

# 秋风秋雨文论集

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## 他的罪名 (邢福增)

他的罪名是「非法」——

敢问，这「法」合乎公理吗？

宪法赋予的权利，公民得不到保障，行使权利却被控罪！

「法」沦为政治工具，排斥异己，打压异见。

因为，党就是法，在党以外就成了「非法」！

他的罪名是「颠覆」——

敢问，他作了甚么去「颠覆国家政权」？

国家政权以保护「国家安全」之名，行极权统治之实！

无处不在的红线，编织成党天下的网罗……

他没有颠覆政权，他只颠覆了奴性，不顺从党就成了「颠覆」！

他的罪名是「爱主」——

上主的仆人，爱这片土地，要传福音给万民。

追随基督，拒绝听党话，跟党走。

忠于圣经，而非核心价值。

执着真理，不与恶同流。

无惧强权，为了信仰，背起十架。

此时此刻，成了党国的囚徒，从大监狱移至小囚室……

任何形式的囚禁，都关不住对上主的忠诚。

那杀身体不能杀灵魂的，不要怕他们！

是世界不配有的人……

以生命证道，昔日如是，今日如是，将来也如是……

等待上主国度降临的日子……

黑暗世代，上主施怜悯，仍记得祂的圣约。

流泪谷要变为泉源之地，是秋雨之福。

邢福增 写于 2019 年 12 月 30 日，成都秋雨圣约教会王怡牧师被判 9 年之日

## 理解成都秋雨之福教会事件——认知图式及其理念分歧（钟扬）

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<http://www.pacilution.com/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=3790>

作者钟扬：?? 1960年生于北京，1983年获得北京国际关系学院英国文学学士学位，1985年获得国际关系学院国际政治硕士学位，1987年获得美国阿克隆大学政治学硕士，1992年获得美国肯塔基大学政治学博士学位，并与1991年起任教于美国田纳西大学政治学系。同时担任中国长江学者讲座教授、上海交大国际与公共事务学院致远讲席教授。研究方向为比较政治学理论、政治文化和政治参与。《实证社会科学》学术期刊主编，国内重要学术期刊《政治学研究》和《公共管理学报》编委。发表英文专著有 *Local Government and Politics in China: Challenges from Below*、*Political Culture and Participation in Rural China*、*Political Culture and Participation in Urban China* 等。

## 理解成都秋雨之福教会事件——认知图式及其理念分歧

作者：钟扬

最近，成都秋雨之福教会事件引发了很多公共的讨论。有的学者认为这是一种披着宗教外衣搞政治的行为，是一个政治事件；有的学者则认为这是一种公民权利的正当伸张，是一个教会维权事件。对于相同的事件，却引发了不一样的判断，其背后是一些关于政教关系理念的根本分歧。要理解秋雨之福教会事件为何成为一个公共事件以及这个事件所具有的含义，我们必须理解这个事件发生的时代背景，也就是中国政教关系的现状和变迁中去衡量。同样，要理解学者们的评论，我们必须挖掘其观点背后的认知图式。为了更好的理解这样理念的分歧以及这个事件所具有的现实意涵，笔者将先对成都秋雨之福教会事件和学者的评论做一个简要的评析，然后对人们认识政教关系的理念原型和一些基本的概念作一个梳理，最后就这一个公共事件以及由此引发的公共讨论所带出的含义作一个简单的归纳。

### 一、秋雨之福教会的案件分析

秋雨之福教会是成都市青羊区一间只有 100 人左右的教会。跟许多家庭教会一样，它事实存在，却不具有合法性，并因此面临着被取缔的危险。2009 年 6 月 21 日成都市青羊区民政局的取缔行动以及由此引发的媒体追踪和学者评论，使得这家地下的教会立刻成为了公共讨论的焦点。秋雨之福教会事件成为了中国政教关系讨论的一个典型案例，而这样一场讨论是在国家强化宗教控制和家庭教会坚持宗教自由的背景下出现的。在国家社会关系迅速变迁的今天，是通过强化控制来维持国家主导宗教的制度安排，还是在政教分离的制度安排下兑现宗教信仰自由的宪法许诺，这是这场讨论所要带出的现实含义。因着王怡个人的政治参与和秋雨之福教会的维权事件，教会内部和学界都产生了比较多的讨论，也出现比较大的意见分歧。本部分将先对这个事件做一个简要的归纳，接着对学者的评论作进一步的评析，最后对由此引发中国政教关系的思考做一个简单的总结。

#### 1. 事件的经过[1]

根据王怡个人的说明，秋雨之福教会起源于2005年4月王怡家里的聚会。由于人数从一开始的两三人增长到20多人，教会于2007年租用一套住宅作为聚会场所。随着人数的进一步增长（从20多人增长到40多人），到2008年8月，秋雨之福教会开始在办公楼里租了几间办公室，作为聚会场所。目前该教会固定的会友是61人，参加礼拜天聚会的有100人。

2009年6月7日，成都市青羊区汪家拐街道办的“综合治理办公室”以消防不合格为由打断了秋雨之福教会的聚会。6月14日“综合治理办公室”再次强行拦阻教会信徒聚会，为此王怡他们打了110报警，理由是公民的人身自由遭到侵犯。最后警察虽然到场但没有干预，王怡他们退出办公室，到河边的空地继续聚会。

6月21日，成都市青羊区汪家拐街道办的联防治保人员与街道办的副书记王英才再次拦阻教会信徒聚会。为了避免冲突，王怡他们首先转移到一个附近的茶馆聚会，最后又转移到河边聚会。当天下午，成都市青羊区民政局在王怡他们开会的酒店（为了顺利进行会友会议他们从聚会的办公室转移到一家酒店）宣读了“行政处罚通知书”，宣布秋雨之福教会是未经登记的社会团体，予以取缔，并没收非法财产，其法律依据是国务院《社会团体登记管理条例》第35条。[2]7月9日，秋雨之福教会向成都市民政局递交举报青羊区民政局非法行政措施的举报信，要其对青羊区民政局的行政行为进行复议。7月17日成都市民政局作出行政执法监督决定，建议青羊区民政局“纠正”对秋雨之福教会“予以取缔”的行政措施。7月21日，成都市民政局电话通知秋雨之福教会的长老王怡，他们在对秋雨之福教会“不服取缔”的行政复议申请作出“不予受理”决定。

此前，该教会曾因5月2日在双流县一个度假村举行退修会时受到当地宗教事务局和警方的冲击的（理由是涉嫌非法传教），而于2008年9月16号向双流县法院提交行政起诉书，控告双流县宗教事务局非法冲击教会聚会。[3]

至今，该教会已经在河边进行了第9次礼拜，人数基本上没有减少（最近一次参加聚会的人数为91人）。该教会之所以采取这种维权方式，据王怡的解释，主要是为了“让家庭教会的基督徒也知道，我们跟政府有不同的意见，我们可以理性地，而且主动地用

法治的方式去表达意见。我们也希望宗教部门知道，对待家庭教会不能像以前那样，随便来了罚款冲击一下，什么文件也不出示就算了。我们要让他们知道，城市里的教会开始要用法律的方法理性地跟它辩论或者表达不同的意见。”[4]

为何秋雨之福教会最近连续多次受到政府的拦阻，据王怡猜测，主要由于他参与了《华人基督徒关于六四 20 周年的宣告》，并被认定为主要的起草者之一（署名用的是传道人）。此前，王怡曾以个人的名义分别签名支持于 2008 年 12 月 8 日发布的《旧金山共识》和于 2008 年 12 月 10 日发布的《08 宪章》（署名用的头衔是学者）。

从上面对事件的叙述，我们可以看到整个事件主要源于教会的增长以及王怡以个人名义签名支持了几个比较敏感的宣言。教会人数的扩张，使得教会的聚会场所从信徒家庭、到租用的民宅、到现在的办公楼。当办公楼不能再聚会的时候，该教会没有退回到信徒的家庭，而是继续在河边聚会。根据王怡的解释，这主要是为了教会自身的发展，因为教会要发展必须突破家庭聚会的限制。当教会从家庭和民宅这些私域，转向更有公共色彩的办公楼的时候，“综合治理办公室”便以消防不合格这个公共的理由来阻拦教会聚会的进行。当教会走出家庭的时候，教会便从家庭的延伸变为社会的法人，最后成都市青羊区民政局也是依据《社会团体登记管理条例》第 35 条开具“行政处罚通知书”。由于宗教局和公安局的回避，民政局的出现以及“行政处罚通知书”的开具，一个带有政治性（主要是因为王怡成为了一个政治敏感人物）的宗教问题（关涉到宗教信仰自由），慢慢地转化为一个司法问题。王怡他们也是沿着司法的途径寻求问题的解决。

## 2.学者的评论和简要的回应[5]

成都秋雨之福教会事件随即进入了学界的公共讨论中。在中国宗教社会学的小组中，自 2009 年 6 月 29 日，在“成都教会在思考，很理性”的标题下共有 53 篇讨论的帖子，参与者为大陆、香港和北美的华人宗教社会学研究者。是理性的抗争还是宗教的狂热，学者们争论不休；是公民的依法维权还是政客们的搞政治，学者们意见各异。为了更好地梳理这一场学界的讨论，笔者将选择部分者的讨论进行总结（依据是有具体观点和相关分析），并就其观点进行简要的评析。



学者孙劲松认为整个事件“完全是宗教狂热，是用政教分离为手段、宗教自由为口号、达到政教合一目的之政客语言”。他还认为“有一些人用宗教感情玩政治，这才是时下政府迟迟不愿意放宽宗教自由度的原因”，于是他断言“教会头目的政治热情葬送了他的家庭教会的前程”。如果宗教狂热是一种非理性的话，那么整个事件并不符合狂热的标准，因为在整个事件中王怡他们都是非常理性和有节制地维护自身权益。此外，政教合一是否为行动的目的这是有待考证的。到底王怡的行动是在玩政治还是维权？政府迟迟不愿意放宽宗教自由是否源于有些人用宗教情感玩政治？王怡的行动是否葬送了他的教会的前程？这些都是值得进一步深究的。在他后来的回应中，他用地方差异和中央地方矛盾来解释宗教压制的存在，认为自由主义在中国不是一种务实的选择，并指出宗教成为了“政治人”的掩护。其实，对于共产主义和宗教的关系，存在着两种不同的看法。一种持本质主义看法，认为共产主义和宗教存在根本冲突，因此压制是必然的。另外一种则认为两者的冲突不是必然的，压制的出现是有条件的。具体到最近的大范围的宗教压制，是一个偶然的事件还是一个全国协调性的统一行动，这有待进一步的考证。笔者认为对待普世价值（如果用接受的广度来衡量）和中国情境的问题，我们不能只看到一面而否定另一面的重要性。拒斥普世价值比接受普世价值需要有更强的理由，这样充分的理由在中国是否存在值得商榷。把普世价值统归给西方，然后用本土文化去对抗普世价值是否可取，同样值得我们深思。此外，如果不把政治参与当成特定群体的权利，那么给某些人戴上“政治人”也许不太合适。毕竟，亚里斯多德便认为人天生是政治的动物，西方也有不少的著作用“政治人”这个词去谈论公民政治。[6]

学者徐麟认为王怡联系国外成千上万的基督徒并在四川宣教是公然藐视国家的法律，王怡的“一个不敬畏上帝和敬拜上帝的社会，怎么可能有其他的自由和基本人权的立足点”是玩弄“阴谋权术”的典型。他还认为在宗教自由的论争中，对“宗教”这个概念的解读，“州官”和“百姓”并不一致，此“百姓”和彼“百姓”也不完全一致。笔者认为如果宗教自由本身已包含了行动的自由（聚会和宣教），而这样的自由是宪法所规定的公民基本自由，那么公民有节制地突破行政法规的限制本身是对国家法律的公然藐视，还是对原初正义的伸张？当行政法规与宪法相背而未被司法机关取消，当法规与信徒的信仰相违背的时候，那么信徒有否权利对法规表示不服从，以致进行基于良心的反抗（非暴力不合作）？至于上面对王怡的引文，笔者认为王怡只是指出了宗教自由和其他公民自由

的关系，难以够得上“阴谋权术”的罪名。由于学者并徐麟没有给出概念的界定，因此这里难以评论到底“州官”和“百姓”，以及此“百姓”和彼“百姓”对宗教的解读是否存在差异。学界一般对宗教采取本质的（substantial）或功能（functional）的定义。如果把五大宗教以外的宗教不当成宗教，如果把宗教仅看成是一种观念，而非一种带有行动和制度的实存，那么笔者承认大家对宗教的解读的确存在很大的差异。

学者杨凤岗认为秋雨教会的行动很理性，因为“他们并非强硬拒绝，更没有暴力抵抗，而是非常沉着地跟执法人员讲道理，讨论哪条法律适用和不适用”。关于媒体对中国教会和政府的报道，他认为“媒体妖魔化中国”和“妖魔化西方媒体”都是不对的。此外，他认为政府对家庭教会的压制是有事实根据的，他怀疑6月4日以来政府对教会的一连串冲击是一个全国协调性的统一行动。他指出很多学者和官员对“政教分离”存在着严重的误解。但是他担心“家庭教会依法维权，这条路能够走多远”，并呼吁学者作更多的个案研究。最后，他强调一个平等和公平的原则，认为“宗教信徒作为公民，享有与非宗教信徒同等的参政议政权利”，因此“国家对于不同的宗教和宗教团体，也是应该一律平等对待的”。在公民在法律面前平等这个现代民主制度的原则下，他认为“既不能因为是宗教徒就被禁止参政议政，也不能宗教徒一参政议政就被冠之以‘搞政治’的名号；也不能因为是宗教徒，就不能维护自身的权利，一维护权利，就被冠之以‘搞政治’而遭到攻击和打击”。

学者曹南来劝导“不要‘绑架’教会来表达自己的或小群体的政治主张”，认为在现实不能改变的情况下，“最好有选择的遗忘”。这个劝导本身包含了两个方面的内容：第一，牧师发表个人或小群体的政治主张，必然是绑架教会的结果，王怡的例子便是典型。第二，对于“不能改变的现实”，个人最好通过有选择的遗忘来接受或面对现实。对于前者，我们要问的是牧师和会众是一种什么样的关系？牧师的个人利益和教会的利益是否不一致？他们之间的关系是不是一个独裁的牧师和一群无助的会众的关系？显然这些都是可以通过实证来回答的。对于后者，笔者认为“消极的遗忘”和“积极的回应”是两种等价的偏好，在我们弄清楚现实因何而改变之前，我们不应该轻言现实不能改变。对于学者们的评论，他认为这是在“用意识形态斗争来看待中国的政教关系”，是一种被“crusade mentality”（圣战情怀）左右的结果，无论这是基于在研究数据缺乏的情况下拼凑

文章评职称的动机，还是源于“再来一次革命，再给他们一次做红卫兵获得道德正义感的机会”的冲动。令他不解的是“为什么在这个论坛内外听到有关教会的消息大多都还是迫害与反抗(而另一方面教会又在说中国有 8 千万甚至上亿信徒)?”显然曹南来的评论已经超出了事件本身，而关涉到一个知识分子的角色问题。不知这是否受到韦伯关于作为志业的政治和作为志业的学术的影响？其疑惑本身是否存在着以下预设：宗教迫害和宗教增长不能并存，也就是如果教会有 8 千万甚至上亿的信徒，那么与之相应的是宗教迫害一定大大减少。笔者认为，指出存在逼迫和反抗不一定就是“用意识形态斗争来看待中国的政教关系”，关键是看这样的判断是否有现实的依据。当然我们可以想当然地认为这是西方对中国妖魔化的结果，并认为这是对中国人权状况改善的漠视。

学者孔德继认为“政治和宗教都是人的基本权利”，宗教自由也不是政党自身安全满足下的赏赐。从基本权利出发，他提出了“政治宗教要合一”的命题。他“不能理解的是学者指责教会领袖‘玩政治’”，他承认教会领袖这种行动的正当性，“主张甚至欣赏信徒和非信徒可以这样推动宗教自由和开放”。笔者认为他把政治和宗教定义为基本人权显然是不准确的，因此在这种定义下推动出来的政治与宗教合一的命题也是问题重重的。

学者张志鹏认为政治势力与宗教存在竞争性关系，也就是“宗教就是想在政治势力指定的意识形态之外提出另一种信仰和价值观”，因此政治(被界定为对竞争的控制)必然存在。在他的论述中，宗教成为了既有意识形态的回应者和挑战者，而且把宗教与政治势力之争看作是一种意识形态之争。可是现实中宗教可能更多是一种自我的持守者和伸张者，它们的不妥协甚至发出先知批判的声音，使得它们往往被看成是现有秩序的挑战者。这种威胁更多不是源于它们的进攻而是坚守。把政治界定为统治或控制显然带有阶级斗争的色彩（一个阶级对另外一个阶级的统治），忽视了政治参与和治理的维度。同时把宗教与政治势力的竞争简单看作是两种价值观念之争，忽视了宗教作为社会实存的方面，在这一点上体现为国家和社会之间的张力。国家要控制社会，社会团体要寻求自主，这也许能一定程度上说明中国政教关系问题的症结。此外，宗教和意识形态的关系是值得进一步推敲的。在马克思主义“经济基础和上层建筑”二元框架下，宗教被当成是上层建筑的一种，是一种虚假的意识，是颠倒世界的反映，是人民的鸦片。但是简单把宗教化约为意识形态有以下几个问题：第一，宗教和意识形态在某种意义上不是同一层面的东西。如果宗教往往与超越的、彼岸的、神圣的存在联系在一起，意识形态往往

关注的是现世的东西，尽管它们常常借用宗教的隐喻，并倡导在人间建造天国。把意识形态看成是一种伪宗教，把宗教化约为一种意识形态，均没有意识到两者的本质区别。第二，意识形态往往被看作是一个负面的东西，是一种与党派（partisanship）联系在一起虚假观念。但宗教往往有着比观念更多的内涵，人们对宗教也往往有更积极地看法，而宗教往往与人的本质联系在一起。文化大革命后中国的信仰危机，以及宗教的复兴，也能让我看到过去用意识形态取得宗教的限度。

由于讨论中存在概念混乱的现象，学者老枪从政治、宗教等基本概念地界定出发，指出“所谓‘政教分离’，是指国家与宗教组织（教会）的分离，不是指政治与宗教的分离”。这是一种“组织形态上世俗政府与宗教团体的关系”，因此他认为“谈‘政教分离’对政权与宗教团体是有意义的，对个人则是文不对题”。他认为把政府镇压归咎于宗教徒搞政是不公平的。相反，我们应该同情弱者，反对政府在宗教中推行政治。他认为问题的产生在于政府政策，因为政治领域不开放，才导致了人们采取了政治形式以外的其他形式，包括宗教，来实现他们的政治追求，体现他们的理念。老枪直接采用了“搞政治”这个词汇，并对宗教徒“搞政治”表示了同情甚至支持，可惜他没有对“搞政治”一词进行辨析，也没有辨析政治参与和“搞政治”之间的关系。此外，他对政治形式和其他形式的区分也是不准确的。最后，他把个人与政府的关系界定为“选民与被选举者的关系，是公民与国家的关系”，在中国的语境中也欠准确。

学者黄海波认为学者老枪的概念梳理“混淆了中国现实社会中对‘政治’一词的理解同作为一种学术理论概念的‘政治’之间的区别”，故此要对“‘政教分离’一词的真正内涵进行拨乱反正式的阐释”。同时他还认为“一些比较热心于某种特定行动的教会人士，实际上是在现实语境的政治范畴中活动，但却用理论概念的政治来为自己辩护”。依照这样的逻辑，在现实语境的政治范畴中活动是某些“讲政治”的人的特权，教会人士不应该参与这样活动，并以政教分离为其行动辩护。此外，需要“拨乱反正”的是阶级斗争下的政治观，还是公民民主参政的政治观，这是显而易见的。至于这两种政治观的不同，笔者将在概念梳理部分进行了分析。

学者刘洋认为“政治”和“阴谋权术”是两个不同的概念。通过两个反问，他认为政府“不愿意放宽宗教自由度”同样是“玩弄”政治。他强调不能只许州官放火（政府动用国家机器限制公民的宗教自由），不许百姓点灯（信徒通过维权、发表声明等形式伸张自己的宗教自由）。他承认政府在“管理”宗教事务方面的确有很大的进展，但他不认为政府已经放弃意识形态为纲，而多讲和谐发展便是意识形态主导的体现。他意识到政教冲突中的不对等性，在对待“州官放火”和“百姓点灯”的立场上，我们也许能简约为帮助国家强化控制，还是支持信徒维护基本的公民权利。对于意识形态的判断，笔者认为是值得商榷的。如何界定“以意识形态为纲”？如何理解意识形态在党国体制中的作用？党对待意识形态的态度是什么？改革开放以来党在意识形态的建构中是否存在变化？如果有，变化体现在什么方面？这些都是非常关键的问题。笔者认为，在意识形态的承继（从马克思主义到科学发展观）和中国化（与时俱进亦体现为一种处境化），在利用意识形态进行合法性论证、党员训导（或者社会化）和抗拒所谓的西方和平演变方面没有大的改变。但是基本上以经济建设为中心已取代过去的意识形态为纲，政绩而不是意识形态的忠诚已成为考核干部的重要标准。同时对原意识形态中关于公有经济和私有经济的关系，党员和资本家的关系，党的阶级基础和利益代表范围的论述已经做了比较大的改变。

学者丘江建构了一幅政权与宗教争夺民众的图画（因为两者都要都直接左右一个人或一个群体的意识形态并对其行为标准拥有领导力），并认为如果两者不能完全合一，就必然导致矛盾。为了智慧的处理矛盾，他提出值得研究的问题是“两者‘怎样’结合，‘怎样’分离（How）；在什么层面上结合，什么层面上分离（To what extent）；在什么情况下结合，什么情况下分离（in what context）”。他没有注意到政教分离是和政教合一矛盾的，而且认为政教分离是有条件的（contingent）。这种观点也常在基层干部中出现，他们往往认为宗教组织在与党的基层组织争夺群众，挖社会主义的墙脚。争权说把宗教组织与党放在了对立面上，建造了一种敌我矛盾的认知框架，以便为管制甚至取缔建构一种行动的合法性。这种认知框架貌似合理，却问题重重。第一，它误解了党、群众和宗教组织三者的关系。如果宗教组织真的和党在争夺群众，那么等于把党看成是与宗教组织同等性质的东西，而群众则是外在于这两个竞争的党派或教派的第三种力量。在共产党没有确立他的领导地位，当国民党的领导地位被人质疑时，亦即在存在代表性之争的时候，我们可以认为国共双方是在争夺群众基础。但今天显然共产党不是一种宗教，

宗教组织也不是一个党派。相反，党是群众的代表，而宗教组织则是群众里非常显著的一个组成部分。于是问题变为党的代表性问题，也就是党的群众基础是否足够广泛，能否真正代表这部分群众的根本利益？于是策略不再是通过消灭一个群体，使党的群众基础变得单一，而是如何吸纳他们进来以提高党的代表性。如果宗教组织不是一个党派，那么就逻辑上就不存在颜色革命的问题，除非存在另一党派利用宗教的现象。党和群众的分歧主要是干群矛盾，解决干群矛盾的方法是群众路线。宗教组织不是党的竞争者，于是不必采取专政的方式。因为宗教组织也不是盟友或者友党，而是群众的一部分，于是统战的方式也不再合适。什么时候党对自己和自己的群众——宗教组织的信徒有清楚准确的认识，什么时候我们就有正确的宗教政策。当越来越多的群众成为信徒之后，可能把宗教信徒当成一个特殊群体不太合适。笔者认为，这是党该采取群众路线解决干群问题的时候，唯有从群众中来，到群众中去，我们方能避免许多不必要的矛盾。

学者李灵重点对王怡的话语进行了分析，认为王怡把信仰问题与结社问题，集会问题，言论问题和出版问题结合起来，是对家庭教会作了一个“维权护法”的动员。他指出“所激起的反向已经将宗教自由问题转化为一个公民自由问题”，“民政局的行动等于把公民引向与政府现行法律甚至是宪政的冲突”。最后，他指明为什么国家一直把基督教看成麻烦的三个原因：一是，由于基督教的组织性，国家社会一体化的国家不可能允许另外一个权力——作为 NGO 的教会存在。二是，因为中国自古有神道设教的传统，国家不可能允许教会与其争夺教化的权力。三是，作为外来宗教的基督教存在着渗透问题，可能有某些国家通过某些教派来支撑和控制。笔者同意他的点评思路，但是必须指出的是宗教自由本来就是一种公民自由，信仰问题原来就与结社问题，集会问题，言论问题和出版问题结合在一起，我国现存宗教法规本来就存在着违宪问题，王怡的言论以及事件的推进这是使得这些被掩盖或忽视的东西突显出来。对于他把国家和教会对立起来的思路（教会作为另外一种权力，并与国家争夺教化权力），笔者不是太赞同，其理由请参见上面对学者丘江的评析。此外，党国是否仍在神道设教，党国和宗教之争是否教化权之争，党国在构建核心价值体系的时候是否可以并且已经在吸纳其他宗教的元素，这些问题都是值得我们进一步去探讨的。笔者认为，我们不能静态地去看待国家和教会的博弈，随着全能主义国家向威权国家的转变，意识形态之争在当前政教冲突中所占的比例有多高也是值得探讨的。

### 3. 对秋雨之福教会事件的评析

对于王怡的行为和秋雨之福教会的行动，有的人认为是一种正当的政治参与和权益维护，有的则认为是一种披着宗教搞政治的行动。对这样差别很大的评价，我们又如何对整个事件作出判断？笔者认为要全面客观的评价整个事件，需要考虑以下这些问题：秋雨之福教会在整个事件中采取了什么行动？秋雨之福教会为什么采取这样的行动？这些行动的性质是什么？这些行动是主动的挑衅还是被动的回应？秋雨之福教会的领袖和会众的关系是什么？学者们是怎样看待整个事件的？由于王怡成为了整个事件的中心，我们要注意分析成为基督徒前的王怡和成为基督徒后的王怡，以及作为教会长老的王怡和作为基督徒个人的王怡的关系。

整个事件中，秋雨之福教会主要采取了以下行动：打 110 报警，转移聚会地方，向成都市民政局递交行政复议申请，向媒体纰漏事件经过。在整个事件中，教会基本上采取的是法律维权的方式，没有进行任何游行示威。从行动的性质来看，基本上属于被动的回应，而非主动的挑衅。此外，回应也是体制内的回应，而非体制外的回应。教会在整个事件上也采取了一定的妥协，比如转移聚会地方、暂缓教会内部的投票选举。这些行动难以被定性为“搞政治”，行动的目的也主要是为了维护信徒聚会的权利和推动教会的发展，故难以找出什么政治阴谋。

作为焦点人物的王怡，由于他扮演了多重角色，笔者将对此进行细分。作为民主人士，他以个人的名义分别签名支持了三个宣言的分布。但简单的把他的这些行动看成是一个民主人士的行动，也不完全。因为这三个宣言中有两个是华人教会发布的宣言，显然王怡也是以基督徒的身份参与这两个宣言的发布。作为秋雨之福教会的长老，他带领教会继续聚会，并依法维权。那我们是否能把这两个方面结合在一起，并对王怡的行动做出评价？这里我们必须考虑信主前的王怡和信主后的王怡的关系，并判断信仰在其个人行为中扮演一个什么样的角色。据王怡的陈述，他信主前便是一个民主人士，信仰没有改变他的社会关注，反而强化了他对社会正义的诉求。他直言：“信主之前我一直写作，我是一个公共知识分子和法律学者，关注最多的是公义、自由和民主”。[7]有的人可能由

此判断王怡的归信只是一个对宗教的利用，由于以前搞政治不成功，所以现在继续躲在宗教里边搞政治，并以此增加讨价还价的资本。笔者认为这种观点过于忽视宗教本身的影响，也夸大了一般社会维权和教会维权之间的差别。从王怡的陈述我们可以看到王怡是把宗教自由和其他公民自由联系在一起的。此外，教会维权是一般社会维权的一个部分。王怡作为一个维权人士的身份没有改变，改变的只是维权的对象。更何况王怡没有因为参与教会维权就放弃了一般的社会维权。王怡的行动在其信仰里是自恰的，他的维权运动也是前后一致的，而且在王怡看来这两者并不存在根本的冲突。我们可以看到王怡身上承载着几个不同的角色：既作为一个民主人士（或者“异见分子”），也作为秋雨之福教会的长老，而这两个身分嵌入到其公民身份中。我们也可以看到这三个身分有着不同的指向：相对国家，他是一个公民，享有基本的公民权益和自由。相对教会，他是一个长老，有权利和责任代表教会发出宣言，带领信众采取行动。相对威权制度，他是一个民主人士，他所发表的宣言构成了对既有秩序的挑战。作为公民所享有的权益和自由，使得他在公共空间里可以以民主人士和教会长老发表声明、采取行动，只要其公民身份依旧存在，其公民权益未经正当程序被依法剥夺。搞政治的命题是在威权制度和民主人士的张力下成立的，在国家和公民的关系下则是一个公民对公共事务的参与，是一个政治参与的命题。惟有通过命题的还原和转译，我们方能理解其真实的含义。

从教会信众和王怡的关系来看，我们没有发现任何重大的分歧，信徒一直“用脚投票”支持王怡带领的教会维权。这从教会聚会人数没有减少可以看出来。可见，这并非王怡个人的一厢情愿，而是教会信众的集体行动。从行动的目标来看，主要是为了维护信众权益，推动教会发展。从行动的结果来看，至少到现在维权本身并没有葬送教会的未来，反而在司法框架内化解了政教的冲突。尽管成都市民政局对秋雨之福教会“不服取缔”的行政复议申请作出了“不予受理”的决定，但它也同时建议青羊区民政局“纠正”对秋雨之福教会“予以取缔”的行政措施。可见，在整个事件中，秋雨之福教会在某种程度上获得了司法的胜利。

## 二、认知政教关系的理念原型



人们对政教关系的判断存在一个认知论的问题。这不仅包括人们的认知从何而来，也包括人们为何形成这样或那样的认知。一种认知论认为意识只不过是人脑对外界事物的机械反映，外界事物的内容决定了意识的内容。另外一种认知论则认为意识不是对外界事物的简单反映，而是在一定的认知图式下对外界事物的加工，无论这种认知图式是先天的，还是后天形成的。刻板印象和认知差异的存在，使得笔者更倾向后一种认知论。于是，当我们分析人们对政教关系的判断时，必须首先剖析塑造人们认识的认知图式或理念原型。为此，本部分将重点分析影响人们认识政教关系的理念原型。由于特定的神学传统也会影响到人们的认知图式，分析完一般的认知图式后，笔者将对特定神学传统影响下的认知图式作进一步的分析。

首先,让我们先看看人们是如何认知宗教与社会的关系.在贝勒大学2007年在中国所作的信仰调查(6984个有效样本)中发现,人们认为宗教的积极作用主要集中对道德的提高上(占51%),例如22.4%的人认为宗教有利于提高人们的道德水平,17.4%的人认为宗教有助于塑造道德的品格,11.2%的人认为宗教可以教导人们做好事(请参见表一)。相反,当问到宗教对个人或社会的害处时,人们的意见主要集中在以下三个方面(请参见表二):使人变得不理性(17.4%),使人上当受骗(16.4%),以及给人利用宗教行骗创造机会(13.8%)。用一个不恰当的比喻可以把上面三个方面概括为以下命题:宗教使人变为傻子,然后被骗子利用。傻子遇到骗子的命题也常被人用于解释人们为何归信宗教。把宗教的作用局限于个人的道德领域,而不是扩充到对公共事务的参与,使得宗教完全变为一个私域里的东西,与公共空间不具有太大的相关性。在这样的框架下,宗教进入公共空间,宗教信徒或组织参与公共事务也因此失去了正当性。因此,宗教信徒或组织参与公共事务不是被看作被坏人利用的结果,就是被看作是政客们披着宗教外衣搞政治的表现。当然,宗教参与社会慈善事业往往被人们区分开来看待,但在某些地方干部看来这也是在与党争夺群众。无论怎样,宗教信徒或组织参与政治都被认为是一种不合社会规范的行为。

### 表一 宗教对社会的积极作用

你认为宗教对你的个人生活和社会有以下的益处  
吗?

	Freq.	Percent
1.提升道德	1,567	22.4%
2.修心养性	1,218	17.4%
3.健康长寿	231	3.3%
4.家庭和谐	336	4.8%
5.劝人行善	785	11.2%
6.帮助弱者	110	1.6%
7.其它,	13	0.2%
8.宗教没有任何积极作用	1,366	19.6%
9.很难说	1283	18.4%
10.拒绝回答	75	1.1%
合计	6,984	100.0%

资料来源：贝勒大学消费、幸福感及社会意见调查。

**表二 宗教对社会的消极作用**

你认为宗教对你的个人生活和社会有以下的害处  
吗?

	Freq.	Percent
1.不理性	1,215	17.4%
2.使人上当受骗	1,142	16.4%
3.让人消极厌世	311	4.5%
4.造成家庭不和	147	2.1%
5.造成社会冲突	154	2.2%
6.利用宗教骗财骗色	961	13.8%
7.败坏社会风气	194	2.8%

8.浪费钱财	200	2.9%
9.其它	6	0.1%
10.宗教没有任何消极作用	1,131	16.2%
11.很难说	1439	20.6%
12.拒绝回答	84	1.2%
合计	6,984	100.0%

资料来源：贝勒大学消费、幸福感及社会意见调查。

结合以上人们对宗教积极和消极作用的认知，我们可以概括出一种人们认知政教关系的一种比较普遍的观点：宗教都是劝人向善的，基本上都是好的，只要不被人利用；宗教信徒或组织参与政治往往被看成是搞政治，是被人利用的结果。这种观点包含了以下预设：宗教主要起到一种社会教化的功能，宗教的领域仅限于劝人向善，培养好公民。宗教信徒或组织不能参与政治，参与政治都是不好的，而且宗教参与政治往往是被人利用的结果。之所以有这些预设，笔者认为还存在着以下一个对政治的不当看法：政治是排他的或独占的，是政府或者少部分政治精英的事；政治往往被化约成权术，是一个世俗的领域，与宗教这个神圣的领域无涉。

在这个理念原型之下，宗教参与政治往往被认为是别有用心的人披着宗教外衣从事的阴谋活动。这样的人或组织往往被扣上“反政府”，“反人民”和“反社会”甚至“反人类”的标签，国家取缔邪教往往也依据这样的逻辑。这种论断存在以下两个问题：一是，人们认为宗教只是一件外衣，信徒带着宗教信仰参与政治只是把宗教当成工具来利用，而非信仰的真诚表达。这个逻辑演绎下去便是参与政治都是非信徒或者是放弃信仰的信徒（使用这个矛盾的概念为的是凸显这个逻辑的荒谬），一个人人信教或者人人坚持自己信仰的国家不可能有真正的政治，所有参与政治的信徒都只能是形形色色的阴谋家。我们要问参与政治是否只是非信徒的专利还是公民的权利？信徒参与政治是否需要放弃其信仰？这样做是否可能？还是会制造一大批虚伪的政治人？政治是否一定要变成无信仰的政治，公共空间是否必然是裸体的公共空间（naked public square）？如果信仰是信徒的皮肤甚至血肉，那么要他们脱下其“宗教外衣”的命令是否等于把他们陷入坚持信仰和

放弃公民权利的两难，假如我们承认参政议政是公民的基本权利？[8]有的人也许会认为，因为多元宗教的存在，为了使讨论可能，公共空间讨论所采用的依据应该是普世的（universal），因此所有宗教都要放下其独断的“宗教偏见”。[9]对于这种观点，笔者认为，多元宗教的存在是我们必须接受的事实，而非我们可以抹杀的存在，因此所有的讨论必须以接纳多元宗教存在为起点。在这个过程中，无信仰和有信仰都作为等价的东西被接纳。在这个过程中，求同必须与存异并举，民主和平等成为了一种化解纷争的可欲甚至是必要选择，否则只会导致话语霸权下的“道路以目”。此外，这个判断还涉及到一个标准的取舍和优先性的确立。“使讨论可能”是一种功利的考虑，拥有“宗教偏见”（宗教信仰自由）并依据“宗教偏见”发表声明（言论自由）是一种基本的自由，基于功利的考虑是否可以侵蚀公民的基本自由？是功利优先还是基本权利和自由优先？我想答案是相对比较确定的，因为功利的考虑是为了使公民更好地说，而不是不让公民去说。如果两者发生矛盾，笔者认为要调整的是前者，而不是后者，毕竟改换一种更有效的对话规则比剥夺信徒的言论自由来得更合情合理。二是，依据行为推断动机，并预设了歧视性的标准（信徒参与政治=搞政治）和荒谬的逻辑推理（真正的信徒不会搞政治，搞政治的都是阴谋家。某某信徒搞政治，因此某某信徒肯定是阴谋家）。这显然是一种有罪推定，是一种捕风捉影，试图诱导人们发挥联想去依从其判断。有些人也许会认为某某牧师或者信徒发表了一些政治见解，一定是“醉翁之意不在酒”，背后一定有不可告人的政治企图，因此作出阴谋家的判决。我想这种推断不应当是一个公正法官会做的。因为一个公正法官一般不会依据行为反推其动机，相反却会根据犯罪嫌疑人的主观方面去对其行为的性质作出判断，否则就会导致“欲加之罪，何患无词”。公证的法官会依据各种的证据作出合理的推断，使人无可推诿，而不是把主观的建构凌驾于客观的证据之上。

基于信仰传统的认知框架。中国基督徒对政教关系的认知不仅受到一般的认知框架影响（核心是对宗教和政治的判断），也受到其所接受的神学传统的影响。信徒和宗教团体不能或不应参与政治是基于一个简单的二元对立框架，这个框架往往用圣经中耶稣所说的“上帝的归上帝，凯撒的归凯撒”作为其根据。政治领域往往不加分辨地全部归给凯撒，教会往往被上帝的领域限定在个人的信仰和教会内的活动。这样一种认知有助于坚持教会的独立和良心的自由（信仰和教会内部事务不受干涉），维护和推动政教分离的制度安排，但是本身却对信徒和教会参与政治形成了极大的障碍。奥古斯丁的上帝

之城和地上之城的划分也往往被用来支持这种观点。马丁路德的神学也影响了一部分的教会领袖。[10]更有甚者认为上帝的都是天上的和未来的，因此所有地上的、此世的事情都只能由凯撒来管理。霍布斯便是这种观点的代表，并由此建构出一个无所不在、强大无比的利维坦。在这样的国家里，是不可能真正的宗教自由。这里需要指出的是，上帝之城和地上之城的区别在于来源、依据的原则以及未来的结局，而不是时空和领域的区别。因为耶稣曾说过，上帝的国就在你们中间（路加福音 17：21），也说过这里有些人在未尝死味之前会见到上帝的国降临（马太福音 16:27）。奥古斯丁所支持的也不是非政治的神学观，例如对于基督徒使用武力这个议题，他认为基督徒不能为了自己使用武力，但是为了别人的益处，基督徒可以使用武力。

基要主义也塑造了中国基督徒的对政教关系的认知。自由派和基要派的历史恩怨，也使得深受基要派影响的中国教会对于基督徒参与政治深表怀疑，因为这常常被看作是另外一种社会福音。由于认为政治领域都是腐败的，充斥的是权力的斗争，所以教会常常教导作为一个圣洁的信徒不应该卷入这些世俗的争斗中。因此，中国基督徒对于政治往往采取一种非政治的（apolitical）态度，是消极的服从，而不是积极的参与。这样一种神学观念也适应了一定的政治现实。过去在全能主义国家的统治下，社会不可能有不受国家管制的独立领域。弱小的教会面对强大的国家，除了妥协和退却，没有其他的选项。在这样的张力下，教会除了成为官方教会之外，就只能成为地下的教会。但是随着国家从社会领域的慢慢撤出，社会空间慢慢扩大，教会拥有更多的存在空间。随着教会自身的发展，在国家和教会的博弈中，教会也有了更多的选择，能够成为一个虽不被国家认可却在地上存在的教会。

新的现实需要我们反思信徒的身份和教会的角色。如何理解基督徒的双重身份？如何理解教会在世界上的见证和作为社会良心的角色？如何理解美国福音派的积极参政？作为一个基督徒他既属于天国的公民，也作为地上的公民。由于上帝的国已经来临但是尚未完全（already but not yet），因此上帝之城与地上之城一直共存，直到世界的终结。作为一个天国公民，基督徒应该遵从天国的伦理，在信仰和道德上不应该向这个世界妥协。作为一个地上公民，应该遵守地上的法律，遵从执政掌权者，只要这些不与信仰发生冲突。同时因为信徒与非信徒共存于同一个社会，因此作为一个地上公民，信徒

也有责任为社会的发展和人们的福祉贡献力量。否则基督教的中国化就不会成功，因为一个与社会不确切甚至是格格不入的教会不是中国社会所需要的教会。倘若这样，尽管没有了帝国主义的议题，“多一个基督徒，就少一个中国人”仍然会成为基督徒在中国社会的形象。当一个教会已经从地下浮上地面，当一个教会已经作为一个非常显著的实体存在于社会中，假如她仍不能兴起发光的话，那么它将与社会产生更大的张力。当然，也许有人认为这不是合适的参与社会的方式，或者认为有更恰当的方式，因此反对这些“不太恰当”的方式。但是笔者认为，不能因为有另外的方式就否定这样方式的正当性，至少在方式上，圣经允许多样性的存在。此外，不同的方式不应该变成领域的限定，否则整全的福音就会变成支离破碎的福音。一种方式是否恰当，一方面取决于这种方式是否合乎圣经教导，另外一方面也端赖于这种方式是否在情境中确切。有的人担心过于热心政治会导致信仰的不纯洁，那么回避政治是否是一种更为可欲的选择？对于这个问题，笔者认为需要分成以下几个方面去考虑：第一，参与政治与信仰不纯洁是否存在必然联系？笔者认为圣经并不支持这样的因果联系，因为但以理、尼希米和以斯拉便是很好的反例。不是一个人的职位使人跌倒，而是一个人能否在其职位中分别为圣决定了他是否能保持其信仰的纯正。否则，我们只能认为圣徒只能在修道院中找到，一个人只要活在世人必然导致信仰的不纯正。其实，笔者认为政治领域不比其他领域更有污染力，金钱、权力都能够使人跌倒，如果我们不是一个合神心意的好管家。第二，政治是否可以回避？当然我们可以天真地认为把地上的生活简单地切割成政治领域、经济领域和宗教领域。但是，没有不涉及道德的政治，也没有不涉及政治的宗教（只要道德成为一个议题），因为政治的特点是公共性。只要人天生是政治的动物，只要人不是离群索居，那么政治就是不可避免的。第三，如果政治真实地存在于人们生活的方方面面，那么回避政治是否一种更为可欲的选择？笔者认为除非每一个基督徒都应该成为一个袖手旁观者或者殉道者，否则这不会是一种可欲的选择。袖手旁观者的自我认知是没有意识到命运的相连，殉道者的自我认知则没有意识到其他可能的存在。笔者认为马丁·尼默勒的忏悔是非常引人深思的，他曾说过：在德国，起初他们追杀共产主义者，我没有说话，因为我不是共产主义者；接着他们追杀犹太人，我没有说话，因为我不是犹太人；后来他们追杀工会成员，我没有说话，因为我不是工会成员；此后，他们追杀天主教徒，我没有说话，因为我是新教教徒；最后，他们奔我而来，却再也没有人站起来为我说话了。至于美国

福音派为何积极地参与政治，不是由于他们放下了敬虔的追求，去迎合社会福音的潮流。他们也没有因为积极地参与政治而变成了不信派。堕胎的问题、同性恋的问题以及教育的世俗化问题都在冲击着传统的价值和社会的道德基础，很多州甚至是联邦的立法也在推动这样的潮流，因此教会不能不积极的去回应以维护传统的价值。此外，在美国宗教信徒和组织通过游行示威和政治游说的方式去推动一些议题的立法是被认为是正当的行为。

其实，圣经中也呈现了两个互补的传统：祭司的传统和先知的传统。作为一个祭司，基督徒有责任把人们带到上帝面前，并在上帝面前为他们代求。作为一个先知，基督徒有责任向世人宣告上帝的旨意，敢于就道德、社会和政治议题发出声音，只要现实违背了上帝的旨意。这样的宣告并不仅限于教会内部，至少旧约的先知没有做这样的限定。此外，先知的宣告从来不是与政治无涉的。相反，先知的针砭时弊、宣告审判和呼唤回归都是极具社会和政治的適切性，纵使他不与任何的派别认同起来，无论这样的派别是当权派还是民粹派。无论外在的压力多么大，旧约的先知没有忘记作为守望者的本分。作为一个见证人，先知也往往成为了殉道者。过去，缺乏社会的空间和言论的自由，先知的传统往往被压抑。随着社会空间的扩大，面对着社会问题丛生的中国，先知是否仍旧沉默这是教会需要思考的。

可见，一般的认知图式和神学的传统都塑造着人们对政教关系的认知，而这样的认知往往对政治、宗教以及的两者的关系有着不太正确的理解。下面一部分笔者将对政治、宗教以及政教分离等基本概念进行梳理，以便为后文对秋雨之福教会事件的分析奠定基础。

### 三、对于基本概念的澄清

对于政治，一般有两种不同的态度：一种受马克思主义影响，认为政治是带有阶级属性的，强调政治的统治层面以及阶级斗争的特征。因此在这种理念指导下，中国建立了人民民主专政的制度。在这种制度下，权力只能由“政治正确”的人民来掌握，对人民的民主是与对敌人的专政统一的（人民和敌人是以意识形态和政治标准来划分的）。

因为中国采用的是代表理论而不是代议理论，这种理论认为共产党的领导地位不是由于人民的委托，而是由于党本身所具有的先进性：作为无产阶级的先锋队，代表了先进生产力的发展水平，代表了先进文化的前进方向，代表了中国最广大人民的根本利益。因此，民众与党的关系不是一种委托代理关系，而是先锋队和跟随者的关系。国家与公民的关系被转化为干部和群众的关系，在这里群众不等于公民，而是被打上政治印记的人民。这样一种关系定位为政治权力的垄断和政治体系的不开放提供了依据。另外一种认为政治是使用人们让渡的权力来对众人之事进行管理，强调政治的治理层面以及政治参与的特征。例如孙中山便认为“政就是众人之事，治就是管理，管理众人之事，就是政治”。在这种理念下，权力由具有公民权的公民来享有并通过民意代表来行使，公民对于作用其身上的公共政策拥有间接的、却是最终的决定权。现在越来越多的学者接受戴维·伊斯顿关于政治是社会价值的权威性分配这个定义。拉斯维尔也认为政治是决定谁在何时获得什么的活动。同时谈论政治的时候，人们往往与行政区别出来。在政治与行政二分下，我们于是有了政治家和行政官僚的区分。“搞政治”往往成为了这些政治家（正面意义的搞政治）和政客（负面意义的搞政治）的专利，行政官僚往往处理的是日常的事务。

这两种政治观看似两种不同的意识形态之争，但在实际的政治过程中却会造成完全不一样的政治结果。由于过去政治权力被少部分人垄断，政治系统的不开放也使得很多人无法进行正当的政治参与。因此，权力的集中带来了腐败，权力的垄断也使得权力成为了少数人或集团牟利的工具。在这样的体系下，正当的政治诉求不能够达到实现，专断的权力得不到制约，阶层的矛盾不断被累积和加剧，最终导致革命的爆发和体系的崩溃。当权力由少部分人的专利扩大到人们的基本权利的时候，政治参与成为了可能，也变得必要。过度的民主冷漠为再一次的专制埋下了隐患，输入环节的缺失，也使得政策的产出效率低下。政治体制的良好运行需要公民和执政者的良性互动，有效地输出需要积极的输入，否则内输入就会主导了最终的输出。这在委托人和代理人的利益存在不一致，代理人容易被利益集团俘获的时候，显得尤为明显。作为一个公民，政治参与是对其公民权利的实现和公民责任的履行。因为一个公民享有言论、结社和集会的基本公民权利和自由，所以他也可以通过发表声明、组成社团、参与集会的方式进行政治参与。当公民积极地使用自己的权利和自由时，一方面可以对权力的专断带来制衡，另外一方面也使得政治系统更有回应性和责任性，最终产生更适切、更有效的政策。



在对政治的含义进行了分析后，接着要分析的是一些与政治相关的活动。一是，政治参与和搞政治的区别。政治参与显然是公民对公共事务的参与，这种参与之所以可能因为公民有参政议政的权利。因此，政治参与是正当的。在中国，参政与执政是相对应的概念，因此有参政党和执政党的区别。在这一点上，领导权是垄断的，专属于某一部分人，他们以政治为业。尽管是垄断，但这样的系统并不是封闭的，所以公民可以在有限度开放的政治系统中参政议政。搞政治的含义则没有这么明确，我们只能从人们对搞政治的指责中归纳其含义。例如达赖喇嘛被认为是搞政治，法轮功被认为是在搞政治。可见，搞政治一词具有负面含义，是政客而不是政治家或官员进行的政治活动。这些人应该属于另外一个领域，但他们却不正当地进入了政治领域，并以另外一个领域的身份为幌子进行政治活动。于是搞政治的人是对现存政治秩序的挑战，资格和正当性的缺失使他们被归入了搞政治的行列中。可见，就活动的形式方面，政治参与和搞政治没有本质的区别。搞政治是与权力的垄断和政治体系的不开放连在一起的。一种政治体系下的政治参与，在另外一种政治体系下就有可能变成搞政治。二是，常规政治和抗争政治的区别。虽然常规政治往往与立宪政治相对，前者指既定规则下的政治活动，后者指的是制定或变革规则的政治活动。但笔者认为就意志表达的渠道区分为常规政治和抗争政治也是很有意义的。常规政治是通过常规的渠道进行的政治参与，是体制内的、有序的参与。比如利益集团的游说和上访。抗争政治是通过非常规的方式伸张自己的权利，是一种体制外的维权方式，例如通过游行示威和聚众闹事的方式来实现自己的利益。尽管这两种政治参与的方式，一种是体制内的，一种是体制外的，一种是合法的，一种是不合法的，但是它们两者也有着一定的关联。因为依照理性人的假说，政治参与是有成本的，人们进行政治参与的时候会考虑到成本和收益。显然体制外的成本更高，唯有人们不能通过正常的渠道实现自己的权益的时候，才会采取成本更高的体制外维权的方式。如果政治权力被垄断，政治体系不开放，那么人们往往只能更多地通过非常规的方式维护自己的权益。因此，搞政治和抗争政治在一个权力被垄断，体系不开放的制度环境中往往有很多重叠的地方。

虽然也许有的人认为宗教信徒不能搞政治，但是能参与政治。但是如果深究下去，什么是搞政治？如何区分参与搞政治和参与政治？人们为什么认为这不是一种正当的政治参与，而是一种别有用心的披着宗教外衣搞政治？我们会发现这种观点背后或多或少

受了上述理念原型的影响。如果借用管理学的一些概念，我们会发现“搞政治”的不一定都是阴谋家，政治家也以政治为志业，只是他们的政治参与不同于一般的官僚，更具有政治开拓和卡里斯玛的特征。此外，搞政治还是参与政治，于笔者看来，这跟政治活动发生的制度环境也有很大的关系。我们不难发现在威权甚至极权国家中有更多“异见人士”或“阴谋家”在“搞政治”，而这在民主政体下这往往被看成是一种正常的政治参与，例如牧师公开发表对社会政治议题的声明，或者动员信众对一些社会议题采取行动（如牧师发起反堕胎的游行示威）。

我们还需要区分以下两个不同的判断：宗教不应该参与政治和宗教不能参与政治。当我们讲宗教不能参与政治的时候，我们所指的宗教是什么？是宗教信徒？宗教信徒也是公民，公民有参政议政的权利，我们不能因为它具有信仰，就以此为由剥夺他的政治权利。我国宪法规定惟有通过司法途径，才能对触犯刑法、被宣判有罪的人才能依法剥夺他的政治权利。是宗教团体？宗教团体是否拥有法人资格？事实上，我国的宗教团体已经通过人民代表大会和政治协商会议参政议政。显然宗教界参与政治在我国既有政治体制内是被认可和保护的。现在的问题是政治参与是平等的还是不平等的？是民众的基本权益还是某些精英垄断性的事务？

当我们讲宗教不应该参与政治的时候，我们并没有否定他们参政的权利，但是暗含了宗教参政违背了社会规范的假定。如果我们追问这样一种社会规范从而来，我们不难发现一方面从神学传统而来，另一方面则从特定的政治文化而来。前者认为，存在两个不同的领域，政治所在的世俗领域和宗教所在的神圣领域，这两个领域不应该混合在一起。宗教信徒或组织参与政治，被理解为是对两个领域的混合。后者则认为，政治是特定政治精英的事，宗教信徒或组织参与政治是一种对既有秩序的挑战，是一种僭越行为。对于前者，笔者认为这两个领域不是截然分开的，因为上帝的国在世界中；信徒既是地上的公民，也是天国的公民；神圣世俗不是领域的划分，而是来源、性质和去向的划分；道德成为了连接这两个领域的桥梁。对于后者，笔者认为当权力从少部分人扩大到大部分人的时候，尽管我国不一定采取西方民主制定形式，但是政治再不是少数人的专利，而是对大部分人的公共事务的治理，政治参与也成为了公民权利的实现和义务的履行。

接着，让我们对政教分离和政教合一进行一个概念的辨析。当我们谈论政教分离或者政教合一的时候，我们首先要明白我们是谈论一种制度安排。根据刘澎的总结，政教关系的制度安排有四类：政教分离、国家控制宗教、国教和神权统治。[11]可是当人们讨论政教关系的时候很容易把把国家与教会的关系，和宗教与政治的关系混在一起谈论。于是政教分离往往被推出宗教不能参与政治的结论，而宗教参与政治往往被看作是政教合一的表现。政教分离在英文里是 separation of church and state，指的是国家和教会的分离。这是一种机构和权力的分离，也就是教会不能利用国家权力来建立自己的和推行自己的信仰；同时国家也不能利用自己的权力建立国教或干涉宗教的自由表达（教会内部事务）。用杰弗逊的话来说，就是“在国家和教会之间竖立一堵由宪法来保证的高墙”，最终保证教会的纯洁性。这种理念在宪法第一修正案里得以体现和确立。至于政治与宗教（religion and politics），美国人从来不认为它们应该分离，也不奢望它们能够分离。因为如果言论自由、结社自由和集会自由真实存在的话，那么无论是信徒个人还是宗教组织都可以自由地参与政治。美国国父们努力使宗教成为一个私人的事情，使得人们可以自由地选择自己信仰，因此禁止任何州政府与特定的信仰认同起来。他们明白如果国家与特定的信仰认同起来，并确立为国教，这必然导致信仰的不真诚以及基于良心的抵抗，甚至会使得信仰的分歧演化为政治的冲突。但是让宗教成为一个私人的事情强调的是选择由个人来决定而不是国家来强加，这并不意味宗教只能留在私人领域，不能进入公共领域。如果公共领域不是被特定群体独占的话，那么作为一个公民就有权利进入公共空间进行活动。与宗教信仰相关的道德议题从来不被认为是一个私人的事情，这也是同性婚姻、堕胎、干细胞研究在美国引起轩然大波的原因。此外，有关公立学校的祷告问题，这并不是一个“宗教干预教育”的问题，私立学校的宗教活动是合法的，宗教和教育不是冲突的或排他的。相反这是一个政教分离问题，也就是国家不能够用自己的权力推行宗教活动，因为国家在宗教事务上应该是中立的。既然公立学校是国家利用纳税人的钱建立和运作的，如果公立学校里进行有组织的祷告（organized prayer），等于国家在建立一种宗教，显然这被看成是对政教分离原则的违背。

如果政教分离处于连续谱的一端的话，那么神权统治便处于另外一端，中间是国教和国家控制宗教。在这个连续谱中我们可以看到国教、国家控制宗教和神权统治都是政教合一的子类。具体到中国的情况，通过国家力量推动三自爱国运动，国家力量介入半官

方机构——三自爱国运动委员会主席的产生，宗教局的官员兼任各宗教协会的秘书长，这些都是政教合一的表现。宗教信徒以个人身份进入国家的权力机构——各级人民代表大会本身不违反政教分离原则，因为这只是公民的政治参与，而并非政教合一的制度安排。但是如果这些信徒以教会或者宗教团体的领袖身份进入各级人代会的话，那么这就会造成政教合一，因为这造成了国家机构和宗教团体在拥有公职的个人身上的合一。为了保证政教分离的制度安排，美国法律规定信徒担任行政、司法和立法机关的职务时必须辞掉他或她在宗教团体的职务。否则这必然导致宗教通过政教合一的方式干预行政、司法和立法。

对于政教分离的含义，不难发现中国和美国存在解释的差异。在中国，政教分离被解释为两个方面的含义：第一，任何人都不得利用宗教干预国家的行政、不得干预司法、学校教育和社会公共教育；不得干预婚姻、计划生育等等。第二，国家政权也不能被用来推行或禁止某种宗教。[12]对于第一点，我们可以看到这一点把国家与宗教的制度性分离，与政治和宗教的关系混同起来。宗教作为一个消极地东西，成为了政府防范的对象。因此宗教信徒或组织参与政治必然被看作是对政教分离的违背。第二点与美国宪法第一修正案确立的政教分离原则比较接近，也就是国家不能建立宗教。但是因为佛教、儒教和道教可以被看成是三种教训，也可以简单地被看作是传统文化。于是国家对宗教的推行可以通过弘扬传统文化来实现，从而为违背政教分离寻找一种合法性支撑。此外，“国家不能禁止某种宗教”和“不得立法禁止宗教活动自由”还是存在比较大差异，尤其在只接受信仰而不是活动自由的中国。因为在中国至今只承认五大宗教，而国家又拥有界定邪教的权力，所以国家可以通过消极的不承认和积极的界定来禁止那些还没获得国家承认的宗教或者虽属国家承认的宗教但还没被国家认可的教派，最终实现国家对宗教的禁止。

