

**国学与西学
(国际学刊)**

**International Journal of
Sino-Western Studies**

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Editor-in-chief Paulos Huang**

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**A Special Volume on the Studies of Martin
Luther in Chinese Academia
“汉语学界马丁·路德研究”专辑**

国学与西学：国际学刊（半年刊）

第二十四期：二零二三年六月

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International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (IJS)

Semi-annual)

No. 24: June 2023

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Index: This journal has been indexed by Finnish National Library, Religious & Theological Abstracts (R&TA), Thomson Reuters the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), *the ATLA Religion Database®* (ATLA RDB®, <http://www.atla.com>), the Bibliography of Asian Studies, EBSCO's Academic research database as a part of a collection of Ultimate databases, SCOPUS, Globethics.net library (a journal collection and the Online Chinese Christianity Collection / OCCC), ELSEVIER and DOAJ (<http://bit.ly/11PWhtD>), and European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH).

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Two Kinds of Love: On the Interpretation of Luther's View of Love by the Finnish School Mannermaa

LI Ruixiang and Paulos HUANG

(Shanghai University)

Abstract: In the midst of the dilemmas facing the history of contemporary Western theory, Martin Luther's concept of love and his theology of the Cross have been given more and more attention by researchers. The interpretation of Luther's concept of love by the Finnish school in contemporary Lutheran studies has also been increasingly recognized. In this paper, we will discuss the interpretation of Luther's view of love by Mannermaa, the father of the Finnish school. The first two sections of the paper will deal with Luther's critique of the view of love ruled by the Greek philosophical tradition and the Catholic 'theology of Glory' in Mannermaa's interpretation. The third section will introduce the important themes of faith and salvation in Luther's 'theology of the Cross' by discussing Mannermaa's interpretation about love, thus highlighting the importance of the theme of love in theology. The last section will further discuss the inheritance of Luther's view of love and his theology in contemporary phenomenological philosophical thinking, which can then comprehensively show the important position of Luther in the history of contemporary theory and its research value.

Key words: love, theology of glory, theology of the cross, faith

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I. Luther's View of Love Revealed by His Critique of Greek Philosophical Tradition

In the development of Western intellectual history, Martin Luther has acted an important role in various fields of humanistic theories. In the development of theology and philosophy, Luther's theory has played a major role in breaking the dominant tradition of the Greek metaphysical way. However, the current state of research in the humanities tends to confine Luther's contribution to the sociology of religion and ecclesiastical history, and to ignore Luther's contribution to the history of ideas. In addition, the core concepts of Luther's 'Justification by Faith' are often equated with inter-subjective human behavior and will, which is equal to incorporating him into the Greek tradition of Aristotelianism. Nevertheless, in contemporary Lutheran studies, Mannermaa of the Finnish school has uncovered many seminal values from Luther's theory. Through the theme of love, Mannermaa systematically draw out the central 'paradoxical' dimension of Luther's theology, in which important theological themes such as faith, salvation, and sanctification are innovatively interpreted. Luther's theory not only deconstructs the Catholic 'theology of Glory' from the paradoxical perspective of his 'theology of the Cross', but his 'paradoxical ontology' has also been fully inherited by Heidegger and other important contemporary philosophers, which in turn this inheritance has brought about a complete deconstruction and reevaluation of the Greek tradition. Thus, the theme of love is one of the central dimensions of Luther's theory and one of the most important concepts that distinguishes Luther's theology from the tradition of the 'theology of Glory'.

Love is one of the most important topics that has been elaborated and discussed in the history of Western philosophy and theology. However, the significance of Luther's theory on the concept of love has been overshadowed by the 'visible way', that is the approach of the Greek tradition. After Luther's death, and beginning with his successor Melancthon, Lutheran doctrine became into a dogmatic, systematic, and metaphysical pursuit of existence, which has been criticized by later philosophers such as Heidegger for its 'inversion'. Furthermore, after Luther's death, the interpretation and study of Lutheran theory often wavered significantly among different sects and schools' theories. Systematic studies of Luther's theological theory began to emerge only in the later 19th century. In the midst of the extreme promotion of the humanistic and rational approaches in the field of contemporary intellectual theory, various dilemmas and limitations began to appear one after another. In response to these issues, gradually and continuously, philosophers began to take Luther seriously once again and to use it to address the problems of modern age.

The scholars better known to the scholarly community in current contemporary studies of the Lutheran revival tend to be in the German tradition. Starting with the Church History School at the beginning of twentieth century and continuing with Bultmann, Karl Barth, and others who followed, all opposed the theology of modern liberal thoughts by inherited Luther's theory. And in the field of philosophy, philosophers led by Heidegger also rejected the Greek philosophical tradition by exalting Luther. But in addition to Lutheran studies in the German academy, Lutheran studies in the Finnish school are now beginning to manifest their influence.

The Finnish school, led by Tuomo Mannermaa, incorporates the views of scholars such as Karl Barth from Germany and Nygren from Sweden, and also other scholars, their research on Luther's theory has gradually penetrated into various humanistic fields. In the Chinese academy, the 'Sino-Europe Humanities Research center' organized by Professor Paulos Huang in Shanghai University is the inheritor of the Finnish school. At the same time, the translation of Martin Luther's Works and the series of studies on Martin Luther and the Third Enlightenment organized by Professor Huang are focused on responding to the limitations and problems in the history of contemporary Western theory through Luther's enlightenment, and thus the implicit contributions of Luther in various fields of contemporary Western humanities are gradually uncovered⁽¹⁾. These contributions are undoubtedly valuable in the studies of the Finnish school led by Mannermaa.

Mannermaa's interpretation of Luther's concept of love is highly similar to the perspectives of Barth, Nygren and other scholars. To begin, Mannermaa, in his interpretation of Luther's view of love, establishes a total break from the deep-rooted tradition of Greek philosophy in the West. Specifically, Luther's theory of love criticized the Greek 'upward' philosophical path of the search for God, which is characteristic of Aristotelianism in the history of Western philosophy and Catholic theological theory. Under the dominant Greek philosophical context, the emphasis is placed on the progression from 'Ἔρως(eros)' to 'ἀγάπη(agape)', which represents an ascent toward higher forms of love.

In Mannermaa's exposition of Luther, it is emphasized that Luther thoroughly deconstructed the admixture of Plato and Aristotle in the history of theological theory. The 'holy love (agape)' inaugurated by Platonism and Aristotelianism does not really lead to holiness. The essence of Plato and Aristotle's theory, which relies on the dialectic of conceptualism and the doctrine of the ascent of love, is to bring salvation through reason and

(1) Paulos Huang, Martin Luther and the Third Enlightenment Series V Theology: *Philosophy and the Third Enlightenment*, (Finland: International Journal of Sino-Western Studies, 2022),1-30.

remembrance. Both the famous metaphor of the 'cave' and the 'recollection' in the 'Phaedrus' rely essentially on the self rather than on Christ. Plato's 'recollection' deeply influenced Augustine and other subsequent theologians. Augustine's 'love of God' was mixed with the search for the ultimate, supreme good 'idea', and similarly the love and understanding of God was necessarily mixed with 'recollection'⁽²⁾. In this way, the love of one's neighbor and oneself was mixed with rational intuition in the love for God. As Negrin says, because the Greek word 'ἀγάπη' was a rarely used word, so it was chosen to represent 'holy love' when the Bible was translated into Greek. This choice reflected 'a reassessment of ancient values' in the concept of love⁽³⁾, rather than a high esteem for philosophical reflection.

Mannermaa interpreted Luther's critique of Aristotle's 'analogical-existential' path of 'ascent' in a manner consistent with the way that he responded to Platonism. When one starts from the ego-central, where all desires and aspirations are based on self-exaltation, one essentially looks for one's own goodness; that is, one captures the object as one's own 'sameness'. Starting from the lack of self, such a 'upward' approach to the 'divine' leads to a 'being-God' that is necessarily contrary to the cross of Christ. It is no wonder that Luther in his writings cursed Aristotle as a 'beast in human skin', and called the papacy and his followers as 'hateful men'⁽⁴⁾.

Thus, it can be seen that Mannermaa's interpretation of Luther's writings suggests that the Greek tradition of love is an 'upward' approach that is 'egocentric'. According to Mannermaa, this egoistic and humanistic approach echoes Luther's critique that the egoistic ascent leads only to human nothingness and sin. The core paradox lies in our pursuit of goodness and fulfillment, which our earthly approaches for the contentment are perpetually unsatisfied in the world at every moment; no matter how much we gain in the moment, we will eventually become numb and vain, as Luther said that where the spiritual life is proclaimed, there is death; where the wisdom is preached, there is foolishness⁽⁵⁾. The so-called goodness to our neighbors and to God is inevitably mixed with self-conformity and self-satisfaction, which can be considered as 'self-centeredness', so that if we want to truly give ourselves up to love our neighbors and God, we will eventually confront the abyss of this self-centeredness; as Ecclesiastes says: 'all is vanity, all is wind'. In turn, our love in human religion can only be for those who are the same as ourselves and who we recognize. Such love is inherently deficient, and it is impossible for us to truly love sinners, as the book of Romans says: 'We are dead in our sins and transgressions'. Therefore, for man, starting from his own love and the love of the world, it is inevitably impossible to understand the love of Christ, and to know God solely by relying on their own love and the love of the world. Instead, they will remain 'imprisoned' within their own limitations.

But in the eyes of God we are all dead in our sins and transgressions, and thus we must seek only our own original sin and evil. Therefore, the love that comes from philosophical discernment is totally corrupt and worthless in the face of the love of Christ. By challenging the traditional concept of love, Luther's subversive analysis of this traditional view of love allows the sovereignty and ownership of love to be completely vested in Christ, leaving no room for man's own sinful and corrupt self-realization. Only the love of Christ can truly bring goodness and satisfaction, and only Christ can truly give himself up.

