

SINCE the 1920s, the story of Christianity in China has mainly been recounted as one of cultural imperialism and aggression. The revolutionary winds that swept the country fuelled a firm anti-imperialist stance, justified by the dire straits of the Chinese Republic, faced with intrusive foreign economic and military control. The historical narratives created in the crucible of the Nationalist and Communist revolutions have remained dominant to this day in the collective imagination of the Chinese public, and still frame the analysis of many Western and Chinese scholars.

The undeniable links of Christian churches with foreign powers, and the close intellectual relationship forged at the end of the nineteenth century between the discourse of "Western civilization" and Christian conversion are historical facts. The Boxer Uprising and the consequent suppression led by foreign imperial powers was perhaps the bloodiest and most tragic consequence of such a perverse marriage. Decades of solid scholarship, however, have by now contributed to illuminate other facets of Christian presence in China, showing that the grand narrative of national liberation from foreign imperialism has obfuscated the halting, yet continuous process of incorporation of Christianity in Chinese religious, social, and intellectual life. That process of "becoming Chinese" started as early as the seventeenth century. Always the creed of a small minority, what we call "Christianity" did not represent simply a religious faith to the Chinese. The early modern Catholic missionaries and their Chinese elite converts presented their "Heavenly Teachings" (*Tianxue*) to contemporary intellectuals and rulers as a complex of knowledge that combined European moral philosophy, theology, ritual, the sciences, and the arts. Concurrently, priests and catechists worked at implanting Christian moral tenets and liturgical habits in the minds and hearts of converts in small local communities. The later Protestant project, in a development that in some ways paralleled the earlier Catholic efforts, combined evan-

gelism with the introduction of Western-style educational institutions and technical, legal, and political knowledge aiming at "modernizing" China.

In this essay, I examine four recent English-language historical works which, from different disciplinary perspectives (history of science, social history, history of cross-cultural contacts, early modern European religious history, global history), have contributed to throw new light on the fascinating phase of the early Catholic missions (1500-1840s), which can be seen as the prehistory of the modern Christian experience in China, and more broadly, of the Western intellectual and religious influence in China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Historiographical Context

The historiography of the old China Catholic mission has traditionally revolved around the impact of Christianity and "Western knowledge" upon literati and court circles in late imperial China. In the last two decades, however, this research paradigm has been both refined and broadened. On the one hand, following a long-standing tradition which gave almost exclusive attention to Western sources and the deeds of foreign missionaries, new scholarship has endeavoured to contextualize the scientific and artistic accomplishments of the Jesuits in China by studying works written in Chinese by missionaries, converts, and opponents, as well as the social and intellectual circumstances of scientific interactions at the centre and the periphery of the empire.

On the other hand—and this is a more recent development—scholars have concentrated their attention on missionary institutional organization in China and globally, focusing in particular on the Jesuits, and on the daily life of the Christian communities evangelized by those missionary organizations, including analysis of Christian ideas and practices, and of missionary accommodation to local conditions. The examination of the social, ritual and spiritual dimensions of "Chinese-Christian life" has today be-

文化接触、科学与拯救之帝国

对中国后帝制时期(十六至十九世纪)
基督宗教研究的最近进展

Cultural Contact, Science and the Empire of Salvation

Recent Developments in the Study of Christianity in Late Imperial China (1500s-1800s)

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自 从二十世纪二十年代以来,基督宗教在华故事主要被描述为一种文化帝国主义及侵略。当时席卷全国的革命风暴爆发了一种坚定的反对帝国主义立场:民国的艰难处境为其提供了根据,同时面临着侵略性的外国经济与军事控制。那些形成于国共革命严峻考验时期的历史叙事迄今仍在中国公众的集体想象中占据主导地位,仍影响着许多中西学者的分析。

