walking with the poor; (3) to accompany young people; and (4) to collaborate in the care of our Common Home.

As results of two years of communal discernment within the whole Jesuit Society, these preferences not only reflect an obedience to the Church—Pope Francis said that they “are in agreement with the current priorities of the Church”—but also reflect an “obedience” to or a listening attitude towards the world, since all of them respond to the actual needs of the world. Also worthy of note, these four universal preferences strike a balance between contemplation (the first preference) and action (the last three preferences). With regard to this balance, in his letter addressed to the Society, Pope Francis emphasized the vertical aspect of Jesuit mission: “The first preference is crucial because it presupposes as a basic condition the Jesuit’s relationship with the Lord in a personal and communal life of prayer and discernment... Without this prayerful attitude the other preferences will not bear fruit” (Sosa, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Pope Francis’ observation shows again the spiritual foundation of Jesuit mission and obedience. For Jesuits, to obey is finally to conform themselves to God’s will, just as Christ did (*Constitutions*, 284). Prayer is thus of first importance in a Jesuit’s life. And the will of God is nothing other than His love for the world. The Jesuit mission consists precisely in showing God’s love for the world by discerning its present situation and needs, and by coming to the aid of those in need, especially through the value, the force and the hope of the Gospel. By obeying for the sake of mission and doing mission in obedience, Jesuits mark their life with a contemplative-active way of proceeding: “Being and doing; contemplation and action; prayer and prophetic living; being completely united with Christ and completely inserted into the world with him as an apostolic body: all of these polarities mark deeply

合并以使徒团体身份融入这个社会：所有这些对立深刻标明耶稣会士的生活，并表达它的本质和可能”（GC 35, d. 2, n. 9）。



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the life of a Jesuit and express both its essence and its possibilities” (GC 35, d. 2, n. 9).



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SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN HARD TIMES: KARL RAHNER AND ALFRED DELP

艰难时期的精神领导： 卡尔·拉纳和阿尔弗雷德·德尔佩

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ABSTRACT

Steeped in the Ignatian spirituality of seeking God in all things the two Jesuits have become inspiring figures of Christian life in a secular world. The paper explores how Karl Rahner, one of the greatest theologians of the 20th century, and Alfred Delp, a Christian martyr in Nazi Germany, drew their intellectual strength and social commitment from a practice of meditation and prayer that gave firm direction to their lives in adverse environments.



INTRODUCTION: WHY DELP AND RAHNER?

Christian spirituality is not based on an abstract theological concept or doctrine, but on the personal testimony of individuals. Despite rather different ways of life, Delp and Rahner share a deep faith in the salvific power of God even in the darkest days of 20th century history. They have inspired countless people in their search for authentic Christian spirituality.

Delp and Rahner were both Jesuits and knew each other personally. Both based their Christian existence as theologians and priests on

摘要

这两名耶稣会会士沉浸在从万物中寻求天主的依纳爵灵修中，成为世俗世界中天主教生活激励人心的人物。本文探讨了20世纪最伟大的神学家之一卡尔·拉纳和纳粹德国的天主教殉道者阿尔弗雷德·德尔佩是如何从默观和祈祷中汲取智力力量和培养社会责任的，这种默观和祈祷为他们在恶劣环境中的生活指明了坚定方向。



引言：为何选择德尔佩和拉纳？

基督教灵修并非基于抽象的神学概念或教义，而是基于个人的亲身见证。尽管生活方式相当不同，德尔佩和拉纳甚至在20世纪历史上最黑暗的日子里，分享了对天主救世力量的深深信念。他们激励了无数人寻找真正的基督教灵修。

德尔佩和拉纳都是耶稣会会士，彼此直接认识。两人将其作为神学家和神父的生存方式建立在按照依纳爵《神操》中的精神对天主的个人体验的基础之上。在他们的一生中，这种体验被置于两个方面的考验面

a personal experience of God in the spirit of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*. This experience was put to the test in the course of their lives from two directions: the critical inquiries of reason and the decidedly atheistic ideology of the Nazis and their totalitarian state. Delp led this struggle to death row and martyrdom. Rahner devoted all his theological strength to finding an answer to the question of how - in view of the catastrophes of the 20th century and the incomprehensibility and remoteness of God - one can experience Him and speak meaningfully of this experience.

Finally, Delp and Rahner share a deep mystical spirituality that is the centre of their lives. This means neither withdrawal from the world nor self-sufficient certainty of faith. Rather, it implies surrendering to the *deus semper maior*, the ever-greater God and His unfathomable guidance (Schaller, 2012, p. 345). At the same time, it provides the basis for an active service for the renewal of Church and society and for the sustainability of faith in secular times.

WHO WERE THEY? A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Delp and Rahner were almost the same age and came from similar milieus. Rahner was born on March 5, 1904 in Freiburg and died shortly after his 80th. birthday on March 30, 1984 in Innsbruck. He became one of the most important theologians of the 20th century, whose influence is recognisable in many documents of the Second Vatican Council and whose work is now available in 32 volumes of more than 4000 publications.

Delp was born on September 15, 1907 in Mannheim and executed on February 2, 1945 in Berlin-Plötzensee; he was only 37 years old.

Both were aware of the challenges to the Christian faith in modern times and sought to meet them through an in-depth analysis of their ideological foundations. For this purpose they engaged in the study of philosophy, and particularly in the philosophy of Martin Heidegger. For his doctoral studies Rahner went to Freiburg to study with Heidegger and to attend his seminars.

Delp read Heidegger intensively from 1928 on and published his critical reflections in 1935 in a book ominously titled *Tragic Existence*. It was not only the first book by a Catholic author about Heidegger, but also seemed to foreshadow his own "tragic existence." From 1939 Delp was a theological writer and editor of the Jesuit monthly *Stimmen der Zeit* in Munich. When the Nazis banned the journal in 1941 and confiscated the house, Delp moved to a parish in a Munich suburb where he served his flock as pastor with great dedication and assisted with resourcefulness and courage all those affected by wartime destruction. He helped to dig out people buried under the rubble of their houses and helped Jewish families fleeing from their persecutors.

Immediately after his morning Eucharist on July 28, 1944 Delp was arrested. He was accused of being one of Count Stauffenberg's co-conspirators, who had tried to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. Although Delp knew Stauffenberg personally, he had no part in the conspiracy, and the police could not prove otherwise. Yet he was accused of collaborating in the so-called *Kreisauer Kreis* (*Kreisau Circle*). This was a resistance group led by Helmuth James Graf von Moltke that met at his estate Kreisau to discuss the reorganization of Germany after the impending catastrophic end of the war and the Nazi regime. Delp had been involved in these conspiratorial consultations since mid-1942 and had been given the task of drawing up Germany's new social order from a Christian perspective. To this end, he developed a new vision of social justice based on a Christian-inspired humanism (Delp, 1984, p. 310). Its purpose was to secure the foundations of law and order, which had to be inviolable by state power. Since the Nazis had destroyed such foundations, the first step was to reawaken a sense of law and justice before principles of a "genuine social order" could be established (Bleistein, 1989, pp. 271-2).

His reflections on the reorganization of Germany in the Christian spirit set Delp and the other members of the *Kreisau Circle* in sharp contrast to the Nazi ideology of the absolute state. And this was clearly noted during the trial by the presiding judge, when he yelled at Moltke:

前：对理性的批判性质询和纳粹及其极权主义国家的绝对无神论意识形态。德尔佩将这场斗争进行到底，直至被送进死囚牢房和殉难。拉纳将他所有的神学力量均投入到寻找以下问题的答案上：一个人如何能——鉴于20世纪的灾难和天主的不可知性与遥远性——体验到祂，并富有意义地谈论这种体验。

最后，德尔佩和拉纳分享了一种深刻的神秘灵修，这是他们生活的中心。这既不意味着脱离这个世界，也不意味着妄自尊大的信仰确定性。相反，其意味着屈服于deus semper maior（永远比我们的想象更伟大的神）和他深不可测的指引（Schaller, 2012年，第345页）。同时，其为教会和社会的复兴以及世俗时代信仰的可持续性提供了积极服务的基础。

他们是谁？生平概述

德尔佩和拉纳年龄差不多并且有着相似的出身背景。拉纳于1904年3月5日出生在德国弗莱堡。1984年3月30日，刚过完80岁生日后不久在因斯布鲁克去世。他成为了20世纪最重要的神学家之一，其影响可见诸第二次梵蒂冈大公会议的许多文件，他的著作遍布于32卷4000多份出版物中。

德尔佩于1907年9月15日出生在德国曼海姆，1945年2月2日在柏林普勒岑监狱中被处决，年仅37岁。

两人都意识到基督教信仰在现代时期所面临的挑战，并试图通过深入分析他们的意识形态基础来迎接这些挑战。为此，他们从事哲学，特别是马丁·海德格尔（Martin Heidegger）哲学的研究。为了完成其博士研究，拉纳前往弗莱堡与海德格尔共同研究，并参加其研讨会。

自1928年起，德尔佩开集中阅读海德格尔著作，并于1935年在有“不详预兆”书名的《悲剧生存方式》一书中发表了其批判性反思。这不仅是一位天主教作家写的关于海德格尔的第一本书，而且也似乎预示了他自己的“悲剧生存方式”。从1939年起，德尔佩是一名神学作家，同时也是慕尼黑耶稣会月刊《时代之声》（*Stimmen der Zeit*）的编辑。当纳粹1941年禁止该期刊并没收其房屋时，德尔佩搬到了慕尼黑郊区的一个教区，在那里，他以极大的奉献精神作为牧灵人

为他的信徒服务，并以智慧和勇气帮助了所有受战争摧残的人们。他帮助挖掘埋在房屋废墟下的人们，并且帮助犹太家庭逃离迫害者。

在拉纳的著作中，人们会发现一句惊人的陈述：“未来的虔诚基督徒要么是一个‘神秘主义者’，一个‘体验过’某事的人，要么将什么也不是”

1944年7月28日早晨弥撒刚结束，德尔佩遭到逮捕。他被指控为试图在1944年7月20日暗杀希特勒的施陶芬柏格（Stauffenberg）伯爵的同谋者之一。尽管德尔佩本人认识施陶芬柏格，但他并未参与这起阴谋，且警方也无法证明这一点。然而，他被指控勾结所谓的克莱稍集团（Kreisauer Kreis）。这是一个由赫尔穆特·詹姆斯·冯·毛奇伯爵（Helmuth James Graf von Moltke）领导的抵抗组织，他们在其克莱稍庄园会面，讨论即将到来的战争和纳粹政权败局之后的德国重组问题。自1942年中期以来，德尔佩一直参与这些密谋讨论会，并接受了从基督教角度拟订德国社会新秩序的任务。为此，他提出了一种基于受基督教启发的人文主义的新社会正义观（德尔佩，1984年，第310页）。其目的是为了确保法律和秩序的基础，这些基础是国家权力不得破坏的。由于纳粹已摧毁了这些基础，因此第一步是在“真正的社会秩序”原则得以确立之前重新唤醒法律意识和正义感（布莱斯坦（Bleistein），1989年，第271-2页）。

他对德国在基督教精神下重组的思考，使德尔佩和克莱稍集团的其他成员与纳粹的专制独裁国家意识形态形成了鲜明对比。这一点，当主审法官在审判期间对毛奇喊道：“只有在一个方面，基督教和我们[纳粹]是同类的：我们都要求人的全部！”（德尔佩，1962年，第85页）¹时，是清楚表明了。1945年1月11日，德尔佩和毛奇因叛国罪被判处死刑。

1 除非另有说明，否则所有直接引语均是本人对德文原文的翻译。

“Only in one aspect Christianity and we [Nazis] are equals: we demand the whole person!” (Delp, 1962, p. 85).¹ On January 11, 1945 Delp and Moltke were sentenced to death for high treason.

Compared to Delp, Rahner was granted a relatively quiet scholarly life, which, however, was shaken all the more inwardly by the catastrophes of the 20th century that directed the focus of his theology and spirituality to the question of the silent God. While Delp’s spirituality gained its clearest expression in his seven-month imprisonment on death row, Rahner could develop his theology over a long life and reflect on the theological implications of the spiritual experiences of Delp and other witnesses of faith in the 20th century (Rahner, 1982a, pp. 277-293; Rahner, 1982b).

In Rahner’s work one comes across an astonishing statement: “The devout Christian of the future will either be a ‘mystic’, one who has ‘experienced’ something, or he will cease to be anything at all”

Both Rahner and Delp were deeply influenced by the *Spiritual Exercises* of the founding father of their order, Ignatius of Loyola, whose spirituality originates from the experience of God in his life generating a profound passion for the incomprehensible God (Lehmann & Raffelt, 2014). Delp’s letters, meditations and reflections, which he literally wrote down “with his hands tied” and “in the face of death” bear witness to this spirituality. It has also been preserved in the testimony of his fellow prisoners. Even in the prison’s climate of fear and desperation, Delp’s unshakable certainty of faith shines through and his ultimate surrender to the will of God, through which he endures imprisonment and torture, and finally accepts death with composure.

¹ Unless stated otherwise, all direct quotations are my translations from the original German texts.

LIVING IN THE SPIRIT OF IGNATIAN SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

1. Seeking and Finding God in all things

In a letter of June 1, 1551, Ignatius answered the question of how one should pray with the invitation “to practice seeking the presence of God our Lord in all things, e.g. in speaking, walking, seeing, tasting, hearing, thinking, in all actions; after all, God’s majesty is in all things, by his presence, by his work, and by his nature” (Ignatius, 1956, p. 206). With this maxim, which is ultimately based on the theology of creation, Ignatius does not exclude any part of reality where God could be sought and found (Sudbrack, 1996). Spiritual life is not exhausted in traditional forms of worship, nor restricted to certain religious practices.

Rahner explores the implications of this theology of creation for contemporary Christian spiritual life and develops the framework for transcendental theology. For him God’s presence can be discovered even in the inconspicuous things of everyday life that are like “drops of water in which the whole sky is reflected; like signs that point beyond themselves” (Rahner, 2006, p. 476). Similarly, in his *Reflections on the Experience of Grace* Rahner points to a wide range of dispositions and activities in everyday life, which may reveal themselves as occasions for the encounter with God. They include for example keeping quiet when unfairly treated, forgiving without being acknowledged, sacrificing something without receiving thanks, acting purely on conscience, and loving God, when it seems “to be calling out into emptiness and our cry to fall on deaf ears” (Rahner, 1982a, p. 87).

Much more dramatic, but in the same spirit Delp jotted down on a piece of paper in Berlin-Tegel prison on November 17, 1944:

There is one thing which has never been clearer to me: The world is full of God. From all the pores of things this is pouring towards us, as it were. But we are often blind. We get stuck in the beautiful hours and in the bad hours. We do not

与德尔佩相比，拉纳被允许有相对平静的学者生活，然而，这种生活却内在地格外受到20世纪灾难的震撼，这些灾难将他的神学和灵修焦点对准了对沉默天主的追问。德尔佩的灵修在死囚牢房的七个月监禁中获得了其最清晰的表达，而拉纳则可以在漫长一生中发展其神学，思考德尔佩和20世纪其他信仰见证人灵性体验的神学含义（拉纳，1982年，第277-293页；拉纳，1982a）。

“现在别人抓住了你，他们折磨你、恐吓你，把你从一种焦虑驱逐到另一种焦虑中。然而这是自由，它歌唱着：……任何死亡都不能杀死我们。那就是延伸到广袤无垠天地间的生命”

拉纳和德尔佩均深受其教团创始人依纳爵·罗耀拉（Ignatius of Loyola）的《神操》的影响，他的灵修源于他一生中对天主的体验，对不可思议的天主产生了极深的热忱（Lehmann和Raffelt，2014年）。德尔佩“双手被绑”、“面对死亡”逐字逐句写下的信件、默观和深思，见证了这种灵修。这也同样保留在他狱友的证词中。即使在监狱的恐惧和绝望的气氛中，德尔佩坚定不移的信念也仍然透过天主的意志，通过他最终屈服于天主的旨意而闪耀着光芒，借助于天主的意志，他忍受住监禁和酷刑，最终平静地接受了死亡。

生活在依纳爵灵性操练的精神中

1、在万物中寻求和发现天主

在1551年6月1日的一封信中，依纳爵回答了一个问题，即人应该如何激励下祈祷，“练习在万物中寻求我主天主的存在，例如在说、行、看、尝、听、想等所有的行动中；毕竟，天主的威严通过他的同在、他的工作以及他的本性而存在于万物当中。”（依纳爵，1956年，第206页）。根据这一最终建立在创世神学基础上的格言，依纳爵并不排除可以在其中寻求和发现天主的任何一部分现实（Sudbrack，1996年）。灵性生活不会在传统形式的崇拜中耗尽，但也不会局限于某些宗教实践。

拉纳探索了这种创世神学对当代基督教灵性生活的含义，并发展了先验神学

的框架。对他来说，即使在日常生活中不显眼的事物内，也可以发现天主的存在，这些事物有如“反射整个天空的水滴；就像指向自身之外的符号”（拉纳，2006年，第476页）。同样，在他的《对恩宠经验的深思》中，拉纳指出了日常生活中广泛的倾向和活动，这些倾向和活动可能显现为和天主相遇的机会。例如，其中包括他们在受到不公平对待时保持沉默，在不被认可的情况下宽恕

别人，在没有收到感谢的情况下牺牲某些东西，纯粹凭良心行事，以及当似乎“陷入空虚，我们的呼唤却被置若罔闻”时仍爱戴天主（拉纳，1982年，第87页）。

更具戏剧性的是，1944年11月17日，德尔佩在柏林-提格监狱以同样的精神在一张纸上写道：

有一件事对我来说是再清楚不过了：这个世界天主上无处不在。这就像从万物的所有孔隙中向我们涌来。但我们通常看不见。我们介于美好时光和糟糕时光之间。我们只有在它们源于天主的地方才体验到它们（德尔佩，1962年，第51页）。

因此，德尔佩和拉纳指向依纳爵灵修的中心，这种灵修存在于对天主的真实体验，它使个人能够承受和耐得住生活的坎坷。

2、对天主的真实体验

拉纳在其虚构的依纳爵·罗耀拉对今日一位耶稣会士的谈话中，让他一开始就强调其灵修的决定性方面：当我在罗耀拉（Loyola）生病时，以及在曼雷沙（Manresa）做隐士时，“我遇见了天主”（拉纳，2008年，第300页）。涉及疾病和脱离社会的生平清楚地表明，这种体验在任何地方都是可能的，尤其是在生活的逆境中，因为天主可以出现在一切事物中。但即使在这一体验中，天主仍然是深不可测和充满神秘感的。依纳爵继续说：“我只说：我体验了天主，那种不可名状、深不可测、寂静无

experience them up to the point where they flow out of God (Delp, 1962, p. 51).

Delp and Rahner thus point to the centre of Ignatian spirituality, which lies in the authentic experience of God that enables the individual to bear and endure the ups and downs of life.

2. Authentic experience of God

In his fictitious speech of Ignatius of Loyola to a Jesuit of today, Rahner lets him at the very beginning emphasise the decisive aspect of his spirituality: In my illness in Loyola and in my time as a hermit in Manresa “I met God” (Rahner, 2008, p. 300). The biographical reference to illness and withdrawal from society makes clear that

“Now others have you, they torture you and frighten you and chase you from one anxiety to another. Yet this is the freedom that sings: ... no death can kill us. That is then the life that reaches out to the boundless expanse.” (Alfred Delp, S.J.)

such experience is possible everywhere, not least in the adversities of life, because God can be found in all things. But even in such an experience God remains unfathomable and mysterious. Ignatius continues: “I say only: I have experienced God, the nameless and unfathomable, silent and yet near (...) I have experienced God beyond all figurative imagination.” And yet it is true: “I have met God; I have experienced him myself,” and since then “I have experienced in a growing measure and ever more purely God in his impenetrable incomprehensibility” (Rahner, 2008, pp. 300-301). Rahner’s entire theology is the attempt to make sense of such experience by interpreting it in terms of the historical self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ while at the same time venerating in silence the mystery of the incomprehensible God.