(2) 周伟驰 & 卓新平 Zhou Weichi, Zhuo Xinping: 《记忆与光照:奥古斯丁神哲学研究》“*Memory and Illumination: A Study of Augustine's Philosophy of God*,” (北京Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社Social Science Literature Press, 2001), 105 p

(3) Anders Nygren, *Apagē and Eros*, Philadelphia, (Wesminster Press, 1953), 66.

(4) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p199

(5) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p204

Mannermaa built on this foundation to further deepen Luther's systematic critique of Catholic theology of glory.⁽⁶⁾ In the historical context of medieval Catholic theology, the prevailing view of love in the academy and Church was based on the self-centeredness of man, which was a traditional Greek perspective. In turn, Luther, on the basis of his critique of the Greek philosophical tradition, gave a critique of the 'theology of Glory' founded on it with the same reasoning (rationality only leads us to sin⁽⁷⁾). At the same time, Luther's critique of the theology led to the paradoxical love of God in his own theology of the Cross.

II. The Critique of the Catholic Theology of Glory by the 'Paradoxical' Love in Luther's Theology of the Cross

At the Heidelberg debate in 1518, Luther had already systematically discussed and summarized these two approaches from the content of his 'paradoxical theology'. Luther summarized them as follows: 'God's love does not find but creates the object of love; man's love arises from the object of love'. This quotation can be found in the Heidelberg Debates (1518).

Mannermaa's writings offer a systematic analysis of Luther's criticism of the Catholic perspective on love. According to Luther, in Aquinas' theory, love is reduced to the 'instinctive will, the pursuit' that every creature possesses. Man's fundamental self-interest compels him to unite with others, aided by the force of all things coming together. The collective pursuit of goodness, fueled by this force, transforms the potential for good into actuality.⁽⁸⁾

From this perspective, Aquinas' understanding of the nature of love is no different from Platonism, in that both are constructed by the pursuit of the metaphysical "essence", that is the power to 'realize' from the bottom up by human beings. For Aquinas' approach, both man and seed have an essential existence; in the pursuit of essence (lack of self), one realizes one's 'goodness', and 'satisfaction', through 'contingent form' that are distinct from one's 'essential form'. Therefore, when man seeks food and the seed seeks sunlight, they are in pursuit of the love and realization of their own complete form; it is also the integration and unity of himself and the object⁽⁹⁾. On this basis, the self unites and coexists with others to achieve a higher love through the commonality and goodness found in others. Aquinas arrives at this golden rule of the path, that is 'love your neighbor as yourself'. This path of 'universality' and 'commonality' necessarily leads to a higher existence and goodness than oneself.

The kernel behind such a theoretical approach of Aquinas can only start from the self-realization and the survival of human beings. In the same way, Aquinas also explained 'amor concupiscentiae (the love of Eros)', 'amor amicitiae (the love of friendship)' and 'caritas (the love of God)' ⁽¹⁰⁾. Although Aquinas in his own way tries to solve the problem of self-interest in this: that one seeks goodness by giving it to others; but when the realization of goodness is presupposed to be rooted in self-realization and commonality with the other, there is

(6) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 137.

(7) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p263

(8) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 122.

(9) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 123.

(10) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 126.

no way to avoid the 'self-centeredness'. This is because the prerequisite for loving others is their commonality with me, that is, the 'alter-ego'. In turn, if others are to be loved by me, they must have values that I recognize in them; in this way there is a basis for mutual love in convergence and union. But conversely, if there is not a single value in another person that I recognize in my current values and worldview, then that person is not worthy of love and should be destroyed. Obviously, the core condition for 'egocentric' love is to love only the 'self'. If another person is so different from oneself that one cannot agree with him or her, then that person is ontologically rejected. Such a teaching has brought about the evil consequences seen in one of the brutal religious wars in the West after another.

Finally, according to this interpretation of Aquinas' approach, the Christian's love for God must also be interpreted in the context of a certain human self-realization. In Aquinas' logic, God is the all-good, all-knowing One, and thus God's love can only be self-love; that is, God loves people with the love of 'complete' friendship, and finds in human beings a commonality that can be 'united' and then realizes itself through the love of friendship for the Other.

Such a reasoning may seem to be justified in the Greek philosophical tradition, but it is a complete conflict with Luther's emphasis on the theology of the cross and even the salvation of Christ in the Bible (Christ is hidden under the opposite appearance⁽¹¹⁾). In searching for God 'upward' through this path, the knowledge of God must also be based on the commonality with the 'self'. What this type of 'love' is expressed in such is the union of 'commonality' between the self and God. In this way, this raises the same issue, as the problem of Platonism mentioned above. The God reached through the rational path of the ego is inevitably restricted to 'existing' solely within a metaphysical system. Such a path has nothing to do with the God who actually offers salvation and humbles himself with sinners.

And, conversely, the love from God that Aquinas' path speaks of cannot avoid this evil. As Luther said, our beauty in the God's view can only be sin⁽¹²⁾. When we approach the relationship between God and man from a discursive and metaphysical perspective, we presuppose the common nature shared by both God and man, which implies that God can love people even without the need for Christ's blood. But this in itself necessarily contradicts the idea of God's all-holy nature of God. Although Aquinas also emphasized top-down grace in love, there can be no commonality between God's all-holy and human being's corrupt nature, as long as the starting point of his "grace" is the natural commonality between God and man.

In summary, the theology of glory's metaphysical love of God closely resembles Greek philosophy: it relies on human discernment and reason to bridge the gap between the present world and the divine realm. Aquinas' 'three-way proof (the way of negation, the way of belonging, and the way of excellence)⁽¹³⁾ of the nature of God has been widely criticized by later philosophers. In the metaphysical system, it is precisely that the cross of Christ was forgotten, and God's works are obscured by visible glory and negation.

Aquinas' theology of glory seeks to 'look upward' to the great and glorious attributes of God, while Luther's theology of the cross presents God in the midst of human weakness and foolishness. Christ replaced man's weakness and foolishness, giving his goodness and life freely to every sinner. Christ's love is purely a gift of giving and grace, where God gave his life in Christ, not to differentiate according

(11) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p208

(12) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p208-209

(13) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 140.

to the hierarchy of human standards, rather, he humbled himself to become and replace all poverty, sin, foolishness, and weakness. On the basis of this redemption and bearing of the debt of sin, he gives to man, his own righteousness, strength, and rejoice. His speech is sweet as ‘sugar and honey’⁽¹⁴⁾, reflecting his boundless love and grace .

Luther’s critique also begins with the paradox of man himself. Man, as man, in their very essence, is definitely incapable of love and is essentially nothing, and it is we who are sinners and nothing before God that Christ came to seek and save. It is only through God’s grace that sinners, the wicked, the foolish, the weak, and the ‘nothing’ may be transformed into the righteous, the good, the wise, and the strong. Once man’s own love leads him to believe that he is already worthy and can find God, he will inevitably rely on reason to run headlong through the world, and will abandon the true love of God as if it were nothing. As in the Gospel of the New Testament, the Pharisees, relying on their ancestral heritage and their own laws, repeatedly spit upon and persecuted Christ, the Savior, and finally crucified him. As Luther said, all the philosophical ways will lead to idolization⁽¹⁵⁾.

Further, by contrasting these two paths of love, Luther systematically developed a contrast between the theology of the Cross and the theology of Glory. These two theological concepts are rooted in their respective interpretations of love and can be viewed as two different forms of love. By critically analyzing the theology of Glory, Luther expounds and develops all the other central themes of the theology of the cross in the love of the cross.

III. Other Themes’ interpretation in the Theology of Cross through the View of Love

Luther’s theology of the cross contains a paradoxical dimension characterized by negation, foolishness, and nothingness. It is from this dimension that the golden rule of Aquinas mentioned earlier: ‘Love your neighbor as yourself’, can be separated from the sovereignty of man. Since it is impossible for man to truly love the condemned sinner in his own heart without expecting anything in return, the emptiness and the nothingness (in compare with Christ) ⁽¹⁶⁾ of human nature that is thus exposed in the face of absolute and perfect goodness. But this emptiness serves as the starting point of the true love of Christ. The hidden love of Christ on the cross, emphasized in Luther’s theology of the cross, comes from our death, invisibility (blindness), and incomprehensibility, after denying all understanding, visible, and metaphysical access.

The hidden love of the cross of Christ does not build on what is already in the world, as any metaphysically visible path does, but is a paradoxical ‘creation’. Therefore, this paradoxical love as the only way is embodied in Christ, who willingly takes on death and nothingness, while simultaneously embodying righteousness and goodness from himself. As Luther said: ‘God transfers us from the visible to the absent and invisible in the present’⁽¹⁷⁾, that is, ‘hidden wisdom’. The event of salvation on the cross of Christ is a momentary event in eternity, and is completed at all times. Only by attributing the full sovereignty of love to Christ can we give up understanding the paradoxical love of the cross from our reason, that is, the ‘the love in kills and dies’.

