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廣州會議（1667-1668）四十二條條文的

意義¹

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一、前言

近年來中西方對天主教在中國傳教史及文化交流的研究相當熱烈，有關傳教士促進中西文化交流的研究亦非常豐富。適逢二〇一〇年為耶穌會士利瑪竇神父（Matteo Ricci）逝世四百周年，中國地區再一次對利瑪竇的傳教理念，科學貢獻及文化交流產生興趣；並以文物展覽，紀念活動及研討會等的形式展示。教會，神職人員，學者及信徒們也普遍認同當初利瑪竇神父以「本地化」的方式讓中華民族理解及接受天主教的信仰，為近代中國福傳帶來新的活力。

本地化策略於十七世紀末無疑是一個非常先進的想法，顛覆了西方許多傳統傳教士的思維。然而，能夠成功本地化必須反複不斷去嘗試、累積及總結經驗，方能找到一個切合當地地區的最佳方法，在尊重地區文化、歷史、生活方式的基礎上宣揚教會的信仰。因此，傳教士也不敢怠

1. 本文能夠完成全有賴狄明德神父（Rev. Dominique Tyl, SJ）的支持，在此衷心感謝。此外也得到田默迪神父（Rev. Matthias Christian, SVD）、敖卓恆神父（Rev. João Eleutério）、墨朗神父（Rev. Luciano Morra, SJ）、林淑迎小姐、劉偉傑修士及廖忻怡先生對內文翻譯及詮釋的協助及建議。

慢，紛紛展開了廣泛而熱烈的討論。著名的廣州會議就是其中一個針對禮儀及牧民本地化需要的會議。

二、文獻參考

廣州會議是中國天主教傳教史上的一次重要事件，研究天主教明清年間傳教士活動的眾多專家及學者們對此都不陌生。可是，中文文獻上大多對此事件輕描淡寫，經常提及此事件的前因後果，卻甚少對會議本身的討論內容完整地探討。

由於「曆獄」²的影響，除少數匿藏的傳教士之外，中國地區絕大部分的神職人員都被敕令軟禁在廣州。從一六六六年三月二十五日軟禁正式開始，一共有二十三位傳教士被軟禁在廣東，當中包括十九位耶穌會士，三位道明會士，及一位方濟各會士。³雖然傳教活動受到了極大的約束，但他們對前景充滿信心，⁴而且更藉着這次機會讓不同地區服務的傳教士聚首一堂，在一個強制拘留的地方互相鼓勵，並於一六六七年十二月十八日至一六六八年一月二十六日舉行了為期四十天的廣州會議。⁵當然，這次討論不見得他們同意會議上的每一個議題，可是他們仍能總結出

2. 「曆獄」是清康熙皇帝初期關於以湯若望神父 (Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1592-1666) 及楊光先 (1597-1669) 之間的曆法問題爭議。根據楊光先的指控，由於湯若望為榮親王選擇了一個不吉利的下葬日期，因此導致榮親王夫人及順治帝 (1638-1661) 死亡。一六六四年，楊光先成功讓湯若望因此罪名而下獄，天主教仇教活動開始。

3. 周萍萍，〈康熙曆獄中被拘押傳教士在廣州的活動 (1662-1671)〉，載《澳門研究》19 (2003)，頁 273。

4. Antonio Sisto Rosso，《十八世紀向中國委派使徒》(*Apostolic Legations to China of the 18th Century*; South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1948)，頁 122。

5. James S. Cummins，〈禮儀問題：在中國的道明會士閔明我和耶穌會士〉(*A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China*; Aldershot: Scolar, 1993)，頁 147-150。

一份會議完結時所有人都接受及簽署的四十二條條文，⁶見證早期修會及傳教士之間的合作經歷。

對會議的過程及討論內容描述最翔實豐富的莫過於卡明斯 (James S. Cummins) 以道明會士閔明我 (Friar Domingo Navarrete) 為主角的兩本著作。⁷作者以閔明我神父的歷史資料記述會議的討論內容，當中他亦引用是次翻譯的會議檔案 *Acta Cantoniensia Authentica* 的部分條文內容來作為串連事件的時間軸，對一些議題更列出投票過程，⁸為這次會議提供了不少資訊。其他以耶穌會及方濟各會檔案作介紹的早期中國天主教傳教史書籍⁹也提及過是次會議，不過記述都是以總結為主，對當中的條文並沒有加以標名及指示。

換句話說，涉及廣州會議的研究正缺少了最重要的條文本身。原文可見於耶穌會於一七〇〇年刊印的拉丁文檔案 *Acta Cantoniensia Authentica*。¹⁰檔案中的條文由耶穌會士李方西神父 (Fr. Jean-François Ronusi de Ferrariis, 1608-1671)¹¹總結，並由副省長成際理神父 (Fr. Feliciano Pacheco, 1622-1687) 確認。值得注意的是，會議條文只是對當時決議的結果作總結、排序，並以段落式的方法記錄，

6. 方濟各會士李安當 (Friar Antonio de Santa Maria Caballero) 由於對最後一個議題——關於敬祖先的宗教性——存有爭議，因此會議之後他漸漸持反對意見，並拒絕簽署此會議。參見 Cummins, 《禮儀問題》，頁 151。

7. James S. Cummins, 《道明會士閔明我一六一八至一六八六年間的旅行和論爭》(The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete 1618-86; Vols. I, II, London: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 附錄 I, 〈拘禁與逃跑〉(Canton: Internment and Flight); Cummins, 《禮儀問題》，第六章。

8. Cummins, 《道明會士閔明我一六一八至一六八六年間的旅行和論爭》，頁 414。

9. 如 Liam Matthew Brockey, 《東方之旅：一五七九至一七二四年間耶穌會在華的傳教》(Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China 1579-1724; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); David E. Mungello, 《一六五〇至一七八五年間山東的靈與肉》(The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650-1785; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); 李天綱, 《中國禮儀之爭：歷史、文獻及意義》(上海：上海古籍出版社, 1998); 晏可佳, 《中國天主教簡史》(北京：宗教文化出版社, 2001) 等。

10. *Acta Cantoniensia Authentica* (Rome: Archivio Romano Societatis Jesu, 1700)。

11. 同上，頁 34-35。

而並非當時的會議記錄。這份出版物亦備有廣州事件的起源及最後確認的事宜，在本文則不多詳述。

原文雖然完備，但可能由於語言關係，因此令許多著作都輕輕帶過此事。據筆者所知，會議的全文翻譯的確非常罕見。最接近全文翻譯的可算是梅茨勒（Josef Metzler）的德文翻譯本，¹²可是他的翻譯卻省略了絕大部分的羅馬化中文字，¹³並未能完全反映條文所有內容。除此之外，許多專題著作也載有部分條文的翻譯。例如米納米基（George Minamiki）翻譯了第三十四條下半部及第四十一條來闡述他對禮儀之爭的立場。¹⁴利氏學社出版的關於禮儀之爭的西文文獻集也有第四十一條的完整翻譯。¹⁵鐘鳴旦（Nicholas Standaert）也完整翻譯了第三十四條來闡述中國天主教葬禮禮儀的轉捩點。¹⁶柯蘭霓（Claudia von Collani）利用第三十八及三十九條條文來分析當時中國的婚姻狀況。¹⁷梅歐金（Eugenio Menegon）則使用了第十九條條文來描述中國婦女的懺悔聖事狀況。¹⁸中文著作則有周萍萍對廣州會議的專