基督教会与外国列强之间的不可否认的联系以及在十九世纪末期“西方文明”与基督归化之间形成的紧密知性关系都是历史事实。义和团暴乱及因此由外国列强所主导的镇压也许是这种悖谬联姻的最血腥、最悲剧的结果。然而,数十年来的坚实学术研究迄今已经为映照在华基督宗教临在的其它层面做出了贡献,从而向人们显示,脱离外国帝国主义的民族解放的宏大叙事已经遮掩模糊了基督宗教融入中国宗教、社会和知性生活的蹒跚而延续的进程。这个“成

为中国人”(汉化)的进程早在十七世纪就已经开始。在中国人眼里,这个渺小的、我们称之为“基督宗教”的少数群体的信条并不仅仅代表一种宗教信仰。早期现代天主教传教士及其中国精英归化信徒呈现给当时知识分子及统治者的“天学”是一套复杂的知识体系,融合了欧洲的伦理哲学、神学、宗教礼仪、科学及艺术等学科。与此同时,神父们和传道员们努力工作,尝试将基督宗教伦理信条与宗教礼仪习惯植入当地小团体归信者的心中。后来的基督新教项目以一种类似于早期天主教作法的发展方式,将福音的传播与旨在“现代化”中国的西式教育机制和技术、法制以及政治知识的引进联结起来。

在本文中,我将审视近期四部英文历史著作,它们来自不同的学科(科学史、社会史、文化交流史、早期现代欧洲宗教史、全球史),为理解早期天主教传教事业(1500年-1840年)这段有趣历史时期提供新的角度与视线——这段历史

come one of the most interesting subfields within the study of Christianity in China, and such examination borrows methodological and theoretical frameworks from the larger fields of study of both Chinese and European "popular" religiosity in the early modern era.⁽¹⁾

The comprehensive *Handbook of Christianity in China* (Leiden, Brill, 2001) edited by Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink outlines the main historiographical trends in the study of early modern Christianity in China which have dominated scholarly debates from the late nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. Here, rather, I will concentrate on four English-language works published after the *Handbook*, to show in what directions Western scholars have been moving since the beginning of the new century, under the three rubrics of "cultural contact," "science" and "empire of salvation" (i.e. the organizational dimensions of the missionary enterprise in the contexts of the Portuguese empire and European expansion on a global scale).

Cultural Contact

Nicolas Standaert's *The Interweaving of Rituals* approaches the study of Christianity in China as part of the history of "contact between cultures".⁽²⁾ The book analyzes funerary rituals practised by Chinese Christians and missionaries at the imperial service as a way to gauge the "interaction and communication" of information, values, and bodily practices between Europe and China in the seventeenth century. Funerary rituals have been chosen, in particular, because they are central features of Chinese

religious life and social practices. The Chinese "cultural imperative" of filial piety was expressed through proper funerary rituals, which fulfilled the need to appease the deceased, and reflected a yearning to create harmony among the descendants. This need and yearning determined the centrality of funerary rituals, which in turn contributed to the creation of a discernible "Chinese identity". By performing these rituals, in other words, people confirmed that they were "true Chinese". When Catholicism added new religious layers on pre-existing Chinese sensibilities, funerals became a crucial locus for the creation of a new Chinese Christian identity. For Standaert, to study how the cultural imperatives of China and the religious imperatives of Catholicism collided and accommodated each other in the crucible of funerals is the best way to plot the creation of a Chinese-Christian "intermediary identity", which illuminates not only the religious dimensions of the exchange, but the broader cultural ones. Missionaries in China were "in-between" actors, standing as *trait d'union* between Europe and China; similarly, Christian funerary rites were "in-between" practices that brought together Chinese and Christian identities. They also brought together European and Chinese actors, and in fact, the latter became increasingly central over time. The customary importance of family members in performing funerary practices in China contributed to marginalize the priests in China, exactly a reversal of the process happening in Europe, where funerals were instead becoming increasingly dominated by the clergy at the expense of the laity. Moreover, local rites that the missionaries agreed were "non-superstitious" by the standards of Catholic orthodoxy and became an accepted part of the ritual sequence practised by Chinese Catholics, grafting the Christian new practice onto pre-existing "Confucian" practices.