让我们进一步挖掘这些界定背后的依据。对比美国宪法第一修正案和中国宪法的第 36 条，我们会发现一些较为显著的区别。前者对宗教自由有以下规定：联邦议会不得立法建立宗教，不得立法禁止宗教活动自由；不得立法剥夺言论自由和出版自由；不得剥夺人民以和平方式集会或者向政府请愿要求申冤的权利。后者对宗教信仰自由则作出了以下规定：

中华人民共和国公民有宗教信仰自由。任何国家机关、社会团体和个人不得强制公民信仰宗教或者不信仰宗教，不得歧视信仰宗教的公民和不信仰宗教的公民。国家保护正常的宗教活动。任何人不得利用宗教进行破坏社会秩序、损坏公民身体健康，妨碍国家教育制度的活动。宗教团体和宗教事务不受外国势力的支配。

中央统战部对我国宗教信仰自由政策做出了以下七个方面的解释：

(1)公民有信仰宗教和不信仰宗教的自由。(2)宗教必须在宪法、法律和政策范围内活动。公民在行使宗教信仰自由权利的同时，有遵守宪法和法律的义务。任何国家机关、社会团体和个人不得损害宗教界的合法权益，干预正常的宗教活动；任何人也不能利用宗教破坏社会秩序、损害公民身体健康，更不允许利用宗教进行反对党的领导和社会主义制度，破坏国家统一和民族团结。(3)各宗教一律平等。(4)宗教与国家政权分离。按照这一原则，任何人都不得利用宗教干预国家的行政、不得干预司法、学校教育和社会公共教育；不得干预婚姻、计划生育等等。国家政权也不能被用来推行或禁止某种宗教。(5)国家保护一切在宪法、法律和政策范围内的正常的宗教活动。各宗教团体自主地办理各自的教务，并根据需要开办宗教院校、印发宗教经典，出版宗教刊物，举办各种社会公益服务事业。在登记的宗教活动场所内和按宗教习惯在教徒自己家里进行的正常宗教活动，受到国家法律保护，任何人不得加以干涉。国家保护宗教团体的合法权益，保护宗教教职人员履行正常教务的权利。(6)无神论与有神论之间相互尊重。任何人都不应到宗教活动场所进行无神论的宣传，或者在信教群众中展开有神还是无神的辩论；任何宗教组织和教徒也不应在宗教活动场所外布道、传教、宣传有神论、散发宗教传单和其它未经政府主管部门批准出版发行的宗教书刊。(7)宗教团体和宗教事务不受外国势力的支配。[13]

对于中国和美国有关宗教的宪法条款进行比较，我们不难发现以下差异：第一，中国宪法规定的自由是信仰的自由，不同于美国宪法规定的宗教自由（信仰加活动的自由）。笔者认为“宗教信仰自由”这个概念假设了信仰与活动的分离，并对活动的自由作出了严格的限定。我们不难发现宗教活动的自由是有条件的自由：在政府认可的五大宗教的框架内，在政府认可的宗教活动场所之内，由政府认可的神职人员举行的被政府认可的宗教活动（正常的宗教活动存在一个认可问题）。于是，这种自由不是法定先在的、

确定的，而是人意许可的、变动的自由。政府可以通过不许可的方式废止这种自由，法律也难以制止行政的专断，并给以司法救济。那是因为这些条件使得很多宗教自由不在法律保护的范围之内。这种对公民自由的变相剥夺也不同于因违反犯罪由司法机关以判决的方式所进行的剥夺。

第二，中国的宪法更多的把宗教看成是一个消极的、需要严防的东西，更多的是对宗教的禁止。美国宪法没有对宗教作任何的定性，但在对国家的怀疑和提防下，更多是对国家行为的约束。第三，中国宪法规定“国家保护正常的宗教活动”，这有可能被引申为对不正常宗教活动的打击和取缔。因为宪法和相关的法律法规没有对正常的宗教活动作出明确的界定，在实际操作中往往导致行政权和司法权的合一，于是过去界定和取缔不正常的宗教活动均由宗教局和公安部来操作。第四，中国把宗教团体和宗教事务与国家主权联系在一起，强调宗教的自传、自治与自养。与之相反，美国的宪法没有这方面的规定。国家扮演了一个宗教监护人的角色，并藉此把宗教内部事务升格为关涉国家主权的外交事务，某种程度上损害了教会的自主，也容易导致国家对宗教内部事务的变相干预。

#### 四、政教关系的变迁及当前政教关系的走向

要理解秋雨之福教会事件的实现意涵必须把它放在政教关系的变迁的背景下去分析。政主教从或者国家主导宗教的制度安排是如何形成的？宗教的发展如何对现有的宗教管理体制造成冲击？秋雨之福教会事件作为一个个案具有什么样的现实含义？当前政教关系的走向是什么？这些都是理解政教关系的变迁及当前政教关系的走向的核心问题。

##### 1. 国家主导宗教格局的形成与维持

国家主导宗教的格局是在强国家、弱教会的关系下形成的，具体又可以分为全能主义阶段和威权主义阶段。国家主导宗教格局的形成主要包括了以下几个环节（这里主要以基督教为例子）：驱逐帝国主义，国有化教会资产，建立三自爱国运动委员会和宗

教事务局。基督教在中国的传播背负在帝国主义侵略的原罪，本色化的教会也难以幸免于难。国家主导宗教的格局是全能主义国家形成的一个重要环节。国家要全面地控制社会，而朝鲜战争的爆发则加速了这个在“驱逐帝国主义”名下进行过程。为此，国家需要建立了新的权力中心（三自爱国运动委员会）以取代既有的权力中心（跨宗派的协进会以及各宗派的全国协会），同时变革了协会和成员的关系，也就是用行业领导机构取代原有的行业志愿机构。驱逐传教士、没收教会资产、成立基督教访问团、召开全国会议、发表“三自宣言”、成立三自运动革新委员会、推动签名运动和控诉运动，是这个权力更替过程中的重要环节。在这个过程中，协进会和各宗派的全国领导机构遭到解散，领导地位由三自革新委员会取代。不加入三自运动的教会（如王明道的教会）以及某些加入了三自运动的教会（如敬奠瀛的耶稣家庭和倪柝生的聚会处）遭到了冲击。

国有化教会资产。过去教会有自己的教育、医疗、出版、慈善以及其他公共事业，后来这些都被政府收归国有。这种征收不是通过赎买或者公私合营的方式实现的，而是通过强制的方式实现，这被学者称为“连根拔起”。这种征收是以反帝或者清除帝国主义在中国的毒素的名义下进行的。需要强调的是，国有化资产看似驱逐帝国主义的自然结果，但是两者是两个不同的概念。驱逐帝国主义是通过国家的强制力量实现中国教会的自传、自治和自养，而国有化则是教会产权变更（实际上是丧失）。前者不一定要通过后者来实现。例如可以通过驱逐传教士、改组董事会，让中国信徒担任行政领导工作的方式实现。但是，国有化教会资产最终为了使国家能够更好地控制教会，也使得教会从教育、医疗、出版、慈善以及其他公共事业中被驱赶出来。

严格掌控，限制竞争。为了更好地维护国家主导宗教的格局，国家把认可的宗教严格限定在五大宗教的框架下，形成一个封闭的系统，把其他宗教排除在外。五大宗教均成立垄断性的协会（全国和地方协会），负责领导和组织该层级下其宗教内部的事务（全国协会和地方协会不存在领导关系）。各宗教的组织必须纳入到协会的体系内，否则就不会被国家认可。国家掌握了合法宗教和非法宗教，以及正常宗教活动和不正常宗教活动的界定，以此控制宗教的发展。具体到一个堂点的活动，国家通过对其场所的认定（必需进行协会和民政系统的双轨登记），人员的认定（在国家认可的宗教学院受训，并由国家认可的神职人员按立）和活动范围的认定（跨地区宗教活动必须经过宗教局的

审批)，达到掌控宗教的目的。统战部和宗教局通过介入协会领导人的产生，宗教局干部兼任协会秘书长，协会在宗教局内办公（各地在这个方面差异很大），协会领导与宗教局建立联席会议制度，宗教局订立掌控宗教的规章，这些制度安排保证了国家对宗教的控制。

## 2. 不同国家——社会关系下的政教关系

全能主义国家下的政教关系。在全能主义国家下，国家要控制所有领域，因此国家建构了各种群众组织，并通过行业垄断保持这种控制，而这种控制本身阉割了结社的自由。此外，国家与一种意识形态认同起来，并且通过国家力量去灌输这种意识形态。一切的组织和个人必须认同这种意识形态，并以此作为政治忠诚的表现。否则，就可能被打成反革命，成为思想改造的对象。国家通过对各个领域的接管和思想改造，最终实现了一元化的领导。在这种情况下，界线是黑白分明的，所有不归附于全能主义国家的教会都划为反革命的阵营，面临着被取缔和被改造的压力。借用宗教经济的术语，也就是在宗教市场中只有红色和黑色的区别。

威权主义国家下的政教关系。在威权主义国家下，国家从特定的领域撤出，并且放松了管制。这个自由化的过程，使得社会空间得以扩大。随着管制的放松和空间的扩大，教会有了更多的选择，灰市得以形成和扩大。国家控制社会的一些制度安排，如人民公社和单位体制，也随着国家的撤出而瓦解。这使得公民对国家的依赖性减弱，国家对社会控制的力量也因此减弱。由于教会生存的成本降低，来自国家的压力减少，来自信众的压力增大，天平从求存一边向求发展那边倾斜。地下的教会可以走到地上，这对垄断性的行业代表体系造成冲击。由于不正常活动和不被认可的宗教大量存在，既有的法规和政策不能有效执行，国家对正常的宗教活动和认可的宗教面临重新界定的压力。这个界定可以由国家来推动，但难以由国家来主导，而界定本身必须能够纳入既有的现实。于是，在威权国家下教会和国家之间充满了动态的博弈，自由化的过程也带有某种推动政教分离的趋向。

## 3. 当前政教关系的走向



要理解当前政教关系的走向我们必须注意以下几个问题：这种变迁始于何处？这种变迁走向何方？维持现状的条件是什么？推动变迁的动力是什么？这种变迁将通过何种路径实现？

从上面的分析，我们可以看到国家主导宗教的制度安排是党国控制社会的一个组成部分。这种控制是通过垄断性的代表（每个宗教只有一个唯一合法的协会），合法——非法的宗教界定，并通过统战部——宗教局——宗教协会这个宗教控制链条来实现的（公安局和国家安全部门承担了辅助执行者的角色）。要维持这种制度安排需要以下几个条件：一是，垄断性的协会具有足够的代表性和统合能力。如果归入其名下的成员只占很少一部分，如果归入其名下的成员具有非常强的离心力，那么这种行业垄断就失去了实质意义。二是，国家垄断了界定合法和非法宗教的权力，并且这种界定是正当的或者是被认可的。如果不认可的宗教事实上大量存在（事实的合法性），如果国家界定的非法宗教被社会广泛认可（社会的合法性），如果被界定为非法的宗教依据国家的法律能够成功的自我辩护甚至反诉政府的失当，那么国家界定合法——非法宗教的权力将面临合法性的危机。三是，统战部——宗教局——宗教协会这个宗教控制链条的有效性。如果这个链条没有资源进行有效的控制，如果被管制的对象能够有效地规避管制或者干脆不接受管制，而管制部门却不能有效制止这种越轨行为，那么这种管制链条就会名存实亡。现实中，这三个方面都面临着挑战。民间宗教和新兴宗教的发展已经事实上突破了五大宗教的格局。基督教的家庭教会和天主教的“地下教会”的发展使得爱国宗教协会的代表性备受质疑。过去宗教组织需要通过协会获得政治认可和存在的合法性，协会也因此能够有效控制其成员。当发展的要求取代生存的逻辑，求真求存的天平逐步转向了求真那一方，离心的倾向在扩大，控制的效果在降低，而强化控制反而加剧了这种离心的倾向。当宗教从消极的鸦片转变成具有积极社会功能的文化，当民间宗教从封建迷信转变为文化遗产，当政府界定宗教非法的法规面临着“非法”宗教抗辩时依据的宪法、法律和法的精神的挑战的时候，政府也从法官的席位转到被告的位置。显然，宗教本身的独立意识和维权意识，地下教会向地上的转移以及国家有限度退却带来社会空间的扩大，都是这些变迁背后的动力。当政教合一的宗教控制不再可能，宗教组织自由化的倾向是否推动政教分离下宗教自由的实现，而这个过程又通过何种路径实现，这取决于国家和宗教

之间的进一步博弈。不过可以预见的是垄断性宗教市场的放开的朝向，这包括五大宗教体系的放开，以及地下教会的阳光化（从地下转到地上）甚至是合法化。

#### 4. 秋雨之福教会事件的现实意涵

笔者认为，秋雨之福教会事件虽然是一个很小的教会所引发的一个范围有限的公共事件，但是这至少表明了在当前政教关系下一种新的可能。这种可能表现在以下四个方面教会的转变：从地下到地上，从求生存到求发展，从忍耐到抗争，以及从回避政治到积极地回应政治。这些转变表明了教会自主精神和权利意识的觉醒，也表明了教会从一个地下的、私域里的行为体逐步转变成一个公共空间里的行为体。教会的这种转变对国家宗教政策的不变造成挑战，教会的这种改变（如果被大量的教会接受的话）也将为宗教政策的调整限定方向。下面，笔者将从上述四个方面作一个简单的分析。

一是，从地下到地上。当地上空间被政府认可的教会所占据，而不被认可的教会又甘于处于地下的话，一切的问题也只是潜在的问题，一切的影响力也只是潜在的影响力。现实秩序的危机因挑战者的隐没而被遮蔽，冲击也因行为体的缺席而消解。从地下转到地上，使得一个新的行为体在公共空间出现。于是，因着这个新行为体的出现，先前的地上行为体面临一种合法性的竞争，行业协会也会面临一个代表性的危机。原来一元下的和谐格局不得不变革以应对多元的现实，市场的开放，民主的管理，协会从领导机构转变为自愿团体，国家从一元的建构者转变为多元下的中立裁判者，这些都是不得不进行的选择。

二是，从求生存到求发展。如果求存还是求真曾导致了教会分裂，并造成了五十年代三自教会和家庭教会的分立；那么求生存和求发展的张力将进一步影响中国教会的格局。需要强调的求生存包含了两种不同的生存状态，一种是地上的生存状态，另外一种是地下的生存状态。要进入地上的生存状态就必须相应地进入政府的宗教管制体系，处于地下的生存状态则要求教会放弃其合法性权益的要求。因为地上和地下分属不同的空间，因此代表性之争可以通过合法非法的建构而消解。家庭教会以及现存宗教管理体制的合法性问题，也是因家庭教会逐步转入公共空间引发的。因为地上和地下都

可以生存，因此合法性的冲击是有限的。当国家采取压制的时候，教会就转入地下，那么这样的政策就能长期下去。虽然双方是冲突的，但是因为双方都能够实现其目标（政府要维持现状，教会要继续生存），所以现存的游戏规则会延续，现存的秩序也不会遭到实质的冲击。但是，秋雨之福教会没有因政府的压制而重新转到家庭和地下，却要继续在地上聚会，因为若继续回到家庭，教会就不能发展。若继续转入地下，教会就不能融入社会。显然，此时求发展的诉求已经超过了求生存的要求，而且教会的生存已包含了更多发展的含义。当更多教会采取这样的态度，当更多的教会看到有另外一种生存可能，那么游戏规则就被实质地改写。

三是，从忍耐到抗争。忍耐对于行为主体其实是一种权利的放弃，而抗争本身则是一种维权的行动。虽然我国宪法规定公民有宗教信仰自由，以及言论、出版、集会、结社、游行、示威等基本自由；但是这些自由的许诺可能因政府的限制和公民的放弃而失去。某种程度上政府的限制之所以可能，除了因为国家的强大之外，更重要是公民的放弃。同样家庭教会的非法，不仅是由于政府的不认可，更重要因为教会的不争取。维权的失败和放弃权利虽然结果都得不到权利，但是法律的后果是完全不一样的。因为前者揭露的是一个法律的危机，也就是法律许诺的权利在既有体系下不能得到实现，证明这样的许诺只是一张空头支票，而开具这张支票的行为体将承担全部的法律责任。于是，这个行为体必须做出以下的选择：或者修改法律安排，并兑现权利许诺；或者收回权利许诺，并宣告法律破产。从忍耐到抗争的转变使得责任从教会转到国家，也使得国家必须直面法律的危机。

四是，从回避政治到积极地回应政治。因为家庭教会回避政治，所以家庭教会一直被认为是一个“政治不正确”的东西。当国家推动爱国运动的时候，他们不参与，于是他们为此背负了不爱国的罪名。当宗教局强化教会登记的时候，他们不登记，于是他们为此背负了非法教会的罪名。当人们在救亡的时候，他们不回应时局，于是基督徒背负了帝国主义帮凶的罪名。对政治的回应只要不是不加分辨的党派认同，就不是信仰的妥协。回应是对挑战的一种应对，是对指控的一种自我申辩，是对反教的一种护教，因为挑战的内容和范围限定了回应的内容和范围。虽然回应是应对挑战而出，但却本于信仰而发。专制之所以可能，因为权力被极少一部分人垄断。这种垄断之所以可能，因为大

部分对政治表示冷漠。如果人们都积极地回应时局，那么政治的议程就可能被改写。如果人们把对公共事务的参与看成是一种公民的责任，那么公民精神和公民社会就会慢慢形成。

## 总结

从上面对秋雨之福教会的案件梳理，以及对由此引发的学者讨论的分析，我们可以看到对于政教关系的处理需要一个知识的启蒙。过去的政治文化以及建国后历次政治运动所留下的阴影，都影响了人们对政治的理解和对政治参与的态度。这样一个知识启蒙需要把人们从阶级斗争的政治观（政治就是权术，政治就是斗争，政治是特定精英的专利）带向民主政治下的政治观（政治是管理众人之事，参政议政是公民的基本权利，政治是对社会价值的权威性分配），并在这样政治观下理解政教关系。

由于这样的事件在中国并不普遍，而且受到法轮功以及很多“邪教”干政事件的影响，人们往往会不假思索地把教会领袖参与政治当成搞政治的阴谋家或者披着宗教外衣的政客。但是如果类似维权事件多起来的时候，我们能否一刀切的把它们划在“搞政治”的行列是值得怀疑的。在分析的过程中，笔者也发现搞政治和政治参与是与特定背景联系在一起的，公民对公共事务的政治参与在威权体制下可能被转译为搞政治。当公民身分被遮蔽时，才有了不准民主人士发声音，不准教会领袖发声明的依据，因为只有公民才有这些基本的权益。呈现基督徒身分和公民身分的内在联系，我们就可以挖掘出宗教自由和公民基本自由的一致性。其实，现实中已经有不少基督徒参与到社会维权运动中，有的专门作教会内部的维权，有的则参与到一般的社会维权中。那么对于那些参与一般社会维权的基督徒，我们能否把他们当成披着宗教外衣的政客？我们是否仅因为他们维护的是自身的权益而不是其他人的权益，就给他们扣上“搞政治”的帽子？笔者觉得我们不应该采取一刀切的做法。我们要弄清楚他们“搞政治”的原因、手段和目的，也就是要分清他们使用的是阴谋的手段还是采取合法合情的手段？搞的是维权式的政治还是夺权式的政治？是主动的挑衅还是被动的回应？如果信徒参与政治是公民的基本权利以及现代民主政治的正常现象，那么我们要问的不是宗教参与政治是否正确，而是要问他们为什么要参与政治以及他们在何种情景下以何种方式参与政治？这种政治参与是否违背了

其个人的信仰以及国家的法律？这些都是事实的衡量，而不是价值的判断。此外，我们不能因为他们是基督徒，就否定了他们公民的身份和自由，把一个公民维权事件简单的看成基督徒搞政治的事件。

随着教会的发展和浮出水面，真正成为一个地上的教会，教会面临一个选择，也就是在一个不太友好的文化环境中如何发展自己？如何平衡好自身发展和社会见证之间的关系？面对侵权事件，教会是躲避忍耐还是伸张自己的权利？教会回应一些社会政治议题，这关涉到的是教会要成为一个怎样的教会，要在社会中扮演什么样的角色的问题。人们常讲教会是社会的良心，一个失去社会適切性的教会是没有希望的教会。教会在社会中，教会不能只想着自己；信徒同样也是社会的公民，一个不履行公民责任的信徒不是一个好的信徒。在特定的制度下，权利的实现需要争取，社会的发展也有待每一个人的努力。这也许便是王怡的“宗教动员”所要带出的信息。此外，王怡在接受采访时谈到了宗教自由和其他公民自由的关系，这提醒我们对宗教自由进行重新的评估。以下这些问题都是有待我们进一步思考的，例如宗教信仰自由为何重要？宗教自由与其他基本公民自由是什么样的关系？政教分离的制度安排与公民自由的保障存在什么样的关系？宗教信仰自由关乎的只是信徒的自由，还是每一个公民的基本自由？教会和社会如何处理好两者的关系？这两者的互动又将如何影响中国的民主进程？这是有待人们进一步思考的问题，也是教会在处境化过程中无法回避的问题。

我们看到当前政教冲突是教会建造过程中突现出来的现象。因为信徒要聚会而家庭又无法容纳，使得教会必须搬进写字楼里。教会要进一步参与社会事务，那么教会的合法身份问题就是一个必须解决的问题。当教会由地下走到地上的时候，这些问题就由潜在的问题变成现实问题。在这个过程中，如果教会不再保持沉默，而是积极地发表自己的声音；如果教会对自身的权益不再放弃而是积极地维护，那么就很可能有更多的秋雨之福教会事件出现。秋雨之福教会从地下到地上，从求生存到求发展，从忍耐到抗争，以及从回避政治到积极地回应政治的转变，给教会提供了一种新的可能，也对国家的宗教政策造成一种新的挑战。宗教政策要解决的已经不再是一个总量控制的问题，乃是要化解实际矛盾的问题。国家控制的减弱，社会空间的扩大和教会的发展，政教互动实际是一个调适的过程。当然这种调适不是单方面的，国家也必须考虑教会的发展所带来的

社会政治影响，并做出宗教管理方面的调整。教会也要考虑到国家的担心和谈判的底线。总之，这个互动的过程需要双方都做出让步和妥协，也需要双方在变化了的环境中相互适应。否则只会引发更多实际的冲突。从政教关系转变的动因和维持既有政策的条件来看，国家和教会新一轮的博弈正往政教分离的方向发展，至于演变的路径将取决于双方进一步的互动。

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注释:

[1] 事情的经过主要参考王怡的陈述和媒体的报道，王怡，“为‘秋雨之福教会’被取缔一案答自由亚洲电台问”，纵览中国，

<http://www.chinainperspective.org/ArtShow.aspx?AID=1840>，2009年8月17日下载。

[2] 这个条例由国务院颁发，并于1998年10月25日正式生效。该条例第35条的规定如下：未经批准，擅自开展社会团体筹备活动，或者未经登记，擅自以社会团体名义进行活动，以及被撤销登记的社会团体继续以社会团体名义进行活动的，由登记管理机关予以取缔，没收非法财产；构成犯罪的，依法追究刑事责任；尚不构成犯罪的，依法给予治安管理处罚。

[3] 基督日报，“成都秋雨之福教会起诉双流县宗教局”，

<http://gospelherald.com/news/den-10424-0/%E6%88%90%E9%83%BD%E7%A7%8B%E9%9B%A8%E4%B9%8B%E7%A6%8F%E6%95%99%E6%9C%83%E8%B5%B7%E8%A8%B4%E9%9B%99%E6%B5%81%E7%B8%A3%E5%AE%97%E6%95%99%E5%B1%80-%E5%9F%BA%E7%9D%A3%E6%97%A5%E5%A0%B1>，2009年8月21日下载。

[4] 美国之音中文网，

<http://www.voanews.com/chinese/archive/2008-09/w2008-09-19-voa54.cfm>，2009年8月6日。

[5] 以下学者的评论均来源于 Yahoo 组 ChineseSSSR 里面兴起的一场“成都家庭教会在思考，很深刻”的讨论，具体内容请参见

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/ChineseSSSR>。

[6] 例如利普塞特：《政治人：政治的社会基础》，商务印书馆，1993年。

[7] 王怡, “我在为基督写作吗? ”,

<http://www.artblog.cn/U/joshuawang/archives/2009/49294.html>, 2009年8月17日下载。

[8] 有关这些议题的讨论请参见 Richard John Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square : Religion and Democracy in America* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1995); Jeffrey Stout. *Democracy and Tradition* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2004); E.J. Dionne, Jr., Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Kayla M. Drogoz, eds., *One Electorate under God? : A Dialogue on Religion and American Politics* (Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution Press, 2004) .

[9] 例如 John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1996).

[10] 马丁路德在《现世权威: 在何种程度上它应该被服从? 》(*Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed*) 发展出一种身体政治的哲学 (body politics) , 认为信徒拥有良心自由, 身体和外在的行为则归凯撒来管理, 而且信徒不能自己起来反抗 (只能由掌握公职的人来组织) 。路德宗的这种神学观被认为是纳粹德国得以兴起的重要条件。

[11] 刘澎: “世界主要国家政教关系模式比较”, 载于天益网, [www.tecn.cn/data/13879.html](http://www.tecn.cn/data/13879.html), 2009年8月

## 秋山风雨中——伴随 5·12 教案的思考（黄庆曦）

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## 秋山风雨中——伴随 5·12 教案的思考

作者：黄庆曦

本文是一个同气连枝者的感言，也是“介入的观察者”的思考，愿稍微梳理和澄清一些久见不合的问题，并提供某种相对客观的角度。全文较长，读后或许你会有所共鸣、转变，或思索，或代祷，如此便算成全了作者的初衷。

提纲：

一、引子

二、在场感：关于两个国度的系统冲突

三、逼迫：对属灵品质的外部检验

四、处境与位份：引申思考

1.秋雨圣约路线对转型中的家庭教会的启迪

2.教会在中国社会的本分与职责

五、复兴：火热与冷静并行

*即使是在最黑暗的时代中，我们也有权去期待一种启明，这种启明或许并不来自理论和概念，而更多地来自一种不确定的、闪烁而又经常很微弱的光亮。这光亮源于某些男人和女人，源于他们的生命和作品，它们在几乎所有情况下都点燃着，并把光散射到他们在尘世所拥有的生命所及的全部范围。像我们这样长期习惯了黑暗的眼睛，几乎无法告知人们，那些光到底是蜡烛的光芒还是炽烈的阳光。但是这样一种客观的评判工作，对我而言似乎是件次要的事情，因而可以安心地留给后人。*

——汉娜·阿伦特

一、引子

我们因信耶稣，就在他里面放胆无惧，笃信不疑地来到神面前。所以，我求你们不要因我为你们所受的患难丧胆，这原是你们的荣耀。(以弗所书 3:12-13)

从 5 月 11 号开始的故事，大概都可以叫做“《当警察来敲门》之后”。

骤雨初歇，余震不停。对秋雨圣约教会的逼迫处于进行时，而非完成时。各种约谈、威吓、警告，一些弟兄姐妹面临失去工作和住房的危险，网格化管理的威力显现无余。

传道人陈小弟兄评论到：“512 拉开了序幕，江信接了华杰的棒。一起受难是容易的，孤立起来，各个击破，就很艰难。让你怀疑人生！所以，接下来的代祷才是更需要与迫切的。接下来很可能流言蜚语四起，不容易，唯有求主坚固。”

艰难时刻刚刚开始，对合一的挑战也将更严峻，而流言蜚语、落井下石的声音，早已抢先一步充斥耳膜。

截图是某个颇有影响力的网络圣经学校负责人对学员的告诫。几乎可以说，这是两种系统的不兼容，政教关系只是其中一部分。比如这个圣经学校，属于小群背景内收型信仰，强调个人生命建造，低教会观，低圣职观，低国度观，世界观倾向于避世的分离主义，有这样的反应，并不算意外。

诸如此类，将两个国度的界限分得很清，但“超越性”压倒“临在性”，导致一系列偏差。他们认为，教会“不能成为一个服务大众的社会的团体，因为没有圣经根据”。但什么叫做“服务大众的社会的团体”，其实是需要界定的。就怜悯慈惠而言，圣经中有耶稣论到好撒玛利亚人的吩咐；就社会公义而言，也有先知对地上国度及其君王的劝诫守望，何况，如何界定“社会福音”和以福音为核心的教会的整全使命，是需要辨析的，也是很多基督徒一直没能理清的。这种典型的基要派国度观和教会观，他们对“三化”异象，是不感兴趣的。事实上，秋雨教会纪念大地震的宗旨和目标，他们在拦阻和威吓面前的坚持，并没有偏离以福音为中心的教会群体实践，而是纯粹出于政教分立原则，持守信仰(良心自由)和敬拜(宗教实践)的自由。联系他们所开展的各项事工，并没有违背圣经的基本要道，更是这个犬儒社会难得的先知式的担当。

批评声中有一些出于真实的畏惧，这可以理解，坦承即可；但用属灵外衣来包装畏惧，以至于攻击那些有担当的人就可悲可憎了。是的，“谁害怕我不害怕呢”，但这并不是身为牧者领袖退缩甚至落井下石的理由，他们会影响众人。每个人都要向主交账，只是交账的时候，也会按照每个基督徒所负的“先知、祭司、君王”的职分，一一验明正身。

教会姊妹问：你认为这种事不关己，高高挂起是佛系还是古墓派？我说，有点古墓派的意思，或者各样都有。比如佛系是随缘随喜，从不预备，淡定得不像活人，满口属灵大词，一切随己心意。恐怕哪天淡定得麻木了，这信仰也行将就木了。

当然，还有很大一部分人，他们的论断是各种因素杂糅的，到底是出于理性反思，还是情绪宣泄，还是道听途说，还是错误的解经，可能连他们自己也说不清，或者不敢说清。因此，这种近乎非理性的信念宣示，在他们愿意虚心聆听意见之前，是缺乏对话基础的。

## 二、在场感：关于两个国度的系统冲突

过往我曾针对社会公义/公益事件中的高派属灵论调，指出那些以信仰的名义制造心智混乱的文章，属于“灵魂维稳”，他们轻轻忽忽地说平安，其实没有平安。譬如某些高级信仰鸡汤，使人在这不公不义不虔不敬的世上仿佛可以躲进“主爱”成一统，而不去理会这片土地上受苦的其他人——那些老幼病弱，那些癌症村，那些良心犯，他们的生命和尊严，跟基督徒有什么相干呢，传福音要紧。此时容我再说：公义和平安彼此相亲；福音当然是解决一切问题的终极钥匙，但，请不要把真理变成一种无力的正确。

作为基督徒，在世俗活动中需要意识到超验维度的存在，这是我们一切欢乐或悲苦的背景和支撑，由此，生活不致成为及时行乐的宗教，与世俗无甚区别而沉沦与共。但这并不拒斥或否定完整人性在尘俗中真实的情感流露。主耶稣说要与喜悦者同笑，与哀哭者同哭，但包括我自己所经历到的，在悲欢离合中有太多过于超然高蹈的淡定，太多一本正经的道理，而极少同悲同喜的共情与陪伴。

去年秋雨教会在纪念改教五百周年的活动中，曾受到一波小范围逼迫，同时冷言冷语飞溅。以下是我当时的评论，可见日光底下无新事——

在哪里最能密集领教人性之乖谬、幽暗，同时又显出救恩之奇妙可畏？在哪里最可密集体验伤心、痛心、恶心、寒心，又能因祂的保守而不至灰心、死心，继而更加生发出热心、清心、爱心？答案是：教会，有形的教会。当然此处的“教会”，必然排除了假教会。说这些既是有感而发，也是为接下来的言辞定调——爱之深而责之切。

在被掳之地，真正让人沮丧甚至恼火的消息，不是被勒令停止聚会，不是神仆被传唤甚至坐牢，不是弟兄姊妹为信仰受苦——反而，我们在焦灼和守候中，常为此感恩。真正让人寒心的，是属灵国度里的明枪暗箭。比如，隔岸观火，明哲保身，为保住聚会和事工，过分向世俗力量妥协，以获取所谓遮盖；比如，随

意论断别的教会和牧者“激进”、“不顺服”、“利用信仰搞政治”，诸如此类。当然，你可以不认同对方的（政治）神学立场或治会模式，你可以反对文化使命，我亦非全然认同那些我所敬重的人，但不说风凉话是底线，何况同为肢体，同为寄居的。从守望事件，到拆十，到活石案，再到一年前《条例》征求意见及至如今，多少得了位分的教牧和属灵领袖不仅自己闭口不言，还批评他人发声，更有甚者，幸灾乐祸于不同“看见”的牧者同工受逼迫。在此本人放胆细究，原因不外有三：一则出于胆怯怕事，便声称“要思念天上的事”；二则“我的国不属这世界”包打天下，从属灵角度视公共领域发声为神学上的不合法；第三种，持实用主义唯结果论，从“反对无效”推导出“说话无用”，以苟活为顺服，宿命意味十足。

可以理解的是，很多内地传统教会，尤其小群（聚会处）背景，一方面末世论持前千主张，另一方面受敬虔主义影响极深，倾向于内在生命建造和内部连结，回避公共性（较封闭），忽略圣约群体在地上的见证。昨日与同工谈及，为什么许多受基督教影响的自由派人士尤其维权律师，长久拒斥进入教会，一个重要原因是华人教会及信徒在公共领域缺乏见证，缺乏现实感和对苦难与不公的感知力，缺乏对共同体命运的担当，这些令人困惑的情形，在他们心中与圣经的教导、教会史上的见证和最基本的良知反应产生剧烈落差、张力。我们当然知道拣选在神，但无法否定的是，无数脱离存在真实况味的“属灵人”，确实拦阻了那些关注公义问题的人们更深去认识基督信仰。

诚然，要警惕变质的“福音”，如成功神学、社会福音（以改良社会为出发点和目的），但也要避免随意论断某个教会或传道人在“搞政治”“传社会福音”。福音的大能彰显在人（个体及群体）身上时，必然烛照周围的黑暗，必然显出与这个世界不同的价值观和生存样式，这正呼应主祷文所祈求的，“愿你的旨意行在地上，如同行在天上”。这是在基督里的生命“自然而然”行出来，也必要彰显的属天形态。从人论角度，这涉及到包括肉身在内的全人；从伦理角度，“爱邻舍”包含了对生存处境的怜恤；从灵性角度，健全的灵性必定不能绕开公义问题，而个体的敬虔、对具体人的关怀与对社会整体公义的关注，应当是同时发生的。如何

关切，属于方法层面，自然可以更多讨论，但习惯投弃权票实非明智，甚至可称为羞耻。

在地如天的基督徒，其信仰愈真实，愈能感受到信仰中的张力。张力的存在是令人痛苦的，却必须承认和直面这种张力极其影响。因为，启示的整全性要求信仰中的个体及群体尽可能地寻找和实现张力中的纯正及平衡。

一方面，彻底消除“此在”世界作为一种法则和秩序的异质性，教会及个体势必过度思念“地上的事”，与这个世界“同流合污”，模糊和误解自身使命及身份，乃至彻底世俗化。在政教层面，可能体现为保守派教会在一个敌挡基督信仰的国家寻求某种提早实现的合法化，过于天真地误判政教关系，或走某种被逐渐证伪的实用主义路线（例如传说中的“温州模式”）。

另一方面，着意强调这种异质性，势必滑向希腊式的二元化世界观和人论，在中国以倪柝声和王明道等前辈为代表。这样一种强调与受审世界分离的神学倾向和属灵传统，确实带来许多个体敬虔的美好见证，却也使得教会在多年的政治冷漠和文化麻木中，逐渐丧失了在地上的“公义与慈爱相亲”的见证。而避世、反智、边缘化的属灵空气，也与作为包括肉身在内的全人的真实处境产生落差，使得个体的人难以弥合信仰生活中的种种撕扯与歧异，意识和言行便在高派属灵与高派肉体两极之间按需切换。由此，创造与救赎、灵性与实存、和平与刀剑、仁爱与公正、丰富与简朴，等等，逐渐走向两套不兼容的范畴，仿佛受两种不相干的律令所引领，而这在根本上动摇了圣经所启示的人观光照下的整全心灵秩序。

### 三、逼迫：对属灵品质的外部检验

*“你莫想在王宫里强过一切犹太人，得免这祸。此时你若闭口不言，犹太人必从别处得解脱，蒙拯救；你和你父家必致灭亡。焉知你得了王后的位分不是为现今的机会吗？”(以斯帖记 4:13-14)*

5月12号当天，成都的众肢体成为一台戏，给天使和世人观看。冉云飞弟兄说：“八点一刻拖着病腿出门，锦江分局、派出所、街道办、民宗局等单位六人把门不让出门。给他们解释了一下福音。顺便拍了一下他们传观我所读书《基督教与民国知识分子》的情形。”还有一对老弟兄姊妹的反应，堪称其中缩影——“我取快递买菜警官陪伴，我给他传福音，请他们到家喝茶吃饭，他想来但一个比他大的警官拒绝了。等会再下去请他们发单张给他们。”一位身在国外的基督徒看到秋雨受逼迫的消息，在脸书上留言说：“今天的我生养在宗教自由的国家说我是名基督徒是很容易，但若我生在世界五大宗教逼迫的国家我还承认、宣告、公开我是主耶稣基督的门徒吗？主啊赦免我这罪人，使用我在世上为福音作见证。主我在这，差我！”

养兵千日，用兵一时。平时喂什么粮食，就长成什么样式。大部分弟兄姊妹（除了有少数初信或由于各种原因信心软弱的）在逼迫面前的状态，可以在一定程度上反映日常教导和门训的成效，也是教会整体属灵品质的检验。平日讲台和牧养是否以福音为中心，从领袖到平信徒是否有随时预备为主受苦的心志和清醒的现实判断力，这是值得在后方代祷守候的人去留意和思考的。

有另一种声音，虽也认同华西区会和秋雨圣约教会的异象，但认为他们过于“强出头”，不够“灵巧如蛇”，更有甚者，因此责怪秋雨扰乱了整个家庭教会与掌权者和谐互谅的氛围。这再次让我想到末底改，这位忠信之人不肯对哈曼下跪，没有在大是大非面前身段柔软，因此不知成为多少同胞恼恨的对象。但正如王怡牧师在《派出所读经札记》中所说，“末底改一人不向哈曼下跪，招致了全族灭绝的报复。不知当时，有多少犹太同胞，会吐唾沫把他淹死，戳脊梁把他戳死。这也与今日类似。危机来自不向哈曼下跪（叫你不要聚会你偏要聚会）。在某个意义上，末底改是自寻危机，自找威胁。在不信之人看来，这简直就是一种信仰上的‘碰瓷’行为。然而，恰恰是这种‘宁为玉碎’的忠信，同时带来了危机，也同时带来了胜利。”

你如何想象，一个自认敬虔爱主的人，在这个无神论国家竟然活得四平八稳、岁月静好。你又如何想象，一个宣称持守真道的教会，在抵挡真信仰的政策法规底下，竟然感到自由无碍，与周遭打成一片以致无法分辨。基督徒绝不是主动“找茬”，不是“自讨苦吃”，但在这不虔不义的世代，活出真道就意味着搅乱天下，不是以刀剑的方式，而是以背负十架的方式。这才是“在地却不属地”的正确打开方式，是暂时国度碰到永恒国度的必然火花。这是作门徒的代价，也是作门徒的实质。

从目前陆续发布的声明和相关法律行动简讯来看，秋雨教会将针对 5.12 事件采取一系列维权措施，声明提到，“教会的职责和使命，就是以一切和平的方式，向全社会传扬这恩惠的福音。这其中，包括了法律手段的使用。就如耶稣及保罗，都曾使用罗马的法律，在被迫害和被审判中提出抗辩。”

这些年对包括秋雨圣约在内的国内教会（区会）的观察，促使我思考如何才能应对当下环境的“应有姿态”。一方面，持定基要真理和信仰核心的前提下，应对（潜在的）逼迫并没有“规定动作”，各人各教会在基督里有良心自由，可以也必然会有基于理性考量的不同应对策略。而如何评价这些不同的应对策略，恐怕需要从动机和立足点加以检视——是以福音恩典驱动，还是惧怕和私意驱动；是在圣经启示的整全教会观光照下，还是在削弱教会观的前提下；是出于对形势清晰全面的洞察，还是碎片化的想当然的判断。这方面的讨论，请参考高真和王怡两位牧者的座谈（文末附链接），此处不赘。另一方面，我们不得不从实际效应来思考基督徒及圣徒群体在这地上的见证。

诚然，主权在主，恩典就是超出预想可能随时临到的，要在极其不配的人身上显出祂的大能，因此不能囿于理性的框定，但那很大程度属于上帝隐藏的旨意，我们当首先寻求并认识那显明的旨意。个人和群体成长的不同阶段，上帝有不同的带领，因此需有忍耐等候的心；与此同时，当一个群体中大部分都是属灵婴孩或属灵消费者的情况下，无疑很难为主作见证，也就难免从属灵争战的“正面战场”排除，维持地下游击队式的生存样态。当一个人在真理和灵性上都疏于操练



和预备，甚至在信仰的事上精于算计、维持下限，便只能当一个看台基督徒，无份于那得胜的荣耀。由是观之，除了那些妥协于世俗权柄及其价值观的，相当一部分教会和信徒因长期隐藏而惯于安舒，以致到了无仗可打、无祭可献的地步，不能不让人心忧。

从另一个角度，假如把教会气质分为西式古典阳刚与中式隐忍阴柔，那么毫无疑问，秋雨圣约长老教会倾向于前者，虽然他们当中“文艺型”基督徒不少。

一种带有“骑士”气质的圣约群体，在外部环境愈发趋于逼仄恶劣的情况下，会愈加显出担当意识，并生发出强烈的对灵魂的爱，甚至有牺牲精神在他们当中涌动，以舍己换取众人的安全。被这种属灵氛围所塑造的人，是不屑于春秋曲笔式的中国式生存智慧的。而那些倾向于蜿蜒匍匐伺机而动的信徒群体，潜意识里更多承袭了东方千百年来实用为主的处世哲学，以结果为导向，强调“小不忍则乱大谋”，保住基本盘胜过道义担当（确实也有一定程度和范围的担当），其优点在于提防血气冲动和自义的英雄感，并在一定程度上保护了那些软弱无力的成员；然而其被动的角色，自动边缘化的格局，能否在风暴中站稳亦未可知，更遑论成为中流砥柱。

从实际层面，对两者我都给予理解，但若问谁更令人钦佩，或可说，在一个处处皆隐喻的世代，直言不讳是更为艰难的。在众声阿谀、众善止息的地方，能够大声喊出皇帝没穿衣服的那个人，是更值得尊敬和效法的。

#### 四、处境与位份：引申思考

##### 1.秋雨圣约路线对转型中的家庭教会的启迪

对转型中的家庭教会带领者来说，一些问题恐怕已是摆在眼前的考验。在《新条例》下，尤其刚刚过去且正在进行的 512 教案的背景下，是否还要坚持公开化

的异象？是否还有必要建制转型？若要坚持，代价几何？容我说，虽然上帝有时允许人犹疑踟躅，但假如公开化与建制化真是从上主领受的异象和呼召，那么领命却不执行的人，就有祸了。

同时，不得不承认现实的骨感。就本人在传统家庭教会和乡村教会的观察体验，在个体和群体信仰的各层面，基要主义的影响不可谓不深入骨髓。城市中受过高等教育的中产人群，对自身及教会在这个世代的身份定位和使命观，也仍然不够清晰笃定，仍持偏安一隅、实用主义、躲进教会舒适区的态度。其社会性的原因，可能涉及在官方意识形态和经济大环境下身份及财富的不安全感；其背后的神学脉络，可以追溯到敬虔主义、弟兄会等的影响，包括外国差会的神学背景导致的传统或传承。或许在这样的城市文化和教会气质之下，教会在真正意义上的建制公开，对习惯了内收型信仰的中国基督徒而言异常艰难，面临的挑战也令有志于推动教会转型者担忧甚至常感孤单。

在这个意义上，我曾经高度怀疑城市新兴教会在一城一方的影响力的社会学研究进路，是否仅仅来自北京和成都的孤本，对改革宗神学在内地更广阔范围尤其三四线城市的落地生长，亦持谨慎乐观态度——针对中国传统社会和中国人的心灵秩序，虽是良药，却也面临虚不受补的窘境。

我的保留，很大程度上是来自对国内“改革宗神学复兴”这一命题的审慎。改革宗教会或受改革宗神学影响的弟兄姊妹，愿意关注社会和文化，愿意积极在公共平台发声，因此可能造成观察者对复兴的某种过度乐观。但也愈发明显地看到，上帝在国内家庭教会的带领，使用一批结合了改革宗神学与十字架道路的教会，在现今世代成为众教会的“样板房”。在这批样板房中，秋雨圣约教会确实具有独特的研究和借鉴价值。

## 2. 教会在中国社会的本分与职责

“人子啊，我照样立你作以色列家守望的人。所以你要听我口中的话，替我警戒他们。我对恶人说：‘恶人哪，你必要死！’你—以西结若不开口警戒恶人，使他离开所行的道，这恶人必死在罪孽之中，我却要向你讨他丧命的罪（原文是血）。倘若你警戒恶人转离所行的道，他仍不转离，他必死在罪孽之中，你却救自己脱离了罪。”(以西结书 33:7-9)

根据 2014 年底公布的数据，全球在建的购物中心面积中，成都排名世界第二。这是一个意味深长的信息。看看太古里的奢侈品店，以及纷纷落户的各大品牌旗舰店，作为名副其实的不夜城和享乐之城，成都在消费主义和国际化的道路上飞驰，独领西部风骚。曾设想，汶川地震后，加上近年频发的雾霾，自古偏安一隅的蜀地人民会惊觉生之短促宝贵，不说追寻灵魂归属，至少转向某种更质朴务实的生活方式，但情况似乎有所出入，或者说要复杂得多。

十年前一场强震，很多人越发秉持“及时行乐”的信条：既然未来并不能给予一个确切的应许，那就杯酒人生，得意尽欢，生命必须在看得见的情况下被挥霍殆尽。其实何止“天府之国”，整个天朝都伏在名为“安逸”“成功”“虚无”的毒瘴之下，以至于世俗成功学和成功神学大行其道，甚至将不少所谓信徒再次掳回埃及。令人回味的是，蜀地的享乐至上与多灾多难，象是这个暂时的、必朽的地上国度的缩影；而被置于其中的圣约子民，则因着拥有那个永恒的、不朽坏的天上国度的印记，而愈加被彰显出来。在中国，不少类似这样城市新兴教会在艰难中生长、茁壮，并开始成为城中之光，但整个社会大趋势恐怕并不令人轻松，在极权与虚无的双重夹击下，教会群体性的见证，相比北美大复兴时期和韩国的情形，实在过于微弱。

这些思考，借用雷蒙·阿隆的表述，来自一个“介入的观察者”的痛感。教会是社会的道德力量所在，但不能脱离社会独善其身。讽刺的是，今日中国，一边是被政治化而与权力苟且的三自体系，另一边，多少教会避谈政治，视政治为极不属灵之事。普通信徒及牧者对地上事务抱持希腊式的超然态度，悠游于恶制，回避共同体苦难的肇端，甚至对兄弟教会的遭遇冷嘲热讽唯恐避之不及，与此同时

却无力回应文化和现实政治的重重挑战，凡此种种，不啻为本国教会史最可悲哀之景象。

还是那个“老问题”：上帝之城与地上之城的张力如何平衡？如何活在超越与临在、已然与未然的张力中又保持门徒本色？种种问题并不容易化解，需要寻求更完备的政治神学和更具对话性的公共神学，一刀切的简化处理或看似深沉实则混淆的忧虑皆不得要领。对此，沃格林的告诫堪称醒脑针，他说，做一个基督徒不能免除其做人的职责，基督不是“某个特定利益俱乐部的主任”，此话对当下仍深具启发。他批评德国教会和德国人被一种很奇怪的张力扭曲了他们的神学，于是“教会成员的身份被误解为一种相对于其他人的特殊地位，就好像其他人是不属于人类似的”，由此“在作为一个机构的教会和作为阿奎纳意义上的神秘身体（*corpus mysticum*）的教会之间”存在隔离的倾向。具有讽刺意味的是，沃格林对纳粹时期德国人的批判警示，放在中国，恐怕要糟糕十倍不止——“由于主导着这个国家的可悲的思想和哲学水平，这是一个特别危险的张力。”（《希特勒与德国人》）

现状如同历史重演：受基要主义影响的本土教会，对当言之事日趋缄默，仿佛如此便能保住福音的内核不受社会政治议题影响，仿佛如此就“分别为圣”了。的确，基要派对道德伦理极为敏感，他们关注个体的得救和圣洁，但这几乎仅限于个体性，至于社群层面的，系统性的罪恶，他们似乎完全视而不见或避而不谈。正如卡尔·亨利所言，这群人关注救赎，却成了“现代的祭司和利未人，对受苦的人绕道而行”（《现代基要主义不安的良心》，参：路加福音 10:25-37），对于个人的圣洁和道德要求，卡尔·亨利一针见血地指出，有个问题一直存在且被基要派回避：一个人可否在长期漠视社会公义和国际秩序中的种种问题，却仍可以发展出健全的个人伦理？

教会，应当是站在国家族群伤口上的医者，是守住社会裂痕与道德源头的先知，应当是即便在帝国的威逼利诱下，依然坚持政教分立，为这城求平安的祭司，

并以诸般和平而合乎上帝律法的方式，使基督福音的真理彰显在这地。德国和苏联教会前车可鉴，中国教会当警钟长鸣。

## 五、复兴：火热与冷静并行

*祷告完了，聚会的地方震动，他们就都被圣灵充满，放胆讲论神的道。(使徒行传 4:31)*

震后十年，一场未遂的祷告聚会，使合城再次震动。因对这祷告会的抓捕，从山乡僻壤到洋海之滨，再度为之共振。那天深夜，我写下这番感言：

主啊，是否华人教会山头太多，自义太多，安逸太久，分崩太久，只有在逼迫中才能奋兴合一？主没有明确回答，我亦不知前路怎样，但经此一役，亲见身边肢体被激励，亲见同工为主异象抛开歧见、彼此悔改劝勉……昨夜查经，分享路加福音，说到帝国的逼迫与福音的大能，说到患难中的恩典和使徒的见证，随后便发生秋雨教案。今夜十点千万人祷告过后，各群近乎列队感叹主恩奇妙。明天主日，我们也将特别举行国度性祷告聚会，愿与受苦的教会同守望，愿点燃秋雨的灵火点燃更多的生命。主啊，这是要带领我们快跑跟随你吧，从道说到道路的转换，原是在这诸般泪水和喜笑中渐次展开……

在此前后，无论是个人生命中还是教会群体中，我都愈发清晰地看见上帝的带领，这是对疲惫软弱之人的莫大恩慈。然而灵里的火热离不开头脑的冷静，并非所有外显的痕迹都会最终转化为内在恒久的质地，正如逼迫是外在看得见的检验，更难的是内在生命的检验。上主在我们生命中的打磨、破碎、拆毁、重建，仍在继续。正如江登兴弟兄所言，众教会值得一起警醒，过红海、云柱火柱的同在，是容易的，旷野中的漫长艰辛的磨练历程是更难的。“在经历救赎的恩典上，外在可见的得胜是一方面，内在的像基督，有他的谦卑、柔和、圣洁、爱的情操是更重要的一方面。”诚哉斯言。

对此，我试着总结如下几点，与众同工和肢体共勉——

- 1.为异象和呼召而尽心竭力，不消灭圣灵的感动，不受杂音的搅扰，寻求与上帝更亲密的关系。
- 2.保持前行中头脑的清醒，不被表象所蒙蔽，不追求一时肤浅的奋兴。
- 3.寻求拨云见月的属灵洞察和长远考量，牢记以色列人在旷野的教训。
- 4.即使在挫折与低谷中仍要忍耐等候上帝的作为，并尽到本分；祂时有隐藏，却从不缺席。

未来形势不甚明朗，在政教关系上，各教会面临的考验还会更大，愿当预备的人都预备好自己，常常儆醒。感谢主在祂的子民中所行的大事，因着他们的见证挑旺我们。愿更多圣徒与精兵被兴起，照亮神州的昏昧，催逼中国教会走上这条十字架的道路，开启一场真正的属灵大复兴。

*神能照着运行在我们心里的大力充充足足地成就一切，超过我们所求所想的。但愿他在教会中，并在基督耶稣里，得着荣耀，直到世世代代，永永远远。阿们！(以弗所书 3:20-21)*

2018.5.16

## Presbyterianism and Social Change in Urban China (薛永光)

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## **Presbyterianism and Social Change in Urban China**

Yongguang Xue

### **Abstract**

Based on a qualitative study on the new development of Presbyterianism in China, this thesis explores the urban and rational side of Chinese Christianity, so as to open an empirical window on meso-level social change in urban China. From an empirical perspective, although the organizational form of the Presbyterian Church in China and its scope are still in the fledging stage, the discursive practices and the institutional and coalition building of Chinese Presbyterians fit into the profile of a social movement. This preliminary data collected so far examines the emerging Protestant elites and their role in the precarious civil society of today's China. On the normative side, these Chinese Presbyterians articulate a strong political theology that blends the Anabaptist and the reformed theologies. In addition, the institutional and the missional tension of this movement is also under examination. In the end, this project is an experiment that tests the commensurability between theology and social sciences, especially the viability of theologically engaged ethnography.



## Presbyterianism and Social Change in Urban China Introduction

If as Richard Madsen has argued that various forms of fundamentalist and, especially, Pentecostal Christianity have become the dominant forms of Protestantism in China,<sup>1</sup> the development of the Calvinist and Reformed wing of China's urban registered churches represents a new trend in Chinese Christianity.<sup>2</sup> In fact, in recent years a nascent network of urban unregistered churches has adopted a denominational identity and structure. Interestingly, as Brent Fulton has observed, "the strongest denominational advocates to date have been those church leaders in China who subscribe to the Reformed tradition."<sup>3</sup> Ian Johnson has provided an account of how a handful of churches in Chengdu, West China, became reformed and Presbyterian. According to Johnson, the ecstatic appeal of charismatic Christianity faded as Protestantism in China became more urbanized. Christian urbanites, Johnson argues, wanted some standards and structures for congregational life. Calvinism has provided the movement with a holistic worldview, plausible enough to replace the Communist ideology. Puritanism, on the other hand, has

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<sup>1</sup> See Richard Madsen, "Signs and Wonders: Christianity and Hybrid Modernity in China," in *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-cultural Perspectives*, ed. Francis Khek Gee Lim (New York: Routledge, 2013), 29. Both the "fundamentalist" and the "Pentecostal" are contested categories, depending on their context of usage; however, both terms would be valid if they mean that Chinese Christianity is characterized by strong Biblicism and supernaturalism. Moreover, even though studies on these forms of Chinese Christianity dominate current sociological and anthropological scholarship, it can be argued whether these are indeed the dominant forms of Chinese Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> The unregistered church, also known as the underground church or the house church, refers to Protestant churches that exist outside the state-approved Three-self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) which seeks to co-opt Protestant clergies and believers into the national building project of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

<sup>3</sup> Brent Fulton, *China's Urban Christians: A Light that Cannot be Hidden* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015), 122.

provided the framework guiding their political actions.<sup>4</sup>

However, the development of Chinese Presbyterianism is not merely an isolated case of rationalization and urbanization.<sup>5</sup> Since 2013, several urban churches in Chengdu have been taking the lead in the rapid development of Presbyterianism in China. Among the movement's decisive actions was the formation of the Western China Presbytery (WCP)—the first organizationally fully-fledged presbytery in China—as well as the creation of Christian day schools, a seminary, and a liberal arts college.<sup>6</sup> All these actions are intentionally defiant of the Chinese Communist Party. The Western China Presbytery has also been assisting churches in six other urban centers with the aim of establishing Presbyterianism. These steps culminated in the formation of the preparatory national assembly of the Presbyterian Church in China (PCC), which had its first meeting in July 2017.

Such rapid pace of institutional development and coalition building defies simple explanation. This paper seeks to explain the development of the PCC on both institutional

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<sup>4</sup> See Ian Johnson, *The Souls of China: The Return of Religion After Mao* (New York: Pantheon, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> PCC stands out in its level of organization and range of affiliation among the various forms of Presbyterianism in China. The only other formally organized Presbyterian church in China is the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA). Directly planted by RPCNA, it adopts the practices and structures of RPCNA wholesale, such as singing Psalms without instruments, and having a synod instead of a general assembly as the supreme governing body. The other types of Presbyterianism in China are either too loosely connected or led by one authoritarian figure rather than a multiplicity of presbyters. PCC pastors tend to think some more authoritarian Presbyterians as more fundamentalist, while the latter would think them as not truly reformed.