12. Josef Metzler, 《中國、日本和朝鮮一五七〇至一九三一年間的宗教會議》（*Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570-1931*; Zürich: F. Schöningh, 1980），頁 22-35。

13. 以第一條條文為例，梅茨勒的翻譯為：“Außer der lateinischen warden noch zwei chinesische Taufformeln approbiert...”。可是，拉丁文原文則詳列出聖洗聖事的羅馬化中文拼音。

14. George Minamiki, 《中國禮儀之爭：從開端到現代時期》（*The Chinese Rites Controversy: From its Beginning to Modern Times*; Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985），頁 32-35。

15. Donald F. St. Sure 編, 《有關中國禮儀之爭的一百份羅馬文件》（*100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy*; San Francisco: The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1992），頁 viii-ix。

16. Nicholas Standaert, 《禮儀的交織——明末清初中歐文化交流中的喪葬禮》（*The Interweaving of Ritual: Funerals in the cultural exchange between China and Europe*; Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2008），第四章，頁 118-121。

17. Claudia von Collani, 〈傳教與婚姻〉（*Mission and Matrimony*），載 Ku Wei-Ying（古偉瀛）編, 《在中國大陸和台灣的傳教方式與語言學》（*Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*; Leuven Chinese Studies 10; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001），頁 20。

18. 事實上他直接引用閔我神父未出版的 *Controversias antiguas, y modernas de la mission de la gran China*（1679），並非這裏所載的 *Acta Cantoniensis Authentica*。見 Eugenio Menegon, 〈拯救我們脫離罪惡：十七、十八世紀中國天主教的懺悔與救贖〉（*Deliver*

題研究，不過着眼點也只是拘禁期間的翻譯活動，會議本身的資料也是總結而已。¹⁹換句話說，涉及廣州會議的資料必須從其他專題研究，諸如禮儀之爭、婦女情況、文學經典翻譯活動等去旁敲此事。

最後，還值得一提的是，成際理神父之後出版了一份名為《聖教規程》²⁰的牧民指引，並由惠澤霖（Hubert Verhaeren）提供了法文翻譯本。指引的內容許多都是與是次會議的條文一脈相承。²¹因此，聖教規程的內容也能為此會議條文提供一定的參考價值。

三、翻譯過程心得

翻譯此類外文檔案遇到最大的問題是判斷中文音譯字的真正意思。由於這些官方正式存檔的文獻大部分均以羅馬拼音表示中文字，因此，翻譯時必須謹慎考慮下列的問題：首先，中國文字大部分是一音多字，同一個音調能夠有數十個不同中文字的可能性；第二，確立文字的選擇以後就是意思的判定，可是大部分中文字是一字多義的。再加上不同的字能夠組合出不同的詞，令字詞的可能性有非常大的延伸空間；第三，翻譯時需要解決方言或口音的問題。這是因為不同的傳教士在不同的地區活動，所習得的中文可能受地域不同而影響諸如用詞，發音等等問題。此

Us from Evil: Confession and Salvation in 17th and 18th Century Chinese Catholicism），載 Nicolas Standaert & Ad Dudink 編，〈赦免我們的罪：中國明末清初時期的懺悔〉（*Forgive Us Our Sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China*；Monumenta Serica LV；Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006），頁 10-102。

19. 周萍萍，〈康熙曆獄中被拘押傳教士在廣州的活動（1662-1671）〉，頁 273。

20. 法文翻譯本為惠澤霖的 *Ordonnances de la Sainte Eglise*。

21. ““Ordonnances” shows from internal evidence that this undated manual of instructions must have appeared during the time of the persecution (Canton exile) and that it most probably was written by Felicien Pacheco, who was one of the missionaries detained in Canton and was vice-provincial of the China mission.” (Minamiki, 《中國禮儀之爭》，頁 269，第 16 點注。)

外，明末清初的官話是南京腔，語調並非當代常用的北京腔，令只有羅馬拼音的中文字更難詮釋。因此，不斷反覆考慮上述因素大大增加了字詞判斷及翻譯的難度。

除此之外，另外一個問題是文獻資料不足，對了解條文上文下理或前因後果（context）構成一定困難。因為該文獻只是會議後的總結，當中並沒有交待每一天的會議進程，討論的內容，對話等。此外，這一份總結並沒有載出所有被否決、存疑或具爭議性的討論議題，亦沒有投票的實質內容，如票數及投票人等。這些資料只能靠其他相關的研究及著作佐證，從而增加了翻譯時對條文內容解釋的時間。

第三個主要問題是對一些神學概念的理解。由於文獻的讀者對象主要是對神學及教會事務有興趣的人士，成書者亦是一位神職人員，因此，條文內容均以天主教會慣用的書寫文筆及神學詞彙來寫作。閱讀時會對未受過慕道或神學教育的教外人士構成一定的難度，例如一些教會重要的歷史進程、神學基礎、信仰內容等，都是容易誤解及理解困難的資料。

綜上三點所述，在三文互譯，特別在中文翻譯方面，必需既考慮選用天主教會常用的中文字詞，又要讓英文及中文翻譯的句式符合拉丁文原文的文法表述，好讓文章能盡量以著者的角度翻譯出來，而不流於古板。英文翻譯時又必需要注意譯出拉丁文沒有明確指示的字詞。例如某些條文只是用一個主語來串連多句從屬句子的時候，不能過於重覆省略了的主語又不能單純把原文直譯出來，避免造成理解混亂或過於累贅。

為此，本文嘗試把廣州會議的四十二點決議以拉丁文原文，中文及英文兩種翻譯語言呈現，希望讓文章本體來

說話，來重新審視會議傳教士們真正的意圖及目的。²²儘管原文很有可能曾經為了呈交報告，或其他個人原因而修改內容，但是這一份確實是包含了廣州會議過程中提及過的議題。

筆者才疏學淺，只對滔滔的國學知識諳知一二，以致未能全部把傳教士的羅馬拼音譯出。因此，沒有翻譯出來的拼音會在譯文中保留下來作參考用。

四、廣州會議決議正文

第一條

Formula baptizandi in Sinica Missione (praeter latinam, qua Patres utuntur) est duplex: Scilicet, Ngò Sî Lh', (vel Xi) in Fù Kiè, Cù Kiè Xim Xin mim Chè. Amen. Altera: Ngò Sî Lh in Patele Kiê Filio Kiê Spilito Santo mim Chè: Amen. Utràque valida est, & iam dudum in usu apud Sinenses Christianos. Utralibet uti sinantur pro diversitate locorum, & idiomatum Sinici Imperii. Tantum abrogetur (per desitionem potius quàm per novam declarationem) formula illa, quae pro his vocibus mim Chè habebat hanc vocem: Nome; non ex eo quòdiudicetur invalida; sed quia magis obnoxia errori.