The historiographical focus of Standaert's work here and elsewhere is on the dynamics of cultural contact, an interest that he developed in the 1980s as a student of Erik

时期可被视为现代基督宗教在华经验的史前期,更广泛地讲,它可被视为西方知识与宗教十九、二十世纪在华影响的史前期。

历史学背景

旧中国天主教传教事业的历史学传统上是围绕基督宗教和“西学”对当时帝制末期文人及宫廷圈子的冲击而形成的。然而,在过去二十年里,这种研究范式已经受到锤炼及拓宽。一方面,在延续那几乎将全部注意力给了西方文献及外国传教士行为的长久传统的同时,新的学术研究通过研究传教士们、归信者及对手们用中文写成的文献,以及帝国中心和周边地区进行科学互动的社会和学术情境,而将在华耶稣会士的科技与艺术成就融入大的背景环境中予以审视。

另一方面——这是更为近期的发展——学者们已经将其注意力集中于传教士在华及全球的机构组织,视野焦点尤其在耶稣会士;学者们还注意到这些传教机构所福传归化的基督徒团体的日常生活,包括对基督宗教观念和现实以及传教士适应本地条件所作努力的分析。今天,对“华人基督徒生活”的社会、礼仪及灵性维度的审视已经成为中国基督宗教研究领域的一个十分有趣的分支学科,而且这种审视从更广泛的研究领域(如对中国及欧洲在早期现代时期的“流行”宗教热忱的研究)借鉴方法论及理论框架。⁽¹⁾

由钟鸣旦和杜鼎克共同编辑的全面的《中国基督宗教手册》(莱顿, Brill, 2001)概括描述了对早期现代基督宗教在华研究的历史学趋势,而在十九世纪末至二十世纪尾这段时期里,这些历史学趋势占据着学术讨论的主导地位。然而在此,我将集中讨论发表于《手册》之后的四部英文作品,向人

们显示西方学者在新世纪之始的研究方向,即三个题目:“文化接触”、“科学”及“拯救之帝国”(也即葡萄牙帝国与欧洲全球扩张背景下传教事业的组织性维度)。

文化接触

钟鸣旦的《礼仪的交织》⁽²⁾将中国基督宗教研究视为“文化间接接触”历史的一部分。该书分析了中国教徒及服务于宫廷的传教士们的丧葬礼仪实践,作为一种衡量十七世纪中欧之间信息、价值及身体实践等方面的“互动与沟通”的方式。丧葬礼仪之所以被特别选择,主要因为它们是中国人的宗教生活及社会实践的核心特征。中国人的孝德“文化命令”是通过合宜的丧葬礼仪来体现表达的,这些丧葬礼仪能够满足人们安抚死者的需要,也反映出一种在后代子孙中创造和谐的愿望。这种需要与愿望在当时决定了丧葬礼仪的核心地位,而丧葬的核心地位又为创造一种鲜明的“中国人定位”做出了贡献。换言之,通过举行这些仪式,人们肯定他们是“真正的中国人”。当天主教在已有中国人观念上加上一些新的宗教层面时,丧葬礼仪也就成为创造一种全新中国基督宗教定位的关键场所。对于钟鸣旦来说,研究中国文化命令和天主教宗教命令如何在丧葬礼仪这个考验中碰撞与适应是描画如何创造一个中国基督宗教“中间定位”的最好方式——这种定位不仅能够展示出此类交流的宗教维度,也能拓宽其文化维度。在华传教士

1. Scores of authors since the nineteenth century, and especially in the twentieth century, had already addressed the scientific and courtly activities of China missionaries, and the religious side of missionary presence in China. The novelty of the more recent literature is its use of Chinese sources, and its more profound contextualization of European missionary activities within the Chinese and global historical contexts.

2. Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2007.