<sup>6</sup> Western China Theological Seminary boasts an overall enrollment over 300. According to a most recent brochure, Western China Covenant College has an overall enrollment of 208, including 26 graduate students, 20 in their teachers' education program, 150 in the certificate program, 12 undergraduate students, with 3 full-time faculty, 30 adjunct faculty, and 4 full-time

staff. Tuition income only supplies a third of the operating cost, with the remainder expected to come from donation of individuals and Presbyterian churches across China and around the world.

and social movement levels drawing on insights from Bourdieusian field theory and strategic action fields (SAFs) theory. Accordingly, the objective of this paper is two-fold: to provide empirical data on this new area of research and to help advance field theories. This paper is organized as such. It begins with an overview of the historical background of the PCC, followed by a section on methodological and theoretical considerations. It then applies some concepts developed from Bourdieusian field theory to discuss the subjective elements of the PCC as a social movement. The next section addresses the role of the overarching state in the institutional configuration and social movement dynamics of the PCC. The following section applies a modified version of the “incumbent- challenger” model to argue that the PCC challenges existing form of urban house church and alternative Christian education on doxical and organizational levels to contend for moral authority rather than any privileged position or practical advantage. The last section provides a theological critique of this movement in light of the missional church conversation. Hopefully, the data and analysis in this paper will provide an empirical window on social change at the meso-level in urban China and a case of theologically engaged anthropology.

### **Historical Background of the PCC**

While PCC advocates often evoke the history of Presbyterian missions to China, in reality the recent development of Presbyterianism has no connection to previous missionary activity in the country. However, the recent surge of Presbyterianism in China could not have taken place in the absence of a transnational network of Chinese Calvinists. Moreover, in order to better understand this religious trend, it is necessary to

keep in mind the difference between what is global and what is transnational. According to Michael Peter Smith, the distinction between transnational and global dynamics cannot be found exclusively in differences of scope, scale, or “reach.” Rather, the divide is to be located in key assumptions “about the role of the state in the production of meaning, identity and social outcomes.”<sup>7</sup> As will be seen in this paper, the state has an important role in the transnational reconfiguration of Presbyterianism.

The appeal of reformed theology is one of the most common reasons that those participating in this study cite for joining the PCC. Since the late 1990s, access to the internet, printing, and media duplication technologies have become common in China. Indeed, some responders admitted they played a crucial role in the dissemination of reformed theology. In particular, this is one of the ways in which “pirated” recordings of sermons by the Indonesian preacher Stephen Tong (1940–), as well as translations of reformed books by Charles Chao (1916–2010) have circulated in the country.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the prior spread of reformed theology was instrumental for the development of the PCC. Nevertheless, this paper seeks to draw a picture of new Chinese Presbyterianism without dipping into the finer points of reformed theology. Instead, the argument presented here pursues a vision that does not “consider theology as a practice in the abstract but asks what sort of different institutions are sites for the production of theology

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<sup>7</sup> Michael Peter Smith, *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 3.

<sup>8</sup> Both Tong and Chao have strong connection to Westminster Theology Seminary in Philadelphia.

Tong and Chao were very deliberate in correcting the anti-intellectual (theological) bias of Chinese churches world-wide, Tong through his preaching, Chao through his translation work. Both happily “endorse” the pirating of their sermons and translation works in China.

and further ask what effects funding, communication technologies, and nodes of intellectual and material redistribution have.”<sup>9</sup> Tracing these dynamics is especially important given the Chinese government’s restriction on legally printing and distributing theological materials.

The rise of reformed theology has largely occurred “in urban locations with many intellectuals of international background.”<sup>10</sup> Wang Yi, a former writer, college teacher, public intellectual, and human rights lawyer, currently serves as the senior pastor of Early Rain Reformed Church. He has played a critical role as the main architect of the PCC. He has shaped the denomination by translating and revising Presbyterian polity documents. Wang Yi came under the influence of the reformed movement after reading publications by Stephen Tong and Charles Chao on a trip to Taiwan in 2005. He also studied reformed theology and church order by researching books online. According to Wang Yi, the PCC constitution and by-laws were mainly based on the Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), with additional stipulations adapted from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC), the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. In my interview with him on October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, he said that “you can become a Reformed Presbyterian by reading some online articles and free books, but you cannot become a Charismatic Christian in the same way.”

Although Tong and Chao are the precursors of those who claim the reformed

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<sup>9</sup> See Jon Bialecki, “Anthropology, Theology, and the Problem of Incommensurability” in *Anthropology, Theology, and the Challenge of Immanence*, ed. J. Derrick Lemons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in press).

<sup>10</sup> China Source China Advisory Group, telephone conversation, September 5, 2017.

tradition in China, promoting Presbyterianism in China was never on their agenda.<sup>11</sup> A younger generation of Chinese American pastors were also instrumental in the development of the PCC.<sup>12</sup> Most of them received their theological training from reformed evangelical seminaries in the US. Moreover, some have pastored Chinese PCA churches. Greater access to theological education is an important outgrowth of this process. In fact, several seminaries have been created with the support of several Chinese PCA churches. For example, True Word Training Center has been a gathering place for many of these reformed pastors and theological educators.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, many Chinese American theological educators affiliated with this training center have more recently been denied visas to enter mainland China. A couple of pastors from the OPC, another American evangelical Presbyterian denomination, are also very involved in the spread of Presbyterianism in China. For example, Luke P. Y. Lu, a more doctrinaire and militant Presbyterian pastor, has tried to promote “biblical Presbyterianism” as opposed to what he calls “arbitrary forms of Presbyterianism.”<sup>14</sup> His hardline approach has

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<sup>11</sup> In fact, Tong’s network of reformed churches, called the Reformed Evangelical Church is not Presbyterian and intentionally restrains from setting the office of an elder.

<sup>12</sup> Chloë Starr, in her textual study of the urban house-church movement, also notes the interconnectedness of house church leaders like Wang Yi with overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese churches. See Chloë Starr, *Chinese Theology Text and Context* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016),

264. However, the data presented in this section is mainly based on oral history interviews the author conducted since July 2017. Real names are used unless the interviewee request anonymity or pseudonyms.

<sup>13</sup> The person in charge of this seminary said in a conference in Hong Kong during September 12-15, 2017 that twenty-eight ordained pastors of four major Presbyterian denominations in China are graduates of this seminary.

<sup>14</sup> See Luke P. Y. Lu, “Why Chinese Churches Need Biblical Presbyterianism,” in *China’s Reforming Churches: Mission, Polity, and Ministry in the Next Christendom*, ed. Bruce P. Baugus (Grand Rapids; MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014).

increasingly alienated himself from the PCC network. Another OPC pastor, Pastor Jiang (pseudonym) is more winsome in his approach to spreading Presbyterianism in China. He has written two books on Presbyterian church government as well as on the ordination process. These books have circulated widely in China. As the chairman of the PCC examination committee, he has also been deeply involved in the ordination of many PCC pastors across the country.

The growth of the PCC to a national movement was somewhat fortuitous. Chengdu Early Rain Reformed Church (previously called Early Rain Fellowship) formally organized itself in 2009 as a stand-alone primordially Presbyterian church, electing elders and deacons and establishing a membership system. The first fully organized presbytery came into existence in Chengdu in 2013, initially having three member churches. Chengdu style Presbyterianism would remain local if it were not for the Grace to City network. Modeling itself after Redeemer City to City, Grace to City is a ministry that promotes gospel renewal and church planting among China's urban churches.<sup>15</sup> In 2010, China Partnership, a mission agency closely associated with the PCA, sponsored some Chinese pastors to visit Redeemer Presbyterian Church in New York City.<sup>16</sup> In 2012, it gave birth to Grace to City. The majority of the over 400 urban churches in its network are theologically reformed and the current board of trustees is

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<sup>15</sup> Redeemer City to City is the ministry of high-profile PCA pastor Timothy Keller who has pastored Redeemer Presbyterian Church New York city for almost 30 years. This ministry emphasizes church planting in global cities and the renewing power of the Christian gospel.

<sup>16</sup> The high publicity of the successful ministry of Redeemer, a PCA church in a global city, fuels the imagination of many PCC pastors and leaves the impression that Presbyterianism represents the best of the reformed movement.



made up exclusively of Presbyterian pastors. Grace to City facilitated networking among PCC churches and it played a crucial role in the coordination of the PCC's preparatory national assembly.

The PCC, like the PCA and Grace to City, promotes urban church planting.

Before the formation of the Western China Presbytery (WCP), these Chengdu unregistered churches supported missions through a local coalition of evangelical churches, but since they formed the presbytery, urban church planting became their sole focus. Chengdu Presbyterians explicitly trace their urban church planting focus to the influence of Redeemer. Not surprisingly, assisting churches in other urban centers to establish Presbyterianism has become a high priority on their agenda. Interestingly, with the exception of WCP, all the other six provisional Presbyteries are spread across east China. Some of them have a longer house church tradition and a more globalized condition than WCP.<sup>17</sup>

### **Methodological Considerations**

The data for this study has been gathered over a period of four months (July to October 2017). A variety of methods have been used in data collection, which mainly involved oral history interviews and semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted either online or in person (with 36 transcribed and analyzed). The data have also been supplemented by itinerant fieldwork including participant observation in congregations

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<sup>17</sup> Unregistered churches are also called house churches because they used to meet secretly in private homes, thus deriving their name "house churches." However, the name "house churches" has become somewhat misleading. It is said that today over half of the urban registered churches meet in public or semi-public places such as office building instead of private homes. This name is still significant, as it distinguishes from the state-registered churches referenced in footnote 2.

and conferences, ethnographic interviews, and analysis of written sources. The research obtained IRB approval from Boston University. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality, unless permission was granted to disclose identifiable information. With the exception of Chengdu, all other cities in which interviews and fieldwork were conducted are identified by geographical proximity instead of actual names. The decision not to disclose this and other information is predicated upon security concerns and the sensitivity of religious issues in mainland China.

The new development of Presbyterianism in China has caught my attention because I did a literature review on globalization and transnationalism, especially as it relates to the transnational turn of Chinese Christianity. Specifically, I wanted to find out how Chinese Christianity is embedded in the transnational process and how this embeddedness bears on the identity formation of Chinese Christians and their sense of agency. While looking for a case, I zoomed in on the transnational reconfiguration of Presbyterianism. Regardless of one's theoretical orientation or methodological choice, casing is unavoidable in conducting empirical research, because it belongs to the basics of any research design, and forbids an ethnographer to get the fullest data on a substantive area without well-defined purpose for sampling. According to Charles C. Ragin, "a case may be theoretical or empirical or both; it may be a relatively bounded object or a process; and it may be generic and universal or specific in some way."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Charles C. Ragin, "Introduction: Cases of 'What is a case?'" in *What is a Case: Exploring the foundations of social inquiry*, ed. Charles C. Ragin & Howard S. Becker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.

establishing a frame of reference, the construction and boundaries of cases are always theory-dependent: any qualitative research first tries to answer the question of “what is the study a case of?” Typically, one’s particular way of casing determines the breadth and width of a fieldworker’s theoretical sampling. The sampling process for this project has been guided by the Grounded Theory (GT) approach. GT, though treats the case as something generated in the field, samples data for theoretical relevance, with or without a preconceived research design.<sup>19</sup>

I have identified a substantive area by reading published and on-line information on this growing phenomenon. I started sampling by doing semi-structured in-depth interviews and oral history interviews to learn broadly about the new development of Presbyterianism in China. My preconceived casing takes the PCC as a case of globalization. However, after eight interviews, the most salient data from my preliminary sampling did not indicate transnational processes and networks as the driving force behind the PCC. Instead, the data pointed to cultural changes within these urban registered churches as well as broader social change in Chinese society. Therefore, I looked into the literature in that field. I started sampling on the periphery of the PCC, because at that point I did not have access to Western China Presbytery. Yet, gathering data from the periphery of a movement allowed me to see actions on the ground. Not only did I interview advocates of the PCC, but in some cases reluctant followers and outspoken critics. The data began to saturate after I had done over twenty interviews.

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<sup>19</sup> Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New Brunswick, NJ: Routledge, 1999), 58.

Later during September and October 2017, I was able to conduct some itinerant fieldwork in congregations and conferences in the PCC network to situate and clarify the interview data in actual settings. Besides Chengdu in the west, my fieldwork took place in other locations including a northern city, an eastern city, and a southern city within China. I also did fieldwork in Hong Kong and the US, where I attended three conferences where Chinese Presbyterians gathered. Although geographical spread is not as essential to field theories as social diffusion, sampling interviewees and selecting field sites in light of the geographical spread of PCC helps map Presbyterianism as well as broader social change in urban China.

### Literature Review

Philip Gorski and various contributors in a volume on Bourdieu have demonstrated that that studying social change from a Bourdieusian perspective is both possible and fruitful.<sup>20</sup> In fact, theorizing in both Bourdieusian field theory and strategic action fields (SAFs) theory take into account both the objective (groups, hierarchies, institutions) and subjective elements (norms, values, identity) in the genesis and development of a given field or several interconnected fields, especially on meso-level social orders.

Fligstein and McAdam define SAFs this way:

A strategic action field is a meso-level social order where actors (who can be individual or collective) interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purposes of the field, the relationships in the field (including who has power and why), and the field's rules.

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<sup>20</sup> Philip S. Gorski, ed., *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

In fact, there is great theoretical affinity between the Bourdieusian and SAFs field theories. However, in contrast to Bourdieusian field theory, SAFs theory takes into account collective actors as well as individual actors.<sup>21</sup> SAFs also pay attention to how one particular field interact with larger political, social, and economic fields. In this way, SAFs look similar to Russian matryoshka dolls: “open up an SAF and it contains a number of other SAFs.”<sup>22</sup> Problematizing the exclusively “challenger-incumbent model” of SAFs theory advanced by Fligstein and McAdam, Goldstone and Useem emphasize the difference between actors of various fields and the importance of norms and values, so that SAFs could include “purposive actors, organized groups, and their competition and multiple interactions under condition of hierarchy and overarching states.”<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, in light of field theories in the Bourdieusian tradition and SAFs, perceiving the fledgling PCC as emerging field could bridge its institutional and social movement aspects, as well as the role of the state and other interconnected fields in its formation and development. Later analysis in this paper will apply several concepts from Gorski’s advance of Bourdieusian field theory and SAFs theory for analytical framing. The theoretical objective of this paper is to bridge the gap between institutional and social movement literatures through hybrid theorizing.

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<sup>21</sup> However, later in the paper, you can see Gorski’s advancement of field theory in the Bourdieusian tradition is not necessarily individualistic, but covers collective actors as well.

<sup>22</sup> Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, “Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields,”

*Sociological Theory* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2011): 1-26, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Jack A. Goldstone and Bert Useem, “Putting Values and Institutions Back into the Theory of Strategic Action Fields,” *Sociological Theory* 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 37–47, 46. However, Fligstein and McAdam have not failed to see the different dynamics between fields, as Goldstone and Useem have pointed out. Therefore, Goldstone and Useem's contention against them is not entirely valid.

## Sociodices and Mythologies in an Emerging Religious Field

Theorizing on the emergence of a new field, Philip Gorski calls attention to the articulation of a new discourse of “ultimate value.” According to Gorski, a discourse of ultimate value is “a discourse which asserts that some family or social practices is not only inherently and relatively valuable, but also ultimately more valuable than all others, so that it can potentially provide an *ultima ratio* for individual and collective life.”<sup>24</sup> He further categorizes such discourses into two basic forms: the sociodices and the mythologies. By sociodices, Gorski means “systematic and explicit theories about the general conditions of social order and the essential character of human flourishing, be it neoclassical economics, evangelical Christian theology or the Hindu caste system.”<sup>25</sup> Organizationally speaking, only WCP is a fully-fledged Presbytery, with a handful of particular churches formed according to strict Presbyterian polity.<sup>26</sup> All the other PCC churches are at the preparatory and provisional stage until fully establishing Presbyterian governance. However, the republican ideal embodied in the PCC church government is both controversial and attractive among urban unregistered churches across China.

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<sup>24</sup> See Philip Gorski, “Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods” in *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis*, ed. Philip Gorski (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 334.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> According to Presbyterian polity, each congregation must have at least three elders to become a particular church, regardless of the number of congregants. The Presbyterian church government entails the multiplicity of elders on congregational, regional, national, and even international levels. Therefore, the church governance model adopted by PCC consists of sessions, presbyteries, and general assembly on congregational, regional, and national scales. With equal authority, ruling elders and teaching elders (pastors) divided their responsibilities on the congregational level, representing their church on the regional level in the presbytery. However, only teaching elders participate in the general assembly on the national level.

According to a 2011 interview, Wang Yi attributed the high publicity of Protestantism in China to the fact that its leaders are intellectuals who hold the “microphone” in the public sphere.<sup>27</sup> Elites and clearly articulated ideological discourses of “ultimate value” mark the emergence of a new field. In the words of Gorski, “a field exists if, and to the degree that, it has an autonomous elite and an autonomous logic.”<sup>28</sup>

Presbyterianism epitomizes a republican ideal for PCC advocates. An authority structure based on plurality and hierarchy, according to my informants, would provide accountability so as to prevent strongman leadership and apostasy. Against the patriarchal and authoritarian leadership structure of traditional unregistered churches, the multiplicity of elders could be corrective to strongman leadership. On the other hand, a clearly defined authority structure based on demanding ordination processes offers a corrective to populism, represented by the loose congregational structure and lax church discipline of most urban unregistered churches. However, the new discourse of “ultimate value” does not remain on the ecclesial level. Despite the current minority status of Presbyterianism, some well-known PCC pastors believe it could potentially provide a model for the Chinese state and the broader society. PCC’s major critique against the state is its lack of rule of law, the source of injustice. The year before the formation of WCP, a Chengdu pastor interviewed by Johnson stated that: “For the party, laws were tools to rule the country, not a framework for guiding society or for conferring rights on

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<sup>27</sup> See Yu Jie 余杰, *萬縷神恩眷此生* [*Abundant Grace into My Life*] (Taipei: Christian Arts Press, 2011).

<sup>28</sup> Gorski, “Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods,” 329.

citizens. This was one of the stumbling blocks for political reform in China: Some people were above the law. Laws and rights were not God given; they were created by the Communist Party. But here, in these Reformed churches, was an effort to create something based on higher loyalties.”<sup>29</sup> In this sense, republicanism and rule of law function as the sociodices in the PCC as an emerging field.

In terms of hierarchical and doxical relations, the figure below shows the shape of PCC as an emerging field with other interconnected fields, such as the Party-state and the mainstream unregistered churches in China:

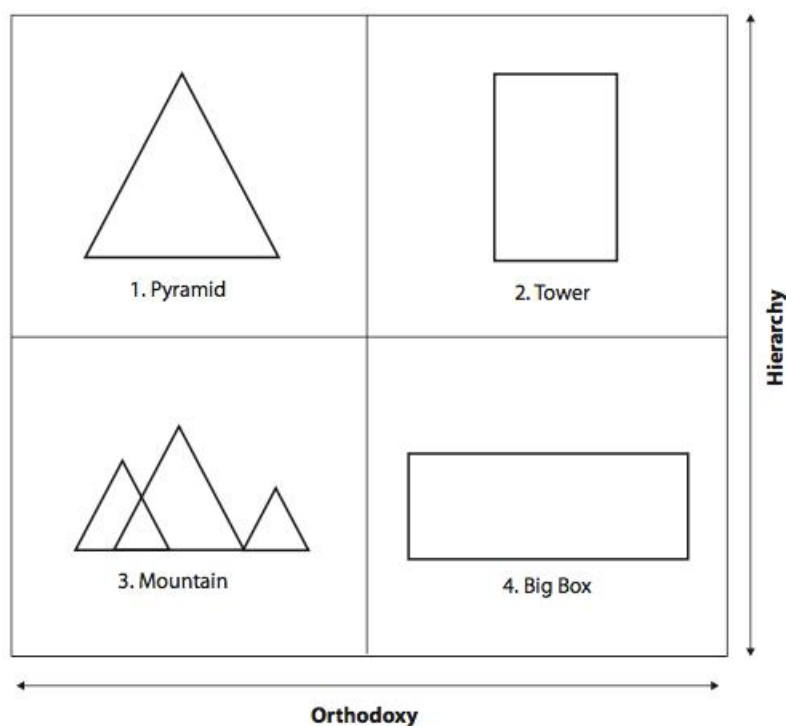


Figure 1. Field types<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Johnson, *The Souls of China*, Kindle Locations 4894-4897.

<sup>30</sup> The figure is reproduced with the same title from Gorski, “Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods,” 333.



For example, in light of the two dimensions of variation yields, the Party-state would take a pyramid shape. Having high degrees of orthodoxy and hierarchy, it tries to pose its control over everything in China, including religion. The broader religious field of Chinese Protestantism would resemble the big box shape with low degrees of hierarchy and low degrees of orthodoxy (in term of doctrines, not moral authority). The PCC field would take the mountain shape, as it has lower degrees of hierarchy but higher degrees of orthodoxy. In this way, it demarcates itself from both the traditional unregistered churches and the broadly evangelical churches in urban China.

Admittedly, there is a fine line between the sociodices and the mythologies, especially when sociodices become slogans and go through dramatic rendition. As Gorski argues, sociodices and mythologies can be complementary and mixed. The mythologies are defined as “popular narratives of heroism and martyrdom that serve to inspire defense of the value.”<sup>31</sup> Stories of heroism and martyrdom will be told later in exploring the interconnectedness of PCC field and the overarching state. For now, this section will focus on how republicanism is rendered as both sociodices and mythologies. During my fieldwork in Chengdu in October 2017, Covenant Drama Society of Early Rain Reformed Church was rehearsing a new drama titled “Crown.” This play is based on the political philosophy class taught by Wang Yi. “Crown” is introduced as such:

This drama explores the construction of human community based on Christian civilization. In an Expressionist mode and through a spiritual lens, this play interrogates monarchism, republicanism, and democracy as typologies of the eternal crown and kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>32</sup> This line is literally translated from the introduction to the drama as written in the script.

In this play, various characters aspire to live in a city-state called the Fairy Mountain Kingdom. It is a utopia where everyone, elites and masses, live under law and contract; it is a place where freedom and love flows. It is said that the person who finds the crown will become the king. The king must be an able person who rules by law drafted by a wise person and whose reign is also checked by a good person. Eventually, Zhang (one of the eight characters) finds the crown and is made the king by the people. However, without much regard for the law and welfare of the people, Zhang turns a tyrant and does whatever pleases himself. Increasingly, the masses feel dissatisfied with his rule and want to overthrow him. When confrontation happens, the king wants to execute the rebellious, and the people want to execute the king and his advisors. In the end, the people win. However, this is just another vicious cycle where either the tyrants or the people get to win and kill. The moral is that the perfect rule is neither monarchy nor populism, but republicanism based on contract and representation, checked by a watchman from God. This kind of dramatic rendition of republicanism is crystal clear from the following lines articulated by various characters in the play:

- “The perfect kingdom is ruled by a plurality of leaders, not by a tyrant or the people.”
- “Who gets this crown will rule this city state on behalf of God.”
- “In Fairy Mountain Kingdom, we are free; in Fairy Mountain Kingdom, we also live by contracts.”
- “Check and balance is two directional, bonding both the people and the government.”
- “There is constitution between the king and the people. The king keeps the order, but the key is who should be the king?”

- “A king must be elected and recognized by the people and be accountable to someone.”

Here are some revealing lines after things go south between the king and the people:

- “We want to live our own life. We will make the laws invalid.”

- “You want republicanism, but now you become the tyrant.”

- “This is the power of the people, a mob spoiled by democracy.”

- “The crown and the God who gives the crown is trampled underfoot. People are made God.”

- “When stopping beholding the face of God, everyone will become a tyrant.”

The play ends this way:

Sometimes we are killed by monarchs, and sometimes we are killed by people, but watchmen will always rise. And then a new generation of kings and people will kill each other. Yet the nations remain till now. Generations of watchmen go to the other side, to the depth of the Fairy Mountain Kingdom.

According to this dramatic rendition, not only is republicanism presented as a perfect political system based on rule of law and plurality of rulers, it also needs to be carried out with a watchman who makes the law and represents God. One would wonder who can be the watchman other than a wise pastor or the church personified. At least, this drama indicates the popular reception of Wang Yi’s sociodices.

Sloganized saying constitutes another form of mythologies in the emerging field of PCC. In the in-depth interview with Wang Yi of October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, he seems to have a nuanced

understanding of church history, especially the different forms of church government. For example, he acknowledges that episcopal church government has been

and is still the dominant form of church government in global Christianity. However, there is a great difference between his nuanced understanding of Presbyterianism and what he communicates to the public. Echoing Wang Yi's articulation of Presbyterianism, many of my informants simplistically equate episcopalianism with dictatorship, congregationalism with populism, and Presbyterianism with republicanism. Wang Yi also discloses in the interview that the younger generation of reformed urban churches in big cities prefer reformed Baptist polity, as they are more influenced by democratic ideas.

However, church leaders of his generation or those slightly older favor Presbyterianism because it has confessions, hierarchy, a system of ordination, and constitution.

Transitioning to Presbyterianism would be easier for those churches already having authoritarian structures, but directly switching to congregational rule would be difficult.

With Wang Yi's permission, I obtained the manuscript of a book that he hopes to publish later in Hong Kong with the possible title "*Gospel Revolution: Reflections on Reformation.*" This book consists of excerpts from his sermons and on-line articles, ranging in length from 20 words to 150 words. All these excerpts are numbered and reflect his thinking in recent years, which are hardly coherent at all times. Without complex and nuanced arguments, whether a particular saying sounds more like a sociodice or mythology becomes hard to discern. Here are some snapshots of these slogan-like provocative sayings as it relates to church government:

The Spirit of Reformation does not mean that only Presbyterianism is the lawful form of church government, but that all church governance must reflect the kingship of Christ...If "solus Christus" means that the church is a monarchy, then 'sola scriptura' means the church is ruled by law...This means that the church must be governed by constitutionalism...It all boils down to this: a covenant theology entails a covenant governance...In a word, the secret of Presbyterianism

is not congressional governance, but a mixed governance. (excerpts 304, 306, 309)

Wang Yi also draws on his understanding of western political philosophy to articulate his ideal for Presbyterianism, which seems to be a mixed form of elitism and populism.

Surprisingly, Christianity has basically adopted the political governance models from ancient Greece. Thomas Aquinas is a total Aristotelian when he says that “the best governing model is a mix of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and tyranny.” During the Reformation, John Calvin adopts this idea entirely. He unequivocally says that “the best governance model is a mixed model.” The continuity of this type of governance, from ancient Greece to the universal church, becomes the spirit of Presbyterianism.’ (excerpt 312)

In fact, the secret of the Presbyterianism is republicanism. Republicanism is a mixed governance, not simply in congressional form.” (excerpt 314)

After the split of Early Rain that transpired in 2017, Wang Yi’s stance on Presbyterianism clearly seems to have departed from his original understanding, at least from the PCA ideal of equal authority shared by all elders. Led by Pastor Watson, the associate pastor of Early Rain who openly problematizes Wang Yi’s preaching and ministry practices, one third of the members who are mostly local and joined Early during its formative stage, have become reluctant to follow Wang Yi’s leadership. Since then, Wang Yi’s public discourse shifted in order to emphasize the monarch-like status of the senior pastor, which is hardly consistent with his earlier articulation.<sup>33</sup> Since the split, he has tried to work out a system in which a church can only have assistant pastors who do not belong to the session, the board of elders on the congregational level.

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<sup>33</sup> Wang Zhiyong, a PCA pastor based in Virginia, has tried to debate with Wang Yi on his departure from the Presbyterian ideal of equal authority among elders, and help work out the relationship between Wang Yi and his associate pastor, Pastor Watson.

The spirit of the Presbyterian church is constitutional monarchism, or a constitutional monarchy with a congress. Therefore, the senior pastor represents some form of episcopal governance...The autonomy of the clergy means that a monarch cannot rise from election...the plurality of elders means that the elders are collective monarchy, with the senior pastor being the first among equals....However, the fact that a pastor must be called by a congregation also reflects electoral democracy. (excerpt 318)

The sociodices articulated by Wang Yi goes beyond church governance. Before Wang Yi's conversion, he was a classical liberal, which means that he is an admirer of free market, the rule of law, and human rights. Since his conversion, he increasingly turned to a type of Christian communitarianism and political conservatism in contrast to western individualism and the conservative politics of American evangelicals. He even borrowed the culture war narrative but disentangled it from evangelical politics.

- The confluence of Christianity and constitutionalism has made American Christianity the minimal form of Christendom, i.e. part of the national religion or civil religion. From James Madison to Donald Trump, American Christianity has become adherent of a national religion rather than the true heir of the Reformation. (excerpt 32)

- How have we been softening our critique of modernity after the Enlightenment? Should we be responsible for the mess of the world today? What I mean is while conservative Christians oppose homosexuality, abortion, public education, pornography, and decline of mores, taxation increase, and the expansion of the government, etc., should we not regard the Protestant spirit as essentially the same with the spirit of modernity? Should those who started the Reformation be responsible for all the mess before God's judgment seat? ... Should Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon be responsible for the appearance of Karl Marx and Adolf Hitler? (excerpts 60 and 61)

- One time, I was on a flight in the US. Accidentally, my elbow touched the passenger sitting beside me, and the passenger felt greatly offended as if he suffered a massacre. For someone from China who is used to living in a crowded world, I was shocked by his reaction. This is not cultural shock, or simply the culture difference between the West and the

East. In fact, it is the cultural difference between the classical Christian culture and the modern consumerist culture. (excerpt 173)

Again, Wang Yi's articulation of sociodices and mythologies is hardly coherent, because he said he would support Trump:

- What I mean is this: Donald Trump is not a conservative in the sense of the old gospel, but a conservative in the sense of American civil religion.

However, between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, if I were an American citizen, I would definitely vote for Trump...God is doing a great thing, that is to separate the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Gospel of America. (excerpt 192)

However, his discourses against the nation-state are always consistent. That is, the state has neither legal nor moral authority over the church.

- The political nature of the church means that the visible church represents the invisible kingdom of God. In that sense, the church is the only true and lawful government on earth...since the Middle Ages, the church has helped form the constitutional structure of society, meaning the swordless church can check on the government who hold the sword according to the constitution. (excerpt 31)

- Without exaggeration, the nation-state is only the adopted son of the Reformation...This gospel revolution (the Reformation) has birthed 'the sovereign nation' in Europe, which is historically unprecedented...Just as Martin Luther is regarded as the father of Germany, Jan Hus as the father of Czech, John Knox as the father of Scotland, John Calvin, can be reckoned as the father of United States in a remote sense. (excerpts 33 and 34)

- Now five centuries after the Reformation, the landscape of the world has changed: nations have been usurping the role of the church...the constitutionalism of the modern state has elevated the government with the sword above the church without a sword, subjugating the church under its constitution. (excerpts 35 and 36)

Concerning the size of a field, Gorski argues that "the absolute and relative size of a field



could be measured in terms of the absolute and relative number of people possessing some familiarity with (as opposed to complete mastery of) these concepts.”<sup>34</sup> However, from my fieldwork and interviews, I have learned that PCC advocates are driving their

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<sup>34</sup> Gorski, “Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods,” 336.

followers for mastery of Presbyterian doctrine and polity, not just familiarity. For example, prospective PCC pastors organize study groups to learn about church constitutions and by-laws of the PCC. They also hold classes to inculcate their members about Presbyterian church government. Chinese Presbyterians often echo what Wang Yi says, “Presbyterianism in China has documents but no models.” However, for two years in a row, Western China Presbytery in Chengdu has hosted annual training camps for prospective PCC elders, inviting PCA and OPC elders from America to train Chinese Presbyterians on Presbyterian governance. Still, polity documents are extremely constitutive for the formation of the PCC. Moreover, in contrast to mainstream Chinese Protestantism, PCC churches are highly confessional, which they believe demarcates them from broader evangelicalism. Interestingly, confessional statements, while waning in importance in Presbyterian churches in many parts of the world, are very important in the PCC. In a typical PCA church, a person may only have to study reformed catechism until he prepares to be a deacon. But in PCC churches, systematic learning of catechism and various confessional documents has become a general requirement for average church members. When I told Pastor Jiang (pseudonym), the chairman of the PCC examination committee for ordination, that Early Rain uses the Westminster Catechism both in their liturgy and Sunday School, and teaches the Canons of Dort during a mid-week Bible study, even he feels it might be too much that three things are going on at the same time. What I observed in Early Rain Reformed Church is typical not only of other churches in Western China Presbytery, but also in PCC churches across China. In a northern PCC provisional presbytery and a southern preparatory presbytery that I sampled, studying confessions and

catechism has become a regular part of their church life. Even in an eastern provisional presbytery which models itself more after the PCA, studying Westminster catechism has become a requirement for all new members.

Western China Covenant Theological Seminary (WCCTS) also facilitates the emergence of PCC in addition to the discursive scope of sociodices and mythologies and the constitutive agency of polity documents and confessional statements. WCCTS now ranks among the four most well-known unauthorized Reformed seminaries in China, increasingly drawing theological educators of reformed background.<sup>35</sup> Although this seminary is independent, its symbiotic relationship with Early Rain Reformed Church and Western Reformed Presbytery has both contributed to its enrollment and reduced interference from the government. Increasingly, the publicity of this seminary has been drawing people of reformed leaning to Presbyterianism. As I learned from the dean of the seminary, some students decided to get additional training at WCCTS, an unauthorized and unaccredited seminary, after having graduated from seminaries in Hong Kong or Southeast Asian countries. This is because they believe WCCTS offers a contextualized reformed education in China. An older couple I met on one of the conferences in Hong Kong lead a church in a northern province. They have their son enrolled in Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia while putting their daughter and son-in-law at WCCTS. They have not chosen seminaries for their children simply because of reformed

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<sup>35</sup> Like the urban unregistered churches, the unauthorized seminaries are off the grid, operating outside the legal boundaries of Chinese laws regulating religions. All faculty at Western Reformed Theological Seminary must consent to the Westminster Standard or the Three Forms of Unity (Dutch Reformed) as their confessional statement.

faith, but because of the publicity of these seminaries. According to a critical observer of the PCC, it is no surprise the Presbyterianism has been growing so fast in China: they have publications and seminaries.

In conclusion, the reformed tradition offers rich resources for Chinese Presbyterians to draw from. It not only provides discourses of ultimate value and a church governance model, but other resources for Chinese Protestantism on its way to become a public religion.

### **The Overarching State**

As indicated in the figure on page 13, the Party-state, like a pyramid shaped field, always tries to impose its orthodoxy and hierarchy on many non-state fields. However, the process can also work in the opposite direction when actors in an emerging field attempt to sabotage the agenda set by various state actors.<sup>36</sup> In both Wang Yi's former life as an activist and his current career as an urban intellectual pastor, the overarching state looms large. As he was converting to Christianity during 2004-2005, Wang Yi served as the defendant lawyer for some unregistered churches charged with conducting illegal religious activities. During the investigation on behalf of these house churches, he felt appalled by the secretive status and problematic authority structure of these churches. In the process of representing these churches, he came across China Ministries International, the organizational legacy of Charles Chao's son, Jonathan Chao (1938–

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<sup>36</sup> As Fligstein and McAdam explains, the overarching state is represented by various state actors, instead of one abstract entity named the state. See Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, *A Theory of Fields* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 174.

2004). It was then that he came to know Jonathan Chao's writing on the religious policies of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Jonathan Chao's "three-fold vision," namely, "the evangelization of China, the kingdomization of the church, the Christianization of culture." Inspired by the "three-fold vision," Wang Yi has taken it as his life goal to engage the state on behalf of house churches and to pursue a public vision for Chinese Protestantism since his baptism in 2005. In a highly heroic public prayer circulated on his social media recently as the state tightens its control on him, his public vision for the church has only augmented, to the extent that as if he is courting persecution:

Lord, entrust the future Chinese society to your church; otherwise, take me home to be with you.

Lord, please send revival to your church in China; otherwise, may my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth.

Lord, raise up a generation of servants faithful to your kingdom and reign, so that we can face a new wave of persecution; otherwise, let their congregations be scattered and let them lose their high positions in their congregations.

Lord, send countless missionaries, church planters, and evangelists; let them preach the Word in cities and towns, until the gospel is heard in every prison and detention center in China; otherwise, take away our real estate, our academic degrees, and our middle-class lifestyle, lest these are what we only have when we meet you."

In an in-depth interview with Wang Yi on October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, he says that "the development of Early Rain all these years could not have happened if were not for external pressure from the government. Every incident of government interference has advanced the church's development." The first incident of government interference dates back to October 2006, after which they had to move their worship place because police visited and pressured the landlord. Later in May 2008, police interrupted a retreat

meeting of Early Rain in a resort place. When asked who were in charge of this church, Wang Yi and two others stepped forward. It was after that incident that Early Rain believers started to say that “God has ordained these three leaders of Early Rain before the police.”

Another notable event after Wang Yi’s conversion was his visit to White House on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2006 to meet with President Bush, along with some Chinese Christian human rights activists and political dissidents.<sup>37</sup> Since that meeting, Wang Yi has publically shifted his field from secular human rights movement to activism for Chinese house churches. In a sense, Wang Yi’s shift in fields indicates the permeability of two proximate fields: the field of political activism and the religious fields of China.<sup>38</sup> The controversies surrounding the White House meeting among the Chinese pro-democracy activists appeared more noteworthy than the meeting itself, for it is said that Wang Yi, and his fellow Christian human rights activists Yu Jie and Bob Fu intentionally excluded a non-Christian pro-democracy activist, Guo Feixiong from joining this meeting. The contentions centered on whether President Bush just wanted to meet with Chinese house church Christians like Wang Yi and Yu Jie to discuss religious freedom in China, or Wang and Yu intentionally excluded Fan to make it such a meeting. Despite the

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<sup>37</sup> A first-person account of this meeting can be found here. See Baiguang Li, “Meeting President Bush at the White House,” ChinaAid, May 15, 2006. Accessed November 21, 2017, [http://www.chinaaid.net/2006/05/blog-post\\_15.html](http://www.chinaaid.net/2006/05/blog-post_15.html).

<sup>38</sup> Gorski discusses two basic forms of boundary change between fields in terms of location and permeability. This shift of boundary seems one-directional in Wang Yi’s case, as he has shifted from a priestly intellectual and political activist to an urban intellectual pastor and church-based activists. See Gorski, “Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods,” 331-332.

unresolved confusion surrounding this controversy, one thing was clear: Wang Yi no longer wanted to be associated with the pro-democracy activists in general; instead, he rejected the unequal yoke between the secular human rights movement and the Christian mission and cultural mandate. In his own words: “Today, Christians’ efforts to gain religious freedom are akin to the conservative wing of human rights activism in China (similar to the Civil Rights Movement in the US), and it should not be part of the resistance movement.”<sup>39</sup>

Since Wang Yi’s return from the White House visit, the Chinese Party-State increasingly imposed pressure on him. The university where he used to be a lecturer has suspended his job, paying him only 200 RMB<sup>40</sup> per month. With his shrinking space among public intellectuals and secular human rights activists, this has almost left him no choice but to become a house church pastor. In 2008, Wang Yi committed himself to work in his church full time. He has also strengthened his tie with the transnational Chinese Christian network. On December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008, hundreds of Christian leaders in the Chinese-speaking world, including Wang Yi and many theologically reformed pastors, drafted and signed the San Francisco Consensus.<sup>41</sup> Other than a basic doctrinal statement, the bulk of this document contained their observation of the rapid transformation taking place in mainland China and of the role of Chinese churches in this transformation. Very

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<sup>39</sup> The accusation, defense, and clarification of those involved in this controversy can be found here.

See Jacky Peng, “Yu Jie, Wang Yi, and the White House Incident,” May 23, 2006. Accessed December 13, 2016, <http://www.jackypeng.com/blog/2006/05/you-wang-white-house-incident/>.

<sup>40</sup> According to the 2008 exchange rate, 200 RMB was the rough equivalence of \$ 30.

<sup>41</sup> Early Rain blog, “The San Francisco Consensus,” December 17 2018. Accessed December 13, 2016 <http://earlyrain.bokee.com/6845511.html>

few of these Christian leaders are based in mainland China to implement this kind of vision on the ground. Without Wang Yi's church based activism, such a public vision for the Chinese church would still remain on the discourse level.

However, since his conversion and call to ministry, Wang Yi's engagement with the Party-state is not confined to religious matters, though his activism has become mainly church-based. For example, each year on June 4<sup>th</sup>, he still commemorates the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstration and massacre, which invariably led the police to detain him for a couple of days. In addition, every year on June 1<sup>st</sup>, the International Children's Day, he would mobilize his church to do an anti-abortion campaign on the streets in Chengdu, which would be publicized on-line to rally support from other like-minded Christians or churches in China. Early Rain also has a strong social justice orientation, as it intentionally draws many prisoners of conscience into its fold. Many people became prisoners of conscience because they petitioned to upper level government for the injustice they suffered. In the process of seeking justice by petitioning, they suffered further abuse and imprisonment. During a Sunday service that I attended at Early Rain in October 2017, I saw an old man with a hat that had the following words, "Done with Chinese Communist Party." Although the percentage of Christians is not high in Chengdu, Early Rain has gained high publicity not only among Protestants in China but also among Chengdu residents.

The growing PCC represents a milestone in the public turn of urban unregistered churches. This did not happen overnight. During 2009-10, urban house churches in Beijing, Chengdu, Guangzhou, and Shanghai all held outdoor worship services to protest



against the government's action to restrict their use of leased or purchased worship space. Early Rain in Chengdu was the only exception that successfully upheld their "right" to worship as a single large congregation in a more public space. Carsten Vala explains the varying outcomes in terms of the internal characteristics of church leadership and organization.<sup>42</sup> This is true to certain extent, as other Chengdu PCC pastors acknowledged that only Early Rain has the resources to openly engage with the government and push the limit. Early Rain has many lawyers and former political activists in the congregation.

Inspired by the earlier success of Early Rain, Wang Yi continued to advocate for the vision of house churches going public so that the evangelization could "go from retail to wholesale." The Chengdu Presbytery's vision for a public faith does not stop at meeting in a more public space. They want to further raise publicity through social media. The Western China Presbytery benefitted greatly from their rising publicity, doubling and even tripling their membership in the past three years. Based on their initial success, they later created other institutions off the grid. However, their initial success seems hard to sustain as the government tightens its control. Emphasizing the role of the overarching state in the emergence the PCC field does not necessarily suggest a domination-resistance model in church-state relations on a macro-level. In a2011

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<sup>42</sup> See Carsten T. Vala, *The Politics of Protestant Churches and the Party-State in China: God above Party?* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 157. However, Vala did acknowledge explanations based on local variation in an author-meet-critics session on this book at the 2017 Society for Scientific Study of Religion annual meeting. He explained that the outcomes of such protests would be different depending whether such an event happened in Shanghai or Beijing; in Beijing, it is more likely to escalate to an international spectacle because of the number of foreign reporters in Beijing.

interview, Wang Yi shared his understanding of church-state relationship in terms of local dynamics:

On the other hand, although religious persecution has not ended, it has irreversibly come to its end. In the past 10 years, the church has changed considerably, so have law enforcement. In my view, many official and police have taken on a positive and even sympathetic view towards the church. It has become very rare for them to conceive the church as their enemies and the gospel as a threat to their rule. Institutionally, they will still resist the gospel out of their interest as incumbents of the system. But the anti-church and anti-Christianity ideology has collapsed inside the government.<sup>43</sup>



Photo 1, Sunday service at Early Rain<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See Yu Jie, *Abundant Grace into My Life*.

<sup>44</sup> Photo 1, taken on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2017, shows the congregation who follow Wang Yi after the split of Early Rain. Over 500 people attend the Sunday service. They have also bought and rented several other units in the same office building for their grade school, seminary, and college. The various locations is clearly indicated in the directory in the lobby, with nothing to hide.

Since 2014, the PCC's engagement of state actors centers on the Chinafication<sup>45</sup> of Christianity. In August 2015, in the same style of Martin Luther's 95 Theses, Wang Yi penned the 95 Theses for Chinese Reformed Church, signed by all the other six elders of Early Rain and circulated on-line.<sup>46</sup> In broad strokes, this document analyzes church-state relationship in China, rejects the Chinafication of Christianity, and criticizes the compromise of the state-registered churches. Wang Yi and his followers frame their high profile public engagement with the state in terms of spiritual warfare, a fight with the Leviathan. Wang Yi claims that by taking the lead to push the limits, Early Rain might help the PCC and unregistered churches across China gain more public space. However, as Wang's engagement with the state becomes increasingly heated, it has alienated an increasing number of Early Rain members who wanted to stand back from such highly politicized public gestures. In fact, a significant reason for the split of Early Rain in 2017 was that four out of the seven elders (including the associate pastor) and one third of the church members did not want to go in the overly politicized direction that Wang Yi is leading Early Rain. They believed Wang Yi has departed from what a proper church should be involved with. Interestingly, those who followed Wang Yi after the split were mostly religious and educational migrants from other parts of China, most in the 20-30s age range. Those who chose not to follow Wang Yi belonged to an older generation in the 40-50s age range who are more middle class and local. Interview with another

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<sup>45</sup> Alexander Chow, a public theologian on Chinese Christianity, uses Chinafication instead of Sinification to emphasize the political connotation of CCP's religious policy. From his handouts and presentation on Nov. 18 at 2017 American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting.

<sup>46</sup> Early Rain Reformed Church, "The 95 Theses of China's House Churches," October 5<sup>th</sup> 2016. See <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/4248>, last accessed December 13, 2016.

Chengdu pastor also revealed that some urban unregistered churches in Chengdu did not want to be associated with WCP so as not to get undue attention from the government.

Nothing seems to deter Wang Yi from pursuing his public vision for China's Reformed church. He has adopted the "three-fold vision" as the vision of his church. Up to 2017, China Ministries International has hosted four "three-fold vision" annual conferences in Hong Kong. Although apolitical in character, the "three-fold vision" has alarmed Chinese government which has been trying to sabotage the annual conferences held in Hong Kong and even coopted the Hong Kong branch of China Ministries International. In 2015, the Chinese government has hacked the registration system of the conference and therefore, several times more people showed up at the conference than the organizer could possibly accommodate. In 2017, the government has tried to block conference speakers and to intimidate Christians from attending this conference. One responder I interviewed in the eastern city said the police have explicitly told him not to go to the "three-fold" vision conference. My first scheduled interview with Wang Yi in September didn't materialize because he was detained at Chengdu airport so that he and his associates could not attend the "three-fold vision" conference in Hong Kong. This event, as any of his confrontation with state actors, was highly publicized in social media. The general assumption for this incident was that he just spoke against the new religious regulation, and the government was extremely wary of the "three-fold vision."

In early September 2017, in his typical style of denouncement, Wang Yi spoke against the newly passed religious regulation,<sup>47</sup> declaring it constitutionally illegal and politically stupid. One stipulation of this new religious regulation is that Chinese citizens cannot engage in religious activities overseas. Soon Wang Yi became a test case before this law went into effect. In September, October, and November of 2017, Wang Yi was held three times at airports so that he could not speak at Christian conferences overseas. For the first two times, he was held at Chengdu Airport. In the most recent incident, he was allowed to travel from Chengdu to Xiamen, but was held at Xiamen Airport when he was trying to travel to Indonesia in order to speak at a conference hosted by Stephen Tong. Similar instances also happened to other PCC pastors when they tried to go to Hong Kong or Indonesia to speak at international Christian conferences. Even some members of Early Rain either were placed under house arrest before attempting to go to Christian conferences overseas. Some suffered more severe security checks as they returned from such conferences. It is clear that the state actors have tried to impose a containment strategy on the PCC so that it would not go transnational.

However, neither Wang Yi himself nor his close associates perceive their engagement with the state as driven by any political agenda, though it is expressed in political terms. One of Wang Yi's close associates wrote the following in a recent on-line article concerning the confrontation of Wang Yi with the state:

Pastor Wang Yi's recent actions with the state are fundamentally ecclesiastical, not political. They are political articulations derived from his ecclesiology.

Behind all these articulations, there is a dynamic, dialectic, and relatively holistic

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<sup>47</sup> Signed by the Prime Minister, this new religious regulation has been publicized on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 2017 and is going to effect by February 1<sup>st</sup> 2018

thinking centered on ecclesiology, covering topics such as the kingdom of heaven and the church, the universal invisible church and the visible church, the church and clergy, the church and believers, the church and pastoral care, the church and church buildings, etc.

If Wang Yi's confrontations with the state is not based on any political agenda, what are the purpose of all that struggle? His answer is as a form of witness.

Alternatively, it could be argued that his activism is to strive for moral authority. This is another excerpt from his "Reflections on the Reformation:"

The spirit of the Reformation means that in modern culture, the church can only become the mainstream by being the marginal, become political by being apolitical. The gospel must be present, which makes us different from all fundamentalists. The reason to be present is not for politics but for witness; not to change the mainstream society, nor be changed by it. (excerpt 190)

### **Institutional Entrepreneurs and Isomorphism**

It is both reasonable and fruitful to conceptualize the PCC as an emerging field instead of fully fledged institution (denomination in this case) or social movement.

Fligstein and McAdam have been working hard to bring the concept of change to institutional theory. However, their conception of Bourdieusian field theory as "a theory of social stability not change" is misconstrued in light of Gorski's advancing of Bourdieusian field theory.<sup>48</sup> Using concepts such as institutional entrepreneurs and isomorphism, this section tries to understand the institutional aspect of the PCC.

Traditional institutional theory is helpful to the extent that it helps to explain how conformity happens. For instance, not all PCC pastors are thoughtful and deliberate in

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<sup>48</sup> Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields," 20.

their adoption of Presbyterianism. Most equate institutionalization with denomination, and adopt a denomination out of their felt need for a model of church governance. Even the pastor of the third church that joined the WCP felt attracted to Presbyterianism before all the leaders embraced reformed theology wholesale, because they were struggling with some issues with leadership and church governance. This is a classic case of memetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty.<sup>49</sup> As one of my key responders said, adopting institutionalization and a denomination is the way educated urban pastors solve the problem of church governance. Based on the neo-institutional approach to organizational field, Fligstein and McAdam propose an institutional theory with a theory of change: power and agency work at the moment when institutional entrepreneurs come up with innovative ideas and manage to enlist others to join them.<sup>50</sup>

The concept of institutional entrepreneur provides a useful analytical tool to see how institutional change happened in the development of Presbyterianism. Ian Johnson identifies Wang Yi, Zha, and Peng as the triumvirate of Chengdu unregistered church pastors.<sup>51</sup> Johnson especially highlights the power of Wang Yi's personality to draw crowds to Early Rain. However, charisma alone cannot explain the role of PCC advocates represented by Wang Yi in the emergent field of PCC. Nor is it helpful to characterize urban pastors like the Chengdu triumvirate as "Confucian literati who no longer hold

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<sup>49</sup> Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60, 151.

<sup>50</sup> Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields," 21.

<sup>51</sup> See Ian Johnson, *The Souls of China*.



positions in government but who hold positions as scholar-pastors.”<sup>52</sup> Pastor Zha’s explanation about the development of Presbyterianism in Chengdu based on its rational appeal is perhaps only partially revealing:

This is how I look at this: sociologically speaking, Wang Yi, Peng and including myself, we are all intellectuals. Intellectuals like rationality. Wang Yi’s preference for Reformed Presbyterianism has something to do with his legal training. For him, Presbyterianism could be a rational expression of power relations in society. As for Peng, it has to do with his previous experience in publishing. He always had to deal with contracts and agreement to publish books.

This resembles the covenant theology underneath Presbyterianism. For me, I think Chinese culture lacks such rationality, which I believe Presbyterianism can provide.

Rationality cannot adequately explain the rapid development of Presbyterianism in Chengdu either. My fieldwork in Chengdu and interviews with the Chengdu triumvirate reveals some organizational dynamics behind the rise of the PCC: the role of institutional entrepreneurs is indispensable. For example, Zha claimed that he was the first one to bring back the polity documents and was very early in drafting a church constitution. Yet for a long time, his blueprint remains on paper. When he finally tried to implement his blueprint, he found that half of his church, including some of his associates, refused to accept it on his terms. Eventually, it ended up in a split with half of his congregation gone. In fact, his church was the smallest (less than 50) and the last to join WCP. On the other hand, in an entrepreneur style, Wang Yi took decisive actions to organize Early Rain into a standalone Presbyterian church, and then persuaded three other church to form the WCP. From the beginning, Wang Yi emerged as an action-

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<sup>52</sup> This is based on the same CS CAG conversation referenced earlier.

oriented entrepreneur as well as a self-reflexive actor. In an in-depth interview with Wang Yi, he shared his reasoning for favoring Presbyterianism.

Chinese churches overseas would not think in terms of a model for church governance, because they have already assimilated into American culture, which is more established. In other words, they are consumers of American (organizational) culture. But we don't have anything to consume from Chinese culture. It is corrupted to the core and has no sound paradigm to offer. They only have negative examples. Traditional Chinese house church has not yet come up with a good governing model either in their process of organizational change. At this point, Presbyterianism attracts everybody's attention, whether they decide to follow it or not.

An interview with a transnational Presbyterian in Chengdu echoes similar reasoning:

In America, Chinese Christians know how they should manage their church, because they know from their education and professional life how an organization is supposed to work. Even those who hold reformed theology do not necessarily seek Presbyterian church government. But in China, the case is entirely different. Unable to find such social resources, Christians in China have to look into the Bible and church history for resources.

Speaking of institutional change, some PCC pastors even liken their role to Chiang Ching-Kuo, the authoritarian leader who paved the way for political liberalization in Taiwan. In other words, PCC advocates conceive their role as agents of change in the institutional transformation of urban unregistered churches. However, the recent split of Early Rain reveals the republican fragility of Presbyterianism. Wang Yi, the architect of PCC, often asserts his authority as the senior pastor and tries to push his agenda through his charisma and personal influence, overstepping in many cases the Robert's Rules of Order, the standard Presbyterian procedural protocol for conducting business meetings.

Despite the vote of four against three to prevent split as a way to manage the conflict

between Wang Yi and his associate pastor Watson, Wang Yi still decides to go his own way.

My interviews and field observation in Chengdu attest to the entrepreneur logic at work in the daily operation of some WCP churches. At a co-worker meeting I observed at Early Rain on October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017, I was expecting to see the elders and deacons of Early Rain. Instead, I saw Wang Yi and his capable team of seminarians and active lay leaders who take orders readily from him. Wang Yi was not only a winsome speaker, but also a capable executive who gave very specific directives on what to do. For example, to deal with some malfunction with audio equipment on Sunday, Wang Yi made a rule that the person in charge of audio should come in 15 minutes early before the prayer meeting to check the equipment because there was no break between the Sunday morning prayer meeting and the worship service. To get ready for a Reformation 500 special service, Wang Yi told the unofficial staff to prepare wine instead of grape juice for Communion. To avoid potential problem of drinking and driving, he gave very specific directives about how to make announcement so as to inform everyone about not driving to church. Whenever he has the floor, he would ask people how they have applied his Sunday sermon. Pastor Peng, pastor of the second church that joined WCP, also admitted that they had to apply this kind of executive model in the daily operation of his church to move things fast. Although this kind of entrepreneur logic is common in American evangelical churches and the Chinese business world, it is definitely new for China's urban churches where most people work on a voluntary basis and do not drive for

efficiency as such. Therefore, it is possible to conceive this as another form of isomorphism at work in the development of the PCC.

Institutionally, Presbyterianism has to adapt to China's varying urban condition. In the words of one responder, "instead of making [blank] city another Geneva, 'Geneva' is made into [blank] city." For instance, a city with more educated middle-class professionals in a more globalized condition generally fares better with Presbyterianism. One of the bottleneck issues for many PCC churches is the lack of lay elders. The eastern provisional Presbytery, however, is an exception. Because of its high level of professionalization, this eastern city is not short of bi-vocational ruling elders. They also tend to bring elements they directly learn from Presbyterian churches in the US, rather than from those in Chengdu. Pastors in this location tend to have higher levels of English proficiency and many receive their theological training from the US. One key informant even said that this eastern city will eventually overtake Chengdu in the leadership of the PCC. On the other hand, one informant from a declining northern industrial city complained that because many of their church members work for state-owned companies and public universities, they are either bound to their work-units or deeply influenced by atomistic individualism, falling short of his ideal for a Presbyterian faith community.

### **Incumbents and Challengers**

Goldstone and Useem problematizes Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs model for undertheorizing institutions and resembling too much "the challenger-incumbent model

of social movements writ large.”<sup>53</sup> However, as mentioned earlier in this paper, this criticism is not entirely fair, especially in light of Fligstein and McAdam’s contribution to institutional theory. This section of the paper, drawing insights from the “incumbent-challenger” model based on social movement literature, will focus on two proximate fields of the PCC: the religious field of Chinese Protestantism and the field of alternative education. However, the argument here is that the goal of contention for these challengers is not to gain any practical advantage or privileged position but moral authority.

When several PCC informants say that the Chinese house church is the largest non-government social organization in China, one has to be critical both empirically and conceptually. However, overall Chinese Protestantism has indeed constituted a large religious field. China’s Reformed churches, represented by the development of the PCC, have been contending for moral authority in this vast field. Bruce Baugus, a china observers, calls the new development of reformed faith in China “a second wave of house church development.” In the same article that cites Baugus, Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra characterizes it as “a newborn colt attempting that first walk—eager, stumbling, up and down and up again. And hopefully, growing stronger and more stable with time.”<sup>54</sup> As Wang Yi often says, “Presbyterianism may remain a minority in China, but it will function as an important minority.” He remains hopeful for “the indigenous Reformed

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<sup>53</sup> Goldstone and Useem, “Putting Values and Institutions Back into the Theory of Strategic Action Fields,” 37.