Delp’s texts from death row give testimony to the same experience of the near and yet infinitely distant God with whom he struggles in his despair and to whose will he nevertheless surrenders: “There are hours in which only one thing remains to be done: to gather all the woe and the need into a cry of supplication, into a cry for mercy and help. And to call up to him or to

cry or to weep and to lament and to whimper to the God of salvation” (Delp, 1962, p. 37). Delp is convinced that the “hour of the birth of freedom,” in which a person surrenders completely to God, is “the hour of the encounter with God.”

Whether God forces a man out of himself through overwhelming need and suffering, whether he lures him out of himself through the images of beauty and truth, whether he torments him out of himself through the infinite longing, through hunger and thirst for justice, that is actually indifferent. If man is only called and if he only accepts to be called. (Delp, 1962, p. 78)

3. Ignatian Mysticism of World Piety

In Rahner’s work one comes across an astonishing statement: “The devout Christian of the future will either be a ‘mystic’, one who has ‘experienced’ something, or he will cease to be anything at all” (Rahner, 1977, p. 15). For Rahner faith is and must be grounded in an existential experience. Mysticism as “the experimental contact with grace in infused contemplation” (Rahner, 1982a, p. 279) is the way in which God is experienced in daily life. But such an experience of God is radically unique and absolute. On the one hand, it can establish a certainty of faith that can be so unshakable that - as Ignatius writes in his *Pilgrim’s Account* - he would not waver in his faith “even if there were no Holy Scriptures” (Rahner, 2008, p. 300). On the other hand, the encounter with God transcends any inner-worldly experience and reaches out to the ever-greater God. It pulls away the ground on which we normally stand, all certainty on which we usually rely, since whatever we understand, it is not God (St. Augustine). As long as we have not experienced “the bottomless depth of our

声又近在咫尺（...）我体验了天主，这超乎一切具象的想象。”然而这是真的：“我遇见过天主；我自己也体验过天主”，从那以后，“我越来越多地、越来越纯粹地体验了具有无法理解的不可知性的天主”（拉纳，2008年，第300-301页）。拉纳的整个神学就是一种尝试，要通过按照天主在耶稣基督身上的历史性自我揭示来解释这种体验，同时又通过默默敬仰不可思议的天主的神秘，来使这样的体验有意义。

德尔佩在死囚牢房所写之文见证了对既近又无限遥远的天主的同样体验：他在绝望中与之挣扎，但仍然屈服于其意志：“在数小时里只剩下一件事情要做：将所有的痛苦和需求汇集成一声祈祷、一声怜悯与帮助的呼喊。向他呼吁，向着救世的天主呼喊、哭泣、哀叹、抽泣”（德尔佩，1962年，第37页）。德尔佩坚信“自由诞生的时刻”，即一个人完全屈服于天主的时刻，就是“与天主相遇的时刻”。“天主是否通过压倒性的需求和痛苦迫使一个人超脱自身，是否通过美与真的形象引诱他超脱自身，是否通过无限渴望、通过对正义的饥渴折磨他超脱自身，这实际上都无关紧要。但愿是人被召唤，但愿是人接受被召唤”（德尔佩，1962年，第78页）。

3、依纳爵的世界虔诚神秘主义

在拉纳的著作中，人们会发现一句惊人的陈述：“未来的虔诚基督徒要么是一个‘神秘主义者’，一个‘体验过’某事的人，要么将什么也不是”（拉纳，1977年，第15页）。对于拉纳而言，信仰建立在而且必须建立在一种生存体验的基础之上。神秘主义作为“在无处不在的沉思中与天主恩典的体验性接触”（拉纳，1982年，第279页），是在日常生活中体验天主的方式。但是这种对天主的体验是极其独特和绝对的。一方面，它可以建立一种坚定不移的信仰——正如依纳爵在其《朝圣者记》（*Pilgrim's Account*）中所写——“即使没有《圣经》”（拉纳，2008年，第300页），他也不会动摇自身信仰。另一方面，和天主相遇超越了任何内心世界的体验，向至高无上的伟大天主靠拢。这种相遇剥离了我们通常所站的立场、我们通常所依赖的所有确定性，因为无论我们如何理解，这都不是天主（圣奥古斯

丁（St. Augustine））。只要我们尚未经历“我们生存的无底深渊”，我们就还没有准备好与天主的相遇。

“当我们放任自己且不再属于自己的时候，当我们否定自己且不再支配自己的时候，当一切都远离我们，仿佛遥不可及的时候，我们就开始生活在天主自己的世界，恩典和永生之神的世界”（拉纳，1982年，第89页）。正如拉纳一再强调的那样，天主是“深渊”，他在他的爱中离我们越近，其不可理解性随就越增长，而不是减少。在这种相遇中，所有“摸得着、可说明原因的”一切都沉没了，“我们的生存的似乎不可思议的无底深渊”变得显而易见，尽管我们周围的一切事物都带着死亡和毁灭的意味，但这仍然可以是天主与我们交流的无底深渊”（出处同上）。

这是拉纳与德尔佩共有的神秘主义概念。拉纳将人类不稳定的生存模式描述为“在天主与世界、时间与永恒的边界上”（拉纳，1982年，第88页），这在德尔佩反复出现的绳索和悬崖形象中也有对应描述，他在其中看到自己被关进监狱。1944年11月30日，德尔佩写道：“还有充裕和慰藉的美好时光。但总体而言，我们是在走钢丝，并且必须从深渊上走过”（德尔佩，1962年，第53页）。“通往我的悬崖的道路就在这里：它耗费了多少个小时的软弱与需求。数小时的无力感和怀疑，数小时不知出路何在。”德尔佩通过忏悔克服了他的怀疑：“我屈服于我主天主”（德尔佩，1962年，第104页）。

4、关于生存的基督教

依纳爵灵修起源于并且最真实地体现在所谓的《神操》中，即通过祈祷和默观准备与天主相遇的操作指南。

拉纳阅读了《神操》这本小册子，不仅将其视为“当代西方基督教最重要的基础之一”（拉纳，2008年，第236页），而且还将其视为一份特别现代的文件，因为这本小册子将个人主体的自由置于关注的中心，从而至少间接地促进现代生活和思想的发展（拉纳，2008年，第217页）。他甚至声称“新时代是基督教自身为了通过自我反省实现自我而开创的时代”（拉纳，1977年，第39页）。

existence,” we are not yet ready for the encounter with God.

“When we have let ourselves go and no longer belong to ourselves, when we have denied ourselves and no longer have the disposing of ourselves, when everything has moved away from us as if into an infinite distance, then we begin to live in the world of God himself, the world of the God of grace and of eternal life” (Rahner, 1982a, p. 89). As Rahner has emphasised time and again, God is “the abyss” whose incomprehensibility grows and does not diminish the nearer he comes to us in his love. In this encounter everything “tangible and assignable” has sunk and a “seemingly uncanny, bottomless depth of our existence” has become apparent, which can nevertheless be the “bottomless depth of God communicating himself to us, even if everything around us takes on the taste of death and destruction” (Ibid.).

This is the concept of mysticism that Rahner shares with Delp. Rahner’s characterization of man’s precarious mode of existence “on the border between God and the world, time and eternity” (Rahner, 1982a, p. 88) has its counterpart in Delp’s recurring images of rope and cliff, on which he sees himself placed in prison. On November 30, 1944, Delp noted: “There are also good hours of abundance and consolation. But on the whole we are on a tightrope and have to walk over an abyss” (Delp, 1962, p. 53). “The way to my cliff up here: how many hours of weakness and need did it take. Hours of powerlessness and doubt and of not knowing a way out.” And Delp overcomes his doubts with the confession: “I have surrendered myself to the Lord God” (Delp, 1962, p. 104).

4. Existential Christianity

Ignatian spirituality originates from and is most authentically represented in the so-called *Spiritual Exercises*, i.e. instructions through prayer and meditation in preparation for the encounter with God.

Rahner read the small booklet of the *Spiritual Exercises* not only as one of “the most important fundamentals of contemporary

western Christianity,” (Rahner, 2008, p. 236) but also as a specifically modern document, since it places the individual subject in its freedom at the center of attention and thus contributes at least indirectly to the development of modern life and thought (Rahner, 2008, p. 217). He even claims that “the New Age is an age which Christianity itself has ushered in, in order to realize itself by way of self-reflection” (Rahner, 1977, 39).

Delp had already been aware since his first publications that history is formed by the actions and decisions of individuals. For him it is a continuous struggle and “an agonising event” from which nobody can escape (Delp, 1985, p. 417). Everyone has to assume the responsibility historically assigned to him/her in a free decision of conscience. And this applies all the more to situations of war, persecution, and destruction when man as “image and parable, thought, will, and love of the Lord God” is no longer sacred but has become dispensable at the whims of those in power. “Woe be to the one by whom a man was annihilated, by whom an image of God was desecrated, even if it was in the last stages and even if it was only a faint image of humanity!” (Delp, 1983, p. 292). In language taken from the Old Testament prophets, Delp demands human rights for all and at the same time resolutely rejects the Nazi program of euthanasia.

When during the trial the question was raised about the motives for his collaboration in the *Kreisau Circle*, he replied: “I can preach as much as I want and treat people skillfully or clumsily and edify them as long as I want. As long as people have to live without dignity and inhumanely, the average will succumb to circumstances and neither pray nor think. Required is the thorough change of the conditions of life.” To this the presiding judge snapped: “Are you saying that the state should be changed?” And Delp replied calmly and composed: “Yes, that’s what I’m saying” (Bleistein, 1989, p. 378). With these words his death sentence was sealed.

5. Indifference

In the Rules at the beginning of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius demands equanimity

自从有了最初的出版物以来，德尔佩已经意识到历史是由个人的行为和决定所形成。对他而言，这是一场持续的斗争和“一件令人痛苦的事情”，任何人都无法从中逃脱（德尔佩，1985年，第417页）。每个人都必须凭良知自由决定承担历史赋予的责任。这在人作为“天主的形象和比喻，作为其思想、意志和爱”不再神圣，而是在掌权者的一时冲动下变得可有可无时，格外适用于战争、迫害和毁灭的形势。“让一个人被其毁灭，天主的形象遭其褻渎的那种人见鬼去吧，即使这是在最后阶段，即使这只是一个模糊的人形！”（德尔佩，1983年，第292页）。德尔佩用《旧约》先知的语言，要求所有人的人权，同时坚决反对纳粹的安乐死计划。

在审判期间，当被问及其勾结克莱稍集团的动机时，他回答：“我想怎么布道就怎么布道，无论娴熟还是笨拙地对待人们，我想怎么教化人们就怎么教化。只要人们不得不过着毫无尊严、毫不人道的的生活，普罗大众就会屈服于环境，既不祈祷也不思考。生活条件需要彻底改变。”对此，主审法官厉声说道：“你的意思是应该改变国家？”德尔佩冷静而沉着地回答：“没错，这就是我的意思”（布莱斯坦，1989年，第378页）。说完这番话，他被宣判了死刑。

5、淡然面对

在《神操》开篇的规则中，依纳爵要求在审慎选择之后得到许可而不会因为道德原因被禁止的情况下，冷静对待一切被创造之物。因此，一个人应该要求“健康只不过是疾病，财富只不过是贫穷，荣誉只不过是耻辱，长寿只不过是短命，在所有其他事物上亦如此，只渴望和选择那些促进我们更接近我们为之而生目标的东西”（依纳爵，1965年，第23页）。

因此，拉纳认为依纳爵灵修的精神不在于某种特定的实践或理念中，而是在于某种形式事物中：所有思想和行为的最终态度。这种态度是一种淡然面对的态度——“对天主每一个命令的冷静准备。”从至高无上的伟大天主来看，这使个人能够脱离一切特殊的事物而追随天主去往他可能指引的地方。这种淡然面对的态度“使意志随时待命，如同随时准备接

受新任务的仆人一样”。“被这样一种精神所感动，甚至对十字架的热爱，愿意分担基督死后的耻辱，这也仍然被淡然面对的态度所支配：十字架，没错，如果它的神圣威严愿意在生命中召唤这样一种死亡的话”（拉纳，1982年，第290-291页）。

拉纳在神学上而且也从其自身灵性体验中形成的思考，德尔佩在监狱磨难中感同身受，并在实践中予以证明。在1945年主显节的默观中，德尔佩写道：“普通的命运、我的个人情况、节日的信息：一切都集中于一点：人类，离开你自己去天主那里，你就会再次拥有你自己”（德尔佩，1962年，第78页）。他以此暗指“接受”（Suscipe）——依纳爵包含在其《神操》中的祈祷。这祈祷和汤玛斯·阿奎那（Thomas Aquinas）著名的《朝拜（隐形的天主，我今虔诚朝拜你）》对于德尔佩来说是“生命的原始语言”，他即使在死亡和绝望中，也能以淡然面对的精神将自己托付给天主。他写道：“现在别人抓住了你，他们折磨你、恐吓你，把你从一种焦虑驱逐到另一种焦虑中。然而这是自由，它歌唱着：……任何死亡都不能杀死我们。那就是延伸到广袤无垠天地间的生命：“朝拜和接受”：你这生命的原始语言，你这走向天主的笔直陡峭之路，你这走向富足的大门，你这人类走向自我的道路”（德尔佩，1962年，第78页）。在1945年1月11日写给慕尼黑朋友的一封信中，德尔佩在检察官要求判处他死刑后回到了这种沉思：“‘朝拜和接受’是我写的主显节默观的最后一句话。让我们到此为止。不要难过（……）。现在我不得不放手了”（出处同上）

1945年2月2日，德尔佩在柏林普勒岑塞监狱被执行了绞刑。三天后，他的法官在一阵炸弹袭击中丧生，不久后纳粹的恐怖统治瓦解了。



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towards all created things, where this is granted to our deliberative choice and not forbidden on moral grounds. One should therefore desire “health no more than sickness, wealth no more than poverty, honor no more than dishonor, long life no more than a short one, and accordingly in all other things, yearning and choosing only that which promotes us more towards the goal for which we are created” (Ignatius, 1965, no. 23).

Accordingly, Rahner sees the spirit of Ignatian spirituality not in some particular practice or conception, but in something formal: a final attitude of all thoughts and actions. This attitude is one of indifference, “the calm readiness for every command of God.” In view of the ever-greater God, it enables the individual to detach from all that is particular and to follow God wherever he may lead. Out of such an attitude of indifference “springs the will to be at hand like a servant always ready for new assignments.” “Moved by such a spirit, even the passionate love of the Cross and of sharing in the ignominy of the death of Christ is still ruled by indifference: the Cross, yes, if it should please his divine Majesty to call to such a death in life” (Rahner, 1982a, pp. 290-291).

What Rahner develops theologically, but also from his own spiritual experience, Delp has suffered in prison and proven in practice. In his meditation on the feast of Epiphany in 1945, Delp wrote: “The general fate, my personal situation, the message of the feast: everything collects into one: man, leave yourself to go to your God and you will have yourself again” (Delp, 1962, p. 78). With this he alludes to the *Suscipe*, the prayer Ignatius included in his *Spiritual Exercises*. This prayer and Thomas Aquinas’ famous *Adoration (Adoro te devote, latens Deitas)* are for Delp “primeval words of life,” in whose spirit of indifference he can entrust himself to God even in death and desperation. He notes: “Now others have you, they torture you and frighten you and chase you from one anxiety to another. Yet this is the freedom that sings: ... no death can kill us. That is then the life that reaches out to the boundless expanse: *Adoro* and *Suscipe*: you primeval words of life, you straight and steep paths to God, you gateways to the abundance, you paths of man

to himself” (Delp, 1962, p. 78). In a letter to his Munich friends dated January 11, 1945, Delp returns to this meditation after the prosecutor had called for the death sentence: “*Adoro* and *Suscipe* are the last words of the epiphany contemplation that I wrote. Let us leave it at that. Don’t be sad (...). Now I have to let go” (Ibid.).

On February 2, 1945, Delp was hanged in Berlin-Plötzensee. Three days later his judge was killed in a hail of bombs, and soon after the Nazi rule of terror collapsed.



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DIETRICH BONHOEFFER AND THE PROBLEM OF DIRTY HANDS: WHAT COUNTS AS CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM?

迪特里希·潘霍华与“脏手”问题： 什么是基督徒的殉道？

DENNIS P. McCANN 丹宁思

ABSTRACT

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, along with others implicated in the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Adolf Hitler, was executed at the Flossenbuerg internment camp on April 9, 1945, less than a month before the final collapse of the Nazi regime in Berlin. Bonhoeffer was unusual among those implicated in the plot, in that he was both an ordained Christian minister and well-known in ecumenical circles in Europe and the USA. While Bonhoeffer was already held in custody on suspicion of anti-Nazi activities at the time of the unsuccessful assassination attempt, July 20, 1944, his role in it was confirmed when secret papers that his brother-in-law and co-conspirator, Hans von Dohnanyi, had preserved were discovered, and the full extent of the plot became known to Hitler and his staff. Many consider Bonhoeffer to be a Christian martyr, but his involvement in the assassination plot has always been controversial. Bonhoeffer's posthumously published writings, especially his *Letters and Papers from Prison* and his unfinished

摘要

1945年4月9日，迪特里希·潘霍华和其他牵涉参与对阿道夫·希特勒未遂暗杀的人一道，在弗罗森堡集中营被处决。不到一个月后，纳粹政权在柏林最终崩溃。在参与暗杀计划的人中，潘霍华颇为与众不同，因为他是一个被任命的基督教牧师，并且在欧洲和美国的基督教圈子里享有盛名。虽然在1944年7月20日的未遂暗杀活动当时已因涉嫌反纳粹活动被拘禁，但是潘霍华在暗杀阴谋中的作用是在其姐夫及同谋汉斯·冯·杜南依（Hans von Dohnanyi）保存的秘密文件被发现时才被确认，全部暗杀密谋为希特勒及其党羽所知。许多人认为潘霍华是一名基督教殉道者，对其参与暗杀阴谋则存在争议。潘霍华死后发表的作品，尤其是《狱中书简》及未完成的《伦理学》，因其所谓的“一个成熟的世界”而赢得创新神学家的不朽声誉。尽管潘霍华拒绝以基督教和伦理为理由为自己参与暗杀阴谋辩护，这两本著作提供了他如何考虑这个问题的重要思路。

Ethics, have secured him an enduring reputation as an innovative theologian for, in his own terms, “a world come of age.” While Bonhoeffer refused to defend his participation in the assassination plot on Christian and ethical grounds, both these works provide important clues as to how he thought about it.

BONHOEFFER’S LIFE AS A CHRISTIAN MINISTER

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, along with his twin sister Sabine, were the 6th and 7th of eight children born in 1906 to a prominent German family. His father, Karl, was a pioneering psychiatrist and neurologist, and his mother Paula (von Hase) was descended from a distinguished family of theologians and artists. Along with other family members, Bonhoeffer opposed the rise of the Nazi party in German culture and politics, and resisted its anti-Semitic policies. With the revolt of the so-called Confessing Churches, and the promulgation of the *Barmen Declaration* of 1934, Bonhoeffer became a central figure in challenging the hegemony of the so-called “*Deutsche Christen*”¹ in the Protestant churches. Bonhoeffer’s own resistance went well beyond the *Declaration*’s abstract theological denunciation of the Nazi ideology, to active protest against the persecution of Jews, and the adoption of the “Aryan paragraph” requiring removal of Protestant pastors with Jewish ancestry (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 3101). Though committed to the position staked out in the *Declaration*, Bonhoeffer protested the apparent indifference of the leadership of the Confessing Churches to these administrative struggles (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 2694ff). After pastoral ministry work in

1 The term literally means “German Christians,” with the implication that a patriotic Christian must be absolutely loyal to Adolf Hitler as the “*Fuehrer*” or paramount Leader of Germany. This was the idolatrous claim to redefine Christian faith that was opposed by the Barmen Declaration in 1934, and precipitated the struggle within the German Evangelical Church, among the “Confessing Churches,” against the attempted Nazi takeover of Christianity in Germany. The full text of the Barmen Declaration is available in Schlingensiepen, (Kindle Locations 8384-8471). The identical text can be retrieved online at <https://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/barmen.htm>. Both are taken from Arthur C. Cochrane’s *The Church’s Confession Under Hitler* (Cochrane, 1962). Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 237-242.

the German congregations in London (U.K.), he returned to Germany in 1935 and was tasked with creating a seminary for the Confessing Churches at Finkenwalde, which despite its illegal status, he managed to keep going until the Gestapo closed it in March 1940.² During this time, Bonhoeffer had several other trips abroad, mostly seeking to alert partners in the ecumenical movement to the deteriorating situation in Germany for the individuals and congregations still resisting the Nazification of the Germany Evangelical Church.