(14) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther’s work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: *Concordia Publishing House*), 1960, p211

(15) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther’s work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: *Concordia Publishing House*), 1960, p210

(16) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther’s work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: *Concordia Publishing House*), 1960, p209

(17) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther’s work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: *Concordia Publishing House*), 1960, p24

Thus, in such a paradoxical approach, the Christian's salvation and sanctification requires the abandonment of all visible, tangible reliance and evidence. Despite all appearances, feelings, emotions, and logic are contrary to the love of Christ, but in the paradoxical love of Christ counts us as good and righteous, even if we feel evil and unsaved. As Luther said, although our bodies are full of sin, but we are also pure in Christ⁽¹⁸⁾. Perhaps Christians instinctively feel that Christianity is shameful and lowly in the midst of the world's ridicule, but at the same time, glorious and honorable life will be found in the love of Christ. As Luther said, 'Our life is hidden in death, love in hatred, glory in shame, and salvation in perdition'⁽¹⁹⁾; and as Luther concluded in his famous Heidelberg syllogism, 'Glorified theologians call evil good and calls good evil..... When the glorious theologian does not know Christ, he does not know God hidden in suffering'⁽²⁰⁾.

By sorting out Luther's two kernels of love, Mannermaa also advances further to the love for others (neighbors) in the theology of the Cross. Likewise, Christ's paradoxical love, requires the renunciation of all 'love of self' that comes from man himself, and the renunciation of human homogeneity (I will love only those whom I consider lovable and worthy of love). In the paradoxical love of Christ, each of us receives and gives love to others passively, not from ourselves initiatively. In turn, Christ is testified through the true Christians by himself, even if the true Christian does not want to love, or finds others unlovable.

In the love of Christ, apart from the paradoxical progression of death (sin) and life (good), the same is about the passivity and initiative. In Christ we are both fully passive in receiving and fully active in responding⁽²¹⁾. Such is a paradox that defies rational metaphysical approach. But it is only from the love of the cross of Christ that we, as sinners and as nothing, can be truly loved. And because we, as sinners, have experienced and accepted His love for us, we can be empowered to actively respond to Christ by extending the same love to others who also sin. In Christ, Christians are both passive recipients of Christ's love and active lovers of one another. This love unites them as members of one body, as they partake of 'one bread' and drink 'one cup' together, and becoming one in Christ.

As for the connection between love and other important themes in the theology of the cross, such as 'justification by faith', Mannermaa argues that the theme of love perfectly represents the quintessential contrast between the theology of the cross and the theology of glory as a whole⁽²²⁾. The commonly known part of Luther's theology of the cross is the famous 'justification by faith' in the Reformation period. In turn, it deals with the Word of God and the behavior of believers from the perspective of faith, and criticizes Catholicism for its misinterpretation of these issues. In the Chinese context, however, 'faith' is often equated with subjective inner behavior of man which grants sovereignty of 'faith' to man. As explained above with regard to love, no act or faith can justify itself if it originates from a limited and sinful person (if the person is the giver). Even one present of self-originate sovereignty from oneself, then necessarily it will inevitably remain hostile to Christ. Therefore, to understand Luther's important theological ideas of love and faith, one must understand them from a 'paradoxical' approach.

Mannermaa's interpretation of Luther's theology highlights the idea that God's love, which is invisible, incomprehensible, and hidden, can only be revealed through faith. It is in the 'lassen-glaube (let-faith/passive faith)'

(18) Martin Luther, *LW (Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1960, p243

(19) Martin Luther, *WA (D. Martin Luthers Werke)*, vol156, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993), 392.

(20) Martin Luther, *WA (D. Martin Luthers Werke)*, vol156, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993), 361.

(21) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 173.

(22) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 153.

of God's love that the invisible becomes visible and the unknowable becomes knowable⁽²³⁾. According to Luther, the passivity of faith (acceptance of God's grace and trust) and the initiative of love (Christ's love given to the neighbor through His vessel) are two sides of the same coin. The indwelling of Christ among believers means that we are not only recipients of Christ's love but also vessels, through which Christ's love can be expressed to others, then 'we can be Christ in both ways'⁽²⁴⁾. At the same time, as Luther said, 'faith has its effect through love'⁽²⁵⁾.

In the important theme of Christian faith, 'faith, hope, and love', these three concepts are inseparable from each other. The term 'Faith (Fides)' refers to the intellectual agreement with the authoritative teaching of the Church on facts that occurred in the past, and belongs to the present belief in the past. Love (Caritas), on the other hand, is the present tense, where faith takes form through love (fides caritate formata). And Christ embraces us and gives His love at all times until the hope is fulfilled.⁽²⁶⁾ Finally, hope (Spes) serves as a guide to the completion and finality of trust in Christ.

So in Luther's interpretation of Christ's love, it is not, as in Pelagianism, a search for human goodness that can be cooperated with. Rather, it appears in 'non-existence' and sin, redeems sin, and creates love out of nothingness. To believe is to be approached by such love, and to be compelled by it to accept such unconditional love. All our own 'visible' and 'forms' are worthless in the presence of God, and cannot produce any faith. As Luther said, 'I would rather have a merciful God without the faith by my own merit'⁽²⁷⁾. Only the presence of God in our darkness and invisibility, replacing and giving us 'forms' in a way that is beyond the reach of our reason, is the true direction of God's salvation, that is, 'everything will come to be (divine) comfort in this nothing'⁽²⁸⁾.

IV. The important contribution of Luther's paradoxical approach to contemporary phenomenological thinking

As previously mentioned, in theological circles the view of love has long been ruled by the metaphysics coming from Platonism. In philosophical circles, metaphysics has ruled this issue much longer than in theological circles. After the subversive reforms initiated by Luther in the theological world, the philosophical world took a different direction; the rationality-centered metaphysical system became increasingly dominant. The three major critiques of reason proposed by Kant can be said to have reached the pinnacle of metaphysical thinking in the philosophical world. But Luther's three similar critiques, which he had also formulated in a similar way and with similar content hundreds of years before Kant, were increasingly neglected in the further development of philosophy and science in the nineteenth century. The dominance of metaphysics was apparent across all fields, as evidenced by the rise of the empirical paradigm in science and the ascendancy of neo-Kantianism and logical positivism in philosophy.

And in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a number of shortcomings emerged in the theoretical framework of Western modernity. Many important philosophers and theologians emerged, who exalted the virtues of Luther's spirituality and theology. The philosophical community began with the phenomenological

(23) Tuomo Mannermaa, *The Works Of Tuomo Mannermaa: As The Father of Finnish School*, trans by Paulos Huang, (Shanghai: Shanghai San Lian, 2018), 188.

(24) Martin Luther, *WA (D. Martin Luthers Werke)*, vol56, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993), 25-28.

(25) Martin Luther, *WA (D. Martin Luthers Werke)*, vol56, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993), 13-14.

(26) Green, Lowell C., *How Melancthon helped Luther discover the gospel: the doctrine of justification in the Reformation*, (Greenwood, SC: Attic Press, 1980), 144-145.

(27) Martin Luther, *LW(Luther's work)*, vol12, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House),1960, p244.

(28) Martin Luther, *WA (D. Martin Luthers Werke)*, vol56, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993), 364.

trend, led by Heidegger, which was devoted to the 'deconstruction' methodology of Luther as a counter to the Greek philosophical tradition. Heidegger devoted a long period of his early life to the study and research of Luther's theory and offered a special seminar", courses on Luther at the university. The influence of Luther's theory was an important factor in his critique and inheritance of the philosophy of the Academy and classical German philosophy.

In many parts of Heidegger's phenomenological works, Luther's theories are frequently cited and directly referenced.. In Heidegger's critique of theology of glory and Catholic ancient Greek tradition, he explicitly mentions: 'As some of you may know, I originally read theology faith does not require the theory of being at all; if it did, it would be It is not faith. Luther understood this best, though it was long forgotten in his church'(29). Additionally, in Heidegger's work '*Ontologie. Hermeneutik der Faktizität*' and '*Being and Time*', he also refers in his work about Luther's historical inauguration of such a hermeneutic progression: '(Aristotle-New Testament-Augustine-Luther)Deconstruction of philosophy by the idea of research, and the hermeneutics of actuality, is in the light of preexistence and prior grasp'.(30).

Inheriting and critiquing Heidegger's ideas, Levinas devoted his writings to exploring the concept of love in a Protestant theological perspective. In the tradition of the idea of love that comes from Greek philosophy and Catholic theology, Levinas collectively categorized it as the domain of 'number and Being': 'Love does not grasp anything, it does not lead to concepts, it does not lead to anything (anything), it has neither a subject-object nor an I-Thou structure The movement of love's desire lies in the movement towards the beyond possible'. (31)

Levinas shares Luther's view in critique of the traditional egocentric path to the infinite. From Platonism to Catholic theology, the central direction that has always been hidden in the religion is the passage from reason to infinity. Levinas gives a critique from a phenomenological point of view. The infinite itself can be opened through discourse and discernment, but the 'dark corners' of the subject's presence will inevitably be re-present, resulting in an incomplete representation of the true infinite. Further, Levinas supports his claim with an example from the Bible where Adam hid himself in the sound of the eternal God that echoed throughout the Garden of Eden from the place of sunrise. These dark corners provided a place of escape from the summons(32). In turn, the subject has no power to put infinite control and grasp in the presence; rather, the subject can only be infinitely given, summoned and sought. The traditional metaphysical paranoia about rationality represents precisely an escape from the infinite itself, which only 'exacerbates' the subject's deficit and 'original sin'. From the phenomenological point of view, 'no topic - no present - can do anything about the infinite, to which the subject bears witness'(33). Therefore, the subject itself can only do is to witness and passively receive what it is given.

In addition to Heidegger and Levinas, French philosophers such as Michel Henry, Marion and others have also initiated to a radical theological turn in the field of philosophy, which remains a prominent and radical force

(29) Martin Heidegger, "The Reply to the Third Question at the Seminar in Zurich"---- Laurence Paul Hemming (ed.), *Heidegger's Atheism: The refusal of a Theological Voice* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 291.