Formula of baptising in the Chinese Mission (besides Latin, which the fathers use) is twofold: Namely, Ngò Sî Lh', (or Xi) in Fù Kiè, Cù Kiè Xim Xin mim Chè. Amen. The other one is: Ngò Sî Lh in Patele Kiê Filio Kiê Spilito Santo mim Chè: Amen. Both are valid and in use among Chinese Christians

22. 筆者之論文《廣州會議（1667-1668）：其內容與意義》（*The Canton Conference (1667-1668): Its Content and Significance*; Master of Religious Studies Dissertation, The University of Saint Joseph, 2010）另備有各條條文的注解及文獻分析。

since a long time ago. The Chinese Christians should be allowed to use either one of the two in keeping with the difference of places and dialects of the Chinese Empire. Only the formula, which contains the sound “Nome” for the sounds “mim Chè”, should not be used any longer (preferably by fading it out rather than rectifying anything through a new declaration), not because it may be considered invalid, but may be more subject to error.

在中國傳教區可使用以下兩種（除了神父用的拉丁文之外）
付洗經文：我洗爾（或斯）因父及子及聖神名者，亞孟；
另外一種是：我洗爾因 Patele 及 Filio 及 Spilito Santo 名者，
亞孟。以上均是教友中常用的方法。允許二擇其一能夠適應
中華帝國地緣及方言的差異。只有使用（Nome）對應（名
者）的經文應停用（逐步停用比頒令禁止更適宜），原因
並非該詞語無效，而是意思容易被誤解。

第二條

Suos Christiani Ministri diligenter edoceant has formulas baptizandi: ut per eas tam viri, quàm mulieres (praesertim obstetrics) possint pueris infantibus, aliisque de vita, & salute periclitantibus in Patris absentia promptè subvenire.

Christian ministers should instruct these formulas of baptizing diligently to their own people, in order that through them (i.e. formulas) men as well as women (especially midwives), in the absence of a priest, may be able to help babies and others whose life and salvation is in danger promptly.

神職人員應使男女教友通曉上述的經文，使他們（特別是助產士）在神父不在場時，都能及時去拯救垂危嬰孩及其他人的靈魂。

第三條

Cùm sexus muliebris apud Sinas prae caeteris Orientalibus nationibus singularem praeseferat pudicitiae speciem, cui ab omni, vel levi umbra metuere videtur: ne ejus rei causa à Christiana Religione terreantur, ipsae mulieres, vel earum consanguinei ipsas ab ejus susceptione prohibeant, iam ab ipso Sinicae Missionis initio visum fuit Patribus in usu sacrarum caeremoniarum aliquam adhibere circumspectam moderationem. Quorum vestigiis insistent²³ in Sacro Baptismo conferendo, puellas tantummodò infantes, non verò mulieres adultas, oleo Catechumenorum inungimus.

Seeing that the feminine sex in China manifested a unique kind of chastity before other Eastern nations, for which they seem to fear any, even a light shade: in order that the women themselves may not be frightened away by the Christian religion for this reason, or that their kinsmen may not hinder them to accept it, since the beginning of the Chinese Mission, it already seemed right for the Fathers to apply certain well considered moderation in the practice of the Holy Sacraments. Following their footsteps in conferring the Holy Baptism, we anoint only baby girls but not grown up women with the oil of the catechumens.

23. “insistens” 應是 “insistentes”。

與其他東方民族相比，中國的婦女特別着重貞節，她們會害怕一切影響貞節的流言蜚語。避免婦女為此害怕天主教或家人拒絕她們信奉，神父自從在中國傳教開始已經在聖事的施行上作出適當的改動。跟隨着其聖洗聖事的方法，神父只為女嬰而不為成年的婦女傅慕道聖油。

第四條

Eadem de causa à Sacro Salivae ritu abstinemus, ne Sinis ab infidelitate conversis, aut convertendis horrorem nauseamque pariat.

For the same reason, we abstain from the Holy Rite of Saliva, in order that it may not produce horror and disgust for the converted Chinese or those yet to be converted from faithlessness.

出於同樣理由不舉行唾液禮節，避免中國教友及慕道者產生不安和厭惡。

第五條

Sanctum Chrisma etiam mulieribus adultis impertiendum censemus in parte vertici propinquiore, argenteo penicillo utentes: qui penicillus ex altero capite ad forcipis modum factus gossipium contineat, quo oleum abstergatur; non verò immediatè per manum ipsius Sacerdotis.

We also think that the Holy Oil should be imparted to grown up women in the area rather near to the upper part of the

forehead by using a silver brush, which has a brush on one side and the other being made into a pincer for holding a piece of cotton, with which oil may be wiped away to avoid direct contact by the hand of the priest himself.

司鐸應用銀製的刷子在成年婦女的前額上方傳至聖聖油。刷子的另一端是鑷子，用來夾着棉花去抹掉流下來的聖油。這樣，司鐸的手便無須接觸受傳者。

第六條

Non admittantur Sinae jejunantes ad Baptismum, non fracto jejunio, nisi in aliquo extraordinario casu, in quo non sit scandalum, & alioqui constet de jejunandi recta intentione. Moneantur tamen seriò Christiani, ne tales jejunantes terreant ab audiendo Catechismo, imprudenter illis ipsorum jejunium exprobando: sed suaviter eos ad Patrem perducant, ab ipso Patre utique blandiusculè de sua obligatione perdocendos.

Chinese vegetarians should not be admitted to Baptism, when fasting is not stopped, unless under certain extraordinary case, in which it is not a scandal or otherwise it is clear about the right intention of the fast. Nevertheless, Christians should be reminded in earnest not to frighten away such fasting ones from attending Catechism by reproving inconsiderately for their fast: but they should bring them kindly to the priest: surely to be instructed courteously by the priest about their obligation.

除非不引起非議或清楚守齋動機等特殊情況，吃素守齋的中國人如果不停止這種習慣，是不應被施洗。不過，教友應恆常儆醒不能因為這些人守齋而排斥他們聽道理，反而要樂意帶他們見神父，而神父應耐心向他們解釋應負之責。

第七條

In conferendo mulieribus baptismo habeatur ratio decedentiae, ità infundendo aquam ut excurrat quantum satis est ad partes vultus discoopertas; non tamen ad solvendum, vel aperiendum capillitium ipsae mulieres adigantur.

Attention should be paid to decency in conferring Baptism to women, thus by pouring the water that it may flow sufficiently over the uncovered parts of the face. The women, however, should not be urged to untie or loosen their hair.