Bonhoeffer’s involvement in the conspiracy to kill Hitler in October 1940, necessity dictated that Bonhoeffer accept an appointment with the *Abwehr*, the Office of Military Intelligence, which harboured many of the key figures in the resistance, and their conspiracies to assassinate Hitler. Joining the *Abwehr* enabled Bonhoeffer to avoid being drafted into military service, and Bonhoeffer was valued by the *Abwehr* leadership because of his influential contacts internationally. Recruited by his distinguished brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi, he could serve as a courier for the resistance while participating in ecumenical meetings in neutral countries such as Switzerland and Sweden. In particular, the *Abwehr* used his friendship with UK Bishop George Bell to communicate the conspirators’ plans to the British Foreign Office, in the hope that eliminating Hitler would open the way to a negotiated settlement in the war.

Bonhoeffer’s various missions for the *Abwehr* as well as his monastic retreat were abruptly curtailed when, on April 5, 1943, he was

2 Schlingensiepen’s recent biography, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance* (2010), is especially good at conveying the complexity of Bonhoeffer’s activities in and for, and often in spite of the Confessing Church, and its own struggle for survival under increased pressure from the Nazi dominated *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche*. Understanding the complexity of the struggles involved is important for interpreting Bonhoeffer’s relatively opaque statements about the emergence of a “religionless Christianity” in *The Letters and Papers from Prison*, mostly written during his incarceration at Tegel Prison in Berlin (1942-1944). As Schlingensiepen observes, “To his deep unease, he was finding that the Confessing Church, in defending itself against violation by a regime of terror and lies, was leaving others threatened by that regime to their fate In this situation, it was a great discovery for Bonhoeffer to find that the only Gospel in the Bible is a Gospel turned toward the whole world.” (Kindle Edition, Location 7014).



潘霍华：一名基督教牧师的一生

1906年，迪特里希·潘霍华与其双胞胎妹妹出生在一个德国显赫的家庭，在家中八个孩子中排行第六、第七。其父卡尔是一位精神病学和神经学先驱，其母保拉(冯·哈泽)出自一个享有声望的神学家和艺术家家庭。和其他家庭成员一起，潘霍华反对纳粹党在德国文化和政治中的崛起，并抵制其反犹政策。随着所谓“宣认教会”的抵抗运动及1934年《巴门宣言》的通过，潘霍华成为新教教会挑战所谓“德意志基督徒”¹霸权的核心人物。潘霍华自己的抵抗远远超出宣言中对纳粹意识形态的抽象神学谴责，而是积极抗议对犹太人的迫害，拒绝采纳要求清除有犹太血统的新教牧师的“亚利安法条”(Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 3101)。尽管潘霍华致力于宣言中的立场，但他反对“宣认教会”领导层对这些行政斗争明显的漠不关心。(Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 2694ff)。在英国伦敦的德国基督教会做过牧师工作后，潘霍华于1935年回到德国，负责在芬根瓦尔德(Finkenwalde)建立“宣认教会”神学院。尽管该神学院是非法的，潘霍华坚持将它维护到1940年3月才被盖世太保关闭。²在此期

1 这个词的字面意思是“德国的基督徒”，意思是一个爱国的基督徒必须绝对忠诚于作为“元首”或德国最高领导人的阿道夫·希特勒。这是重新定义基督教信仰的偶像崇拜主张，遭到1934年通过的《巴门宣言》的反对，并引发了德国福音教会的内部斗争，主要是“宣认教会”反对纳粹政权企图控制德国基督教。《巴门宣言》全文可参见Schlingensiepen (Kindle Locations 8384-8471)；或访问<https://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/barmen.htm> 获取，均援引自 Arthur C. Cochrane 的著作 *The Church's Confession Under Hitler* (Cochrane, 1962). Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 237-242.

2 施林根兹蓬 (Schlingensiepen) 的最新传记作品 *Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance* (2010) 在对潘霍华行为复杂性的叙述上表现尤佳。特别是关于“宣认教会”及其在纳粹控制下的德国福音教会不断施加压力的形势下为生存而斗争的背景铺垫。理解相关斗争的复杂性对于理解潘霍华关于“非宗教的基督教”的相对晦涩的表述十分重要。这一表述出自《狱中书简》，大部分内容写于1942年至1944年潘霍华被关押在柏林提格监狱期间。正如施林根兹蓬观察所得，“令他深感不安的是，他发现，宣认教会在保护自身不受充满恐怖和谎言的政权侵犯的同时，却把同样受到该政权威胁的其他人留给了命运的安排... 在这种情况下，潘霍华有一个重大发现，即：圣经中唯一的福音是面向全世界的福音。” (Kindle Edition, Location 7014)。

间，潘霍华还几次去往国外，主要为了提醒普世运动伙伴关注抵制德国福音教会纳粹化的个人和会众在德国不断恶化的处境。

显而易见，潘霍华死于积极反抗希特勒及纳粹政府的暴行。但这是基督教的殉道行为么？还有一些基督教徒支持《巴门宣言》，并反对教会纳粹化。他们中的一些人知道暗杀计划但拒绝参与。

潘霍华卷入暗杀希特勒的阴谋

1940年10月，潘霍华接受了德国军事情报办公室 *Abwehr* 的任命，这里是许多抵抗运动关键人物的庇护所及暗杀希特勒计划的发源地。加入 *Abwehr* 使潘霍华免服兵役，同时由于其国际影响力，领导层对潘霍华也较为看重。在他杰出的姐夫汉斯·冯·杜南依的招募下，潘霍华在参加瑞士、瑞典等中立国举行的普世会议时担任抵抗运动的情报员。特别是，*Abwehr* 借助潘霍华与英国主教乔治·贝尔的关系向英国外交部传递了暗杀计划，寄希望于铲除希特勒可以为谈判解决战争问题开辟道路。

1943年4月5日，潘霍华在 *Abwehr* 的多项任务及修道活动戛然而止，他因涉嫌 *Abwehr* 内部与暗杀无关的金融腐败被逮捕，囚禁于柏林的提格军事监狱。(Sifton and Stern, Kindle Location 1448)。关押在提格监狱的18个月中，相关调查持续推进，*Abwehr* 的暗杀计划也在继续，最终发展为1944年7月20日刺杀希特勒的企图。一旦阴谋失败，而且如此惊人地，当冯·杜南依记录纳粹政权罪行的秘密文件于1944年9月22日在佐森被发现，*Abwehr* 密谋者的角色被迅速暴露 (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 7177)。1944年10月8日，潘霍华被转移到位于阿尔伯特亲王街道 (Prince Albert Street) 的盖世太保监狱，在那里受到严酷审讯，但显然未遭受酷刑 (Schlingensiepen,

arrested and incarcerated at the Tegel military prison in Berlin, on suspicion of financial corruption within the *Abwehr* unrelated to the conspiracy (Sifton and Stern, Kindle Location 1448). During his eighteen months in the Tegel prison, as the investigation dragged on, the *Abwehr* conspiracies continued, culminating in the attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. Once the plot failed, and so spectacularly, the role of the *Abwehr* conspirators was soon exposed, as von Dohnanyi's secret papers documenting the Nazi regime's crimes were discovered at Zossen on September 22, 1944 (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 7177). On October 8, 1944, Bonhoeffer was transferred to the Gestapo prison on Prince Albert Street, where he was rigorously interrogated but apparently not tortured (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 7273). In early April 1945, after Hitler ordered the execution of surviving members of the *Abwehr* resistance group, Bonhoeffer was removed to the concentration camp at Flossenbuerg, where after a sham trial, on the morning of April 9, 1945, he was hanged along with other members of the Canaris group. Hans von Dohnanyi, on that same day, was executed at Sachsenhausen.

WAS DIETRICH BONHOEFFER A CHRISTIAN MARTYR?

Clearly Bonhoeffer died actively resisting the atrocities of Hitler and the Nazi government. While virtually everything in his background and upbringing pointed toward his decision to join the resistance against the Nazis, he freely and knowingly chose to do so. He and his co-conspirators sought to end the Nazi regime in order to shorten the war and pave the way for a negotiated settlement that would restore peace and justice in Germany. That was their goal. From the perspective of those who shared his view of the evils of Nazism, the alleged treason involved in regime change was a heroic act of patriotism.

But was it an act of Christian martyrdom? There were other Christians who endorsed the Barmen Declaration and resisted the Nazification of their churches. Some of them were aware of

the assassination plots but refused to participate. The Kreisau Circle, centered around Helmuth James Count von Moltke³, is an illuminating example. Several times during 1942 Von Moltke and Bonhoeffer met to coordinate elements of the resistance and, among other things, discussed reasons for and against assassination attempts. Von Moltke remained opposed, not only for Christian reasons, but also because he feared that Hitler's death would be regarded as another "stab in the back" by the German people, and thus would perpetuate the cultural pathologies that had enabled the Nazi movement. Bonhoeffer, on the other hand, remained convinced that killing Hitler to end the Nazi regime was the only responsible thing to do, even for a disciple of Christ (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 5706-5774).

Clearly Bonhoeffer died actively resisting the atrocities of Hitler and the Nazi government... But was it an act of Christian martyrdom? There were other Christians who endorsed the Barmen Declaration and resisted the Nazification of their churches. Some of them were aware of the assassination plots but refused to participate.

To understand how Bonhoeffer, a professed Christian pacifist, had come to this decision, certain clues from his writings may be useful. In 1932, for example, at a time

³ Von Moltke's life is well summarized in the public profile posted in 2018 by Niels Christian Lars Moerling on the *Geni* website. The Jesuit, Alfred Delp's involvement with von Moltke and the Kreisau Circle is well presented in an essay by Andreas Batlogg, published in *America Magazine*, January 21, 2008. Alfred Delp's martyrdom and the Christian spirituality that inspired it is well presented in this issue of the MRIJ, in Gerhold Becker's essay, "Spiritual Leadership in Hard Times: Karl Raher and Alfred Delp."

Kindle Location 7273)。1945年4月初，希特勒下令处决Abwehr反抗组织幸存成员后，潘霍华被转移到弗罗森堡集中营。在那里经过一场假审判之后，于1945年4月9日晨，潘霍华和卡纳里斯组织的其他成员一起被处以绞刑。同一天，汉斯·冯·杜南依在萨克森豪森被处决。

迪特里希·潘霍华是基督教殉道者么？

显而易见，潘霍华死于积极反抗希特勒及纳粹政府的暴行。尽管潘霍华的背景和成长经历都指引着他加入反抗纳粹的行列，但他选择这条道路的决定是自由且主观的。他和他的同路人致力于终结纳粹政权，从而尽快结束战争，并为通过谈判重建德国的和平与正义铺平道路。这就是他们的目标。对于那些和他一样对纳粹主义的罪恶深恶痛绝的人来说，因为参与政变被判处叛国罪正是其爱国主义的英雄之举。

但这是基督教的殉道行为么？还有一些基督教徒支持《巴门宣言》，并反对教会纳粹化。他们中的一些人知道暗杀计划但拒绝参与。其中较为著名的是以赫尔穆特·卡尔·贝恩哈特·冯·毛奇³为核心的反纳粹团体Kreisau Circle。冯·毛奇与潘霍华1942年曾多次会面，就抵抗运动相关事项进行沟通，同时探讨反对或支持暗杀计划的原因。冯·毛奇一直反对，不仅是出于基督教的原因，而且因为他担心希特勒的死会被德国民众视为“背后的又一刀”，这或将导致滋生纳粹运动的文化病态长期持续。另一方面，潘霍华始终坚信，即便对于一名基督徒，杀死希特勒结束纳粹政权也是可做的唯一负责任之事(Schlingensiepen, Location 5706-5774)。

要了解自诩为基督教和平主义者的潘霍华如何作出了这一决定，可以从他的著作中寻找一些线索。例如，1932年，潘霍华及其家人已经开始反对纳粹运

动，他受邀在柏林威廉大帝纪念教堂讲道(Schlingensiepen, Location 2378-2436)。他讲道的经文取自歌罗西书3:1-4，其中描写圣保禄如何敦促他的教众“你们要思念上面的事，不要思念地上的事。因为你们已经死了，你们的生命与基督一同藏在神里面”。潘霍华通过这些文字看到的并非敦促退出这个世界的另一种灵性的套话，而是一种召唤，要求参与世界内部的严肃斗争。潘霍华对未来斗争的理解如下：

相反，正因为我们的思想集中在“上面的事”上，所以我们在地上抗议的时候更加坚持和决绝……始于具有无限革命性的团体的基督教，难道如今却要一直保守下去吗？难道每一场新运动都必须绕过教会开辟道路，而教会总要花20年的时间才意识到发生了什么吗？如果真的必须如此，那么当有人要求殉道者的鲜血时，我们也不必感到惊讶，对于教会来说也一样。而这献血，如果我们真有勇气、荣耀和忠诚来献出的话，它也不会像最初的见证者的鲜血那样无辜和耀眼。我们流出的鲜血将被我们的巨大罪感所覆盖。(DBW 11, 446)(Schlingensiepen, Location 2427)

正如施林根兹蓬(Schlingensiepen)所指出，对基督召唤的严肃回应“击碎了对舒适生活的期待”。“有人要求殉道者的鲜血”的时刻将会到来，潘霍华预言，这将是基督教抵抗纳粹主义的结果。但他想象的殉道不是，也不可能是无罪的：“我们流出的鲜血将被我们的巨大罪感所覆盖。”潘霍华在这次使命活动后的人生经历也表明，他确是一位基督教殉道者，但与殉道的先贤不同，他的殉道行为或许并非无罪。

潘霍华的伦理学与“脏手”问题

潘霍华未完成的伟大著作《伦理学》或许有助于解释他的负罪感和责任感。这种负罪感并不是泛化的，而是承认自己与他人一道造成了人性的堕落，是明确而具体的。当一个人面临的形势要求其必须采取负责任的行动时，他的决定——行动或不行动，都不可避免地会产生负罪感。如何处理这种负罪感是潘霍华《伦理学》中的重要一课。《伦理学》与其说是一本学术专著，不如说是

3 Niels Christian Lars Moerling 2018年在Geni网站上发布了一份公开介绍，对冯·毛奇的一生做出了很好的总结。耶稣会信徒阿尔弗雷德·代尔普(Alfred Delp)与冯·毛奇及Kreisau Circle的关系可以参考Andreas Batlogg发表在2008年1月21日出版的America Magazine上的文章。关于阿尔弗雷德·代尔普的殉道与鼓舞人心的基督教灵修，可以参考本期MRIJ中Gerhold Becker的文章《艰难时世中的精神领袖：卡尔·拉内与阿尔弗雷德·代尔普》。

when Bonhoeffer and his family already were in opposition to the Nazi movement, he was invited to preach a sermon at the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 2378-2436). The Biblical text for the Sermon is Colossians 3:1-4, in which St. Paul is portrayed urging his congregation to “Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth, for you have died, and your life is

emerging Christian resistance to Nazism. But the martyrdom he envisions is not, and cannot be, innocent: “Our blood will be overlaid with our own great guilt.” The facts of his life and his activities in the resistance subsequent to this sermon suggest that Bonhoeffer’s, indeed, was a Christian martyrdom, but unlike Christian martyrs of antiquity, his could not have been innocent.

The case for claiming Bonhoeffer as a Christian martyr therefore rests not upon whether his hands were perfectly clean, or not, but on the formation of his character over time as he developed his relationship, through trial and error, with Jesus Christ.

hidden with Christ in God.” What Bonhoeffer finds in this text is not another spiritual bromide urging withdrawal from the world, but an invitation to serious struggle within it. Here is how Bonhoeffer understood the struggle ahead:

Instead, and precisely because our minds are set on things above, we are that much more stubborn and purposeful in protesting here on earth... Does it have to be so that Christianity, which began as immensely revolutionary, now has to remain conservative for all time? That every new movement has to blaze its path without the church, and that the church always takes twenty years to see what has actually happened? If it really must be so, then we must not be surprised when, for our church as well, times come when the blood of martyrs will be demanded. But this blood, if we truly have the courage and honour and loyalty to shed it, will not be so innocent and shining as that of the first witnesses. Our blood will be overlaid with our own great guilt. (DBW 11, 446) (Schlingensiepen, Kindle Location 2427)

A serious response to Christ’s calling, as Schlingensiepen points out, “dashes any hope for a comfortable life.” The time will come “when the blood of martyrs will be demanded,” which Bonhoeffer foresees as the outcome of the

BONHOEFFER’S ETHICS AND THE PROBLEM OF DIRTY HANDS

Bonhoeffer’s great unfinished work, *Ethics*, may help explain his sense of guilt and responsibility. The guilt is not generalised, a simple recognition of his inescapable complicity in the fallenness of human nature; it is specific and concrete. When one is faced with a situation embodying the necessity of acting responsibly, one’s decision either to act or not to act, inevitably, produces guilt. How one deals with this guilt is the great lesson to be discerned in Bonhoeffer’s *Ethics*, which is less an academic treatise than a calling to spiritual transformation in acts of responsibility motivated by faith in the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

By contrast, ethics, as conventionally presented in the universities, in Bonhoeffer’s view, was a fraudulent attempt to establish guilt or innocence, neither of which could overcome humanity’s alienation from God. Ethics’ attempt to distinguish rationally between good and evil, he argues, addresses a pseudo-problem or distraction primordially symbolized in the wisdom of the Serpent in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:1-6). Knowledge of good and evil is deployed in order—impossibly—to distinguish one’s own innocence from the guilt ascribed to everyone else. Bonhoeffer is particularly critical

一种召唤，召唤读者通过信仰耶稣基督激发负责任的行为实现精神升华。

相比之下，潘霍华认为，大学里面传统教学的伦理学是试图确立有罪或无罪的虚假尝试，有罪或无罪都无法克服人性与上帝的疏离。他认为，伦理学试图理性地区分善与恶，针对的是一个伪问题，或最初在伊甸园中蛇的智慧中象征化的迷惑(创世纪3:1-6)。尽管不可能实现，认识善与恶旨在将自己的无罪与他人的罪区分开来。潘霍华特别对伊曼努尔·康德及其批判理论持不同看法，如说真话和说谎的相关论述(Ethics, Kindle Location 3382)⁴。康德的道德绝对主义实际后果是可怕的。根据康德的理论，如果人们拒绝对企图毁灭他们的变态杀手说谎，将因此处于危险之中。英国功利主义等其他形式的伦理理性主义，在许多实际应用中同样会造成可怕后果。但潘霍华认为，这种实践错误是由于道德学家无法理解责任的本质是耶稣基督借助于上帝传递的人格召唤。

