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Study on the Interaction of the Sinicization of Christianity and the Reconstruction of Cross-border Ethnic Minorities' Cultures in Yunnan^[1]

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Abstract: The Sinicization of Christianity, which is the developing strategy and practice to make Christianity adapt to Chinese culture. It corresponds to the Christianization of Chinese ethnic minority people who believed in Christianity. From the perspective of cultural interaction, borrowing and blending, the study explores the motivation, process and characteristics of the interactive development between the localization and contextualization of Christianity in Yunnan ethnic minorities' areas and the Christianization of ethnic minorities' cultures by historical combing and synchronic comparison. Mostly between Christianity and ethnic minorities' traditional cultures had experienced from the estrangement, and coexisted with each other and blending process, and finished the Christian from "in" to the transition of "again", so as to realize the Sinicizational characteristics of the regional, national, but also make the border ethnic cultural reconstruct.

Key Words: Yunnan ethnic minorities; Sinicization; Christianization; Interactive development

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I. The Origin of the Topic

Just as Zhuo Xinping said, It is necessary for foreign religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Islam to be Sinicized in China. Only through this process can they develop in China and become local, subdue, socialized, acculturated and understood culturally by people.^[2] Therefore, President Xi Jinping pointed out: "we must adhere to the orientation of Chinese religion." Christianity in the border ethnic areas of Yunnan has spread out by the end of the 19th century till now. It has been a

[1] Project Fund; National Social Science Major Bidding Project in 2017; Research on Rural Christianity under the Background of Christianity Sinicization in China (Project No. :17ZDA231); The Research Project of National Religious Affairs Administration in 2020: Research on the Christianity Sinicization Practice and Existing Problems of Cross-border Ethnic Minorities in Yunnan. (Project No. : FX2004D); The Top-ranking Ethnological Disciplinary Construction Project of Yunnan University.

[2] Zhuo Xinping, Sinicization: The Only Way to Renew Christianity in China, China Ethnic News, August 6, 2014. 2018 National Social Science Fund Project, Research on the Multi-religion Interaction in Regions between Southwest China and the Neighboring Countries and its Influence on the Construction of the "Belt and Road" (No. 18CZJ027)

long period for four to five generations of missionaries who came from foreign countries at the beginning and to the local missionaries latter, they all have advanced in the exploration of the Sinicization of Christianity. From regional, national localization to the local (re-local) practice of Christianity in Yunnan border ethnic minority areas of China. Because of there are many ethnic minorities who believed in Christianity and they do have the relatively high proportion of believers, combined with the issues of the prominent diverse traditional ethnic minorities' cultures and the large number of cross-border ethnic minorities, the study on the Sinicization of Christianity of ethnic minorities in Yunnan can provide empirical cases for the study on the Sinicization of Christianity in China as well.

Although several scholars have noticed the parallel between The Sinicization of Christianity and the Christianization of minority cultures for a long time,^[3] but after a period of study, they tended to the study on the cultures of ethnic minorities and unidirectional influence of Christianity.^[4] There are a few scholars begin to pay close attention to he interaction between Christianity and Social development in Yunnan in recent years.^[5] In general, Christian Sinicization is realized by three ways of integration which integrated into Chinese culture, the Chinese Nation and China's society and three modes of Identification which identified the Chinese culture, Chinese nation and China's society.^[6] The integration and identification of Chinese culture are the most important issues. Ethnic Minorities' cultures are indispensable to Chinese culture; The ethnic minorities are also important parts of the Chinese nation and Chinese society, The relationship between Christianity and Yunnan ethnic minorities' cultures is an inevitable and important issue on the study of Christianity Sinicization in China. We need to Integrate the previous research and the author's follow-up fieldwork investigation, take the border ethnic minorities which have the largest population and the widest distribution in Yunnan as the research respondents, Through the dual-perspectives of adaptation, developing history and cultural changes of Christian cultures of ethnic minorities in Yunnan, it will be helpful to construct a theoretical system of the interactive relationship between Christianity and border ethnic minorities, especially for cross-border ethnic minorities.

II . An Overview of the Interactive Development between The Sinicization of Christianity and the Cultures of Yunnan Border Areas Ethnic Minorities

According to the fieldwork investigation, when the foreign missionaries who came from

[3] Qian Ning, The Spread and Influence of Christianity in Yunnan Minority Society, Studies of World Religions, Vol. 3, 2000.

[4] Han Junxue, the Christian and the ethnic minorities in Yunnan, Yunnan People's Publishing house, 2000; Zhang Xiaoqiong: The Influence of Modern Christianity in Some of Ethnic Minorities' Cultures in Yunnan, Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities, 2001; Gao Zhiying: The Development of Sino-burmese Christianity during the First Half of the 20th Century, The World Religious Cultures, Vol. 4, 2010.

[5] Zhang Jiancheng: Research on the Sinicization of Ethnic Minorities' Christian Cultures Acculturation in Yunnan, Guizhou Ethnic Studies, Vol. 7, 2006; Gao Zhiying, Study on Christianization and Localization of Christianity of Lisu and Nu Ethnic Minority in the Northern Boundary of China and Myanmar, International Journal of Sino-Western Studies, Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland, 2017.

[6] Gao Zhiying, Study on Christianization and Localization of Christianity of Lisu and Nu Ethnic Minority in the Northern Boundary of China and Myanmar, International Journal of Sino-Western Studies, Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland, 2017.