(30) 海德格尔 Heidegger, 《存在论（实际性的解释学）》*Ontologie, Hermeneutik der Faktizität*, 何卫平 He Weiping 译·(北京Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [Commercial Press Press]), 2016, 122.

(31) 列维纳斯 Levinas, 《总体与无限：论外在性》*Totalité et infini: essai sur l'extériorité*. 朱刚Zhu Gang译·(北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Beijing University Press]), 2016, 251.

(32) 列维纳斯Levinas, 《另外于是或在超过是其所是之处》*Autrement qu'être ou Au-delà de l'essence*, 伍晓明 Wu Xiaoming. (北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Beijing University Press]), 2019, 340.

(33) 列维纳斯 Levinas, 《另外于是或在超过是其所是之处》*Autrement qu'être ou Au-delà de l'essence*, 伍晓明Wu Xiaoming. (北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Beijing University Press]), 2019, 344.

in the field of contemporary French theory today. In this trend, the key terms employed by Henry, Marion and others draw from the theological terms of the Protestant theological systems. Further, it has to be said that Luther's position is crucial to the influence of this current wave of philosophical theory in France.

To sum up, it can be said that Luther's theology of the cross did not only initiated a subversive reform in theological circles, but also played a crucial role in the theological turn of the phenomenological philosophical trend after the 20th century. Therefore, the significance of Lutheran theology in the overall lineage of Western intellectual history can be seen in this paper's discussion of the theme of love. Lutheran theology and its influence cannot be overlooked and needs to be valued by academics, whether they are studying the development of the history of theory, contemporary philosophical schools, or even various cutting-edge issues of the present age.

This number is a special volume on Martin Lutheran studies in Chinese academia.

In the column of **Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National Studies** we have published **Dr. HE Teng's** "Augustine and Luther on Free Will--- From the enslaved Will to the bondage of the will" and "Martin Luther's Theory of "Two kingdoms" and Its Practical Dimension" by **HE Danchun** and **Paulos HUANG**.

In the column of **Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society**, we have published professor **YU Tao's** "The Theory and Practice of the Development of Healthcare and Epidemic Prevention in the Christian Church since the Middle Ages" and **REN Tiantang's** "A Wisdom-Pneumatology in Exegetical, Historical and Pastoral".

In the column of **Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible**, we have published "Is Human Freedom an Illusion? A critical discussion between the current neurophysiologically deterministic interpretation and Martin Luther's theologically deterministic interpretation" by **MA Tianji** and **CHEN Szu-Chin**, and **DONG Lihui's** "Portraying Our Lady of China: An Alternative Visual Modernity in China".

In the column of **Church History in the West and in China**, we have published **ZHAO Weirong's** "Luther's Reformatory Discovery: Justification by Faith", and "A New Probe into the Relationship between Jin Sheng, an Important Minister in the Southern Ming Dynasty, and Western Learning and Western Religion" by **XIAO Qinghe** and **XU Ruiyou**.

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In the column of Reviews and Academic Reports, we have published "On the Succession of the Thrones in Early Ancient China" by **OUYANG Zhenren** and **TIAN Yu**, **WANG Kun's** "From 'Respect' in Confucianism to 'Three Respects' in Korean Donghak" and **WANG Zhiqing's** "An Analysis of Cognitive Philosophy on the Dilemma of Cognitive Subject Caused by Metaverse".

中文题目：
两种爱——论芬兰学派曼多马对路德的爱观的阐释

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提要：在现当代西方思想史所面对的种种困境中·马丁·路德的爱观及其十架神学越来越被更多的研究者所重视。而当代路德研究中芬兰学派对路德爱观的阐释也越发被认可。本文将论述芬兰学派之父曼多马对路德爱观的阐释。通过曼多马的阐释·本文前两节将分别论述路德对希腊哲学传统和天主教荣耀神学所统治的爱观的批判。第三节将通过论述爱观引出路德十架神学中的信心、救恩等重要主题·进而凸显出爱这个主题在神学中的重要性。最后一节将进一步论述路德的爱观和十架神学在现当代现象学哲学思潮中的继承和发挥·进而可以全面来展现路德在现当代思想史中的重要地位及其研究价值。

关键词：爱、荣耀神学、十架神学、信

人学、神学与国学

**Humanities, Theology,
and Chinese National Studies**

Augustine and Martin Luther on Free Will From the enslaved will to the bondage of the will

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the comparison between Augustine's and Luther's understanding of the bondage of the will. As a philosopher of will, Augustine establishes the independence of the will in his earlier work. In his debate with Julian of Eclanum that comes from his later period, Augustine emphasizes grace and original sin. The salvation and freedom of humans rely on the Holy Spirit. In the debate with Erasmus, Luther introduced the conception of the necessity of will. However, both thinkers have different understandings of faith. Augustine has an intellectual understanding of faith, while Luther is a fideist.

Key words: Augustine, Martin Luther, free will

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Understanding the relationship and comparison between Augustine and Luther has been a continual focus of scholarship.⁽¹⁾ *Prima facie*, there are many similarities between these two great thinkers. For instance, both emphasize the priority of grace and original sin. Augustine, however, confronts the dialogue between ancient Greek philosophy and Christianity, while Luther lives in the era of the collapse of natural theology and the premodern time. Not unrelated to this fact, they each have different approaches toward God and reason.

In order to make a comparison between them, I will focus on the discussion of the bondage of will by Augustine and Luther. Augustine's understanding of will also had a great impact on Luther, who quotes Augustine's works in many different places in *De servo arbitrio*.⁽²⁾ Augustine's understanding of will is labeled as "enslaved will", especially in his anti-Julian works.⁽³⁾ As a polemic writing, *De servo arbitrio* can immediately remind us of the debate between Augustine and Julian of Eclanum.⁽⁴⁾

In the first part, I will present the characteristics of Augustine's understanding of the will and the debate between Augustine and Julian of Eclanum. In the second part, I will present Luther's understanding of will in *De servo arbitrio*. Luther argues that there is no freedom of will in the relationship between human beings and God. In this way, free will is an empty name. In the last part, we can show that Augustine and Luther have different understandings of faith. Augustine can be seen as having an intellectual understanding of faith, while Luther is a fideist.

(1) Volker Henning Drecoll: *Augustins Handbuch*, Mohr Siebeck, 615-622; Mathias Mütel, „Augustins Bedeutung für Martin Luthers Rechtfertigungslehre“, in *Annales Theologici* 2017, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 473-485; Christian Danz, „Der unfreie Wille Augustin und Luther über göttliche Gnade und Freiheit des Menschen“ in *Augustinus und Luther Zur Verwandtschaft zweier <Kirchenväter> Beiträge des 15. Würzburger Augustinus-Studententages vom 19. Mai 2017*, Echter Verlag, 2019, 89-102.

(2) For example, Luther quotes *De spiritu et litera* and *Contra Iulianum* in LW,33, 108.

(3) Lenka Karfiková, *Grace and the Will according to Augustine*. Vol. 115. Brill, 2012.

(4) Kurt Flasch, *Kampfplätze der Philosophie: große Kontroversen von Augustin bis Voltaire*. Klostermann, 2008.

I. Augustine on the free will

(1) Independence of the will

Before we analyze the debate between Augustine and Julian of Eclanum, we should give a brief summary of Augustine's theory of will in his earlier period. In his Anti-Manichaean work *De libero arbitrio*, Augustine provides his solution to the theodicy question by introducing will (*voluntas*) and free decision (*liberum arbitrium*). He argues that human will is responsible for sin and evil, in order to argue against Manichaeism.

In the response to the question of evil, Augustine established the criterium of will: (1) The independence of the will, namely that the will is neither compelled by desire (*cupiditas*) nor by God. Augustine provides a metaphysical argument for the independence of will. Augustine argues that free will as a middle good (*medium bonum*) cannot be influenced by the body (*corpus*), which is a small good (*parvum bonum*) and thus less powerful. Meanwhile, the just God can never compel humans to sin. Therefore, only the will can decide itself, that is to say, will is the bearer of the punishment or the grace of God. (2) The compatibility between God's providence (*providentia*) and will. Augustine argues that the free decision of human beings cannot be intervened by God. Even though God knows that I will do something x at a certain time, doing x is also done because of the decision of the will. Besides, Augustine makes a distinction between God's providence (*providentia dei*) and necessity (*necessitas*). In other words, God's providence is not a compulsion for human actions. (3) The contrast between will and nature: Augustine points out that the will can either turn to God or turn to the lesser good – body. That is to say, the will has the freedom to make a choice between turning upward or falling down. In contrast, the stone can only fall down because of its weight. When it comes to the question, whence comes the will to commit a sin, Augustine's answer is the will itself.

It should be noted that the independence of the will has two important resources in ancient Greek philosophy. On the one hand, the Neoplatonic understanding of the world helps Augustine to consider will as a middle good. The difference between Augustine and Neoplatonism lies in that Augustine does not regard the body or matter as the source of evil. On the other hand, Augustine's understanding of the power of the will is rooted in the discussion of "ta eph'hemin" in the Stoic tradition. Augustine transfers this discussion into the context of theodicy and advocates for the power of the will. I will label it as a normative and ideal understanding of the will. It is a more metaphysical description and argumentation of the will. In the next part, we will show the existential dimension of will, especially regarding the original sin.

(2) The necessary sin and the chain of will

It is widely accepted that Augustine establishes a new understanding of grace after his continuous commentaries on Paul's letter, especially after Augustine finished the work *Ad Simplicianum* I.2 in 397. In this work, Augustine sets grace at the center of his thought and emphasizes that grace is based neither on human efforts nor on human will.⁽⁵⁾

(5) For the details, see Teng He, "Rethinking the Relationship between Grace and Free Will in *Ad Simplicianum* I 2", in *Studia Patristica*:VOL. CXIX, Peeters,2021, pp.67-76.