认为潘霍华是基督教殉道者的理由，并不在于他的双手是否完全干净，而在于随着时间的推移，他通过反复试错与耶稣基督建立了关系，并完善了自己的品质。

鉴于潘霍华对伦理的态度，没有解决“脏手”问题，也没有试图从道义上为其参与暗杀希特勒的阴谋辩护，就不足为奇了。如果选择这样做，传承下来的基督教伦理传统将为他参与暗杀提供道德辩护，亦即正义战争理论及其应用中隐含的为暴力抗恶的辩护(Watson, 2015)。但在潘霍华的著作，特别是《伦理学》中，并没有相关论述。相反，他提出了基督徒责任理论，与保禄派“与基督同在这个世界”的说法相呼应。有责任就会有负罪感，因为对上帝召唤的回应可能会导致一个人违反看似文明社会的规范。一个真正的基督教门徒，可能需要生活在家庭、社会、文化、甚至教会的舒适地带之外。基督可能会要求我们“弄脏自己的手”，即从事违法违规的活动。在他看来，承担责任可能会导致越线，参与或支持

4 潘霍华的《伦理学》以《何谓“说真话”？》结尾(Kindle Location 5040-5161)，文章适当考虑各种情况下“说真话”的特殊性及其神学含义。这篇文章有助于理解潘霍华在Abwehr阴谋活动中的行为表现：阴谋即便不是谎言，也必然涉及欺骗和误导。

暴力反抗行为。

正如潘霍华在《伦理学》中的定义(Location 3058ff)，责任强调以基督为中心，是对神的召唤具体的、个人的回应(Location 3515ff)，对宗教和世俗活动不作区分。在接受参与暗杀计划罪责的同时担负其中的责任，潘霍华唯一关心的是：这是上帝要他用生命去承担的？对此他从未动摇。在潘霍华的著作，无论是《伦理学》还是《狱中书简》中，寻找他*apologia pro vita sua*（自我辩护）的证据都是徒劳的。⁵他也确实没有提供任何可供普遍借鉴的内容，好像他对上帝呼召的回应可以为处于类似境遇的任何其他人提供道德指引一样。当然，他也担忧不能说服其宣认教会的教友们更加直接地参与抵抗运动，正如他一定曾担心无法与冯·毛奇就如何终结纳粹政权达成一致一样。但他们之间的分歧不曾动摇潘霍华对这条道路的信心，他由衷地相信上帝召唤他来为自己作见证。

越是深入探究潘霍华基督中心主义伦理的细节，就越能清楚地看出，参与反抗希特勒的暴力阴谋与其之前的非暴力抵抗行为是一以贯之的。潘霍华认为，如果他在希特勒崛起之前是一名基督教和平主义者，他现在仍然是，尽管后来参与了暗杀计划。他的参与是特别的，是具体时段的具体需要决定的，是上帝的意志决定的。行为的一致性完全取决于他与耶稣基督的个人关系——相信召唤他负责任行事的主的仁慈。无论一个人负责任地行事还是相反，他的手都是脏的，因为没有人能逃避生活带给我们的道德不确定性。因此，认为潘霍华是基督教殉道者的理由，并不在于他的双手是否完全干净，而在于随着时间的推移，他通过反复试错与耶

5 在《狱中书简》开篇《十年之后：1943年新年的总结》(Kindle Location 103-338)中，潘霍华综合论述了他在抵抗运动中与家人、其他人各自承担的责任。这并非对个人行为的辩护，而是试图安抚其同道者，增强他们对未来的信心。文章清楚地列出了基督徒承担责任行为的基本要求，其中不可避免地包含因遵从上帝的召唤而冒死的风险。这是潘霍华对日常生活中殉道行为的认识。

of Immanuel Kant and his reasoning, for example, on truth-telling and lying (Ethics, Kindle Location 3382).⁴ The practical consequences of Kant's moral absolutism are monstrous. Kant would endanger people by refusing to lie to a psychopathic killer seeking to destroy them. Other forms of ethical rationalism, like British utilitarianism, are equally monstrous in many of their practical applications. But such practical errors, in Bonhoeffer's view, are rooted in the moralists' inability to understand the nature of responsibility as a personal calling mediated through God in Jesus Christ.

Given Bonhoeffer's attitude toward ethics, it is no surprise that he does not address the problem of dirty hands or attempt to justify morally his involvement in the plot to kill Hitler. Had he chosen to do so, the inherited traditions of Christian ethics would have provided him with a moral justification of tyrannicide or the defence of violent resistance against evil, implicit in the just war theory and its applications (Watson, 2015). But no such argument is to be found in Bonhoeffer's writings, especially in his *Ethics*. Instead he outlines a theory of Christian responsibility that resonates with the Pauline description of living with Christ in this world. With responsibility comes guilt, for such a response to God's command may lead one to violate the norms of an ostensibly civilized society. Christian discipleship, if it is authentic, may entail living outside the comfort zone of one's family, one's society and culture, and even one's church. Christ may require us to get our hands dirty, that is, to engage in activities that violate the rule of law. Accepting responsibility, in his view, may lead a person to cross the line, engaging in or supporting acts of violent resistance.

Responsibility, as it is defined in Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* (Location 3058ff), is emphatically Christocentric, a concrete and

personal response to God's calling or Vocation (Location 3515ff), which admits of no distinction between religious and secular activities. In accepting his share of the guilt involved in the assassination plot, and acting with responsibility in it, Bonhoeffer's only concern was whether this in fact was what God was commanding him to do with his life, a point on which he never wavered. One searches in vain through Bonhoeffer's writings—either the *Ethics* or the *Letters and Papers from Prison*—for an *apologia pro vita sua*.⁵ He certainly does not provide anything that is generalizable, as if his response to God's command could be used as a guide to moral action for any and all other persons similarly situated. It was a source of concern, of course, that he could not persuade his colleagues in the Confessing Churches to become more directly involved in the resistance, just as he must have been concerned that he and von Moltke could not reach agreement on how to bring the Nazi regime to an end. But their disagreements could not shake his faith in the path that he sincerely believed God was calling him to walk as His witness.

The more one goes into the details of Bonhoeffer's Christocentric ethics, the more it is clear that his involvement in the violent plot against Hitler was continuous with his previous acts of nonviolent resistance. In Bonhoeffer's perspective, if he was a Christian pacifist before the rise of Hitler, he remained one, even as he later became involved in the assassination plot. His involvement was exceptional, a response dictated by the necessity of the concrete moment, itself willed by God. The consistency of his response rests squarely on what he regarded as his personal relationship with Jesus Christ, trusting in the mercy of the One who called him to act responsibly. Whether one acts or refrains from

4 Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* concludes with an essay, "What is meant by 'Telling the Truth'?" (Kindle Location 5040-5161), which analyses the question with due regard for the specificity of various situations in which telling the truth may or may not be owed, as well as their theological implications. This essay is useful in helping readers to understand Bonhoeffer's activities in the *Abwehr* conspiracy, which necessarily involved practicing deception and misdirection, if not lying.

5 The essay that begins the *Letters and Papers from Prison*, "After Ten Years: A Reckoning Made at New Year, 1943," (Kindle Location 103-338), is a comprehensive statement of his perspective on the responsibilities he shared with family members and others in the resistance. It is not a personal vindication, but an attempt to comfort his associates and strengthen them for the days ahead. It clearly lays out the Christian basis for acts of responsibility that inevitably risk suffering a death for the sake of God's command. This is Bonhoeffer's testimony to the daily lived experience of martyrdom.

耶稣建立了关系，并完善了自己的品质。
如果认为他是一名基督教殉道者，正是因为
这种关系的真实性，而非其他理由。



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acting responsibly, one's hands are dirty, since no one can escape from the moral ambiguity of what life confronts us with. The case for claiming Bonhoeffer as a Christian martyr therefore rests not upon whether his hands were perfectly clean, or not, but on the formation of his character over time as he developed his relationship, through trial and error, with Jesus Christ. If he is regarded as a Christian martyr, it is because of the authenticity of that relationship, and nothing else.



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儒家著作中的“在行动中默观”

EDMOND EH

ABSTRACT

Philosophically speaking, “to contemplate” is to think deeply about an issue or to consider something at length. “Contemplation” in the Aristotelian tradition is understood to involve an elevated intellectual state and it leads a human being to the activity of happiness. The object of contemplation can refer to the nature of the good or even the virtues. The outline and objectives of Confucian contemplative practice can be found in the classical Chinese text *Zhongyong* (Central and Constant). The purpose of Confucian spirituality is to become a *junzi* (noble person) and this is achieved by the practice of *shendu* (being careful about one’s inner self). Gao Panlong’s reflections on *jingzuo* (quiet-sitting) serve as the theoretical basis for showing how Confucian contemplative practice promotes moral excellence in the ordinary affairs of professional life. A comparative approach is employed in this paper in order to use the conceptual framework from the *Nicomachean Ethics* to re-construct an account of contemplation-in-action as found in the *Zhongyong* and the *Jingzuo Shuo* (Treatise on Quiet-Sitting). Specifically, it is argued that the Aristotelian notions of “contemplation” and “action” are analogous to the corresponding Confucian concepts of *jing* (stillness) and *dong* (movement).

摘要

从哲学意义上讲，“默观”是深入思考一个问题，或详尽考虑某件事情。亚里士多德传统中的“默观”涉及一种提升的智力状态，它指引人类走向快乐的活动。幸福的对象可以指善良的本性，甚至是美德。儒家默观实践的概要和宗旨可以在中国古典著作《中庸》中找到。儒家灵修的目标是成为“君子”（高尚的人），这由“慎独”（谨慎对待内在自我）来实现。高攀龙的静坐思考充当了说明儒家默观实践如何在普通的职业生活中提升道德品质的理论基础。本文采用比较的方法，为的是用尼各马可伦理学的概念框架，重新建构《中庸》和《静坐说》中“在行动中默观”的重要性。具体来说，有人认为亚里士多德“默观”和“行动”的观念与儒家的“静”（静止）和“动”（运动）的概念是类似的。

CONTEMPLATION AND ACTION IN THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS

The ancient Greek thinker Aristotle (384-322 BCE) discusses the notions of “contemplation” and “action” in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. As a noun, θεωρίᾱ *theōria* (contemplation) of something involves “looking at it, examining it carefully, and seeing the answer” (Irwin, 1999, p. 349). As a verb, θεωρεῖν *theōrein* (to contemplate) refers to the kind of theoretical study “that comes closest to meeting the conditions for complete happiness” (Irwin, 1999, p. 350). In Aristotle’s usage, the meaning of “contemplation” includes studying, observing and attending to something. In its broadest sense, the noun πράξις *praxis* (action) refers to what can be intentionally achieved by one’s own effort. More narrowly, it refers to what is done based on a rational decision. In its narrowest sense, it refers to what is done rationally for its own sake (Irwin, 1999, p. 315). On this account, “action” is directed towards εὐπραξία *eupraxia* (doing well or acting well) (Irwin, 1999, p. 315). Hence the verb πράττειν *prattein* (to act) refers to doing or achieving something.

The nature of happiness as an activity is explained in Book X of the *Nicomachean Ethics*:

We said, then, that happiness is not a state. For if it were, someone might have it and yet be asleep for his whole life, living the life of a plant, or suffer the greatest misfortunes. If we do not approve of this, we count happiness as an activity rather than a state, as we said before. (1176a34-1176b2)

According to Aristotle, ἐνέργεια *energeia* (activity) can be understood in two senses. On the one hand, “first activity” refers to possession of the power to perform an act. Possession of a soul is an example of first activity. On the other hand, “second activity” refers to the actual performance of an act. Happiness is an example of a second activity of the soul. It is worth noting that happiness is not a state because a state is a first activity (Irwin, 1999, pp. 315-316). Thus the noun “activity” refers to the actualisation or realisation of a subject’s capacity for something. In addition,

an intimate relationship between contemplation and happiness for the human being is expressed in Book X of the *Nicomachean Ethics*:

If happiness is activity in accord with virtue, it is reasonable for it to accord with the supreme virtue, which will be the virtue of the best thing. The best is understanding, or whatever else seems to be the natural ruler and leader, and to understand what is fine and divine, by being itself either divine or the most divine element in us. Hence complete happiness will be its activity in accord with its proper virtue; and we have said that this activity is the activity of study. (1177a11-18)

In Aristotle’s usage, εὐδαιμονία *eudaimonia* (happiness) is identified with the highest human good. Happiness is the ultimate end of human life because it is complete and comprehensive in itself (Irwin, 1999, p. 333). So being happy is closely associated with living well or doing well.

From the Aristotelian point of view, contemplation is the study of something for the sake of understanding and it produces theoretical knowledge, understood as knowledge for its own sake. The act of contemplation requires that one’s attention is directed *outwards* and it is a pre-requisite for action. In its strictest sense, action refers to doing something *intentionally* and choosing to do it *rationally* for its own sake. On this account, contemplation creates the conditions necessary for a human being to pursue the activity of happiness, understood in terms of living or acting well. Therefore, the contemplative-in-action refers to a person who grasps the nature of reality through observation and examination. This comprehension of reality enables the person to make good decisions in order to act well and attain a good life.

COMPARING THE ARISTOTELIAN AND CONFUCIAN WORLDVIEWS

In the Greek worldview articulated by the Aristotelian tradition, the notion of “being” enjoys a certain priority over “becoming”. Things in the world which are in a state of change ultimately

《尼各马可伦理学》中的默观与行动

古希腊思想家亚里士多德（公元前384-322年）在《尼各马可伦理学》中论述了的“默观”和“行动”的概念。作为名词，对某一事物的 θεωρίᾱ *theōria*（默观）包括“看着它，仔细检查它，并看到答案”（Irwin, 1999, p. 349）。作为动词，θεωρεῖν *theōrein*（默观）指的是那种“最接近于满足完满幸福条件”的理论研究（Irwin, 1999, p. 350）。

在亚里士多德的用法中，“默观”的含义包括研究、观察和关注某一事物。在其最宽泛的意义上讲，名词 πράξις *praxis*（行动）是指通过自身的努力有意实现的事物。更为狭义而言，行动指的是基于理性决策所做的事情。最狭义而言，行动指为了其本身的理由而理性地去做的事情（Irwin, 1999, p. 315）。为此缘故，“行动”指向 εὐπραξία *eupraxia*（做得好或行为好）（Irwin, 1999, p. 315）。而动词 πράττειν *prattein*（去行动）是指做某事或完成某事。

《尼各马可伦理学》第十卷对幸福作为一种活动的本质解释如下：

因此，我们认为，幸福不是一种状态。因为如果它是，一个人可以拥有幸福但却沉睡一生，像植物一样活着；亦或拥有幸福但却遭遇最大的不幸。如果我们不赞同这一点，我们就会像之前所说，认为幸福是一种活动，而不是一种状态。（1176a34-1176b2）

根据亚里士多德，ἐνέργεια *energeia*（活动）可以从两种意义上来理解：一方面，“第一活动”指有执行某一行为的能力。有灵魂是第一活动的例子。另一方面，“第二活动”指实际执行某一行为。幸福是灵魂第二活动的例子。值得强调的是，幸福不是一种状态，因为状态是第一活动（Irwin, 1999, pp. 315-316）。因此，名词“活动”指主体做某事能力的现实化或实现。此外，《尼各马可伦理学》第十卷表达了默观与人的幸福之间的紧密关系。

如果幸福是合乎德性的活动，那么它和理应合乎最高的德性，即最美好事物的德性相一致，就是合理的即最美好事物的德性。最美好事物是理解，或任何其他似乎是天然统治者和领导

者的事物，通过本身的神圣或我们内在最为神圣的部分而理解精妙神圣的东西。因此，完满的幸福是合乎真正德性的活动；我们说过，这种活动就是学习。（1177a11-18）

在亚里士多德的语境中，εὐδαιμονία *eudaimonia*（幸福）是人类最高的善。幸福是人类生活的终极目标，因为它本身是完满和全面的（Irwin, 1999, p. 333）。所以幸福与活得好或做得好紧密相关。

“行动中默观”指一个人通过观察和检查来把握现实的本质。这种对现实的理解使其能够做出正确的决定，从而采取良好的行动并获得美好的生活。

亚里士多德认为，默观是为了理解而研究某一事物并产生理论知识，默观本身也被理解为知识。默观要求一个人的注意力向外，这是行动的先决条件。从最严格的意义上讲，行为指的是有意地做某事，并且是出于事物本身的原因理性地选择去做这件事。因此，默观为人类追求幸福创造了必要条件，这种幸福可以理解为活得好或做得好。因此，“行动中默观”指一个人通过观察和检查来把握现实的本质。这种对现实的理解使其能够做出正确的决定，从而采取良好的行动并获得美好的生活。

亚里士多德和儒家世界观的比较研究

在亚里士多德派传统所阐述的希腊世界观中，“存在”的概念在某种程度上优先于“生成”。世界上处于变化状态的事物最终必须终结于一种稳定状态。相比之下，儒家传统中的中国世界观倾向于优先考虑“生成”而非“存在”。世界万物永远不会达到稳定的状态。它们总是处于转变状态中，因此经历着不断的变化。这种思想体现在对阴阳的论述中，阴阳在儒家思想中被视为现实本质的共同原则。基于此，阴的元素不断地转变为与之相关的阳，而阳的元素也总是同时成为阴。因此，《易经》提出了一个定位和占卜的体系，这一体系使得人类可以用自己

have to fulfil their end by achieving a state of stability. In contrast, the Chinese worldview found in the Confucian tradition tends to prioritise “becoming” over “being”. Things in the world never achieve a state of stability. They are always seen to be in a state of transition and so they undergo constant change. This understanding is expressed in terms of 陰陽 *yin-yang* which serve as co-principles underlying the nature of reality. On this account, the element of *yin* is constantly changing to the co-related *yang*, and the element of *yang* is always becoming *yin* at the same time. Thus the 易經 *Yijing* (Book of Changes) presents a system of orientation and divination that allows human beings to navigate their way through their experiences of the dynamic nature of their existence in the world (Ames and Hall, 2001, p. 10).

The contemplative-in-action refers to a person who grasps the nature of reality through observation and examination. This comprehension of reality enables the person to make good decisions in order to act well and attain a good life.

As a text written with the *yin-yang* cosmology in mind, the 中庸 *Zhongyong* (Central and Constant) aims to show how the activity of 中 *zhong* (the mean) can produce the state of 和 *he* (harmony) within the world of dynamism.¹ Human perception and evaluation bring a sense of focus to the affairs of the world which undergo constant change. This is because human beings aim to produce equilibrium in their dealings with others, the larger society and even the natural world. The application of 中 *zhong* (the mean) is in the area of 庸 *yong* (the ordinary)

1 James Legge translated 中庸 *Zhongyong* as “The Doctrine of the Mean” in 1861 and changed it to “The State of Equilibrium & Harmony” in 1885. The translation by Ian Johnston and Wang Ping as “Central and Constant” is preferable as it captures the meaning of the two Chinese characters more accurately. Tu Wei-ming translates it as “Centrality and Commonality”.

(Ames and Hall, 2001, p. 86). Hence the spiritual practice of 中庸 *zhongyong* can be described as the activity of practising the mean during one’s considerations and decision-making in ordinary human affairs, especially those involving one’s personal and professional life. Due to the constraints of this paper, the following discussion of spiritual practice and human nature in classical Confucianism will only take into account the traditional canon 四書 *Sishu* (the Four Books) as interpreted by Tu Wei-ming: 大學 *Daxue* (Greater Learning), 論語 *Lunyu* (Analects), 孟子 *Mengzi* (Mencius) and 中庸 *Zhongyong*.