1. 十九世纪,尤其是二十世纪以来的许多作者已经讨论了来华传教士们的科技与宫廷活动以及传教士们在华临在的宗教层面。最近时期研究著作的新颖之处,在于它们使用了中文文献以及它们将欧洲传教士活动更深入地融入中国及全球历史背景之中的努力。

2. 见钟鸣旦 Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2007.

Zürcher in Leiden. Zürcher (1928-2008) was a noted historian of Chinese Buddhism, who, after writing a classical treatment of what he called the "Chinese transformation of Buddhism" in the late 1950s, spent the last decades of his scholarly career examining the "Chinese transformation of Christianity" in the late Ming and early Qing periods. Besides Christianity, he also examined in comparative perspective other monotheistic traditions that had reached China in medieval times (Judaism and Islam), and in order to explain the sinification of these "Religions of the Book", he introduced the concept of "Chinese cultural imperative", employed also by Standaert. To survive, these religions needed to adapt to the dictates of the Confucian moral and social order. In Standaert's framework, Christianity is thus simply a case study in what is neutrally called "cultural contact", the encounter between a common stock of native Chinese ideas and practices, and a range of non-Chinese religions (from Buddhism to the Eastern Mediterranean religions) that imported alien linguistic, philosophical, and moral traits. It is the moment of contact, and what that contact produced, rather than the static entities "Europe / Christianity" vs. "China / Chinese culture" that Standaert is interested in examining. Like a nuclear scientist observing the traces of unsuspected matter in atomic collisions, Standaert finds, in the spaces "in-between", revelations of what constitutes identity in the most profound sense.

Science

In his book *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900*,³ Benjamin Elman's approach to the topic of scientific cultural exchanges between China and the West, in the early modern period, includes a discussion of the Christian religious elements in that contact. Like Standaert, Elman acknowledges a

fundamental unity of the religious and scientific messages in the missionary approach in China. However, unlike Standaert, Elman is less interested in the spaces "in-between" and in the religious understanding of Western ideas and practices by Chinese Christians. He does not embrace the dialogic narrative of Chinese-Christian encounter offered by Standaert, but focuses, rather, on how the Chinese interpreted the knowledge brought by the foreign missionaries "on their own [Chinese] terms". This perspective sees the Jesuit contribution to Chinese science in terms of failure or success in "influencing" the Chinese scientific tradition and labels that transmission as a tool to "gain the trust of the imperial throne and its literati elites" in order to "improve the cultural environment for converting the Chinese to Christianity". Elman's narrative is a challenge to two dominant historiographies: the "progressive" narrative of the global spread of modern Western science and the depiction of Christian missionaries as heralds of modernity in that global spread. By showing that, thanks to imperial patronage in the Kangxi period, Chinese scientists were able to emancipate themselves from the scientific tutelage of Jesuit science, Elman dethrones the missionaries from a role of advanced transmitters of the latest European theories, and highlights the nativist reaction of scholars like Mei Wending, who engaged in a project of recovery of ancient Chinese mathematical and astronomical knowledge to show China's precedence in scientific development. What is the place of Christianity in this revisionist narrative? Albeit clearly critical of the religious agenda of the missionaries, Elman's book has the merit of introducing to a public of scholars and students interested in the study of Chinese science the important point that the central interest of the missionaries was and remained always religious, and that this was an integral and organic part of their worldview and manner of classifying knowledge. Theology crowned the hierarchy of all sciences and disciplines, and scientific answers pointed the way to the maker of the universe,

是“中间”行动者，好像是欧洲与中国之间的连接线；与此类似，教会丧葬礼仪也是将中国定位与欧洲定位联结起来的“中间”实践。它们还将欧洲与中国的行动者联结起来；事实上，后者日益成为核心角色。在中国，家庭成员在举行丧葬礼仪过程中的通常重要角色促使在华神父边缘化，这正好与欧洲情形相反——在欧洲，丧葬礼仪正日益被神职人员所主导，而平信徒只有花钱的份儿了。另外，那些传教士所同意的本地礼仪符合天主教正统标准，并非“迷信”，因而能够成为中国天主教徒所奉行的礼仪程式的一部分，从而将教会新实践嫁接在已经存在的“儒家”实践上。