注意適合婦女的傳洗方法：應把足夠的水倒在其面部，並且不要求她們解下髮髻。

第八條

Nulla modo permittantur esse simul, & semel in eodem loco viri, & mulieres promiscuè ad recipienda Sancta Sacramenta Baptismi, Paenitentiae, & Eucharistiae, vel ad audiendam Catechismum, Concionem aut Missam, maximè in iis locis, ubi residemus. Si verò in Pagis, ac ruralibus locis accidat, ut viri, & mulieres loco, & tempore separari non possint: curet omninò Minister, ut in eodem loco aliqua illos intercapedo

distinguat ab invicem; nec permittat, illos confusè, & promiscuè dicta munera obire.

In no way should men and women be permitted to be together indiscriminately at the same time and in the same place when receiving the Holy Sacraments of Baptism, Penitence, and Eucharist, or when attending Catechism, or other Gatherings or at Mass, most especially in these places where we live. But if, in the countryside and rural areas, it happens that men and women may not be able to be separated by space and time, the minister should absolutely pay attention, so that in the same place through some divisions should somehow separate them from each other and should not permit them to attend the mentioned services indiscriminately and mix together.

特別在神職人員的居所，男女不允許同時領受聖洗、懺悔、聖體聖事，聆聽教理，參與彌撒或聚會。然而，身處鄉郊地方時，神職人員也要格外留意分隔他們，或者分別為他們舉行彌撒等聚會，避免兩姓同處。

第九條

Semel lapsos Neophytos, atque etiam relapsos misericorditer, & benignè semper excipiant Ministri quotiescumque illos ex corde penitèra intelligent. Habita tamen ratione culpae (si fortè publica fuit, aut sequutum scandalum) illos inducere conentur, ut publicam etiam in Templo coram Christianis dent proportionatam satisfactionem, ab illis veniam petendo, & emendationem imposterum promittendo. In quo casu valdè à

Ministro cavendum est, ne ullam personarum acceptionem praeseferat; aliter, exempligratia, cum honesioribus, & divitibus, aliter eum pauperioribus, & plebeis agendo: ex qua re possent scandala sequi, & conversio peccatorum valdè retardari.

Ministers should always be merciful and kindly accept neophytes who have fallen once and even repeatedly, if they understand their failure and regret it from the heart. After an account of the guilt has been considered (if the guilt was perhaps public, or consequentially became scandalous), the ministers should try to lead them, in order that they may give a public proportionate apology in the church in front of the Christians by seeking forgiveness from them and by promising correction in the future. In which case, it is strongly to be avoided by the minister, that he does not show any preferences to certain people, for example, by dealing now in a different way with the rather respectable ones and the wealthy ones, now with the rather poor ones and the common people: out of such matter scandals may follow and the conversion of sinners be exceedingly delayed.

如新教友徹底反省自己所犯的罪，神職人員應仁慈接納這些初犯或重犯罪過的教友回到教會中。考慮過他們的罪過，（如罪過涉及公眾或成為醜行），神職人員應鼓勵他們在教堂內表達悔意，尋求教友的寬恕及承諾改正。在這種情況下，神職人員需特別留意，要公平對待不同地位和財產的人。因為與此相關的爭議將嚴重影響罪人的悔改。

第十條

Catechismus Puerorum zelo, & prudentiae Missionariorum committitur; ut faciant in hac re tanti momenti, quod ad majorem Dei Gloriam, & animarum salutem expedire videbitur: curando praesertim ut ad hunc finem sodalitates Angelorum instituantur; & Magistri Christiani pueros simul cum Sinicis litteris etiam mysteria Sanctae fidei doceant.

Children's Catechism is committed to the enthusiasm and the prudence of the missionaries, in order that in this matter of such great importance they may do what will seem advantageous to the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls: by taking special care that the sodalities of Angels be established for this objective and that Christian teachers also teach the boys, alongside Chinese letters, the mysteries of the Holy Faith.

兒童教理需要由熱誠及合適的傳教士傳授，以表達榮主救靈的益處。成立天神會能幫助傳授兒童教理。此外，傳道員應同時教他們中文及教會信仰的奧秘。

第十一條

Seriò curent Patres, ut Catechistae (si quando illorum opera uti necesse sit) ita Catechumenos instituant in Divina lege, ut non irritent aethnicos nimio fervore, & minore prudentia insectando ipsorum Idola, & malè, de illis loquendo: sed priùs, & efficacius statuunt nostra, quàm impugnent, aliena, ut ait S. Hieronymus.

The Fathers should seriously note that the Catechists (if it is necessary to employ their services) should instruct the divine law carefully to ensure they do not irritate the ethnic people with too much fervor, resulting in railing at their idols, and by speaking ill about them out of the lack of prudence: Instead the Catechists should explain the Church's doctrines first, which is more efficiently than to fight against the things of the others, as according to St. Jerome said.

神父要特別小心，不要讓傳道員（若有需要他們的協助）在教授要理的時候因為過度的熱忱而得罪本地人，攻擊他們的偶像，或因不審慎而在言語中傷害他們。正如聖熱羅尼莫所言，傳道員應首先解釋教會的教義，這樣比攻擊其他的事物更有效。

第十二條

Sanctissimum Aeucharistiae Sacramentum, cùm sit inter omnia Christianae Religionis Mysteria gravissimum, maximum, & suprema veneratione colendum, propter realem, & corporalem Christi Domini praesentiam, necesse est, ut Neophytis cum summa circumspectione administretur: ideòque diligentissimè cavendum, ut non nisi digni, qui simul recte intelligant, id quod accipiunt, ad illud admittantur: loci & personarum, apud quas administratur, aliarumque circumstantiarum summus habendus est delectus; ne inde oriatur aliqua in Dominum irreverentia.

Seeing the utmost importance of the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, the greatest among all sacraments of the Christian religion which deserves our utmost veneration, the real and corporeal presence of Christ the Lord is to be administered with highest consideration. Therefore it is needed to pay attention most diligently that only those are admitted to the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, who are worthy of, and at the same time rightly understand what they are receiving. The most careful choice of the place, and people, by whom it is administered, and other circumstances need to be considered, lest any irreverence against the Lord may arise thereupon.

在天主教的聖事之中，聖體聖事是至高無上的，我們需要對它作最高的致敬，並需慎重考慮如何派送基督真實臨在的聖體。因此要特別注意，只有那些正確明白聖體意義的教友才值得領聖體。此外，還需要審慎考慮舉祭的場地及將要領聖體教友等因素，避免對主不敬。

第十三條

Non sit nimia facilitas in illo administrando: ne apud parum gnaros dignitas tanti Mysteriorum aliquo modo vilescat.

There should not be too much easiness in administering the Sacrament, in order that the dignity of so great a Sacrament may not be rendered worthless among those [people] not enough acquainted.