European and American Protestant denominations set foot on Yunnan firstly, which is a land with obvious cultural diversities.^[7] At the very beginning of spreading the Gospel to all the ethnic minorities in Yunnan, it also began the contact with various paganism and different cultures in Yunnan, and tried to gain a foothold and development through localization and indigenization. Since then, the traditional culture of Christianity and ethnic minorities has been in both mutual exclusion and mutual absorption, and each has been constantly absorbing the cultural elements from the other for mutual development.

1. The Beginning of Christian Localization and Christianization of Yunnan Ethnic Minorities before 1950s

The spread of ethnic Christianity in Yunnan before 1950s can be come down to two modes. Firstly, foreign missionaries took the initiative to preach in ethnic minority villages. This is more common in Lahu, Hani, Dulong, Wa, Yi and other ethnic minorities; secondly, it is the initiative acceptance of foreign missionaries and Christianity by ethnic minority people. This is more prominent in some Jingpo and Lisu areas, such as Guangshan jingpo people take the initiative to accept Christianity as their religion in Longchuan, Dehong.^[8] For example, the Lisu and Nu ethnic minorities in Fugong (formerly called Bijiang County) invited the first generation of native Lisu missionaries who were sent by foreign missionaries from The Gospel hill (Gengma) to Lushui to their villages.^[9] However, there are different forms of acceptions of Christianity in different border areas of the same ethnic minority. For example, the Christianity of Lushui and Fugong Lisu people, they accepted Christianity passively, while the Christianity of Gongshan and Original Bijiang Lisu people was accepted actively.^[10] However, whether it is active introduction or passive acceptance, ultimately, all roads lead to Rome and basically through the following ways of (means, strategies) to achieve the purpose of preaching: (1) to offer medical treatments; (2) to help the poor ; (3) to open schools; (4) to create the written characters; (5) to translate original Christian books; (6) to train the native missionaries; (7) to change the traditions and customs of ethnic minorities; (8) to protect the parishioners from local authorities' oppression at an appropriate time. The previous government and investigators^[11] who gave the small favors to tempted the local ethnic minorities to join the churches.^[12] As a result, some ethnic minorities who have been marginalized politically and economically in the mainland for a long time have begun to show the trend of Christianization.^[13]

[7] According to the statistics of Yunnan Annals of Religion & Christianity (Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1990, pp. 231-239), there more than 20 Christian denominations and a lot of organizations which split from them.

[8] Ma Juli, Study on Cross-border communication of Christian Belief of Jingpo People in China-Myanmar Border areas; Based on a Case in Guangshan village of Longchuan.

[9] Gao Zhiying; The Development of Sino-burmese Christianity during the First Half of the 20th Century, The World Religious Cultures, Vol. 4, 2010.

[10] According to the author's interview with Barbi, the grand son of Morse, the first foreign missionary in Gongshan on July 2, 2017, Denver, USA. In 1936, the Morses' missionary house in Weixi was destroyed by a mudslide. They were welcomed by the believers in Gongshan where they built a thatched house and church for the priest's family to settle down.

[11] According to ethnic survey data in the 1950s and 1960s.

[12] See China's ethnic survey of the Yunnan ethnic minorities in the 1950s and 1960s, and Qin Heping's paper on the History of The Spread of Christianity in Southwest Ethnic Minorities' Areas, Sichuan Ethnic Publishing House, 2003.

[13] See Lv Daji, He Yaohua, Ed. , Zhang Qiaogui. Chinese Original Religious Materials Series, Lisu Volume, China Social Science Press, 2000.

From the Nujiang River to Baoshan, Dehong, Lincang, Pu'er and Honghe border areas, the seeds of Christianity were sown, laying the basic outline for the formation of the border Christian culture areas in Yunnan.

By the 1940s, It was recorded that Christianity had well influenced on Lisu ethnic minority people of the border areas. Because of the frequent visits of missionaries, what they dressed were neater in their daily lives, they prayed to God before they had meals, and their dwellings were neater than before, portraits of Jesus, Mary, or other biblical stories were also hung on the wall where the family ancestors used to be there. Ethnic minority people went to worship on Sundays. They celebrated Easter and Christmas instead of the original sacrifice and belief in various ghosts and spirits and changed the marriage and funeral ceremonies. They kept merit such as honesty, obeyed the message of the preacher and give up their addiction to smoke and drink, etc. I have seen that in border counties, there were masses that cannot be summoned by magistrates to solve problems, but they could be summoned by the missionaries to do so. Therefore, those people who believed in God have come to be known as parishioners.^[14] After analyzing the border ethnic minorities process and outcome of Christianization, we found that it is a process of cultural adjustment in which Christianity contradicts and repels the primitive religion and traditional culture of minority groups both on the level of religious belief, but it has borrowed and absorbed each other to a certain extent on the level of culture. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the connotation and the extension of religious belief and religious culture in the study, so as to discover the subtle relationship between the unity and separation of belief and culture. Only then can we understand the essence of the adaptation of Christianity in Yunnan ethnic minorities' areas.