钟鸣旦著作的历史学着眼点在于文化接触的活力，这种兴趣是他在二十世纪八十年代在莱顿作为许理和学生时培养起来的。许理和(1928-2008年)是一位研究中国佛教的著名历史学家，在五十年代末，他以一种经典手法撰写了他所谓的“佛教的中国转型”；之后，他在自己学术生涯的最后几十年里潜心研究晚明清初时期“基督宗教的中国转型”。除了基督宗教之外，他还从比较的角度审视了在中世纪传入中国的其它一神宗教传统，如犹太教与伊斯兰教；而为了解释这些“圣书宗教”(又译“经典宗教”)的汉化过程，他还介绍了“中国文化命令”这个概念，而钟鸣旦也应用了这个概念。为了生存下去，这些宗教在当时需要顺应儒家在伦理与社会秩序方面的规定。在钟鸣旦的框架中，基督宗教因而仅仅是所谓的中性概念“文化接触”的一个个案研究，这种“接触”是一种相遇：一边是中国本地观念与实践的共同库存，另一边是一系列的非中国宗教(从佛教到东部地中海宗教)及其输入的外国语言、哲学和伦理特征。钟鸣旦感兴趣审视的是接触的时刻

以及那接触所产生的事物，而不是那静止的实体如“欧洲/基督宗教”对“中国/中国文化”。正如一位观察原子碰撞过程中未知物质的轨迹的核科学家一样，钟鸣旦在空间里寻找那构成最深厚定位的“中间”新发现。

科学

在涉及到早期现代中西间在科学方面进行的文化交流这一话题时，本杰明·艾尔曼在其著作《按照他们自己的语汇》中讨论了那种接触中的基督宗教因素。³和钟鸣旦一样，艾尔曼在来华传教士的方法中看到宗教与科学信息之间的根本统一。然而，与钟鸣旦不同的是，艾尔曼对“中间”空间和中国信徒对西方观念与实践的宗教理解不太感兴趣。他并不采用钟鸣旦所提供的华人和基督徒相遇中的对话性叙事，而着眼于中国人如何“按照他们(中国人)自己的语汇”来理解由外国传教士所带来的知识。这个视角从是否成功或失败地“影响”了中国科学传统的角度看待耶稣会对中国科学的贡献，并将这种传输视为一种工具：“获得帝国君王及其文人精英之信任”从而“改善文化环境以便将中国人归化成基督徒”。艾尔曼的叙事是对两种占主导地位的历史学的一种挑战：一种是现代西方科学全球传播这种“进步”叙事，另一种是将基督宗教传教士视为此全球传播过程中现代性之使者的描述。通过显示中国科学家们能够使自己从耶稣会科学的科学性监护中解放出来——这要感谢康熙时期的皇家庇护，艾尔曼将传教士们从一个欧洲最新理论的高级传输者的高位上拉下来，

3. Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2005; abridged version: *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2006.

3. 见 Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2005; 删节版 *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2006.

the Christian God. Even if for Elman this is only a secondary point within a narrative centred on Chinese science, it offers an antidote to certain popular perceptions, fostered by the recent politics of post-reform opening in China and by a string of scholarly conferences over the last two or three decades, that assign to missionaries the symbolic role of vanguards in today's era of Chinese-Western engagement. We must be mindful of the different historical contexts, past and present, and never lose sight of the fact that the religious dimension remained always central in the missionary enterprise.