There is a historical-theological background for Augustine's understanding of will, namely the primal sin of Adam and Eve. The postlapsarian humans have inherited the original sin. In the eschatological world, the sin will be healed by God. There are three types of freedom regarding the relationship between power and sin, namely "to be able to sin" (*posse peccare*), "to be unable not to sin" (*non posse non peccare*), and "to be unable to sin" (*non posse peccare*). Adam and Eve can freely commit sin. Postlapsarian humans are no longer able to have a free choice between right and wrong. The human beings in the eschatological state cannot commit sin.

Augustine has also a very famous paragraph on the chain of will in *Confessiones* VIII, 5,10:

"This is what I was sighing for, being tied down not by irons outside myself, but by my own iron will. The Enemy had control of the power of my will and from it he had fashioned a chain for me and had bound me in it. For, lust is the product of perverse will, and when one obeys lust habit is produced, and when one offers no resistance to habit necessity is produced. By means, as it were, of these interconnected links- whence the chain I spoke of-I was held in the grip of a harsh bondage. But, the new will, which had begun to be in me, to serve Thee for Thy own sake and to desire to enjoy Thee, God, the only sure Joyfulness, was not yet capable of overcoming the older will which was strengthened by age. Thus, my two voluntary inclinations, one old and the other new, one carnal and the other spiritual, were engaged in mutual combat and were tearing my soul apart in the conflict."⁽⁶⁾

We can make the following notes. First, the new will and the old will are not two souls or two substances, as Manichaeism claims. For both should be seen as the volitions of the single and the entire will. Second, the "chain of the will" (*catena voluntatis*) is the conflict between the new will and the old will, which are respectively correlated to spirit and flesh. The new will is spiritual and is directed toward the unchangeable God, whereas the old will is directed toward the changeable good. Thus, Paul's "struggle of the flesh" is interpreted by Augustine as a struggle within the will. Last, we can see that the old will or the inclination to the changeable world is within the will itself. Because of it, humans cannot avoid sin and achieve true freedom.

(3) The enslaved will

Augustine's pessimistic understanding of human will was attacked by Pelagian in 412. From then on, they began a famous controversy in the history of the ancient church. In 418, Pelagianism was condemned at the Council of Carthage. Julian of Eclanum, the supporter of Pelagianism, was not satisfied with this condemnation and attacked Augustine's position. Let us now focus on their debate on the understanding of will.

Julian of Eclanum defines the will as "the movement of the mind which has in its power either to descend toward evil on the left or to strive toward noble things on the right."⁽⁷⁾

From this definition, Julian believes that with free will people can choose between good and evil. In the debate with Julian, Augustine emphasizes that human beings have already inherited the original sin of Adam and suffered in the punishment of God (*poena*). Augustine believes that all humans have inherited the sin of Adam and

(6) *Confessiones* VIII.5.10 "Cui rei ego suspirabam ligatus non ferro alieno, sed mea ferrea voluntate. Velle meum tenebat inimicus et inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me. Quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. Quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis (unde catenam appellavi) tenebat me obstrictum dura servitus. Voluntas autem nova, quae mihi esse coeperat, ut te gratis colerem fruique te vellem, Deus, sola certa iucunditas, nondum erat idonea ad superandam priorem vetustate roboratam. Ita duae voluntates meae, una vetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritalis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam." translated by Vernon J. Bourke.

(7) *Contra Iulianum*: opus imperfectum, I, 46, "Voluntas itaque motus est animi, in iure suo habentis utrum sinisterior ad prava decurrat, an dexterior ad celsa contendat."

Eve, including the newborn children.⁽⁸⁾ In other words, although the newborn children do not have free will, they are condemned to sin.

There is also a difference regarding the conception of grace. Julian advocates synergism, while Augustine advocates monergism. According to Augustine, human beings cannot redeem themselves. Grace precedes human merit (*meritum*), namely the will (*voluntas*) and works (*opus*). Augustine emphasizes that the gain of the love of God (*caritas Dei*) does not rely on the choice of the will. The Holy Spirit can produce a direct effect on free choice. This is indicated by the following reference to “the love of God which is poured out in our hearts, not by a choice of the will which comes from us, but by the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom 5:5).”⁽⁹⁾

According to Augustine, the turning or conversion of the will relies on the influence of the Holy Spirit, which pours love into the heart of humans, in order that the will can be moved and turned to the good. In the grace of God, humans are not able to do bad things. This cannot be seen as a denial of freedom of human beings, but rather a realization of freedom under the grace of God. The freedom here does not denote what libertarianism claims, i.e. the principle of the alternative possibility (PAP), which means that one can choose among different options. In contrast, freedom under grace means liberation from the possibility to commit sin.

II. The bondage of the will

Luther’s conception of free will (*liberum arbitrium*) is mainly discussed in the work *De servo arbitrio*, which is a polemical writing directed against Erasmus. Erasmus stands for a more humanist understanding of the will, while Luther denies the freedom of will. In the following, I will present Luther’s understanding of free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) and freedom.

(1) The definition of *liberum arbitrium*

In chapter three of *De servo arbitrio*, Luther analyzes Erasmus’ definition of free choice (*liberum arbitrium*), quoting it as follows:

“By free choice in this place we mean a power of the human will by which a man can apply himself to the things which lead to eternal salvation, or turn away from them.”⁽¹⁰⁾

We can make the following comments on this definition. The Latin term *arbitrium* stems from the verb *arbitrari*, which means to choose or to judge. Historically speaking, the Latin term *liberum arbitrium* was first used by Tertullian in the Christian tradition.⁽¹¹⁾ In Augustine, free choice is characterized by power and can also be traced back to the discussion of *eph’hemin/ in potestate* in the Stoic philosophy.

For Luther, there is another important background, namely the discussion between voluntarism and intellectualism in the late scholastic era, which is represented respectively by Franciscans and Dominicans. This debate is rooted in the definition of *liberum arbitrium* in Peter Lombard’s *Sententia*, which is “the very power and ability of will and reason.”⁽¹²⁾ However, it will be further asked, whether *liberum arbitrium* belongs to the faculty

(8) *Contra Iulianum*: opus imperfectum, I,49.

(9) *Contra Iulianum Imperfectum* I.83 “...caritas Dei, quae diffusa est in cordibus nostris, non per voluntatis arbitrium, quod est a nobis, sed per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis.”

(10) LW33, 102-103; “Porro liberum arbitrium hoc loco sentimus vim humanae voluntatis, qua se possit homo applicare ad ea, quae perducunt ad aeternam salutem, aut ab iisdem avertere.” WA18, 675:30.

(11) Theo Kobusch, „Selbstbestimmte Freiheit. Das frühe Christentum im Kontext der antiken Philosophie“, ZNT-Zeitschrift für Neues Testament 17.34 (2014), S.50.

(12) Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* II, XXV, 1. Luther mentions Lombard in LW33, 108.

of will or the faculty of reason. Thomas Aquinas, the representative of intellectualism, regards the will as a rational appetite (*appetitus intellectualis*) and thus the byproduct of the intellect. Aquinas does not distinguish between will and reason and places greater emphasis on the priority of reason. In the eyes of Scotus, Aquinas' understanding of will can be labeled as intellectual determinism. Briefly speaking, if the will is seen as a byproduct of reason, then the will is decided by the judgment of reason. Moreover, the reason is always directed to the rational structure. In order to establish the real freedom of God, Scotus emphasizes the priority of will to reason. Therefore, freedom is not based on reason, but on the will. In other words, man is free by virtue of his will.

So far so good. We can turn back to Luther. Luther notes that the term "vis" (power) is the synonym of "facultas" (faculty), which denotes the power of the human will. He comments that free choice is "a capacity or faculty or ability or aptitude for willing, unwilling, selecting, neglecting, approving, rejecting, and whatever other actions of the will there are."⁽¹³⁾

According to Luther, there are two levels of freedom, which are based on his distinction between "before God" (*coram deo*) and "before humans" (*coram hominibus*). Luther does not deny that humans possess freedom of action before humans, for example, people can freely choose what they want to eat and wear. However, Luther denies the freedom of will before God. In other words, humans cannot freely choose between turning away or turning to salvation. Regarding the relationship between God and humans, there is only a necessity.

We can see Luther's comments on Erasmus' three types of freedom.

"The first one is: Man cannot will the good without special grace, but can still desire and endeavor.

The second one is: Free choice is of no avail save to sin and grace alone accomplishes good in us.

The third one is: Free choice is a mere empty name. God works both good and evil in us and all things come about by sheer necessity."⁽¹⁴⁾

At first sight, the first statement was ascribed to the position of Pelagianism and Erasmus who both emphasize the freedom of will in salvation. This can be labeled as synergism. The second statement can be ascribed to Augustine, which is labeled as monergism. The third one is Luther's understanding, which is theological determinism.

Luther concludes with this remark:

"For when it has been conceded and agreed that free choice, having lost its liberty, is perforce in bondage to sin and cannot will anything good, I can make no other sense of these words than that free choice is an empty phrase, of which the reality has been lost. Lost liberty, according to my grammar, is no liberty at all, and to give the name of liberty to something that has no liberty, is to employ an empty phrase."⁽¹⁵⁾

In this paragraph, Luther argues that free choice is no more than an empty name. For it has already lost its liberty to choose between what is good or wrong. There is no freedom in the human will, but rather the necessity (*necessitas*) of God's determination. "...in relation to God, or in matters pertaining to salvation or damnation, a man has no free choice, but is a captive, subject and slave either of the will of God or the will of Satan."⁽¹⁶⁾

But we must make some clarification of Luther's understanding of necessity (*necessitas*). The necessity of the will does not mean that the will is compelled by God. Luther makes a distinction between necessity (*necessitas*) and compulsion (*coactio*). This distinction echoes Augustine's understanding of the relationship between necessity

(13) LW 33,105.