Then look at the writings created by foreign missionaries for ethnic minorities. The writings of the Old Miaos, created by the English Methodist missionary Gregory Bergli, The old Lisu writings were created by Fu Nengren, a missionary of the British Inland Missionaries, and Bartow, a missionary of the Karen nationality of Myanmar, The eastern Lisu writings by Australian missionary Wang Huai ren, Zaiwa writings which created by French missionary, William, Jingpo writings which were created by American Baptist missionary Cusson and O. Hanson, Wing Man Sang, an American Baptist missionary, created the Lahu and Wa writings, [Bartow, a Karen missionary, also created writings of Lahu.] Black Yi's writings were created by British Australian missionary Zhang Erchang. The Riwang writings (Dulong writings) were jointly created by the American missionary Joshua Mores and Bajidou Tiqigi of the Dulong ethnic minority in Myanmar, etc.^[15] These writings are called Christian writings. But what we should not ignore is the new cultural carrier of their writings, intonations, vocabularies, grammars and meanings combined with the western Latin alphabets. Therefore, the creation of ethnic minorities' writings was not a single act of foreign missionaries, but actually it was contribution of native missionaries, and even the common believers who participated in it, so as to create writings on the basis of ethnic minorities' cultures. In other words, the Christian writings pursued by foreign missionaries was not a written system composed of

[14] Zhang Zhengdong, Social Investigation Report of Yunnan Lisu Ethnic Minority in Gongshan and Fugong, Library collection of Southwest Institute for Nationalities, 1985.

[15] Yunnan Annals of Religion & Christianity, Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1990, pp. 263-265.

Latin letters or other letters completely separated from ethnic minorities' culture, but a combination of them both.

Taking the creation of Lisuwritings as an example, the process of the co-creation of Lisu writings by Fu Nengren and Bartow was to learn Lisu writings and Lisu culture and explore how to blend the Lisu writings system with Christian culture, so as to become the carrier of spreading Christianity. "He wrote down their pronunciations on the paper, and they stared at him in amazement. Someone complained, He's taken our words and we have nothing to say. From then on, Fu nengren could write down more than four hundred words in alphabetical order. Fu nengren studied harder on Lisu dialect and wrote down the Lisu words. He wanted to invent his own spellings to represent the different syllables with English letters. Yuba (Bartow) was a 23-year-old young man who come from Karen, Myanmar. He could spoke English and Lisu dialect fluently. He played an important role in creating the Lisu writings. Bartow was a very smart man. He wore the same clothes as the Lisu people, lived with them, and was loved by Lisu people, as if he were one of them. He could speak Lisu writings better than me (Fu Nengren).^[16] It can be seen that Fu Nengren and Bartow represented western culture and Lisu culture respectively, because of the common belief in Christianity, they worked together, created Lisu writings, and spread of Christianity extensively.^[17] In addition, We should not underestimated the importance of the first generation Lisu missionaries. It can be found that the creators only paying attention to the Lisu writings for promoting the spread of Christianity, while ignoring the process of learning Lisu writings and Lisu culture. It has also ignored the contribution of Bartow, a quasi-Lisu people, only Fu Nengren's contribution could be recognized, not to mention the importance of Lisu priests and elders in creating and perfecting the Christian writings. Thus, the Christian elements contained in Lisu writings became the only thing which could be seen, and the Lisu cultural elements have been ignored or covered up. Furthermore, the reason why there are so many kinds of ethnic minorities Christian writings, which are mostly created by foreign missionaries, due to the different ethnic minorities and their different cultures. In other words, during the process of localization, the Christianity has absorbed so many different ethnic minorities cultures in creating writings. It can be seen that if the Christian writings of these ethnic minorities without the spread of Christianity and the efforts that foreign missionaries make, there were no ethnic minorities' writings and cultures either.

In addition, on the one hand, it has always been believed that foreign missionaries stipulated that "Genesis is not allowed to be told", but on the other hand, in the reconstruction of "Christian myths" of border ethnic minorities, It is also the transplanting and reconstruction of Christian culture and ethnic minorities' cultures. For example, there is an old legend happened in Baoshan and Dehong, many ethnic minorities people lived there; the Jingpo people, Han people and Dai people are three brothers of the same ancestor, They were engaged in mountain farming, planting paddy fields and studying, serving as officials in the interior. After entering the ethnic border areas, the missionaries saw off the legend in order to settle down, saying that the Jingpo people, Lisu people, Han people and

[16] Eileen Crossman, *Mountain Rain: A New Biography of Fu Nengren*, Translated by Ruan Chaozhi, 1989, Propaganda Press, pp. 28, 61, 52, 105.

[17] Chen Jianmin, *The Writing Creation Activities of Missionaries in the Southwest Minorities' Areas*, *Religious Studies*, Vol. 6, 2010.

foreigners were four brothers born to the same mother. The foreigner was the eldest and left home. The eldest has a knack for making planes, and now he's coming back.^[18] It hallowed the creation of a close relationship with foreign missionaries, meanwhile, it connected with the non-written (once, but later lost) story of an ethnic minority,^[19] and realized the dynamic integration of ethnic minorities' traditional cultures and Christian culture.

Even in fairystories, which were full of extreme prejudices against foreign missionaries, the minorities' cultures still revealed that the foreign missionaries had played an important role in the reconstruction of Christianization. For example, the story of how to use cowhide rope to measure the size of land which you wanted to purchase, it was said in the story of Naxi people and Lisu people in Weixi county,^[20] and Jingpo people in Dehong.^[21] Once the foreign missionaries bought a piece of land the size of a whole cowhide from local ethnic-minority leaders, After cutting the leather into string to measure the size of the said land, they found the size of land is much larger than the size of a whole piece of cowhide. In fact, the story of cowhide, cowhide rope and the measurement of land had existed for long time before the arrival of foreign missionaries. Therefore, the story just transplanted the historical facts of the tense relationship between traditional ethnic minorities to foreign missionaries, which shows that this kind of cultural reconstruction has not left the soil of the traditional culture of ethnic minorities.