<sup>54</sup> Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra, “Young, Restless, and Reformed in China,” *The Gospel Coalition*, March 27, 2017, accessed November 7th, 2017, <https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/young-restless-and-reformed-in-china/>

Church” in his “Reflections on Reformation,” as he contends for moral authority against traditional house churches, charismatic churches, and the “militant Reformed” churches:

- The indigenous Reformed Church in China has, in the past twenty years, undergone what the Reformed Church in North America has gone through in one hundred years. (excerpt 81)

- There is an anti-Reformation movement both in the fundamentalist traditional house churches and in the newly arising ‘militant Reformed’ churches. Too many people are willing to die for a list of non-essentials, but not for the gospel itself. (excerpt 85)

- The Reformation teaches us that the true mark of the Holy Spirit’s presence is not a heated discussion of the Holy Spirit, but more discussion on Christ. (excerpt 24)

However, in the effort of PCC advocates to contend for moral authority, they do not want to stand outside in the succession of house church tradition. They pitch themselves as the second generation of reformers in the house church movement.

In certain sense, the first generation of China’s house churches are like Martin Luther in the collective sense... Today, Reformed Theology has spread across China, enabling the church to think through doctrine, ecclesiology, and governance. This seems to suggest that with the rediscovery of the gospel, there arises a generation of reformers like John Calvin. (excerpt 294)

However, their efforts to claim heritage from the house church tradition do not always pay off. In order to claim the house church heritage, Pastor Peng from WCP has worked hard to get an older generation house church pastor on a panel to discuss house church tradition at the Reformation 500 Conference hosted by Grace to City in May 2017 in Hong Kong attended by over 3,000 house church leaders. With great reluctance, this older pastor agreed, but did not exactly follow the interview guidelines set by Peng.

Another incident was that on the evening of May 25<sup>th</sup>, when Wang Yi asked those attending the conference to kneel and pray, the associate pastor of Early Rain, Pastor

Watson, forbid those around to comply. This was but one publicized incident of his conflict with Wang Yi already transpired within Early Rain, for Pastor Watson tended to fault Wang Yi for hypocrisy and theatrical display of piety. Their animosity appeared more complicated than personal conflict. Almost 20 years senior to Wang Yi, Pastor Watson belonged to the older generation house church leader. Wang Yi sometimes dubbed him a fundamentalist. According to an interview with Watson on October 26th, 2017, he said his approach to church ministry was more Biblicist and Scripturally based, and he also aligned more closely with some of the “militant Reformed” pastors that Wang Yi often criticized. Even though Watson was often faulted for splitting Early Rain, it was in fact Wang Yi who insisted on splitting the church to stop their contention at Early Rain. More than contention for position or vain glory, the split symbolizes the struggle for moral authority. Other than faulting Wang Yi’s preaching and ministry practices,

some of the Early Rain members even believed his gesture to court persecution was merely theatrics, as he never truly suffered from imprisonment. Viewed from the history of house churches in China, the most well-known leaders seem to derive their moral authority not from exceptional preaching or intellectual sophistication, but from faithfully enduring suffering and imprisonment as Christians. In fact, very few of older house church leaders were formally ordained or theologically savvy.<sup>55</sup> However, the development of the PCC promotes theological sophistication and formal ordination in their striving for moral authority in the house church tradition. They especially

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<sup>55</sup> See David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2006).

problematize the literal understanding of Scripture and moralistic teaching of traditional house churches. Pastor Watson also shared that WCP would not have anyone ordained outside the reformed tradition to speak at their pulpits. This is how they perceive the fundamentalist tradition of China's house churches:

With Fundamentalist Christianity, “Sola Scriptura” has become the dead tradition of the living men...A church becomes a true heir of the Reformation when it is both Biblicist and Christ-centered. Then it becomes the living tradition from the dead men. (excerpts 27 and 28)

In his effort to claim heritage from the house church tradition and contend for moral authority, Wang Yi seems to find resources in the theology of the cross. Early Rain now has a special hymn collection consisting exclusively of such hymns. Since this year, Wang Yi has highly elevated the theology of the cross and “the indigenous Reformed Church” as the true heir to claim it.

- The cross is the beginning and end of theology, the basic principle for believers to judge and understand all theologies. According to a familiar expression in the house church tradition, a person's life is more important than his viewpoint. (excerpt 65)

- The theology of the cross is the thesis, and the theology of God's sovereignty is the antithesis. Only when the two converge would it become a complete thesis...In the past five hundred years since the Reformation, there are three periods when these two theses converge: American Puritanism, the revival of New Calvinism in the past few decades, and what is happening now in China. The way of the cross of China's house churches is converging with the theology of Sovereignty in the reformed tradition. (excerpts 72-74)

Early Rain is by no means the pioneer of Christian grade schools in China, which dates back to 2005. Early Rain only started their church-based grade school in 2011. The Christian grade school movement is only one among many who seek alternative education for children, because Confucian schools and Buddhist schools also abound in



China. However, in recent years, Chengdu has become an attraction for religious and educational migrants from other parts of China. Many moved to Chengdu to join Early Rain so that their children could attend its church-based grade school. There are three grade schools under the Western China Presbytery that also draw church transfers locally and educational migrants from across China. Different from the 200-300 Christian grade schools in other parts of China, WCP schools only accept students who are children of church members of the WCP and the church subsidizes up to 40% of the tuition. They frame the heavy subsidy of children's education in terms of covenant theology: a reformed church has the responsibility to educate their children, not only in religious matters, but also in academic subjects free from atheist and Communist influence.<sup>56</sup> Not only did it become the model for the Christian grade schools in Chengdu, many Christian educators subscribing to the reformed tradition in other parts of China also followed suit.

Not only do the Chengdu Presbyterians advocate for church subsidy of Christian education, they also promote an educational philosophy and teaching model called the Classical Christian Education (CCE) that highly emphasizes the Trivium: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. It seemed only by accident that Early Rain discovered Douglas Wilson's Christian Classical Education developed in the past two decades. Disillusioned by the modern education provided and monitored by the Communist state, Chengdu Presbyterians now think that they have found an antidote to the ills of state-run education.

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<sup>56</sup> At certain point, 40% of Early Rain's budget goes to this category. However, after the split, the congregation under the former associate pastor decide to gradually withdraw financial support for the grade school and let it become an independent Christian school.

The beginning of a liberal arts college was also fortuitous.<sup>57</sup> Yet, its later development has gained strong institutional and ideological strength. Soon Western China Covenant College became a gathering point for theologically reformed Christian scholars capable of teaching one aspect of Christianity, such as Christianity and world history, or Christianity and philosophy. Not only does the liberal arts college offer electives for theological students, it also offers certificate programs and graduate degree programs for Christian school teachers across China. In fall 2017, Western China Covenant welcomed the first undergraduate class. The undergraduate program is also based on Christian Classical Education. Even though a college curriculum solely based on humanities is unheard of in China, Wang Yi and his followers believe that like Presbyterianism, it should function as an important minority in China. This could be another gesture to contend for moral authority in Chinese culture, especially in the field of alternative education. However, up to this day, the CCE curriculum for both the grade school and the college remain incomplete.

Like his “Reflections on the Reformation,” Wang Yi also has a collection of short sayings called “Reflection on Education.” For Wang Yi, anything he wants to advocate becomes a natural ally to Presbyterianism.

We can put it this way: liberal education derives from the tradition of Republicanism and classical education is an indispensable part of Republicanism. . . . Why did Presbyterians become the main task force of Christian education? This is because Presbyterianism is in essence Republican. (excerpt 72)

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<sup>57</sup> Early Rain’s associate pastor, seeing the lack of general education among the students at Western China Covenant Theological Seminary, such as some students’ ignorance of Shakespeare’s home country, suggested establishing a liberal arts college to make up this kind of knowledge gap for theological students.

Like his “Reflections on the Reformation,” Wang Yi’s “Reflections on Education” is also broad sweeping and often self-contradictory:

- What is classical education? Someone puts it this way: classical education is what remains after you forget everything. (excerpt 3)
  
- The philosophy of Christian Classical Education is to read useless books so that students would become useful people. (excerpt 53)
  
- Since the sixteenth century, the consequence of the Reformation in education is two-fold: Bible has become the foundation of education and the Holy Spirit has become the god of education. (excerpt 17)
  
- In the entire Christendom till Martin Luther, the state has never been the educator, the state is the one being educated. It is being educated by the church, by the monks, and by the universities. It has always been the non-state who educates the state, the prophets who educate the monarch. However, since Martin Luther, the state has become our educator. We must oppose the state to claim the right to educate us. (excerpt 20)

English-based curriculums imported from the US has been widely used in the Christian school movement in China. Wang Yi and many CCE advocates have been asserting their moral authority over this model:

If a Christian school (in China) uses an English curriculum, it is not Christian Classical Education, but a pragmatic modern education through and through. According to the gospel, it is desertion of your own nation in the most cruel way. (excerpt 9)

As challengers in two interconnected fields, the PCC strive for moral authority over the current incumbents. Again, sociodices and mythologies play an important role. However, how successful the PCC can be in institutional and field building remains unclear as the Party-state tightens its control over the religious field. It also depends on whether the entrepreneur logic in their church expansion could pick up the same kind of momentum.

### Bringing in the Missional Church Conversation

Instead of resorting to a distinctively theological ethnographic method, I believe in instances where the sociological or anthropological ethnographic methods can better lay the ground for theological normative work.<sup>58</sup> This is because despite the disparate disciplinary concerns and discursive traditions between theology and social sciences, foregrounding theological questions too early would interfere with pursuing an objective picture of what is going on with the PCC. On the other hand, based on naturalistic methods, close ethnographic attention to the development of the PCC helps avoid setting up a strawman for normative work. In this case, the descriptive work based on naturalistic inquiry and social scientific framing lays the ground for missiological critique in this section.

Here it would be necessary to introduce the missional church conversation as the starting point for such normative work for its relevance to denominationalism and institutional church. The missional church conversation is particularly indebted to Leslie Newbigin's cultural critique of establishment thinking in an already pluralistic society. Developed from the emphasis of *missio Dei*, the missional church conversation is, first of all, a theological reorientation: "a shift from an *ecclesioncentric* (church-centered) view

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<sup>58</sup> Theologians attempting to do theological ethnography include Mary McClintock Fulkerson, Nicholas M. Healy, Christian Scharen, Aana Marie Vigen, Natalie Wigg-Stevenson, etc. Having been trained in ethnographic methods mostly under social scientists with no religious faith, I have always tried to bridge naturalistic methods with theological inquiries. While recognizing the tension in using sociological or anthropological ethnographic methods for theological research, I still reckon the inadequacy of theological ethnographic methods as the best mode of inquiry in all cases, given their lack of analytical categories such as denominationalism, the subject of study for this paper.

of mission to a *theocentric* (God-centered) one.”<sup>59</sup> The whole re-orientation resulted from the incompatibility of Christendom thinking with post-Christian society since WWII.

The missional church conversation appropriated in North America, as “a theologically informed social imagination,”<sup>60</sup> is as much a cultural critique<sup>61</sup> as it is a theological reconceptualization. It is part of the ongoing critique of the American church’s establishment thinking and accommodation with the dominant culture, with symptoms such as coercive political engagement, captivity to capitalism, and problematic congregational life. The missional church as we know it represents a form of cultural critique as it constructs a theologically informed self-understanding of the nature and identify of the church in God. For example, missiologist Greg Van Gelder asserts that in relation to the western culture, the U.S. church must “engage a substantive critique of the deep cultural narratives that frame our existence and shape our lives.”<sup>62</sup> Ethnographic data on missional church in North America provided by social scientists concur with theologians in this aspect. For example, anthropologist James S. Bielo, in his ethnographic studies of younger evangelicals in Cincinnati, Ohio whom he identifies as emerging and missional defines their effort to plant new churches as a cultural critique of

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<sup>59</sup> Darrell L. Guder and George R. Hunsberger, eds., *Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 81.

<sup>60</sup> Craig Van Gelder, Dwight J. Zscheile, and Alan Roxburgh, *The Missional Church in Perspective: Mapping Trends and Shaping the Conversation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 67.

<sup>61</sup> It should be clarified that the main reference framework and focus of this cultural critique is not the contemporary culture per se, but the established or mainstream church.

<sup>62</sup> Darrell L. Guder and Dwight Zscheile, "Participating in God's Mission: A Missiology for the U.S.," (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018), 228.

mainstream evangelicalism.<sup>63</sup> In a sense, the cultural critique aspect of the missional church provides strong continuity for this fluid conversation, whether it is approached from an overtly missiological perspective or predominantly social-scientific one.

Strong parallels exist between the development of missional church in North America and denominational church in China, with the paradox that the development of some denominational churches, such as the PCC, tries to be simultaneously institutional and missional. In a sense, the new development of the PCC serves as a cultural critique against mainstream Protestantism in China, the registered churches and traditional unregistered churches alike. For the registered churches, the critique is leveled against their accommodation with the state, which compromised their integrity as the true church. Against the traditional unregistered churches, the critique concerns their leadership structure, their emphasis of piety over theology and of morality over grace. Meanwhile, as they become denominational, they seek to gain more space from the state without compromising their integrity, and to inherit a theology of the cross and suffering from traditional unregistered church without strongman leadership and moralistic teaching. On the other hand, while the development of the PCC seeks to correct the anti-intellectual and anti-institutional bias of mainstream Chinese Christianity, it may fall into the traps of intellectualism and institutionalism.

With regard to political engagement, there also exist some continuity between the missional church conversation in North America and the denominational church

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<sup>63</sup> See James S. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals: Faith, Modernity, and the Desire for Authenticity* (New York: NYU Press, 2011).

conversation in China. Newbigin describes the Constantinian settlement as “the first great attempt to translate the universal claim of Christ into political terms.”<sup>64</sup> In the missional church conversation, Constantinianism is identified with the Christendom mentality.

Although the official historical Christendom ended in eighteenth century Europe with the Enlightenment and the revolutions, today a functional Christendom is evident in how the American churches “Christianize” their ideals of social order through legislation and electoral politics. The rise of conservative politics since the mid-1970s has created the cultural conditions that the missional church conversation has commonly critiqued.

Inheriting the strong social and political concerns from the reformed tradition, reformed churches in China also articulate their vision to “Christianize” China. However, they are not unaware of the perils of the Christendom error. Surprisingly, during a conference held during September 12-15, 2017, in Hong Kong, Wang Yi preached on cultural mandate and concluded, perhaps unknowingly, with an Anabaptist theology of culture: let the church be the church. Here is another point of interesting parallel with the missional church conversation in North America. As noted by Michael W. Goheen, the missional church reflection “has moved in a more Anabaptist direction than Newbigin.”<sup>65</sup> James D. Hunter, while concurring with the Anabaptist theologians that ecclesiology is the form by which engagement with the world takes place, remains skeptical of separatist tendencies

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<sup>64</sup> Leslie Newbigin, *Your Kingdom Come: Reflections on the Theme of the Melbourne Conference on World Mission and Evangelism* (Leeds: John Paul the Preacher Press, 1980), 47.

<sup>65</sup> Michael W. Goheen, “‘As the Father Has Sent Me, I Am Sending You’: Lesslie Newbigin’s Missionary Ecclesiology,” *International Review of Mission* 91, no. 362 (July 2002): 354–69, 367.

of the Anabaptist tradition.<sup>66</sup> In a similar note, the PCC seeks to go public as they overcome the separatist tendency of traditional unregistered churches. Many of my informants concur that the current foci of reformed theology are indeed on ecclesiology. However, how to move forward to formulate a coherent ecclesiology in light of the Chinese context poses challenges to the PCC advocates. Tension still exists between the Christendom and Anabaptist tendencies from the various spectrum of the PCC. While still inchoate, a missional ecclesiology is being constructed under way.

The emphasis of many PCC churches on theology rather than therapeutic messages and church practices reflects their rejection of consumerist capitalism, which in a way strikes the same note among American missional churches. For example, sociologist Will Samson characterizes the new monasticism arising among missional churches as a cultural critique against “the therapeutic deism (to use the term by Christian Smith) that pervades American evangelicalism” and “the individualistic, entertainment- based mentality of the megachurches.”<sup>67</sup> However, some PCC churches with more educated members, by solely emphasizing theology or the study of theology, would slip into intellectualism and what Richard H. Niebuhr critiqued as middle-class syndrome.<sup>68</sup> My ethnographic data indicates urban unregistered churches already adopted PCC style

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<sup>66</sup> See James Davison Hunter, *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World*, 1 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>67</sup> Will Samson, “The New Monasticism,” in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, eds. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff, *The New Evangelical Social Engagement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> See H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957).



Presbyterianism or eager to embrace the PCC mostly consist of members who are middle-class professionals or want to target at middle class professionals; there also exists the disjunction in terms of the aspiration for the church between intellectual and entrepreneurial reformed pastors and their average congregants. PCC churches tend to have a tighter membership system than their American counterparts in order to deal with consumerism resulted from church transfers.

Having broadly sketched the parallels between the appropriation of the missional church conversation in North America and that in China, this section examines how the PCC consciously adapts the missional church conversation in the Chinese context. This would include both their noble attempts and glaring failures. Several notable PCC pastors do consciously borrow from the missional church language in their own pastoral ministry and their effort in assisting other churches to establish and advance Presbyterianism. They have two primary concerns for the emerging Presbyterianism that they hope to counter by becoming intentionally missional. One is to maintain balance between the institutional and the organic. The other concerns how to balance the oversight of the clergy and the fulfilment of the laity.

A common theme running through my interviews with PCC advocates is their desire to establish order in their church, which they hope to achieve by establishing Presbyterian church government. Indeed, the rigorous polity and demanding ordination process of the PCC serve this purpose well. However, establishing a hierarchical system also has its drawbacks. For one, formally organizing a church in strictly Presbyterian form takes a long time and is often accompanied by conflicts and splits. Even previously

ordained ministers or formally seminary-trained candidates feel it difficult to get ordained in the PCC system. A pastor from a southern city was turned down for ordination because he was not yet thirty years old, even though he has effectively pastored a church for several years and obtained formal theological training. However, Wang Yi, the architect of the PCC, got ordained only six years after having become a Christian, because he was older then. This clearly contradicts the biblical teaching of not ordaining a recent convert (1 Timothy 3:6). For another, it is even more difficult to form a presbytery with several like-minded churches in the same region. Even one church in a church becomes reformed and Presbyterian, it does not make sense to call itself a Presbyterian church if there is no presbytery. Therefore, based on the PCC model, many standalone Presbyterian churches cannot participate in whatever the PCC has to offer because they are not legitimately Presbyterian. The form structure of the PCC brings notable changes on the congregational level as well. For example, the title of pastor or elder was rarely used to address those in pastoral leaders in the pre-PCC era. Instead, those in leadership was addressed simply as brothers or sisters. The spread of PCC style Presbyterianism has expedited the process of professionalization among urban unregistered churches. With hierarchy comes distance between the clergy and the laity. Any initiative taken up by average members in the congregations has to obtain consent from formally ordained leadership to gain legitimacy. This indeed poses challenges to the vitality of PCC as a movement, because the exponential growth of Chinese Protestantism in post-Mao era has significant correlation with lay participation. If the laity feel

constrained too much by ordained leadership, they may feel unfulfilled in their capacity of serving the church.

Pastor Peng, the second best-known person in the PCC network, consciously uses the missional church language. As acknowledged by Peng, emphasizing theological correctness and ministry consistency is likely to deter lay initiatives. However, he counter argues that the church's oversight of ministry operation is for long-term equipment of the saints (laity). He gives several examples. One is that several members of his church want to start a drama society like that of Early Rain. Yet he and the elders board do not think they have enough talented people for such a ministry. Therefore, the initiative is laid aside from the beginning. He gives another example of an aborted young adults ministry. Despite their great initiative, the attendance of this ministry dwindles to the point that they can no longer sustain this ministry. According to Pastor Peng, the first is a good example, whereas the second is a bad one. If the church allots budget to an unsuccessful ministry as such, it would be a wasteful of their resources. His argument does not seem strong enough to justify the overarching role of ordained leadership to suppress lay initiatives. In Early Rain, the articulation of the censorship role of the church is even stronger. Laity cannot start any teaching ministry, such as home Bible study, without the prior approval from the church. Despite their ostensible use of missional church conversation, WCP still prioritizes the oversight of the church. For them, the way to move organization forward is through clearly articulating and implementing the visions of church leadership, not by voluntary lay initiatives.

Gender role is another area of contention. According to my interviews, one of the first actions on the way to become properly Presbyterian is to depose women leaders. Based on the complementarian understanding of gender role, men and women are equal in status but complementary in their roles in the household and the church. That is to say, women need to submit to male leadership in the home and the church. Like their American counterparts, they strictly forbid women preaching and the ordaining women for ministry. Historically, women have played an important role in the house church tradition.<sup>69</sup> Even to this day, the majority of church attendance are women, with a good proportion still in leadership positions. Deposing their leadership following the practice of some American evangelicals could potentially disempower women. A critic of the PCC posts this on his social media account. In the denomination that he used to affiliate, an Anglican communion in North America, the bishops, while still opposing to ordaining women to pastoral ministry, express deep repentance for their failure to empower women for church ministry. To this day, some of my female interviewees still feel hurt by the heavy-handed action of PCC pastors to strip them of leadership roles, even though they now acknowledge the rationale behind these actions as biblical.

As mentioned earlier, studying catechisms and confessions has become an indispensable part of liturgy and church life. As the PCC becomes increasingly theological heavy, their worship style also takes on more traditional flavor. Even Pastor Jiang, an OPC minister heavily involved in the development of the PCC, expressed his amazement how these PCC churches almost exclusively sing traditional hymns, and

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<sup>69</sup> See Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*.

sometimes even Psalters. Except for Wang Yi's scanty reference to *The Canaan Hymns*,<sup>70</sup> the over one thousand folk style praise songs composed by the prolific rural house church song writer Lü Xiaomin, rarely do PCC advocates speak highly of such folksy music. It seems that they have adopted a western tradition at the expense of valuable house church tradition. Nor is contemporary Christian music used much in these PCC churches.

PCC advocates tend to be reticent about the role of the Holy Spirit in their theology and practice. In an interview of Pastor Peng, he concedes to the Pentecostal and Charismatic criticism of the Presbyterian trinity: Father, Son, and the Bible. However, he defends that the loci of the Holy Spirit in the reformed and Puritan tradition lie in the conscience of believers, and its manifestation is in ordinary means rather than any ostensible forms. Wang Yi says in the interview that the work of the Holy Spirit cannot overstep the Scripture and the church. Pastor Enoch (pseudonym) subjects the discussion of the Holy Spirit entirely under soteriology. He dismisses the missional language appropriated by his associates but instead uses a creational paradigm as it relates to kingdom to portray what God is doing through the PCC. The typical missional church language in the original sense emphasizes on the missionary Trinity as the prime agent in the holistic renewal of all things. The PCC, on the other hand, by its sole emphasis on the gospel and the work of Christ, does not seem to have its "trinity" capitalized. A pastor's

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<sup>70</sup> This hymn collection is nothing short of legendary, especially considering that Lü Xiaomin dropped out of junior high school because of illness and never had training in music composition (or hardly any music training for that matter). Mostly collected in *The Canaan Hymns*, her songs have been widely adopted by house churches and TSPM churches across China, some even circulating in Chinese diaspora churches around the world. Besides typical biblical themes such as suffering, *The Canaan Hymns* also highlight themes such as eschatology, Christ, election, the Holy Spirit. Wang Yi seems to like the theme of suffering articulated by Xiaomin's songs.

wife that I interviewed seems to locate the work of the Holy Spirit in the experience of believers who lack understanding, and to understand the salvific work of Christ only in terms of conversion, and the role of the father in terms of a deeper theological knowledge. In a word, the missional church conversation as appropriated by the PCC seems to have departed from the *missio dei* emphasis of the Triune God as agent in church renewal.

Related to the above-mentioned discussion on Trinity is their emphasis of covenant theology as a hermeneutic standard and Christ-centered preaching as a homiletical rule. For example, their emphasis on covenant is very much a legal framing of church government and practice. Instead of tracing their particular church polity to western Roman canon law, my informants tie it to covenant theology represented as a hermeneutical standard that emphasizes the continuity between the Old and New Testaments. The collection of actions such as practicing infant baptism, establishing church-based grade schools, joining church membership become corollaries of this hermeneutical standard, whereas in the American context such actions are generally practiced as part of the reformed tradition or disavowed as part of such tradition. For example, establishing Christian day schools are mostly practiced by the more fundamentalist wing of American evangelicalism; yet in the PCC, all these practices are packaged in one bundle under Presbyterianism. Additionally, gospel theology, presented through Christ-centered preaching, a homiletical standard that emphasizes grace, acts as both a restricting force and revitalizing one among unregistered churches: those who do not practice this homiletical standard are categorized as moralistic and pietistic while

practicing it becomes a way of renewing congregational life. On one hand, it seems that the emphasis on gospel renewal does help some pastors reduce legalistic tendencies. On the negative side, their emphasis of Christ-centered preaching has increasingly become a gimmick to assert superiority over traditional house churches and broad evangelical churches. On many occasions, I hear PCC advocates criticize traditional house church preachers as being too moralistic and devotional rather than historical-redemptive and theological. Their criticism seems to be solely based on this homiletical standard.

One glaring fact concerning the growth of the PCC is that many of its membership growth does not come from evangelism, but from church transfers. This pattern of growth is not unique to churches in the WCP. A southern city that I sampled from indicates the same pattern of growth. Pastor Ben (pseudonym), an American Chinese<sup>71</sup> pastor also expresses the concern that such pattern of church growth is not the right kind and is very likely to stretch pastoral care. He articulates three phases in the development of Presbyterianism: the prophet phase where theology precedes action, the king phase where church government is foremost, and the priest phase where pastoral care is the most essential. In order to solve the problems posed by church transfers, Pastor Peng has tightened their requirement on joining membership. Besides the difficulty of shepherding the transfers, intense political pressure also poses problem for pastoral care. A good case in point of this crisis is that some of Wang Yi's members, those followed

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<sup>71</sup> Shehong Chen uses the term "American Chinese" to refer to the historical first-generation Chinese immigrants in the United States to differentiate them from U.S.-born Chinese Americans. See Shehong Chen, "Republicanism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Capitalism in American Chinese Ideology," in *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America During the Exclusion Era*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 174.

him after the split of Early Rain, complain that the intense engagement with the state has been draining their spirit, making them unable to get adequate pastoral care. Wang Yi simply replies this kind of suffering is the best spiritual exercise. As a result, some members go back to join Pastor Watson's congregation. A recent gesture on the part of Wang Yi to soften his anti-statist tone is that he now blames the Religious Affairs Bureau for hijacking the religious policy of the government.

A seemingly accidental development out of Presbyterianism is church-based grade schools. As mentioned earlier, this type of school is simply Christian schools run by the church, but church-based public schools that only accept members' children and are heavily subsidized by church budget. The kind of covenant theology referenced earlier becomes the ideological basis for this kind of school. Buttressed by strong ideological articulation and institutional support, the church-based grade schools are spawning in PCC churches. However, how does this kind of school help the church become missional when they drain church finances and do not even accept children of non-members, let alone those of non-Christians? Wang Yi and his associates argue that their simple existence is kind of witnessing to the unbelieving world. While this Noah's ark kind of argument may sound noble, it is not even gaining consensus within PCC network. For example, Wang Yi's former associate pastor, Watson, is taking steps to withdraw church support to underwrite the operating cost for their school. After the split, he and the leadership of that congregation want to gradually let the school become an independent Christian school.

As has been elaborated above, although some PCC advocates try to appropriate



the missional church language, their actions mostly belie their sense of anticipated crisis. Perhaps Michael Goheen's insight to the missional church could shed some appreciative light on the PCC's effort to be missional. Understanding missional church as "a pioneer effort and not a definitive ecclesiology," Goheen calls for "a new model that creatively integrate the scriptural emphases of the Anabaptist and Reformed ecclesiologies while avoiding their corresponding weaknesses."<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the PCC advocates do make ample effort to develop a coherent and missional ecclesiology.

## Conclusion

The development of Presbyterianism in urban China represents much more than the evolution of a small denomination. Presenting its nascent development shows how the educated, urban, middle-class Christians experiment with models for governance and construct their version of Chinese civil society. In their discursive practice and institutional building, PCC advocates contend for moral authority over the overarching state and the incumbents in other interconnected fields. The class location, intellectual background, and action strategies of these new rising urban churches make them a good case for studying social change in urban China. Conceptualizing the newly rising Presbyterianism in terms of institutional transformation and social movement based on field theories could help advance theorizing in new directions. Concepts such as sociodices, mythologies, isomorphism, institutional entrepreneurs, incumbent and challengers all help bridge the divide between institutional and social movement theories,

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<sup>72</sup> Michael W. Goheen, "The Missional Church: Ecclesiological Discussion in the Gospel and Our Culture Network in North America," *Missiology: An International Review*, 30, no. 4 (2002): 479-490, 488.

taking into account both the objective (groups, hierarchies, institutions) and subjective elements (norms, values, identity).

The descriptive work in the preceding sections has laid ground for normative work in the last section. In light of the parallels between the missional church conversation in North America and in China, the PCC's effort to be missional is still laudable. Just as Wang Yi says, "the indigenous Reformed Church in China has, in the past twenty years, undergone what the Reformed Church in North America has gone through in one hundred years." Though still stumbling and trying to find its way, the reformed church in China seems on track of a promising path.

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寒冬已至，愿我们有道德勇气走下去  
——剖析王怡及秋雨圣约教会事件（严德良）

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# 寒冬已至，愿我们有道德勇气走下去 ——剖析王怡及秋雨圣约教会事件

作者：严德良

## 剖析王怡及秋雨圣约教会事件

二〇一九年十二月三十日，中国成都秋雨圣约归正长老教会（以下简称圣约堂）收到了沉重的消息，他们的牧师王怡因煽动颠覆国家政权及非法经营罪被判九年有期徒刑，并剥夺政治权利三年。不少人疑惑究竟这是个个别事件，还是象征着中国宗教自由已步入隆冬？是因王怡牧师及圣约堂在政治取态上的激进化所带来的后果，还是象征着中国宗教自由已步入隆冬？

文：严德良

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### 王怡：合则聚，不合则散，这是我们的文化传统

高志敏之妻，前天主教修女高志敏，因王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。高志敏之妻，前天主教修女高志敏，因王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。高志敏之妻，前天主教修女高志敏，因王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。

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## 秋雨圣约教会事件

### 圣约堂信徒取席前的内部分裂

王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。王怡牧师煽动颠覆国家政权罪，被判九年有期徒刑。

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还是中国整体社会控制收紧的必然结局？本文试从圣约堂的历史、二〇一六年开始的内部分裂等事件来分析，并将之放在中国的社会政治处境来理解，并借用加拿大蒙特利尔大学政治科学系助理教授玛丽伊芙瑞内（Marie-Eve Reny）对中国家庭教会的研究，尝试初步分析这件事。



王怡在 2018 年「六月四日为国家祷告」活动时，突遭警方带走。

### 王怡「公知」背景. 秋雨的文化使命

在分析之前，对王怡及秋雨之福归正教会（以下简称秋雨）的历史有初步认识，会帮助我们理解这件事于政教关系上的意义。（笔按：值得指出的是，不少报道指王怡于二〇〇五年创办圣约堂，这是

有问题的，因为圣约堂是二〇一七年复活节时，秋雨分裂成圣约堂及秋雨百花归正长老教会才有的名字。不少当中会友对于以圣约堂来代表整个秋雨是有不满。本文统一在分裂前称为秋雨，分裂后则各按堂会名字称之。)

王怡于一九七三年六月生在四川三台，于后文革时代中成长。虽然一九八九年六月四日的天安门事件发生时他只有十六岁，未能走上前线，但六四事件在他思想上已留下了深刻的烙印。他之后甚至形容自己「之所以能成为一个知识分子，只因我在精神上是六四之子」。这是他们这一批家庭教会领袖所共有的经验，塑造他们既是牧师又关心社会的特色。

一九九六年，他在大学任教法律，并以中国宪政转型作为研究与讲课的重点。在二〇〇〇年起，他开始于网上发表思想随笔及政治评论。这让他被《南方人物周刊》评选为「影响中国的五十位公共知识分子」，是典型的中国「公知」。

二〇〇三年开始，他的法律背景使他开始介入多宗维权个案，让他有机会接触到家庭教会。但他的维权活动使他被党国机构封杀，故二〇〇四年他被迫静下来，却因此机会在同为「公知」的余杰陪伴下，于二〇〇五年决志信主，并建立了秋雨之福团契，从此他便立志「一切都为了见证基督」而作。而王怡的转向，正好是当代不少维权律师及知识分子的写照——因争取社会公义而认识基督教信仰。

王怡的「公知」身份，使团契从成立之初就受到政府关注。过往家庭教会因处地下状态所产生种种的不良现象也使王怡有所反思，故他提出家庭教会需要公开化的想法，希望改变过往的情况。

因此，从二〇〇六年开始，秋雨就积极于信条与章程的起草，希望能使教会进一步规范化。

二〇〇八年五月十二日，四川汶川发生大地震，这不单是一场灾难，也同时改变了中国家庭教会的历史。因为全国不少家庭教会都从地下走上公共的舞台，以志愿团体的身份进行了大量的救灾工作。秋雨也在其中，并认识了全国家庭教会的领袖，又在众教牧的见证下从团契转变成为一所公开的教会。

到二〇〇九年，秋雨已有第一批会友及长老同工。与北京守望教会相似，他们也为了有独立于三自的公民团体身份，而进行了司法维权，甚至户外崇拜。最终在二〇一〇年，秋雨以教会成员个人名义购得堂址，结束户外崇拜。

教会亦开始全面发展，不单会友数目增加，教会制度进一步完善。二〇一一年至一二年间，王怡与王华生先后考取教牧资格，成为教会的全职牧者。二〇一三年更是秋雨发展突破的一年，因为他们与另外两所教会合组成华西区会，进一步迈向成熟的改革宗长老会体制。

因着王怡「公知」的背景等，秋雨也有独特的发展。事工上，如二〇一一年开拓了「良心犯家属援助基金」，二〇一二年建立了「儿童节不要堕胎」义工小组（针对一孩政策的问题）。秋雨更将赵天恩牧师提出的「三化异象」——「中国福音化、教会国度化、文化基督化」，列入堂会的章程中作为教会的异象。可见秋雨从其成立之初，已有很强的文化使命（cultural mandate），并且积极将凯

波尔 (Abraham Kuyper) 式的新加尔文主义 (Neo-Calvinism) 融入中国教会的发展之中，成了秋雨的底色。



(秋雨之福大抓捕专页图片)

### 圣约堂被取缔前的内部分裂

可是，这样的特质在当代的党国威权体制下，无疑会为教会带来沉重的政治压力。而秋雨急速的扩张（如二〇一六年时聚会人数已达六百人），事工种类繁多，亦使秋雨许多内部的牧养问题与不稳因素都淹没在工作当中，没有处理。加上教会内两位牧师处事风格及领受异象不同，又缺乏沟通时间，最终导致秋雨在二〇一六年开始出现冲突与分裂。

第一件冲突事件是有关教会办学的问题。为了教会下一代免受政府无神论意识形态洗脑，秋雨积极推展基督教古典教育的事工，办了圣约归正学堂，想将孩子的教育权重新取回教会手里，重塑孩童的世界观。但这就牵涉到教会资源分配的问题，故不少会友质疑为何不是建老人院？为何要动用全教会之力去建学校？这类质疑都在内部引发很大争议。

第二件是秋雨植堂的问题。由于秋雨人数增长迅速，加上牧师风格差异的问题日益浮现，故王怡希望以植堂／分堂的方式，让两位牧师分别治理一所堂会，从而化解内部问题。但当时的秋雨刚刚购入了较大的新堂址，使分堂变得困难（财政的负担）。

然而，牧师之间分歧已非常严重，促使王怡在没有经区会批准下，提前执行了分堂的计划。于二〇一七年的复活节主日，他带领一批会众到了另一处新购的堂址进行崇拜。由于不是按照计划进行，不少会众都是当日才知晓。当然这亦有现实政治考量，因《宗教事务条例》及家庭教会的敏感身份，过往不少家庭教会也是秘密购堂，但这与秋雨的章程不符。更重要是，牧师的分歧变得公开，秋雨百花归正长老教会（以下简称百花堂）与圣约堂的会友亦因此出现了对立的情绪。之后，区会曾经尝试介入调停，并对两位牧师作出劝诫，但成效不大，甚至最后要成立教会纪律惩戒的法庭（court）来处理两堂会及牧者的争议。

而分堂亦使王怡所带领的圣约堂与王华生牧师所带领的百花堂的发展差异日大。基本上所有社会公义的事工都由圣约堂继续营

运，而百花堂只保留了反堕胎事工及学堂这些他们认为是与圣经直接教导有关的工作。

第三件就是二〇一八年五月十二日的祷告会事件。自汶川大地震以来，秋雨每年都会为此办祷告会，甚至将之后的一个月，连同六四祷告会，定为为国家祷告的月份。二〇一八年刚好是汶川地震十周年，国家总理到访，使成都的气氛变得空前紧张。可以想象到，若圣约堂继续公开举办祷告会，并且于社交网络平台上宣传，定会引起有关当局的注意与打压。这便引来国内教会广泛的评论，特别是百花堂成员的质疑，终使区会要开庭审理。区会的聚会堂会决定，如无违反圣经真理与章程，就不会介入。在连串的往还当中，百花堂与区会亦因此有很大的磨擦，进一步加强了双方对立的情绪。

圣约堂与百花堂的分道扬镳，使圣约堂的立场取态更为鲜明，如开始更为高调的街头布道。王怡在二〇一八年亦开始于圣约堂讲授中国家庭教会历史课，并强调自王明道以来的不服从传统。他又在八月底带头作全国性的牧者联署，以回应新修订的《宗教事务条例》。他甚至在九月讲道时直指习近平亦同为神学意义上的罪人。这不单透过诠释过往历史，为当下教会的抗争赋予上神学意义，更证明了王怡及圣约堂在全国的号召力与影响力。故王怡于九月时就写好了〈我的声明：信仰上的抗命〉，因他明白在这样的处境下如此行是要付出代价的。最终，圣约堂在二〇一八年十二月九日被全面取缔。



2018年6月，圣约堂几位信徒被捕获释后在警察局外留影。

### 习近平新时代宗教秩序的重要试点案例

从上文可见，秋雨及圣约堂当中有许多的内部问题，而其处理手法亦有商榷的空间。不过，以此总结圣约堂被取缔是教会及王怡自身激进化的结果，就有明显的偏颇。其实自二〇一八年二月，新修订的《宗教事务条例》实施，家庭教会的生存空间已被收紧。加上自习近平上台后，对意识形态的控制不断增加，如二〇一五年五月十八至二十日的中共中央统战工作会议上，就一再强调「境外宗教渗透活动加剧，宗教极端主义势力抬头」，为了防止被「和平演变」，因此近年不断强调基督教需要「中国化」，使之能培养出「政



治上靠得住、宗教上有造诣、品德上能服众、关键时起作用」的领袖。可见，政府是整体上加强对宗教的控制力度，并且以全国性政策层面来打击家庭教会。

为何选择圣约堂为重点打击对象？政治学者玛丽伊芙瑞内的理论正好帮助我们理解这个问题。她曾于中国走访了大量的城市家庭教会，亦拜访过不同宗教、公安部门。让她不解的是，既然家庭教会没有「合法」的地位，为何有关部门仍然容忍这些「不合法」的存在？在考察不同理论解说后，瑞内认为中国的威权体制在维持其韧性 (resilience) 上有其独特性，并且总结政府的底线有二：一、该教会能与政府的利益调和 (interest reconcilability) ，即教会能在政府的直接管治之外，但不能反对共产党的管治与合法性。二、不能有紧密的组织网络 (cohesive network) ，不论是垂直的还是横向的，因为这代表有强大的动员能力。若超出这两条，就代表政府难以遏止 (contain) 有关教会的发展，并需以打压、取缔方式来维护其体制的安全。瑞内更指出，中国政府尝试将这两条底线内化于教会的思维上，让他们能「自愿」与政府合作。

可是，不幸地，如上文言，圣约堂及王怡正好无视了有关的底线。他们既有区会等垂直的教会治理架构，其教会的神学与异象又不断地挑战了共产党的管治合法性，甚至教会的事工明确地与政府争取意识形态的主导权。用他们的话，就是「真教会与无神论的政府在本质上必然冲突」。故可以言，正正是他们忠于教会所领受的神学与异象，所以必然会遭到政府的沉重打击。

而圣约堂被取缔后，整个区会底下的所有堂会亦被陆续解散。到了二〇一九年八月底，辖下所有堂会已被迫分成小组，转到地下。另外，如北京的锡安教会、厦门巡司顶教会、徐州的道恩长老教会等，亦出现被打压、取缔的情况。可见，在威权日盛的情况下，共产党已容忍不下所有具组织力而又不受其管束的社团存在。而改革宗长老会因其庞大而坚实的神学信念体系，并且拥有组织力强的教会体制，被打压，甚至被地方干部定为「异端」，似乎这就是必然的结果。所以问题往往不是会否打击，而是打击何时来到。

而政府打压的手段，亦明显是想达到阻吓作用，不单是牧师、长老、传道人、执事被捕，还包括不同的神学生、小组组长，其执法的深度超出了之前的宗教案件。政府亦清楚掌握了所有圣约堂的堂点及布道所的位置，全部被同时取缔。而自二〇一八年以来，同工会友所遭受的骚扰打压，亦证明政府不想圣约堂有任何「翻身」的机会。进一步言，王怡获判刑九年，圣约堂长老覃德富被判四年，蒋蓉师母没有发表过任何公开言论亦同样被控「煽动颠覆国家罪」，这些都清晰显示政府杀鸡儆猴的意图。不可忽略的是，政府对教会的渗透，清楚了解百花堂与圣约堂不和，甚至想利用「拉一派，打一派」的策略来处理此事，足见政府的情报收集工作、网络监控的能力，都大大超出过往所见到的情况。

故此，王怡及圣约堂的案件不能视为个别案例，我们应该视此为习近平新时代宗教秩序的重要试点案例，政府以此来「重创」这类抗争型的家庭教会。而其处理手法亦会在可见的将来被应用到其他类似的案件上。从这观点来推论，除非中国的党国体制在这十年

之间突然出现剧变，否则，笔者相信未来十年内地教会将会有一定的休整，并从公民社会及各项文化使命的事工中稍为退下来，或转到地下继续进行。并且，她们抗争的方式将会变得更为间接，如以手抄圣经运动来应对官方希望重译圣经的举动，以生活化的方式来持续抗争 (everyday-life resistance)；再者，较松散的浸信会体制形式在国内会变得主流。

寒冬已至，愿我们都有道德的勇气继续走下去。

(标题及分题为编者所拟。作者为香港中文大学宗教研究系研究生，专研当代中国改革宗教会。)

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2020年1月10日

## 公义和平安彼此相亲——评成都秋雨之福教会争取信仰公开化的努力（余杰）

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此文收录在余杰著的《谁为神州理旧疆？——中国的信仰重建与社会转型》（台北：基文社，2010年）中。

作者余杰，1973年生于四川成都，2000年获北大文学硕士学位。1998年出版处女作《火与冰》，风靡大学校园，深受青年读者喜爱，发行超过百万册，被视为天安门民主运动自由精神薪火相传的标志。2000—2012年1月，居住于北京，从事独立写作，并积极参与诸多人权活动。发表上千万字的散文、小说、政治评论、学术论文，其中结集出版的作品有35本之多。

2003年12月受洗成为基督徒，参与创建北京方舟教会，从此深切介入争取宗教信仰自由的活动及公共神学之研究。2005年，当选为独立中文笔会理事、副会长，与刘晓波一起努力突破中共对民间结社自由之限制。2012年1月移居美国，继续从事批判中共独裁体制的政论写作及研究，为自由亚洲电台、《开放》杂志、“纵览中国”网站等媒体之特约撰稿人。

《火与冰》曾入选席殊读书俱乐部“1998年度中国十大好书”，《香草山》获颁香港汤清基督教文艺奖“2006年年奖”，《从柏林围墙到天安门》及《中国影帝温家宝》分别入选2009年度和2010年度“香港书奖”决选名单。2001年，获得亚洲出版协会之“年度最佳

评论奖”。2003年，获得纽约万人杰基金会之“万人杰文化新闻奖”。2012年，获索尔仁尼琴参与创办的纽约特雷恩基金会（The Train Foundation）之“公民勇气奖”（Civil Courage Prize）。

二零零九年下半年以來，成都秋雨之福教會、上海金燈臺教會、上海萬邦教會、北京守望教會等多個新興城市教會先後受到來自中共不同形式之逼迫。這新一輪的逼迫，是來自中央政府的“統一部署”各地方政府“不約而同”的“同時出擊”，我們尚不得而知。其實絞盡腦汁地揣測當局宗教政策的波動遠為重要的是：教會如何運用經和憲法的方式，來應對一個失去合法性的政府肆意侵犯公民宗教自由的作為？各教會應對逼迫的方式各不相同，這與每個教會不同的處境密切相關；但是，各種應對方式在本質上都應當是一致的，那教會的根基建立在磐石之上，如聖經所說“我以耶和華為我的避難，叫我訴說你一切的作為”。

對於成都秋雨之福教會來說，從在成都郊外的聚會遭到宗教壓迫和處罰，到被不明身份的人士禁止使用合法租用的寫字樓做禮拜，直到收到來自民政局的“取締令”，這一系列逐漸升級的逼迫，反而使他們更堅定地走向公共空間，成為中國家庭教會當中爭取信仰公開化先鋒。二零零九年八月，經過九個星期的戶外崇拜之後，他們終於搬入購置的寫字樓中聚會，並以之作為教會較為固定的會址。九月初，我隨同教會到秋雨之福教會的新堂探訪。他們的佈置一新的教會，面積達三百多平方米，主堂可容納一百四十人左右，主日座無虛席。他們還專門設置了收藏數千冊基督教書籍的圖書館，既對本會會友開放，也對成都眾教區附近的社區開放。逼迫在哪裡顯多，恩典便在哪裡顯多，我為秋雨之福教會在逼迫之下的復興與火熱而充滿感恩。如聖經所說，公義和平安彼此相連，一個追求公義的教會才有真正的平安；相反，如果為了暫時的“平安”而犧牲公義，這樣的教會反倒會喪失長久的平安。

面對逼迫，教會何為？秋雨之福教會應對逼迫的每一個步驟，可說都是靈巧如蛇、馴良如鴿，都充滿了由上帝而來的智慧與勇氣。長期來，由於受到中國傳統文化觀念的腐蝕，無論是世俗的民主運動和維權運動的許多做法，還是教會處理內部事務及公共事務的方式，往往都將權與謀略看得高於真理與價值。權術與謀略是多數中國人生活中不言自明“潛規則”，在中國，幾乎人人都是諸葛亮、人人都是曾國藩、人人都毛澤東。這些潛規則歸結起來無非是兩條，一是“為了達到目標，可以擇手段”，二是“物競天擇，適者生存”。在我看來，這正是民主運動維權運動屢戰屢敗、沒有出路的根本癥結，也正是中國教會在真道上步履蹣跚的“阿基里斯之踵”。

主後兩千多年以來，教會在大部分時候都身處“敵基督”和“非義”的外部環境之中。美國神學家保羅·尼特在《全球責任與基督信仰》一書中指出：“不僅在面臨邪惡或者無法忍受的事情時，而且它們面對我們時，我們需要某些絕對的或者決定性的確信。當壓力繼續著，當控制和壓迫的結構使人抬不起頭來時，基督教共同體需要清楚的、毫無疑問的規範。”<sup>1</sup>這一次，我欣慰地看到，秋雨之福教會在面對政府的逼迫時所作出的每一個回應，不是出於人自己的策略甚至“戰略”，乃是出於信徒對上帝的信靠與對真理的堅守。在上帝眼裡，那些心思單純的基督和教會是有福的。此次秋雨之福教會爭取信仰公開化的努力，凸顯出一套純正的教會觀、社會觀和法治觀，這三種觀念環環相扣，牽一髮而動全身，都是中國眾教會亟待建立和加強的關鍵部分。

**教會觀：凡以上帝為父親的，便以教會為他們的母親**

什麼是教會？耶穌說：“無論在哪裡，有兩三個人奉我的名聚會，哪裡就有我在他們中間。”加爾文說：“當我們看見上帝的話語被完



講授和聆聽，並且聖禮按照基督的設定而被施行，我們就不可以教會的存在。”中國教會和基督徒在信仰上最薄弱的部分，便是尤其是“大公教會觀”。首先，以鄉村教會而論，由於深受中國宗教的侵蝕，且在當局長期的、嚴厲的打壓之下，故而以“地下”狀態存在。教會一旦變成“地下”，便失去了“大公性”，便給的產生和泛濫以機會。從太平天國到東方閃電，均是在此“教會化”的情形之下出現的。其次，以最近二十年來出現的新興城市而言，由於城市人口的流動性，由於缺乏源遠流長的大公教會傳統，會在基督徒與教會關係的教導上一般都較為薄弱。不僅會友對教會的虔敬度較低，而且教會的帶領人在教會與教會之間的聯接上也存在較多問題。再次，相當一部分中產階級和知識份子當中的基督徒，由於受上八十年代“文化基督徒”思潮的影響，不明白聖言的“共用性”

“一個人的基督徒”的狀態才“最接近上帝”。他們對教會的本質缺乏認識，也不願委身於教會。他們對組織化、建制化的教會有一種本能與反感，不接受加爾文對教會的崇高定義：“你不可能有上帝成為父親，除非你有教會成為你的母親”。以上三種“大公教會觀”缺陷，是未來中國教會發展的一個內在的隱憂。

此次秋雨之福教會受到政府的逼迫，他們的第一舉動便是向政府發出呼籲、請求代禱，以彰顯自己是大公教會之一員。這一做法的正確性，是符合大公教會觀的。當然，這一資訊不可能在黨控制的傳統媒體上發布。但有了互聯網這個“上帝賜予中國人的最好的禮物”，此一資訊便迅速傳遞到海內外千千萬萬教會那裡，不僅是華人教會，而且是普世教會。大家都在關注秋雨之福教會的安危，都在為秋雨之福教會懇切禱告。當局對教會，採取的是“分而治之”的策略；而教會應對的方式，則應當是符合大公教會觀的支援與聲援。正如莎士比亞戲劇《李爾王》中，李爾王對大臣們所做的示範：一根筷子拿在手中一下子就被折斷，一把筷子拿在手中就不能被折斷。秋雨之福教會每周在戶外崇拜的資訊都在網路上發布，

兒姊妹以巨大的安慰和鼓舞。

喪鐘不是為哪一個人而鳴，而是為所有人而鳴；受到逼迫的不是“某一個”教會，而是“每一個”教會。基督徒對主的愛，必然體現在“愛人如己”和“愛鄰舍”上，必然體現在愛教會上——不僅愛自己所在的教會，也愛每一個與主同在、與主同行的教會。教會不應為宗派之分歧而紛爭不已，C.S. 路易斯說過，因宗派而紛爭乃是撒旦拆毀教會的最好辦法；教會更不應當陷入當局的挑撥離間之計，如某些人所做的那樣，不去譴責作為加害者的掌權者，反倒對作為受害者的肢體“雞蛋裡挑骨頭”，這是鹽失去味道、人失去愛心的表現。如果眾教會都能做到“與捆綁者同捆綁，與哀哭者同哀哭”，那麼受逼迫的“這一個”教會便不會處於孤獨無助的境地。而官方發現眾教會齊心協力，在選擇“下一個”教會作為逼迫物件的時候，就不得不再三權衡利弊得失了。

凡是上帝的真教會，必然是大公教會。“大公”的希臘文原意是“關乎全體”，後來演變為拉丁文後，意思是“普遍的”、“普世的”。“大公教會”一語已知的最早使用，出現於安提阿的伊格納修的著作中，他約在西元 110 年於羅馬殉道，他說：“耶穌基督在哪裡，哪裡就是大公教會。”馬丁·路德的助手、神學家梅蘭希頓也指出：“為什麼這個用語加插在信經的條文中，以致教會被稱為大公？因為它是散佈至全世界的一個集會，並且因為它的成員，不論他們是在什麼地方，在地理上如何分隔，他們都接納和公開承認同一言辭和真確教義，從始至終穿越一切時代。”<sup>2</sup> 職之是故，中國教會的復興，離不開“大公教會觀”的建構和對教會的“大公性”的回歸。“大公教會觀”的建構和對教會的“大公性”的回歸，第一步是中國教會自身的“大公化”。中國教會的主體，應當由地下狀態、隱秘存在、彼此隔膜的家庭教會，轉化成為明光照耀、彼此聯接、具有“因真理得自由”的願景的大公教會。教會之間的聯接，既包括屬靈上的聯接，也包括事工上的聯接，讓中國教會成為一個聲氣相通的共同體。第二步是中國教會與普世教會之間建立互為肢體的聯接。既然共產

黨都可以組建“共產國際”，教會之間跨越國界和種族的聯繫為何是  
的呢？中國教會理應掙脫違背聖經的“三自神學”和狹隘的民族主義  
縛，改變因恐懼而造成的“自我封閉”和“自我設限”，理所當然地  
普世教會的大家庭之中。

## 社會觀：“聖召”意味著“一個此世的活動或事業”

中國舊式之家庭教會，大都遵循世俗絕對二分之社會觀。這種社  
觀的形成，有三個原因及淵源。其一，是嫁接自天主教的傳統。修  
式的基督教（這幾乎是中世紀時期所有最好的基督教神學和靈修作品的  
生之地）多少以鄙視的眼光來看待世界以及在其中汲汲營營的人。天主  
強調，真正的基督徒會離開世界，進入一所修道院的屬靈保障之中。  
此意義上，雖然自第一個新教傳教士馬禮遜入華已經兩百年，但中國的  
教教會並沒有經歷一場真正意義上的“宗教改革”。中國的新教教會對  
界的看法，帶有天主教強烈的遁世主義色彩。其二，是受中國傳統文化  
“隱逸”思想的影響，從《詩經》中“適彼樂土”的呼喊，到孔子“邦  
道則隱”的處世哲學；從陶淵明對“桃花源”的憧憬，到蘇東坡“人生  
夢”的感歎，用劉小楓的說法，中國士大夫最高的人生境界就是儒道互  
的“逍遙”。這種“隱逸”與“逍遙”的精神，潛移默化地侵蝕了中國  
會的社會觀，而它恰恰就是肯定世界、積極進取的清教徒精神的反面。  
三，是一種基於險惡的現實處境的策略考量。中華人民共和國建立六十  
以來，無神論政權在不同的時期以不同的方式壓迫教會，使許多教會削  
適履，甚至以犧牲信仰的整全性和真理的全備性的代價，達成教會之苟  
殘喘。故而，世俗二分、不問政治的社會觀為教會提供了所謂的“安全  
障”。久而久之，這種“委屈求存”的“變色龍”式的生存方式，反而被  
貼上“屬靈”的標籤被高舉起來。正是以上三種原因和淵源，使得教會成

為社會中的孤島，使得基督徒的教會生活與日常生活隔絕甚至對立。

那麼，清教徒的社會觀和世界觀是什麼呢？這種社會觀和世界觀是否可以移植到中國教會之中呢？宗教改革及清教徒運動，四百多年前肇始於歐洲、三百多年前興盛於英國、兩百多年前熟透於北美，憑藉著對聖經真理的回歸和對天主教偏差的更正，改變了教會的基本面貌和人類近代文明的走向。有多少中國人知道，美國崛起的祕密在日內瓦呢？“社會組織的強烈意識成為‘加爾文主義’的主要特色，這可以追溯至加爾文的日內瓦所持的政治理論。當清教徒立足於新世界時，他們所帶來的不只是一種宗教，而是一種社會遺象，其根源在於今天瑞士的一個小鎮中。”<sup>4</sup>在十六世紀，宗教改革如同一場暴風驟雨，改變了教堂建築的風格，改變了主日崇拜的儀式，讓翻譯成各民族語言的聖經人手一冊，讓每一個信徒直接與上帝建立生命的聯繫；五百年以後，宗教改革仍然不是一段已經過去的歷史，它像春雨一樣“隨風潛入夜，潤物細無聲”，吹拂在歐洲與北美之外的土地上。在此意義上，加爾文主義為人類締造了一種現代化的生活方式和價值體系，“加爾文主義不是一系列既抽象又不相干的宗教原則，而是在人類存在的具體現實（尤其是城市存在）中根深蒂固的宗教，甚至在加爾文主義者所有觀點之中可能最抽象的預定論，關注的其實也是人世間的事。比起基督教其他的所有現代形式，加爾文主義能更好地與西方文化接軌，足以由內而外改變西方文化。加爾文主義者鼓勵直接接觸世界，而非過隱居生活。”<sup>5</sup>

清教徒是一群“蒙召”的人，正如神學家斯托得所論：“基督教的本質，不但是獲得永生，也是在世上被呼召去行動。”以美國而論，美國不是一個以基督教為國教的國家，但無人可以否認美國是一個清教徒建立的國家，一個充滿清教徒精神的國家。儘管最近幾十年來美國深受世俗主義的衝擊，但其立國之本仍未動搖，其價值源泉仍未斷絕。美國法學家