CONTEMPLATIVE PRACTICE IN THE *ZHONGYONG*

The principles and outline of Confucian contemplative practice are concisely captured in the first chapter of the *Zhongyong*:

What Heaven decrees is called “nature”; complying with nature is called “the Way”; regulating the Way is called “teaching.” The Way is something that cannot be deviated from, even for an instant; what can be deviated from is not the Way. This is why the noble man is on guard and cautious about what he does not see; it is why he is fearful and apprehensive about what he does not hear. There is nothing more visible than what is hidden; there is nothing more apparent than what is obscure. Therefore, the noble man is careful about his inner self. When joy and anger, sorrow and happiness have not yet arisen, call it “the centre.” When they have arisen, and yet are all in perfect balance, call it “harmony.” Being in “the centre” is the great foundation of the world; being in “harmony” is the all-pervading Way of the world. Reach “the centre” and “harmony,” and Heaven and earth are in their positions and the ten thousand things are brought forth. (Johnston and Wang, 2012, p. 407)

A central objective of Confucian spirituality is for a human being to become a 君子 *junzi* (noble person). In the *Zhongyong*, a noble person is

的方式、通过自身对存在的动态本质的经验探索世界(Ames and Hall, 2001, p. 10)。

《中庸》作为全文贯穿着阴阳宇宙观的著作,旨在展示在动态的世界中,“中”(中正)的活动如何产生“和”(和谐)的状态。¹人类的感知和评价给不断变化的世界事务带来了焦点意识。这是因为人类的目标是在与他人、更广大的社会甚至是自然界打交道的时候达到一种平衡。“中”(中正)的实践应用正是“庸”(恒常)的领域(Ames and Hall, 2001, p. 86)。因此,中庸的灵性实践可以被描述为在日常生活、特别是个人和职业生活中,在考虑和决策的过程中实践“中正”。由于本文篇幅所限,接下来对儒家经典中精神实践和人性的论述将仅涉及杜维明译本儒家经典《四书》:《大学》《论语》《孟子》及《中庸》。

中去寻求。君子相信人的本性,认为这是上天的恩赐。人所必须要遵循的“道”是容易辨别并向所有人开放的,因为“道”是符合人的本性并因此而被发现的。人类只需要通过接受道德教育来提升自我修养(Tu, 1989, p. 23)。通过追寻此“道”,所有人已然拥有追求自我实现的能力,这是一个假定。这是因为君子仅忠实于上天赋予的人性。简而言之,君子在日常生活的平常事务中践行“道”,以达到和谐的目的。因此,始终如一地依“道”行事,就能发展出高尚的品格(Tu, 1989, p. 24)。

根据《中庸》,循“道”的基础是默观的实践——“慎独”(审慎对待内在的自我)。在儒家的世界观中,知道什么是个体的,是确定什么是群体的关键所在。君子通过不断强化对内在自我的认知探索人性的深度,从而遵循合乎人性的“道”。审视内在自我

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《中庸》中的默观实践

《中庸》第一章简要概括了儒家默观实践的原则及概要:

天命之谓性;率性之谓道;修道之谓教。道也者,不可须臾离也;可离,非道也。是故君子戒慎乎其所不睹,恐惧乎其所不闻。莫见乎隐,莫显乎微。故君子慎其独也。喜、怒、哀、乐之未发,谓之中。发而皆中节,谓之和。中也者,天下之大本也。和也者,天下之达道也。致中和,天地位焉,万物育焉。(Johnston and Wang, 2012, p. 407)

儒家精神的核心目的是让一个人成为君子(高尚的人)。在《中庸》中,君子指人生展示出人之为人最深刻意义的人。如前所述,这个意义要在日常生活的平常事务

旨在获得对自身人格的必要了解,进而达到修身的目的。与此同时,因为人性的普遍同一,对自己本性的理解进一步产生了对其他世人的认知。审慎对待内在自我的做法“是个人的,而非主观的。假定如一个人能感知其内心情感的微妙变化,他同时也会对外面的世界特别敏感。”(Tu, 1989, p. 26)换言之,慎独说到底是个人的,因为它与一个人的特定生活经历有关。但却不仅局限于主观层面,因为它超越了个人的感觉和看法。

儒家观点认为,默观是通过关注人的内心生活了解自我,并进一步认识自己的本性。默观的行为要求一个人的注意力指向内在,这是把握人性所必需的。默观的目的包括实现内心的中与和谐。实现中意味着一个人在情绪被唤醒之前保持内心的平静;实现和谐指情绪被唤醒后处于一种平衡的状态。基于此,默观为人类通过践行中庸之道在日常活动中追求善及追寻“道”创造了必要条件。因此,“在行动中默观”可以理解为一个人通过自省把握人的本性。对人性的这种理解使其能够做出正确的决定,从而更好地行动,并获取对个人及职业生活有益的东西。最近有结合自我的概念针对儒家灵修的

1 James Legge 1866年将《中庸》译为“The Doctrine of the Mean”(平均主义),1885年改译为“The State of Equilibrium & Harmony”(均衡和谐之态)。更为合意的是 Ian Johnston 和 Wang Ping 的版本,译为“Central and Constant”(中正与恒常),这一译文更为准确地抓住了这两个汉字的意义。Tu Wei-ming 将之译为“Centrality and Commonality”(中而庸)。

presented as someone whose life displays the most profound meaning of being human. As already mentioned above, this meaning is always to be sought in the midst of the ordinary affairs of daily life. The noble person trusts in human nature which is an endowment from Heaven. The Way that human beings must follow in the world is easily identifiable and open to all because it is to be found by being in accordance with human nature. All that is required of human beings is to practise self-cultivation through a process of receiving moral instruction (Tu, 1989, p. 23). It is a given that all human beings already possess the ability to pursue self-actualisation by following the Way. This is because the noble person is simply being true to the human nature endowed by Heaven. Put simply, the noble person follows the Way by using the mean as a spiritual practice and achieves the goal of harmony in the ordinary affairs of daily life. Hence a person develops nobility of character by consistently acting according to the principle of the mean (Tu, 1989, p. 24).

personal and not subjectivistic. The assumption is that when a person is perceptive of the subtle manifestations of his inner feelings, he is, at the same time, particularly sensitive to the world out there” (Tu, 1989, p. 26). In other words, *shendu* is indeed personal as it relates to one’s own particular life experience. But it is not merely subjective because it does go beyond one’s own feelings and opinions.

From the Confucian point of view, contemplation is attending to one’s interior life for the sake of self-understanding and it produces knowledge of one’s own nature. The act of contemplation requires that one’s attention is directed *inwards* and it is necessary for grasping human nature. The objectives of contemplation include attaining centeredness and harmony within oneself. Becoming *centred* means to retain inner tranquillity before one’s emotions are aroused. Becoming *in harmony* means to have one’s emotions in a state of balance after they have been aroused. On this account, contemplation creates the conditions necessary for a human

According to the *Zhongyong*, the foundation of following the Way is the contemplative practice of 慎獨 *shendu* (being careful about one’s inner self). In the Confucian worldview, knowing what is individual to oneself is the key to knowing what is universal to all.

According to the *Zhongyong*, the foundation of following the Way is the contemplative practice of 慎獨 *shendu* (being careful about one’s inner self). In the Confucian worldview, knowing what is individual to oneself is the key to knowing what is universal to all. The noble person plumbs the depths of human personality by growth in awareness of one’s own interior life so that one may follow the Way which is in accordance with human nature. The examination of one’s interior life is to gain the necessary understanding of one’s own personality for the purpose of self-cultivation. At the same time, the understanding of one’s own nature as a human being produces knowledge of others in the world because human nature is universal. The practice of being careful about one’s inner self “is

being to pursue the Way by employing the mean to achieve goodness in ordinary human activity. Therefore, the contemplative-in-action is understood as a person who grasps the nature of humanity through self-examination. This comprehension of human nature enables the person to make right decisions in order to act well and attain what is beneficial to one’s personal and professional life. Recent research has been conducted on the experiential dimension of Confucian spirituality with reference to the notion of selfhood (Yao, 2008) and the place of Confucian values in spiritual leadership with reference to organisational behaviour (Hunsaker, 2017). Now that the relevance of Confucianism to discussions on spirituality and leadership has been noted, the next step is to re-construct a

经验维度(Yao, 2008) , 以及结合组织行为学对儒家价值观在精神领导中的地位展开的研究(Hunsaker, 2017)。既然儒家思想与灵修和领导力的相关性已经引起重视, 下一步就是重新构建儒家思想中的默观与行动。

《静坐说》中的默观与行动

新儒家学者高攀龙(1562年—1626年)在一本标题简洁明了的著作——《静坐说》中提出了默观实践的原则和目标:

此平常二字不可容易看过, 即性体也, 以其清静不容一物, 故谓之平常, 画前之易如此, 人生而静以上如此, 喜怒哀乐未发如此, 乃天理之自然, 须在人各各自体贴出, 方是自得。(Gao, 2018, p. 28)

儒家的默观实践可被看作是对前述阴阳宇宙观的回应。人类的事务总是处于过渡的状态, 不断变化的事物是烦乱和困惑的来源。对于高来说, 默观意味着以一种平常的方式回到自己内在的平静和安宁。沿袭古典儒学对“庸”的强调, 高告诉我们, 默观不需要任何特殊或非凡的技巧。相反, 默观相当简单, 即通过平常的方式让自己重回内心的平静。通过练习静坐, 一个人可以回归天赋的宁静。这种形式的默观实践使我们可以与内在的人性达成一致。

由静而动, 亦只平平常常湛然动去, 静时与动时一色, 动时与静时一色, 所以一色者, 只是一个平常也, 故曰无动无静。学者不过借静坐中, 认此无动无静之体云耳。静中得力, 方是动中真得力; 动中得力, 方是静中真得力。(Gao, 2018, p. 29)

世界上的事物从来都不是稳定的, 人类必须以变化的、动态的活动来面对这一现实。高通过静(静止)与动(运动)的辩证关系来理解默观和行动。默观(静止)与行动(运动)相互依赖。从默观到行动的转变以一种平常的方式进行。通过默观, 一个人看到自己本善的人性。选择合乎善良人性的行动, 就能够实现幸福生活。生活得好会进一步强化一个人在默观中遇到的善良品格。这就是默观与行动的相互关系。

儒家的默观实践强化了对人性本善的自我领悟。在以明智决定指引善良行动为标志的生活中追寻“道”则进一步提升了这种自我领悟。默观与行动就是这样一种相互依赖、相互促进的关系。儒家传统中的“在

行动中默观”可以从阴阳(人类体验现实和管理生活的原则)的角度来理解。从这个角度来看, 阴的元素传统上被认为是静态, 而与之相关的阳的元素则可以理解为动态。因此, 静止的阴(默观)促进产生了外部运动的阳(行动)。反过来, 运动的阳(行动)进一步强化了内在静止的阴(默观)。

从比较的角度看, 这两种灵性实践是人类为促进不同世界观的和谐共存而采取的策略。鉴于每种哲学和文化背景的局限性, 有观点认为这两种灵修传统是互补, 甚至是相互启发的。一方面, 亚里士多德传统强调现实的稳定本质, 承认所有偶然的事物最终都会实现其自身的目标。因此, 默观的意义在于观察外部世界, 通过学习为行动做准备。一个人的理性决定和有目的的行动计划取决于他对客观现实的理论认知, 因为世界的本质要从稳定的角度来认识。另一方面, 儒家传统强调现实的不稳定性, 认为所有事物都处于一种永恒的流动状态。基于此, 默观的意义在于关注内在世界, 通过静坐为行动做准备。一个人最初的平静和随之而来的和谐情绪状态依赖于其对主观现实的经验知识, 因为人性本善。



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Translated by 翻译: Zhang Xi 张希

Confucian account of contemplation and action.

CONTEMPLATION AND ACTION IN THE JINGZUOSHUO

The neo-Confucian scholar 高攀龍 Gao Panlong (1562-1626 CE) presents the principles and objectives of contemplative practice in a clear and concise text titled 靜坐說 *Jingzuoshuo* (Treatise on Quiet-Sitting).

“Normalcy” and “ordinariness” – we must never downplay these two words! They express our essential living-substance; and because it is clear and pure, unperturbed by anything, we call it normal-and-ordinary. Before a single stroke is written down, the *Change* is as such; before a person is born with a quiet disposition, [the world] is as such; and when delight, anger, sorrow and joy have yet to be aroused, [human beings] are also as such. This is, in fact, the innate pattern-principle of *Tian*. Each individual must immerse themselves in it and nurture it, for it is the way of self-fulfillment. (Gao, 2018, p. 28)

Confucian contemplative practice needs to be seen as a response to the *yin-yang* cosmology explained above. Human affairs are always in a state of transition and things that constantly change are sources of distraction and confusion. For Gao, to contemplate means to return to stillness and calmness within oneself in a normal and ordinary manner. Following the classical Confucian stress on 庸 *yong* (the ordinary), he teaches that contemplation does not involve any special or extraordinary techniques. Instead it is quite simply to bring oneself to stillness in a way that is 平常 *pingchang* (normal and ordinary). By practising 靜坐 *jingzuo* (quiet-sitting), one comes into contact with the disposition given by 天 *tian* (Heaven) which is originally quiet or tranquil. This form of contemplative practice allows for one to come to terms with one’s inner human nature.

To proceed from stillness to movement, we need only to move with this clarity in a normal-and-ordinary way, for periods of

stillness and periods of movement should be the same, and periods of movements and periods of stillness should be the same. They should be the same because that which is universal (i.e., our essential living-substance) is also called normal-and-ordinary, and therefore, is not limited to either stillness or movement. Scholars merely use quiet-sitting to recognize their living-substance, which neither remains still nor moves. Being strengthened within stillness is how we are genuinely strengthened in our movement; and being strengthened within movement is how we are genuinely strengthened in our stillness. (Gao, 2018, p. 29)

Since things in the world are never found in a state of stability, human beings have to confront this reality with activity that is fluid and dynamic. Gao understands contemplation and action in terms of 靜 *jing* (stillness) and 動 *dong* (movement). The relationship between contemplation (stillness) and action (movement) is described as one of mutual dependence. The transition from contemplation to action is performed in a normal and ordinary way. Through contemplation, one comes into contact with one’s human personality which is originally good in nature. One is enabled to live well by choosing actions which are in accordance with the goodness of one’s human nature. Living well then reinforces the goodness of one’s personality encountered through contemplation. On this account, there is a reciprocal relationship between contemplation and action.

Confucian contemplative practice enhances self-understanding regarding the goodness inherent in human nature. Following the Way reinforces this self-understanding by means of a life marked by wise decisions which lead to good actions. Contemplation and action enjoy a relationship of mutual dependence and enhancement. Being a contemplative-in-action in the Confucian tradition can be understood in terms of *yin-yang*, the co-principles of how human beings experience reality and manage their lives. From this perspective, the element of *yin* is traditionally considered passivity while

the co-related element of *yang* is understood as activity. Thus the *yin* of stillness (contemplation) produces the knowledge that brings oneself to the *yang* of exterior movement (action). In turn the aspect of *yang* as movement (action) inevitably augments the element of *yin* as interior stillness (contemplation).

From a comparative perspective, the two spiritual practices have been presented as strategies designed for human beings to cope with divergent worldviews. Given the limitations of every philosophical and cultural context, one may argue that the two traditions of spirituality are complementary and even mutually illuminating. On the one hand, the Aristotelian tradition highlights the stable nature of reality by recognising that all contingent things eventually achieve their own objective. On this account, the meaning of contemplation is to observe the *external* world in order to prepare oneself for action and this is achieved by study. One's rational decisions and intentional plans for action depend on one's theoretical knowledge of *objective* reality because the nature of the world is seen in terms of its stability. On the other hand, the Confucian tradition emphasises the unstable nature of reality by recognising that all things are in a perpetual state of flux. On this account, the meaning of contemplation is to attend to the *internal* world in order to prepare oneself for action and this is achieved by quiet-sitting. One's initial tranquillity and subsequent harmonious emotional state depend on one's experiential knowledge of *subjective* reality because the nature of the human being is seen in terms of its original goodness.



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ABSTRACT

Inspired by Pope Francis's third encyclical letter "*Laudato Si'*," this paper analyses the significance of spiritual spaces, as well as the main causes and difficulties of the declining spiritual environment in modern society. As an architectural response to Pope Francis's concern for the diminished role of spiritual places, this paper presents a theoretical study of the concept of "informal spiritual space" and proposes that formal spiritual space is not the only venue in which people may practice contemplation, and that an informal spiritual space can also build a symbolic connection with God, which represents God's infinite beauty and goodness.

SPIRITUAL SPACE: CONTEMPLATION AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL PREDICAMENT

As the primary type of spiritual space, religious buildings are amongst the most impressive and permanent forms of monumental architecture from the past to the present. Since the origins of mankind, people have sought to define spiritual space by developing sacred architecture with distinct aesthetic atmospheres and in

摘要

受教宗方济各第三道通谕《愿上主受赞颂》的启发，本文分析了精神空间的意义以及现代社会精神环境衰落的主要原因和社会所面临的难题。本文从建筑学视角对教宗方济各所关注的宗教场所重要性降低的现象进行了回应，对“非正式精神空间”的概念进行了理论研究，并提出正式的精神空间并不是人们进行默观的唯一场所，人们也可以在非正式精神空间与天主建立有象征意义的联系，从而展现天主的无限美好和善意。

精神空间：默观及其建筑上的困境

宗教建筑是精神空间的主要形态，古往今来都是最令人印象深刻和永久性的纪念性建筑。自人类起源以来，除了具有一贯世俗功能和目的的日常空间外，人们一直在寻求通过发展具有独特审美氛围和不同文化形式的神圣建筑来界定精神空间。所有这些神圣的建筑，例如教堂、清真寺和庙宇，都不断产生影响，为人类生活的社会、政治、文化和哲学价值留下重要意义。作为礼拜、祈祷和默观的中心，宗教建筑不仅表达了人类对奇迹、神话和神性的想象，例如中国的蓬莱仙境（《列子》，149页）和圣经中的伊甸园，也“打破了空间的同质性”，为通往三

different cultural forms, apart from the daily spaces which serve consistently secular functions and purposes. All these sacred buildings, such as churches, mosques and temples exert continuous influence and preserve great significance for the social, political, cultural and philosophical values of human life. As centres of worship, prayer and meditation, religious architecture not only expresses the human imagination of miracles, myths and the nature of divinity, such as the Chinese concept of the *Penglai* (蓬莱) paradise (Lie, p. 149) and the Biblical Garden of Eden, but also builds “a break in the homogeneity of space,” opening the path to three cosmic levels: earth, heaven, and the underworld (Eliade, 1959, p. 37). Providing the possibility of crossing from one cosmic region to another, such a sacred space can only be located at the very centre of the universe, with the whole of the habitable world extending around it.

A religious person thus perceives spiritual space as a reflection of significant and revered religious principles that restore a proper relationship with the divine and transcendental world. Medieval Abbot Suger, for example, famously discussed the importance of the spiritual space of his Abbey Church of St.-Denis. He stated, “...the loveliness of the many coloured gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, ...by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner” (Abbot Suger, 1946, pp. 63-65). Spiritual space separates a religious person from regular buildings, detaching their body and mind from secular pursuits and the surrounding environment, to establish a purified space for contemplation. From an architectural perspective, the essence of a spiritual space provides people a sensory experience that is suffused with spiritual meanings, a physical embodiment of divinity, connecting earth and heaven.

Unfortunately, these traditional spiritual places are becoming less visible and accessible in modern cities. In the early 1960s, Mircea Eliade,

a religious historian and philosopher, rightly argued that people no longer regard architecture as imitating the paradigmatic creation of God, but as an object, a “machine to live in”¹, which caused a “desacralization” of buildings as such (Eliade, 1987, pp. 56-57). The progress of science and technology had made life more convenient, but material enrichment makes people lose not only the fantasy of the past, of Wonderland, but also the care of ideal spiritual spaces for their hearts. Skyscrapers that modern people desire and create have become the alternative miracle of contemporary architecture. After the Industrial Revolution new types of buildings, such as mass residential houses and high-rise commercial buildings occupy the centres and skylines of megacities.