Empire of Salvation

The religious dimension of the mission is indeed central in two recent monographs published by historians of early modern Europe, with interests in the history of the Portuguese empire and of early modern globalization. Liam Brockey's *Journey to the East* is a masterful, sweeping narrative of the Jesuit mission, written from the documentary vantage point of the central archives of the Order in Rome and of the correspondence of the Portuguese Assistancy, the administrative unit responsible for evangelizing in China.⁴ Brockey, however, is a scholar of the Portuguese empire and of early modern European religious history, and in this book he is mainly intent on recovering the internal organization of the Jesuit China mission within the broader framework of the Jesuit

order as a whole, and only secondarily on exploring the life of Chinese Christian communities. When he does so, his objective is to show how the methods the Jesuits employed in so-called "popular missions" in early modern Catholic Europe were transmitted with remarkable integrity to the far-flung China mission, what he calls "an outpost of Baroque Catholicism in the vastness of China". This focus on the European matrix, however, obscures the role of native converts. Chinese Christians were hardly passive agents "moulded" by attempts to replicate the Society of Jesus' European evangelization model on Chinese soil. For converts, to be local and Christian in China meant creating a new religious identity, both Chinese and Catholic, local and yet universalistic in aspiration, as the work by Standaert discussed above and the recent research of other scholars show.⁵

Unlike Brockey, whose focus is on the common religious and moral denominators of early modern Catholicism as it spread to China within the framework of the Portuguese empire, Luke Clossley's *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* addresses the consciously "global" aspect of the Jesuit project, following a group of central European Jesuits from their lands to Italy, Portugal, Spain, Mexico and China.⁶ By uncovering a complex web of relationships maintained among Jesuits, aristocrats and ecclesiastical authorities in three continents, the book describes "the early Jesuits' participation in Christianity as a global religion, and their construction of Christianity as a universal religion." With a refreshing sense of amazement at what he calls the "jarringly unfamiliar customs and beliefs" of early modern Jesuits, Clossley follows I.O. Beidelman's 1974 call to look at the missionaries themselves as worthy "subjects for wonder and analysis" in a sort of "anthropological research of a subject extraordinary in its banality". This book has the merit of reminding us that religious motivation should be taken seriously, not simply as an epiphenomenon of politics and economics, but an empty su-

4. Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

5. See, for example Huang Xiaojuan's Ph.D. dissertation, "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860," Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, 2006; and my own forthcoming book, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Harvard Asia Center and Harvard University Press, December 2009 (based on a 2002 dissertation). Both works pay attention to lay Christians, the social organization of Christian communities, the networks among communities in local contexts, internal tensions and conflicts, and Christian devotion, well after the imposition of the imperial ban on Christianity in 1724.

6. Luke Clossley, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

并突出强调本土学者的反应,如梅文鼎曾致力于重新发现中国古代数学与天文知识,以显示中国在科学发展方面的领先成就。那么在这种修正主义式的叙事中基督宗教占有什么样的地位呢?尽管艾尔曼的书公开批评传教士们的宗教目标,但我们还是应该给它记上一功,因为它向有兴趣研究中国科学的众学者与学生指出非常重要的一点:传教士们的核心兴趣曾是也总是宗教性的,而这也是他们世界观及其为知识分类方式的不可分的有机组成部分。神学当时是所有科学与学科的王冠,而科学之答案应该能够指向宇宙的创造者,即基督宗教的神(天主)。即使对艾尔曼来说这只是其以中国科学为核心之叙事的次要点,但它也能够帮助纠正某些流行观念:中国改革开放后最近的政治以及过去二三十年来来的学术研讨会促进形成一种共识,即在今日中西交往过程中为传教士们赋予一种象征性的先驱角色。我们必须留意不同的历史环境,不管是过去的,还是现在的,我们绝不应忽略这样一种事实:宗教维度曾总是传教士事业的核心。

拯救之帝国

事实上,研究早期现代欧洲历史的学者最近发表了两本专著,其兴趣在于葡萄牙帝国历史及早期现代全球化历史,而宗教维度也确实占据这两部书的核心地位。廉姆·布洛齐所著《东游记》是对耶稣会传教工作的精湛而全面的叙事,该书的文献具有优势,主要取自耶稣会在罗马的主要档案以及葡萄牙援助署(负责中国福传的行政管理单位)的往来信函。⁴然而,布洛齐是一个研究葡萄牙帝国史和早期现代欧洲宗教史的学者,在该书中,他的主要意图是在耶稣会整体框架下重塑耶稣会在华传教机构的内部组织,只附带地探