<sup>4</sup>（英）阿利斯特·麥格拉恩《宗教改革運動思潮》，中國社會科學出版社，2009年第1版，第255頁。

伯爾曼如此分析加爾文主義對英語世界的文化、經濟和社會、政治的影響；加爾文宗清教教義從根本上而言乃是倡導共同體主義的宗教，它強調一個神聖盟約的存在，根據這個盟約，信徒的聚會乃是“照耀世界上所有國家的一縷光線”，是“山上的一座城”。這接下來又導致不僅強調勤工作、自我修養、遵守法律以及其他諸種美德——它們後來被稱為清教理，而且，還強調人類關於公共責任、社區服務、團體企業、相互信任以及其他諸種牽涉於公共精神之品質的契約的神聖性。<sup>6</sup>

可以說，沒有近代城市的興起，便沒有宗教改革的社會基礎，“歐洲宗教改革的主要特徵，在於這種宗教改革很大程度上是一種城市現象。”<sup>7</sup>同樣的道理，沒有近二十年來中國的城市化進程，便沒有新城市教會的迅速發展以及清教徒精神對這批教會的洗滌。我這裡所論的中國新興城市教會，具有以下四個特徵：第一，所謂“新興”，是1989年之後在中國社會的政治、經濟、文化的劇烈變動之中出現的教會；第二，所謂“城市”，包括直轄市、省會城市和計劃單列市等經濟較為發達、已經出現教會可以公開生存的公共空間的“大都市”；第三，這類教會會友的主體，是正在成形中的城市中產階級和專業人士，傳統的鄉鎮教會的治理模式和神學立場已經不能滿足這類人群的信仰與生活之需求；第四，這類教會的教導和牧養因而越來越具有整全性，包括了基督徒生活與生命的各項內容，如加爾文所論，“基督徒生活的真正本分是在現世的城鎮、市集和議事堂裡”，“所有基督徒都是蒙召成為祭司，而蒙召命是延伸至日常世界中的。他們蒙召在當中潔淨和聖化世界的日常生活”。<sup>8</sup>

秋雨之福教會便是這樣一個新興城市教會。在受到政府逼迫之時，他們沒有像此前許多有過類似遭遇的教會那樣，退回小組團契的模式。

<sup>6</sup> (美) 哈羅得·J. 伯爾曼《法律與革命（第二卷）：新教改革對西方法律傳統的影響》，法律出版社，2008年第1版，第11頁。

<sup>7</sup> (英) 阿利斯特·麥格拉恩《加爾文傳：現代西方文化的塑造者》，中國社會科學出版社，2009年第1版，第82頁。

並對自己遭受之不公正待遇保持沈默，“打碎牙齒往腹中吞”，以此避免當局的打壓升級；相反，在原有的合法的聚會場所遭到查封之後，他們挺身進入公園、進入城市中心的空地，在警察和政府工作人員嚴密的監視和許多非基督徒市民好奇的旁觀之下，毫無畏懼地展開“公共崇拜”，如此持續了九個禮拜日，直至遷入新堂。秋雨之福教會作出此一決定，不是出於人的血氣，不是故意讓對抗升級，乃是由教會的異象推導而來——秋雨之福教會的異象是：“委身真理，建造福音化家庭；委身時代，推動教會的公開化；委身四川，廣傳福音，服事本地教會；委身職場，在工作中以福音更新文化；委身社會，關懷災區，做好撒瑪利亞人。”這五個“委身”，將趙天恩牧師“中國福音化、文化基督化、教會國度化”的“三化異象”具體化了；這五個“委身”，也秉承了加爾文神學的主旨——教會與這個世界“可以區分但不可以分割”，基督徒“是蒙召在世界中服事上帝的”。

## 法治觀：我要在君王面前訴說上帝的法度

基督教是一種公共宗教，基督教信仰為近代法治社會提供了最深厚的價值依託：聖經本身就是一本法律之書，是上帝與人類所立之“約”，以及上帝向人類所頒之“誡”。在法學層面上，宗教改革並非全盤推翻羅馬法和天主教教會法的傳統，而是對其進行“治癒”與“更新”，如美國法學家伯爾曼所論：“過去兩千年間歷盡艱辛建立起來的西方法學的偉大原則：公民不服從的原則，旨在使人性昇華的法律改革原則，多種法律制度並存的原則，法律與道德體系保持一致的原則，財產神聖和基於個人意志的契約權利原則，良心自由原則，統治者權力受法律限制的原則，立法機構對公共輿論負責的原則，社會和經濟行為的法律後果可以預支的原則，以及較晚出現的國家利益和公共福利有限的原則……在作為整體的西方人看來，它們首先是歷史的產物，主要產生於基督教會在其歷史的各個階段的經驗。”<sup>9</sup>所以，在西方文化的語境之下，法學與神學一脈相承。

（往往先是法學家，然後成為神學家）。在加爾文當時學習的一本教材《法學綱要》中，赫然寫著這樣一些最基本的詞語：公正、法理、自然法等等。“每一個語詞不只有法學上的意涵，還有道德、倫理和神學上的意義。”例如，“公正”是“恆久不變的意志，此意志賦予權力”，“法理學”是“對屬神和屬人的事情的知識，關乎公義和不法的學科”。<sup>10</sup>而正是加爾文深厚的法學背景，使他的神學思考具有了法學的維度，也使他在處理政教關係等敏感議題時遊刃有餘。在日內瓦，加爾文既是一位為所有基督徒和公民制訂信仰告白的牧師，也是一位對議會和城市的內政外交有巨大影響力的政治活動家。

與西方社會法治化的發展歷程相反，中國是最缺乏法治精神和意識的東方國家之一。中國古代政治哲學的核心，是為“天子即皇帝”的“家天下秩序”提供解釋。比如，在天壇的祭祀結構中，“來自於天為天子的王權與來自於私人血統原理、作為皇帝的王權是並存的”。這一權力結構當中，法律的公正位於君王的好惡之下，王子犯法從來不與庶民同罪。立法權和司法權沒有獨立於行政權之外，法官的職責由行政官員來代理，“刑”（法）與“民”（政）不分，沒有“律師”這一職業，只有被瞧不起的“訟師”或“紹興師爺”。普通百姓認為，只有“刁民”才會與法律發生關係，“良民”最好一輩子都與法律無涉。而在中共執政以來的六十年中，法治被“馬克思主義化”了：在法律的創設、實施和教育宣傳當中，都貫徹了所謂的“馬克思主義法治觀”，即“法律是統治階級實現其統治的工具”，使得作為被統治階級的普通民眾更是“談法色變”。以上的歷史與現實所形成的生活方式和思維方式，自然被帶到教會之中，深深地影響到教會的建構、神學的取向以及教會與社會之間關係的處理。所以，中國的基督教是一種“非法律的基督教”和“私人化的基督教”，中國教會對於如何促使教會的外部環境達成法治社會的問題基本

<sup>10</sup>（美）伯爾曼《法律與宗教》，中國政法大學出版社，2003年第1版，第64頁。

作思考與回應，在教會自身的組織建構過程中也排斥法治與民主的觀念，造成了中國社會和中國教會在“非法治”與“非民主”上的同構性。

在這樣的背景下，觀察和分析秋雨之福教會在遭遇政府逼迫之後的若干做法，對眾教會不無啟示意義：無論是撥打110報警，還是撥打市長熱線投訴警方的不作為；無論是向行政分支機構提出行政復議，還是向法院提起法律訴訟，他們將憲法和法律在紙面上賦予公民的一切權利都在實際生活中作了“沙盤推演”般的實踐。他們每一步的應對，都是依法行事，都有禮有節、不卑不亢，體現出教會是一群好公民組成的模範共同體，也體現出新教的信仰體系是“對法律秩序和法律正義進行更新的重要淵源”。<sup>12</sup>有意思的是，在今天的中國，包括秋雨之福教會教導長老王怡在內的、城市新興教會的新一代傳道人和同工，不少人都是具備法律的專業教育或律師的職業身份的公共知識份子。這是上帝對處於逼迫之下的中國教會的祝福：這些瞭解法律、扎根教會的基督徒，不僅在若干具體的宗教迫害案件中幫助教會依法行事、從容應對；更以正統的新教教義為基礎，幫助教會樹立正確的法治觀——上帝以他們為管道，讓教會認識到，法律乃是上帝賜予基督徒捍衛其宗教信仰自由的武器，而只有建立一個法治的社會方能彰顯上帝之公義。

對於尚不具備合法身份的中國家庭教會而言，儘管現行的《中華人民共和國憲法》及其所屬的一整套法律法規體系存在著諸多缺陷，仍然給予它以足夠的尊重，並盡可能尋求在該體系之內解決問題。只有當現行法律條文與基督徒的良心自由和自然法則發生不可調和之衝突時，基督徒和教會才訴諸於“非暴力不服從”的原則。用聖經的話來說，這兩種方式都是“我要在君王面前訴說你的法度”。也就是說，我們尊重君王的法度，但更要訴說上帝的法度；當兩者發生衝突的時候，“順從神，而不順從人，是應當的”。我們深信，基督教的價值是對人權的最終確認，人類有人權的根本原因，是上帝有權要求每個受造物尊重他所設立的秩序，在這套秩序當中，人權高於國家主權和國家利益。無疑，教會不是特權階級，



教會不應要求超乎於普通公民之上的特殊的權利與自由。但中國教會是中國走向法治社會的支持者與推動力量；對轉型中國的每一項創變是法治化的步驟，教會都不應袖手旁觀，因為這一進程事關教會的發社會的公義。

中國教會的復興，僅有數量上的增長是不夠的，那很可能如同在沙灘上的城堡，根本經不起潮水的侵襲。中國教會的復興，更重要真理的復興、愛心的復興、勇氣與智慧的復興，當然也包括教會觀、觀和法治觀的“治癒”與“更新”。波蘭最傑出的知識份子米奇尼克黑暗的年代裡宣稱：“每一種抵抗的行動都會拯救一小塊自由，保留於一個國家來說不可或缺的價值。”<sup>13</sup>如果沒有了這些價值，國家就能成為“人類自由的集體”。國家如是，教會亦如是；在今天的中國果我們不與秋雨之福教會、守望教會、萬邦教會以及所有受逼迫的教在一起，共同以抵抗的行動來拯救一小塊的自由、來保留對於教會來可或缺的價值，那麼中國的教會就不能成為“人類自由的集體”，更完成上帝寄予教會的使命。

謹以此文與眾教會共勉。

二零零九年十二月九日、



## 中国家庭教会知识分子的社群认同与象征建构：以成都为例（徐颂赞）

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# 中國家庭教會知識分子的社群認同與象徵建構：以成都為例<sup>301</sup>

## The Community Identity and Symbolic Construction of Intellectuals in China's Christian House Churches: A Case Study in Chengdu

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### 摘要

自 1990 年代以來，「基督教熱」和「改革宗熱」出現於中國公共社會，眾多知名學者、作家和異議人士陸續成為基督徒甚至教會領袖。本文以「基督教人類學」為方法，分析成都的基督徒知識分子群體如何創製他們自身

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<sup>301</sup> 感謝兩位匿名審查人細緻且具批判力的建議。本文初稿曾口頭發表於「四川的多元宗教：以成都地區的田野調查為中心」學術報告會，台北：國立政治大學宗教研究所，2016 年 11 月 日。感謝政治大學「當代中國基督教研究小組」老師們，尤其是蔡彥仁教授的意見。後經修改亦曾以《中國家庭教會知識分子的身份認同與象徵建構：以改革宗華西區會為例》發表於台灣人類學與民族學學會 2017 年會，台北：國立台灣大學，2017 年 10 月 21 至 日。筆者曾於 201 年 8 月 至 1 日，201 年 8 月 2 至 2 日，201 年 1 月 6 至 日，在成都進行田調和訪談，感謝王怡牧師、查常平長老、李英強副執事、冉雲飛老師、阿信老師，以及華西聖約人文學院教務處的接待，並獲同意公開相關資訊。

的社群認同、象徵與意義網絡。本文指出，基於共享的政治經歷、民主訴求、信仰期待、人際網絡，眾多成都知識分子陸續認信並加入改革宗家庭教會。這些知識分子在複雜的地方社會和基督教傳統之中，主動將傳統家庭教會帶向公開化和建制化。比如出版神學書籍和教會刊物，規劃「基督教古典教育」，建構歷史論述，編選古典聖詩等。這些創製均構建出獨特的象徵和意義，亦形塑他們的認同與實踐。不同於三自會或傳統家庭教會，這群成都基督徒知識分子和改革宗家庭教會，正在建構中國基督教的新面貌，影響中國教會發展。

**關鍵字：**中國基督教、家庭教會、基督徒知識分子、社群認同、象徵建構

## 一、「改革宗熱」的背後：觀察與提問

自 1990 年代以來，「文化熱」、「基督教熱」、「改革宗熱」<sup>30</sup> 開始交織出現於中國公共言論界，眾多知名學者、作家或專業人士對基督教產生好感，甚至成為教會領袖。這些以知識分子領導或參與的新興教會，多以加爾文主義為神學認同與建制取向，其歷史敘事、歸信經驗、教會事工、社會參與等均形成獨特的象徵體系與意義空間，繼續吸引其他潛在有相似關懷的知識分子。

回溯中國新興城市家庭教會的相關研究，Fredrik Fällman (2012: 153-168)，Alexander Chow (2014: 158-175)

都提到基督徒知識分子熱衷加爾文主義，並以此形成「想像的共同體」。Gerda Wielander (2009: 849-864)

以北京家庭教會主辦的《愛筵》、《方舟》雜誌，以及中國人權論壇、基督徒維權律師等為例，論證了基督徒知識分子的社會公共事務參與結合了加爾文主義，主動扮演了橋接政府與社會的中介者角色。邢福增、袁浩和劉紹麟論證在北京的三自教會、民工教會、溫州商人教會、城市新興教會，四者中以城市新興家庭教會最能助益於公民共同體(邢福增等 2016: )。高晨揚進一步比較社會資本的政治學和社會學兩個面向，認為相較於傳統家庭教會的內向與封閉，新興城市知識分子家庭教會提供一種「橋接型社會資本」，有助於培育「公民性」(civility)與「公民共同體」(civil community)；但並不一定直接關聯於民主政治(高晨揚 2013: 117-154)

。無論如何，上述家庭教會知識分子的實踐，均在不斷參與重構中國教會的面貌與內質，也必定影響中國公民社會未來的發展。

面對「改革宗熱」和城市新興家庭教會，上述研究存有相通點，即均從政教關係、國家治理、宗教與公民社會關聯性等社會政治視角，檢視城市改革宗家庭教會的發展。雖然這些研究能展示新興教會對社會政經的外延影響，但比較缺乏「局內人」的內在視角和經驗言說，比如這些知識分子的前理解與期待視野、生命史和宗教經驗是什麼？他們又如何主動創製、發明屬於自身社群的身份認同、象徵體系和意義網絡？對此，吾人實需求

- 30 根據著名華人改革宗牧師王志勇的回憶，197 年後，中國大陸的「改革宗熱」，主要受影響自趙天恩、唐崇榮的佈道，以及趙中輝、林慈信、呂沛淵的研究；還有（台灣）改革宗出版社、加爾文出版社的書籍等。參見：王志勇，〈對改革宗神學與改革宗人士的反思〉，2017/12/1 。

諸更能呈現內在視角的研究方法，以聯結、豐富中國基督教研究中既有的社會政經研究。

## 二、研究取徑：對象與方法

目前對基督徒知識分子的研究通常以北京、上海、廣州等為例，這些城市雖有高比例知識分子與專業人士；但均受限於當地政治、宗教環境，其公共參與空間極為有限，並未發展出系統的公共論述與群體實踐。而在中國西部的四川成都，近十年來，當地眾多著名知識分子陸續轉變為基督徒，甚至牧師、長老；且不約而同地認同改革宗與家庭教會傳統。這些人迥異於一般中國基督徒人格類型範式，<sup>30</sup> 而是「基督徒知識分子」；他們甚至發展出堂會聯盟、教會教育體系等，業已形成一種新的社群面貌，日益影響中國教會。

中國基督教的傳統研究方法，通常是「政府衝擊——教會回應」、「外來宗教——本土中國」等刻板模式。<sup>304</sup> 故本文採用「基督教人類學」的方法，將人與社群作為主體，分析他們如何主動建構象徵體系和意義網絡。曹南來以「基督教人類學」來考察溫州的「老闆基督徒」，呈現這個特殊群體創造性地將基督教價值觀和象徵，融入現代商業和中國社會，織造出屬於他們的意義網絡和行動空間（曹南來 2014： ）。何哲亦從人類學的視角，考察作為個體的基督徒以及作為群體的基督教會的生命歷程（何哲

2009）。黃劍波透過對鄉村基督教的信徒生活與宗教行為，反思中國基督教研究中「管制——反抗」、「政治——宗教」、「衝擊——回應」等二元對立結構，<sup>30</sup> 而聚焦於「中國基督教」在地方社會的生成（黃劍波 2013）。黃劍波還從教會刊物《華南專刊》的創製、豐富象徵符號的運用，以及教會重新詮釋《聖經》和使徒《使徒信經》，呈現華南教會嫁接、發明新的信仰傳統（黃劍波 2015: 211-225）這些研究進路已超越傳統研究方法，即「衝

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303 如溫州的「老闆基督徒」（曹南來）或河南的「農民基督徒」（Pau Hattawa），浙江（溫州）與河南兩地的基督教，均因千百萬基督徒人數和福音復興運動而聞名（曹南來 2014；Hattaway Paul 2009）。

304 黃劍波對此有所反思，而提倡使用「基督教人類學」的研究進路（黃劍波 2013；2015： ）。

305 中國基督教研究中二元對立的建構，諸如鄉村/城市、三自/家庭教會、知識分子/未受教育者、舊三多 新三多等（孔德繼 2016： ）。



擊— 回應」、「外來宗教— 本土中國」等模式，都以「基督教人類學」的角度，去探析中國基督徒如何在其日常生活、教會生活、社會實踐等層面，主動創造獨特的象徵體系、意義網絡和社群認同。

本文進而綜合運用從2013年至2016年的觀察和訪談，<sup>30</sup> 並聚焦於成都的基督徒知識分子群體，在錯綜複雜的地方社會和基督教的各種傳統之中，他們如何選擇、建構適合身份認同和生存處境的象徵體系和意義網絡。而這些「創製」或「發明」，又將如何塑造他們的身份認同和信仰實踐。

### 三、成為「中國的清教徒」：身份認同的建構

#### （一）成都基督徒知識分子人際網絡的形成

成都基督徒知識分子，諸如秋雨之福的王怡長老、恩福的彭強長老、生命之泉的查常平長老、華西聖約人文學院李英強教務長、作家冉雲飛、阿信等，均在1970年前後出生，直接或間接地參與過1980年代末的學生運動，他們的人生抉擇亦受此影響深刻。

著名的憲政學者和作家王怡，是開創秋雨之福教會的長老，用加爾文主義治理教會。王怡將自己定義為「新黑五類」：「異議作家、維權律師、地下教會牧師、網路意見領袖、弱勢群體」。彭強長老經營一間知名出版機構「以諾文化」，「以禱告、文字、傳播來服侍這個時代的知識份子」。查常平長老，同時也任教於四川大學宗教研究所，專長為新約研究和當代藝術批評。李英強先生以創辦「立人鄉村圖書館」和「立人大學」聞名，於2013年辭去社會職務，目前是秋雨之福的副執事，主持華西聖約人文學院的教務。著名異議作家冉雲飛先生於2016年受洗，成為秋雨之福的會友；而此前三年，他主動在家發起「尼哥底母查經班」，並聯繫秋雨之福的同工前來查經、牧養。作家阿信還組織了「路加翻譯事工」，系統翻譯、創作來華傳教士傳記。

如王怡在訪談時說：「六四事件給自由派知識分子帶來了強烈的末世感，直接導致他們在青年時代就確立了不與政府合作的『獨立知識分子』身份。」

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306 筆者曾於2013年8月1日至15日，2014年8月20日至25日，2016年  
月至日，在成都進行田調與訪談。

而在他們陸續成為基督徒後，或推動教會公開化，或推動平信徒事工，積極參與教會和社會事務，在教會內部率先實行民主選舉。

除了人生經歷和政治認同的交疊，人際關係也是重要因素，比如校友關係、家中女主人的勸說，以及社會事務關係。王怡、冉雲飛、阿信、查常平均為四川大學校友，一直保持聯繫。王怡和冉雲飛的夫人都較早成為基督徒，信主後一直勸說丈夫進入教會。在王怡成為牧師後，又一直關懷師兄冉雲飛，不時與之探討神學。李英強則在創辦「立人鄉村圖書館」之後，因為尋找工作會議舉辦地點不果；而王怡因關心公民組織，主動提供教會辦公室，從此李英強進入教會慕道。

另外，成都基督徒知識分子群體的特殊脈絡，比如所處的特殊地理位置亦值得注意。川籍知識分子有明顯的「四川認同」，如民間學者王康、旅美作家余杰、歷史學者劉仲敬等，這種地方認同更加強他們的特殊論述。<sup>30</sup>「四川認同」常出現於川籍知識分子的論述中，如著名川籍學者王康就認為「四川是中國的鹽」。在他們的歷史敘事裏，他們的家鄉「四川」（巴蜀）在秦朝之前曾長期獨立於中原文明，即使在兩千年的帝國裏，也有很長的獨立歷史。成都的知識分子基督徒也期待在中國西部的「天府之國」建造「上帝之城」。秋雨之福教會 2013 年的教會年度主題便是期許教會成為「城市之光」。這群川籍知識分子紛紛成為基督徒後，在重述四川基督教歷史時，也會突出基督教在四川歷史上的獨特之處。比如王怡在敘述四川教會史時，強調教會在四川開辦了第一間醫院、女子學校、神學院、教會大學等。<sup>30</sup>

成都基督徒知識分子所身處時空之特殊性，因其遠離「正統」的政治和宗教環境，更能發展出特殊面貌。<sup>30</sup> 這群知識分子形成了一張獨特的人

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307 王怡，〈基督教在四川的歷史要略〉，2017/1/1。

308 感謝匿名審查人指出，這種結合地域與宗派的特殊認同，到底是因為原有的地域認同滲入信仰，還是信仰結合地域文化認同，抑或更契合基督宗教對於自由、民主的關懷？另外，筆者認為，由此還可進一步追問，是「文化適應」、「文化批戴」還是「文化融合」？這些均有待進一步調研，本文僅初步展現這個群體內部自治的理路，也就是他們如何調適、如何認同。

309 值得進一步研究的是，地方政府（包括社區）的相對寬容和成都民間社會的相對多元等，是否也助益於成都各教會的發展。此有待未來繼續調研。

際網絡，彼此影響。而他們交疊的人生經歷、政治認同、人際關係以及地方認同等，都形塑了他們對基督教的前理解與期待。這是官方主管的三自教會，以及不關心社會事務的傳統家庭教會所無法賦予的；他們必須主動建構適合自身的社群網絡與身份認同。

## （二）成都改革宗家庭教會的建制與轉型

截止 2011 年底，加盟改革宗華西區會的教會有四間，分別是「秋雨之福」、<sup>310</sup>「恩福教會」、<sup>311</sup>「溪水旁」、<sup>312</sup>「生命之泉」。<sup>313</sup> 這四間教會雖然都是改革宗長老教會，但發展歷程、教會目標和公共參與的面向與期待都有差異。

秋雨之福教會的雛形，是在 2005 年成都大學法學教師王怡與夫人蔣蓉開放家庭查經，並成立「秋雨之福團契」。2007 年經歷成都市宗教局的第一次衝擊。到了 2008 年 5 月 1 日，秋雨之福教會正式宣告成立。當年 9 月份，王怡等負責人起訴成都市和雙流縣的宗教局，這成為中國家庭教會起訴宗教局的第一案，對當時中國教會界震撼極大。2010 年 8 月是關鍵年份，秋雨之福通過了修訂《治理章程》，禮拜天出席人數達到 25 人以上。2011 年 1 月，秋雨之福搬入了更大的新堂，出席人數已達到 50 人以上。

比秋雨之福更早建立的是恩福教會，早在 1990 年代後期就開始小組聚會，那時仍是大學生團契。2001 年成立南邊教會，2006

年改名「成都恩福教會」。恩福教會的轉折，在 2012 年 8 月 8 日，同工會通過了教會章程，確立教會信仰告白和治理章程。2013 年 1 月 13 日，召開第一次會友大會，正式選立長老和執事。隨後於當年 3 月，加入改革宗華西區會。至此，恩福教會已從傳統福音派家庭教會，轉型為改革宗家庭教會。

另兩間改革宗家庭教會的轉型也值得注意。在 2013 年初，秋雨之福和恩福教會聯合成立了植堂小組，對口幫助原是福音派家庭教會的溪水旁進行轉型，轉型過程中包括開展植堂會議，每個月邀請改革宗牧師輪流講道，與教會全體同工開展專題交通會議，修習華西聖約神學院課程等。溪水旁

<sup>310</sup> 全稱為「（成都）秋雨之福歸正教會」。

<sup>311</sup> 全稱為「成都恩福歸正福音教會」。

<sup>312</sup> 全稱為「成都溪水旁歸正福音教會」。

<sup>313</sup> 全稱為「基督教成都生命之泉教會」。

於 2013 年 5 月 5 日通過教會治理章程與信仰告白，成為改革宗教會。<sup>31</sup> 而 1995 年就成立的生命之泉教會，最開始是靈恩派的家庭教會，直到 2002 年轉變為福音派家庭教會，2013 年 7 月 14 日通過了治理章程。而到了 2016 年 11 月 6 日，經由全體會友的投票表決，通過了治理章程，正式加入華西區會。<sup>315</sup>

這些教會的形成路徑與其他城市的家庭教會區別不大，通常從家庭查經聚會開始，待人數增多、有固定牧師時，會開始主日崇拜與聖餐禮，等到人數進一步增加到上百人，且有專項施工、同工會時，會考慮集資租賃聚會場所（一般是商務樓、寫字間等），形成堂會。

值得注意的是，秋雨之福、恩福、生命之泉、溪水旁等，最開始都是一般的福音派家庭教會，但後來紛紛轉型為改革宗家庭教會。相較於傳統的福音派家庭教會，內部較缺乏民主治理，外部較不注重社會文化事工。而反觀改革宗教會，則有教會章程、牧師和長老的權力分工，以及多元的文化事工。根據華西區會的《治會章程》規定，除了承認早期教會四大信經，包括《使徒信經》、《尼西亞信經》、《亞他那修信經》、《迦克頓信經》。認同為普世大公教會一部分，接納《威斯敏斯特信條》、《威斯敏斯特大、小要理問答》及《海德堡要理問答》等。

成都的改革宗家庭教會獨特之處更在於，堂會之間合作、結盟，形成區會。區會對於教會治理的分工、堂會（小議會）與區會的權力關係、會友制，甚至婚禮、葬禮、禁食等均有統一的細緻規定。<sup>31</sup> 此可看出改革宗對於追求民主政治的基督徒知識分子具有強大吸引力，<sup>31</sup> 正契合他們的期待，也可使他們在教會就先行實現民主政治，這亦加強了他們對於改革宗這種特殊宗派的認同，而非三自愛國運動、家長制的傳統福音派家庭教會等。

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314 溫洪斌〈福音驅動的建制轉型之路：改革宗長老會華西區會成都溪水旁教會建制轉型實踐與反思〉，2017/1/1。

315 筆者曾於 2016 年 11 月 日訪談生命之泉教會的查常平長老。另外，筆者也於 年 8 月 日參與了生命之泉教會正式加入改革宗華西區會的禮拜。

316 改革宗長老會。201。《治會章程（第一版）》，成都：改革宗長老會（華西區會）。

317 筆者在成都各教會訪問時，幾乎所有基督徒知識分子、大學生、青年在職基督徒，甚至已退休人士等，都表示認同這種「吸引力」。

### （三）文化使命與公共參與

成都的改革宗家庭教會，自從 2011 年至今，在文化事工和公共參與上，已成為教會的主要方向之一，並形成較系統的本土論述。

截止 2016 年 1 月，秋雨之福教會發起的事工，包括 2 間大學查經班，

18 個社區團契，每月讀書會、每月電影會、家庭小組、親子講座、聖約法律人團契、恩慈老年團契。秋雨之福將每年 5 月 日至 6 月 日設為「為國家禱告月」，6 月 日設為「禁食禱告日」，將 6 月 日設為「不要墮胎日」。另有歸正神學論壇、華西植堂論壇、聖約學人講座、聖約公益圖書室等，在神學交流、出版發行等方面有專人負責，活動頻繁。教會還成立專項基金，如神學教育基金、歸正學堂基金、慈惠基金、良心犯家屬基金、反墮胎基金。另外，會友們還主動發起事工，如「上訪者福音團契」、「尼哥底母查經班」等，且已納為正式事工。<sup>31</sup> 秋雨之福的教會目標即包括中國福音會趙天恩牧師提出的「三化異象」：「中國福音化、教會國度化、文化基督化」，其中又強調會友須「委身職場，創造福音性的文化；委身社會，成為好撒瑪利亞人」。

恩福教會的彭強牧師主辦的「以諾文化」出版社，策劃出版許多加爾文、清教徒的著作，以及來華傳教士的傳記，例如《加爾文論崇拜》、《加爾文論商業》、《約翰·衛斯理日記》、《清教徒之約》，另外還辦了每日更新三一書店，經常舉辦一些閱讀活動、研討會等，主題多關於清教徒與公共社會參與、教會歷史等。

生命之泉教會的查常平長老是四川大學教授，他在大學教書、教會服侍之餘，則發起「生命學園」的教育事工，倡導「為基督、成全人」，在成都教會裡錄取 10 至 歲的學生，讀 10 部人文經典，如莎士比亞、黑格爾等人著作。溪水旁和生命之泉因為剛轉型成為改革宗教會，尚未在文化使命和公共參與上形成明顯特色；但無疑的是，教會多數同工都一致同意華西區會的文化使命，也積極培育相關人才。

值得一提的是，這幾間教會也聯合進行「兒童節不要墮胎」的事工。面對中國每年至少 1300 萬的墮胎數，<sup>319</sup>2012 年，平信徒范鑫先生號召信眾

318 這些信息綜合來自秋雨之福教會內部資料《秋雨之福》、《主日週報》等，以及筆者與王怡牧師、李英強副執事的訪談。

319 此為官方數字，尚不包括另外可能高達 100 萬的地下墮胎。

參與事工，他們編印不少內部資料，如《挺生而出：邁出反墮胎第一步》、《兒童節不要墮胎》，翻譯約翰·恩瑟的《無辜人的血：用福音挑戰死亡》等，建立微博、微信平台，每年6月1號兒童節集體到婦幼醫院分發傳單，宣傳理念。他們提出「中國教會守護中國的孩子」，引用《聖經》作為此項事工的神聖依據，<sup>32</sup> 提出基督徒有責任守護生命、反對殺戮。後來，秋雨之福將6月1號正式定為全教會的「不要墮胎日」，改革宗華西區會也發佈了《關於墮胎問題的信仰立場》。當每年這天，王怡牧師、王華生牧師、同工執事們以及許多平信徒都會上街宣傳，恩福教會的會友也會來參加。這項跨教會的事工，還是一項社會事工，他們為此專門製作圖表（如圖1），教導有同樣志趣的社會團體可以照此自主建立組織。

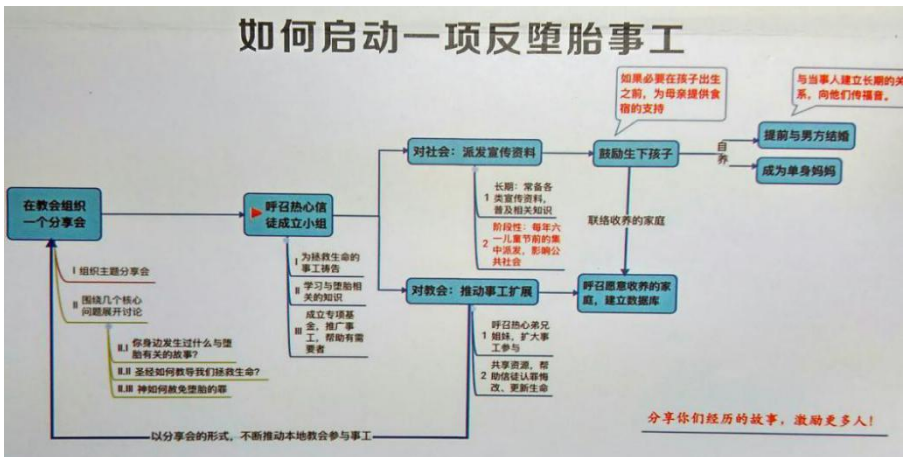


圖 1（作者攝）

#### 四、形塑教會文化：象徵的建構

象徵人類學家 Clifford Geertz 視宗教為象徵體系，能塑造人類普遍且堅

韌的動機，而人們亦透過象徵體系來溝通、擴增對社會生活的知識與態度 (Geertz, Clifford 1973)。成都改革宗家庭教會塑造的「教會文化」正可視

320 如引用以賽亞書 49：「自我出胎，耶和華就選召我；自出母腹，他就提我的名」。詩篇 139：「我在暗中受造，在地的深處被聯絡，那時，我的形體並不向你隱藏。我未成形的體質，你的眼早已看見了。你所定的日子，我尚未度一日，你都寫在你的冊上了。」

為 Geertz 所談論的「文化」。另外，美國宗教學家 Paul Tillich

認為一種宗教象徵的誕生，與其所產生的宗教處境、群體經驗和個體人格之激情等息息相關 (Tillich, Paul 1955)。透過分析象徵，則可展現成都改革宗家庭教會對其特殊的「教會文化」之建構，及其背後的宗教處境、群體經驗和個人創意。

## (一)「古典」的品味

華西區會及其四間堂會的理念和辦學實踐，明顯呈現一種「古典」的品味。比如華西區會最早的辦學成果——華西聖約神學院，於 2012 年 3 月開校。為了培養傳道人、長老執事同工，隔年又開辦「聖約歸正學堂」，主要培育中小學生；同時為華西區會的不領餐信徒，提供全日制「基督教古典教育」。學堂專門成立「基督教古典教育研究中心」，自編基督教古典教育叢書，教授「三藝」（文法、邏輯、修辭）、古典語文和基督教經典等，小學階段就開始修習希伯來文和拉丁文（任小鵬編 2015：293-302）。他們出版的《基督教古典教育》，還列出了理論參考書和經典可供閱讀，裡面除了美國基督教古典教育學校聯盟（ACCS）的參考書目<sup>321</sup>以外，甚至還列舉不少古代中國經典，如《詩經》、老莊子孔孟、唐詩宋詞等，並「為將來信仰處境化、在教會、學校和社會各個領域服侍中國作預備。」（任小鵬編 2015：60-63）

聖約歸正學堂的校訓「為基督、為教會」（Christo et Ecclesiae）是原哈佛大學的校訓，其校徽（參見圖 2）也近似早期哈佛的校徽，但又有不同。

對此，《聖約歸正學堂章程》有細緻解說：

在哈佛早期的校徽中，有三本書，其中兩本書面朝上，象徵著上帝賜給人類的理性和啟示；一本書面朝下，象徵著對上帝至高奧秘的敬畏……然而，隨著 19 世紀理性主義的高漲，

中國家庭教會知識分子的社群認同與象徵建構：以成都為例  
哈佛逐漸失去了對上帝是全部知識來源的敬畏。現代的哈佛  
校徽中，三本書均面朝上，象徵著人類在尋求知識上的傲慢。  
聖約歸正學堂的校徽，將那本翻開朝上的書，重新朝下，作為  
在上帝面前的悔改和仰望。 2015 297

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321 ACCS. Recommended Readings, 2017/12/19(retrieved).



教教育與國家無份，基督徒的未成年子女應脫離國家的公立教育」。上述體現這群改革宗家庭教會的辦學，明顯區隔於中國的公立學校（無神論教育）（任小鵬編 2015: 290），以及所謂「墮落」的西方世俗教育，而是期許在中國恢復「基督教古典教育」的自我理解與實踐期待。

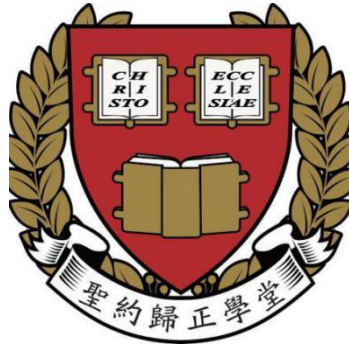


圖 2

## （二）嫁接歷史論述

華西區會教育理事會主辦的華西聖約人文學院，則體現了另類但富有創意的歷史嫁接法。它上溯近現代中國教會大學傳統，旁徵現代學術，提出要恢復這個在 1952 年因高校調整而被停辦至今的教育傳統，推廣「基督教人文教育」。學院校訓「因真理、得自由、以服侍」（可見圖 3），源自燕京大學之校訓「Freedom Through Truth For Service」<sup>16</sup>，並將原先的「以服務」改為「以服侍」（和合本的翻譯）；因為「服務」一詞沾染當時的社會福音和左翼思潮，並不符合改革宗信仰。



圖 3

聖約人文學院主張「基督教人文教育」，「以《聖經》世界觀來塑造高等教育」，將「以信求知」、<sup>32</sup>「志在知主」、<sup>32</sup>「學以事人」<sup>32</sup>列為教育目標。在 201 年，面向在校的基督徒大學生、碩博士研究生提供基督教人文課程證書班；2015 年開辦基督教教育碩士課程，培養從事教會中小學校「基督教古典教育」的教師；2017 年開辦基督教本科（文學學士課程）。除了校徽設計、歷史論述、理念建構之外，在聖約人文學院的教室外也張貼了大量圖文資料，來展示上述歷史論述。這種選擇歷史材料、雜糅相關認同；並以圖文來表述，以加強社群認同，體現於這些學校的象徵在建構和展演之中。

筆者自 201 年以來，曾多次到秋雨之福的舊堂和新堂，以及華西教育系統訪問、參觀，發現許多不同於傳統家庭教會或其他城市教會的獨特象徵。比如秋雨之福 2016 年前的舊堂，在進入教會正堂的走道一側就張貼著教會史上名人畫像和話語，所選取的人物主要從 1 世紀宗教改革以來的新教福音派領袖，從馬丁·路德、加爾文、約翰·衛斯理等，以及來華宣教士，如馬禮遜、李提摩太、戴德生等，與宋尚節、王明道等。整個走廊實則改革宗家庭教會歷史論述的展演和信念認同，接續宗教改革、福音復興運動和家庭教會傳統，這種建構的歷史論述，無時無刻不在提醒穿過正堂進入教堂參加禮拜的人們。

在歷史論述的建構上，王怡不論在教會證道、寫作還是演講時，常以一種嫁接但富有創意的方式來命名新身份。譬如他將反對三自運動的家庭教會比作不從國教的「清教徒運動」，而家庭教會信徒自然就是「中國的清教徒」。他還創意解經，將過去六十多年的家庭教會史喻為「把神的話語寫在門框上的時代」；但是耶和華還進一步要求「把神的話語寫在城門上」，<sup>32</sup>而 200 年後城市家庭教會的興起，就是帶領中國教會進入「話語寫在城門」

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322 安瑟倫對《聖經》和奧古斯丁的知識論的總結（任小鵬編 201 : 290）。

323 原華西協和大學禮拜堂的橫匾。

324 原山西銘賢學院的校訓，抗戰時南遷川內。

325 <申命記> 6 : : 「我今日所吩咐你的話都要記在心上，也要殷勤教訓你的兒女。無論你坐在家裏，行在路上，躺下，起來，都要談論。也要系在手上為記號，戴在額上為經文。又要寫在你房屋的門框上，並你的城門上。」

的時代。<sup>32</sup> 王怡認為家庭教會應該繼承歷史上形成的「優秀傳統」，如「強調十字架的受苦與捨己道路、恆切祈禱的傳統、對聖靈大能的依靠，以及強烈末世論下的宣教」；並在城市環境和公民社會裡，與清教徒神學、改革宗制度相結合，以迎來復興。他認為這類似於「前尼西亞—後尼西亞時期的復興，德國和瑞士的改教運動，蘇格蘭、尼德蘭和英格蘭的清教徒運動，北美的第一次大復興，長老會傳統，以及最近二十年尚待觀察的加爾文主義在北美的復興。」<sup>32</sup> 王怡的創意論述，嫁接了中國家庭教會與基督教傳統中的特殊支脈，形塑出「中國的清教徒」的象徵與認同。

### （三）出版與閱讀

在隸屬華西區會的成都聖約公益圖書室，可看出教會流行閱讀的書籍，大多是改革宗神學、解經書籍或清教徒傳記，如《清教徒的屬靈操練》、《宗教改革思潮》、《歸正神學導論》等。<sup>328</sup> 另外還有圖書室自編的護教小冊子，如《我們的家庭教會立場》、《基督徒社區是世界的希望》（多採用西方經典油畫作為裝幀圖案），表明這些教會結合改革宗和家庭教會傳統，「我們是中國的清教徒」，以及對未來中國民主轉型的希望等信念。圖書室也有陳列教會刊物，如秋雨之福出品的《秋雨之福》、《每週牧函》以及北京家庭教會的《教會》、《杏花》等雜誌，海外華人教會刊物《中信雜誌》、《海外校園》等，均在秋雨之福、生命之泉等長期陳列。筆者還從秋雨之福會友組織的讀書會了解到，他們內部流行讀加爾文的《基督教要義》、歐美基督徒作家如魯益師、約翰·派博等人的書，當然王怡和余杰的著述更不在話下。余杰在 2011 年流亡美國後，其在海外出版的著述幾乎在公眾場合絕跡；但在秋雨之福的圖書室，竟有余杰 2016 年在台灣出版的新書；由此可見聖約圖書室的出版、館藏、流通書籍，以及會友閱讀時尚等，本身亦是一種「教會文化」的象徵與認同。<sup>32</sup>

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326 秦思宇，〈王怡長老談「中國家庭教會傳統與公開化異象」（一）〉，2017/1/1。

2 王怡，〈屬靈復興與世俗化：對中國家庭教會的一個評價〉，2017/1/1。

327 根據聖約圖書室的《圖書室可供配送書目表》。

328 感謝匿名審查人指出，若能瞭解到書籍篩選機制，則更可顯見其神學立場。目前僅為筆者單方面觀察，至於選書、展示、流通及其篩選機制，實可進一步調研。

#### (四) 歌本與唱詩規範

讚美詩亦可看出社群認同。就這四間改革宗家庭教會用於正式崇拜的詩歌來看，使用的是區會編輯的統一版《聖詩精選》；除了輯錄《普天頌讚》、《青年聖歌》、《修新頌主詩集》和《詩篇》之外，絕大部分為漢譯西方古典聖詩，文辭相當典雅。詩本前頁即有《使徒信經》、《主禱文》等，還有教會說明，如《敬拜的基本原則》、《認識神對敬拜的要求》、《對敬拜者的引導和提醒》等，強調《威斯敏斯德信仰告白》二十一章對「敬拜」的定義，還強調信眾要「在道中敬拜」，崇拜儀式則「以道為中心，以詩歌為輔助」，「堅持『三拒絕』：拒絕使用異教和世俗化的曲調，拒絕使用不符合（或不夠符合）《聖經》原則的歌詞，拒絕有口無心的詠唱。在詩歌選用上，鼓勵多使用詩篇頌讚，以及那些經教會歷史檢驗過的傳世經典聖詩。」<sup>33</sup> 在改革宗家庭教會的唱詩以肅穆歌唱和安靜聆聽為主，歌喉聲色與身體動作都被規範，明顯異於靈恩派的唱靈歌、跳靈舞，也不同于唱迦南詩歌的舉手、集體打節拍等。若粗略比較三自教堂通用的《讚美詩（新編）》和家庭教會廣為傳唱的《迦南詩歌》，華西區會的《聖詩精選》幾乎沒有國族認同、前千禧年主義等歌詞，也沒有類似流行歌、鄉村小調等的曲調。這本詩集足可體現改革宗家庭教會的認同。

另據生命之泉的查常平長老介紹，在生命之泉由靈恩派、福音派、改革宗的三重轉型過程中，也伴隨著唱詩的變化，在教會自編的歌本裡，早期多為迦南詩歌、讚美之泉，歡快昂揚，適合靈恩派的敬拜讚美。<sup>331</sup>2008年，教會同工集體決定向改革宗轉型，亦開始重新編輯歌本，逐步建立莊重有序的敬拜禮儀。<sup>33</sup> 筆者翻閱生命之泉的主日週報，看到2011年的教會年度目標即「信仰歸正，建立長老制教會」，裡面所載主日崇拜的詩歌，全部變更為華西區會出版的《聖詩精選》，並配合改革宗的禮拜程序，顯得十分莊重、有序。

總之，成都改革宗家庭教會，透過營造「古典」氛圍，設計融合改革宗、清教徒、家庭教會認同的校徽和辦學理念，建立特殊的歷史論述，出版、流通「歸正」的神學書籍、教會刊物，選用能體現改革宗信仰的古典

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330 《聖詩精選》，成都：改革宗長老會華西區會。

331 《讚美詩集（A、）》，成都：生命之泉教會。

332 筆者訪問查常平長老，成都：2016年11月 日。

聖詩，建立唱詩規範等，均構建了一系列帶有改革宗家庭教會之認同的象徵體系，形成一個獨特的意義空間。在這個空間裡，會友們觀看、閱讀、唱詩、祈禱、聽課，又不斷體知、複述這種認同。

## 五、反思與展望

王怡曾在訪談中一再表示：目前四間改革宗家庭教會最大的問題，不是政府的壓力，而是自身的「生命」——「有文本，沒樣本」；亦即雖建立

了目前中國大陸唯一較完善的系統改革宗神學教育和大學體系，但因為跟教會傳統存在斷裂，<sup>33</sup>實為「新興教會」，處於「無根狀態」，缺乏「生命」經驗。而王怡認為從神學到生命樣式，仍需要幾代人的本土實踐。<sup>33</sup> 弔詭的是，海外媒體和學術界幾乎均將秋雨之福當作「管制—反抗」模式的典型。局外人（研究者）與局內人（教會）對於「教會最大問題」的分歧，實可引起吾人反思既有研究中的刻板印象。

不過，當晚告別王怡牧師時，他提及隔天將去江蘇徐州培訓教會轉型經驗。近幾年，在成都、徐州、福州、上海等地，許多傳統福音派家庭教會轉型成為改革宗教會；而位於成都的華西改革宗區會及其堂會，因為起步較早，發展出較完備的神學論述、公共經驗和牧師群體，已成為引領其他地區教會轉型的先行者。

成都的知識分子群體，因為相通的政治經歷、民主訴求、信仰期待、人際網絡，陸續成為基督徒，並認信改革宗家庭教會。而改革宗系統神學和家庭教會的反抗傳統，則進一步加強他們的身份認同，推動他們將民主化和公共化的訴求帶入教會治理和平信徒事工之中。這些由知識分子領導的教會進一步結盟成區會，和平信徒一起推動文化事工和公共參與，透過出版神學書籍、教會刊物，規劃教會教育系統、推廣「基督教古典教育」、建構歷史論述，選用古典聖詩等，構建出獨特的象徵體系和意義空間。成都改革宗教會及其事工的形成，並不僅僅是部分知識分子基督徒領袖的功勞，更是成群的有相似認同的平信徒積極參與、共同形塑而成。

不同於三自教會、傳統家庭教會或其他本土宗派，這群成都基督徒知

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**333** 即使和當代的傳統家庭教會亦無多少實際傳承，如本土宗派聚會處、溫州家庭教會，乃至 1980 年代後形成的河南安徽等地的「五大宣教團隊」。

**334** 筆者訪問王怡牧師，成都：2016 年 11 月 日。

識分子群體和改革宗家庭教會，自我認同「中國的清教徒」，進而創製諸多象徵體系和意義網絡，形塑出一種特殊的教會文化。這些認同和實踐，均形塑了中國基督教的新面貌，也正在影響著中國教會的發展。

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## 為何中國地方幹部容忍家庭教會？——读《威权遏制性：公安局与中国城市基督教家庭教会》（邢福增）

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著有《基督教在中国的失败？—中国共产运动与基督教史论》、《此世与他世之间：香港基督教坟场的历史与文化》、《世界不配有的人》、《王明道的最后自白》《被掳的记忆：选民+遗民》、《中国乎？本土兮！身分认同的十字架》、《新时代中国宗教秩序与基督教》、《我城哀歌．时代福音》等。

為何中國地方幹部容忍家庭教會？  
——讀《威權遏制性：公安局與中國城市基督教家庭教會》

作者：邢福增

Marie-Eve Reny 的 *Authoritarian Containment: Public Security Bureaus and Protestant House Churches in Urban China*（《威權遏制性：公安局與中國城市基督教家庭教會》），2018年由牛津大學出版社出版，探討為何在威權體制下，中國地方政府幹部（特別是公安系統）會「容忍」家庭教會。她用「遏制性」（containment）的概念，分析地方當局與家庭教會領袖間的「非形式」互動及官方的條件與底線。

作者指出，地方當局之所以願意給予「容忍」並「非法」的家庭教會某種「非形式的自主」（informal autonomy），前提是家庭教會領袖願意維持「低調」及「透明」（包括向公安局提供教會相關資料），以及不逾越官方的「紅線」，特別是批評政府及組織涉及政治或任何官方認為敏感的活動。一旦家庭教會違反上述條件，地方當局便會採取壓制手段。

**「遏制性」有助強化威權韌性**

那些家庭教會才能夠被當局容忍？作者提出兩個條件，一是須與官方有一致利益（interest reconcilability），即不能反對中共領導和挑戰政治現狀，擁護政治穩定，以及不具備嚴密的教會組織網絡。「遏制性」不是官方明確批准的政策，因此，家庭教會享受的自主及空間，並不受法律保護，可以隨著官員人事更替或情勢而改變。而「遏制性」也有別於與官方的「合作」，分別在於「合作」即意味著正式進入國家管理體制，獲取形式上的自主。對家庭教會而言，接受「遏制性」在某程度上，即將生存考慮置於教會自主之上，為了獲取前者，寧可接受脆弱而非形式的自主而放棄取爭教會的獨立自主。

按作者分析，「遏制性」不一定是中央政府授權下進行，但卻有助強化威權體制韌性（authoritarian regime resilience）。首先，家庭教會一旦轉向政治化，即會受到打壓，政治化的成本及風險，令家庭教會不會輕言挑戰政府，或傾向政治抗爭。其次，此舉亦有助促成家庭教會內部的分化，接受「遏制性」的家庭教會，

會被其他同道（特別是不順從者）視作妥協的政治機會主義者，而順從者又會因著當局的容忍而為官方建立正面形象，間接孤立了不順從的異議教會領袖。

### 順服與自限

作者在 2009 至 10 年，以及 2012 年間，先後在北京、成都、昆明、南京、寧波、溫州、上海及蘇州等地進行近百個訪談，涉及 20 所家庭教會及 10 所三自教會。根據其田野及訪談，歸納了「遏制性」在日常教會生活中的具體情況：（一）接受界線：低調、避免批評政府、限制教會人數、避免教會在公眾能見度；（二）向官方開放資料及溝通：分享資料、與相關官員定期聯絡；（三）接受政府的監控，甚至與三自教會溝通；（四）不越紅線：不與「敏感」人士接觸、不將教會問題向傳媒及國際社會曝光，不公開批評黨及政府。

作者指出，「遏制性」有助維持威權體制的現狀，而願意接受這種安排的教會領袖，會變得「自限」（self-limiting），使教會的使命及發展更為地方官員接受。她形容這些家庭教會領袖是「求存牧者」（survival-seeking pastors），願意作出妥協。他們滿足於「非形式自主」，寧可放棄「形式上認可」。這種「避險」（risk-averseness）行為，即是在官方的界線邊緣中，尋索可以拓展的空間，未嘗不是一種生存的策略。

### 家庭教會合法的前景

對於這種「遏制性」能否帶來制度上的改革，作者認為，官方的先決條件是要保證威權體制的權力韌性，不受威脅。由於承認家庭教會涉及結社自由及民間組織自主等問題，已超越宗教範圍。因此，她不認為中央會全面認可家庭教會的合法地位，而地方官員的「容忍」也只是一種面對大量家庭教會存在，而在政治上的策略而已。

### 啟迪與反思

讀畢本書，有助回答若干關於中國政教關係的問題。首先，本書以地方作研究為主體，指出地方政府在何種現實考慮及條件下，會容忍被視為非法的家庭教會。雖中央的宗教政策並非本書研究重點，但作者卻指出，這種在「遏制性」下的容忍，並不是中央的授權，且異於中央政策。眾所周知，基督教的生存空間，

既受中央政策的制約，但也不能忽視地方上的具體情況。本書解釋了某些城市家庭教會被地方政府容忍的原因，並指出地方當局容忍背後的底線。值得關注的是，如果基督教的發展，被中央領導視作嚴重威脅，那麼，地方政府又如何處理及執行？2018年以來中國各地家庭教會受到的打壓，是否仍可在這種「遏制性」的框架下理解？近日備受關注的成都秋雨聖約教會在2018年底被取締，王怡牧師在2019年12月底被判刑9年，以及近年受明顯針對及嚴厲打壓及取締的家庭教會（北京守望教會、錫安教會，廈門巡司頂教會等），相信也可從這個角度來理解。我們常常聽到「上有政策，下有對策」的說法，到底「政策」與「對策」之間，是否完全對立？中央與地方間的政治及政策有沒有關連？「遏制性」的概念，也許可以為我們提供一點思考。

此外，不少關心中國教會發展者，常有一個困惑：就是在個別地方親歷到教會（三自或家庭）的發展及（有限）空間，跟某些指中國宗教政策愈益收緊的評論，並不一致。一方面，這正好說明，三自或家庭教會現在的空間，正是接受黨國制定的制約與條件下的結果。而這種空間，可以隨時因時地人的因素而改變。即或是三自教會已具備合法性，在政治上仍是脆弱的（浙江強拆十字架運動，即可見一斑），更遑論連形式的合法也缺乏的家庭教會。另一方面，只要中國教會的發展觸動紅線，即等於在政治上宣判死刑。而這些政治紅線，同樣是可以因應形勢而調整（如各地禁止未成年人參與宗教活動的新措施），曾經客許（忍）的，可以瞬間成為禁止對象。

本書指出教會領袖面對「遏制性」而在不同方面及程度上的「自限」，正是政治干預宗教的扭曲。值得進一步深思的是，如果有教會或宗教人士，為了堅持教會的自主，反對政治干預宗教而不願順從及妥協，並提出更廣泛意義的法律維權及宗教自由，因而遭受政治清算時，那又該如何評價此種言行？這是合符信仰的抗爭？還是不顧大體的衝動，甚或是在政治上主動挑起事端？其他教會人士是「分化」、「割席」甚至「篤灰」？還是持守和而不同的合一？面對受打壓的信仰群體，是為了自保而自限？還是表達信仰及道義上的支援？

在威權甚或極權臨近之際，中國基督教的前景，不論是自主性、公開化，或公共性的探索及實踐，仍然是面對著極大的挑戰與考驗。

王怡被囚的信念与信仰启迪——自由与抗命: 王怡牧师与廿一世纪的中国基督教 (邢福增、周保松等)



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## 王怡被囚的信念与信仰启迪 ——自由与抗命：王怡牧师与廿一世纪的中国基督教

演讲人：邢福增、周保松等

四川秋雨圣约教会堂主任王怡牧师去年底被内地当局以「煽动颠覆国家政权罪」及「非法经营罪」判处重囚九年，在香港引起高度关注及声援。而王怡的被捕与判囚，亦反映近年内地新兴家庭教会的当前处境与坚持。一月十九日在香港举行的一场讲座，就以「自由与抗命：王怡牧师与廿一世纪的中国，基督教」为题，逾四百人出席，会场安素堂座无虚席。

这场关于自由与抗命的讲座，触发了一轮关于自由信念与基督信仰的求索与诘问：一个受逼迫的见证，成为了一次启动生命的叩问，也就对应了王怡牧师一八年的被捕声明里的心愿：祈求上主以教会所面对的逼迫，成为更多人在信仰的路上走过荒漠、认识上主的契机。



香港中文大学崇基学院神学院院长邢福增教授以「公共与不顺从：中国基督教的困境与命运」为题分享。他首先讲述了王怡牧师的独特背景——本身为法学家、公共知识分子，曾创办不同论坛推动宪政讨论，担任维权律师为教会及法轮功辩护。

邢福增指，王怡带领其教会整个进路是走向公开化。他在〇九年曾前往教会购入单位的商业大厦江信大厦探访，当时发现大厦地下的指示牌清晰地写上「秋雨之福归正教会」的名字，而不像一些家庭教会会另取其他名字代替。

其后，教会成立慈惠基金，开始服事流浪汉、良心犯和住院病人。一二及一三年间教会更创立华西圣约神学院与圣约归正学堂，提倡子女不应接受无神论教育。

### 发起四九后最大规模联署





至一八年五月，教会举办五一二地震纪念聚会，超过二百六十位信徒被拘捕。同年八月，为了回应家庭教会被打压的情况，王怡及教会发起〈[为基督信仰的声明](#)〉牧者联署，至十一月合共四百五十八位牧者参与，邢福增指此为中共建国以来最大规模的家庭教会牧者联署。十二月九日发生「秋雨大抓捕」事件，百多位信徒被拘留、教会被封，王怡及太太蒋蓉被指控「煽动颠覆国家政权罪」。