送聖體不應掉以輕心，避免讓不堪當的人降低聖事的莊嚴。

第十四條

Ubi dubitatur, an qui Sanctissimam Eucharistiam sibi dari poscit, sufficienter intelligat id quod agit, videtur debere Sacerdos in reverentiam Divini Sacramenti magis propendere, illud in aliud tempus differendo, dum Neophytus melius instruatur.

When it is doubted, whether he, who begs that the Holy Eucharist be given him, understands sufficiently what he is doing, it seems proper that the priest should be more careful towards the reverence of the divine sacrament, by deferring the request to some other time, when the neophyte is better instructed.

新教友求領聖體時，如神父懷疑他理解不足，為了更小心尊敬聖體，最好延遲答應，讓新教友多了解此教義。

第十五條

Paschali tempore propter praeceptum, & in mortis articulo propter instantem necessitatem, non sunt exigendae cum rigore omnes dispositiones minùs necessariae: sed sufficit conscientiae puritas per paenitentiae Sacramentum acquisita; & ut discernat Neophytus cibum spiritualem à corporali; cognoscendo, & credendo in Sacrà Hostiâ Christi Domini praesentiam.

According to precept, during the Easter season and at critical moments such as the danger of death, all minor dispositions

should be dealt with less severely. However, the purity of conscience acquired through the sacrament of penitence is sufficient, and that the Neophyte distinguishes the spiritual nourishment of the sacred Host by knowing and believing in the presence of Christ the Lord in it.

在復活節及生命垂危的情況，比較次要的規定不必嚴格遵行。新教友只需懺悔聖事潔淨心靈及明白基督臨在聖體的意思便可。

第十六條

Summo studio, ac diligentia curent Patres Missionarii, ut per seipsos (quantum fieri potest) doceant suos Neophytos, ea quae circa hoc altissimum Mysterium scire, & credere debent, hoc munus non omnino Cathecistis committendo: Simulque illis Ecclesiasticum praeceptum saepe declarent, quo ad semel in anno circa tempus paschale, & in articulo mortis obligantur.

The missionary Fathers should take care with highest effort and diligence that they teach the neophytes themselves (so much as possible) about things, which they must know and believe concerning this highest sacrament. The Fathers should not entrust this responsibility totally to the catechists, and at the same time they should often explain to the neophytes the Church precepts, through which they are obliged once a year around the Easter season and at the critical moment of death.

傳教士應盡力照顧新教友，並（傾盡全力）傳授聖體聖事的教理。不應把全部責任委託傳道員。同時，神父應時常為新教友解釋教會的訓導，讓他們遵守每年復活節期間的義務，和當他們生命處於垂危之時。

第十七條

Quod attinet ad statuendum tempus Neophytos post Baptismum ad sacram mensam admittendi; non videtur certum aliquid posse decerni: sed prudentiae, & zelo Missionarii relinquendum qui (prout quisque suas oves novit) consideratis personarum, loci, aliisque circumstantiis, id faciat, quod magis ad Dei Gloriam, & animarum salutem convenire in Domino iudicabit.

It does not seem that any thing can be decreed as far as concerning the determination of the time to admit the Neophytes to the Eucharist after Baptism, but it has to be left to the prudence and zeal of the missionary, who (as each one knows his own sheep), after consideration of the circumstances of people, of place and other things, should do what he in the Lord judges as more appropriate to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

新教友領洗後何時才適合領聖體，現在還不適宜頒令規範。應把決定權交給專心致志的傳教士（因為傳教士知悉他們的羊群），審慎考慮如人物、地點等因素，作出榮主救靈的判斷。

第十八條

Intelligent omnes Missionarii, in administrando hoc altissimo, & praecellentissimo Mysterio, Divini honoris, & salutis animarum ab ipsis aequè simul rationem exigendam. Proinde diligentissimè caveant, ne alterutrum ex his propter eorum incuriam detrimentum patiatur.

All missionaries should understand that in ministering this highest and most excellent sacrament, a reckoning of divine honor and the salvation of souls is, both at the same time, needed to be demanded from them. Therefore missionaries should very diligently beware that one or the other of these not be damaged due to their negligence.

要施行至高至聖的聖事，所有傳教士都要兼顧榮主救靈兩個元素，慎防因疏忽損害其中一個。

第十九條

In mulierum confessionibus audiendis interponatur velum, seu aliquid aliud inter Sacerdotem, & paenitentem.

When hearing confessions of women, a veil or something else should be placed between the priest and the penitent.

聆聽女教友告解時，應在司鐸與悔罪者之間用一層薄紗或其他物料分隔。

第二十條

Qui Sacerdoti ad Altare operanti inseruit, (g) si sit superpelliceo indutus, inserviat capite discooperto; secùs si sine superpelliceo.

(g) Vide pro num. 20. & 22. correctionem in literis infra adducendis *.32.

He who serves the priest at the altar, if he has the surplice, should serve without his hat covered. Not so if he does not wear the surplice.

(g) See number 20 and 22 under the correction of number 32.

輔祭如穿上短白衣，他們不能戴上帽子（g）；不穿上短白衣時則沒有此規定。

（g）根據第三十二點而修正，參見第二十及第二十二點。

第二十一條

In Missae ministerio non abrogetur usus superpellicei.

In the ministry of the Mass the use of surplice should not be abolished.

舉行彌撒時不應廢除穿短白衣。

第二十二條

Accedentes ad Sacram Communionem Neophyti caput discooperiant: in Missa autem pileati assistant: Si quis tamen propter inopiam pileo careret, non id illi exprobetur.

When Neophytes receive communion, they should uncover their head. But when they assist at Mass, they should wear a hat. But if someone out of poverty doesn't have a hat, he should not be reproved because of this.

新教友應脫下帽子領聖體，但是應戴上帽子參與彌撒。不應責怪因貧窮而沒有帽子的人。

第二十三條

Suaviter, & prudenter admoneantur Christiani in aliquo communi caetu, ut ad Sacra Mysteria decenter (quantum fieri potest) induti accedant.

Christians in any general assembly should be gently and cautiously reminded, to come to the Holy Sacraments decently dressed (so much as it can be done).

一般情況下，提醒教友（盡量）穿着整齊衣履領聖體。

第二十四條

Non facilè Patres, nec sine gravi necessitate celebrent Sanctum Sacrificium in privatis domibus Christianorum. Nec facilè in iis Domibus, in quibus ex necessitate celebraverint, prandium admittant, nisi illa sit alicujus Sodalitii Domus; vel nisi loci distantia, aut hospitis invitantis excellentia id omnino exigat.

Fathers should not readily celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in the private houses of the Christians without serious necessity. And

they should not readily in these houses, in which they, out of necessity, would have celebrated mass, join a meal, unless that is a house of some sodality or unless the distance of the place, or the preeminence of the inviting host demands it by all means.

如非必要，神父不應在教友家中舉行彌撒。如需舉行彌撒，也不應接受其後的款宴，除非在善會團體、偏遠地方、或者傑出人士極力留下神父。

第二十五條

Nocturni cactus tam virorum, quam mulierum in Ecclesiis non permittantur.