Under the influence of modern architect Le Corbusier’s city planning model, “*Ville Radieuse*” (1930), in his book *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning* (1987), many cities in the world were designed to look very similar without local identity. Architects treated modern architecture as an industrial machine inhabited by human beings, while cities became a collection of lived machines. Following his idea that “a city made for speed is made for success,” here in the city composed of high-rise residential blocks, with speedy traffic and designated spaces for human needs, life, work, rest and entertainment are supposed to be satisfied effectively and efficiently (pp. 163-170). More importantly, as the city’s brain, centrally located skyscrapers perform the highest functions to “dominate an ordered world,” a role once filled by religious architecture, the original centres of cities (pp. 185-187).

With urban expansion spreading to the suburbs, the commercialization of buildings and the radical shrinking of public spaces, the continuous rise of land value and the breakthrough of digital and construction technologies have become primary concerns in today’s architecture. Meanwhile, the lack of preservation and restoration of ancient

1 The phrase of “machine to live in” originates from modern architect Le Corbusier’s iconic statement “A house is a machine for living in” in his manifesto book, *Towards a New Architecture*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. (1986), p. 95 (republication of the original title, issued in 1931, by London: John Rodker.)

个宇宙层次的道路——即人世，天堂和冥界——打开了大门(Eliade, 1987:37)。由于提供了从一个宇宙层次进入到另一个宇宙层次的可能性，这种神圣的空间只能位于宇宙的正中心，全部可居住的世界都围绕它延伸。

精神空间将信教人士与普通建筑分开，使他们的身心脱离世俗活动和周围环境，从而建立一个纯净的默观空间。

因此，信教人士将精神空间视为对重要并受人尊敬的宗教原则的反映，这些原则恢复了与神圣和超然世界的适当关系。例如，中世纪的修道院院长苏杰(Suger)发表过一篇关于他的圣丹尼斯修道院精神空间重要性的著名讨论。他说：“……众多色彩斑斓的宝石使我摆脱了外在的烦扰，充满意义的默观促我反思各种神圣的道德原则，由物欲的世界上升到精神的世界——我似乎能看到自己靠着天主的恩典，以一种神秘的方式从这个劣等的世界进入到那个更高的世界”(Abbot Suger, 1946:63-65)。精神空间将信教人士与普通建筑分开，使他们的身心脱离世俗活动和周围环境，从而建立一个纯净的默观空间。从建筑的角度来看，宗教场所的本质是为人们提供了一种富有宗教意义的感官体验，是连接人间和天堂之神性的现实化身。

不幸的是，这些传统的宗教场所在现代城市中变得越来越少见和不便。1960年代初期，宗教历史学家和哲学家米尔恰·埃利亚德(Mircea Eliade)正确地指出，人们不再将建筑视为模仿天主的范式创造，而是将其作为生活物品，一个“居住用的机器”，从而导致建筑“丧失神性”(Eliade, 1987:56-57)。科学技术的进步使生活变得更加便捷，但是物质的丰裕使人们不仅失去了对过去和仙境的幻想，而且失去了对心灵的理想精神空间的关心。现代人渴望和创造的摩天大楼已成为当代建筑的另类奇迹。工业革命后，诸如大型民用住宅和高层商业建筑等新型建筑占据了大城市的中心和天际线。

受现代建筑师勒·柯布西耶(Le

Corbusier)的著作《明日之城及其规划》(1987)中城市规划模型“光辉城市”(1930年)的影响，世界上许多城市的设计看起来非常相似，缺乏本地特色。建筑师将现代建筑视为人类居住的工业机器，而城市则成为了居住机器的集合。遵循他的理念，“追求速度的城市即是追求成功”，在由高层住宅区组成的城市中，遍布各种符合人们需求的快速交通系统和特定空间，以发挥其作用并高效地满足人们生活、工作，休息和娱乐的需求(163-170页)。更重要的是，作为城市的大脑，位于中心位置的摩天大楼发挥着“统治有序世界”的最高功能，而这一角色曾经由往昔城市中心的宗教建筑所担当(185-187页)。

随着城市向郊区扩张、建筑物的商业化和公共空间的急剧萎缩，土地价值的持续上涨以及数字和建筑技术的突破已成为当今建筑的主要关注点。同时，缺乏对古建筑的保护和修复以及对古庙宇和教堂建筑的机械复制给城市建筑设计带来巨大挑战和难题。日本建筑师伊东丰雄题为《梦》的展览(1992年)引发了一场关于人类失去精神空间的著名讨论。展览中，各种画面被编辑并堆积在激光光盘上以展示东京这个多彩繁忙的特大都市的拘谨、混乱、压抑和肃穆的一面。所有这些东亚大城市实际上都拥有完全相同的氛围，空旷而光亮，引导人类走进自我封闭的空间(Ito, 51-52)。生活在充斥着现代高层建筑的一本正经的氛围中，人们容易认同所被指定的社会角色，而这样的氛围缺乏提供自我默观和与天主联系的平和而给予人感悟的空间。

非正式精神空间：一种对《愿上主受赞颂》的建筑学回应

随着教宗方济各表达了对全球城市环境恶化的担忧，尤其是随着具有象征意义的精神家园的丧失，人们开始意识到工业化和消费主义对城市空间的负面影响。人们应更多地关注分别代表人性和神性的城市环境与精神空间之间的关系，而不是效率或经济利益的计算(教宗方济各, 2015, 第10、第148-150段)。在失去了宗教建筑和精神空间为我们带来的认同感和集体记忆之后，沉思、默观、居住和建筑之间的整体关系被对技术和商业利益的单一关注所撕裂。

buildings as well as the uninspired replicas of ancient temples and church buildings become a huge challenge and predicament for designing urban architecture. One famous discussion of losing humanity's spiritual spaces is Japanese architect Toyo Ito's exhibition entitled *Dreams* (1992), wherein different images were edited and accumulated on laser-discs to show the formality, chaos, and overwhelming pressures and solemnity of Tokyo, a colourful and bustling megacity. All such East Asian megacities actually hold a thoroughly homogeneous atmosphere, which filled with vacant brightness, guide human beings to step into a territory closed in upon itself (Ito, pp. 51-52). By living in the formal atmosphere dominated by modern high-rise towers, people tend to identify the self with the assigned social role in formal architectural spaces, while lacking the peaceful and inspirational space for personal contemplation and connecting with God.

INFORMAL SPIRITUAL SPACE:
AN ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSE TO
LAUDATO SI'

Following Pope Francis's concern about the global deterioration of the urban environment, especially the symbolic loss of a spiritual home, people are becoming aware of the negative impact of industrialization and consumerism on urban spaces. More attention should be paid to the relationship between urban environment and spiritual space, representing humanity and divinity, more than an intellectual ideal of efficiency or an economic calculus (Pope Francis, 2015, para. 10, paras. 148-150). After losing the sense of identity and collective memory mediated to us by religious architecture and spiritual spaces, the integral relationship between contemplation, meditation, residence and architecture is torn apart by an exclusive focus on technology and commercial benefits.

According to Pope Francis's *Laudato Si'*, "There is also a need to protect those common areas, visual landmarks and urban landscapes which increase our sense of belonging, of rootedness, of 'feeling at home' within a city which includes us and brings us together" (para. 151). Protecting

and concerning our urban environment not only creates a better community for one's living, but also shows care for a higher spiritual calling. From the act of caring, one's acknowledgement of and relationship with a higher being, is exemplified in such things as feeling God's presence. "Through the greatness and the beauty of creatures one comes to know by analogy their maker" (Wisdom 13:5) (Pope Francis, para. 12). Remembrance, care, and preservation represent a more personal possession and materialization of events into objects, and their loss is doomed to be forgotten from this world. When people lose concern for the spatial quality of architecture and interest in our common home, they will lose concern for the external environment and the internal pursuit of truth. By caring for mankind's common home, people can metaphorically rebuild the connection with divinity, receiving the strength to live on a daily basis from spiritual practice.

Spiritual space separates a religious person from regular buildings, detaching their body and mind from secular pursuits and the surrounding environment, to establish a purified space for contemplation.

When an urban environment is disorderly, chaotic or saturated with noise and ugliness, it is very difficult to find a peaceful space for personal spiritual practice. Thus, Pope Francis proposed that people should actively respond to the environmental crisis, by alleviating its adverse effects and relearning to live their lives humanely and faithfully in a disordered and uncertain environment (para. 148). His suggestion, translated architecturally, is that the solution to the decline of urban spiritual space is to care for the environment of the city. Exercising ethical responsibility in architectural work thus becomes an essential response of one's faith, involving the creation of spiritual retreats,

依照教宗方济各的《愿上主受赞颂》中所说，“还需要保护那些公共区域、视觉地标和城市景观，这些区域、地标和城市景观会增加我们在城市中的归属感和‘家的感觉’，这种感觉包容我们，让我们走到一起”（第151段）。保护和关注我们的城市环境，不仅可以为人们的生活创造一个更好的社区，而且还表现出对更高精神诉求的关切。从关怀的行为中，人们承认天主的存在，与天主的关系也通过感知天主等活动得到强化。“从生灵的伟大和美丽，人可以推想到这些东西的创造者。”（智慧篇13：5）（教宗方济各，第12段）。记忆、关切和保存意味着事件的进一步个人化和具体物化，这些事件一旦灭失，则注定会被这个世界遗忘。当人们对建筑的空间质量和对我们共同家园不再关注时，他们也将不再关注外部环境和对真理的内在追求。通过关注人类的共同家园，人们可以隐喻地重建与神的联系，并从宗教活动中获得日常生活的力量。

当城市环境缺乏秩序，充满混乱、噪音和丑恶时，人们很难找到一个平和的空间进行个人宗教活动。因此，教宗方济各提出人们应积极应对环境危机，削减其负面影响，并重新学会在无序和不确定的环境中符合人性地、忠实地生活（第148段）。他的建议从建筑学的角度说，即解决城市精神空间衰落的方法是关注城市环境。因此，在建筑工作中履行道德责任就成为一个人出自信仰的基本回应，其中包括创建宗教隐修处、修道院、花园、宗教茶馆，甚至是中国山水画中描绘的原生态小屋。这些看似非正式的精神空间更好地代表了个人与自然间的和谐，并且更加灵活地满足了个人的精神需求。非正式的精神空间是去中心的，可以在城市的每个角落找到。它不断地为诗意的发现和启发性的沉思提供与喧嚣隔绝的场所。正式宗教场所中的默观和仪式不是人类与神性重新连接的唯一途径。在非正式精神空间也可以与天主建立亲密的联系，使人们获得退回内心进行非

不像正式空间有严格的日程和仪式安排，非正式精神空间为追求精神感悟的人创造出一个自由且容易获得的氛围。它使人们得以重新审视人类的存在与精神世界之间的关系。



图1 “独乐园”（局部）描绘了宋代学者司马光对非正式精神空间的思考。仇英(明)，1515-52年绘制。克利夫兰艺术博物馆收藏。

monastic cloisters, gardens, ritual teahouses, even primitive huts as typically depicted in Chinese landscape paintings. These seemingly informal spiritual spaces represent better the harmony between an individual person and nature and are more flexibly built for an individual's spiritual needs. Informal spiritual space is decentralized and can be found in every corner of urban areas. It continuously provides a retreat for poetical discovery and enlightening contemplation. Meditation and rituals in formal spiritual spaces are not the only way for humans to reconnect with divinity. Creating informal spiritual spaces can build an intimate connection with God, allowing people to retreat into informal moments of heightened awareness.

Facing the challenge of spiritually impoverished local communities, in order to build a modern spiritual space in urban environments, architects need to learn how to make ephemeral or temporary architecture a permanent dimension of those environments (Ito, p. 52). Different from the formal spatial experience in traditional religious architecture, informal spiritual space allows people to move away from the hierarchical order of society and seek religious freedom and enlightenment afforded by participation in an "informal" architectural moment. These informal spiritual spaces provide a moment for the longing soul to be home and free from the oppressive utilitarianism of formal architecture. Informal spiritual spaces, such as the Zen Buddhist retreat in the painting of "The Garden for Solitary

Without rigorous schedules and formal rituals, informal spiritual spaces can create a free and easily accessible atmosphere for pursuing spiritual enlightenment. It allows people to re-examine the relationship between human existence and the spiritual world.



Figure 1. The painting of "the Garden for Solitary Enjoyment" (*Duleyuan* 独乐园) (partial view) depicts the Song-dynasty scholar Sima Guang's 司马光 contemplation in an informal spiritual space. Painted by Qiu Ying 仇英, 1515-52. Collected by the Cleveland Museum of Art.

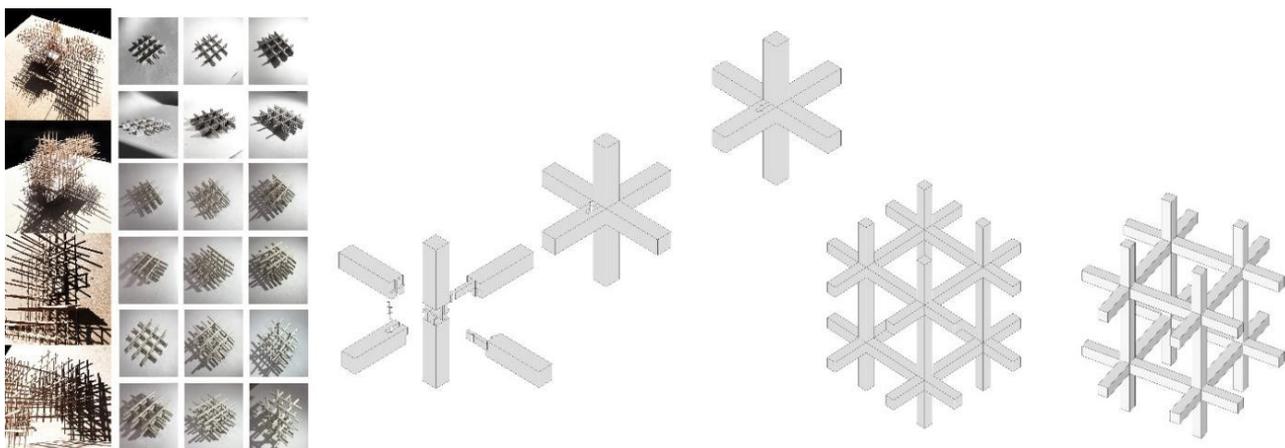


图2 榫卯连接，一系列有关基本结构元素和非正式精神空间可能组成的材料和数字模型研究，由本文作者设计、建造并数字化绘制，2019年。

正式高层次顿悟的时空。

面对社区精神贫瘠问题的挑战，为了在城市环境中构建现代的精神空间，建筑师需要学习如何使短暂的或临时的建筑成为这些环境的永久维度(Ito, 52页)。与传统宗教建筑中的正式空间体验不同，非正式的精神空间使人们能够摆脱社会等级秩序，通过融入“非正式”的建筑时空来寻求宗教自由和感悟。这些非正式的精神空间为渴望的灵魂提供了一个去所，使他们摆脱正式建筑那种功利性的压迫。非正式的精神空间，如图1绘画中的佛教禅修场所“独乐园”，使人们更加关注换一种角度观察自己和周围环境的目的，在自然而非正式的氛围中，各种思想的自然起伏与神性重新相连。作为观察和默观的空间，非正式精神空间不仅提供了一个将我们与平凡的日常生活分隔开的隐喻空间，而且还提供了关注人们精神需求的场所，这与教宗方济各《愿上主受赞颂》的通谕相呼应。

非正式精神空间的设计理念

不像正式空间有严格的日程和仪式安排，非正式精神空间为追求精神感悟的人制造出一个自由且容易获得的氛围。它使人们得以重新审视人类的存在与精神世界之间的关系。更重要的是，非正式精神空间的质朴和自然元素为人类提供了一个感受自然魅力

并反思人类、自然与城市环境之间基本关系的场所。

如何设计用于默观的非正式建筑？以下是我个人的建议：（1）构建一个可变的、灵活的结构系统，其空间尺度可以近距离接近人的身体，目的在于规避城市巨型结构建筑的非人性和同质印象；（2）参照中国古典建筑中的传统榫卯工艺，创建简单可重复的手工模块化结构，以建立人与环境之间亲密的空间对话，如在中国古代文人园林里一般的自由漫步、悉心赏玩、沉思和吟诗等活动；（3）建筑结构应是可拆卸的，默观空间可以如云一般隐喻地、象征性地短暂存在。在使用完并拆卸后，非正式的结构可以轻松重建，并适应其他地方在不同时间和空间的特定精神需求；（4）设计理念遵循并发展了中国古典木结构建筑中榫卯技艺的美学。以上提出的非正式宗教空间设计理念旨在建立一种诗意的建筑语言，该语言可以批判性地结合建筑历史和我们自己的现实，启发人们“照顾我们共同的家园”。

经过一系列模型测试后，基本单元被设计为由榫卯连接的标准木椽的组合，在三个维度上形成一个长宽高各为1米的立方单元（图2）。立方单元相互连接，没有使用任何钉子或金属构件，形成一个独立的用于默观的亭子空间。亭子可以建造在现有的场地上，例如花园、荒野或废墟中的空地、城市公园或城市公共广场，并将根据不同时令宗

Enjoyment” (*Duleyuan* 独乐园) (Figure 1), allowed people to pay more attention to the purpose of changing their way of observing themselves and the surrounding environment, with the natural rise and fall of thoughts reconnecting with divinity in an informal but intimate atmosphere. As a space for observing and meditating, informal spiritual space provides not only a metaphorical location separating us from the mundane household, but also a place to care for a person’s spiritual needs, resonant with the “care for our common home” proclaimed by Pope Francis in *Laudato si*.²

A DESIGN CONCEPT OF INFORMAL SPIRITUAL SPACE

Without rigorous schedules and formal rituals, informal spiritual spaces can create a free and easily accessible atmosphere for pursuing spiritual enlightenment. It allows people to re-examine the relationship between human existence and the spiritual world. More importantly, the rustic and natural elements of informal spiritual space offer a place for humans to feel the charm of nature and reflect on the fundamental relationship among human beings, nature and the urban environment.

How to design informal structures for contemplation? Here is my own suggestion for it: (1) Establish a variable and flexible structural system whose spatial scale can be close to the human body; this is intended to resist the inhuman scale and homogeneous impression of urban mega-structural buildings; (2) Create a simple and repetitive hand-crafted logic of modular structure, like the traditional craft of tenon-and-mortise joints (*sunmao* 榫卯) in Chinese classic architecture, to build an intimate spatial dialogue between the human body and its environment for activities of free strolling, ecstatic viewing, contemplating, and poetical reciting as in Chinese literati gardens; (3) The building structure should be detachable, and the space for meditation could metaphorically and symbolically exist as ephemeral as a cloud.² After its use and being disassembled, the informal structure can easily be rebuilt and adapted to other places for specific spiritual needs in a different time and space; (4) The design concept follows and develops the craftsmanship beauty of the tenon-and-mortise joint in Chinese classical timber architecture. This proposed design concept of informal spiritual space seeks to

2 For the symbolic meaning of clouds in Chinese gardens and Jesuit architecture, see Hui Zou (2015), “The Jesuit Theater of Memory in China,” *Montreal Architectural Review*, v. 2.