邢福增以张彦 (Ian Johnson) 《中国的灵魂》一书中对于王怡教会的描述，说明其教会的透明和公开，如公安向教会要求提供会众名单，他们都会照样给予；甚至当教会委员会内一位成员被大家一致相信是官方的线人，他们也照样容许他在那里参与。这也令张彦不禁疑惑教会这样运作，可以维持多久，「教会的所作所为已经算是挑战当局容忍底线的一记擦边球。」

邢福增又引用学者瑞内 (Marie-Eve Reny) 《威权遏制性：公安局与中国城市基督教家庭教会》一书「遏制性」(containment) 的概念，来解释威权主义下，地方当局与家庭教会领袖间的「非形式」互动。只要家庭教会领袖愿意维持低调及透明，以及不批评政府和不涉及政治或「敏感」的活动，地方官员便会容忍教会存在。此外，教会也不能拥有严密的组织网络，否则，他们便会进行打压。

邢福增

### 家庭教会应走向公开化

除了上述王怡教会的行为外，邢福增特别提到，习近平自一四年起已尝试建立一种新宗教秩序，一八年，修订版《宗教事务条例》生效，政府对家庭教会政策改变，甚至连以往跟政府有较好默契的教会也遭到打压及取缔。因此，对于王怡的判刑是基于他个人问题，还是整体对家庭教会的打压，邢福增认为两者均是。

邢福增进一步说明王怡的路线和想法，指出王怡对家庭教会登记与否的取态也绝不含糊，认为家庭教会需要走公开路线，并批判家庭教会不应以地下状态为荣。其教会曾经希望登记成为社团却不成功，于是继续公开化道路。他甚至曾提出要通过登记的举措来维权，藉此赋予家庭教会一个合法身份。而〇八年四川大地震后，王怡看见藉救灾一类社会服侍能让家庭教会「浮出水面」，参与社会。虽然其后很快政策已经改变，甚至不准再讲公民社会概念，王怡却未曾停止走公开化的路。他希望家庭教会积极预备自己，以致一天政府允许时，自身已有完善制度和治理方法。

对于「顺服掌权者」概念，邢福增说王怡也有自己一套想法，认为基督徒和掌权者也要服从宪法，「要以宪法来实践顺服和尊重宪法」。他认为教会可以成为一股中间力量去作推动，但可惜家庭教会却被政府视为反对力量——政府视家庭教会为政治问题。邢福增又引述王怡一篇文章指，早于一一年，他已经预视这种公开化路线会引起张力。

邢福增表示在党国体制之下，传统家庭教会多抱持基要主义，不会进到公共领域；而相比之下，城市新兴教会则较多愿意突破。不过，二〇一二年《人民日报》海外版一篇文章却列举出「新黑五类」，当中包括地下宗教。邢福增说，一八年以降官方对教会的打压是证明他们要打压公开化路线。然而他分析，一些不甘加入三自，也不做传统家庭教会的教会团体，长远仍会存在。

### **基督教在未来中国担当重要角色**

香港中文大学政治与行政学系副教授周保松博士的讲题为「自由主义与基督教在中国的双重变奏」。他预测，基督教形成的公民社会力量，在未来的中国将担当重要角色。他分析，现时很多基督徒谴责中国政府缺乏信仰自由的观点，其实当中是包含自由主义的观点。

周保松阐述自由主义最核心的理念是尊重个体的个人选择，然后建立保障个体自由的政治制度，包括现时反修例运动港人追求的民主自由价值，都基于自由



主义下能保障公民应有言论、结社、思想、信仰等自由的权利，而最终必然迈向对一个能包容多元价值社会的追求。

周保松解释，相对于西方传统政教合一的观念认为政治的权力与统治者的合法性是源于上帝，自由主义的社会则认为政治权力的来源是源自一人一票、主权在民，不能偏颇地认为某一宗教、思想是唯一。周保松认为，现代社会理所当然地能有不同宗教多元的氛围，其实是历史发展的重大成就。他缕述欧洲国家自宗教改革起，天主教与基督教打了百多年宗教战争后，才开始有「宗教容忍」(religious toleration) 的观念。

周保松

### 家庭教会能成公民社会活跃基础

周保松认为现时中共会这么惧怕基督教，是源于「基督徒有道德」，不会只追求一体利益而行事。他延伸邢福增的观点，指当秋雨圣约教会的信徒也知道自己聚会的名单会被官方知道、有秋后算帐的风险，仍然肯付上代价参与，证明这群信徒是基于信念、道德、公义等价值行事，而不是基于现世的好处。他认为这些群体必然会成为社会上巨大的批判力，形成社会组织与力量，「正是违反共产党希望每个人都是孤独个体的管治手法」。他指如家庭教会一类组织，可以让公民社会活跃的基础。

对于王怡在被捕后发布的[〈我的声明：信仰上的抗命〉](#)一文，作为非信徒的周保松表示不能理解本身作为自由主义学者与维权律师的王怡，在此文的行动观

念却与自由主义不相符。他分析王怡文章一开首便是从圣经出发，谴责中共政权迫害教会，已作出一定的道德判断，包括批评中共对中国信徒的迫害，是「中国社会最邪恶、最可怕的罪恶」。周保松沿着这种思路，认为信奉自由主义的王怡，理应支持在中国进行制度上的改革。

然而，王怡在该文却指自己是「接受和尊重中共政权是上帝所允许的暂时的统治者」，又指自己不是在做任何意义上的「维权或公民不服从的政治行动」、无意改变中国任何制度与法律。周保松认为宗教实际上不能离开政治，信徒能否参与教会崇拜聚会，本身亦应置于政治制度下所容许的权利来理解。而既然信仰不能逃避政治，信徒要问的应是如何追求较好的政治制度，努力参与在社会制度的改革运动，让制度能变得更合符公义。此外，周保松亦表示，王怡会引用神学家加尔文 (John Calvin) ，认为「邪恶的统治者是上帝对邪恶人民的惩罚，目的是催迫上帝的百姓对他悔改。」他认为王怡的说法是将施暴者的道德责任置于受害者身上，是自由主义者所不能理解的。他衷心希望有天王怡在监狱出来，能与他一起进行基督教与自由主义之间的讨论。

### 天国价值比自由民主见证重要

在答问环节中，邢福增先回应周保松对王怡指「无意于去改变中国的任何制度和法律」的疑惑，猜测王怡其实没有甚么策略性的考虑。他指王怡过去的社关工作肯定了在社会上作见证的重要性，不过，他估计王怡会认为见证最终不比福音重要。邢福增引用八十年代李泽厚的〈启蒙与救亡的双重变奏〉，提到二十世纪的中国知识分子追求启蒙与救亡，但后来救亡的心态压倒启蒙心态。邢福增认为当中双重变奏的概念与王怡的想法相似，自由主义与基督教信仰也有双重变奏，但对王怡来说，基督教信仰压倒了自由主义。邢福增补充，王怡也没有为追求天国价值的缘故而否定社关工作，只是认为天国的价值比自由民主见证重要。

有与会者问邢福增，在这次王怡被囚事件后，估计内地信徒会否学效他，抑或会有愈来愈多信徒退缩。邢福增指，在内地，三自教会接受党的框架，偏向保守基要传统，部份家庭教会同样如是，这情况属于大多数。他坦言，只有少数的城市新兴家庭教会仍有关怀社会、传扬文化的使命。对于王怡这次事件，一些家庭教会内部会觉得他是「抵死」，因王怡做了很多社关工作；有些家庭教会担心会被连累，会有「割席、分化、笃灰」的情况出现。邢福增说，基于中国政府近

年打压家庭教会，他们现在会较难公开化，很多家庭教会要化整为零，再进入地下状态。一些公共的基督化群体如要再次崛起或有更多实践，可能需要其他因素的配合。周保松则强调宗教自由是令宗教生存的基础；当触及相关底线，教会应该毫不含糊地作出回应。

### 守住自己的价值和信念

另外，亦有与会者关心「在邪恶、高压、强权、不理人民死活的政权下」，人们可以做甚么使制度更完善，以致每个中国人的自由能被保障。周保松指香港人在过去半年做了很好的示范；此言获得全场拍掌。他指每个人都有自己的角色和位置，当意识到制度不公，「我们不能等刘晓波、王怡做事」，他指当天出席讲座的参加者就是公开作出声援，是对中国政府政治迫害的抗议。众人若守住自己的价值和信念，在自己的能力范围尽可能争取，他不相信社会会变得黑暗。

周保松亦提出了两个问题让会众反思：一、为何基督徒能接受「信仰自由是每个人基本的权利」？当信徒相信神是唯一的上帝时，为何能容忍或尊重他人有其他宗教信仰？二、当自由主义遇上基督教时，为何会出现思想上转变？他接续提到十九世纪末，中国走向现代化，迈向自由、民主的过程中出现两个情况让中国人接受自由民主概念：一、新儒家思想，从儒家思想发展出自由民主；二、让更多人成为信徒，只要全面西化，自由民主便会水到渠成。他又提出另一个进路：撇弃儒家思想、基督信仰，使民主自由的概念在中国实行，不过他质疑这进路的可行性。

对于基督教面对异教者，邢福增引用王怡的事例，指纵使当时中国政府视法轮功为邪教，对之打压及取缔，但王怡作为基督徒、维权律师，他与余杰为法轮功辩护，捍卫其宗教信仰自由，不过王怡此举则引起不少家庭教会的争论。邢福增提到一次与余杰之间的讨论，谈及基督信仰在争取自由民主的意义，余杰觉得当成为基督徒后，在争取自由民主过程中仍有软弱的时候，也会面对很多压力，但基督信仰能成为他的力量；而同时基督信仰能提醒人有罪性，不能为追求民主而变得自我，亦不能用不民主的方法对待异己。

本次讲座由香港中文大学基督教研究中心、基督教中国宗教文化研究社及《时代

论坛》合办，于一月十九日下午假循道卫理联合教会安素堂一楼圣堂举行，约四百六十人出席，与会者坐满会场的礼堂，大会需要另作转播安排。

**Li Ma: Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches——The Rise and Fall of Early Reformed Presbyterian Church, London: Routledge, 2019 (Li Ma) (仅存目)**

(中文试译:《中国城市家庭教会的宗教企业化——秋雨之福归正长老教会长老会的兴衰》)

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李晋、马丽夫妻两人同为社科和神学类译者, 译有《自然正义》、《托克维尔的政治经济学》、《致年轻加尔文主义者的信》、《宽容的不宽容》、《思想的境界》、《慷慨的正义》等书。他们也是研究学者和作家, 著有《通往阿斯坦的国度: C.S.路易斯<纳尼亚传奇>导读》等书, 两人合写的中英文学术论文发表于 *China Source Quarterly*, 收录在 *Christianity in Chinese Public Life* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014) 一书及《田野归来: 中国宗教与社会研究》合集和公共媒体《财经》等地。他们合著的英文新书 *Surviving the State, Remaking the Church: A Sociological Portrait of Christians in chinese mainland* 已在美国 Wipf and Stock Publishers 出版。

## 关于马丽 (Li Ma) 一书的学术书评



压伤的芦苇也不折断——评马丽《中国城市家庭教会中的宗教创业—秋雨之福归  
正长老教会的兴衰》（严德良）

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此文未有公开刊发。作者严德良，参前文《寒冬已至，愿我们有道德勇气走下去》作者介绍。

## 压伤的芦苇祂不折断

——评马丽《中国城市家庭教会中的宗教创业—秋雨之福归正长老教会的兴衰》

作者：严德良

### (一) 书籍背景

本文评论的是马丽的新著《中国城市家庭教会中的宗教创业—秋雨之福归正长老教会的兴衰》(Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches – The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church) [1]。由「罗德里奇」(Routledge) 出版社于 2019 年出版。全书共 260 页，按马丽所作的历史分段分为三个部份，前后合共 10 个章节。

作者马丽于康乃尔大学 (Cornell University) 取得博士学位，主修社会学，现于美国大急流域的加尔文大学 (Calvin University) 任高级研究员 (Senior Research Fellow) [2]。马丽过往的著作 (包括合著) 亦多与中国城市新兴家庭教会的研究有关，如《从生存到重塑》(Surviving the State Remaking the Church: A Sociological Portrait of Christians in Mainland China) [3]。本书的部份内容就是基于此书而写成的。

### (二) 内容简介与优点

马丽新着采用跨学科的进路，包括人类学、组织行为学、神学等不同的学科视野来分析成都秋雨之福归正教会 (以下简称秋雨[4])。当中最主要以组织行为

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[1] Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches – The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church* (London: Routledge, 2019). 该译名是参照 G.K. Deng 所写有关本书的书评 “Sensationalism disguised as Scholarship” 中译版而有，参 G.K. Deng: 「学术外衣下的危言耸听」，《福音联盟》，2019 年 7 月 15 日，<<https://tc.tgcchinese.org/article/sensationalism-disguised-as-scholarship>> (浏览日期：2019 年 8 月 15 日)。

[2] China Source, “Books by Mary Li Ma,” *China Source* <<https://www.chinasource.org/resource-library/books/author/mary-li-ma>> (15 August 2019).

[3] Gin Li and Li Ma, *Surviving the State Remaking the Church: A Sociological Portrait of Christians in Mainland China* (Oregon: Pickwick, 2018).

[4] 成都秋雨之福归正教会，从 2005 年成立至今，名字经历不同变化，从团契到教会，从一间于 2017 年分裂成为百花堂与圣约堂。为了方便起见，本文于教会分裂之前统一称作成都秋雨之福归正教会及以此指称教会整个历史发展，分裂后亦会以百花堂称呼王华生带领的教会，王怡带领的教会则称为圣约堂，以作区别。

学及韦伯 (Max Webber) 对于企业创新与企业精神的理解作为全书的理论框架, 并视秋雨为宗教企业进行分析<sup>[5]</sup>以指出其兴衰原因所在。

马丽认为秋雨作为宗教企业, 其发展可分为三个阶段:

1. 2005 至 2013 年: 教会的整合期 (Consolidation) 。秋雨在此时期建立了教会的合法性权威, 并塑造了牧师的信息传播系统, 在地方上形成了很强的存在感及教会集体的身份认同。

2. 2013 至 2017 年: 教会的向外扩张期 (Expansion) 。秋雨与美国长老会 (Presbyterian Church in America, PCA) 的教会植堂者一同建立了教会的体制, 但亦因外部力量的加入, 打破了原本秋雨王怡与王华生的权力平衡, 使教会出现分裂。

3. 2017 至 2018 年: 教会后分裂的激进期 (Radicalization) 。圣约堂开始热衷于追求「逼害」、挑衅政权, 以此缓解教会面对的内外问题, 却最终因道德权威的陷落使教会于 2018 年被政府关闭作结。<sup>[6]</sup>

在此理论的框架下, 书中的中心论点是: 秋雨教会的领袖, 如同有野心的企业创始人一样, 他们以有形的地方教会体制建立及全球的公众形象管理, 来达到有全中国的影响力。但内部的道德权威, 因不同的事件, 如分堂、「秘密审讯」王华生、归正学堂问题及性侵案等, 而被损耗净尽。特别是当会友见到王怡在这些事上的处理手法问题后, 使他们对于这位「企业家」的期许完全破灭。一方面秋雨高举长老制的合议精神、权力制衡, 但另一方面却在处理教会事务上采取双重标准, 不理章则规程。并且这种公开性, 被「企业」的发展的需要、利益所压倒, 因而进一步发展出对内部更压制、严厉的领袖文化。而这种道德的不一致性, 生出教会内一系列的问题, 如内部的权力斗争、明显的不公平、过度的划一化、审讯的不公、性侵的问题。

秋雨转向威权体制的情况, 不单单是秋雨领袖的问题, 亦是整体社会环境转变而得出的产物。这些领袖想摆脱教会在中国社会边缘的期望、焦虑与野心, 是受到中国政权下政治、经济、社会、文化、科技等转变而有的结果。而秋雨视自己为上帝特意放置于这中国巨大转型的时期之中。但他们没有以忍耐、自我克制的方式慢慢建立教会, 相反他们以快速的体制扩张来回应上帝的「呼召」。而当

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<sup>[5]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.8-10.

<sup>[6]</sup>Ibid, pp.4-5.

他们建立全国性的组织架构时，亦超出了中国政权对社会组织容忍力顶点。这种将受到政权逼害的焦虑，反过来亦加速、助长了王怡激进的倾向。最终教会因性侵等事件的出现，使秋雨的道德权威最终被压跨，并在外部政治压力下于 2018 年被全面取缔。<sup>[7]</sup>

此书对于秋雨发展的分析是至今笔者看过相对较为「全面」的研究<sup>[8]</sup>。不论同意书中观点与否，至少马丽能提出一套较为完整的论述，并按照她的理论线索，将庞杂的资料梳理扣连于她建构的分段框架下，从而得出有意义的结论。在资料的收集上作者亦有贡献，不单有深度访谈（43 个以上）、参与式观察等人类学常用的研究方法，更利用了网络民族志 (Online Ethnography/ Cyber-ethnography) 的方法丰富了资源的来源（如微信、微博等），进一步捕捉到秋雨的新近变化。更令人羡慕的是作者收集到约 400 期的秋雨主日周报<sup>[9]</sup>，大大充实了一手资料的研究基础<sup>[10]</sup>。另一方面，值得欣赏的是马丽作为女性研究者，能将其优势展现于研究之中，使她对于性别议题非常敏感，如教会对于女性角色的教导、性侵事件的分析，均能带出过往研究者所忽略的重点及新的资料线索供人进深研究<sup>[11]</sup>。

而书中亦曾尝试将秋雨置于大的政治、经济与社会脉络中去理解其历史意义，都使秋雨的案例不单纯为个案分析，能有助于理解其他城市家庭教会的现况，故具有一定的代表性与普遍意义。

### （三）全书立论基础商榷

书中内容铺陈精彩，她的理论观点亦有清晰表达。但作为学术研究的基础，务求准确引用资料、全面搜集不同立场的证据、不偏倚的选取材料进行诠释，这些基础在书中都有明显的问题与不足，以致在此推论的观点便如建在浮沙之上，不堪反覆推敲。

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<sup>[7]</sup>Ibid, pp.4-5.

<sup>[8]</sup>例如在 2018 年，美国波士顿大学的薛永光 (Xue Yongguang) 就曾以华西区会作为分析对象，完成了他的硕士论文，参 Yongguang Xue, “Presbyterianism and Social Change in Urban China” (Master diss. Boston University, 2018). 但该论文不论在深入程度与理论的完整程度上均明显逊色于马丽的研究。

<sup>[9]</sup>因为秋雨与不少会友多次被国安「抄家」，大部份资历深的会友均没有周报的整全版本，可见此批资料的珍贵。

<sup>[10]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.12-13.

<sup>[11]</sup>指出女性于中国城市新兴教会受到压抑的问题，特别是倾向于改革宗神学的教会，格尔达·维兰德 (Gerda Wielander) 有过类似的观点，参 Gerda Wielander, *Christian Values in Communist China* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 159-167. 但其深度比之于马丽稍为逊色。

如马丽指王怡于 2013 年的 10 月 6 日后，便停写牧函<sup>[12]</sup>。而马丽透过受访者的口指王怡从 2010 年 1 月开始写牧函<sup>[13]</sup>原因是想以此进行内部控制 (Internal Control)，并透过网络传播建立自身于城市家庭教会中的名声。所以当华西区会于 2013 年建立后，教会建制趋向完善，牧者能以教会制度来达至内部管理时，并且牧函已为他获得巨大的名声，王怡便不再需要书写牧函<sup>[14]</sup>。但这是明显的错误，王怡在 2014 至 2015 年仍维持着每月书写牧函<sup>[15]</sup>，之后亦有不定期的书写<sup>[16]</sup>。这种显见的事实错误，作者不单没有指出，还以此引导读者思考王怡对于名声、权力有异常的渴求，牧函只是为达这目的工具，当目的达到了就被抛弃不用，而忽视了基本的事实。

又例如书中指有一名香港的研究员在 2017 年秋雨分裂后曾采访王怡与王华生，希望能取得秋雨分裂的真正原因，却在采访过程中过份进取使王怡感到不满，之后便下令圣约堂的所有成员不能接受任何外来人士的采访。并以此证明圣约堂自分裂后变得内聚、封闭，任何对外发布信息都要经长老的审批，以严苛的审查机制来维持教会的公众形象<sup>[17]</sup>。而该段引论没有任何注释，笔者难以确定马丽有否真的访问过该位研究员。但笔者能肯定的是秋雨分裂后外人仍能如常到教会中做采访，如笔者在 2017 年的 7 月及 12 月、2018 年的 7 月，均有到访圣约堂，并且采访过到他们的长老、神学生、小组组长、一般会友，超过 20 人。这些人都是圣约堂的长老所安排，大部份都是在华西归正神学论坛上初次认识。笔者亦先后两次在他们的华西神学论坛上派发过问卷进行调查，从无受阻。据笔者所知，在教会分裂后，至少有两位不同的外来人员曾到访圣约，同样没有面对马丽所言的问题。

但亦要指出自 2017 年，华西区会确有提醒区会成员要小心外来的访问人员，因为区会一位长老曾收到一位大学教授指有「国保」与他合作并派学生以田野考察的方式到秋雨及之后的圣约堂收集情报<sup>[18]</sup>。所以教会提高警觉是有一定的背

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<sup>[12]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.49. 但有趣的是之后本书 159 页时，马丽又指王怡在 2017 年曾写牧函，这表示马丽是知道了解王怡有继续撰写牧函，参 Ibid, p.159.

<sup>[13]</sup>Ibid, p.48.

<sup>[14]</sup>Ibid, p.103.

<sup>[15]</sup>王怡着：《福音的国度：每月牧函》（未刊稿，2016 年）。

<sup>[16]</sup>又例如王怡着：《灵魂总动员：牧会现场的灵修书信》（香港：圣约出版社，2018 年）。该书就是王怡多年来的牧函选集，并修订后出版。

<sup>[17]</sup>Ibid, pp.152-153.

<sup>[18]</sup>参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问华西区会的长老 C，2019 年 4 月 8 日，于该老家中进行。

景，而当笔者表示身份与采访意图时后从没有受到阻拦。故马丽指圣约堂自 2017 年起加强内部控制、对外封闭等的情况，与笔者的田野经验有不少的差距。

而这亦反映书中资料来源的一个重要问题，马丽此书固然是建于她 11 年来长期的田野考察资料所得而有的结果，但她到成都秋雨作参与式观察只有从 2010 年至约 2013 年<sup>[19]</sup>的部份时间。秋雨分裂的前后，马丽基本上是没有到过成都。而她 2013 年后的采访基本上是透过网络以及相关人士到访北美时进行，其余的资料都是从网络及她认为的「关键信息提供者」(Key Informant) 所提供。简单而言，即是在秋雨分裂的前后，她并没有亲身到过圣约堂进行观察，以致她犯上本书中批评外国研究者的问题—她的资料脱离了现实情况<sup>[20]</sup>。又如书中提及购置百花堂新会址违反了秋雨的《堂会治理规章》<sup>[21]</sup>，但实情是秋雨在 2013 年华西区会成立后，已按区会章程修订了堂会规章的第六章，只是遗漏了没有同时修订堂会规章第 9 章。长老会已就此发出告示补充说明和致歉<sup>[22]</sup>。这并非内部档案与记录，而是公开张贴于教会的告示栏中，按马丽言应属于「公共领域传播过的档案」<sup>[23]</sup>。可见马丽书中的资料，特别是 2013 年后的材料，缺乏实地考察来检视她手上材料的可信度。虽然马丽经常强调她有几个消息来源互相确认才会书写于书中<sup>[24]</sup>，但下文可见她的采访与消息来源是带有一定的偏见，故出现了「回声室效应」(Echo Chamber Effect)，未能为她书中内容带来事实查证的效果。

另外，当马丽引用资料时，往往亦会加以剪裁，甚或曲解原来材料的意思，以迁就自己的观点。如 G. K. Deng 在他的书评中所列出许多引文的错误<sup>[25]</sup>，包

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<sup>[19]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.12-13.

<sup>[20]</sup>参四季书评：「马丽新书访谈（二）：女性应当坚定无畏地发出声音」，《四季书评》，2019 年 7 月 22 日，<<http://www.4sbooks.com/archives/6021.html?from=timeline&isappinstalled=0>>（浏览日期：2019 年 7 月 23 日）。

<sup>[21]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.141-143.

<sup>[22]</sup>成都秋雨之福归正教会长老会：「长老会关于购堂呼召的补充说明和致歉」（教会告示栏）。笔者摄于 2016 年 12 月 24 日。

<sup>[23]</sup>参四季书评：「马丽新书访谈（二）：女性应当坚定无畏地发出声音」。

<sup>[24]</sup>同上。

<sup>[25]</sup>G.K. Deng: 「学术外衣下的危言耸听」。在此要补充说明，G.K. Deng 是笔名而非真实姓名。而马丽批评指这不合学术的规范，这确是如此，但问题是书评中指出的许多事实错误也确实有存在，并不因用假名发表而使马丽书中的错误变得合理，这都使本书的学术可信性大大降低。参四季书评：「马丽新书访谈：在当下我们如何做中国研究」，《四季书评》，2019 年 7 月 7 日，<<http://www.4sbooks.com/archives/5962.html?from=timeline&isappinstalled=0&fbclid=IwAR0LUXtcEqQOjMg0alacgt5yD2rcvjfUopEjfxN8iPa19m6Skub6FkueoY>>（浏览日期：2019 年 7 月 15 日）。

括马丽批评王怡不再重视教义的正确性<sup>[26]</sup>当中引用资料时所有的问题等。又如马丽指张彦 (Ian Johnson) 在《中国的灵魂：后毛泽东时代的宗教复兴》中高度评价王怡及秋雨教会，亦指张彦宣称宗教团体能作为监察、制衡政府权力的重要力量<sup>[27]</sup>。但张彦在书中的原文是指有中国政治学者相信宗教团体能有此作用，但他却认为此想法「看似有些牵强」 (That might seem far-fetched) <sup>[28]</sup>。这些引用材料的不慎，甚至有明显扭曲原作者意思的情况，都使读者对此书要花很大的力气作事实的查证<sup>[29]</sup>，大大降低了书本的可信度。这些问题，反过来亦显示了马丽在引用不同材料时，往往先有既定的立场，之后为了迁就立场便要删剪材料来加以迎合，让读者对于书中观点的事实基础抱有很大的疑虑。

亦值得补充，作者对于圣约堂激进期的批判，指其在政教关系上以激烈及具挑衅性的方式来回应政府打压。但有趣的是这部份较多的依赖一些网络的批评文章，如陈鸽、Isaac Cui 的网上文章，却较少直接分析王怡所写的文本<sup>[30]</sup>。以致一些重要有关王怡对政教关系看法的书籍被忽略，如《福音的政变：宗教改革沉思录》<sup>[31]</sup>、《神权与政权：中国家庭教会谈话录》<sup>[32]</sup>等。故全书在材料上仍有进一步丰富、扩展的空间。

#### (四) 书中的观点商榷

进一步言，书中不少的观点亦值得商榷，如有关秋雨男性领导的原则，

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<sup>[26]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.81.

<sup>[27]</sup>马丽在书中的原文是：“Johnson also claims that “in places where religious groups have status, they can act as a check on government power, holding officials accountable for their actions.” He has hope for pastors like Yi Wang who uphold “a god who endows all people with the same rights - something that could not be taken away by a political leader.” Ibid, p.204. 但张彦在书中写的是 “That might seem far-fetched, but it reflects what some political scientists have documented in China - that in places where religious groups have status, they can act as a check on government power, holding officials accountable for their actions. Wang Yi began to wonder if political progress required the support of a higher authority, not an ideal or a constitution, but a God who endows all people with the same rights - something that could not be taken away by a political leader.” 参 Ian Johnson, *The Soul of China: The Return of Religion After Mao* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), p.163.

<sup>[28]</sup>Ian Johnson, *The Soul of China: The Return of Religion After Mao* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), p.163. 此处的中文翻译参考过张彦着，廖彦博、廖珮杏译：《中国的灵魂：后毛泽东时代的宗教复兴》（新北市：八旗文化，2019年），页252-253。但亦要指出此中译本有不少名称上的翻译错误，如将 Early Rain Reformed Church 一律译作圣约堂，问题甚多。

<sup>[29]</sup>亦要指出马丽新书不少注释均有问题，例如引用张彦一书时页数多有错误，为学术交流带来不少麻烦与困难。

<sup>[30]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.171-179.

<sup>[31]</sup>王怡着：《福音的政变：宗教改革沉思录》（香港：圣约出版社，2018年）。

<sup>[32]</sup>王怡着：《神权与政权：中国家庭教会谈话录》（内部资料，2018年）。

女性不能站讲台的问题。确实从女性主义的角度大可斥责当中具性别歧视的神学论述<sup>[33]</sup>。但问题是这并非王怡与秋雨教会独有的神学，而是他们所接受的宗派传统一部份。而这传统最重要的来源是书中也有提及的吕沛渊牧师（威斯敏斯特神学院毕业），他的神学立场相当保守也强调男性领导的原则。而王华生牧师从2007年到2012年跟从吕学习神学，故受他影响甚深<sup>[34]</sup>。另外，王怡在2010年到美国纽约救赎主长老会（Redeemer Church）受培训，被提摩太·凯勒（Timothy Keller）及美国长老会（PCA）影响甚深<sup>[35]</sup>，而该宗派传统亦强调男性领导。以及后来信正长老会（Orthodox Presbyterian Church, OPC）有关男性领导的神学论述亦被吸纳于秋雨之中<sup>[36]</sup>，进一步将过往的论述系统化。

而过往中国家庭教会在吸收外来神学及宗派传统时，往往会采取实用主义的立场，将那些认为有用能帮助教会发展的加以接纳，那些不符合过往经验、传统的就弃之不要，造成教会神学混合、拼凑的特色，如温州不少教会转型时均出现这种情况。但这同样造成神学混乱、论述之间矛盾冲突的问题。所以不少城市新兴家庭教会为了避免这种混乱的情况，往往会将西方宗派整套的神学移植过来，如非必要不作修改。故当秋雨决定要接纳PCA的传统并使用他们的章程作为教会的规章蓝本时，男性领导作为PCA传统的一部份便不能简单地更改。所以单单批评秋雨，指这种性别歧视的神学成了之后教会发生性侵事件的根源时<sup>[38]</sup>，便有一定的问题。另外亦要问为何只有秋雨出现这种情况？中国有不少类似的教会，甚至有奉行比秋雨更保守的长老会传统的教会<sup>[39]</sup>，为何其他没有相类似的情况？这是否反映神学论述与教会实际情况的关系比作者所写要复杂得多？

亦值得言，笔者亦采访过秋雨及华西区会内的一些女性信徒，包括长老妻子、副执事、学堂老师、到其他地方读圣经辅导的神学生、一般信徒等。对于

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<sup>[33]</sup>例如黄慧贞当她从事香港华人妇女基督徒口述历史研究时，便直指不少的华人教会文化是双重的父权宰制（西方神学与本地文化）并要为妇女的自主发声，参黄慧贞着：〈双重的父权宰制、自主的妇女发声：从香港华人妇女基督徒口述历史研究看宗教历史研究〉，载黎志添编：《华人学术处境中的宗教研究：本土方法的探索》（香港：三联书店，2012年），页205-226。

<sup>[34]</sup>参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问王华生牧师，2019年5月17日，于该成都食肆中进行。

<sup>[35]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.69.

<sup>[36]</sup>参蒋真理着：《（中国教会和家庭与）基督教男性领导的原则》（信正长老会外传道团体，2014年）。

<sup>[38]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.63-64.

<sup>[39]</sup>例如南京的家园教会，便是参照改革宗长老会（Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, RPC，过往一般称为约老会传统）的传统而建立，教会在崇拜、男性领导等的原则比PCA传统更为「严格」。他们的领袖齐宏伟亦甚有魅力。



教会教导是否带来歧视及对女性压迫时，有趣的是大部份受访的女性都不觉得有此情况，认为这是教会传统的一部份并视之为贴合圣经的解读。而当笔者追问时反遭质疑，指笔者对于男女平等的概念过于偏狭，是否一定要女性也当牧师才平等？教会有如此多的事奉为何不做？笔者无意为男性领导的原则背书，也不认同这类的教导，更不是指秋雨内没有对女性压迫的情况。但问题是除非我们都认为笔者所采访的女性均被男性「扭曲的神学」完全「洗脑」不用理会，否则所谓的「压迫」、「歧视」的问题在中国教会中便要复杂得多。当然我们可以高举女性主义的理论来批判这些状况，但若将此简化为压迫（男）与被压迫（女）的二元论述时，这论述就有可能脱离当中部份受访群体的经验与想法，将一些「理所当然」具理论高度的看法硬置于她们身上。若这是纯粹神学的反思性文章，这当然可以如此书写，但问题是作者以「社会史」、「口述史」的形象来呈现她的研究时，这样的论述便有相当的问题。

而从上文可以见到，笔者的田野经验与马丽所收集到的资料有不少差距。当然无一本书是能把「完整的故事」（Complete Story）说出，但马丽指书中是尽可能展现一个「平衡的观点」（Balanced Perspective）<sup>[40]</sup>。并且在书中第八章〈全球网络〉（Global Network）中，马丽批评不少西方学者、记者在观察中国教会时流于表面或带有偏见，与事实的真相出现巨大差距，而她的深厚田野记录正好纠正当中的问题与不足，展现外人所不知道具深度的真实故事。

但正如不少人所质疑，马丽选取采访对象时往往欠缺如她所言的平衡性，特别是秋雨分裂后所访问的对象就有明显的倾向。确实在性侵事件的资料来源上马丽只采访了受害者<sup>[41]</sup>，若要求马丽去访谈施害者亦有问题，包括可能造成受害者的二次伤害等问题，故要小心处理。但由于书中处理的不单单只是施害与受害人的问题，更是指向教会内的包庇、隐瞒文化，故处理此事的牧师王怡与彭强及他们的太太蒋蓉、王鸥均是受到批评的人。如是，这种对教会处理手法上的指控是否至少要给这些牧师们一个申辩的机会？特别是马丽强调自己是以「平衡的观点」来揭示教会的真实情况时，这些指控会严重影响他们现在的事工及会众们对于牧者的信任。但以笔者所知，马丽没有给予这些牧师及妻子们解说的机会，这又是否一种另类的「暴力」？再者过往许多研究种族歧视、性侵犯等罪行的学术

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<sup>[40]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.13.

<sup>[41]</sup>Ibid, pp.187-192.

报告时，故然要站在受害的一方指出事情发生的责任不在受害者身上，但若要了解真相就不能单单被受害者的陈述主宰了整个研究报告。退一步而言，就算作者可能视王怡、彭强等也是「施害者」，因他们「隐瞒」了该重大事件，他们的证词也只会谎话连篇，但他们也是有作证的权利。

若言性侵问题要顾虑的点较多，那有关秋雨分裂的事，为了要得出较「客观」、全面的看法是否应采访百花堂及圣约堂的相关人士，并华西区会内其他有份处理的长老、牧师们？但同样遗憾的是自分裂以后，马丽只采访了百花堂的有关人物<sup>[42]</sup>。而华西区会的其他堂会的长老均被划为王怡意志的延伸，而没有采访他们。有关分裂的资料来源，马丽指她只会用「公共领域传播过的档案」而不会利用对「官方」有利的内部档案<sup>[43]</sup>。但笔者细阅注释后发现所谓的公共领域档案，很多均是依赖为王华生于教会法庭辩护的范鑫所提供的。当然当中资料非常丰富，但亦明显地是经过筛选而有的<sup>[44]</sup>。而区会是有较完整的审讯录音及文字记录<sup>[45]</sup>。故作为负责任的学者，在明确知道自己的消息来源是有立场偏向时，也知道有其他可能更完整丰富的材料存在时，就算现在未必能完全查阅，至少在书中根据手头上的材料进行申说推论时应更加谨慎小心。而更重要的问题是本书的引言部份马丽强调自己是以「平衡的观点」来研究秋雨的兴衰。若此书的定位并非如此，而是展现另类的观点，或用马丽的话是在「体系内部的男权人士」的官方论述以外，道出被打压的教会女性声音。明确表示自己的立场与书本的定位时，这些质疑就可减少。

书中另外一个较为具争议性的观点是指出，外国的媒体喜爱报道中国基督徒受逼害的新闻。这与他们自身的宗教环境较安逸有关，故希望塑造东方的殉道者与圣人，以补足自身的宗教情感需要<sup>[46]</sup>。这种论述反过来加强了国内基督徒对于逼迫的渴求，并为他们的行为赋权。当然作者没有自己亲口说出，而是透过不同引文来引导读者思考，究竟圣约堂最终被取缔关门是否单单的政治迫害，还

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<sup>[42]</sup>一位以笔名庄禾的人曾将马丽书中引用过的所有访谈整理统计，发现自秋雨分裂后，已没有圣约堂的人被采访，参庄禾着：〈「他承诺决不说谎，但是并未许诺要说出整个真相」——马丽《中国城市家庭教会的宗教企业精神：秋雨之福改革宗长老教会的兴亡》评析之一〉（未刊稿，2019年）。

<sup>[43]</sup>参四季书评：「马丽新书访谈（二）：女性应当坚定无畏地发出声音」。

<sup>[44]</sup>因笔者亦在该微讯讨论群组中，而能查看该批「公共领域传播过的档案」。

<sup>[45]</sup>参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问华西区会长老 N，2019年4月28日，于长老 N 所属堂会办公室进行。

<sup>[46]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.210-211.

是自身的激进化，加上许多事件的处理不当令教会的组织生态已被破坏，最终令圣约堂被压跨。

有趣的是马丽引用了王志勇的话，指近来的政府打压是针对圣约堂及王怡<sup>[48]</sup>，而非成都的家庭教会及华西区会，似乎证明了圣约被取缔是王怡等的激进做法超越了政府的容忍力顶点而有的结果。但这亦有事实的问题，在2019年的4月底前，区会底下的生命之泉教会因政府向房东施压而被迫分成小组<sup>[49]</sup>。同年6月30日，在政府的施压下，百花堂虽然堂址是自购的亦被迫撤离分成小组。之后7月份，区会成员溪水旁归正福音教会主日崇拜时被冲击。最后8月4日，恩福归正长老教会及溪水旁归正福音教会在政府压力下只能分成小组继续。华西区会下的所有堂会均被打散。

而笔者曾在2019年2月至6月到访成都，探访过区会以外的其他家庭教会系统，他们均表示受到不同程度的打压。以其中一个成都家庭教会系统为例，他们教会非常着重传福音，不认同王怡于讲道引例中批评政府的做法。而教会的规章亦明确写到，当教会人数超过80人就要开始分堂，维持小堂会的规模。但不幸地，今年的4月开始教会亦受到政府有关部门的压力，要求停止运作与搬走<sup>[50]</sup>。虽然马丽成书时期应为本年的3月，要求她预视之后的发展确实不公。但近这几个月发生的事，却正好推翻她书中立论的事实根据。相比起以中国政府整体宗教政策收紧的角度来分析<sup>[51]</sup>，圣约堂就算没有激进化，取缔也无可避免，这样的推论似乎更合现在所见到的事实。而选择圣约堂作为较先的打压对象，也非常乎合中国共产党的「政策风格」(Policy Style)，以具体及代表性的对象作为政策推行的试点，并在实践经验中总结从而加以广泛推行<sup>[52]</sup>。而秋雨及圣约堂在过去多年建立的会友数目及国际的关注，正好是新修订的宗教事务条例实施后，用来检视该条例的好试点。笔者无意完全否定马丽书中所指许多秋雨及圣约堂的组织及权力运用问题，不竟每一间教会均有自身的问题。但值得追问的是这些是否令秋雨衰亡(Fall)的主因？作者是否对秋雨的内部问题过于强调，以致对中国的政

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<sup>[48]</sup>Ibid, p.211.

<sup>[49]</sup>参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问华西区会长老N，2019年4月28日，于长老N所属堂会办公室进行。

<sup>[50]</sup>参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问成都家庭教会Q传道人W，2019年4月16日，于成都食肆中进行。

<sup>[51]</sup>参邢福增着：《新时代中国宗教秩序与基督教》（香港：德慧文化，2019年），页21-66。

<sup>[52]</sup>韩博天(Sebastian Heilmann)着，石磊译：《红天鹅：中国非常规决策过程》（香港：香港中文大学，2018年），页17-18。

治环境与生态判断显得有点乐观与幼稚？

也值得补充的是，虽然本书的书名用了衰亡 (Fall) 一词形容秋雨，而书中也以 2018 年 12 月 9 日圣约堂被政府取缔作为此个案的结束。但圣约堂至今仍以不同方式维持着主日崇拜，约有 200 人参加<sup>[53]</sup>。在大规模打压下，如超过一半会友曾被不同方式拘捕过，特别是马丽书中所指秋雨的宗教精英阶层 (Religious Elite Class) <sup>[54]</sup>基本上无一幸免，遭受长期拘留、监视、遣返原籍等对待，但圣约堂却仍能在没有「精英阶层」下生存及维持较低度的运作。这恰恰反映教会制度的建立及区会之作用，让成员堂会能彼此扶助，充份反映制度的韧性

(resilience)。而马丽强调秋雨领袖在教会中的作用，因而过早判断秋雨已「衰亡」，这样的立论同样是与现实的情况有距离。

#### (五) 学术伦理的商榷

另一方面，确实以匿名、假名的方式进行口述历史及田野考察并不是「硬性要求」<sup>[55]</sup>。过往亦有不少人质疑以匿名、假名的方式处理资料，让其他学者难以查核当中资料的真实性，会影响该研究的学术价值<sup>[56]</sup>。但过往不少做当代中国教会研究的学者仍是以匿名的方式进行，甚至是对方要求公开姓名也一概拒绝，并以假名代替<sup>[57]</sup>。这不单是学术上的考虑，更是因中国的政治、社会处境，宗教问题始终非常敏感，而基督宗教更有天生的原罪——「与外部势力勾结」的问题<sup>[58]</sup>。而过往这些资料，在网上或许有公开，而笔者相信在大数据的年代政府掌控的资料比所有研究人员所拥有的都完整，但这些资料都是散乱的。当研究者把这些资料串连在一起，并以真实姓名的方式去公布，这无疑让有关的政府人员更易以此罗织罪名。

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<sup>[53]</sup>例如笔者曾参与过他们在 2019 年 4 月 14 日的主日。

<sup>[54]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.94.

<sup>[55]</sup>参四季书评：「马丽新书访谈（二）：女性应当坚定无畏地发出声音」。

<sup>[56]</sup>Pat Caplan, ed., *The Ethics of Anthropology: Debates and Dilemmas* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp.18-21.

<sup>[57]</sup>例如黄剑波着：《乡村社区的信仰、政治与生活—吴庄基督教的人类学研究》（香港：香港中文大学崇基学院宗教与中国社会研究中心，2012 年），页 12。Cao Nanlai, *Constructing China's Jerusalem: Christians, Power, and Place in Contemporary Wenzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), p.18.

<sup>[58]</sup>例如王华生牧师被区会法庭审判就被曾被政府有关人员利用，指为中国的牧师能给洋人牧师审判，想以此挑动教会的矛盾。参笔者：《田野考察笔记》，访问百花堂会友 W，2019 年 2 月 22 日，于其家中进行。

而一般有关质性研究 (Qualitative Research) 的指引, 都指出尽可能以匿名的方式进行以确保私稳 (Confidentiality), 从而希望减少研究中透露的资料对研究对象现实生活的影响。特别是这些研究对象现在还继续存在运作。除非这些资料当中牵涉到严重罪行 (如杀人) 及受访者有实时的生命危险 (如透露想自杀), 研究者才可以打破匿名的规定寻找外来的协助<sup>[59]</sup>。如此匿名与否虽非「硬性」, 但至少需要提供合理公开真实姓名的理由。

而马丽指有她公开姓名的原则有三: 一、公共领域 (Public Domain) 有公开记录的人, 而大部份秋雨及华西区会的领袖均在此范围。二, 教会公共事务中出现过实名的人, 包括周报提及的人。三、经受访者许可愿意实名提及的人, 如性侵案的施害者<sup>[60]</sup>。而一些较不知名的人, 马丽给予他们选择是否公开姓名<sup>[62]</sup>。但所谓知名与否, 是否曾进到公共就由作者去决定。故作者的判断是否恰当就令人有不少问题。

举孟天 (Timothy Mountfort) 牧师为例, 书中明确提及他是美国长老会 (PCA) 宣教部东亚地区的领袖<sup>[63]</sup>。但在此书公布前, 孟天牧师在美国长老会的职位是没有公开, 而孟天亦没有公开发表过甚么文章。他们这些宣教士亦被马丽批评为「看不见的」 (Invisible) 的区会宣教士<sup>[64]</sup>。一般外人对他的认识甚至比另一位有不少译作在区会中工作的宣教士更少。但书中却公开了孟天的名字, 也没有问过他的同意。对比同在神学院服侍的美国长老会本杰明 (Benjamin) 宣教士却容许他用假名<sup>[65]</sup>。以及另一位协助过孟天的宣教士威廉 (William), 曾在秋雨归正学堂任教, 也同样可以用假名。而后两位对秋雨的领袖均抱较负面的意见。让人认为公开名字与否, 可能取决的标准更多是批评秋雨的就可匿名, 被批评就要公开名字接受公共的监督。就算这样的公开极有可能会影响他们的宣教工作, 为他们带来危险, 特别是现在中国的政治情势。而更重要的问题是, 公开孟天的姓名, 没有为书中观点内容提供甚么推进的作用, 完全可以用假名代替, 也不会为读者带来理解的困难。从这例子可见当中的学术伦理是有问题的。

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<sup>[59]</sup>Rose Wiles, *What are Qualitative Research Ethics?* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp.41-54.

<sup>[60]</sup>参四季书评: 「马丽新书访谈 (二): 女性应当坚定无畏地发出声音」。

<sup>[62]</sup>Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.14.

<sup>[63]</sup>Ibid, p.104. 但值得言, 孟天牧师这段是没有注释, 不知其来源。

<sup>[64]</sup>Ibid, p.199.

<sup>[65]</sup>Ibid, p.200.

## (六) 总结

笔者认为马丽此书在资料上有所贡献，亦能提供一个较完整的理论来梳理秋雨的发展。但如上文及其他众多书评均指出，书中的事实基础脆弱、资料引用的严谨程度不足及偏颇的采访取样手法，都使全书的学术价值大打折扣。以致在此之上推论的观点与看法，都出现不少问题。如作者将全书定位为秋雨另类故事的报告，或是以特定的观点（如女性主义的角度）来诠释秋雨的历史，而非她所据称的「平衡观点」，这样便能减少不少争论，也能提醒读者在阅读前要先作准备。而书中的实名原则，在实行上亦有不少学术伦理的问题让人难以释疑。故笔者虽仍会推荐相关的研究者阅读此书，却建议需具备对于秋雨及区会一定的事实认识，以仔细检视的方式带批评地阅读相关内容，而不致对于书中许多引导性的说法、语言所误导而得出错误的判断。

## 一个幽灵在徘徊（柏斯丁）

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## 一个幽灵在徘徊

作者：柏斯丁

过去的十多年，华西有一教会带来很大影响。他们的经历、文字和见证，已有不少相关的报道和著作，这些已经成为教会历史的一部分。去年末以来的大规模逼迫，首当其冲就是这家教会。

在这样的艰难时世，一对旅居海外的中国学者，最近出了一部研究这间教会的英文专著，并发表了相关的访谈。围绕这间教会，原来大家熟悉的内容是公开化，教会建制，法律程序，教育事工，反计划生育，等等。这部新著隐然要改写这个图像，代之以一个全新的、不为人知的“真相”。这些全新话语是独裁、洗脑、性侵、搞政治、为名为利、勾结海外，等等。很快这就成了华人教会的一个大争议事情。

确实，此书提供了另一个视角、全新的视角。很多学者都有一个雄心壮志，就是颠覆和创新。作者也自信满满说此书填补了“研究空白”。虽是海外英文著作，这却是国朝学界的行话：填补研究空白，就是重大科研创新成果。插一点趣事吧，以前曾见过一个场合，一位海外长者听一位国朝博士生报告论文，大谈“选题重要意义”。长者不耐烦地打断说，知道了，你要填补一项重大研究空白！诚然，这部新著是创新的、颠覆的、宏大的。这里要写的这篇文字没有宏大目标，任务很小，只是对此书提出几点方法上的小小质疑。

先要说明的是，本人教推理分析，并不从事社会科学，也不是教会史专家，也不了解华西这间教会。这本新著也没有仔细研读，因为对那些“精彩故事”细节本来就没有兴趣。但大致浏览，并结合作者访谈，已经足够从方法的角度提出一些质疑。无疑，方法的问题是重要的。如果方法都有问题，那么整个研究都很可疑，再多的修辞话语都无济于事。

第一个质疑，关于事实和判断的区别。这里说的判断就是在事实之上的价值判断。区分事实和价值判断，这是学术研究的一个基本常识。教会从来都不缺乏各种规矩，不同的教会有不同的规矩，这是事实；这些规矩就是控制洗脑，这是判断。有些牧者传道人有很大名望，这是事实；这些牧者传道人就是为名为利，这是判断。保守教会有针对妇女的教导，这是事实；这些教导是歧视妇女、压榨



女性，这是判断。教会里有男女纠纷的事情，这是事实；这些纠纷就是性侵，这是判断。还有一个更大的议题，教会与政治。现今的世代，教会和当局有很大冲突，这是事实；教会是搞政治，这是判断。此书和访谈中诸如独裁、洗脑之类的话语，有无把事实与判断混为一谈？这有待读者来判断。

第二个质疑，此书材料选择是否预先设定了结论？有无先入之见？作者生活在国外，和这教会接触有限。华西这家教会这些年，各种见证很多，正式报道也不少，甚至有著作。这些人或是这教会的过来人，或者亲自接触这教会，甚至深度参与过其中的事工。但这些丰富的材料，这本新著都看不上。这项研究自有选择。据作者访谈，新著所用材料是两样，一是网络资料，如这些年的教会周报；二是相关人物的访谈。

远在大洋对面搜集网络资料，这是否可靠，暂且不论。而此书所言访谈，则大有名堂。社会科学抽样方法，一个原则是不能预先设定样本群。预先设定样本群，其实就是预先设定了结论。就如大国食品安全问题，有一个专家研究小组的研究结论是，这两年已经好转了百分之五十。这当然是个巨大进步。但如果被发觉专家调查样本百分之八十是有关部门和食品从业人员，你还能相信这些“专家”的科学研究吗？

奥妙就在这里。这本新著的证词，不是一般的来源。华西这间教会，和众多家庭教会一样，有过痛苦的内部分裂经历，后来不得不分为事实的两间教会。而这些访谈就来自这对立的阵营。没有和这教会和牧师有深入接触，仅凭网络资料；访谈也一边倒的选择。这样的研究是否公允平正？事实上，即便在国外也可以倾听不同的声音，国外不少信徒和学者都接触过这教会，甚至深度参与了事工，要取得多样的证词是不难的。

第三个质疑，保守教义与性侵等教会悲剧有无联系？新著和访谈对保守教会严厉批评，将保守教义与男权主义并列。与此相关，此前作者夫妇还有另一篇文章，关于西人保守教会里的性侵事件。文章引用西人言论，把性侵事件和保守教义联系起来，抨击保守教义是男权主义，控制信徒、大搞独裁，保守教会其实是法利赛之徒云云。无疑，男女之事最能掀起群众热潮，一提性侵就悲情万丈、涕泗滂沱。这样的评论员在教会也很有市场，也很能打动人心，甚至可以让信徒们诚惶诚恐、深挖内心、自我审查。

但一个教推理分析的老师，不容易被悲情修辞牵着鼻子走。当时看到那篇

文章就直言把事情归因于保守教义，方法上要慎重。回到这本书和这篇访谈文章所提及华西的性侵事件。首先，著作和访谈使用性侵这个概念就不妥当。因为，作者所依据的都是单边的证词，既没有长老会的决议，也没有世俗法庭的裁断。强暴事件，若涉及未成年人是没有争议的，是非黑白分明。但成年男女之间的事情就高深复杂让最聪明的头脑都头痛。

男女间不愉快事情哪里都不缺乏，别说影响这么大的教会，随便小小一个空间都不乏这样的纠纷，都是 she said he said，痴男怨女没有谁不认为自己冤枉。此书和文章所提事情，如果确实那么严重、那么真实，为何不提交长老会审理呢？为何不按教会 judicial（司法）的章程走程序呢？即使大家已经闹翻，不承认对方长老会，还可以提交世俗法庭。仅凭单边证词就作出裁断，这是不是充当审判官角色呢？甚至，是不是有意误导大众、博取同情和眼球呢？不走程序而斗大声喊性侵，这是否就是大妈骂街呢？要再次说，男女事情太高深，这里没有答案，读者们可自己去想答案。

其次，理论假说和理论验证不是同一件事。科学研究方法，大体是这样一个个次序：首先是观察到现象，其次提出解释现象的假说，再次，验证假说。但假说可以有多种，这就使得假说验证很不容易。具体到作者所提到的男女纷争，归因保守教义只是假说的其中一种，却被想当然地作为已经验证的定论。因为，教会里男女纷争的事情因素可以有很多，比如教导的缺乏，管理的疏漏等。如果要归因保守教义，必须满足这样的条件：一，对比之下，自由派神学的教会男女纷争的事件更少。二，即使保守教会确实比自由派神学教会有更多男女纷争，还要论证这样的差异是由于保守教义所造成。

要去论证这个结论，很不容易。男女纠纷太高深，换一个简单些的例子可以说明困难何在。两群人，一吃米饭，二吃面包。某一天米饭群体出现了一种病症。马上断言归因于米饭，这是毫无道理的。因为，可能面包群体也出现了同样的病症。即使只有米饭群体出现病症，也无法归因于米饭。导致病症的因素可以有很多。比如，米饭群体都有个可能因素 X，而这个因素是面包群体没有的。但这还不能归因于 X。因为，米饭群体可能另有因素 Y，也是面包群体所没有的。所以，要归因于米饭，必须把 XYZ 等可能因素都排除掉。最后，只剩下这个米饭的因素，那时才可下结论是米饭的原因。

同样，把保守教会的悲剧，匆匆忙忙归因于保守教义，这在方法上就是 naive

的错误。要补充说明的是，本人对这些男女纠纷一无所知，只是从方法上对这样的“学术研究”提出质疑。

第四个质疑，基督徒学者以教会为研究对象的时候，所用解释框架是市场营销、权力斗争、洗脑规训、心理分析，等等，这是否预设了对方不信？而这样的预设是否合理？

学术上有个观念，同情的理解。具体到基督徒面对教会的学术研究，就是不采用预设对方是不信者的角度和理论来阐述。教会都是一个教会，事情都是那些事情，解释却有多种。终极而言，一是预设对方同为基督徒的信仰，以教会内部视角看问题，如同保罗和彼得、阿波罗的分歧，教会管理不善，人的罪性，等等。二是预设对方不是基督徒，那就无所不用其极，比如把他们和邪教相提并论。作者是否采取了第二种预设？作者没有指出对方那些神学观点有异端问题，但给出的一个基本图像就是，这教会是一个为名为利的教会领袖带领着一帮同样为名为利之徒，和邪教一样，污秽不堪，对会众控制洗脑，还勾结海外，犯上作乱。

与此相关，就是教会内部出现纷争的时候，纷争各方是否应该还把对方视为主内肢体？作者倚重的那些证人，是否预设了对方是不信者？这就要看看，华西对立阵营有些什么样的话语？那位号称代表成都教会的匿名牧者，起外号的创意和所提出的命题很吓人：王姨勾结海外势力。此外所见，就是搞政治，贪图名利，遗臭万年，历史耻辱柱，打脸图谋大事之徒，甚至提延安整风，把牧者与独裁者指名道姓并列，把传道人及其妻子称为官僚和官太太。甚至有人取笑那位牧师的肥胖身材，夹带着 *notrepeatable* 的脏话。我本斯文人，无法引用说出那些脏话。

很难想象这是教会里 *one table one family* 的一群人，大家曾同吃一个饼同喝一个杯。即使不提教会肢体相连的道理，坊间有言，君子绝交不出恶声。这样的苦毒言语，既不是基督徒该有的样式，也没有中国的传统美德，这样的扭曲心智，应该就是 1949 以后某组织狼奶喂养长大的大国特色的土特产了。

这样的话语，是否还把对方当作主内的肢体？这篇文章不能代替他们给出答案。可以肯定的是，文人都会说持守价值中立、公允平正。问题是，勾结海外，独裁洗脑，与邪教相提并论，这些叙事话语算什么呢？这里只是提出这个有趣问题让大家思考。没有逻辑的大国，一个麻烦事情就是，文人不管如何都不会认错，都会一口咬定你理解错了，你太 *low* 了，你根本没有读懂我的意思。确实，中土

特产的这一切都太高深；因此，同情的理解，可能也是太高的期望了。

不过，行文谈论之间，是诸如独裁、邪教、洗脑诸如此类的话语，是否可以同时辩解说没有论断对方信仰，没有预设对方不是基督徒？如果这样，换成 Alvin Plantinga 样式的场景，恐怕就变成佛洛伊德和马克思读了他的论证，从地底下跳出来，说，你误解我们了，我们没有否定上帝的存在。我们可是犹太人，亚伯拉罕的子孙。这样的场景当然很惊人、很宏大、很戏剧色彩。只是，你相信这样的宣告吗？