Night gatherings of men or women in churches should not be permitted.

夜間嚴禁任何男女在教堂聚會。

第二十六條

Extrema unctio non negetur mulieribus adultis, nisi sit aliquod grave inconveniens: sed non inungantur mulieres in pedibus.

Extreme unction should not be denied to adult women, unless there is some serious inconvenience: but women's feet should not be anointed.

除非嚴重不便，否則應向成年婦女施行病人傅油聖事，但不應該在她們的腳上傅油。

第二十七條

Insignia nominis Jesu, Mariae &c. quae Sinicè Xìm hào dicuntur, declarent Patres suis Christianis, non esse ex aliquo praecepto domorum portis affigenda; ideòque non affigere, non esse peccatum: non tamen positivè prohibeant talem affixionem.

Fathers should explain to their Christians there are no precepts about affixing signs of the name of Jesus, Mary to doors. Those signs, which are called Xìm hào in Chinese, need not to be affixed on the doors of houses; therefore, it is not a sin not to affix them. However, they should not forbid such acts arbitrarily.

神父需要解釋，讓教友不用在門前貼上中文叫聖號的耶穌及瑪利亞等字畫。因此，不貼上字畫是無罪的。神父也不需禁止此習慣。

第二十八條

Agnos Dei non prohibeantur Christiani habere, & secum ferre, sed cautè tamen, ne ab aethnicis aliquam irreverentiam patiantur.

Christians should not be forbidden to have holy medals nor to carry them along with themselves. Still they should do so

carefully, in order that the holy medals may not suffer any irreverence from the ethnic ones.

不應禁止教友佩帶聖物。然而，注意不要讓本地人對聖物不敬。

第二十九條

Idola à recens baptizatis, vel baptizandis quantum fieri potest, deferantur ad Ecclesiam urbanam, vel ruralem: ubi sine strepitu, & irritatione Ethnicorum comburantur, & consumantur.

Idols should be taken away from the newly baptized or those who are going to be baptized as far as it is possible, and brought to a church in town or in the country side, where they should be burnt and done away without much noise or irritation to the ethnic people.

新領洗或將領洗者應盡量把偶像搬到鎮內或鄉郊的教堂裏靜靜燒毀，避免刺激本地人。

第三十條

*In Calendario omittatur illa declaratio Festorum, & jejuniorum, à quibus Sinenses, similiter ut omnes Indiarum Neophyti, dispensantur. Omittantur etiam stellulae *, in quarum locum succedant parvi circuli, O, Titulus autem Calendarii sit: Tiễn Chù Xim Kiào vù Xim (vel aliae duae litterae pro tempore) Sui Chên Li Chai Ki, piào, Jesu Kia`m sêm yě ciên lǒ pě xě pǎ*

niên. Apponantur etiam, ciê Ki, ne Neophyti consulant librum, quem liên puên vocant.

In the calendar, the indication of feast days and fast-days, from which the Chinese neophytes, like all the neophytes of the Indies, are dispensed, should be omitted. The asterisk “*” should also be omitted, small circles “o” should come in place of them. However, the title of the calendar should be: Tiên Chù Xim Kiào vù Xim (or other two characters for time) Sui Chên Li Chai Ki, piaò, Jesu Kia`m sêm yê ciên lǒ pě xě pǎ niên. “Cie Ki” should also be put, in order that the neophytes may not consult the book, which they call “lien puen”.

曆法中，中國新教友如同印度教友一樣，省略那些不需要遵守的慶日及守齋日指示。星號「*」應以小圈號「O」代替。曆法的標題應是：天主聖教 vù Xim（或另外兩個代表時間的文字）Sui 瞻禮齋期表耶穌降生一千六百四八年。節期應加入曆法中，使教友不需參閱 lien puen。

第三十一條

In Calendarium Sinicum nulla introducantur Festa, seù jejunia, praeter illa, quae ab universali Ecclesia ex praecepto observantur. Quia tamen Festa Conceptionis Beatissimae Virginis; Sanctorum Innocentium, Commemoratio Fidelium Defunctorum jam ab antiquo usu admissa sunt, ea festa non aboleantur.

No feast days, or fast-days should be introduced into the Chinese calendar, except those, which are observed by the universal Church by precept. However, since the Feast of the Conception of the Very Blessed Virgin, of the Holy Innocents and of the Commemoration of the faithful departed ones have been permitted by ancient custom, these feast days should not be abolished.

除了全球教會遵行的慶日及守齋日外，中國的曆法不應加入其他日期。唯獨過去已慶祝的聖母無染原罪瞻禮、諸聖嬰孩及追思日則不應刪除。

第三十二條

Aliarum Regionum peculiare consuetudines in Sinicam Missionem inducere non convenit.

It is not suitable to introduce peculiar customs of other regions into the Chinese Mission.

在中國傳教區不適合加入其他地區的特別習俗。

第三十三條

Non expedit Sinenses Neophytos obligare ad abstinentiam ab ovis, & lacticiniis tempore quadragesimali: Cùm in Indiis tam Orientalibus, quàm Occidentalibus sit amplum circa ista privilegium.

It is not helpful to oblige the Chinese neophytes to abstain from eggs and milk products during the Season of Lent, for there is great privilege concerning these in the East Indies as well as the West Indies.

不適宜禁止新教友在四旬期進食蛋類及奶類食品，因為關於這些食品在東、西印度的寬鬆性很大。

第三十四條

Ad sepulturam Christianorum hortandi sunt Neophyti, ut frequentes assistant, & Christianam pompam, quantam possunt, funus comitando, decenter exhibeant. Minister verò in Templo ad praesentem Sarcophagi speciem cum funereo apparatu consueta Responsoria recitet, & ad altare operetur. Ut autem ipse in Domum defuncti ad benedicendum Sarcophagum, & ad sepulturae locum pergat ad ipsum sepeliendum & c. non potest dari certa lex: sed ejus prudentiae committitur, habita loci, temporis, & personarum ratione, quid expediat judicare.

Neophytes are encouraged to assist frequently at the funeral obsequies of Christians, and, as much as possible, to decently display the Christian pomp while holding a funeral. In the church the minister should recite the usual responsorial prayers (Responsoria) before an available substitute of the coffin together with the funeral apparatus, and celebrate [Mass] at the altar. Concerning the benediction of the coffin itself in the house of the deceased and its burial at the place of sepulture, however, it is not possible to give a fixed regulation,

but it is left to his prudence to judge what is profitable according to the circumstances of place, time and persons.²⁴

要經常鼓勵教友參加天主教徒的葬禮，並盡可能在舉行葬禮時正當展示天主教的盛況。神職人員應在教堂舉行彌撒，並在可用的棺材替代品前誦讀日常使用的答誦經文。關於在亡者家中聖化棺材與埋葬事宜，現在還不能統一規範。然而應交由神職人員考慮地點、場合及人物作出判斷。

第三十五條

Neophyti nullo modo audeant autoritate propria corrigere, vel mutare quicquam in libris à Patribus impressis. Multò minùs permittantur imprimere per se, aut scribere; seu, à se impressos, aut scriptos, vulgare libros sive tractatus de rebus ad Sanctam Religionem spectantibus: nisi priùs approbati fuerint ab iis Patribus, quos Pater Vice Provincialis ad eos revisendos delegerit.