According to the so-called Ten Religious Rules and Doctrines stipulated by foreign missionaries, they do have in Lisu, Nu, Dulong, Jingpo and Lahu ethnic minorities areas.^[22] In the later investigation, it was found that it was not prescribed by foreign missionaries, it was summarized, and abide by the different minorities' clergies during the process of Christianity development.^[23] By strengthening the difference between believers and non-believers to enhance the cohesion of believers.^[24] The reason lies in Christianity based on a land with a strong cultural atmosphere of primitive religions. Only by reactionary cultural separation from primitive religion can the masses of believers be united in The Christian church. If we take the Ten Religious Rules of the Lisu, Nu and Dulong in particular, the primitive religions of Christianity and ethnic minorities are both replaced and absorbed in terms of faith and culture, form and content. The only one can believe is God, they do not believe in other ghosts at the same time, they use the Lisu writings Ussa to represent God, Ni to

[18] Yin Mingde, *Reconnaissance of the Northern Boundary of Yunnan Province*, 1933, p. 93.

[19] Tao Yunkui, *Lisu Ethnic Minorities in Biluo Snow Mountain*, p. 402.

[20] The Ilya's oral account and Hong Jun's records; *The Spread of Christianity in Gongshan*, selections of Cultural and historical data of Nujiang compiled by The Committee of Cultural and Historical Data of Nujiang, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Dehong Press, 1994, p. 1104.

[21] Liu Yangwu, *The Spreading of Christianity in Jingpo Ethnic Minorities' Areas*, Assembly of Ethnic Minorities in Yunnan of the Second Mission of the Central Visiting Mission (Vol. 1), Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House, 1986, p. 293.

[22] See Zhu Fade, *History of Christianity in West Yunnan*, (Internal data), Han Junxue. *Christianity and Yunnan Ethnic Minorities*. Yunnan People's Publishing House, 2000.

[23] According to author's interviews with many old local preachers, none of them has ever been able to explain the process by which foreign missionaries formulated the Ten Rules and Doctrines. On July 2, 2017, according to the interviews with Barbi Morse, priest Feng Rongxin in Nujiang, lincang and priest Li Dexue in lincang, those Christian rules and doctrines were not regulated by foreign missionaries in one time, during the process of Christianity, gradually formed a few relatively common rules and doctrines, the entries for national beliefs and customs, as well as missionaries and believers.

[24] According to the author's interviews with reverend Jesse, Reverend Bobby and Reverend Peter on July 2, 2017 in Denver, USA.

represent devil, they did not change the old pot (Lisu writings), but filling it with the Christian new wine. Secondly, on the cognition of the worshiped God, Christianity is not used to replace the primitive religions, but to resist the invasion of various kinds of “Ni” by the God who is considered more powerful. Therefore, Christianity is only used as a powerful tool to deal with various supernatural forces. This is not a complete denial of primitive religions, but in fact juxtaposes Christianity with primitive religions. That is, institutional Christianity against various gods of non-institutional primitive religions. ^[25] It was particularly apparent that in the areas of which are remote, high frequency of natural disaster happened frequently, and low level of productivity. So, in a sense, it is not so much that the border ethnic minorities have converted from the primitive religions to Christianity as that they have found a force or a tool against the Gods of the primitive religions. So, that is why some ethnic minorities, such as the Lisu people, and some of Jingpo people who accepted Christianity actively. The root cause lies in what they were already overburdened under the severe natural pressure and social pressure both. They had to find an aid of religious power to oppose to the other religious power, and restore out an influential system of the Christian faith, ceremonies, and interpretation ethnically and locally.

Moreover, smoking and drinking is not allowed, in order to reinforce the distinction from non-believers on the one hand, on the other hand, they used the beverage such as honey water which was favored by mountainous ethnic minorities' people, and so as to the buckwheat pancake (Qiaobaba) to conduct the rites of passage to strengthen their identities. ^[26] It reminds people of the local traditional food—buckwheat pancake with honey soaked, so it feels like the traditional secular food which was transferred to the sacred space of the Christian church. The believers cannot sing and dance, meanwhile, they were compiling hymns in Lisu writings, taking the Lisu proverb into account, salt and singing is necessary, Lisu people could not live without them! and when they were singing the hymns, they developed their music talent incisively and vividly, and formed the Lisu style, Nu style hymns and the ways of multi-vocal chorus. So that the Christian faith, cultures and Lisu, Nu traditional cultures are not separated from each other. Because of the rich people could have the privilege to kidnap a wife (actually they own cattle, and cattle is compensation to his deed of kidnapping the other people's wife), and the poor can't afford to marry a wife. There are prohibitions that stipulate marriage should be monogamous and without dowry, the redistribution of women and money in the minority society tends to be balanced. This is the adaption of Christian culture to the minorities' culture of sharing. Therefore, it can be said that what matters is not whether the “Ten Canon Rules” of Christianity are created by foreign missionaries or not, but that these Canon rules and doctrines are the complete embodiment of the localization of Christianity and the Christianization of ethnic minorities in Yunnan.

Overall, even though Lisu, Nu, Jingpo, Lahu people were prominently affected by Christianity, but only about 20% of them converted to Christianity, and the ratio of the rest of the Wa, Dulong,

^[25] Gao Zhiying, *The Interpenetration of Christianity and primitive Religions of Ethnic Minorities on the Border of Yunnan*, July 8, 2015, Annual Conference of World Religions in Finland.

^[26] That is to say, the Lisu, Nu and Dulong ethnic minorities in the border areas of Yunnan province use the ethnic minorities' writings for the ritual of eating holy meal, including preaching, praying, singing, eating holy meal (baba) and drinking sugar water (honey water).

Hani, Yi and other devotees is much more lower, so before the 1950's, it was still in the beginning period of Christianity Sinicization among the Yunnan ethnic minorities in border areas.