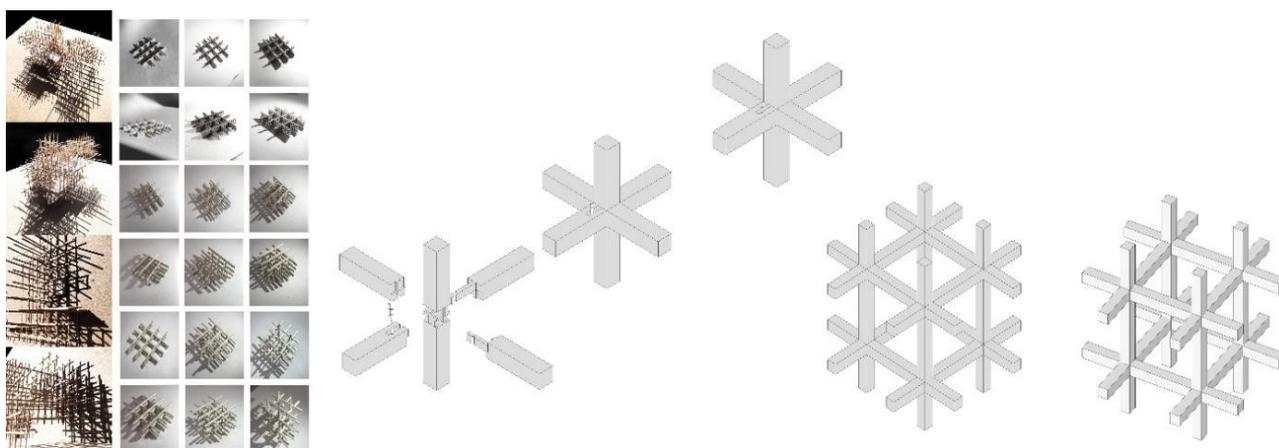


Figure 2. The tenon-and-mortise joints, a series of material and digital model studies for the basic structural elements and possible spatial compositions towards informal spiritual space. Designed, constructed, and digitally drawn by author, 2019.



图3 宝云阁，北京颐和园中的非正式精神空间，由本文作者设计、建模并数字化绘制，2019年。

教活动的需要进行建造和拆除。该结构可以轻松地变换不同形状，其轻盈和光影魔幻效果令其看似浮云。亭子中的空间环流通过立方单位的各种组合框架为观察自然提供了多种可能性，并激发了折叠或展开思想感悟的可进可停的时空可能（图3）：

非正式精神空间的设计概念也可以借鉴历史上宗教象征的典故得以进一步发展。比如，中国文化中的三种道家标志性象征：“鱼乐”、“中隐”和“逍遥游”（《庄子》，13页、268-269页）可以被选作设计默观建筑形态的历史典故，即“凝望景致”、“静默端坐”和“逍遥漫步”。借鉴了道家的上述三种象征意义，非正式宗教空间的结构就像迷宫一样，为凝视、端坐、漫步和默观提供了多种可能性，即道家圣人庄

子所谓的“凝神”时刻（邹，2011:99）。所设计的非正式精神空间提供了一种唤醒人心的建筑空间，在特定的环境和社会背景中，通过灵活、可变和令人着迷的空间配置和转换进行默观，就像思想在精神空间中的折叠和展开一样，力求实现精神世界的深度和启迪。

结论

面对全球环境危机，人类世界，尤其是机械化程度更高的城市，需要非正式的精神空间，通过诗意的感知和启发性的思考将身心与神性重新连接。与正式和仪式化的宗教建筑相比，非正式的默观空间比神圣的宗教场所具有更多的自由和灵活性，从而使默



Figure 3. The Cloud Pavilion, an informal spiritual space in the Garden of the Summer Palace (*Yiheyuan* 颐和园), Beijing. Designed, materially modeled, and digitally drawn by author, 2019

build a poetical architectural language which can critically engage both architectural history and our own reality, inspiring us to “care for our common home.”

After a series of model tests, the basic unit was designed as an assembly of standard wood sticks with tenon-and-mortise joints, forming a cubic unit of 1m x 1m x 1m in three dimensions (Figure 2). The cubic units are connected to each other without any nail or metal fitting to form a free-standing pavilion space for meditation. The pavilion can be constructed on an existing site such as in a garden, a field in wilderness or ruins, an urban park, or an urban public plaza, and will be built and dismantled according to the needs of seasonal and spiritual activities. The structure can be formed easily into different shapes and its lightweight and magic play of light and shadows makes it appear like a floating cloud. The spatial circulation in the pavilion provides multiple

possibilities for observing nature through the frame of varied combinations of cubic units and stimulates a go-or-pause moment for folding and unfolding the awakening mind (Figure 3):

The design concept of informal spiritual space can also be developed by alluding to historical allegories of religious symbolism. Three iconic Daoist symbolisms in Chinese culture: “Debate on the Happiness of Fish” (*yule* 鱼乐), “Hermit in Between” (*zhongyin* 中隐)³, and “Peripateticism” (*xiaoyaoyou* 逍遥游) (Zhuangzi, p. 13, pp. 268-269; Yang, pp. 38-39), for example, can be chosen as historical allusions for designing architectural gestures of contemplation: “gazing at a scene,” “sitting in silence” and “wandering in absolute freedom.” Alluding to the three

³ See Tang-dynasty poet Bai Juyi’s 白居易 concept of “*zhongyin* 中隐” in Xiaoshan Yang (2003), *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*, Harvard East Asian Monographs, Book 225. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, pp. 38-39.

观行为重回人际社群和人本身的层面。现代建筑创造了华丽的摩天大楼和坚固的公共建筑的奇迹，但是“非正式”建造的空间可以为精神默观找到更好的家。



何暢，佛罗里达大学建筑学院博士生

Translated by 翻译: Zhou Shoujin 周守晋

Daoist symbolisms, the structure of informal spiritual space acts like a labyrinth, providing multiple possibilities for gazing, sitting, strolling, and meditating, the so-called moment of the “condensation of mind” (*ningshen* 凝神) in the Daoist sage Zhuangzi’s sense (Zou, *A Jesuit Garden*, p. 99).⁴ The designed informal spiritual space provides an evocative architectural space for contemplation through flexible, variable and ecstatic spatial configurations and transformations in a specific environmental and social context, just as the mind in meditation folds and unfolds in mental spaces, striving for spiritual depth and light.

CONCLUSION

Facing the global environmental crisis, the human world especially the increasingly mechanized cities need informal spiritual spaces to reconnect the body and mind with divinity through poetical perception and enlightening contemplation. Compared with formal and ritualized religious buildings, an informal contemplation space can act with more freedom and flexibility than the sacred institutional space and thus returns contemplation behaviour to the scale of interpersonal community and the human body. Modern architecture creates miracles of fancy skyscrapers and robust institutional buildings, but “informally” constructed spaces may provide a better home for spiritual contemplation.



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⁴ According to Hui Zou’s book (2011), *A Jesuit Garden in Beijing and Early Modern Chinese Culture*, p. 99-100, the focal point of linear perspective was understood by European Jesuits as “God’s eye” but was interpreted by Chinese scholars in the 18th century as the oneness of cosmic infinity in Daoism.

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LIFE AND DEATH AT *DONGJIADU*: A JESUIT WRITES DURING THE TAIPING REBELLION

董家渡生死记：太平天国时期一位耶稣会士的著述

DAVID FRANCIS URROWS 余乐诗

ABSTRACT

François Ravary (1823-91) was a French Jesuit, an alumnus of Issenheim, Brugelette, and Laval, who went to China in 1856 to join the Jiangnan mission. He remained there for the rest of his life and is remembered for one achievement: the construction of “The Bamboo Organ of Tungkadoo”, completed in 1857. His mission, however, extended in other directions, most of them connected with music, the fine arts, and education in the context of various intercultural modes of exchange. Some of his letters have survived, detailing the rich musical culture he helped to create in mid-nineteenth century Shanghai. One of these narrates the chilling account of the murder of the Jesuit Luigi Massa by the Taiping in 1860. A corrective to a few details surrounding this tragedy, it also highlights the continuing importance of source study, epistolary research, individual (as opposed to collective) evaluation, and translation.

摘要

蓝廷玉 (François Ravary, 1823-1891) 是一位法国耶稣会士，是伊森海姆 (Issenheim)、布吕热莱特 (Brugelette)、拉瓦尔 (Laval) 等修院的修士校友，1856年到中国参加江南传教使团。他在中国度过了余生，并因1857年完成“董家渡竹制管风琴”制作的成就而被人们铭记。但是，他的使命也拓展到了其他方面，其中大多数与音乐、美术和各种跨文化交流模式下的教育有关。他的一些信件得以保存，信中详细描述了19世纪中叶的上海在他的帮助下形成的丰富的音乐文化。其中一封信件讲述了关于1860年太平天国谋杀耶稣会士路易吉·马萨 (Luigi Massa S.J.) 的令人毛骨悚然的故事，该信件纠正了这场悲剧的一些细节，也强调了来源研究、书信研究、个人（而非集体）评价和翻译的持续重要性。

LETTERS FROM THE CHINA MISSIONS

Letters from the China missions have been published almost since there were any Christian missionaries in China. Serial publications from the eighteenth century, such as the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1702-76), and *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (1726-58) are well-known, and yet even in the seventeenth century some letters were published, not only as part of the mission business agendas, or histories of different orders, but also because there was a real market for this alluring genre – edifying and exotic all at once. They were an early and popular form of travel writing, similar to the books of a Paul Theroux, or a Pico Iyer today.

After the collapse of the first major push to establish Christianity in China in the modern era – due in large part to the proscriptions uttered by the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors that started coincidentally with the suppression of the Jesuit order in the 1770s – mission letters became less of a marketable commodity. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, they became internal publications for the most part (for example, the *Woodstock Letters* (1872-1969), and the *Lettres de Jersey* (1882-1939), to cite two Jesuit examples). It is not the purpose of this research to examine why this happened, but to retrieve from an unpublished, unstudied past, the story of one missionary in particular, of how he lived and interacted with his colleagues, friends, and Chinese converts in mid-nineteenth century Shanghai. The missionary is François Ravary, S.J.

If Father Ravary is known for anything now, it is for the workshop he established in 1856 at the “Jesuit village” of *Zikawei* outside Shanghai for the construction of bamboo pipe organs. I have written about this elsewhere (Urrows 2014; Urrows 2017) and am presently working on an edition of eight letters, now at the French Jesuit Archives and written between 1856 and 1861, that will tell the whole story of his fascinating musical undertakings in his own words. However, he wrote about many other topics, and one especially important letter has nothing to do with music and is instead a letter written in the aftermath of the terrifying Taiping attack on Shanghai in

August 1860. It includes a previously unpublished account of the murder of Luigi Massa.¹ Although Ravary was close to the foreign settlements in Shanghai (at the Church of St. Francis Xavier at *Dongjiadu*) during the whole of the Taiping attack, and had of necessity to give a second-hand report, it contains important details and reaffirms that Massa died not at *Zikawei*, as is sometimes said, but at the orphanage at *Caijiawan*.

If Father Ravary is known for anything now, it is for the workshop he established in 1856 at the ‘Jesuit village’ of *Zikawei* outside Shanghai for the construction of bamboo pipe organs.

FRANCOIS RAVARY AND THE JESUIT MISSION IN CHINA

François Ravary was born in Angers and educated at the minor seminary of Combrée. After receiving a baccalaureate degree with distinction in the early 1840s, he entered the Jesuit order in October 1845 and started his novitiate at the Jesuit college at Issenheim in Alsace. In 1848 Ravary continued his studies and his *régence* (“regency”: a year or more of “apostolic practice” and teacher training) at the Jesuit exile college at Brugelette in Belgium. He spent four intensively formative years at this famous and influential school. It was here that he met Hippolyte Basuiau (1824-86), a professional violinist-turned-Jesuit, who was his shadow and alter ego for the rest of his life. Seven of the eight letters mentioned above were personal letters addressed to this friend.

The Falloux Laws of 1850 permitted the Jesuits to return to France and open new schools; in 1852 Ravary moved to the scholasticate at Laval

¹ Some of Ravary’s letters were used by A-M. Colombel (1899), but often redacted or censored and not always correctly transcribed.

中国传教使团通信集

几乎从天主教传教士进入中国时起，中国传教使团的信件就开始出版了。《耶稣会士书简集》(*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*) (1702-1776) 和《新世界报告》(*Der Neue Welt-Bott*) (1726-1758) 等18世纪的连载出版物都是人们众所周知的。即使是在17世纪，也有一些信件得以出版，这些信件的出版不仅因其是使团行为事项的一部分或是不同宗教团体历史记录的一部分，同时也因为这种诱人的风格的确有市场——既有启发性又带有异国情调。它们是早期流行的游记形式，类似于当下保罗·塞罗克斯 (Paul Theroux) 或皮克·耶尔 (Pico Iyer) 的作品。

近代第一次在中国建立天主教的主要努力失败后（很大程度上是因为乾隆和嘉庆皇帝颁布禁令，这与18世纪70年代耶稣会受取缔是同时开始的），传教书信就不再是一种可销售的商品了。在19世纪和20世纪上半叶，它们大部分成为内部出版物（举两个耶稣会的例子，例如：《伍德斯托克书信集》(*Woodstock Letters*, 1872-1969) 和《泽西信函》(*Lettres de Jersey*, 1882-1939)。本项研究的目的并不是要探究为什么会出这种状况，而是要从一段未出版、未经研究的往事中追溯一位传教士在19世纪中叶的上海与他的同事、朋友和中国信徒一同生活和相互交往的故事。这位传教士就是蓝廷玉。

如果现在蓝廷玉神父有什么事情为人所知的話，那就是他1856年在上海郊外的徐家汇‘耶稣会村’创建了竹制管风琴工作坊。我已经在其他文章中写过此事 (Urrows 2014; Urrows 2017)，目前正着手于八封信的编辑，这些信写于1856-1861年间，目前存放于法国耶稣会档案馆。在这些信中，他用自己的语言完整讲述了他了不起的音乐事业的故事。除此之外，他也写了其他话题的书信，其中一封特别重要的却与音乐无关，而是一封在1860年8月太平天国对上海进行恐怖袭击之后写的信。其中包括之前未公开的路易吉·马萨谋杀案。¹ 尽管在整个太平天国袭击期间，蓝廷玉（在董家渡圣方济各沙勿略

堂the Church of St. Francis Xavier) 距上海的外国租界很近，必然得给出一个二手的报告，但是其中却包含了重要详情，并重申路易吉并非如有的时候人们所说的那样死于徐家汇，而是死于蔡家湾的孤儿院。

如果现在蓝廷玉神父有什么事情为人所知的話，那就是他1856年在上海郊外的徐家汇‘耶稣会村’创建了竹制管风琴工作坊。

蓝廷玉和中国的耶稣会使团

蓝廷玉出生于法国昂热，在科布雷的小神学院接受教育。在19世纪40年代初以优异成绩获得学士学位后于1845年10月加入耶稣会，并在阿尔萨斯地区伊森海姆耶稣会学院开始了他的修士见习期。1848年，蓝廷玉在比利时布吕热莱特的耶稣会流亡者学院继续他的学习和实习年（一年以上的“使徒实践”和教师培训）。他在这所著名且有影响力的学校里度过了四年集中的成长期。正是在这里，他遇到了苏念澄神父 (Hippolyte Basuiou) (1824-1886)，一位曾是职业小提琴手的耶稣会士。在蓝廷玉的余生中，苏念澄一直是他的追随者和挚友。上面提到的八封信中有七封是写给这位朋友的私人信件。

1850年的《法卢法》允许耶稣会士返回法国并开设新的学校；1852年，蓝廷玉搬到拉瓦尔的神学院，在那里完成了学业。最终，在1856年，蓝廷玉被授予圣职。他是1856年2月来到上海加入了中国传教使团的，可能是在上海接受的任命，时年33岁。在这里，他给使团的长老梅德尔 (Mathurin Lemaître, S. J.) (1816-1863) 留下了深刻的印象，以至于他很快就被任命为徐家汇圣依纳爵公学 (College of St. Ignatius at Zikawei) 的传教士（这让一些任职时间更长的同事感到震惊和嫉妒）。在一位比利时平信徒修士娄良材 (Léopold Deleuze) (1818-1865) 的帮助下，他创建了一个制作竹管风琴的工作坊。1857年，他们为董家渡的圣方济各沙勿略堂制作成了第一个也是

¹ 蓝廷玉的一些信件曾被高龙磐 (A-M. Colombel) (1899年) 使用，但经常被编辑或删减，而且有时转录地并不准确。

where he completed his studies. He was eventually ordained in 1856, perhaps in Shanghai, where he arrived in February of that year to join the China mission at the age of 33. Here, he so impressed the mission's Superior, Mathurin Lemaître (1816-63), that he was quickly made Minister of the College of St. Ignatius at *Zikawei* (to the shock and envy of some much longer-serving colleagues). With the help of a Belgian lay brother, Léopold Deleuze (1818-65), he created the *atelier* for the construction of bamboo pipe organs at the school, and in 1857 they completed their first and most famous installation for the Church of St. Francis Xavier at *Dongjiadu*, usually called in French at the time, *Tong-Ka-Dou* (whence the English name, "The Bamboo Organ of *Tungkadoo*").

After completing the *Dongjiadu* organ, Ravary focused on teaching, mission, and administrative work, leaving the *atelier* to Deleuze and his Chinese apprentices. Here they built more bamboo organs and harmoniums for

Shanghai churches, and this led to the harmonium workshop at the *Tushanwan* orphanage, which lasted into the twentieth century. But many of the specialized supplies for the workshop had to come from France, and Ravary constantly wrote to Basuiaud asking for these items (Basuiaud was, conveniently, Procurator of the Paris Province).

The political situation at the time Ravary wrote the seventh in the series of eight letters is too complex to review in its entirety here. The "crunch" apparent from Ravary's vivid narrative arose through dislocations caused not only by the attack of Taiping troops that he describes, but also the ongoing Second Opium War that had broken out four years earlier. The latter conflict accounts for the mention of numbers of British and French troops in Shanghai at this time. Technically at war with the Chinese empire, the British and, to a lesser extent, the French in Shanghai had understandably little stomach for fighting on behalf of Qing interests.



François Ravary (right) and another priest or brother, with the drum and bugle corps, *Zikawei*, ca. 1880.

最著名的管风琴。当时法语通常称“董家渡”为 *Tong-Ka-Dou*，（所以琴的英文名称为“*The Bamboo Organ of Tungkadoo*”，即董家渡竹制管风琴）。

完成董家渡管风琴的制作之后，蓝廷玉专注于教学、传教和行政工作，将工作坊留给了娄良材和他的中国徒弟。在这里，他们为上海的教堂制作了更多的竹制风琴和口琴，这促成了土山湾孤儿院口琴作坊的成立。这个作坊一直持续到20世纪。因为许多为作坊提供的专门用品必须来自法国，所以蓝廷玉经常写信给苏念澄，请求他提供这些物品（很便利的是，苏念澄当时是巴黎省的教会官员）。

陷入太平天国运动之乱

蓝廷玉在写八封信中的第七封信时，政治形势太复杂，无法在这里全面回顾。从蓝廷玉生动的叙述中可以明显看出，“危机”不仅源于他所描述的太平天国军队进攻

所造成的混乱，也源于四年前爆发的第二次鸦片战争。后一次冲突说明了信中之所以提及在上海英法军队人数的原因。严格说来，在与中华帝国的战争中，在上海的英国人，以及（规模上较小的）法国人，当然没有什么兴趣为清朝利益而战。

1853年，太平军占领了距上海仅270公里的南京，并将其定为都城。同年，一个独立组织“小刀会”入侵并占领了上海这个有城墙的城市，但最终被皇室和法国军队赶出。总的来说，甚至在第二次鸦片战争爆发之前，外国势力就试图（但未成功）奉行中立政策。1860年6月，太平天国占领了苏州，一切都变了。应道台²的请求，驻上海的英法部队同意协助保卫这座城市。几乎在同一时间，其他盟军³也在进攻和占领天津北河入海

2 一个城市及其周边地区的中级行政事务监督长官，有时候也被称作‘道尹’。

3 第二次鸦片战争（1856-1860）期间形成的英法联盟。



蓝廷玉（右）与另一位神父或兄弟，和鼓号乐团在一起，大约1880年摄于徐家汇

In 1853, the Taiping captured Nanjing, only 270 kilometers from Shanghai, and made it their capital. An unaffiliated group, the “Small Swords Society,” invaded and seized the walled city of Shanghai in that same year, eventually to be driven out by imperial and French troops. In general, however, the foreign powers tried (rather unsuccessfully) to pursue a policy of neutrality even before the Second Opium War broke out. When the Taiping captured Suzhou in June 1860, all this changed. At the request of the *daota*² the British and French forces in Shanghai agreed to help defend the city. And this, despite

yet it is not the longest letter that Ravary sent to Basuiaiu at this period.