Neophytes should by no means dare by their own authority to correct, or to change anything in the books printed by the Fathers. To a much lesser extent should they be permitted to print or to write anything by themselves, or to spread both books and treatises printed or written by themselves pertaining to the Holy Religion: unless they had first been approved by those fathers, whom Father Vice Provincial delegated to examine them.

24. 翻譯修訂參考 Standaert, 《禮儀的交織》，頁 119-120。

新教友決不能自行更正或修改神父刊印的書本。更甚是允許教友撰寫、散佈及刊印有關教會的著作。除非書本獲得由副省長所委派神父的認可。

第三十六條

Non audiamus à Christianis, multòque minùs ab Ethnicis adversas, & perniciosas narrationes, seu obloquutiones; quin illas seria corrigamus: Honorificè semper de omnibus loquendo, ut sanctam Charitatem inter nos illibatam servemus.

We should not listen to the hostile and destructive slanderous stories, and to a much lesser extent, from the ethnic people. Unless there is a need to correct them seriously: always speak respectfully about everyone, in order that we may preserve the Holy Charity intact among us.

不應聽信教友，特別是本地人說的敵對和誹謗性故事。除非需認真糾正這些人，否則我們要以愛德和謙恭的心談及所有人。

第三十七條

Alterius residentiae famulos nemo in suam Domum admittat inscio priore Domino, nec sine ejus beneplacito.

No one should admit servants in other people's residence to his house without the master's knowledge beforehand, and of course not without his permission.

除非主人事先知道並且同意，任何人不能讓其他人的僕人進入家中。

第三十八條

Diligenter explicent Patres suis Christianis indissolubilitatem vinculi matrimonialis: doceantque eos dispositiones necessarias ad Sacramentum, & ad Sacramenti gratiam recipiendam justis tamen de causis (pro interim) matrimoniis instituendis Patres non assistant usq; ad novam Superiorum dispositionem.

The Fathers should explain diligently to their Christians the indissolubility of the marriage bond, and they should teach them about the necessary dispositions for the sacrament; and in order to receive the grace of the Sacrament with just reasons (for the time being), priests should not assist at the institution of marriages, until the superiors have made new arrangements.

神父應時刻解釋婚姻是無法解除的，和教導教友如何準備領受婚姻聖事；但出於充分的理由，為了獲得聖事的恩寵，神父不應該協助締結婚姻，直至長上們作出新的安排。

第三十九條

Matrimonia inter Sinenses Infideles, ut olim antiqui hujus Missionis Patres, ità etiam nunc Patres coetus Cantonienſis vera, & legitima esse censuerunt; non obstantibus aliquorum abusibus: eaque dissolubilia ex Pontificia tantummodo dispensatione in favorem Fidei, in casibus ab ipsis Summis

Pontificibus expressis. Ut videre est in Bulla Gregorii XIII. 25. Januar. 1585. quae incipit: Populis, ac Nationibus, &c. & in Bulla Pii V. 2. Aug. 1671. quae incipit: Romani Pontificis aequa, & circumspecta providentia &c.

Just as formerly the old Fathers of this mission did, so now the Fathers of the Cantonese group considered marriages among the Chinese non-Christians as true and legitimate, notwithstanding the abuses of some people, they can be dissolved only with the Pontifical dispensation in favor of the Faith in the cases expressed by the Popes themselves; as it is seen in the bull of Gregory XIII, dated 25th January 1585, which starts with “Populis, ac Nationibus, etc.”, and in the bull of Pius V, dated 2nd August 1671, which starts with “Romani Pontificis aequa, & circumspecta providentia etc.”

正如過往的神父，現在廣東的神父也認為中國非教友之間締結的婚姻是有效的。關於解散問題，雖然這樣會被一些人濫用，但他們也只能根據維護信仰的教宗訓令解決。訓令參見額我略八世一五八五年一月二十五日的《為民為國》，以及庇護五世一六七一年八月二日的“Romani Pontificis aequa, & circumspecta providentia”。

第四十條

Prohibeantur Christiani (ut hactenus in praxi servatum est) conficere, & vendere papyraceas monetas Idolorum cultui dicatas, quas Kin in tim, Chi Cien, mà, Cu&c. Sinae vocant.

Christians should be prohibited (as been observed in practice until now) to produce and to sell paper money dedicated to the cult of idols, which the Chinese call Kin in tim, Chi Cien, ma, Cu etc.

教友應禁止製造及售賣用來拜偶像的金銀衣紙（直至現在他們沒有這樣做）。中國人稱它們為金銀 tim，紙錢，ma，Cu 等等。

第四十一條

Circa caeremonias, quibus Sinae Magistrum suum Con. Fucium, & mortuos venerantur, nota, sequenda omninò sunt Responsa S. Congregationis Universalis Inquisitionis à Sanctissimo Domino nostro Alexandro VII. approbata anno Domini 1656. quia fundantur in valde probabili opinione, cui nulla contraria evidentia opponi potest. Quâ posita probabilitate non est occludenda janua salutis innumerabilibus Sinis; qui arcerentur à Christianâ Religione, si prohiberentur ea facere, quae licitè, ac bona fide facere possunt: & non sine gravissimis incommodis praetermittere cogerentur.

With regard to the ceremonies by which the Chinese honor their master, Confucius, and their deceased, the responses of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition approved by His Holiness Alexander VII in 1656 are to be followed completely because they are founded on a very probable opinion to which no evidence to the contrary can be opposed, and positing this probability, we must not close the door of salvation to

innumerable Chinese who would be prevented access to the Christian religion if they were prohibited from doing those things which licitly and with good faith may be done, and which they would be forced to put aside with the gravest disadvantages.²⁵

對於中國紀念先師孔子和祖宗的儀式，一六五六年，宗教裁判所在亞歷山大七世教宗陛下的同意作出了答覆。這些答覆被完全地執行了，因為它們是建立在假設性的見解之上，而這些見解沒有相反的證據可以被反對。有見及此，我們不應該對無數中國人關上拯救的大門。如果禁止他們舉行這些合法和在具良好意願下才可以進行的儀式，他們就會被迫放棄加入天主教而造成嚴重的損害。²⁶

第四十二條

Ultima consultatione habita 26. Januarii anno 1668. rogati Patres à Patre nostro Vice Provinciali, ut ex Sanctis aliquem eligerent in Missionis Sinicae singularem Patronum, ac Praesidem tutelarem; quem per Patreni Procuratorem à Summo Pontifice approbari, & confirmari postularent: Uno omnes consensu (ne uno quidem discrepante) Sanctum Josephum delegerunt, qui consultationibus nostris coronidem imposuit.