至此，这篇文字已经完成开始时提出的任务，从方法上提几点质疑：一，事实和价值判断是否混淆？二，材料选择是否预先设定结论？三，一些教会悲剧归因于保守教义是否成立？四，讨论教会议题时，预设对方为不信者，这样是否合理？还有一个更大的议题，华西这位牧者是否勾结海外势力？此书和对立阵营都指责这点，这也是有关部门最想坐实的罪名。作者甚至放言要海外一些保守教会交代清楚和这间教会的关系。这样的审问，是海外学者，还是国朝有关部门的口吻？不过，这确实引出了一个大问题：中外信徒彼此交往，何错之有？这个大问题，涉及现实法律、也关乎法理并国际政治，需要另一篇文章来专门来讨论。

要再次说明，这里只是提出质疑，不提供答案，读者们自可判断。也许，永远没有答案。可以确定的是，有人在冰凉囚牢，有人在冷嘲热讽。悲剧还在继续，撒旦正在欢笑。

从古至今，教会从来不缺乏各种八卦。毕竟，教会就是一帮罪人。面对教会里的鸡飞狗跳、一地鸡毛，不同的人有不同的选择。有人认真过教会生活，安静温柔，不八卦、不喧嚷，该走程序就走程序。教会里甚至有人提出了似乎很出名的三不谋略：不好奇、不关心、不论断。也有人选择做评论员，喜欢谈论传播八卦，让群众喜闻乐见、喜大普奔。不要以为只有广大人民群众才喜欢八卦，作为大学老师，见过巨多知识人雅好八卦，尤其对男女纷争的下半身事情津津乐道。至于把八卦包装成装模作样的学术，这是后现代知识人的高深之处了。

至于本人，教书就教书，不掺和教会的事情。虽在很多教会都教过逻辑，也算接触过若干教会知名人士，但从来没有合影留念、签名表态云云。话说回来，虽然从不关心，也不了解，也可以相信华西这所教会确实有很多问题。没有问题才怪，连使徒时代的教会都有诸多问题，包括男女纷争的事情。在教会久了就知道，教会这些人也不外是荷尔蒙的动物。魅力男女都免不了引来诸多异性目光。

要如何解决这些鸡飞狗跳呢？斗大声学大妈骂街？还是注重程序正义、并认真教导异性之间、上下之间交往的规矩？当然，后现代人士对程序和规矩都颇有微词，往往一提这些就扣上独裁专制、规训洗脑的大帽子。

要点是，诸多问题是一件事，价值判断又是另一件事。圣经的春秋笔法，就是不管好坏都记录在案。旧约中大卫的经历，如果把其他事情都抽去，只记下他后宫三千、和拔示巴的浪漫故事等等，并给出一个价值判断：这是一个害友夺妻、对神毫无敬畏之心的大恶人、大色魔。这是一个合理的“真相”吗？

这让人费解，既然这么言之凿凿的严重问题，走程序应该很容易，这不就解决问题了吗？也许，他们本来就不是要解决问题，就只是喜欢作评论员讲八卦故事。同样让人困惑的是，一主一信，一饼一杯，教会里的人为何差别这么大呢？有安静的人，也有斗大声骂街的人。想到这里的时候，才会对预定论深有感触。你是一个安静的 decent 的人，不是你有多好，而是被预定。你本来也可能是一个斗大声的 not a decent person。是的，落在永生神的手里，是何等可畏。

上次写了那篇 Eat This Bread Drink This Cup，华西对方阵营的人在后面留言，要求和他/她联系，说要爆猛料。本人当然没有兴趣结识高人贵客，也不关心唠叨 gossip，关心的只是程序正义和方法合理。留言者还说搜集资料准备修史，让对方遗臭万年。不知道所指是否就是这本书，这里无法判断。不过，历史上试图通过修史把对方钉在历史耻辱柱上的，并不新鲜。反讽的是，如郭鼎堂这样积极修史的刀笔吏，他们的鸿篇巨制，成了给自己预备的结实材料，最终把自己钉在了历史耻辱柱上。国朝太祖有言，风物长宜放眼量。

这篇文字谈的方法问题，读者可能会吃惊，学术研究怎么会这么 naive？事实上，这是后现代学术相当普遍的问题。后现代学术，依赖的是政治正确话语，而不是正确方法。多元，女权，反权威，反性侵，为弱者发声等等，只管把这些话语堆砌，就能有大生意，就能掀起人民群众的悲情万丈。名流荟萃、号称严谨的左倾大名期刊 Social Texts，出现了留名千古的 Sokal Scandal。那个谩骂基督教的牛津教授 Richard Dawkins（道金斯），他的大作满目修辞话语，分析哲学家 Alvin Plantinga 实在无法忍受，写过一篇文字把这位牛津教授的 naive fallacy 找出来。这些就是基本方法都有问题的“学术研究”。

丑闻还没有远去。一个幽灵，一个政治正确的幽灵，在学术界徘徊。

附：英文新著地址：

<https://www.amazon.com/Religious-Entrepreneurism-Chinas-Urban-Churches/dp/0367221713>

作者访谈地址：<http://www.4sbooks.com/archives/5962.html>

又一个法海捉白娘子的故事：读柏斯丁的《一个幽灵在徘徊》一文（肯三）

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原文发表在“四季书评”（微信公众号），2019年7月30日。作者肯三，根据公开的介绍，是一名哲学博士，旅美学者。目前在加尔文大学访学。

## 又一个法海捉白娘子的故事 ——读柏斯丁的《一个幽灵在徘徊》一文

作者：肯三

对事实的讲述和认定或许会有争议，但那也是现在先了解、核对事实的基础上，并且是用学术的、严肃的方式加以指出和纠正，而不是一上来胡说乱说，还要披上“推理分析”的外衣。

昨天读了柏斯丁写的《[一个幽灵在徘徊](#)》一文。在该文中，作者对最近出版的一本关于中国某教会之乱象的[英文著作](#)进行了质疑，并且不仅是质疑，还将其定位为“一个徘徊的幽灵”，可见其深恶痛绝之程度。但纵观作者的分析 and 言说，却发现不仅错漏百出，而且概念、推理极不严谨，很多都是前后矛盾，让人诧异这是“教推理分析”之人所写的文字。

在该文中，作者有个夫子自道，说“本人是教推理分析，并不从事社会科学，也不是教会史专家，也不了解华西这间教会”。又说，“这本新著也没仔细研读，因为对那些‘精彩故事’细节没有兴趣。”如果确如作者自己所说，他是否适合评判这本著名学术出版社出版的新书，大概是很有疑问的。然而作者确还是不辞辛苦，洋洋洒洒写了万字长文，名为质疑，实为站队、批判、否定、攻击，甚至是咒诅，从文章的标题就可以看出。

那么，那本书或书的作者真是“一个徘徊的幽灵”吗？我们这位“推理分析”的教师有没有用他的逻辑推理法术抓住那个“徘徊的幽灵”呢？据说这位“推理分析”教师的逻辑法术高如法海，但是否就真的能抓住了那位被称为妖怪的“白娘子”？我们还是需要仔细分析才能得出结论的。

柏斯丁开篇即说，“过去十多年，华西有一教会带来很大影响。他们的经历、文字和见证，已经有不少相关报道，这些已经成为教会史的一部分。去年末以来



的大规模逼迫，首当其冲的就是这家教会。”接着说“在这个艰难时世”，居然有人质疑这家教会，颠覆他们长期以来宣扬的“敬虔”、“摆上”、“牺牲”甚至“殉道”叙事，真是“是可忍、孰不可忍”！当然，作者没有这样明说，但从他的叙事修辞中是不难感受到的。作者在后文中一再质疑该书使用修辞，可是这位“推理分析教师”一上来就用修辞，真是“真是只许官家防火，不许百姓点灯”，不知道这是什么逻辑？难道这位“推理分析教师”天天就教这种“中国式逻辑”？

如像作者开篇叙述地那样，华西某教会简直是“伟大、光荣、正确”的化身，都已经进入“教会史”了，并且还“首当其冲”的受逼迫，代表着整个中国家庭教会。对于不了解“华西这间教会”的“推理分析教师”，真不知道他是如何推理分析出来的！这位“推理分析教师”不了解该教会，却已经定位他已经进入了教会史，他对“精彩故事”不感兴趣，却能言之凿凿，那是不是先入为主、带有偏见呢？一个不读书、不了解故事细节的人，又如何去评价一个权威出版社出版的学术著作呢？实在是不知道这位“推理分析教师”有何魔法！

这些暂且放过，再看他的四个质疑。

我们的“推理分析教师”首先质疑该书是否区分事实与判断，怀疑该书作者在收集和叙述事实之前，就已经有了价值判断。显然，事实与判断或事实与价值的区分，是西方学术甚至生活的常识，在小学就在教的，作为国际知名的学术出版社 Routledge 似乎不会不知道这些，那些审稿的知名专家大概也没有糊涂到连这个都不懂。可是，我们这位没有“仔细研读”该书的“推理分析教师”倒是马上就抓住了，实在让人佩服中国逻辑的高超！当然，并不是说出版社和专家把关的书不会出问题，我要说的是，不能随随便便就得出这样的结论，特别是在没有“仔细研读”之前。

当然，我们的“推理分析教师”还是有自己的质疑理据的。他认为，教会的规矩不等于洗脑；牧师传道人有名望不等于为名为利；保守教会对妇女的教导不等于歧视妇女、压榨妇女、政教冲突不等于教会搞政治。他认为该书作者把独裁、

洗脑之类的话用到教会和教会领袖，是混淆了事实与判断。那么，我们的这位“推理分析教师”说的是否有理呢？表面上看，似乎非常有理，然而仔细分析一下，就会发现，他依然不是在使用逻辑，而是在玩弄修辞。如果不信，不妨分析如下：首先，教会规矩是否能等同于洗脑，乍一看，似乎确实不应该。然而，这位“逻辑分析教师”一开始就误导了大家，让大家把某教会的规矩直接等同于教会规矩，并且让人感觉是引人信主、让人归善的好规矩。可是，首先需要注意的是，教会规矩这个词首先就很抽象，不能直接等同于某教会的规矩；其次，教会规矩从都不是天然正当的，不然就没有中世纪教会中那么多不合理的规矩，就没有宗教改革的发生；再次，具体教会的规矩纷繁复杂，甚至有很多潜规则，比如芝加哥柳溪教会包庇牧师性侵女信徒的规矩。可以看到，那些坏的规矩不只是会洗脑，还会支持、包庇犯罪，怎么就能说教会规矩不会导致洗脑呢？显然，我们的“推理分析教师”没有弄懂基本的逻辑法则，不知道事实虽然不同于判断，却也不等于事实不导致判断。如果书中那些“精彩故事”提供了支持判断的事实，然后得出相应的判断，又怎么不可能呢？不知道我们的“推理分析教师”是没学好推理分析还是先站队，然后把逻辑当修辞玩弄？

再来看第二个质疑。“推理分析教师”的第二个质疑是质疑该书作者在选择材料时是否预先设定结论。他认为该书作者长期生活在国外，和教会接触有限，不如正面报道该教会的人有亲身经验，因此他们使用的教会周报和人物访谈资料不客观。他的这一质疑是否在理，是否合乎逻辑，是否站得住脚呢？我们稍加分析就能发现他的错谬了。

首先，作者长期生活在国外，不等同于她就和该教会的人接触有限，不说作者曾在该教会做过长期的田野调查，作了长期的跟踪研究，就是她对该教会会员的密集访谈，就知道她与该教会接触很多，对该教会有很深入的了解，至少比“不了解这间教会”的“推理分析教师”接触和了解得更多。其次，“推理分析教师”说他们使用教会周报和访谈不如其它报道真实，这是否站得住脚呢？显然不能！首先应该看到，教会周报本身是最原始的文字材料，比那些外来的报道原始周详的多，如果这些不可用、不可信，那什么材料可信？那些报道比这些材料更真实、

更可信？如果活生生的访谈也不可信，那什么可信？难道非要是被批判的当事人自我评价才可信？这不等于说，一个死不承认自己是强奸犯的强奸犯就不能被判定为强奸犯，哪怕证据再多。这岂不是荒谬至极！

接着看第三个质疑。“推理分析教师”的第三个质疑是质疑该书把保守教义与教会性侵、男权主义等联系起来，这个质疑又是否有效呢？我们也不妨分析如下：首先，且不说很多女权主义理论就是把保守教义与父权制、男权主义联系起来。单就保守教会会不会存在这样的危险来看，就无法排除这种可能性，特别是一些打着保守教义名义的教会，这些教会的教义让教会趋于封闭，信徒不能接受外来的其他信息，只能听从教会领袖的教导、决定和安排，这样的一个封闭系统怎么不存在洗脑、独裁的危险，怎么可能不掩盖性侵等事件呢？在自由开放的美国芝加哥，都出现了柳溪教会那样的事情，更何况在偏远的中国华西呢？

此外，“推理分析教师”还认为该书作者在著作和访谈中使用性侵概念不合适，他的这种说法又是否合理呢？回答依然是否的。首先没有任何一种学术规定说著作不能使用性侵概念，不知道“推理分析教师”的理由从何而来？其次，他并没有看访谈记要，又怎么知道作者在访谈中使用了性侵概念呢？又有哪个访谈者在不了解性侵事实的情况下，贸然问别人是否受到性侵呢？又有哪位傻蛋在别人这样问她时，她就承认呢？显然，合理的推理是，在作者的访谈中，受访人告诉了她被性侵的事实，或者向她求助，访谈者才知道，才会写出来。至于说，这些性侵事实没有诉诸世俗法庭，是否就像“推理分析教师”说的那样不足为信呢？显然不能！一来恰恰是一些所谓保守教义让这些受害者不要告到外邦人那里，使得这些受害者不敢告到世俗法庭；二来，作为受害人，受到各种社会伦理压力，不敢外告，岂非太多、太正常。只有冷漠如“推理分析教师”者，才认为这不正常。

最后看第四个质疑。“推理分析教师”指责该书作者讲述和批评教会分裂时，不视某牧者为教会肢体。认为把书中提到一些信徒对该牧师嘲讽、指责等等是脏话，认为不应该提到搞政治、贪图名利、遗臭万年、历史耻辱柱等。这样的指责是否没问题呢？答案依然是不一定。“推理分析教师”一再强调把事实与判断分离

开来。显然，他这里提得都是些判断，并且很多都没有出现在书中，只出现在网络言论中。不可否认，在很多地方都会看到这样的言论，那么这样的言论、这样的判断是否有事实支撑呢？“推理分析教师”对这样的事实却避而不谈，是因为他对“精彩故事”不感兴趣，还是他生性懒惰，或者是在了解事实之前已经下了判断呢？无论是哪一种，都是不可取的。如果是先入为主，判断在先，更就是自我挫败、自打嘴巴了。至于抬出 Alvin Plantinga，那就更是贻笑大方，自取其辱了。

牧师是否犯错甚至犯罪，不以应以他的名望为依据。名望越大，诱惑越多，犯错的机率越高。如果牧师犯错、犯罪后，不但不悔改、不认罪，反倒压制打击别人，那是不是比非信徒还不如？如果有人不认他为弟兄，是否可以？当然，这些判断都要有事实的支撑。现在一本公开出版讲述事实的书出来了，我们的“推理分析教师”为什么只把他看作“精彩故事”？为什么不“仔细研读”？为什么不知道事实就作判断？并且还说别人是“幽灵”呢？看来幽灵不在外面，而在里面吧！想当法海，最后却变成了蟹和尚，何其可笑！

当然，对事实的讲述和认定或许会有争议，但那也是现在先了解、核对事实的基础上，并且是用学术的、严肃的方式加以指出和纠正，而不是一上来胡说乱说，还要披上“推理分析”的外衣。这样的外衣被揭开了，实在不是什么长脸的东西，恐怕连遮羞布都不如，反倒落入自曝其陋之中，真是得不偿失呀！

当然，除了这四点质疑外，我们的“推理分析教师”还说了很多似是而非的胡言乱语，因为其混乱，杂芜，我就懒得去一一分析了，毕竟浪费笔墨也是犯罪之事呀！



## 学术外衣下的危言耸听 (G.K. Deng)

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<https://www.tgcchinese.org/article/sensationalism-disguised-as-scholarship>

作者 G.K. Deng 是在中国的一位教育研究者和作家，他的研究专注于基督教教育，并且多年来一直在近距离观察秋雨之福教会的成长与发展。请读者谅解，由于众所周知的原因，书评作者不便更多表露身份和事工。本文所表述的观点仅代表作者本人，并不代表秋雨圣约教会及长老会华西区会对本书的回应。



## 学术外衣下的危言耸听

作者: G.K. Deng

在 [Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church](#) (Routledge, 2019。暂名《中国城市 家庭教会中的宗教创业: 秋雨之福归正教会的兴衰》) 一书中, 作者马丽把自己表现成像克里斯托弗·希钦斯 (Christopher Hitchens) 那样的揭露者。上世纪九十年代, 希金斯曾曝光备受爱戴的特蕾莎修女, 指出其事工中一些有问题的做法。遗憾的是, 本书糟糕的学术水平、有失偏颇的报道、以及对学术伦理的恶劣践踏, 都使得马丽耸人听闻的言论大打折扣。

过去十年中, 很少有教会像秋雨之福教会那样对中国产生了如此大的影响; 也很少有牧师像王怡那样搅动着中国社会。在中国教会内部的多次开拓性变革中, 秋雨之福教会始终站在最前沿: 从积极推动公开化、到改革宗神学、到反堕胎事工、再到基督教教育。王怡牧师的讲道最受争议的地方是: 他有意在讲台上教导基督教教义在政治领域中的应用。他对当政者犯下的罪行毫不留情的责备 (如: 文化大革命、天安门事件、强制堕胎等) 引来政府对其教会越来越大的打压, 最终导致他 2018 年底被捕, 教会也同时被取缔。

西方媒体曾经大量报道过王怡牧师及其教会, 如普利策奖得主张彦 (Ian Johnson) 在自己的著作《中国的灵魂》 (*The Souls of China*) 中就有相当篇幅。但马丽认为这些媒体工作者们并没有讲述秋雨之福的“真实故事”。在本书中她把王怡牧师描绘成是一个善于花言巧语、又热衷名望的公知——是 2005 年归信基督教后, 他独特的天赋给他机会在教会界迅速崭露头角。王怡牧师的查经班很快就发展成了一个教会, 由王怡牧师本人和一位名叫王华生的副牧师带领。这两位牧师很快又和其他教会联合起来成立了长老会华西区会。不过随着王怡牧师逐渐声名鹊起, 二王之间产生了嫌隙。作者认为, 王怡牧师出于个人野心, 一步步将王华生牧师逐出教会, 最终引起教会分裂, 并怂恿许多教会成员随他出走。在带领新成立的秋雨圣约教会的过程中, 王怡牧师对名声和权力的欲望日



益膨胀。他和秋雨圣约教会的成员继续攻击王华生牧师和他的秋雨百花教会，最终导致王华生牧师在华西区会的监督下受到了不公正的审查，而马丽认为华西区会（以及这次审查）都是受王怡牧师控制的。王怡牧师在秋雨圣约教会和华西区会中塑造了一种“独裁文化”，其特征有：严厉惩戒、审查制度、暗箱操作，以及掩盖事实。王怡牧师的讲道越来越偏激，内容主要集中在呼吁对现行体制发动变革。最后，马丽认为政府对教会的镇压并不代表逼迫，而是前面所提到的王怡个人野心所带来的后果。

马丽声称美国的媒体工作者们之所以没有讲述秋雨之福教会的“真实故事”，是因为他们“未能把自己放在这一群体的真实处境当中”（第 205 页）。然而马丽从一开始就明说自己并没有在教会发生分裂的时候在他们当中获得第一手的信息，只是“通过公开可见的中国社交媒体”以及“一些深度的访谈”（第 ii 页，英文直译，下同）获得资料。她这种对社交媒体的过度依赖导致她扭曲了对教会内部实情的理解——下面我会具体谈到这些问题。

### 耸人听闻的修辞

马丽热衷于使用很多耸人听闻的修辞来形容基督教教会生活最基本的一些要素。例如，她把老人们描述成“具有特权的宗教精英阶层”（privileged religious elite class）（第 3 页），把常见的一个组织所常常具有的内部会议保密条例视为“暗箱规则”（secrecy codes）（第 191 页），把基督教由来已久的“男性带领和教导”实践说成是“性别歧视政策”（gender-biased policy）（第 89 页），还把教会惩戒等同于“威权主义”（authoritarianism）（第 182 页）。当然，她使用这些表述是为了增加其论点的正当性，但这对有辨识能力的读者却适得其反。

马丽那耸人听闻的修辞让本书读起来更像是一本教会八卦集，而不像一部学术性的民族志（ethnography）。“当读者们被王怡牧师的布道和文章所打动……鲜少有人意识到，若是一个人吹嘘自己有能力完全准确鉴别社会上的事何为善、何为恶，他已经近乎于神了”（第 63 页）。马丽惯常用到一些子虚乌有的攻击。例如，她说王怡牧师“自称独家领会了上帝对中国的旨意”（第 108 页），但在任何一个熟悉王怡牧师文章的人看来，这都是一个荒唐的指控。

马丽一而再、再而三地在事实的蛛丝马迹上添油加醋。“因着这份公义且敬畏神的使命，秋雨圣约教会不能容忍针对自己的任何批评”（第 174 页）。“当秋雨圣约教会里所有王怡牧师的粉丝都开始咒骂潘秋松牧师的时候，外部观察者们正抱着难以置信的态度来关注这场激烈的争论”（第 177 页）。

马丽非但没有为读者公平而客观地记录下所发生的事，反而屡次添加自己对“驱使着教会领袖的所谓‘暗中动机’”的妄自揣测。“王怡牧师仍旧把刘晓波的评论放在前言当中，因为这些评论能让他出名”（第 29 页）。“他觉得成都大学没有赏识他的才华”（第 124 页）。马丽完全否认了也有可能是上帝的爱在驱使着秋雨圣约教会及其支持者。于是，对地震受害者的事工成了是在“搞宣传”（第 175 页），那些支持他们的宣教士也是“为了获得更多捐款”（第 201 页）。但她并没有说自己究竟如何、从哪里获知这些“暗中的动机”。这样的言辞，与当局的管用宣传用语如出一辙。

为了维护“客观”的牌坊，马丽通过一些批评秋雨圣约教会的人、“借他人之口”道出她那些最离谱的揣测。例如：“网上批评秋雨圣约教会和王怡牧师的帖子，经常很快就被网警删除了。秋雨百花教会的成员怀疑这是因为圣约教会的人把帖子的事汇报给了微信的网络审查人员”（第 188 页）。这种说法暴露出本书最大的弱点：

### **单边访谈等于事实全部？**

马丽几乎完全是通过批评者的口来讲述秋雨之福的故事，这是摧毁本书可信度的致命缺陷。在书的开头马丽告诉读者，她试图“通过广泛收集在各种问题上的意见来平衡各方观点”（第 14 页）。然而书后面的文献引用却显示出，自 2013 年教会出现纷争以来，她并没有对王怡牧师以及任何一位他的支持者进行过哪怕一次采访。她在教会纷争期间（2013 年至 2018 年）做过数次远距离访谈，并大量引用了访谈内容，但所有受访对象均为王怡牧师和秋雨圣约教会的批评者。她一次也没有让支持教会决策的成员们出来回应这些说辞。她那些大量引用自社交媒体帖子的材料，同样也几乎仅仅来自反对秋雨圣约教会的阵营。

诚然，理解这些反对者的说辞当然是探明真相的一个重要步骤。但作为一个学者，马丽最需要关心的是这些说辞的真实性。这就要求她必须聆听双方的说法

并参考第一手资料。然而，她却让这些心灰意冷的教会成员对所发生的事做出权威陈述、揣测动机，结果就成了残缺不全的“编造故事”。

例如，马丽说华西区会““多半是借助了王怡牧师的影响力，因此成了其个人意志的延伸”（第 216 页）。华西区会于 2017 年 7 月 16 日对王华生牧师和王怡牧师实施惩戒的时候，只判定了

前者的罪，却“并未批评王怡牧师的过错”（第 156 页）。但这显然不是事实。惩戒报告陈述到“王怡牧师过失……主要是主任牧师失职”，并列举了多项过失，包括未能对长执同工给予足够的教牧关怀，以及未事先告知就转到圣约堂、从而违反了教会的章程。王怡牧师曾在自己的会众面前，公开对自己的这些过失流泪道歉，而这次惩戒的细节也清楚写在了 7 月 16 日宣读的惩戒报告中。这意味着马丽要么没读过这份重要报告，要么就是故意隐瞒事实，不论哪种情况都是令人极为不安的。

我们再来看看她对王华生牧师 2018 年那次区会听证会（长老会通常称之为“区会法庭”）记录的描述，这份记录几乎完全出自王牧师的代理人范鑫之口。读者们受本书引导而相信王华生牧师仅仅因为在脸上发了一条对王怡牧师的批评，就遭到了华西区会的审查，并随后因此受到惩戒和被剥夺教牧职务六个月。马丽并没有直接引用听证会文件，而是通过范鑫之口告诉我们裁决结果，而范鑫反对这个裁决，认为过重了。“范鑫为王华生牧师辩护，说他已经写了公开的道歉信，但华西区会做出的决定，弄得他好像拒绝道歉似的”（第 181 页）。然而，区会的官方文件却说，尽管王华生牧师已经向华西区会和恩典城市大会道歉（王华生牧师正是在此大会上批评了王怡牧师），但他拒绝按照一年前那份惩戒报告的要求，向圣约堂和百花堂的会众道歉、在社交媒体上道歉。他还拒绝承认自己在脸上的评论是有罪的。藉着通过范鑫之口所陈述的听证会、而非对区会材料的直接引用，马丽不完整、且有偏向性地呈现了这次听证的过程。本书作者没有提到王华生牧师不止一次，而是多次在脸上批评秋雨圣约教会；她也没有提到华西区会也曾经多次私下找到王华生牧师、敦促他改正，直到王华生牧师拒绝承认自己的行为是罪之后，才启动区会听证会以判断他是否的确有罪。当然，作者对于王华生牧师的几处描述，也并非正面。

### 材料的拼凑、遗漏乃至编造

由于马丽坚持从王怡牧师的批评者口中讲述“事实”，因此还有许多其他事件也被她严重歪曲了。例如，她指出教会长老们没有经过会众投票就购买了百花会堂，将此视为王怡牧师无视教会内部“法治”的一个实例；但她并没有提到，秋雨之福教会早在一年前就已经用区会的章程替代了教会旧的章程，从而允许仅通过长老投票就可以购买地产。在描述王怡牧师在复活节之际如何未经告知就转到了圣约堂，马丽把王怡牧师和华西区会描绘得像是在通过想方设法掩盖王怡牧师的错误来实施“形象工程”（perception management）；但她并没有提到，华西区会在2017年7月16日就已正式判定这种行为是有过失的，也没有提到王怡牧师已经为此公开道歉了。马丽对许多事件的讨论都遗漏了重要的细节，这要么是因为她不知道这些细节（这

原本是可以弥补的，假如她采访过秋雨圣约教会的成员并参考过第一手资料的话），要么是因为这些细节有损于她的叙事，即：王怡牧师权力欲极强，华西区会是其“个人意志的延伸”。

尽管马丽不让秋雨圣约教会的领袖回应这些指控，但她确实偶尔也从他们过去的文章中引用一些材料，不过她对事实的可以忽略在此更为引人注目。她一次次歪曲甚至捏造他们的语言，炮制对自己有利的虚假信息。下面仅列举一二：

- “……他（王怡牧师）写到，为了避免除妻子以外的女性的追求，他婚后再也没有陪伴过（never spent time with）自己的母亲……”（第56页）但马丽从王怡牧师的牧函中引用这则信息，其实上是这样的：“所以结婚后，我不再和母亲单独合影”。王怡牧师在这封牧函中从未说过自己不陪伴母亲。

- “……他的文章和讲道已经表现得不那么关心教义的正确性了。例如，他将‘宣教士的血’等同于‘耶稣的血’，将前者的事工提升到了‘非同寻常的救赎性程度’”

（第81页）。然而在这封她所引用的牧函中，王怡牧师的意思显然是，一个人杀死宣教士，就像是在杀死耶稣，如同耶稣曾对杀害基督徒的扫罗所说的：“你为什么逼迫我？”（徒9:4）。但马丽却故意歪曲王怡牧师的意思，说他认为传教士的鲜血带有某种赎罪的能力。于是，她以自己的捏造为基础，指控王怡牧师“不那么关心教义的正确性了”。

- “苏炳森长老认为‘教会以外’的教师做不了‘人类灵魂的工程师’，因

为他们‘对 神、人性的本质、生命的意义、自然、以及或吃或喝之类的事一无所知’ (第 91 页) 。”但来自于文章引用实际上是这样的：“……他们不认识人性的本质、生死的 奥秘、人生的意义、自然的意义，不明白活着的意义、工作的意义、或吃或喝的意义……”显然，“对或吃或喝……一无所知”跟“不认识……或吃或喝的意义”有很大的不同。马丽把这个引用作为例子来说明苏炳森长老“习惯性地喜欢把事物绝对化”，但苏长老的原话显然比她的捏造更加谨慎。她还在引用的时候删除了许多项内容，尽管她将这些展示成了原文引用。

- “他认为只有改革宗教会才是‘真教会’，于是便在网上寻找了这样一间教会” (第 91 页) 。但在马丽所引用的文章中，苏长老从未说过只有改革宗教会才是真教会。

- “美国长老会 (PCA) 的王志勇牧师在发布到 YouTube 的一次采访中 说 ‘由于其他那些 隶属于华西区会的大教会还在照常聚会，所以并不存在专门针对成都家庭教会、甚至 华西区会的逼迫’ (第 211 页) 。这一直接引用完全是无中生有的。我看过马丽提到的长达一小时的视频，发现她是从 33 分 20 秒至 34 分 35 秒的一些话中受到“启发”，从而以这些话为基础捏造出了一段引用。在整段视频中，王志勇牧师甚至根本 没提到过华西区会。

- “这篇文章标志着王志勇牧师与王怡牧师这个他曾经的弟子公开决裂了，因为前者甚至暗暗透露后者有‘公知’背景，是个‘伪牧师’” (第 187 页) 。然而在这篇马丽 所引用的文章中，王志勇牧师根本没提到过王怡牧师及其教会的名字。在文章中，王志勇牧师描述了三类牧师，但由于马丽认为其中一种描述很符合王怡牧师，于是便以 权威的口吻说王志勇牧师称王怡牧师为“伪牧师”。

仅仅在我选择要核对的少数几处引用中便发现了十几个这样的捏造，但不幸的是，绝大多数读者却无从验证马丽的声称。然而，一些声称是很容易被可公开获得的信息所否定的。例如：“在这一教会群体中，‘更新’和‘门训’的观念主要围绕着‘推翻现政权的政治变革’这一中心” (第 233 页) 。让我们对比一下王怡牧师的文章《我的声明：信仰上的抗命》，这是 在马丽认为他最为“激进”的时期写成的：“我完全无意于去改变中国的任何制度和法律。作为牧师，我唯一关心的，乃是信仰上的抗命，所带来的对罪恶人性的震动，和对基督十字

架的见证。”

## 学术伦理问题

但马丽对学术和道德准则最为严重的违背，体现在她决意要使用这些涉嫌“加害者”的真实姓名。在书的开头，马丽说要给与涉嫌受害者“匿名与否的选择权”（第 14 页），而至于涉嫌

加害者，“我要让作为调查对象的教会成员来决定是否透露加害者的真实姓名”（第 14 页）。由于这些事件都是未经证实的，因此这样做近乎于诽谤。一些指控的伤害事件是十分严重的。例如，她指控一名教会成员犯了强奸罪，并对其指名道姓。她把这些指控说得如同事实一般（“他强奸过袁姊妹”——第 205 页），即便她所依赖的证据只是一面之词。她还指控教会诸位领袖及其配偶掩饰这一强奸罪行，并引用了这一自称受害者所提供的陈述。她甚至都没有劳烦问一下诸位牧师和师母们，这些引用是否准确。甚至连好几位身份一直被严格保密的宣教士，马丽也将他们的真实姓名和机构加以揭露，从而危害到了他们、他们的机构及其家人在中国的安全。而当她这样做的时候，也没有告诉读者这些宣教士是干了什么“坏事”要遭到她这样的处理和对待。

坦白地说，我很惊讶劳特利奇出版社 (Routledge) 竟然出版了这本书。仅仅是当中过多的语法错误就该引起编辑们的注意了。遗憾的是，这么有价值的题材却被如此糟糕地处理。秋雨之福教会肯定还有“未曾说出的故事”，但却不是马丽口中的那个“故事”。像秋雨之福教会这样十分显眼又有影响力的教会，很少能像初看起来那样“无暇”了——任何一个已成为某教会成员的人都明白这一点。然而，关于秋雨之福教会，马丽并没有为我们提供更为清晰、更为客观的认识，反而只是将教会的故事变得更加模糊。她意图要“洁净圣殿”，但却以“玷污圣殿”而收场。

## Great Potential——Ruined (M.J. Yuan)

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原文在马丽一书的亚马逊书评上可搜：

[https://www.amazon.com/Religious-Entrepreneurism-Chinas-Urban-Churches-ebook/product-reviews/B07S1PQMLT/ref=cm\\_cr\\_dp\\_d\\_show\\_all\\_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all\\_reviews](https://www.amazon.com/Religious-Entrepreneurism-Chinas-Urban-Churches-ebook/product-reviews/B07S1PQMLT/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews) (2019年8月6日)

作者不详。

## Great Potential——Ruined

M.J. Yuan

In 20th century Reformed theological circles, perhaps nobody emphasized the distinction between fact and interpretation more than Cornelius Van Til. The importance of this distinction is critical in evaluating the present book.

Li Ma could have written a good book. With her clear ability and unprecedented access to members and leaders of the Early Rain Church, she might have compiled an honest account of the church's meteoric rise, the complications and flaws magnified by such rapid expansion, the dangers and temptations of its celebrity ministry, and the factors that led to its latter-day split — followed by its final decimation at the hands of the Chinese authorities.

Very sadly, this is not the book that Ms. Ma has produced. Having read the entire book, and being personally acquainted with people on both sides of the conflicts it narrates, this reviewer regrets to report that Ma's chronicle is severely marred by numerous factual and interpretive flaws.

The most glaring is the book's decidedly unacademic bias. For example, Ma is free to take personal issue with Early Rain's non-egalitarianism. Yet as a scholar she should have restrained her personal opinions from coloring her official judgments — something she repeatedly fails to do. Moreover, Ma is persistently one-sided in her depiction of controversial events — consistently favoring sources most critical to Early Rain's leadership, especially Wang Yi. Where are the responses and counter-perspectives from those criticized?

Ma's overt bias overshadows the entire account, casting suspicion on the accuracy, integrity, and reliability of every part. With such unrestrained prejudice and flawed methodology on display, such a willingness to allow interpretation to shape the facts, this reviewer quickly found it difficult to trust anything Ma reported.



Beyond the bias, this book contains a surprising number of grammatical and terminological errors — leading this reviewer to wonder whether it was peer-reviewed, or even proofread, prior to publication. What was the rush in getting this book to press? Furthermore, given the sensitivity of the subject matter in the current socio-political climate of Mainland China, it also seems a fair question to ask: who funded the publication of this work?

Additionally, there are blatant factual errors. For example, on page 156 (Kindle ed.) it is stated that, at the summer 2017 Changbai Mountain meeting of Reformed pastors, there was a “public announcement of WCP’s church discipline of Huasheng Wang.” In fact, the announcement made at this meeting was WCP’s censure of both Wang Yi and Wang Huasheng. This is far from the only error of this sort, and other reviewers have provided extensive catalogues.

From an academic perspective, all of these should be sufficient reasons to prompt the publisher to withdraw and reassess the book. The present reviewer has never seen this amount of bias present in an academic work, nor this quantity of editorial slop, nor finally such a volume of factual errors. One cannot help wondering why Routledge, a reputable publisher, seems to have rushed this book into print.

Yet the most grievous aspect of Ma’s work is not its scholarly shortcomings, but rather the danger it brings upon many indigenous and foreign workers associated with Early Rain and WCP. Chinese authorities seeking evidence to shore up their ‘case’ against Wang Yi (currently awaiting trial), pretexts to incarcerate Enoch Wang and Peng Qiang, or reasons to continue harassing their many national coworkers, will no doubt applaud Ma’s labors. Moreover, Ma exposes two active foreign missionaries. Since she elsewhere in the book grants anonymity to two other foreign missionaries critical of Early Rain, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the exposure of the former two is, like so much else, driven by the author’s personal agenda.

No church or church leader in this world is beyond criticism, and those familiar with the realities of the Reformed movement in China will readily agree that it is both hasty and immature (ironically arguing in favor of the mentoring of those foreign missionaries whose labors Ma seems intent on undermining). These shortcomings

have certainly been felt in the rise and fall of Early Rain Church, and any critical appraisal is right to note them. But such flaws should be noted alongside the fruits of Early Rain's ministry. Ma professes to care for dissenting voices; why then does she provide so little space for any narrative counter to her own?

The truth is: inside observers of Chinese house churches are well-familiar with the sort of accusations Ma levels against Wang Yi: strongman tactics, cover-ups of sexual misconduct, and receipt of foreign funds. If in the present case these allegations were true, there would be little to remark — because such things are very common in the Chinese church. However, what is remarkable is that in the present case things are quite different: Wang Yi was disciplined by his presbytery and made a public confession of sin; he was never charged with any sexual misconduct; and, finally, he never misappropriated local or foreign funds for his own enrichment. To the contrary, Wang Yi has long lived a far more modest lifestyle than some of his accusers. Indeed, at the present time he is demonstrating the integrity of his position by languishing in prison — while his critics comfortably enjoy their ease at a safe distance.

Li Ma had the opportunity and the potential to write a great book. Unfortunately, she has squandered that opportunity — and potentially ruined her own academic reputation. The true story of Early Rain Church, an accurate account of both its flaws and fruits — an account that will deal honestly with both fact and interpretation — remains to be told.

## Worth Every Christian's Reading (Julia L)

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作者信息不详。

## Worth Every Christian's Reading

Julia L

The value of this book is unmeasurable.

The biggest difference between this book and other church history books is that other books will analyze the problematic cases and point to the theological errors of this denomination, to learn the lesson and seek a more correct and orthodox theology. The keynote of this book is that Early Rain has found the orthodox theology and tried to establish its institute according to the orthodox model. Early Rain presumed that the puritan model would transform China into the soil for Christian civilization, however, the inconsistency between its propaganda and behavior caused the failure.

Ma writes: “They longed for a Christian civilization restored in America and for a similar civilization that might be burgeoning in China.”(p232)

They have been stepping into Calvinism for a few years. How can they sort out the differences between its subdivisions led a leader with intellectual pride in just a few years? Like Neo-Calvinism (Abraham Kuyper), Neo-Puritanism (New Calvinism), traditional Calvinism, as well as the conservative influences from church and political sides.

Ma writes: “Yi Wang measured himself as having “no need for seminary,” given the scope of his self-study.”(p38) His many errors in theology are mentioned in the book, for example, his understanding of common grace is zero. (p215)

I feel like reading "The Scarlet Letter" - The priest shouted slogans on the pulpit, while the hidden things behind the scene were unbearable. Knowing God and knowing ourselves should have led them to see the gap, but the success of each ministry - “the satisfaction of getting projects accomplished (p8), and total depravity

of man, had produced an illusion that the goal had been reached, then it must be proven at any cost.

Ma mentioned “the cult of victimization”(p207). I think this concept is appropriate in that chapter. It made me think more deeply about human’s motives and intentions. The predators are very likely to take this advantage to pretend to be victims, hide their real intentions. Instead of admitting “suffering for sin” and self-inspecting their sins, rendering themselves as martyrs and laying the tone of "suffering for righteousness" can easily cover up their wrongdoings. The ERC school incident was a sin - teachers were underpaid and a pregnant woman was laid off, but the person who pointed out the sin was classified as an accuser.

Ma writes: He even referred to the incident as "elders and their families fall into sin and become the target of Satan’s attacks on the church." (p61)

Mingdao Wang’s attitude surprised and touched me. After he was in prison, everyone said that he was “suffering for righteousness”, which was glorious recognition, but he denied he deserved of this lofty privilege. On the contrary, Watchman Lee was silent on his adultery, did not open his mouth, while "enjoying the glory of being crucified with Christ" (from the book " Renegades" by Wei Shi).

Male leadership in the church to separate from the liberals, the conservatives advocated not only biblical inerrancy (which is good) and... traditional family values, even moved toward family idolization. Kevin DeYoung said: One of the acceptable idolatries among evangelical Christians is the idolatry of the family.

Ma writes: "animated by a mythic ideal concerned with the ‘right-ordering’ of society,” to idolize traditional family values, some conservatives had gone too far, even produced some cultic movements, like quiver-full movement, advocate stay-at-home daughter movement, and back-to-home mother (shaming working mom)

movement, and arranged marriage (courtship / no-dating) exercise. As long as their slogans are consistent with conservatives, it is easier to get support from them.

Yi Wang implemented Timothy Keller's "Gospel ecosystem" concept in a radical and non-conservative way. Ma writes: if built up, is in itself the remedy to the crisis of church growth. (p197) I am always skeptical about any new methodology that is taught. "We have to follow this special method/formula/model to achieve an expected result" - idealism! I prefer to Michael Horton's ordinary way. (from Horton's book "Ordinary")

I saw pastors were shouting and hitting the fist on the table sometimes to perform spiritual mentality. Why don't we just confess honestly how unholy we are? Michael Horton said, "The Law is in us by nature. You don't have to tell anybody you need to be nicer, that you need to love your wife or your husband, and that you shouldn't leave your children unattended. You don't have to convince people these things are true. They already know it. It's the hardest thing in the world to believe the Gospel."

Mary also analyzed the impact of the trauma of the post June-Fourth era in the Chinese pastor group. I have never thought about it because I am not the generation. Mary writes: Apathetic cynicism and activism are two post-traumatic symptoms going in opposite directions.(p36)

This is an exact fact. Their beliefs were triggered by that event, so to heal such a trauma, If whatever a theology ( pietism, quietism, mysticism and inner life) satisfies their expectation someway, they adapt to it. Coincidentally, the young, restless new Calvinism attracted Yi Wang because it is in line with his activism.

To conclude, the discontentment from the fans of Early Rain is not worth worrying about, because the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not

overcome it. For there is nothing hidden that will not be disclosed, and nothing concealed that will not be known or brought out into the open.

My only concern is liberal Christian might misunderstand reformed theology as a whole. It's important to clarify the new Calvinism, neo Calvinism (Puritanism), and old Calvinism in the book. Moreover, I have always insisted that the biblical reformed theology should be maintained, not by endorsing theologians each other, but by being alert to various subtle temptations. When the corruption comes out from our community internally, we should expose instead of covering up. This is our hope.

## A Missed Opportunity: The Failure of a Bold Project (G. Wright Doyle)

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G. Wright Doyle received a B.A. in Latin from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1966; a B.D. (M. Div.) from the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1969; and a Ph.D. in Classics from the University of North Carolina in 1975, with a dissertation on St. Augustine. He studied Mandarin Chinese at the Taipei Language Institute in Taiwan (1976–1978, 1980–1981). From 1980 to 1988, he taught Greek and New Testament at China Evangelical Seminary, Taipei. From 1989 to 2015, the Doyles lived in Charlottesville, Virginia, where they reached out to Chinese Christians. In 2015, They moved to Texas.

Wright now focuses on writing, encouraging and coaching people in the U.S., England, Taiwan, and China through telephone, Skype, and email. He continues to travel to Asia almost annually.

Wright is the author of *Reaching Chinese Worldwide* and *Christ the King*. He is the co-author of *China: Ancient Culture, Modern Society*; English editor of the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity* (bdconline.net); editor of *Builders of the Chinese Church*, co-editor and translator of *Wise Man from the East: Lit-sen Chang*; coeditor (with Dr. Carol Lee Hamrin) of the *Wipf & Stock* series, *Studies in Chinese Christianity*; and principal contributor to [globalchinacenter.org](http://globalchinacenter.org) and [chinainst.org](http://chinainst.org). He supervised the translation of Gingrich and Danker’s Greek-English Lexicon into Chinese, and prepared an abridgment of the Chinese edition of Carl Henry’s *God, Revelation, and Authority*. Wright has also written *Christianity in America: Triumph and Tragedy*; *Jesus: The Complete Man*; and *The Lord’s Healing Words*. Seven of his books have been translated and published in Chinese.



## A Missed Opportunity: The Failure of a Bold Project

G. Wright Doyle

Li Ma, *Religious Entrepreneurism in China's Urban House Churches: The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church*. New York: Routledge, 2020 (sic)

Note: The unusual length of this review results from the nature of the book and the controversy it has spawned. *Religious Entrepreneurism* (I shall use this shorter title hereafter) is a dense, complex monograph about a very complicated series of events centering upon a person with many sides to his character and conduct, and the volume has evoked a variety of criticisms. I have been able to touch briefly upon a few major points; much more could have been written.

For this review, I interviewed eight people who were either very close to the events covered in *Religious Entrepreneurism* or who are internationally-known scholars with a detailed knowledge of Christianity in China. Most of the interviews were conversations, but three people chose to respond to my draft and my questions in writing. In each case, I can vouch for the integrity and credibility of those whose comments form part of the background for my review. In addition, the author Li Ma kindly read and responded to a late draft of the review. Some of her comments appear as qualifying statements in what follows. As will become obvious, Ma would not agree with the overall tenor and thesis of what I have written.

The author has been called “a brilliant scholar,” and “a rising star” among younger scholars of Chinese Christianity. She and her husband Jin Li co-authored *Surviving the State, Remaking the Church*, a volume in the *Studies in Chinese Christianity* series published by Wipf & Stock, which is co-edited by Dr. Carol Lee Hamrin and this writer. That book quickly won wide acclaim.

*Religious Entrepreneurship* received strong endorsements from noted scholars such as Mark Noll, Richard Swedberg, and Richard Mouw, who praised it for careful research, the integration of social theory with rich ethnography, the use of “interdisciplinary lenses,” and a “highly readable narrative.”

At the same time, the book has evoked sharp criticism from a variety of people who were close to the Early Rain church. The debate about its purported merits and alleged defects has broken out into public, with both negative reviews and vigorous defenses on the Internet. For a detailed criticism of the book, see this Amazon book review.

The following discussion will try to balance an appreciation for the merits of Religious Entrepreneurship with a careful assessment of the charges leveled against both the methodology employed and the content of Ma's narrative.

To anticipate: Though this book contains some useful information and insightful analysis, it is fundamentally flawed, misleading, and of limited value for students of Chinese Christianity.

### THE BOOK FIRST IMPRESSIONS

The sub-title, The Rise and Fall of Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church, evokes images of the Roman Empire, originally relatively pristine and finally collapsing in an orgy of abused power and sexual license.

The Dedication, “For my sisters,” alerts us that this will be a “Me Too!” narrative, with Chinese characteristics. In an interview with a Hong Kong media outlet, Ma says that she writes “from the perspective of a female social historian. I hope to bring the voices of the vulnerable and women to the public... I think in all areas of the Chinese society, there should be female voices speaking up... What happened to me recently, including how some scholars attempting to use nonacademic means to slander me and incite mob cyber violence against me, these show the reality—if even I, as a woman scholar who published a scholarly book through a globally well-known publisher, have to face so much resistance when speaking up, how much more difficult does it take for the voices of vulnerable women in this system to be heard? How much more costs do they have to pay?” (View the text of this interview in Chinese and English.)

A brief description at the front says, “This book offers a unique historical documentation of the development of the ambitious religious entrepreneurship by leaders of the Early Rain church (and later Western China Reformed Presbytery leadership) in an effort to gain social influence in China through local institution building and global public image management.”

## INTRODUCTION

The Introduction begins with a dramatic scene: the leaking of “photographs of a confidential ‘church court trial’” that “spread on the Chinese Internet and through social media. These posts sent shock waves across China’s emerging urban churches.” The next paragraph tells of police interruption of a prayer meeting, followed by videos of “Yi Wang (the pastor of Early Rain church) and some church members’ praying loudly outside the local police station, that became a heroic and celebrated image on Twitter” (1).

The rest of the book maintains this vivid tone and flows swiftly, as Ma purports to give an accurate account of how such a heroic figure could develop into someone whom she portrays as essentially driven by a hunger for power and fame, leading his church from being a small home fellowship to China’s “iconic” house church. Along the way, we read of overweening ambition that spawned excessively rapid expansion, internal strife that eventually split the church, what Ma calls “moral bankruptcy” at the core, “suppression of dissent,” “radicalization” that led to open conflict with the government, and finally the closing of the church and Yi Wang’s detention by the police.

## METHODOLOGY

Her research method includes “formal interviews, informal conversations, publicly available bulletins and online publications,” as well as “texts and conversations on social media” (12). The plethora of quotations she includes in her narrative certainly adds to its energy and consistent power to hold the reader’s attention.

Though she does “not claim to present a complete story,” it is her “earnest desire to present a balanced perspective.” Her “analysis is interdisciplinary, for, as some scholars put it, since a ‘church is a diverse, complex, and simultaneously sociocultural and theological reality,’ it ‘naturally requires boundary-cross of many disciplines’...” Ma expresses the “hope that, by integrating social theories, organization behavior research, and theological analysis, this volume will provide an important benchmark for China mission research” (13).

If consistently followed, this research method could be very productive.

## STRUCTURE

The Introduction explains the clear organization of Christian Entrepreneurism. Part One follows the “consolidation phase” of Early Rain Church from 2006 to 2013. Under the charismatic leadership of Yi Wang, the congregation grew from a small house church to a sizeable congregation meeting publicly in rented space.

Part Two covers the phase of expansion from 2014 to 2016, during which a school was opened, Yi Wang’s “personal influence and fame grew nationally and internationally,” and “a core of PCA (Presbyterian Church in America) church-planters joined and consolidated power to found WCP (West China presbytery).” Meanwhile, however, some congregants felt spiritually undernourished. Fierce conflict engulfed the new school; Yi Wang and his teammate, Huasheng Wang, began to have conflicts.

Part Three follows what Ma calls the “radicalization from 2017 to 2018,” when the government closed the church and arrested Yi Wang and others, as world media presented them as heroes of “resistance under communist suppression” (15).

## THESIS

“The central thesis of this book claims that the ambitious religious entrepreneurship by leaders of Early Rain church (and later WCP leadership) in an effort to gain social influence in China through local institution-building and global public image management, was undermined by an internal loss of moral authority. Such a loss was largely due to pervasive disillusionment among members about their charismatic leader Yi Wang. Claiming to uphold a Presbyterian Church governance with checks and balances, Yi Wang and other church leaders apparently adopted double standards for themselves and for congregants. Later, despite the church’s claim to publicness, corporate interest became more dominant, creating a relentless and oppressive leadership culture. Over time, a series of moral inconsistencies led to an avalanche of internal strife, manifesting inequity, over-conformity, judicial injustice, and alleged sexual abuses” (5).

The Conclusion “analytically summarizes and historicizes different phases” of this story.

“A multilevel institutional analysis explains the different social processes at different levels of social reality. Within this latter framework, the relevance of macro-level parameters (global media and the Chinese regime) implies a pervasive

crisis for Christianity in a world that is paradoxically globalized and disconnected” (16).

This structure fits neatly into the pattern of good storytelling that my 10th-grade English teacher taught us: Situation, Complication, Resolution. The Resolution could be either happy or sad, and the end determines whether the story is a comedy or a tragedy. Christian Entrepreneurism is a tragedy, at least as Li Ma tells the story.

## EVALUATION

After reading all of this book, including the voluminous end notes, very carefully, and parts of it two or more times, I have very mixed feelings about it. I'll begin with what I liked.

## POSITIVE

Ma's desire to speak for vulnerable women who have been abused by church leaders is entirely laudable, especially in a male-dominated and face-obsessed culture like China's.

The author's use of a variety of sources, and especially quotations from Chinese social media, offers vivid evidence of the controversies that Yi Wang's bold actions generated, not only within the church but also among Chinese Christians in other parts of the country and around the world.

Ma helpfully puts the intentional expansion and aggressive media presence of Early Rain church within the context of decades of marginalization of Christians. Many urban house church leaders thought that Christians should strive for a more public presence.

She provides a helpful analysis of how the Internet presented vast new opportunities for Christians to promote their views and to communicate with each other, making it possible to create a vibrant Christian voice in a new way, and she shows how Yi Wang made the most of this new medium

Ma quotes an impressive array of online comments, including both criticisms and defenses of Yi Wang and the church. The extensive use of these debates is not only an essential component of her method, but a substantial contribution to our understanding of the role of the Internet in the controversies she describes, and of

the various points of view that Christians from different places and perspective expressed.

Ma explains how Yi Wang and Early Rain Reformed Church (ERRC) sought to train his people to influence society by all that they did. The Christian school and college were means to this end, along with sermons and classes.

She raises the legitimate question of how fast a church and its ministries should grow and warns against expansion that does not come organically and with sufficient planning and preparation. Whether Yi Wang and ERRC were guilty of going too fast, as Ma claims, I cannot say, but the question is an important one.

Religious Entrepreneurism exposes some of the dangers of big churches, including the difficulty of providing adequate pastoral care of the members. Elsewhere, I have argued that house churches are both the biblical norm and the most effective form of “doing” church for China. (See G. Wright Doyle, *Reaching Chinese Worldwide* (Torchflame Books, 2013) 142-145; and “Home Meetings - the Way Forward for Chinese Christians?”)

Li Ma also raises questions about the pitfalls of seeking a prominent public presence and boisterous attempts to gain influence in society. Again, I agree. My book *Christianity in America: Triumph and Tragedy* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013) devotes 400 pages to showing how American Christians, from the Puritans to the present, have all too often failed to be “salt and light” in society by seeking to be “savior and Lord” in their nation. That is not to say that Yi Wang coveted political power – he said he did not – but that pursuing greater influence in all domains of society brings many attendant risks. Perhaps the greatest of these is to go for quick, public recognition, rather than slow, quiet, organic transformation, starting with oneself, the family, the church, workplace, and neighborhood, working unseen as yeast in a slowly rising loaf of bread.

Yi Wang’s purported criticism of churches that subdivided into small groups after the new religious regulations came into effect in February, 2018, as a “step backward,” if accurately reported, reflects his commitment to a large, building-based, public religious organization. He is standing within the mainstream of Christian history and current practices at this point, but I believe that this view is misguided.

If accurately reported, some of Yi Wang’s public statements were, at the very least, problematic. Examples would include his equation of words from a Muslim

hymn as consistent with Calvinism and his denunciation of Chinese who emigrate to other countries, including America.

If accurately reported, Yi Wang's frequent insistence on the "absolute authority" of "an institutional local church" raises questions for most Protestants (74). Ma does note that Yi Wang warned against the abuse of authority in his earlier sermons, however.

People who know Yi Wang do agree that he was a typical strong-willed Chinese leader. He did not always take advice or wait for others before forging ahead with his ambitious projects. We see this type of charismatic celebrity pastor in America, too. With eloquence, energy, and vision, they build an array of institutions around their congregations, as Yi Wang did.

Gifted, energetic, and charismatic pastors often over-extend themselves, attempting too much and then failing to meet the expectations of those whom they have inspired to join their growing ministries. As they acquire more and more influence, the natural human tendency to acquire more and more power. Very few people, no matter how godly, can handle too much power. Regardless of whether all of Ma's assertions about Yi Wang are true, we can certainly believe that the concentration of power poses great temptations to abuse it.

As Ma notes, Yi Wang became so heavily involved in so many projects that he could not provide adequate pastoral care for his members. He attempted too much, without having built a strong leadership infrastructure that would have prevented some of the problems Ma describes.

Traditional Chinese culture confers great authority on leaders, especially men. One could easily imagine how the presbyterian system of government by elders could become legalistic and authoritarian. (In this review, I distinguish between "presbyterian" and "Presbyterian." The former refers to a type of church government by elders and deacons, and, often, of an organization of churches in a group called a presbytery. The latter refers to a specific denomination, such as the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), or the self-identification of the Early Rain Reformed Church as part of the West China Presbytery, with informal links to the PCA.) Such a twisting of the original intent of the presbyterian church polity has also happened in the West, of course.

The purchase of the new campus, though perhaps legal according to the church's new situation after the West China Presbytery was formed, took the

congregation by surprise and seemed to many to be very unwise, even disastrous. One can see why the elders would not tell the people until the transaction had been completed, in order to ward off intervention by the state or cause an open conflict in the church, but one can also see how such a major decision, with so many ramifications, could shock and upset people who had no inkling that it was coming.

Likewise, some ERRC policies, if accurately reported by Ma, would seem problematic, such as the by-law that gave the president of the presbytery (by which she probably means session) two votes.

Ma rightly points out the influence of one strand of neo-Calvinism upon intellectual urban house church leaders. This school properly propounds the truth that biblical Christianity has many implications for all domains of life, including politics, education, economics, and the family. In the process, however, they sometimes fail to focus on the core of Reformed theology – the so-called “doctrines of grace” – and, instead, concentrate on these secondary implications.