The paragraphs presented here contain the narrative of the murder of Luigi Massa. Luigi Massa was one of five brothers, descendants of a noble Neapolitan family, who all became Jesuit priests, joined the Jiangnan mission, and all of them died in China. His brother, Nicolò (1815-76), mentioned in the letter, had come to China in 1848. An artist, he taught painting to students at *Zikawei*, and later at *Tushanwan* when it became one of China’s major centres for Western arts and crafts training (Clarke, 2009).

Like the Good Shepherd, he gave his life for his flock. But quite a few of the children and the converts escaped death by the sword, the dear and brave missionary had saved them through his apostle-like courage.

the fact that at almost exactly the same time, other Allied forces³ were attacking and taking the Dagu forts at the mouth of the Beihe River below Tianjin. By 1862 an imperial edict gave the foreign settlements in Shanghai the explicit right to defend themselves, and the Taiping, decisively defeated in 1864, were no longer a threat to the city (Nield, 2015, pp. 196-209.)

RAVARY’S REPORT ON THE MARTYRDOM OF LUIGI MASSA

Ravary’s letter, dated 1 September 1860, was written at *Dongjiadu* over several days, and completed on 3 September. It runs to six cramped pages, and the deterioration of the thin paper as well as ion transfer (corrosion) of the iron gall ink has made it particularly difficult to read.⁴ It contains just under 3,300 words in French, and

Father Massa’s story falls into a certain category of martyrdom: he was simply someone who made difficult decisions in the course of a confrontation, which probably knowingly led to his own death at the hands of the Taiping. Ravary was not present, but he heard about the tragedy on the same evening. In translating the letter, I have adopted a degree of editorial license, dividing Ravary’s endless paragraphs, adding punctuation, and inserting editorial extensions of his text where needed for clarity. Although he addressed Basuiaiu in the third person (*vous*) as required at the time, his style towards his slightly younger classmate is informal and heart-on-the-sleeve, with the exceptions of the formulaic opening and closing salutations, and his occasional mock-serious asides. We must not think that people at that time always spoke and wrote in the manner of a Newman, a Longfellow, or a Tennyson. Chinese place names have been rendered in their current pinyin forms. I have however used *Zikawei* throughout, since it is so well-known and recognized, rather than *Xujiahui*. The full text of this letter will be included later in my book, *Jesuita Cantat: A Jesuit musical culture in mid-nineteenth century Shanghai*.

2 A mid-level magistrate overseeing administration of a city and its surrounding areas, sometimes called a “circuit intendant”.

3 The Anglo-French alliance formed during the Second Opium War (1856-60).

4 François Ravary to Hippolyte Basuiaiu, 1-3 September 1860. *Compagnie de Jésus - Archives jésuites de Vanves*.

口的大沽要塞。到了1862年，一项诏令赋予了上海的外国租界明确的自卫权，1864年被彻底击败的太平天国不再对上海构成威胁。（Niold, 2015, 第196-209页）。

蓝廷玉关于路易吉·马萨的报告

蓝廷玉的这封信写于1860年9月1日，在董家渡写了几天，于9月3日完成。这封信迹密密麻麻而又潦草的信长达六页，薄纸的老化以及鞣酸铁墨水的离子转移（腐蚀）使这封信读起来特别困难⁴。这封信包含近3300个法语单词，但这并不是蓝廷玉在这个时期寄给苏念澄最长的一封信。

信中描述的各个段落里包含了路易吉·马萨谋杀案的故事。路易吉·马萨是其家族的五个兄弟之一，他们都是那不勒斯贵族家庭的后裔，都成为了耶稣会神父，加入了江南使团，最终都死在了中国。信中提到他的兄弟尼科尔（Nicolò）（1815-

然中国地名已经被翻译成现在的拼音形式，但我自始至终都使用了当时为大家熟知并认可的Zikawei，而非Xujiahui。这封信的全文稍后将收录在我的著作《耶稣会颂歌：19世纪中叶上海的耶稣会音乐文化》一书中。

* * *

1860年9月1日，上海
尊敬的神父：

主佑平安！在像董家渡这样居民几乎完全撤离期间的居住区所产生的艰难与混乱中，我匆忙给您写下这几行字。尊敬的神父，我们的主以他的正义和仁慈眷顾了我们，愿他的圣名得到祝福。我们最初就注意到的风暴，正以狂风暴雨之势向我们逼近，向我们袭来。我们看到了（太平）叛乱分子！而对我们，特别是对我们的皈依者，他们作恶多端！但为了说得更清楚，让我们一步一步了解真相。

他像好牧人一样，为羊群舍命。但是也有不少儿童和信徒用刀剑免于死，可爱而勇敢的传教士用他使徒般的勇气拯救了他们。

1876)于1848年来到中国。作为一名艺术家，他曾在徐家汇教学生绘画，后来在土山湾（Tushanwan）成为中国主要的西方美术及工艺培训中心之一时，在此任教（Clarke, 2009）。

马萨神父的故事属于某种殉道的范畴：他简直是一个在明知也许会导致自己死于太平天国之手的对抗过程中做出艰难决定的人。蓝廷玉不在场，但他在当天晚上就听说了那场悲剧。在翻译这封信的过程中，我在编辑上采用了一定程度发挥，将蓝廷玉没完没了的段落划分开来，添加了标点符号，并在需要的地方插入了对其文本的编辑性扩展，以便使信件清晰明了。尽管按当时的要求他使用了第二人称您（vous）称呼苏念澄，但是除了程式化的开头和结尾敬礼，以及偶尔假装严肃的插入语，他对待比他稍年轻的同学们的语言风格是不拘小节、情感溢于言表的。我们不能认为当时的人们总是以纽曼、朗费罗或丁尼生的方式说话和写作。虽

在上封信中，我已经告诉了您关于这些恶棍的来临，以及他们在全国造成的破坏。总是在他们放火点燃的烈焰中进进退退之后，他们到达了青浦和松江，离上海大约六七十里路。您一定已经知道，在提到的第一个村庄附近，亲爱的尼科尔·马萨（Nicolò Massa）神父被几个哭泣的女人包围着，他被那些匪徒剥去了衣服，打得遍体鳞伤。这些“长毛”乱贼掠夺、亵渎并烧毁了我们的许多教堂。在7月中旬左右，他们已经逼近上海。（当地）人民武装起来了，当他们（太平天国军）经过的时候，遭到了这些装备落后的乡村民兵的猛烈抵抗。有一天晚上，有人在蔡家湾的孤儿院附近发现了乱贼。可怜孩子们！一看到这些抢劫放火犯的旗帜，路易吉·马萨神父便示意孩子们逃跑。整整一夜，他领着这些惹人怜的、衣衫不整的孤儿走上了通往徐家汇的小路。他们到达了我们在徐家汇的一个神学院，一路上没发生什么大的意外，但是疲惫不堪。住宅、医院、病人和30个最小的孩子被留在那里（蔡家湾），交给上帝保佑。此时，他们

⁴ 蓝廷玉给苏念澄的信，1860年9月1日-3日。耶稣会——位于法国旺沃（Vanves）的耶稣会档案馆

Shanghai, the 1st of September 1860

My reverend Father,

The peace of Christ. I write these few lines to you in haste in the midst of difficulties and confusion, which entails from a large Residence like *Dongjiadu* during an almost-complete evacuation. Well then, good Father, our good Lord has visited us in His justice and mercy, and may His holy name be blessed. The storm which we have marked on the horizon, tempest-tossed, has burst close to us, and even upon us. We have seen the [Taiping] rebels! And to us, and especially to our converts, they have done a lot of ill. But for greater clarity, let's follow things step by step.

In my last letter I told you about the approach of these wretches, and of the ravages which they have caused throughout the country. After marches and countermarches, always in the glow of fires which they have set, they arrived at *Qingpu* and *Songjiang*, about eight or nine leagues⁵ from Shanghai. You surely have known, that near the first of the villages mentioned, dear Father Nicolò Massa, surrounded by a few weeping women, had been stripped of his clothing, beaten, and wounded by some of these brigands. And many of our *Kam-sous*, or churches, were pillaged, desecrated, and burned down by these "long-haired" rebels. Around the middle of July, they had gotten close to Shanghai. The [local] people armed themselves, and as they [the Taiping] passed through they met with a fierce resistance from this badly armed militia of country folk. On one particular evening, the rebels were found as close as our orphanage at *Caijiawan*. The poor children! At the sight of the banners of these plunderers and arsonists, Father Luigi Massa gave the signal for flight. In the course of the entire night he led these dear, half-clothed orphans on the path to *Zikawei*, where they arrived at our college without any great accident, but much harassed. The residence, the infirmary, the sick, and thirty of the smallest children had been left there [at *Caijiawan*] to the protection of God. [At] this time, they [the orphans who had been brought to *Zikawei*] left out of fear, and

the children arrived in Shanghai on the same morning. The seminarians were at that time on their summer holiday, at a place about a league from here, and so the place was empty. For five or six days the Seminary⁶ was converted into an orphanage. Then the rebels were pushed back by the local people, calm returned, and the poor little family [of seminarians] took flight in small groups and returned to Shanghai.

Regrettably, however, on the 15th or 16th of August the rebels again hoisted their blood-stained flags over the countryside and headed towards Shanghai. Around 5 in the evening on the 17th they were again at *Caijiawan*. Quite a few converts, both men and women, with the orphans and Father Luigi, were at prayers in the church. God was their only hope, and their only help. Five or six of these wretches came in. The intrepid missionary went to meet them. Armed with swords in their hands, they demanded money, always money. Father Luigi gave them 40 piastres,⁷ but that wasn't enough and so they hit him again and again, and Father Luigi was wounded! During this time, a group of Christians escaped through the door of the sacristy, and other children, great and small, followed them. They had to pass over a large canal. Alas, many of them sank under the water and drowned. How, good Father, can I describe these scenes of horror. Two or three new groups of murderers went into the house. In the church, they beat and injured men, women, and children who hadn't yet been able to escape. Then they set fire to the compound. Father Luigi, constantly harassed by some of these wretches, was dragged outside of the house, where they beat him constantly. The good priest collapsed in a rice field, where he was murdered and died. Like the Good Shepherd, he gave his life for his flock. But quite a few of the children and the converts escaped death by the sword, the dear and brave missionary had saved them through his apostle-like courage.

5 Ravary meant the *lieue de Paris* (ca. 3900 metres).

6 The Major Seminary of the Sacred Heart, located near *Dongjiadu*.

7 The Mexican silver dollar, known in English as the "dollar Mex".

（被带到徐家汇的孤儿）因为害怕而离开，孩子们在同一天早上到达了上海。那时，神学院的学生们正在离这里大约8里远的地方放暑假，所以神学院空无一人。有五六天的时间，这所神学院⁵被改成了孤儿院。然后叛军被当地人民打退，当地恢复了平静，三五成群逃走的这个可怜的（神学院学生）小家庭又返回上海。

然而，令人遗憾的是，8月15日或16日，叛军再次在乡村高举他们血染的旗帜，直奔上海。17日傍晚5时许，他们又抵达了蔡家湾。有不少男女信徒正在教堂里祈祷，还有孤儿和路易吉神父。上帝是他们唯一的希望，也是他们唯一的救星。这时有五六个恶棍进来了，无畏的传教士挺身来到他们面前。他们手里拿着剑，要钱，总是钱。路易吉神父给了他们40皮阿斯特⁶，但这些钱不够多，所以他们一次又一次地打他，路易吉神父受了伤！在这段时间里，一群基督徒从圣器室的门逃了出去，其他大大小小的孩子也跟着他们。他们不得经过一条大运河。唉，他们中的许多人沉入水中淹死了。亲爱的神父，我该怎么描述这些恐怖的场景呢？又有两三伙儿杀人犯闯进了这所房子。在教堂里，他们殴打、伤害那些还未来得及逃跑的男女老少。然后他们放火烧了大院。路易吉神父被这些恶棍持续骚扰，还被拖到屋外，遭受他们的殴打。这位好神父倒在一片稻田里，在此被谋杀身亡。他像好牧人一样，为羊群舍命。但是也有不少儿童和信徒用刀剑免于死，可爱而勇敢的传教士用他使徒般的勇气拯救了他们。

现在他走了。这位好老师，所有的传教士都曾因为他的善良、纯朴和美德而全心全意地爱着他。那是一种残忍的死亡，但在天主和人类的眼中是美丽的，尤其是在他战友的眼中。*Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*⁷。在这致命的一天，1名传教士、12至15名孤儿和10至12名信徒被杀害。大批儿童在横渡运河时遇难。愿我们圣主的旨意行在地上，如同行在天上……

在详细描述了1860年8月17日至23日太平天国进攻上海失败后，蓝廷玉总结道：

亲爱的神父，我们未来会怎样？第一场风暴已经过去了，但它真的结束了吗？俗话说“阳光总在风雨后”。现在（9月3日），地平线上已不那么暗淡。看来暴风雨很可能在逐渐平息。红巾军⁸已经离开，似乎正在前往其他地方“增加人民的福祉”（这是他们宣言里的套话）。对我们和我们的信徒来说，现在就像战争刚刚结束，我们忙于恢复秩序，计算我们的损失，展望我们的未来，恢复我们的地位，并在我们周围重塑一些礼仪……

葛罗男爵⁹已收到了关于叛军抵达上海、路易吉神父死亡以及蔡家湾和徐家汇灾难的消息。我们已经请求立即援助，目前正在等待1-2000名法军支援。昨天和前天，已有1400名英军登陆上海！这将在一定程度上恢复这个国家的和平与商业活动。我们迫不及待地想听到一些积极的消息。

我就写到这里吧，尊敬的神父，我这疲惫的手指已经不能继续写下去了。不管怎么说，现在是时候把这些写得不好、思考不周全的信件交给修道院院长勒梅特（Lemaitre）了。像往常一样，这些话语至少会向你传达我的好意和你我之间老战友般永恒的友谊。为我们祈祷吧！

虔诚的基督仆人

蓝廷玉

传教士书信仍然是历史研究的重要原始来源，尤其是这些罕见的私人书信。在我的研究中，阅读这些文献可以引导我找到一种分析模式，避免哲学家卡尔·波普尔（Karl Popper）称之为真实性（波普，1963/2002，第459页）的那种模式。相比之下，我主要把蓝廷玉和马萨理解为个体，并试图了解他们的个体行为与其他个体的关系，这些个体在江南地区组成了中国信徒、外国传教士、商人和军事人员的团体。他们是人，因而也容易出错；但他们展现出，大多数传教士的生活记录在个体层面上都是一种召唤、对使命的忠诚、对团体的热

5 圣心大修院，位于董家渡附近。

6 墨西哥银元，英文称为“墨西哥元”。

7 附言：116 [115]：15 [6]。在耶和华中，圣民之死，极为宝贵。

8 指太平天国的习惯，头上戴着红色头巾以示辨认。

9 巴蒂斯特·路易·葛罗男爵（1793-1870），法国特命全权大使和驻中国高级代表。

And now he is gone, this good teacher, whom all the missionaries loved with their whole hearts for his good nature, his simplicity, and his virtue. A cruel death, but beautiful in the eyes of God and man, and especially among his brothers-in-arms. *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*.⁸ On this fatal day, one missionary, 12 to 15 orphans, and 10 to 12 converts were killed. A large number of children met death crossing the canal. May the holy will of our good Lord be done, on earth as it is in heaven...

After describing in detail the unsuccessful Taiping attack on Shanghai during 17 - 23 August 1860, Ravary concludes with these thoughts:

And now, good and dear Father, what is going to become of us? The first squall has passed, but is it over? The proverb says that “sunshine comes after a storm.” For the moment (3 September) the horizon is less bleak. It seems most likely that the storm is calming down. The Reds⁹ have gone away and appear to be heading to other places *to enhance the welfare of the people* (this is the lingo of their proclamations). For us and for our converts, just as on the day after the battle, we’re busy with putting things back in order, counting our losses, looking to the future, regaining our position, and re-establishing some semblance of propriety all around us...

Baron Gros¹⁰ has been advised of the arrival of the rebels at Shanghai, of the death of Father Luigi, and of the disasters at *Caijiawan* and *Zikawei*. We have requested immediate assistance, and at the moment we are waiting for 1 to 2,000 French troops. Yesterday and the day before 1,400 British troops had already landed at Shanghai! This will go some way to re-establishing peace and commercial activity in this country. We can’t

8 Ps. 116 [115]: 15 [6]. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

9 A reference to the Taiping habit of wearing a red turban around their heads for identification.

10 Jean-Baptiste-Louis, Baron Gros (1793-1870), French Ambassador Extraordinary and High Commissioner in China.

wait to hear something positive.

I finish here, my Reverend and very dear Father, my rather tired fingers just won’t go on any longer. And anyway, the time has come to give these badly written and badly thought-out lines to the Father Superior [Lemaitre]. As always, they will at least tell you of my good will and of the inalterable friendship of your old companion-at-arms. Pray for us,

Your Reverence’s servant in Christ,

F. Ravary S.J.

Letters of missionaries are still an important primary source for historical study, especially these rare personal letters. Reading these documents leads in my research to a mode of analysis that avoids what the philosopher Karl Popper called *naïve collectives* (Popper, 1963/2002, p. 459). In contrast I understand Ravary and Massa primarily as individuals and seek to understand their *individual* actions and relations to other individuals who made up their community of Chinese converts, foreign missionaries, merchants, and military personnel in the Jiangnan region. They were human, and thus fallible; but they show that the record of most missionaries’ lives was on the personal level one of calling, devotion to their mission, love for their communities, and often of constructive and sometimes brilliant innovation in difficult circumstances. French and Neapolitan, in no sense did either of these two priests see themselves as actors in any political drama: their allegiance was to the vows they took when they became Jesuits, and everything else was quite secondary to their cultural outlook.



DAVID FRANCIS URROWS, Research sponsored by the Macau Ricci Institute at the University of Saint Joseph, David Urrows is a research scholar in Jesuit art pedagogy

爱，以及困境中富有建设性且有时非常明智的创新。作为法国人和那不勒斯人，这两位神父在任何意义上都没有将自己视为任何政治剧的演员：他们遵守着他们成为耶稣会士时所许下的誓言，其他一切对他们的文化观来说都是次要的。



余乐诗，澳门利氏学社研究员

Translated by 翻译: Yang Hengda 杨恒达

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- 接受。可能包含小的文字修改意见。

5. 澳门利氏学社年度会议报告的要求

如果您有兴趣在《澳门利氏学社学刊》上发表论文，我们鼓励您考虑在澳门利氏学社的年度研讨会上展示您的研究成果。您将有机会结识在道德领导、社会创新和比较精神领域的学者，并和他们讨论他们的研究成果和兴趣。每届研讨会都会发布“征文启事”。您可以在澳门利氏学社的网站上找到最新的“征文启事”：[点此进入](#)

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我们的图书馆对于当地和来访的研究人员和学者来说，是宝贵的资源。然而，非常遗憾，我们的图书馆已被毁坏。2017年8月23日，台风“天鸽”席卷澳门，致使至少16人丧生，并造成极大破坏。在这次台风中，澳门利氏学社由于洪水丢失了所有的藏书。我们在天鸽台风损失了超过23,376本珍惜书籍和出版物，包括哲学与心理学，宗教，人文科学，语言，自然与应用科学，艺术，文学和历史。除了书籍外，我们还损失了价值\$106,656澳门元的电子设备。尽管我们可能永远无法将澳门利氏学社图书馆重建至以前的规模，我们决心尽可能地恢复丢失的图书。在此过程中，我们非常需要也会非常感激您的帮助。敬请考虑献上一份捐款，帮助恢复澳门利氏学社图书馆。

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