讨华人教会团体的生活。当他如此做的时候,他的目的是要向人们显示耶稣会在早期现代天主教欧洲于所谓的“大众传教”中所使用的方法是如何完整地传入遥远的中国传教事业——他将其称为“巴洛克天主教在广袤中国的一个前哨传教所”。然而,这种对欧洲发源地的聚焦黯淡了本地归信者的角色。华人教徒远非被动的行动者,被那种在中国土地上复制耶稣会欧洲传教模式的尝试与努力所“塑造”。正如钟鸣旦上面书中所讨论的及其他学者最近研究所展示的,⁵对归信者来说,在中国兼为本地人及基督徒意味着创造一种全新的宗教定位:既是中国人又是天主教徒,既是本地人又具有世界大同的理想。

倘若布洛齐着眼于在葡萄牙帝国框架下传入中国的早期现代天主教共同宗教与伦理特征,而路加·克罗西的《早期耶稣会传教事业中的救恩与全球化》一书则通过追随中欧耶稣会士们从各自故土来到意大利、葡萄牙、西班牙、墨西哥及中国之芳踪,而讨论耶稣会事业的有意识的“全球化”层面。⁶通过揭开三大洲间耶稣会士、贵族及教会领袖之间所维持的复杂关系网络,该书描述了“早期耶稣会士对基督宗教这个全球宗教的参与以及他们将基督宗教建设成一个普世宗教的努力”。克罗西以一种全然新奇的目光看待他所谓的早

4. 见 Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

5. 例子请见黄晓娟 Huang Xiaojuan 的博士论文 "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860," Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, 2006; 本人即将付梓的书 *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, Harvard Asia Center and Harvard University Press, December 2009. (基于 2002 年的博士论文)。这两项研究均留意于 1724 年朝廷禁教之后的平民徒、信徒团体的社会组织、地方背景下信徒团体之间的网络、内在张力与冲突以及信徒敬礼。

6. 见 Luke Clossley, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

perstructure. Thus, within a global "economy of the sacred", salvation of souls always remained the main objective of clergymen and their lay patrons alike. Regardless of this focus, however, portions of the early modern global Catholic context, including lay communitarian practices and beliefs in the missions, and Jesuit participation in them, remain marginal to the monograph's narrative. Clossy concludes that, together with European merchants, European missionaries "fashioned the early-modern world and the globalization that integrated it." The socio-religious life of the native peoples in the Americas and Asia largely remains a backdrop in the historical chain of European causality and European-led globalization that created our present world.

Conclusion

The works briefly examined here reveal a renewed interest in the early Christian missions in China as crucial for an understanding of broader issues of cultural contact, scientific exchange, and the role of religion in late imperial China and globally. Major university presses have vetted and published these works by innovative scholars, reflecting a significant shift in the Euro-American scholarly world. The eras of Christian apology and indiscriminate anti-missionary rhetoric seem to be behind us. While we do not lack some recent sophisticated critical accounts of the "pedagogy of empire" that many missionaries in China wholeheartedly endorsed and spread during the era of high imperialism in the nineteenth century,⁷⁾ the tide seems to have turned towards a more positive assessment of Christianity's contribution to the course of Chinese and global history. More important, in my view, is the new, deeper

contextualization of the Christian religious enterprise within the fabric of early modern and modern Chinese and global history. The evangelical mission, often intimately intertwined with the spreading of Western science and knowledge, is now increasingly seen as a case study within the broader frameworks of cultural and religious contact, the history of science and religious movements in China, and the religious, economic and political impulses of the European expansion. In light of China's growing amalgamation in the world economy and culture today, this scholarly re-examination of the early modern history of Christianity in China suggests that present integration processes have a long history, dating their beginnings to the late sixteenth century. Recurrent historical ruptures and the socio-political revolutions of the twentieth century have at times dramatically redirected these long-standing processes. But past ruptures have also conditioned our historiographical views, downplaying the continuities that this new scholarship is only now starting to uncover. ☉