(14) LW 33,112.

(15) LW 33,116.

(16) LW 33, 69.

and providence. The necessity means “necessity of immutability”⁽¹⁷⁾ Under such necessity, “the will cannot change itself and turn in a different direction.”⁽¹⁸⁾

Here we can make a contrast between Augustine and Luther. By Luther, there is no need to make a distinction between *posse peccare*, *non posse non peccare* and *non posse peccare*, as Augustine does. All human beings are under the necessity and have no freedom in the relationship with God. In contrast, Augustine claim that Adam and Eve possess the freedom to commit original sin.

III. The different understanding of faith: intellectualist vs. fideist

In this part, we would like to analyze the understanding of faith (*fides*) to show the difference between Augustine’s and Luther’s conception of will. I will focus on two aspects: (1) The attitude toward philosophy and reason; (2) The relationship between reason and will.

As is known, Augustine is influenced by Neoplatonism and built his understanding of Christianity through philosophy. His philosophical slogan is “faith searching understanding” (*fides quaerens rationem*). Augustine would like to harmonize the Neoplatonic philosophy and the doctrine of Church traditions. In other words, Augustine tries to construct a rational approach to his own Christian faith.

The most outstanding proof text can be found in *De Trinitate*. He argues that belief in Jesus does not depend on how we imagine him but rather upon a priori notions of humans. “For an idea has been impressed upon human nature as if it were a law, according to which, when we see any such thing, we at once recognize it as a man or as the form of a man.”⁽¹⁹⁾ Augustine argues that species and genera are not derived from experience. They are imprinted in us (*impressa in nobis*), referring to a priori notions.⁽²⁰⁾ Therefore, faith in Jesus is thus not dependent on history, but rather on the form of humans. Thus, he has a very rational and metaphysical approach toward Jesus. For Augustine, faith cannot be separated from his intellectual-Platonic background.

In contrast, Luther is not satisfied with previous rational efforts to understand the Christian faith. Luther has a more negative attitude toward the reason. The historical background of Luther is the rise of modernity. In his monograph *The Theological Origins of Modernity*, Michael Gillespie argues that the origin of modernity lies in the theological crisis in the late scholastic era, which has been raised by three eading figures who all spent time in Avignon, namely Meister Eckhart, and William of Occam and Francesco Petrarca. Gillespie’s focus is to illustrate the challenge of nominalism, which destroyed the traditional rational metaphysical understanding of God and the world. In 1277, the bishop of Paris, Étienne Tempier issued a condemnation against Aristotelianism.

According to Gillespie, there are the following features of nominalism. (1) The voluntaristic understanding of God: The nominalist Occam distinguishes the ordinary power (*potentia ordinata*) from absolute power (*potentia absoluta*). Based on this distinction, God is characterized by absolute potency and far beyond human understanding. (2) The emphasis on individuality: The nominalist does not investigate the common nature. This is labeled as the way of modernity (*via moderna*), which is different from the way of antiquity (*via antiqua*). According to the way

(17) LW 33, 64.

(18) LW 33, 64.

(19) *De trinitate* VIII.4.7 “Habemus enim quasi regulariter infixam naturae humanae notitiam, secundum quam quidquid tale aspiciamus, statim hominem esse cognoscimus, vel hominis formam.”

(20) Augustine avoids Plato’s teaching of recollection which is bonded to the preexistence of the soul. Augustine criticizes Plato’s theory of recollection in *De trinitate* XII.15.24.

of modernity, the world consists of individuals. Meanwhile, they try to construct a direct relationship between God and human beings. ⁽²¹⁾

Now we come back to Luther. In *De servo arbitrio*, Luther argues that God is hidden (absconditus). “This life or eternal salvation, however, is something that passes human comprehension.” ⁽²²⁾ Luther emphasizes that God is not intelligible and charges reason with foolishness and blindness. In particular, due to the misuse of reason, there are different understandings of the Bible. ⁽²³⁾ Regarding the relationship between humans and God, humans are finite, while God is infinite. God can be only characterized by power and will. Luther says, “God’s will is effectual and cannot be hindered, since it is the power of the divine nature itself.” ⁽²⁴⁾ The will of God is the necessity of humans.

Based on this understanding of God, Luther can only turn to the inner faith. According to Luther, the faith in Christ must be centered on the teaching of Jesus. In *De libertate christiana*, Luther emphasizes that faith refers to the inner man, rather than to the external man, which is instead related to wealth and fame. Luther makes a contrast between faith with works. Luther emphasizes that humans’ justification is depends on faith rather than on works.

After all, Augustine makes a very strong inward turn, but this turn is still more rationalistic. For example, Augustine sees self-reflexive reflection on reason as part of this inward turn and as something that will lead us toward God. Luther has a more radical turn to the inner self which is more subjective and less rationalistic. For Luther, faith is not based on a philosophy-related objective value, but rather on subjective certainty. Thus, we can label Luther as a fideist.

IV. Conclusion

This paper has separately discussed the understanding of will by Augustine and Martin Luther. Both can be seen as the opposite of libertarianism, denying freedom relies on another alternative. Even though both thinkers emphasize the grace of God and original sin, Luther goes further in his understanding of the will because of the influence of Nominalism. On one hand, Luther sees the importance of the incomprehensibility and power of God. On the other hand, Luther emphasizes the priority of will over reason. Regarding the understanding of faith, Augustine advocates an intellectual faith and seeks understanding. In contrast, Luther is less rationalistic and more subjective.

(21) Michael Gillespie, *The Theological Origins of Modernity*, Harvard University, Chapter I.

(22) LW 33, 105.

(23) LW 33, 111; 117; 121.

(24) LW 33, 38. “Voluntas euini Dei efficax est, quae impediri non potest, cum sit naturalis ipsa potentia Dei.”

中文题目:

奥古斯丁与路德论自由意志

——从“奴役的自由”到“意志的捆绑”

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提要: 本文比较了奥古斯丁与路德对“意志捆绑”的理解。作为意志哲学家,奥古斯丁在他早期的著作中确立了意志的独立性。但奥氏在晚年与埃克兰的朱利安的辩论中强调恩典和原罪。奥古斯丁认为,人的得救与自由依靠圣灵的作用。路德在与伊拉斯谟的辩论中引入了意志必然性的概念。然而,两位思想家的信仰观存在着不同。奥古斯丁对信仰有理智的理解,而路德是信仰主义者。

关键词: 奥古斯丁、路德、自由意志

Martin Luther's Theory of "Two kingdoms" and Its Practical Dimension

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Abstract: Luther's "theory of two kingdoms" outlines "the kingdom of God" governed by "spiritual government" and "the kingdom of the world" governed by the "secular government". It also emphasizes the obedience to the secular rulers regardless of their tyranny. Luther's solution to the problem of their tyranny made him controversial, especially after the oppression of civilians and Jews by the extreme power politics in Auschwitz tragedy in World War II. Some scholars argue that it has kept religion indifferent to society and politics. To address this issue, Niebuhr and Moltmann proposed a political theology that focuses on the reality of human conditions in this earthly life. Latin American liberation theology further applied secular theology to practice, but it eventually shifted to spiritual construction in the face of the spiritual crisis of the loss of theological identity. The relationship between the two kingdoms can be explored from the perspective of spirit (πνευματικῶς pneumatikōs), soul (ψυχὴν psychēn) and flesh (σαρκίνοις sarkinois). This paper aims to demonstrate the inherent affinity between the two kingdoms and respond to the criticism of the "two kingdoms" theory.

Key words: Martin Luther, "two kingdoms" theory, theology of spirit, soul and flesh, Latin American liberation theology

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1. Introduction

The relationship between the Sacred and the Profane is a crucial and controversial topic in the study of Christianity. This tension is rooted in the conflicting powers between religion and politics, between theology and society, and between spiritual and physical realms, and among other contradictory dialectical oppositions. Martin Luther's "two kingdoms" theory inherited significant theoretical viewpoints from the Bible and Augustine's theory of "two cities." As one of the representative theories of Christianity in dealing with the Sacred and the Profane relationship, it had been continuously refined and matured, particularly after the German peasant war. Luther divided the Sacred and the Profane into the kingdom of God, responsible for inner faith, and the kingdom of the world, responsible for external order and worldly peace.⁽¹⁾ Building on this foundation, Luther further underscored the significance of secular power and the necessity of obedience to secular political power.⁽²⁾

As a tool for maintaining secular rule, Luther's "two countries" theory has valuable implications for democratic political order. However, it can be easily abused during autocratic periods which leads to criticism. During the Second World War, the Christian Church stood silent in the face of Nazi atrocities and disregarded

(1) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong : 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 135 °

(2) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong : 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 69 °

Auschwitz massacre to keep the religious distance between faith and the society. Afterwards some theologians criticized the complete separation of the relationship between the two kingdoms. They advocated for combining faith and religious criticism of society and proposed a political-theological model in which the church should bear social responsibility. This new model of political theology served as the theoretical basis for early Latin American liberation theology and was applied in practice.