2. The Superincumbent Sinicization of Christianity in Yunnan from the 1950s to the early 1960s

As a matter of fact, as early as the 1920s, under the background of upsurge of anti-imperialism and patriotic movements, a few areas in Yunnan Province broke out local anti-Christianity movement cases. But, the process of the Christian church becoming self-supporting was slow and at the same time very incomplete.^[27] Moreover, in the frontier ethnic areas, there are few self-support movements within the church. Although the Yunnan-Tibetan Christian Church broke away from the Christian Church of China in 1936, it was not the local priests and believers who did it, but the American missionary, John Morse, for his unwillingness to obey orders that would allow him to escape the war and return to the United States. Moreover, the Missionaries cut off the financial aid, but did not fundamentally change the nature of “foreign religion”. Therefore, only the Three-self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s was a superincumbent Upsurge of Christianization in the border areas under the national power.

In 1950, leading by Wu Yaozong, the Christian Patriots in Shanghai issued a declaration on the Reform of Christianity in China, proposing the proposition of getting rid of the control of imperialists' forces and running their own churches independently. In 1954, the first National Christian Conference was held in Beijing and the China Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee was founded formally. From then on, Chinese Christianity embarked on the patriotic road. From the inland to the border areas, the churches also began the “self-administer, self-support and self-mission” patriotic movements in Yunnan. Firstly, they expelled foreign missionaries out of China's territory, the churches which founded already are not branches of European and American churches any more in Nujiang, Baoshan, Dehong, Lincang and Pu'er. To make the vertical management system transformation from Yunnan border area Christian churches-European and American churches to Yunnan border area Christian churches-China Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee. Secondly, churches were managed by local ethnic pastoral staff, Some ethnic-minority pastors who supported the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and were actively engaged in socialism construction were recommended to Christian and political leadership positions,^[28] all missions are also carried out by native and ethnic missionaries. The churches were no longer dependent on foreign churches economically; they explored adaptations to local conditions. In short, the church was able to manage itself as a result of its independence from the imperialist Christian management and missionary system. In order to achieve self-administer, they had to carry out economic self-support and self-mission, and finally realized the transformation from the churches managed by various denominations of European and American Christianity to the local and national “patriotic” churches.

The establishment of self-administer, self-support and self-mission patriotic congresses at the provincial and local levels is another Sinicization movement with a relatively longer duration. On the basis of the development of the self-administer, self-support and self-mission Christian reform movement in Yunnan, many areas have successively established new church organizations—the Self-

[27] Yunnan Religions and Christianity, Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1995, p. 228.

[28] The first generation of intellectuals of the border ethnic minorities were from the Christian schools, some of them were trained by the CCP as cadres of their own ethnic minorities in the early days of the China's liberation.

administer, self-support and self-mission Christian Patriotic Movement Committee, It was also a sign of the gradual sinicization of Christianity from Kunming city to the border areas. From 1955 to 1957, Kunming, Dehong, Lancang county of Pu'er, Dali successively established "self-administer, self-support and self-mission" patriotic organizations, in July 1963, was formally founded in Yunnan province, Christian "self-administer, self-support and self-mission patriotic movement committee", Sun Shouxin served as the chairman, Zong Bang (Jingpo), Wu Zhonglie (Miao), Zhang Xiuzhou and Yue Xiang (Lisu) served as the deputy directors.^[29] It was the first gathering under the banner of "Patriotism" of the venerable priests of the various ethnic groups in Yunnan.

The Chinese people, who had been enslaved and oppressed by European and American powers since the Opium War, needed to unite all industries, all classes and all ethnic groups with patriotism after they finally won the great victory against imperialism and feudalism in 1949. In particular, Christianity, which has been described as flying over on imperialist shells,^[30] and needed to be "patriotic" and to be done with imperialism. In this way, the core word of "patriotism" in the structure established under the background of the Sinicization of Christianity at that time objectively defined the different truths of The Christian church under the control of foreign missionaries. Therefore, it showed obviously political tendency, so many former Christian studies before 1950s had got into the logic of "patriotism" and "non-patriotism", thus, it led to catch more attention to Christian ethnic minorities border areas and European and American "Christian" imperialist background, rather than the native ethnic minorities' cultural elements, and possibilities and meanings of foreign missionaries for training the native missionaries to realize the Sinicization of Christianity, which resulted in the unfair treatment to some native missionaries and believers, prompting some of them flee to Myanmar, some of them contacted with each other secretly, some of them abandoned their Christian belief for good.^[31] Therefore, since the development of Christianity in border ethnic minorities areas has been interrupted periodically, it also means the interruption of the localization process of Christianity.

But looking back to the history, during the 1950s to 1960s, the "Self-administer, self-support and self-mission" patriotic movement lasted a short time, but is of great significance in the history of Yunnan Christianity. It has made a transition from the control of foreign missionaries Christianity to the local native Christian pastoral staff management, it means that Christianity has stepped onto the stage of Sinicization of Christianity with the transformation of China's society. In other words, it was the response and practice of various regional and ethnic minorities' churches which formed the first short-term Upsurge of Sinicization of Christianity in China.

3. The Localization of Christianity and the Development of Christianization of Ethnic Minorities in Yunnan Border Areas Since the 1980s

From 1980s to 1990s, it was the period of Christian recovery and rebound in Yunnan. With the

[29] According to the textual research of priest Jesse in Nujiang, Yue Xiang was another name of priest Yue Xiu, a native ethnic minority people of Li Wudi, Fugong County, whose Lisu's name was Y0-Xu on the records of Yunnan Religion and Christianity, Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1995, p. 268.