In the last consultation took place on 26th January 1668, the Fathers have been requested by our Father Vice Provincial, to

25. St. Sure 編，《有關中國禮儀之爭的一百份羅馬文件》，頁 viii-ix。

26. 翻譯修訂參考蘇爾編，《中國禮儀之爭——西文文獻一百篇（1645-1941）》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2001），頁 5-6。

elect one out of the Saints as a special Patron Saint and protecting guardian of the Chinese Mission, whom they would seek to be approved and confirmed by the Highest Pontiff through the Procurator of the Padroado: they chose St. Joseph with full consensus (no one disagreed), marking the end of our consultations.

在一六六八年一月二十六日的最後一次會議，副省長要求神父推選一位聖人成為中國傳教區的主保，然後請求保教權總務長讓教宗批准及認可。（沒有人反對下）神父一致通過選擇大聖若瑟為中國傳教區的主保，並為會議劃上句號。

五、結語

正如前言所述，此文章只集中翻譯廣州會議的條文，希望藉着這次文獻翻譯整理工作充實天主教傳教初期關於傳教士對中華地區本地化的觀點及認識。

然而，本文經翻譯後主要想帶出兩個重要信息：第一，廣州會議事實上是一個以牧民需要出發的討論。需知道的是，傳教士們在四十天會議中，有三十九天半是討論第四十一條條文以外的內容。²⁷當中涉及的討論絕大部分是尋求解決如何平衡天主教聖事及中國文化的差異，並在中國尋找宣揚天主教信仰的最佳方法。內容有針對已奉教或非奉教的人，也有教徒或傳教士在信仰及生活上的實踐及協助。對傳教士及中國教徒而言，條文內容有簡單易懂的文化常識，有傳教士對中國文化的認知，也有天主教神學與信仰生活結合的分析。這些資料本身已經對了解當時中國民間社會及中西文化交流初期情況有相當高的價值。

27. Cummins, 《道明會士閔明我一六一八至一六八六年間的旅行和論爭》，頁 150。

換句話說，廣州會議事實上並非是以「禮儀之爭」為會議主題。討論及激化禮儀之爭的問題是會議最後半天才引起的。²⁸可惜的事，由於禮儀之爭的嚴重性，使傳教士之間的分歧愈來愈大。閔明我神父更因此決定逃出廣東，回到羅馬教廷把事件公開，讓禮儀之爭一發不可收拾。但是，過度引用條文第四十一條並把廣州會議單純約化為以禮儀之爭為主的討論是不恰當的。因為這樣做忽略了其他四十一條條文的精神，並且違背廣州會議探索信仰本地化理解的原本意義。

第二，這份條文可推斷為一份經修改過的版本。首先，此版本第四十一條為描述與禮儀之爭最相關及最有爭議性的資料，第四十二條以奉大聖若瑟為中華地區的主保為會議的完結。²⁹可是，閔明我神父的史料則說第四十天的會議上午，傳教士們決議奉大聖若瑟為中華地區的主保，同日下午才展開關於禮儀之爭的討論。雖然誰對誰錯不得而知，可是內容的先後次序顯然有出入。

其次，耶穌會中華教區觀察員甘類思³⁰神父 (Fr. Luis Da Gama) 曾在會議條文簽署前先行閱覽，並修改了部分內容。³¹穆啟蒙的研究亦指出耶穌會觀察員曾修改了兩點決議。³²但無論修改的幅度如何，甘類思神父已經令與會的傳教士，包括耶穌會士魯日滿神父 (Fr. François de Rougemont) 在內反感，甚至持反對態度。至於實際修改了哪一條條文，這裏可以推斷是關於遮蓋頭部的決議「第二

28. 同上。

29. 同上。

30. 「甘類思」實為當代的中文翻譯，並非他十七世紀時使用的中文名字。見 Louis Pfister, 《在華耶穌會士列傳及書目》/*Les Jesuites de L'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773*》(北京:中華書局, 1995), 頁 360。

31. Cummins, 《禮儀問題》, 頁 156。

32. 穆啟蒙著, 侯景文譯, 《中國天主教史》(台北:光啟文化, 2004), 頁 85。

十及二十一條」。因為魯日滿神父曾經在一六六八年十二月十八日以「嚴厲的言辭」³³表達對甘類思神父的不滿。魯日滿曾說：「他（甘類思）反對了由閔明我提議及多數人贊成的決議。決議允許中國教徒在彌撒時遮蓋頭部。」³⁴此外，從決議的理解上也不難發現一個特殊的邏輯。第二十條列出兩個情況：第一，穿上短白衣的輔祭不能戴帽子；第二，沒有穿上短白衣時則沒有此規定。但是第二十一條卻只允許穿短白衣的人舉行彌撒。如果把輔祭包含於參與舉行彌撒的人在內，這裏就否定了第二十條條文的第二個方法。即是說，彌撒只允許不遮蓋頭部及穿上短白衣的輔祭協助。可能當時的輔祭已經對天主教教義有相當深的認識，所以他們並不太介意。然而，對其他中國人而言，不戴帽子出席重要場合是相當違背當時的文化習俗，因為不戴帽子是對長上及諸神等無禮的表現³⁵。遺憾的是，沒有會議記錄的佐證，現在無法知道條文中加入了多少他的意見。

綜觀而言，了解廣州會議的本質，應該循牧民需要的方向去思考。正如鐘鳴旦教授在《禮儀的交織》（*The Interweaving of Ritual*）一書中引用第三十四條條文所持的意見一樣，廣州會議實際上討論了比禮儀之爭更廣泛的中國傳教工作。³⁶

關鍵詞：中國基督宗教史 廣州會議 傳教士活動

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33. 魯日滿神父對觀察員甘類思神父所修改的牧民建議，形容他對中國文化「沒有經驗，知識，並沒有意願去學習」。參考同上。

34. 同上，頁156-157。

35. Menegon，〈拯救我們脫離罪惡〉，頁35。

36. Standaert，〈禮儀的交織〉，第四章。

Canton Conference (1666-1667) – Its Significance on the 42 Articles

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Abstract

Canton Conference (1667-1668) is regarded as an important event in the history of Christianity in China. The Conference was held by missionaries from three religious orders, namely, the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans. Together they tried to achieve something common to strive for the prosperity of the China mission. It is true that the background and atmosphere of the Conference was influenced and overwhelmed by the Rites controversy. However, another significant part that the conference covered, in a large portion, dealt with wide pastoral issues in the context of Chinese society. The forty two articles in this Conference demonstrate the open-mindedness and a fairly positive knowledge of an approach to Chinese custom. In addition, some recommendations remain open to further inquires, in the sense that they were still finding a better way to cope with the indigenous affairs. Analysis of the articles as a whole gives

light to various aspects of missionary work at that time beyond the controversial article forty-first.

Keywords: Christianity in China; Canton Conference;
Missionary Activity