However, “it is must be said that the abuse or misinterpretation of a doctrine doesn’t justify its condemnation.”⁽³⁾ During World War II, the Norwegian Lutheran Church based their resistance against the German occupation on Luther’s doctrine of the two kingdoms. In 1946, Eivind Berggrav, the Bishop of Oslo in Norway, stated that despite the Nazis depriving them of law and justice, they had God and conscience to fall back on. Luther became their great example and gave them arms.⁽⁴⁾

Therefore, it is necessary to re-examine the assertion that Martin Luther’s “two kingdoms” theory disregards the present world and separates the relationship between the Sacred and the Profane. Political theology and liberation theology shifts their focus from individual and spiritual rebirth to pursuing the physical liberation of human beings, which enriches the Christian religion. However, with the development of secular theology, it also risks neglecting spiritual and faith, and separating the two kingdoms. Luther’s theory is valuable for navigating the relationship between the two kingdoms. The current literature on Martin Luther’s “two kingdoms” theory is insufficient, mainly focusing on interrelationships of the “two kingdoms” and the theory itself. The innovate point of this article is that it will not only interpret the relationship between two kingdoms from the perspective of spirit, soul and flesh, but also use Latin American liberation theology as an example to elaborate in detail.

2. The theory of “two kingdoms”

Luther’s “two kingdoms” theory can be traced back to biblical teachings. In the Book of Matthew 22:21, Jesus answered the Pharisees’ question about paying taxes to Caesar by stating, “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” This suggests that the secular rulers have control over the flesh, while God has control over the spirit, and the two are not related. The apostle Paul also discussed the secular authority in Romans, stating in *Romans* 13:1 that “Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.” Paul’s argument, based on the Bible, shows that secular power comes from God. As a result, spiritual and earthly power, which had been previously in separation, moved towards interaction. This attitude towards secular power has greatly influenced Christianity’s development over thousands of years. After Constantine unified Rome, Christianity became the authoritative religion that was closely linked to politics and used as a tool to maintain political rule. Consequently, the power of the pope was placed under secular power. The legalization of secular power did not result in the separation of politics and religion, but instead led to entanglement and interference between the two kingdoms.

Augustine’s theory of the two cities served as a direct source of inspiration for Luther’s theory of “two kingdoms.” According to Augustine, individuals who prioritize their earthly desires constitute the secular city,

(3) Prill T, “God’s Two Kingdoms and the Christian’s Two Citizenships: Luther’s Misunderstood Doctrine and its Relevance for Today,” *Grace to the Nation*, Vol. 2, (2010), 35-39.

(4) Prill T, “God’s Two Kingdoms and the Christian’s Two Citizenships: Luther’s Misunderstood Doctrine and its Relevance for Today,” *Grace to the Nation*, Vol. 2, (2010), 35-39.

while those who prioritize spiritual pursuits constitute the city of God. ⁽⁵⁾As both the holy city and the secular city coexist within the same country, the question of how politics and religion intersect becomes a pressing issue. Augustine proposed that Christians living under pagan rule should obey the commandment of Jesus to "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" and submit to the rule of secular authorities. In Christian countries, secular rulers should obey God just like other Christians and lead with the city of God as their guiding principle. ⁽⁶⁾ Augustine believed that the secular city and the city of God coexisted within the same space, with the church existing within the social reality of the secular world. Therefore, Christians cannot reject the secular city by opposing the earthly system and the city of God. Augustine argued that the two powers given by God are equal, and the secular power is not subordinate to the spiritual power. Christians should obey the ruler of their country, unless the spirit sphere is violated. ⁽⁷⁾

The relationship between the state and the Church underwent significant changes during the Middle Ages, as the Western Roman Empire was gradually divided into the national kingdoms, and the feudal system led to the separation of the states and divisions of the churches. The "Two Swords" doctrine emerged during this time and went through a long process of evolution, reflecting the struggle between political power and religious authority. In general, since the reign of Pope Gelasius I (491-518), the "two swords doctrine" had prevailed, which held that there was no superiority between the two swords of "kingship" and "ecclesiastical power". As the Roman Catholic Church grew in power, the "two swords" doctrine posited that God gave both the "secular sword" and "spiritual sword" to the Pope who then handed the "secular sword" to the king, strengthening the independence and authority of the Church in this way. ⁽⁸⁾During the era of Gregory VII, with the increasing power of the Roman Catholic Church, the theory was transformed into one where religious power was higher than secular power, and religious power became the sole authority. The corruption of the papal system provoked ecclesiastical heresies such as Wycliffe and Hoss, but they failed to challenge the authority of the church due to the inability of the secular regime. In the period of Martin Luther, the rising consciousness of nationalism in Europe provided support for religious reform for which Luther's theory of "two kingdoms" served as a theoretical foundation.

Martin Luther's religious reform challenged the social and political order of his time. At that time, the model of church-national states gradually replaced the Roman Catholic-imperial order. The implementation of the religious reform required new political-theological theory to replace the "two swords" doctrine under the Roman Catholic-imperial order. Luther's "Two Kingdoms" theory developed and matured in response to the changing reality, which can be divided into three stages.

From the publication of the "Ninety-five Theses" in 1517 to "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" in 1521, Luther's main work was to demonstrate the legitimacy of secular power and to connect the spiritual and secular kingdoms. According to Luther, both secular power and church power came

(5) 奥古斯丁 Augustine, 《上帝之城》 Shangdi zhi cheng [The City of World], 王晓朝 Wang Xiaozhao 译 · (北京 Beijing : 人民出版社 People's Publishing House) · 2006 · 631 ·

(6) 奥古斯丁 Augustine, 《上帝之城》 Shangdi zhi cheng [The City of World], 王晓朝 Wang Xiaozhao 译 · (北京 Beijing : 人民出版社 People's Publishing House) · 2006 · 21 ·

(7) Martin Luther's "two kingdoms" theory is based on Augustine's theory of the two cities but was modified to reflect his own ideas. Luther believed that Christians belong to the "kingdom of God," but their physical bodies are also in the "kingdom of the world." Luther argued that worldly power belongs to the present world but becomes an integral part of the Christian.

(8) 姜启州 · 赵辉宾 Jiang Qizhou, Zhao huibin · 《试论中古西欧双剑论的流波与诠释》 Shilun zhongguxiyou shuangjianlun de liubo yu quanshi [On the Dissemination and Interpretation of the "Two Swords Theory" in Medieval Western Europe] · 《政治思想史》 Zhengzhi sixiangshi [Journal of the History of Political Thought] · No.1 · 2016 ·

from God. While secular power belongs to the present world but becomes an integral part of Christian. Just as the hands should help the injured eyes, secular power has the right to regulate and punish Pope for his errors. Since earthly power is sent by God to punish the wicked and protect the kind people, the secular authorities should freely exercise this power among the whole Christian community.⁽⁹⁾ In Luther's theory, Christians are also part of the power in the world, and the power in the world becomes the extension of the power of God's kingdom in this world. As the two countries gradually converge, secular power is elevated to spiritual power. Luther's ideas were welcomed by the lower classes. On the one hand, the people who had long been excluded or oppressed by the Catholic-imperial order also wanted to change the world order as Luther said. On the other hand, the nationalistic sentiment contained in the religious reform and the "two kingdoms" theory also catered to the people's aspirations. Under the influence of Luther, the peasant movements took place.

The period from 1521 to 1523 marked a stage of maturity for Luther's ideas of two kingdoms. Following the Diet of Worms, the secular government prohibited the propagation of Luther's ideas and treated him as a prisoner, which led Luther to realize that the power of the secular government needed to be restrained as the power of the church. In response, Luther published his "An Earnest Exhortation for All Christians" to preach the Word and convince people. In 1523, Luther's "Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should Be Obeyed" expounded on the relationship between the two kingdoms clearly defined, mutually compatible, and interdependent. Luther maintained that "the one [kingdom] is to produce piety, the other to keep the peace and prevent wickedness; neither is sufficient to exist in the world alone".⁽¹⁰⁾ The article also delved into the Christian use of the sword and the limits of the submission to the authority. According to Luther, to preserve their faith and spiritual life, Christians should not submit to the interference of secular power with faith and conscience.⁽¹¹⁾ Instead, they should refuse to obliterate the Christian faith, deny the Word of God, and blaspheme the majesty of God.⁽¹²⁾ Christians may use the sword in cases of injustice towards others, but they shouldn't use it for their own secular or related interests.

However, various groups, such as insurgents, the secular government, and the church, exploited this doctrine for their selfish desires. In particular, radical religious groups denied the authority of the secular government, overemphasized the importance of the spiritual kingdom, and completely severed the relationship between the two kingdoms. Thomas Münzer took the relationship between the two kingdoms to an extreme in 1524, proposing that God lives in the mundane world, that the well-being of Christians in this life is as important as the immortality of the soul, and that Christians could interfere directly with secular power and change the social structure. In 1524, the misinterpretation of Luther's theory and the urging of reformers such as Münzer resulted in peasant wars in Germany. Luther responded them by publishing articles such as "Admonition to Peace Concerning the Twelve Articles of the Peasants," "Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants," and "An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants." In these writings, he urged the nobles to take the riots seriously, mitigate their

(9) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong: 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 69。

(10) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong: 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 135。

(11) 黄保罗·刘新利 Paulos Huang · Liu Xinli · 《路德书信集 (1507-1519)》Lude shuxinji (1507-1519) [Martin Luther's Letters] · (山东Shandong: 山东大学出版社 Shandong daxue chubanshe [Shandong University Press · 2015] · 148页。

(12) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong: 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 131。

harsh demands on the peasants, and pointed out the the problem of violence of the peasants and the error of the Gospel in rationalizing the violence.

The practical application of Luther's "two kingdoms" theory focused on the stability of the social order in the context of the intensification of the conflict between the lower classes and the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire under feudal serfdom. This period marked the practical application of Luther's "two kingdoms" theory, which he refined further by reflecting on the peasant wars. He adjusted the relationship between the two kingdoms, emphasizing that secular authority has the power to suppress heresy and blasphemy, particularly the violent rebellion of radical religious groups. Before and after World War II, many Christians ignored this context in which the "two kingdoms" theory arose so that they misunderstood or criticized it.