[30] Jiang Menglin, Tides from the West—A Chinese Autobiography, Taipei Central Daily, 1957, pp. 3-4.

[31] Gao Zhiying, Sha Lina, Religious Demands and Cross-Border Flows—A Case Study of Ethnic Minorities Who believed in Christianity in the Cross-Border Areas of China and Myanmar, World Religion Studies, Vol. 3, 2014.

rapid growth of Christian believers and church spots, the interaction between Christian culture and ethnic minorities' cultures has been changed from being natural to being conscious, from being passive to being active.

From the perspective of development of Christian architectures in Yunnan border ethnic minorities' areas, people have noticed that Christian churches are the most magnificent and eye-catching architectures in this area, but they have ignored the local and national adaptation of Christian architectures in keeping the paces with the times. In the 1980s, most ethnic minorities' border areas still live in thatched shelters, bamboo shelters or wooden shelters, the churches were just the same, such as Lisu inheritance of Stilt shelters with thousand feet,^[32] which were quite different from the spires and frosted glass decorated churches of western Christian styles! But the differences showed the features of the "localization" of Christianity in the ethnic minorities' areas in Yunnan—to spread Christianity in the traditional architectural space of ethnic minorities. Moreover, the features of localization could keep the pace with the times: By the 1990s, the government had implemented the "elimination of thatched houses" project, the houses were covered with asbestos shingles and walled with wooden boards and the church followed the same architectural style; At the end of the 20th century, the project of revitalizing the border and enriching the people has been implemented. The villagers' houses were covered by iron roofs and hollow brick walls, and the church buildings were also covered by flat roofs. In recent years, when most families in rural areas built "western-style mansions", the style of churches also has been changed. With increasing number of believers and the development of economy, the churches became larger and more magnificent. It can be seen that the changes of the Christian buildings of ethnic minorities in the border areas of Yunnan had been transformed from thatched cottages to small houses and become more and more integrated with the actual economic and cultural development of villages under the national poverty alleviation policy, which could be regarded as a manifestation of the localization of Christianity. The church has become not only the most important religious ceremony space in the village, but also an important center for weddings and other common activities, and even a landmark of the Christian village. Therefore, Christian architecture is superior to the houses both in size and height. It was not "delocalization", but it is a kind of materialized form of the assimilation between the localization of Christianity and the Christianization of ethnic minorities, behind it are the changes and developments of economy, culture and church in minorities villages under the ethnic and religious policies of CCP.

Singing and dancing in Yunnan border minorities' areas has been an important identity tag for Christian believers for a long time. It was said that when foreign missionaries first came to do missionary work, "no singing folk songs and no dancing folk dances" become the religious discipline, believers just sang hymns at that time, and dancing was forbidden as well. Many devout believers in the middle and the old age have obeyed foreign missionaries' discipline for a long time. Even when

[32] Because of the high mountains deep waters and steep cliffs in in Nujiang, It was hard to find a piece of flat land to build a house, Lisu and Nu people first learned to erect the stakes along the slopes of mountains, and then at the height of more than one meter, they piled the wooden boards or bamboo woven mats as the floors or the walls of the houses. With their sons who grew up and prepared to get married, their houses would be next to the ancestors' houses with the same architectural style of building the new houses as their ancestors. We could see many of thatched houses in rows there, commonly known as thousand-foot houses.

writer was investigating in Nujiang in 2010, an old preacher said: “The platform is the sacred place of God. How dare you dance around it?^[33]” But in fact, many Lisu and Nu churches had organized various recreational activities in the three major festivals at that time, and the dance with body movements which were similar to the sign writings, and mixed with some ethnic minorities’ dancing movements. If the traditional religious power of the church is relatively strong, they just danced outside of the church; but in the nascent church, they danced on narrow platform simply. The music and songs were far beyond the range of traditional hymns, many new “hymns” were from Burmese devotees dancing movements which were used to please God. At the beginning, only the female believers who can dance, while the male believers just play musical Instruments, male believers were not allowed to take part in the dancing. But later on, more and more men, women and children joined the church dancing team, and there were special “dancing teachers” who went from church to church to teach dancing. The churches also prepared special rooms for whom practicing dancing together and finally held dancing competitions after the three major festivals or bible training classes. Thus, You can see the on the broadening platform under the church cross, devotees of all ages, men, women and children performed a variety of folk and even modern dances, from dumbbell-style hymns to folk dances. It was a localization of Christianity rather than a transformation from the sanctity of Christianity to the secularism, which attracted more and more people get into the church by this means. Because not only the Lisu, Nu and Dulong ethnic groups in Nujiang, but also the Jingpo, Lahu and Hani ethnic groups who believe in Christianity all have a strong interest in singing and dancing, singing and dancing has become an important means to attract people to believe in Christianity. In the Christmas of 2016, the author investigated the Christmas parties held in Mengding of Gengma and the Christian Church of the county. The folk dances of Lahu, Lisu, Dai, Wa and Han were performed in the evening party, as well as modern dances and children dances, accompanying with western musical Instruments, and cucurbit flute; Both solo pop songs and choral hymns were performed as well. The dancing accompaniment music includes both the main songs and love songs composed by ethnic minorities and non-religious people in Myanmar or in the border areas of China, as well as the accompaniment music of modern dance and hip-hop dance. There are as many as seventeen or eighteen festivals in evening party. The dancing team of believers and the dancing team of non-believers take turns to perform on the stage, which becomes the liveliest place in the area that night. It was just a manifestation of ethnic unity and social harmony in border ethnic minorities’ areas. It can be said that the special space of church has created a culture which was composed with a large quantity of Christian ethnic minorities’ songs and dances. Fortunately, for example, pastor Jesse in Nujiang and Pastor Pete in Lincang supported the integration and development of believers actively. Pastor Jesse organized church guitarists to participate in the white guitarists singing “Gongshan Love Song” in the celebration of Gongshan County, which became a story for a while. At the same time, Pastor Peter played the guitar with the church as the symbol of the Christian identity and the cucurbit flute as the symbol of the Lahu ethnic minority, committing himself to the work of the inheritance of Christianity and ethnic minorities’ cultures at the same time, winning a good reputation