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期现代耶稣会士的“极其陌生的习俗与信仰”，他以一种“对一个极其平庸的对象作人类学式研究”的方式，响应布德尔曼于1974年发出的号召，即传教士自身也是可敬的“惊叹与分析的对象”。这本书的可赞之处是提醒我们，宗教动机应该予以严肃对待，不应该仅仅被视为政治学与经济学的附带现象或一种空洞的上层建筑。因此，在这种全球“神圣事业”内，救赎曾总是神职人员及其平信徒资助人的主要目标。然而，该书尽管具有此种焦点，但早期现代全球天主教背景(包括传教站点平信徒集体的实践与信仰以及耶稣会士在其中的参与)的某些层面在该书的叙事中仍被边缘化。克罗西得出结论说，这些欧洲传教士们与欧洲商人们一起，“塑造了早期现代世界以及将其一体化的全球化”。美洲与亚洲本地民众的社会与宗教生活很大程度上在欧洲因果关系历史链条上以及那创造了我们现今世界的、欧洲所引领之全球化进程中保持一种背景与映衬。

结论

此处所简洁讨论的著作显示出一种对早期基督教来华传教的全新发展，因为它对理解文化接触、科学交流以及宗教在晚明中国及世界的角色等更深广问题具有非常关键的作用。主要的大学出版社审查出版了这些具有创新精神的学者们的著作，这显示出在欧美学术界的一个重大转折与过渡。基督教护教的时代和不分青红皂白反对传教士的时代似乎都已经过去。虽然我们并不乏最近一

些针对许多传教士在十九世纪帝国主义高峰时期在华全心认可与传播的“帝国之教学法”的复杂批评，⁷⁾但是潮流似乎已经转向一种对基督宗教于中国及全球历史进程中所做贡献的积极评价。在本人看来，更为重要的是将基督宗教事业全新而深入地融入早期现代及现代的中国和全球历史之中的努力。常常与西方科学和知识传播紧密纠缠在一起的福音传播事业，现在越发被视为文化与宗教接触、中国科学历史与宗教运动以及欧洲扩张之宗教、经济及政治脉搏等大框架下的一个个案研究。考虑到今日中国与世界经济与文化的日益融合，本文从学术角度对基督宗教在华早期现代史的重新审视旨在说明一点，目前诸整合进程具有一个很长的历史，其开端可以追溯到十六世纪末。二十世纪重复出现的历史断裂及社会政治革命有时戏剧性地改变了这些漫长进程的方向。但是过去的断裂也影响了我们的历史学立场，从而忽视了这种新学术动向目前才开始揭示的延续性。☉

静也译

梅欧金，梅欧金目前在波士顿大学讲授中国历史(前现代史和现代史)和世界历史。2002-2004年，任天主教鲁汶大学(比利时)汉学研究员；2006-2007年，哈佛大学费正清中国研究中心王安博士后研究员。其研究兴趣包括帝制晚期中西关系、中国的本土宗教与基督宗教、中国科学及民国学术史。他已经用不同语言就这些题目发表了一系列的论文，还用意大利语写了一本关于耶稣会士艾儒略(十七世纪来华的文化与宗教交流先驱)的传记——《同一片天空：艾儒略(1582年-1649年)》。自欧洲到中国的地理学、艺术、科学及宗教》(1994年)。他的即将付梓新书题目为《祖先、贞女及修士：在帝制晚期中国作为本土宗教的基督宗教》(哈佛亚洲中心和哈佛大学出版社，2009年)。

7. See, for example James Hevia, *English Lessons: the Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2003; Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2004; Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004.

7. 有关例子请见 James Hevia, *English Lessons: the Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2003; Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2004; Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004.