In adapting these important truths to the Chinese situation, some American teachers and Chinese house church leaders have sometimes seemed to forget that it took more than a thousand years for biblical principles to “produce” the American Constitution. Understandably impatient to see changes in Chinese society, a few Chinese urban house church leaders sometimes made the mistake of pushing for too much, too soon. The author questions the applicability of this “Christian civilization narrative” to China. Again, though I greatly admire the Puritans and the efforts of American Christians to influence society, I do think that we should beware of attempting too much, too fast, and of trusting in political change to reform society

Ma justifiably objects to what she calls unequal treatment of “ordinary” Christian members of the church and leaders who have been guilty of sexual misconduct. According to her, the former received public censure and discipline, while the latter were protected from open shaming and given only light discipline. In the case of the alleged rape by an elder, she notes that he received only six months’ barring from the Lord’s Supper and he was not removed from his position and ministry. If this charge is true, it does seem unfair. We must remember, however, that he was not formally charged or tried in a church court, so his offense must have been considered sexual immorality rather than rape. Still, the disparity



between his light discipline and that meted out to ordinary members of the church is highly troubling.

She also raises legitimate questions about how the church dealt with married women employees when they became pregnant. Summary removal of them from their jobs, without prior policy to that effect, if accurately reported, does seem to constitute not only illegal, but also unloving, action.

It seems that Yi Wang's hiring of Bingsen Su as principal of the Covenant Reformed School and his full support of him, if accurately reported, was problematic from start to finish.

If accurately reported, some of Su's pedagogical methods - though not all (see below) - do seem questionable. The whole process makes Yi Wang look very bad.

Yi Wang's decision to bring legal charges against the police (called a "jiao'an") understandably generated sharply divergent reactions.

If accurately reported, it seems that Yi Wang increasingly broached political themes in his preaching, almost daring the authorities to stop him.

Holding prayer meetings in front of police station where Christians were detained has no biblical warrant and seems to be unnecessarily provocative. If accurately reported, Yi Wang's stated intention "to take over this city one street at a time, one police station at a time" sounds extremely inflammatory (4).

As we know from the thousands of cases of sexual abuse among Roman Catholics, and widespread instances of abuse by Southern Baptist clergy, church leaders have sometimes been guilty not only of sexual abuse, but also of covering up such outrages. Thus, Ma's claim that two leaders in the churches connected with Early Rain (not Yi Wang or Peng Qiang, however) were guilty of rape or sexual abuse, is plausible. She is right to call for severe penalties to be inflicted upon the guilty

Ma is certainly correct to point out that Western media, especially the American press, have tended to idealize Chinese house churches and their leaders, and that a "persecution narrative" has dominated all reporting on non-official Christianity in China for several decades. Brent Fulton discussed the problems with the persecution narrative in China's *Urban Christians: A Light that Cannot Be Hidden*, published in the Wipf & Stock's series, *Studies in Chinese Christianity*, the same series in which Ma's *Surviving the State, Remaking the Church* appeared.

Likewise, Western media, and especially Christian reporting, have not often dwelt upon the faults and failings of Chinese Christians and their leaders.

These are a few of Ma's observations that I found helpful, assuming that her account is accurate. **For some thoughts on what we can learn from this book, read our upcoming review at Reaching Chinese Worldwide.**

#### WHAT KIND OF BOOK IS RELIGIOUS ENTREPRENEURISM?

In the interview quoted earlier, Ma emphasized that Religious Entrepreneurism is a scholarly, academic work. That is certainly partly true. The book is published by Routledge, a highly regarded academic press. She has hundreds of endnotes in which she cites many sources. She employs a multi-faceted methodology. She places her narrative within a sophisticated theoretical framework, especially in the Conclusion.

On the other hand, Religious Entrepreneurism is much more than an academic study. It has features of investigative reporting, in which the reporter digs deep into many sources to find out what "really happened." As her dedication to her "sisters" indicates, this is also very much a work of advocacy for women who are treated in ways that do not reflect their inherent worth as persons created in the image of God.

Finally, Religious Entrepreneurism is a sustained and very clever indictment of Yi Wang, much of his ministry, and his "gang," including Qiang Peng and the missionaries connected with the church and the presbytery. In other words, it is a work of polemics.

From the title to the last sentence, Ma presents a complex and comprehensive "case" against Yi Wang, his supporters, and much of what he stood for. To some degree, this corresponds to Wang Yi's role and status as a "celebrity pastor" who played an oversized part in the leadership and public image of the church.

#### NEGATIVE RESPONSES

"The first one to plead his cause seems right, until his neighbor comes and examines him." Proverbs 18:17

#### LACK OF BALANCE

Religious Entrepreneurism does not present a balanced account. On the contrary, the entire thesis is anti-Wang and his colleagues.

Ma says there were “debates,” but almost always quotes people on one side of the debate. In all the citations of interviews and Internet posts, I could find only a handful of quotations from those who supported Yi Wang and the church’s leaders. Most especially, regarding the trial of Huasheng Wang, she relies heavily on comments of Xin Fan, who represented Huasheng Wang and who vehemently denounced the proceedings of the court.

We should take into account that post-split ERCC had rules barring commoners to talk with outsiders. Some contacts might have turned down the interview requests because they had to ask for permission from the top. Some may not have returned requests for interviews.

On the other hand, we should remember that:

Before these non-disclosure rules were put in place, Ma could have interviewed anyone, but she chose only to voice the criticisms of Yi Wang’s detractors.

Even after the non-disclosure rules took effect, she could have interviewed Yi Wang, Qiang Peng, Guoqing Zhang, Changping Zha, and any of the missionaries whom she so sharply attacks. Instead, she did not seek to know or relate their side of the story.

The non-disclosure rules applied to non-members of the presbytery who had been invited to Presbytery meetings, which are always confidential.

It is true that Yi Wang and other leaders of ERRC urged their people to refrain from spreading rumors or inaccurate charges on the Internet. But, so did Huasheng Wang. They were trying to stem the flood of wild accusations and counter-accusations that were poisoning the atmosphere and muddying the debates.

Statements about Yi Wang in the last three-fourths of the book are almost all negatively couched. For example, Ma claims that after being rebuked by the presbytery, at a congregational meeting he “had no apology,” as Huasheng had. He only “appeared to shed some tears” (145). The first statement about Yi Wang is blatantly false: He did confess his sin, apologize, and ask for forgiveness. The second assertion raises a question: How does one merely “appear” to shed tears?

Of course, good actors can shed tears at will, and some could have interpreted Wang Yi's tears as, in that sense, "faked." Furthermore, Huasheng Wang did not confess to any sin, but only to "mistakes."

Ma frequently imputes sinister, or at least self-seeking, motives to Yi Wang. She echoes secular social scientists who claim that entrepreneurs "are inevitably driven by the desire for power, the will to succeed and the satisfaction of getting projects accomplished" (8). Accordingly, Yi Wang is portrayed as a narcissist driven by a hunger for fame and power. According to her, Western missionaries were also interested in Early Rain and the WCP as "a network of opportunities rather than a congregation of individuals who need to be care for" (232). Since only God knows the hearts of men, this imputation of motives is a highly questionable – not to mention unscholarly - procedure.

Ma criticizes the missionaries for not checking Yi Wang's excesses and for describing him to their American Christian supporters in entirely positive terms. These criticisms could be partly true. Several of them were Yi Wang's friends and colleagues, and they were trying to help guide a rapidly expanding Presbyterian movement. As guests and outsiders, they would need extreme wisdom to know when to voice concerns or criticisms.

On the other hand, it is known with certainty that these missionaries did give Yi Wang advice and occasionally spoke frankly to him. Furthermore, as members of the presbytery, they participated in discussions critical of Yi Wang and ERRC and joined in the censure of him by the presbytery.

(True, missionaries generally do not criticize their local partners when they are reporting to their supporters back home. Understandably, they try to show how God is using indigenous Christians. Would we expect them to do otherwise?)

Almost all Yi Wang's actions and the policies of ERRC are interpreted negatively. For example, the very common practice of having small groups discuss the sermon, and especially its relevance to members' personal lives, comes across as highly controlling.

The same goes for Yi Wang's possession of pirated books. We must remember that this practice is almost universal in China, that theological books are largely unavailable to Chinese Christians, and that Yi Wang generally tried to honor copyright laws. Furthermore, there is a history to his collection of copied books. When the church/seminary library began, original editions of books in

English were hard to obtain, so copied ones were used. Gradually, following a policy that strongly emphasized the ethical imperative to honor copyrights, these books were replaced by those obtained from overseas or through legal channels. In the end, they had a large collection of unauthorized books to dispose of. Rather than throwing them away, the church transferred them to Yi Wang's office for his use in preparing articles, books, and sermons.

This is one instance among many of Ma's telling only part of the story, or putting a more negative slant than was warranted on something she reports.

Another example: Yi Wang did say something like, "We are going to take over this city one police station at a time." Those familiar with the context of this statement say, however, that they understood him to mean that ERRC church members would use the time they spent in jail to evangelize fellow prisoners as well as police officers. The "takeover" was spiritual, not physical or political. He merely meant, these people believe, that being detained by the police could lead to the further spread of the gospel in Chengdu.

The book likewise generally uses negative or even pejorative terms when describing those who generally supported Yi Wang.

#### APPARENT IGNORANCE

The author appears to be ignorant of the reasons for the common practice of Western Christian workers in China to stay away from public worship services, especially in unregistered churches. While she does accurately say that the missionaries explained that they wanted to provide worship for their children, she does not also give other obvious reasons for not attending worship services at ERRC: Western Christian workers do not want to jeopardize their own positions in China by drawing attention to themselves, and they do not want to cause trouble for Chinese Christians, especially since the government often accuses them of being tools of Western imperialists.

In her account, this anonymity also leads to a form of lack of accountability.

She appears to be ignorant of Presbyterian polity. For example, she uses the word "presbytery" for both the board of elders in a local church (called the "session" by presbyterians) and for the group of elders who govern several churches in a region (the proper meaning of "presbytery"), in this case, the West China Presbytery (WCP).

This confusion may seem minor, but it affects major portions of the narrative. For example, in the Introduction, she says that many Chinese were shocked that the Early Rain Reformed Presbyterian Church “had conducted a confidential court trial of its own pastor” (1). In reality, the trial was held by the presbytery, not the session of the church. The difference is critical.

Though one can see why many Chinese would object to the “secret” trial of Wang Huasheng, Ma seems not to know that all disciplinary trials in Presbyterian churches are held in secret, to protect the rights of the accused. Repeated references to this event as “secret” thus lose their force.

She says that when ERRC elders were given their office for life, they became members of an “elite” corps of leaders. She does not seem to know that normally in Presbyterian churches, elders are always chosen “for life,” unless they later violate doctrinal or ethical standards. Since much of her indictment of Yi Wang and other leaders involves their alleged “elite” status, this indication of ignorance greatly weakens her argument.

She criticizes Early Rain Church for purchasing the Baihua sanctuary without a congregational vote, but does not seem to know – or did not want to note – that the church had adopted the presbytery’s by-laws a year before, and that these had replaced the church’s bylaws and allowed for the purchasing of the property with only a vote of the elders.

Ma notes in the Introduction, and often later, that many outsiders were surprised and dismayed when they learned of the “splitting-style church planting” that had led to the formation of two congregations out of one. She - and they - apparently did not know that this way of starting new churches out of existing ones is very common. Indeed, as she ought to know, “church splitting” is not the proper translation of fen tang. In English, “church splitting” has an entirely negative connotation, one that is lacking in ordinary “Christian” Chinese usage. For many years, I attended a Presbyterian Church in Taiwan that grew by establishing new meeting points, which they called “fen tang.”

Ma is either ignorant of this common way of growing a church or she deliberately chose to employ a negative English term for a neutral and even positive Chinese phrase.

Now, it is true that the sudden manner in which Yi Wang announced and effected this split caused great confusion and controversy, and led to his censure

by the presbytery. The eventual split was, sadly, deep and rancorous. Still, the method itself should not have drawn Ma's fire.

To take another example, she cites the Christian Science Monitor as a "Christian media" outlet. She should know that the Christian Science Journal, though highly respected, is not a "Christian" publication. This is a small mistake, but it adds to the overall garbled attack on journalists in general.

In her critique of the pedagogy employed by Bingsen Su in the Covenant Reformed School, she describes their "classical" education as "often meaning 'old,'" and cites his use of McGuffey's Readers, "an old series of textbooks used in American schools from the mid-19th century" (118). She apparently does not know that these readers had been widely popular in the home-school movement and the Classical Education movement in the United States for several decades. They had a proven record of training children to read increasingly advanced material for more than a hundred years, and continue to be chosen as textbooks even now. (Having heard my father, who was educated in the early 1900s, praise McGuffey's Readers, I purchased a set in the 1990s when I was homeschooling our daughter. I soon learned why they are still so highly regarded by educators.) Ma's ignorance of the provenance and popularity of the Readers clearly informed – or mis-informed – her criticism of Bingsen Su.

Nor does the author seem to know that the Classical Education method stresses rote memorization for a variety of reasons. Su may have gone overboard in this, but the method itself has proven value.

## INCONSISTENCIES

Ma repeatedly criticizes Yi Wang for sermons that focused almost entirely on politics. How does this square with her statement that "William" (a pseudonym), the one missionary of whom she approves and whom she interviewed, was "impressed with the... 'thick' preaching of Reformed doctrines" (113)? These doctrines would include the doctrines of grace, as we shall see.

## THE "PERSECUTION NARRATIVE"

Until very recently, I joined with Brent Fulton and others at ChinaSource to challenge this "persecution narrative." In a chapter on China in *Sorrow and Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution, and Martyrdom*, edited by

William D. Taylor and others (2012) and in an article called, “Are Chinese Christians Being Persecuted?” published on the Global China Center website, I argued that persecution, though common and brutal in the past, had given way to unprecedented freedom for most of China’s “house church” Christians.

In early 2018, however, as Li Ma records at several points in her book, as part of a new trend in which the “regime’s tolerance towards any Christian engagement reversed to a historic low,” China rolled out new regulations on religious activity (6). These outlawed many activities that, though technically illegal, had been allowed for a decade (or even two decades, depending on the region). Since then, the authorities have pursued a systematic campaign to eliminate unauthorized Christian activities, including public meetings and Internet postings. (As a result, I have since taken down the article from our website.)

Ma notes this in her text, but in her chapter on Western media she writes as if persecution were entirely a thing of the past, when nothing could be farther from the truth. This is strange, for her book covers events up to the end of 2018 and she states clearly that the government had started a comprehensive campaign against house churches.

She falsely accuses Ian Johnson, author of *The Souls of China*, of relying on only one source (see below), but her account of the trial of Huasheng Wang comes from the testimony of only one person, the man who represented Huasheng Wang at the event.

She falsely states that Ian Johnson was not “embedded” in the church community (see below), while in fact she did not live in Chengdu or attend ERRC during most of the period she describes in her book (2014 – 2018). She had lived there while doing research on an earlier book and for the first part of this volume, which may partly explain why the first section of her narrative contains many fewer errors than the last three-fourths of the book.

## RADICAL OPENNESS

The author often notes that Yi Wang and others claimed that the ERRC sought “radical transparency, making his sermons available online and giving the police names of people who attended Early Rain” (206, quoting an article by Ian Johnson), but she sharply criticizes Yi Wang and leaders of the WCP for “creating nondisclosure agreements during major church governance decision.”



Clearly these two actions are of a different nature; it is like comparing apples and oranges. Seeking to keep some internal matters within the church, especially when outsiders were voicing strong opposition, is different from allowing the government access to sermons and names of members.

#### RELIGIOUS ENTREPRENEURISM OMITTS MUCH VITAL INFORMATION

Though the author gives extensive treatment to the ethical, social, and political teachings of Yi Wang and his team, she almost entirely fails to discuss any other content of their messages. Since Reformed churches almost always give prominence to what they call the “doctrines of grace,” that is, the teachings that emphasize God’s sovereign grace in the salvation of sinners, it is incredible that the ERRC pulpit would not treat these core themes.

The “doctrines of grace” (plural) are often summarized by the acronym TULIP: Total depravity, Unconditional election, Limited atonement, Irresistible grace, and Perseverance of the saints. These are the “heart and soul” of Reformed theology, and, as William said, constituted the content of at least some of Yi Wang’s preaching; others have confirmed this fact. Ma nowhere mentions this as part of his ministry, though she does note that the Westminster Catechism was widely circulated among the congregation and presumably formed an underlying set of common beliefs.

When Yi Wang examined men for church office or interviewed candidates for baptism, he did stress the importance of the Reformed doctrines of grace.

Another crucial omission is Yi Wang’s explicit statement that he was **not** aiming for changes in the governmental structure of China. By failing to include this sentence, Ma significantly misrepresents Wang’s “political” statements.

Ma says that William was the only one of the American missionaries from the China Partnership who “was willing to participate in the church life of local Chinese” and to attend the worship services of ERRC (113). This claim is both misleading and false. She does not tell us that William is a Korean-American, and thus could attend worship services without drawing attention to himself, while at least some of the others, being Caucasian, would have immediately been identified. Furthermore, one of the other missionaries, although Caucasian, attended Sunday worship services faithfully.

Ma gives the impression that these missionaries were not involved with the congregation, but this is not true. One of the missionaries had regular Bible with elders and deacons, and his wife had a regular “tea-and-Bible-study” with women in the church.

Besides, how can we know the motives of others without asking them directly? But Ma never asked the other missionaries why they didn’t attend worship services at ERRC.

She presents only one side of the complex story of the ecclesiastical trial of Wang Huasheng. Since this event occupies such a major part of her narrative, not to have both sides represented is an omission fatal to her claim to be “balanced” and “nuanced.”

Perhaps her worst omission involves her treatment of an alleged cover up of an alleged rape.

In her text and in the Conclusion, she states flatly that Yi Wang, Qiang Peng, and their wives were guilty of a cover-up of at least two alleged rapes. But she presents only one account of the conversations between the alleged victim of rape and Qiang Peng and his wife Ou Wang. Here I am **not** denying that the man was guilty of rape. That is not the main point. The real question is whether Peng (and Yi Wang) were guilty of a cover-up. She has only called one witness – for the prosecution – and none for the defense. She could have interviewed Peng and his wife, but she didn’t. Why? Clearly, she believed in the account by this woman. That is her right, but failure to interview Peng and his wife does considerably weaken a major part of her “case” against Yi Wang and Qiang Peng.

Still, the crux of the matter is whether, as charged, these leaders and their wives willfully tried to deny a fair hearing to the woman, and perhaps to several others. That charge has been denied, and it has not been proven by Ma, only stated. Though she narrates several incidents in detail, her accounts, while giving the reader a strong impression of the credibility of her charges, don’t give us a chance to know the other side of these stories. She may have corroborating evidence, but, if so, hasn’t included it in her book. Ma does say that Qiang Peng offered to take the rape charge both to public authorities and to the session of the church. When she declined this offer, he had little else he could do to help her. We can understand the woman’s reluctance to go through formal channels, but that does not justify Ma’s one-sided and unsubstantiated accusations of a cover-up.

Qiang Peng has a reputation for the very highest integrity and consistent Christian character. When I asked one of his close friends to find out Peng’s side of the story for this review, he replied, “I would be embarrassed even to ask. He would never do such a thing.”

That doesn’t mean that Peng or his wife may not have spoken words that could have been misleading or even unkind, but it does put the burden of proof on Li Ma to provide testimony from all the parties involved in this sad event.

#### UNNECESSARY – AND HARMFUL – INCLUSIONS

Though giving a pseudonym for “William,” who opposed Yi Wang, Ma provides the full names of three American-based Christian workers whom she associates with the pro-Wang camp, and whom she frequently criticizes. When called out on this, she replied that people who are “public” do not have to be protected by anonymity, as seen in the interview cited earlier: “If these individuals and organizations publicize about themselves on various websites, media, and conferences, why does it become a threat once they appear in my book?” In short, “I am not concerned about their sensational charges that this book revealed their secrets and harmed their safety. This is a book about facts and historical happenings.”

First of all, each of these persons carefully sought to keep their institutional and organizational positions and affiliations unknown. In no sense were these facts made “public,” as Ma asserts.

The question is, moreover, whether the “facts” are accurately and fairly recorded.

Ma criticizes the three people (“PCA ministers”) whose names she reveals for not regularly attending ERRC worship services. As their staying away from public worship indicates, they were trying to keep a very low profile while in China. Her exposure of their names probably means that they can no longer operate freely in China. She says that she quoted their statements on public sources, but this does not negate the fact that she revealed vital information about their organizational affiliations that had hitherto not been made public, including Tim Mountfort’s position with MTW and Enoch Wang’s role in the China Partnership.

The same is true for her identification of more than one of them as connected with China Partnership. CP is a public organization, to be sure, but it did not publicize the identify of people in China who were associated with it.

Contrary to journalistic ethics concerning the rights of vulnerable people, she has revealed the names of men whom she accuses of rape, but who have not been formally charged or convicted of this crime, either by the state or by the church.

Despite her assertion to the contrary (14), Ma has been accused of also failing to gain permission from several people, whom she quotes, to use their names in her book. At least six very prominent sources for her narrative, including two who were critical of Yi Wang, have said to people whom I interviewed that they were told that they would see and be given the chance to approve their remarks in her text but were not shown the final text before submission to the publisher. Ma also betrayed their trust by misquoting what several of them said. This is a violation of the fundamental ethics of both journalism and writing contemporary history.

#### DISTORTION OF DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION

Someone who has compared Ma's text with relevant documents, claims that she "intentionally chooses sections of the Presbytery's commission and keeps out other very key areas to help fit her narrative. She also seems to have intentionally mistranslated certain sections of documents or flat out mischaracterized them to fit the narrative she came up with.

"One prime example is the discipline that was carried out by the presbytery on Wang Huasheng and Wang Yi. She said that they did not discipline Wang Yi and only disciplined Wang Huasheng and she quotes the commission's finding document. She also [says that] Paul Peng in a regional gathering only criticized Huasheng in reading the document, [but] she failed to point out that Wang Yi was in fact disciplined by the presbytery and he was in fact mentioned first in the document because he was the senior pastor. The commission disciplined him, he accepted the discipline, and apologized to Huasheng at Presbytery and also read a statement before his congregation in tears apologizing" (personal correspondence with the writer, August 20, 2019).

Ma faults Ian Johnson for not being "embedded" in the church, when his book clearly states that he lived in Chengdu and attended church events for several months at a time.

## ERRORS

The author does mention “the doctrine of grace” one time, but this is not what Reformed preachers call their distinctive views of soteriology. “Doctrines of grace” is the term they use.

Ma asserts that after his visit to New York’s Redeemer Presbyterian Church (PCA), pastored by Timothy Keller, he “identified with the Christian Right as defined in the West” (68). This statement is highly misleading. The Christian Right is a movement with many aspects to it and a history of several decades. At no time has Timothy Keller identified himself with the Christian Right, except perhaps in the minds of uninformed critics on the political Left. In fact, he is criticized by many on the Christian Right for his relatively “liberal” views on some social questions.

The Chinese names for Charles Chao’s Reformation Translation Fellowship and his son Jonathan Chao’s China Ministries International are incorrectly translated (72).

The English name of Pastor Lin Cixin is wrongly given as Samuel Lin, rather Samuel Ling, the name he uses in all his writings.

Enoch Wang was not a PCA minister. He was ordained as a Teaching Elder by the West China Presbytery. He was thus not an “American missionary.” He is a Chinese citizen.

She writes that the “Presbyterian missionaries were in fact accountable to no one” (232). Although it is true that it is hard to exercise close control of missionaries on the field, in this case her statement is almost entirely false. Obviously, she does not understand how mission agencies, or at least the PCA’s Mission to the World, operate. There are, in fact, several ways by which missionaries are held accountable.

First, they are accountable to their own team of fellow missionaries. As associate members of the WCP, they could be expelled by a simple vote. They could exercise influence in the church or the presbytery only by moral character, friendship, and persuasion.

Additionally, they are accountable to their sending organization, in this case the Mission to the World of the PCA. In one major case, when a fellow missionary criticized another, he was invited to take the case to the highest level of MTW

leadership. After a thorough review, his accusations were thrown out as completely unfounded. (Indeed, the entire paragraph is replete with unsubstantiated generalizations dressed up in fancy terms like “information asymmetry.”)

Lest one think that MTW always looks the other way when its missionaries are faced with serious allegations of misconduct, it is important to note that in recent years the mission organization has recalled several of its workers from the field after reviewing the charges. This is not a rubber-stamp process.

Ma states that the missionaries connected with the PCA brought foreign money to the church. This contradicts not only Yi Wang’s policy of not receiving foreign funding, as noted on page 204, but also the policy of MTW not to provide money to local churches. She speaks vaguely of tightening up on “overseas funds transfer, education resources and foreigners’ participation,” (170) but her footnote only references a general statement by the China Partnership on how to respond to the new religious regulations in China. It gives no support to the false assertion that foreign missionaries brought foreign money to ERCC.

How many more of her notes would lead down a similar blind alley?

Careful comparison of her criticisms of the writings of Ian Johnson with the actual texts reveals a similar pattern of misquoting, taking sentences out of context, hiding essential information contained in the documents she discusses, confusing chronology, and outright contradiction of plain statements in those writings. There are at least a dozen examples of this kind of falsification.

For example: She claims that Ian Johnson relied on only one source, but the text and notes of his book name at least six persons whom he interviewed, and show that he spoke to others who attended church services.

Ma criticizes Johnson for praising Yi Wang, but neglects to say that he also recorded criticisms of him. She gives the impression that he overlooked the splits within the church, while failing to point out that the major conflicts arose after the publication of *The Souls of China*. Indeed, the entire section of her book criticizing foreign media coverage of China’s house churches, though containing a few accurate observations, is marred by so many inconsistencies, misrepresentations, and factual errors that one wonders what was animating this attack on journalists.

For more examples of errors and (apparently) deliberate misquotation and omission, some of them from documents in Chinese, see this Amazon book review.

I strongly recommend a close reading of this review. Ma claims that the writer of the review and other critics had not read her book, but at least this review seems to reflect a careful study of Religious Entrepreneurism.

These tactics are so egregious, blatant, and numerous that they could only have been intentional and deliberate. That is, they go beyond the general sloppiness of much of Ma's reporting, and seem designed only to advance her narrative and support her case.

There are other errors that could easily have been avoided by more careful writing and closer editing. These include so many mistakes of grammar and English usage that I had to stop marking them in my copy. There are at least hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of these in what claims to be a scholarly book published by a renowned academic press. In addition, knowledgeable people have said that her account includes numerous errors of chronology. Some of these are relatively minor, but others, involving both the sequence of events in the conflicts narrated and her harsh attack on Ian Johnson's writings, make a difference.

#### MA'S RESPONSE TO CRITICISM

In the interview referenced earlier, Ma fiercely attacked the writer of the critical review at Amazon Books cited above. She claims that the writer, who calls himself "Deng," is clearly writing anonymously. That may be true. The real question is whether the writer's charges are accurate. All the accusations are based on a close reading of her book and from public documents. Furthermore, many of the sources quoted by Ma are also anonymous. People can have various reasons, including the fear of public denunciation by a skilled polemicist, for withholding their names. That may be why some of the people whom I interviewed did not want their names revealed. They have seen how she responded to the critical review referenced earlier.

#### INCONSISTENCIES

In response to criticism that she revealed the names of people, Ma emphasized her reliance on public documents and the right to speak openly about

public people who are public persons, but she also relied heavily on private, and essentially anonymous, interviews as part of her research method.

Ma claims that the WCP “became the extension of his personal will” (216). How, then, could the presbytery condemn Yi Wang for his actions? In fact, WCP often disagreed with Yi Wang.

She roundly excoriates Western journalists, including (by implication) Ian Johnson, for not being “embedded” in the Chinese context, and therefore not being able to understand the true situation. But she was not “embedded” either. As noted earlier, though she had lived in Chengdu for a few months in previous years, she didn’t live in Chengdu or attend Early Rain Church during the period when the conflict that she describes took place. Johnson, on the other hand, spent several months in the city and in the church.

She criticizes Ian Johnson for purportedly relying on only one pro- Yi Wang source, but, as noted above, she draws most of her description of the trial of Huasheng Wang from only one anti-Yi Wang source. As the notes to Johnson’s book *The Souls of China*, make clear, he interviewed a variety of people with a variety of viewpoints.

She repeatedly characterizes Johnson as a “journalist,” with the implied contrast to herself as a “scholar,” but she ignores the academic nature of his work *The Souls of China*, which meets the highest standards of scholarship. The Wikipedia article on him states that “his reporting from China was also honored in 2001 by the Overseas Press Club and the Society of Professional Journalists. In 2017 he won Stanford University's Shorenstein Prize for his body of work covering Asia. In 2019 he won the American Academy of Religion's ‘best in-depth newswriting’ award.” ”He is not just any “journalist,” as Ma implies.

Ma calls Johnson an American, which is only half true. Furthermore, as his bio shows, Johnson was born and brought up in Canada, where he is also a citizen, and he has spent very little of his life in the United States. He lived in China for twenty years, as Ma could have known from public documents, and should have said.

After quoting from one of Yi Wang’s prayers, she writes that he “was skilled at using parallel texts to set off a poetic grand discourse that has little internal logic” (73). Again, this statement is partly true, in that Wang is a prolific poet whose sermons did not necessarily follow the usual pattern of biblical exegesis



taught in the West. On the other hand, the quote she adduces as evidence of having “little internal logic” does not illustrate her point. More seriously, as I have tried to show, her own book lacks internal logic at key points.

For example: the long and detailed narrative Ma included from the perspective of a woman who had allegedly been raped by an elder in the ERRC (187-190). This account is meant to show that Qiang Peng and his wife engaged in a cover-up of the incident. But Ma also records Peng’s offer to take the matter to the presbytery court. If that is true, how can we believe that he was deliberately trying to cover up the incident, as she repeatedly charges in her book?

### LACK OF NUANCE

Li Ma says she wanted to present a nuanced account of the rise and fall of ERRC and its controversial pastor Yi Wang. Sadly, the result is anything but subtle and balanced. Instead, Yi Wang comes across, as I said earlier, as obsessed with personal power and fame. Though admittedly eloquent in speech and writing, and skilled in deploying various media to fashion a positive public image, Wang is portrayed as a flat, two-dimensional figure.

She does admit that he has a happy marriage, but does not seem to wonder how such a thoroughly unscrupulous and self-seeking man could retain the love and loyalty of his wife. Ma does not seem to entertain the possibility that at any point he could have been motivated by a desire for God’s glory, the healthy growth of the church in China, or the good of Chinese society.

In contrast, one person said to me, “I’ve known Wang Yi for fifteen years. I have worked with many Chinese pastors, but none has possessed as much integrity as he” (telephone conversation with the writer, September 22, 2019). He continued, “Wang is a very complex and complicated person, but Ma turns him into someone else.” Another long-time associate said, “He made mistakes, for sure, but his heart was pure.”

### BIAS

Although no historical narrative can be fully objective, sometimes an author’s biases may exercise an undue impact upon the recitation and interpretation of the facts.

Li Ma clearly does not agree with the traditional views of the role of women in the church. She labels these as “anachronistic doctrines” (12). That is her right, of course. But the PCA Book of Church Order limits the offices of elder and deacon to men. This position was almost universally held in Christian churches until very recently. It is still the rule among Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and many theologically conservative Protestant denominations. Proponents of this view base their position on a number of biblical texts that seem to deny certain offices and activities – such as preaching from the pulpit – to women.

Ma also does not agree with traditional views of the role of women in the home. These ideas, sometimes called “complementarian” now, were the norm in most societies and Christian churches until very recently, and were also based upon biblical texts. Li Ma is clearly what would now be called an “egalitarian.” She thus objects strongly to the increasingly strict positions and policies of Yi Wang and ERRC reflecting traditional beliefs. She writes about this development in a pejorative style that reflects her bias.

Ma says that Huasheng Wang never received a reply from the PCA to his letter about his trial. This charge is not true; the assistant stated that the clerk of the PCA did respond. I have seen a copy of this reply. (Ma also incorrectly says that Wang’s letter was sent to the PCA Standing Committee, when it was really sent to the Judicial Committee).

#### ACCURATE REPORTING?

By now, the reader will understand why I prefaced several statements in the earlier part of this review with, “if accurately reported.” I cannot check all of her assertions, some of which seem plausible to me. On the other hand, she makes so many false statements, big and small, that I cannot accept even the most plausible charge or apparent quotation as necessarily reflective of the facts.

#### TIMING OF PUBLICATION

A number of people have wondered why this book was published while Yi Wang was under arrest on charges of a capital crime. Li Ma has replied, “This book took more than ten years to come out. The publisher had the right to decide when it is released.” That statement is very misleading. Her research may have taken ten years, but the book was submitted to the publisher **after** Yi Wang had

been arrested. Her claim not to have had any control over the timing of its publication is not fully persuasive. In fact, from the time of its submission to publication, it was only a few months. The book came out in the spring of 2019, which is very, very fast. Perhaps that is why it shows so many signs of haste and lack of editing and proofreading.

One of the leading Chinese authorities on the church in China said of this book:

“In fact, I couldn’t and still cannot understand why she seemed to have rushed to get the book out, before the end of the sixth month of Wang Yi’s secret detention (secret detention usually has a maximum length of six months, then the case has to be moved from the police bureau to the prosecutors bureau. But the Wang Yi case is not usual, so he has been held in a secret place for almost ten months by now without access by his family or lawyers). The timing of the book’s release and the severe accusations of Wang Yi and other church leaders in the book made me wonder whether she intentionally wanted the book to be used to facilitate the Chinese authorities’ prosecution of Pastor Wang Yi. If this is the intention, it is a serious violation of research ethics. In the US, prison inmates are treated as a vulnerable population and there are extra requirements for human subject protection measures when applying to study them. In short, I have serious concerns about the research ethics of this book” (Personal correspondence with the writer. October 3, 2019).

Bob Fu, president of ChinaAid, who has known Yi Wang for many years, says the book is “very unbalanced. Too speculative. In the midst of severe persecution against Wang Yi and the church, for Ma Li’s book to be released with some serious charges without giving the accused an opportunity to rebuttal is very irresponsible too.”

#### A SCHOLARLY BOOK?

The authority on Christianity in China quoted in the section above wrote to me that (after reading *Surviving the State, Remaking the Church*):

[He] “was totally surprised by Ma Li’s new book. I’m very disappointed, to say the least... I read it from cover to cover...in the beginning of July. Honestly, I don’t see much scholarly value or Christian value or any value in this book. There is so much hearsay about Wang Yi and the Early Rain Church in social media

already, and the book does nothing but amplify some of the hearsay; it used one-sided interviews, and made a biased interpretation of events. A serious researcher should have taken the time and done a much more careful job in terms of research, should have tried hard to hear and understand all parties in church conflicts. In short, in my view, this is not a scholarly book.”

A person very close to the situation wrote to me:

“Ma Li could have done everyone a great service by interviewing both sides of the split and giving a balanced, detailed account of some of the key issues alongside a thoughtful analysis. Instead she literally ignores, discredits and even slanders everyone in the Wang Yi ‘camp’ including locals, missionaries and respected journalists. I know of one well respected elderly woman from the non-Wang Yi ‘camp’ that stated ‘Ma Li’s knowledge of the situation is superficial and her book is nonsense’” (personal correspondence with the writer, August 16, 2019).

When you consider the other flaws mentioned earlier, including misuse of published sources; the pejorative language; plethora of errors, some based on ignorance but others obviously preventable; violation of journalistic ethics concerning vulnerable persons; countless mistakes of grammar and English usage – plus an index that is very thin, sparse, and very incomplete – many will conclude that Religious Entrepreneurism fails substantially as a purportedly scholarly and academic work. The high price of \$46 (from Amazon; the publisher charges more) does not seem justified.

## CONCLUSION

As I said at the beginning, Religious Entrepreneurism contains much useful information and many helpful insights. It employs a methodology that, if applied consistently, could have resulted in a work of lasting value.

Instead, the shortcomings of the book greatly outnumber and outweigh its strengths. It is fundamentally flawed in so many ways that it possesses limited worth for serious students of Christianity in China.



## 文本“炮制”与视阈重构

### ——《中国城市家庭教会的宗教企业化》评析（徐炎）（仅存引言部分）

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作者介绍：徐炎，来自中国家庭教会的基督教研究学者。

本文大体上可分上下两部分。上部为消极意义上的驳斥（第一、二、三、四章），下部从积极的意义上立论（第五、六、七章），提出和马丽不同的研究进路和分析框架。作为阅读者和评论者，本文上部从所掌握的有限资料着手，力图从方法论上进行考察（第一章第一节），结合对研究文本剖析与批评，从第一章第二节到第四章，分别从具体的写作策略和叙事进路，即作者对访谈对象的选择（第一章第二节）、材料的引用（第二章）、写作叙事（第三章）、修辞的应用和主观笔法（第四章）等层面一一剖析，提出合理的质疑，对马丽对某些批评和指控，做一个不完全的回应。

在第一章中，笔者尝试从作为学科和方法论的民族志思考入手，把它置于一个反思性的审视思维当中，指出马丽在民族志方法论上的粗燥与不可取之处。第二节以大量的文本实证的方式，在文本细读和数据分析的基础上，指出了研究者单边访谈和完全偏颇性的材料选择，使人匪夷所思，完全违背了平衡性的研究原则。这一种简单而粗暴的方法论滥用，丧失了学术上的信任。

在第二章中，笔者以近六万字的篇幅，通过对马丽著作中大量缺乏引证和偏颇性的论据进行分析，指出马丽的研究并非如她自己所言而具有一种“平衡性”——所谓的“平衡型”不过是叙事的幌子而已（第一节）。研究者不惜使用粗鄙的话语论据和违背学术道德的“污点证人”（第二节），在解析文本上不断抽离语境而进行的生硬解读，忽略、遗漏，以及大量使用的剪切、断章取义、扭曲、拼凑、编造、颠倒、挪用、张冠李戴、移花接木、添油加醋、夸张，甚至诋毁与捏造、主观妄测、阴谋论式的指控等几乎十八般武器无所不用的写作方式，对王怡和秋雨进行了诸多的批评和指控。总括这些硬伤、错误和捏造等等，不下一百二十处。这些不符合学术规范和违背学术道德伦理的话语“炮制”，远超出一般想象而骇人听闻（第二节至第四节）。

在以上的论证和，笔者从话语上进一步分析，以为研究者的基本结论与被访谈者的立场相互认同——所谓在秋雨之福教会当中的性别偏见和性别歧视，并没有获得说服力。其诸多的例证反而反对了作者的方法论：研究者没有采用所谓的神学维度，而是现代平权主义思想而非教会神学传统进行了指控（第四节第一部分）。随后笔者从秋雨会友的某种类型的话语生态入手，以大量的材料揭示出教会内部的“分党”现象的存在（第四节的第二部分中）。研究者完全无视包括秋雨内部的一些会友和包括副牧师王华生在内的同工专门针对王怡的非法的话语批评和攻击现象。这些批评者以教会的清道夫自居，并以反对偶像崇拜（“反偶”话语）的名义，透过公开和半公开的网络自媒体，对王怡的教导进行影射、讽刺、揶揄、戏谑、嘲笑等无所不用其极的方式，和作为副牧师的王华生在讲台上的影射相呼应，从而在教

会内部形成“批王”、“反王”话语而造成名副其实的“分党”<sup>[66]</sup>，影响并撕裂了讲台和会众。因此“分堂”不过是分党的必然结果。除此之外，透过与原材料的对照和文本细读，笔者指出马丽的研究中充满了大量粗制滥造的低级错误，其强解文本令人乍舌；而大量的挪用、捏造和虚构性的谎言，违背学术伦理之处，使人震惊（第五节）。

第三章第一节从叙事的角度，指出研究者的阴谋论预设框架以及在此框架下的大量想象和臆测性描述，也是所谓“黑王怡”之说的关键。研究者一方面采用粗浅的小说笔法，对王怡采取一种“苦毒-虚伪”的叙事径路，从一开始就对王怡进行了负面的道德形象建构；而对王华生则采用一种有差别对待的“饶恕—重生”见证性叙事（第一部分）。在整个研究著作中，王怡的道德形象从头至尾都呈现出一种一成不变的扁平化特征：渴望名声、爱慕虚荣并且专断专制的“沽名钓誉”（*fishing for fame*）之徒（第二部分）。这使得整个研究文本缺乏研究者自称讨论的对话性和研究的独立性，而成为诛心之论，完全成为某种“反王”话语的传声筒（第三、四部分）。

第二节从写作和修辞的角度，指出马丽的研究著作更像是一种粗鄙的文学文本而非学术著作。当中充满了各种想象性的“发明”使其本质上是一种主观臆测的小说式的文本实践，这既是方法论本身的局限，更是研究者的预设所致（第一部分）。研究者透过各种的修辞手法，延续之前的阴谋论的叙事路径，塑造了利用宗教谋取政治权力，制造分裂和排斥异己的“惯犯”，为其后面的“分堂”事件的描述埋下伏笔（第二部分）。其草蛇灰线的小说笔法和小报式手法充满了对各种事实（如“性侵”事件）的夸大与捏造，也散落在其他的文本叙述片段中（第三、四部分）。

第四章论及学术关怀、写作与研究伦理。笔者首先根据大量的材料，解析了王怡和秋雨之福教会，面对内部纷争和外界的批评为何一概以沉默应对。面对挑战和分裂讲台的非法话

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<sup>[66]</sup> 笔者使用“批王”、“反王”，仅限定在描述由秋雨之福教会由“反偶”话语带来的对王怡的质疑、批评甚至攻击的，而且具有一定关联性的话语内容，并不包含常规的出于大公教会的对话、批评（如台湾学者邱慕天的批评，黄庆曦的反思等等）。在本论文中，就是笔者在第四章和第五章中大量所例证和分析的话语，主要即是集中在小天小组和马丽受访中的几位成员（因为受访者多用假名，所以也可能重合）。如“薛帕德的骑士梦”的评判和嘲讽、L的指控、X的挖苦等等以及作为牧者的王华生在讲台上的影射和公众网络上的讥笑。发表这些言论的成员虽然不多，但因为他们都是以公开和半公开的方式在微信、微博、空间、脸书等各种自媒体上进行。这些话语内容比较复杂，有些内容隐晦，容易引起误读，有些内容也可以讨论。但言说方式上大体都是影射、挖苦、讽刺、戏笑一类。此外，也包括了Lin Deng、Qiang Li 等作为教会同工马丽书中提及的以被访谈的方式而呈现出来的话语，甚至包括长老会其他长老的反对话语。笔者在论文中也指出，教会内的这些“批王”和“反王”话语和教会外的崔以撒、程摩西、雁荡归来等一大批的粗燥、低劣的反对和攻击王怡的话语相认同。之后，随着几位在学堂事件中的当事人离开百花而前往马丽所在的加尔文大学求学，在加尔文大学也形成了一个学术版的“批王”和“反王”话语系统（如马丽、肯三等）。



语，长老会内部无法达成统一，一方面使得“批王”和“反王”话语更加畅通无阻，并获得了更加自义性的道德基础（第一节）。另一方面使得王怡面对秋雨内部张力时最后不得不诉诸于教会的解决机制（教会法庭）。马丽迎合西方的政治正确学术资源（如平等主义、女性主义）使得她的研究进路，获得一种虚假的人道主义立场；而其为“沉默”者发声，为弱者伸冤的写作伦理获得了一种道德至高地，本质上乃出于一种“受害者即正义”的“义愤”型道德主义。然而这些“正义”论的建构内容，均被一种先在的预设立场，诉诸于阴谋论式的思路，单向度的采访，大量缺乏论证力的材料和修辞的使用等消解，使其丧失了合法的证据支点。文本中既缺乏事理和逻辑的论证，也缺乏完整经验的支持，更缺乏真正的伦理关怀。而和被访谈者的指控相认同，却沦为“稻草人”逻辑式的“空洞能指”。更重要的是，文本中大量的歪曲、篡改、诽谤等一系列丧失基本道德和写作规范的行为也反噬了她的正义支点（第二节）。

在总结马丽“阴谋论”预设的论证基础上，指出了马丽的研究沦为教会内争中权力话语的产物，可能成为撕裂整个华人家庭教会的话语权势。对于一些学者的批评，马丽也表现出令人惊愕的傲慢。为了让这本著作获得关注，她再次以违背学术道德的方式，自己“炮制”了“学术热点”。此外，其践踏学术伦理之处还表现诸多领域：采用双重标准而未经当事人的同意即暴露他们对名字和身份，大量暴露给研究对象带来政治风险的宣教士名单，并在客观上配合了当局的“遏制”策略，也在客观上为当局对王怡和秋雨圣约教会的指控，提供了一份以学术之名的像模像样的“判决书”（第三、四节）。总体而言，这本著作违背了基本的写作道德和学术伦理，远比美国神学家弗瑞姆的批评，更加触目惊心。

本文不仅从消极的意义上对马丽研究提出了众多合理的质疑、否定和批判，甚至在积极的意义上提出不同于马丽的研究框架和分析径路，作为一种视阈重构。因此，第五、六、七共三章以十一万多字的篇幅，以“二元”作为把握和理解秋雨的关键词，将秋雨内的话语结构、制度模式、文化异象等的教会的内在张力甚至矛盾作为基本的分析框架。并结合具体的案例，在大量的公开和半公开的话语档案和教会文件、证道、著作等材料基础上，呈现了秋雨内部惊人的话语生态模式。在肯定王怡和秋雨之福在整个家庭教会的见证和影响的基础上，批驳马丽的大部分指控外，也针对马丽著作中所描述的某些存在的现象，尝试作出一些解释。同时在“分堂式植堂”、“庭审王华生”等关键事件的理解上，做了一些初步的立论，并尝试在教会文化上尤其在教会公共舆论的层面上，作出一些有益的反思。

第五章以“‘偶像’与‘反偶’”为题<sup>[67]</sup>，以教会潜在的二元对立的话语模式，作为分析和研

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<sup>[67]</sup> 关于“偶像”，笔者以引号标注，以表明这种所谓的偶像，除了个别的个案，在“批王”和“反王”派的指控中，在绝大多数情况下其实是一种缺乏神学明晰的话语建构。第五

究的切入（而非马丽所预设的道德框架）。在指出王怡对秋雨之福教会形成的影响和塑造，带来了极大的正面影响和塑造基础上，提出一些值得讨论和反思在之点。笔者从话语教导和接受两个层面，尝试作出分析，指出王怡的教牧话语，是一种根植于教义和信心的强判断的独断论话语<sup>[68]</sup>。这种充分使用了语言和修辞，以极大的张力挑战了会友和非会友的信仰生命。然而因为话语接受的有限、教牧结构上的不完整、信仰文化底色的短浅、紧张的政教冲突等种种因素，使得具有强力的布道性话语，落实在教牧实践时，在一定程度上缺乏具体和复杂处境下的教牧关怀性。也使得那些认同和接受王怡牧养的会众，在话语领受和信仰实践层面，彰显了信心和勇气而带来的见证和影响的同时，相对缺乏圣道领受的深厚与丰富，而在一定程度上呈现出单向度和趋同性的危险。特别是在后期紧张的政教冲突中，其中部分会众略带英雄主义和浪漫主义的信仰特质和话语实践，不断被媒体放大，在网络上引来诸多非议（第一节）。

而另一方面，教会中的另一些长老和少数会众，在一种基要主义语境下，将王怡在教会中一些正面影响不加区分的统统化约为负面因素，并将实际上的欠缺都统统归结于王怡的“偶像”化影响的结果。从2014年左右（可能更早），在教会中形成“反偶”话语。然而笔者透过几个典型话语例证指出，“反偶”和“批王”话语的背后，尽管有一些的确值得讨论的地方，但从根本上而言，具有一种根植于个体私欲、传统道德主义、极权文化和个体自由主义等基本底色塑造下的植入和投射效应。这些话语既缺乏神学和语境上的界定，更缺乏基本的关怀的向度，本质上是一种过敏性的话语建构。他们在教会中以“反偶”之名，在会众和长老会当中形成一股“批王”、“反王”的话语意识形态潜流，直至在“分堂”前形成“反王”话语的高潮而形成“结党”，带来对会众和长老会的分裂（第二节第一部分）。

笔者在一些案例的基础上，对教会内外的“反偶”-“批王”-“反王”话语简单粗暴的植入和投射、反向投射等特征进行了进一步描述：碎片化、持续性、趋同性和阴谋论特质，后现代文化语境下的看客心态，和戏谑的、讽刺的、阴谋论式的解构主义性质，以及神学上基要主义语境下的狭隘化特征。而纵观整个教会内外的“反偶”-“反王”话语，其内部则神学混乱，互为攻击（第二节第二部分）。在话语生态呈现和材料的基础上，笔者也对“反偶”话语的文

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章有详论，并简要分析了这一建构的话语的思维结构、话语特征和可能的源起心理，第七章探讨了这一“反偶”话语与后现代社会的网络处境关系。

<sup>[68]</sup> 非贬义指向，参本论文第五章第一节第四部分分析。本文对这一术语对使用，取其不同的使用范畴而采取了不同的贬褒或中性的价值色彩，既在一般的意义上指向马丽等“反王派”话语的武断、绝对和诛心式的主观倾向。同时在另一个层面上还原其在哲学上的中性描述，用来指称王怡话语中因基督教认信而带来在认识论和思想上的某些必然性、决绝性、排他性的思想认定和话语特征（参第五章）。

化源起心理进行了简单的分析，指出“反偶”话语起初可能源于“偶像”对其的认同以及对所谓“偶像”的依赖。这种模式在批判式的自我膨胀而后呈现出二元类型的悖论性陷阱：批评一方的自我价值的体现的恰恰就呈现并依赖于被批评的存在。而“分堂”后，二元关系被体制性地瓦解。于是，依赖一方的话语便呈现出一种怨妇甚至厉妇心态（第二节第三部分）。

认同王怡和反对王怡两种话语领受和话语实践，一直作为一种二元对立的模式而长时间在教会当中暗流涌动，形成对会众的撕裂和讲台的拆毁。针对教会公共舆论的讨论、争议和纷争以及由此带来的共同体撕裂，笔者尝试对教会公共舆论的讨论和建设，提出了自己的观察和反思：分析了作为领受圣道的基督徒即便作为个体话语的言说，在多重文化语境中下的公共媒体的发言也具有一种公共性，需要一种“道成肉身”谦卑。而对于公共舆论的批评话语，则更需要被圣道“圣化”后的恩典视域。这样，教会公共舆论的良性生态，方能寄予期待（第二节之第四部分）。

第六章以“神学、结构与精神”为题，着眼于从神学领受、教牧话语结构、教会制度（特别是是长老会结构）的张力和和长老会精神的理解的差异进行分析和论证。一方面在秋雨内部，在对于教会异象主导下的文化事工、文化实践的理解上，既有在隐藏着基要主义语境下的地方堂会主义理解和以更新、转化为己命的文化国度主义倾向的两种话语领受，还有有在经验和对具体处境理解上的差异。这些内部差异没有很好的处理，成为教会会众、长老会之间的二元张力。到了“分堂”前后，会众的“批王”派开始公然以“反偶”的名义，对教会的“三化”异象进行反对（第一节）。

除了教会异象外，在对长老会制度和精神的理解，尤其是对于牧师和长老之间，主任牧师和副牧师之间的关系界定，长老会和同工层面存在重大的差异。这些在整个长老会传统上也具有争议和讨论的文化和历史性问题，在一种“反偶”-“批王”的阴谋论话语的投射性语境下，形成直接的矛盾、对立而失去了根本的信任，以至于无法对话。这是教牧结构无法得到完善的重要原因之一。笔者以为，其背后的理解差异是伴随着人的灵性幽暗，以及平等主义、自由主义等各种文化语境交织下的衍生和交织而成。而对长老会精神的理解，就内置于这些文化语境与圣道的复杂关系之中（第二节）。

此外，笔者还进一步在话语分析的基础上，从教牧话语的角度来分析整体与个体的范畴。笔者以为，整体主义倾向和独断论式的教牧话语带来强有力的内在呼召和悔改，带来了秋雨之福教会人数的不断增长。然而在教牧结构不完整等种种原因之下，缺乏中间话语转化和关怀、怜悯的教牧力量，从而使得教会整体上呈现出一种话语主导的事工导向倾向的特征。这样，话语教导与生命成长，事工拓展与关系建造、整体见证与个体影响之间，在一定程度上

失去了平衡，也削弱了教牧话语带来的果效。“分堂”之后，两边都作出了众多调整——特别是摆脱了“反王”话语束缚的秋雨圣约教会，拓展了更多的福音和文化事工，但在整体上仍然延续甚至强化了之前的教会风格（第三节）。

第七章以“反思与挑战”为题。针对秋雨之福后期的两个关键事件（“分堂”与庭审），笔者尝试作出初步的描述和结论：针对“批王”、“反王”话语的泛滥而长老会不作处理的现状，以及讲台上的公开撕裂，长老会中的斥责，会众内部的批判和攻击，同工内部收集黑材料行为，部分会众和同工对教会异象的反对等等，尽管王怡和他的同工团一再隐忍，然而不堪重负，坦诚自己“牧养不了教会里的某一批人”<sup>[69]</sup>。这也是他最后不得不诉诸于“分堂”的原因。从这个意义上来看，“分堂”恰恰是不得已下的最好选择。而面对“批王”、“反王”话语的持续，以沉默的面对方式不但无法缓解和平息对方的批判，反而助长了他们的穷追猛打。而“分堂”后，王华生延续并强化了之前的作风，在国际自媒体上的戏谑等诸种言论在华人教会中所造成的撕裂和拆毁，本在“分堂”前就是失去了信任的基础而不能沟通的情形之下，使“分堂”之后的王怡，面对当初亲密的同工和另一间教会的攻击，践行《圣经》不告到外邦人面前的原则，而把内部的纷争，合理地诉诸于区会法庭（第一节）。

从以上的议题中，笔者特别把造成会众撕裂直接影响“分堂”的“分党”现象中的“神学盖世太保”现象，单独作为一个讨论的议题，并尝试作出了清晰的描述和分析。笔者指出缺乏重生和成圣意义上的基督教灵性话语的支撑，片面的智性阅读却缺乏对自身基本的灵性反思，反而强化了生命内在的道德主义特质、专制文化的烙印，并教条性地与改革宗神学的智性向度结合，在网络自媒体的化塑造下，形成的神学批判言说，本质上是一种自我中心主义的属灵幻觉。互联网带来的试探和挑战，远超出了我们的想象。在国度的意义上，教会文化的舆论建设，需要呼唤一种基于圣道和恩典基础上的“有生命的批评”（第二节第一部分）。

以上的每一项的分析和论证，都有着更宏大的文化语境和世界思想背景。教会文化的建造，不仅在时下当局的政治逼迫、网络自媒体的显性局势当中。其隐在的属灵战场，则隐藏在传统的道德主义，实利主义、极权主义和西方反权威式的现代个人主义、自由主义、后现代虚无主义和解构主义等思潮，甚至以各种属灵面目出现的话语当中。而这些世俗文化思潮与丰富而有力的圣道之间张力、矛盾与冲突，最大最集中的“争战”场域就在教会。而作为一

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<sup>[69]</sup> 参秋雨之福教会会友“薛帕德的骑士梦”的新浪微博，2018年3月22日（公开）。

间强调归正精神和践行公开化的改革宗教会，还面拎传统家庭教会的基要派的分离主义、世俗化倾向和改革宗内部的基要主义等多重夹击。这些困难和重重挑战，对于秋雨之福来说，无疑需要来自更多基于圣恩的信心、勇气和力量（第二节第二部分）。

在第二章和第七章中，笔者以大量繁琐的资料，以材料档案的方式呈现了复杂的话语生态，都是为了研究和论证本身的需要，即偏重于话语、制度、结构等文化因素的分析，而非诉诸于对人性和灵性幽暗的批判——尽管前者的分析和论证，可能一窥后者的某些面向，但远非笔者的焦点所在。

结语部分，笔者回头对马丽的研究进行总结。马丽的研究中的硬伤、错误、捏造、诋毁等诸种问题，以及其大胆的突破写作和学术道德、研究伦理之处，使得马丽种种“研究”，和秋雨的各种现象和事件紧密联系在一起，成为“马丽现象”，使其本身而具有研究和警醒的负面价值。其研究给教会共同体经验，带来不是弥合而是撕裂。遗憾之处，该有更多信仰伦理与学术规范的反思。

## 秋雨麦粒——回忆成都秋雨之福（林鹿）（仅存目）

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### 作者介绍:

林鹿，曾是中国成都秋雨之福团契早期的创立者之一。作家，画家。出版有《母爱星空语》，《红皮箱》等文学作品。其中《红皮箱》获得第一届雅歌文学奖，并多次在国内外举办过自己的画展。

### 本书介绍:

本书是林鹿的回忆录，全书以她与秋雨之福团契有关者的相遇为主轴，一方面向读者敞开的生命轨迹，另一方面也呈现她与秋雨教会有关物的生命交错。

2018年12月9日，王怡及秋雨圣约教会的100多名成员遭到传唤逮捕。2019年12月30日，王怡因煽动颠覆国家政权罪和非法经营罪获刑9年。

林鹿反省年积累的内心惧怕，发现并找到逃逸公共参与的习惯模式以及背景原因，源于爱的感动，逐一采访秋雨之福团契初期成员，回忆个体命之间的互动，挣扎、忧伤、逼迫和承担。

本书是非虚构纪实笔法回忆录，配以近百幅原创油画和照片，历史和今天如扇面般展开，浓重油彩，为了“陪伴、疗愈、关怀、盼望”。