[33] According to the author’s interview with the elder priest C of Lisu ethnic minority in Luzhang town, Lushui County on February 10, 2010.

in the local politicians and missionaries.

What is particularly noteworthy is that after the church choir packaged with “Lisu Peasant Choir” and “Lisu Peasant Red Song Chorus”, it went out of the church and stepped on the stages of various singing celebrations. Lisu “farmers chorus” of Nujiang in 1995, has stepped on the stage of the Golden Rooster Award and Hundred flowers Award which was organized by government in Kunming city, they were neither Christians, nor professional singers, but barefoot farmers, wearing ethnic minorities’ costumes, they were genuine “farmers chorus”, and can hardly speak Chinese, they were the believers who were trained in churches chorus. Yang Yunji, the leader of chorus, he recommended some of Lisu farmer singers from different villages and churches, were trained in harmony of singing and finally performed the world-famous four parts melodrama Auld Lang in Lisu writings, and the hymn-Hallelujah, what they performed had made the artists from all over the world move to tears and caused a sensation. After that, they performed in Beijing and other places for many times, and the performers were also believers who were diluted out of their identity as believers.^[34] This interpretation of Christian songs in the Lisu four-part chorus is a perfect representation of the “localization” of Christianity and the Lisu culture. In recent years, the Lisu Farmers’ Revolutionary Chorus has been established. Lisu writings experts translated the “revolutionary songs” into Lisu writings, and then the artist would be compared in 4 songs, and then teaching the believers to sing in churches.^[35] They sang hymns in churches, and sang revolutionary songs when they were going out of the church and participating in governmental organized activities. They had won many awards as well, and the videos were widely spread on the Internet, and made a big difference. The process of singing traditional Lisu folk songs to Christian hymns, and then to the combination of revolutionary songs, can be a symbol of the localization of Christianity and the Christianization of ethnic minorities’ cultures. To seize the opportunity survival and development in responding to the national mainstream consciousness. This was the survival wisdom of the localization of Christianity in Yunnan border ethnic minorities’ areas.

In the border ethnic minorities’ areas of Yunnan, ethnic musical Instruments were once excluded from the church, thus musical Instruments had become a symbol of identity distinction between Christian believers and non-believers. The musical Instruments used in the church ranged from accordion, pedal organ and later drum set, electronic organ and piano, etc. It has been a standard of the church from small to large scale. Therefore, Chinese and western musical Instruments in the church can be said to serve different purposes. However, since the 1980s, guitar has been accepted by them both. Yunnan has a 4,060-kilometer borderline with Myanmar, Vietnam and Laos, and nearly 20 ethnic minorities live across the border areas. When the wind of reform and opening up blows across the border areas, guitars, which are extremely popular in Myanmar, you could take them everywhere easily, the prices of buying them and learning how to play are considerably cheap, and flood into the border areas from the ports and the routed of flow of the ethnic minorities’ people. In church activities, the Nu, Dulong, Lisu, Lahu and Jingpo churches were filled with hymns which were accompanied by guitars. Due to the influence of films such as *The Roadside Guitar Team*, the guitar

[34] According to the author’s interview with Yang Yunji at his home in Liuku on January 29, 2015.

[35] According to the author’s interview with Pastor Feng Rongxin at Kunming Theological Seminary on July 15, 2017.

was also fashionable among non-Christians. Many young people in the villages almost owned one, and some local girls and young women also joined the guitar team. On the one hand, the proportion of the foreign Lisu, Nu, Dulong, Jingpo and Lahu believing in Christianity is higher than that of the same ethnic minorities lived in China, so most of the guitar accompaniment songs were related to Christianity. On the other hand, from the development trend of Christianity, there are more and more ethnic minorities Christian believers in the border areas. In recent years, even among the Han, Dai and Hui ethnic minorities, some of them had converted to Christianity. In this way, a large number of Christian and non-Christian guitarists who came from domestic and foreign countries could get together. Because of they have got the common interest in guitar, non-believers would like to participate in church parties and believers could participate in singing and dancing activities outside the church as well. Here, the guitar is no longer the identity of the border minorities' Christians, but also become a national musical instrument which is popular in the border ethnic minorities' areas. Thus, the ethnic minorities' cultures related to the guitar have been wonderfully combined with the Christian culture. For example, the male and female Lahu guitar teams performed on CCTV for many times. The teams composed by both believers and non-believers, it did not just represent Christianity, it represented the Lahu people as well.

The investigation showed that the Christianization of ethnic costumes is another manifesto of the localization of Christianity in Yunnan ethnic minorities' areas. The author has traced the Lisu and Nu ethnic minorities' people in Nujiang for a long time, and found that their ethnic costumes have become a must for believers to worship and celebrate Christian festivals. On weekends, Lisu and Nu believers dressed on holiday costumes and walked into the church. On the three major holidays of Christianity, such as Christmas, Easter and Thanksgiving, believers would dress in bright ethnic costumes everywhere inside and outside of churches. Thus, Christian gatherings had become competition of colorful ethnic costumes. Believers dressed on beautiful, clean and neat ethnic costumes to express their piety to God, and during this process, the ethnic costume culture is also inherited. On Wednesday night, if there is no time for you to dress up and go to the church, you may take an traditional ethnic Lisu cross-shoulder bag with you and put your bible and hymn books into it. In other words, when the Lisu bag is brought to the body of a devotee on Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday and religious festivals, it indicates that it is time for believers gathered in churches. Moreover, it is certain that the bag contains Christian reading materials, so the Lisu bag has the function of identifying its devotees with the Lisu ethnic costume culture. The author has investigated in Myitkyina areas in 2010 for the first time, taking with a Lisu bag, and found a church which written in Lisu writings, because of the Lisu bag, the author accomplished her investigation task under the help of and Myanmar Lisu people successfully. A Lisu college student who was a disciple walked with me at that time, taking a Lisu bag with him, and there were some Christian reading books in it. The people who took such a bag with him or her could easily integrated with the Lisu compatriots in Myanmar, thus Lisu bag is a symbol of identifying the identities of Lisu people. In the Lahu areas, along the border of Yunnan province and Southeast Asian countries, Lahu bag is a gift of the Lahu people, because it is often used to hold Christian reading books, thus it is also a symbol to identify the Lahu people and Christian believers.

New Rice Festival is a traditional festival of the Lisu, Nu, Lahu and Jingpo ethnic minorities.

When millet is ripe, every family and village celebrated the festival to thank the gods for their blessings and harvest. The introduction of Christianity, especially in recent years, has added a lot of Christian elements to the New Rice Festival. It is organized by the church, and the ceremony is held in the church, with preaching, singing and dancing, just like a Christian ceremony. Each woman carried on her back a basket filled with golden grain and seasonal fruits, arranged in rows in front of the platform like a grand exhibition for celebrating the fall harvest. In fact, the villagers, the believers who gave thanks to God for their good harvest. Therefore, it can be said that the new Rice Festival of these ethnic minorities is no longer the New Rice Festival in the traditional meaning, but the product of the localization of Christianity and the reconstruction of the border ethnic minorities in Yunnan. In addition, there are cultural elements of each other in other traditional festivals and Christian festivals of the ethnic minorities in the border areas. For example, Lisu, Nu and Dulong ethnic minorities celebrated Christmas in churches, the churches took turns for hosting celebrations for each year, and everyone brought their own gift to ease the burden of the hosts. This is just the same as the traditional festival celebrated in villages (families), which plays an important role in the construction of social relations in public areas.

III. Discussion and Thinking

The reasons for exclusion: Is it because of Faith or Fighting for their living space?

From the historical analysis and synchronal comparison of the relationship between the “localization” (localization and situation) of Christianity in Yunnan border ethnic minorities’ areas and the “Christianization” of ethnic minorities above, we can find out the process and characteristics of their interactive development.

First of all, the Sinicization of Christianity and the Christianization of China’s border ethnic minorities complemented with each other. It can be said that there is no Sinicization of Christianity without the Christianization of the ethnic minorities in China. This is just like the two sides of a coin, the researches stressed on only one side of coin is not comprehensive and objective.

Secondly, in different historical periods, the interaction and development of The Sinicization of Christianity in China and the Christianization of ethnic minorities are not completely synchronous, nor in deep feeling about each other and incompatible completely. On the Christian point of view, after experiencing the developing process of localization to re-localization, from the initial intention to highlight the distinction of the ethnic minorities’ primitive religions, to later trans-boundaries of each other; On the other hand, the culture of border ethnic minorities is constantly absorbing the elements of Christian culture to enrich its cultural content and form, and they even gave birth to some cultures with characteristics of both cultures. Therefore, the changes from nature to consciousness in The Sinicization of Christianity, and the changes from unconsciousness to consciousness in the Christianity of ethnic minorities’ cultures, which are the embodiment of their wisdom of survival, adjustment and development.

Thirdly, the relationship between Christianity and the traditional culture of ethnic minorities, including primitive religious beliefs, is quite different from each other to the degree of belief and

culture. If we took a general view, it will prevent them from seeking common ground while reserving differences and it was a barrier for religious harmony, ethnic unity and border stability.

Fourthly, the localization, scenization and indigenization of Christianity is the Sinicization of specific areas and specific ethnic minorities, while the Sinicization of Christianity is the localization in a broader space (scenization and indigenization). The differences between the two Spaces and ethnic minorities resulted in differences in commonness and individuality. Therefore, it cannot be generalized to refer to the localization of various ethnic minorities and areas with Sinicization, nor can it be generalized to the localization of nations and areas with Sinicization.

中文题目:

论基督教中国化与云南跨境民族文化重构的交互发展关系

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摘要:“基督教中国化”,是基督教在中国社会场景里进行适应性文化调适的发展策略与实践。本文从文化互动与采借、交融的视角,通过对基督教在云南少数民族地区的“本土化”(在地化、处境化)少数民族宗教文化“基督教化”关联性的历史性理与共时性比较,探究二者间的互发展动因、过程与特点。认为基督教少数传统文化之间大都经历了从相互隔阂、排斥到相互并存、交融的过程,并完成了基督教从“在地化”到“再地化”的过渡,从而实现了颇具区域性、民族性特点的“中国化”,同时也使边境少数民族文化得到重构。

关键词:云南少数民族;中国化;基督教化;交互发展