3. Misunderstanding and Criticism of Luther's "Two Kingdoms" Theory

Due to Luther's emphasis on the status of secular authority and his opposition to changing the social order, the relationship between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world was often misconstrued as a divisive relationship, which had a serious negative impact on Hitler's Germany. During World War II, many Christians misunderstood the relationship between the two kingdoms, considering that they are separate. They disregarded the fact that Christians physically live in this world and have a responsibility to it. Members of the Lutheran Church who supported the Nazi dictatorship even deliberately misinterpreted and misused the "two kingdoms" theory to authorize the dictatorship. The so-called German Christians of the time willingly cooperated with the Nazi regime and did their best to bring the church under the control of the Nazi state. However, this approach clearly confused Luther's definition of the boundaries between the two kingdoms.

After the Auschwitz tragedy, theologians who had witnessed the oppression of civilians and Jews by Nazi ultra-powerful politics during World War II, reflected on the Auschwitz tragedy from a theological perspective. As a result, political theology emerged as a Doctrine dealing with the relationship between religion and society. Representative figures of political theology, such as Jürgen Moltmann (1926-) and Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), reexamined and reflected on Luther's idea of the "two kingdoms." Based on this, they proposed new theological ideas to address contemporary societal problems. They believed that the church should be cognizant of its political presence, social duties, and critical responsibility.

Moltmann argued that "the doctrine (the 'two kingdoms' theory) provided no basis for religious and political resistance to Hitler's perversion of the state"⁽¹³⁾ and led to the separation of church and state, which left the church to govern only religion and conscience, while society was left to be governed by a conscience-neutral power politics.⁽¹⁴⁾ In his *Theology of Hope*, Moltmann shifted the perspective of Christian theology from the kingdom of God to the secular world, emphasizing the importance of promoting change and bringing hope to people in their socio-political and private lives. He criticized Luther for the danger of pulling ourselves out of the world and becoming silent and uncritical, arguing it is not a responsible Christian way of being, and it does not contribute to peace and justice in world politics and economics. Moltmann rejected the separation of the Christian community

(13) Jürgen Moltmann, *The Politics of Discipleship and Discipleship in Politics: Jürgen Moltmann Lectures in Dialogue with Mennonite Scholars*, (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 17.

(14) 于尔根·莫尔特曼·Jürgen Moltmann·《俗世中的上帝》Sushizhong de shangdi[Gott im Projekt der modernen Welt]·Zeng Nianyue 译·(北京Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China])·2003·50°

from the secular society, arguing that Christians should develop a critique of the violent world in the light of God's kingdom in the Last Judgment.⁽¹⁵⁾

Moltmann's view highlights that it is very important to reflect and criticize the society and keep inner faith. He also emphasized the importance of the social reality and the need for changes and critical spirit to promote the transformation of irrational social structure. His theory shows an attempt to link the spiritual kingdom with the secular kingdom. However, he shifted the focus of theology from God to humanity and society, so that "the crucified God" as a reflection of human suffering and social reality may ignore the characteristics of religion and God. As a consequence, it runs the risk of insufficient spiritual construction. His critique of Luther's "silencism" may also be biased, which could be further explained in the fourth chapter with the theory of the theology of the soul, the flesh and the flesh.

Niebuhr argued that Christians have the ability to transform the social structure to care for each other. He criticized Luther for his unfounded fear of anarchy stemming from his pessimism, and his indifference to the injustices of tyranny which led to fatal consequences in the history of German civilization.⁽¹⁶⁾ Niebuhr contended that although Luther advocated for individuals to fulfill their responsibilities in society and help their fellow man, he did not propose changing the social structure to foster mutual care. Niebuhr also pointed out that Luther's stance on the peasant revolt exemplifies his approach of separating the secular and spiritual kingdoms. Luther expressed satisfaction with the inequalities of the feudal system of his time, acknowledging that there would always be masters and slaves in the world.⁽¹⁷⁾

Niebuhr contended that Luther's theory opposed the demand of peasants for the abolition of serfdom because it would expand Christ's spiritual kingdom into the secular realm, thereby achieving equality for all people. Luther widened the gap between the secular and spiritual kingdoms, which becomes a division between "public" and "private" morality. He demanded perfection of private morality in the service of official morality and the existing social structure, favoring tyranny over anarchy.⁽¹⁸⁾

In political theology, the theology of the kingdom of God emphasizes the importance of leading a righteous life and promoting the welfare of society. It is not a private theology, but rather a public one. According to Moltmann, the separation of church and state does not imply that religion should become only a private matter. The church should preach the gospel of the Kingdom of God not only to individuals, but to society as a whole. Moreover, Moltmann argues that the theology of the Kingdom of God should not only remain confined to the public sphere, but also should shed light on marginalized individuals who have been relegated to the underground.⁽¹⁹⁾ This implies that the harmonious relationship between religion and politics requires the active participation of every Christian in politics and society. For Christians, the peace is a communal concept rather than an individualistic one, and the harmonious relationship between church and politics can be disrupted as

(15) Jürgen Moltmann, *The Politics of Discipleship and Discipleship in Politics: Jürgen Moltmann Lectures in Dialogue with Mennonite Scholars*, (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 51-55.

(16) 雷茵霍尔德·尼布尔 Reinhold Niebuhr · 《人的本性与命运（下卷）》 Ren de benxing yu minyun [The Nature and Destiny of Man], 王作虹 Wang Zuohong 译, (贵州 Guizhou: 贵州人民出版社 Guizhou Renmin chubanshe [Guizhou People's Publishing House]), 2006, 450。

(17) 雷茵霍尔德·尼布尔 Reinhold Niebuhr · 《人的本性与命运（下卷）》 Ren de benxing yu minyun [The Nature and Destiny of Man], 王作虹 Wang Zuohong 译, (贵州 Guizhou: 贵州人民出版社 Guizhou Renmin chubanshe [Guizhou People's Publishing House]), 2006, 456。

(18) 雷茵霍尔德·尼布尔 Reinhold Niebuhr · 《人的本性与命运（下卷）》 Ren de benxing yu minyun [The Nature and Destiny of Man], 王作虹 Wang Zuohong 译, (贵州 Guizhou: 贵州人民出版社 Guizhou Renmin chubanshe [Guizhou People's Publishing House]), 2006, 456。

(19) 于尔根·莫尔特曼 · Jürgen Moltmann · 《俗世中的上帝》 Sushizhong de shangdi[Gott im Projekt der modernen Welt] · Zeng Nianyue 译 · (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmindaxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China]) · 2003 · 265-266。

soon as one person is left behind. Therefore, political theology overcomes the problem of the privatization of politics inherent in traditional theology.

While political theology has undoubtedly contributed to the development of theology's public attributes, it is important to note that the critique is based on the misinterpretation of Luther's theory rather than Luther's own theory. In the 19th century, with the rising of national states and civil society, the boundary between two kingdoms was distorted as the difference among the "private" and the "public". The faith was away from the secularization, and the secular world became faithless and distant from God. Professor Sun Xiangchen pointed out that John Stuart Mill's work *On Liberty* inherits Luther's dichotomous structure of inner and outer wherein the public sphere is still ruled by the secular king, but the essential difference is that man governs the private sphere instead of God.⁽²⁰⁾ This misinterpretation formed the basis of Niebuhr's critique of Luther's "two kingdoms" theory. The division of the "public" and "private" since Luther's Reformation has departed from Luther's original conception of "two kingdoms" which was divided into the inner and outer originally.

The critical political theology advocated by Niebuhr, Moltmann and some other scholars, became the theoretical basis for liberation theology. The difference is that the liberation theology intended to be more revolutionary as it aimed to change the center-periphery order and the domestic social order. At that time, in Latin America the wealth gaps widened under the external dependence of capitalism and the internal rule of the military government. In response, Latin American theologians such as Gustavo Gutiérrez launched the movement of liberation theology that united all the poor to liberate themselves from capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Gutiérrez believed that only by eliminating the alienation of the irrational system could man regain his dignity, and that the Catholic faith was a tool for eliminating alienation. He argued that if the Church refuses to engage in class struggle, it will degenerate into what Marx called "opium" —an instrument to paralyzes the people. Therefore, religion is no longer a silent sigh and can no longer deprive people of their real life.⁽²¹⁾ In Latin American liberation theology, the relationship between the kingdom of God and the secular kingdom is redefined.

Political theology and liberation theology challenge Luther's "two kingdoms" theory by questioning how the suffering and injustice of this world can be rectified on the condition that societal structure and order remain unchanged. Although Christian theology focuses on salvation and the eternal life in the spiritual realm, human beings live in the physical world. Upon closer examination of the two kingdom theories, it becomes evident that although Luther did not advocate for spiritual power to interfere in the temporal world or for Christians to alter the present world's order, he did not reject this world's significance or Christians' responsibility for the mundane world at the meantime. To delve deeper into the relationship between Luther's "two kingdoms", the following chapter will explore the tension between the spiritual and the temporal through Luther's theory of spirit, soul and flesh.

(20) 黄保罗 Paulos Huang · 《神学、哲学与第三次启蒙对谈录》 *Shenxue zhexue yu disanci qimeng duitanlu* [Dialogues on Theology, Philosophy and the Third Enlightenment], (赫尔辛基 Helsinki : 《国学与西学国际学刊》杂志社 Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], 2021),107-108 °

(21) 奚望 Xi Wang · 张航 Zhang hang · 《古铁雷斯<解放神学>对马克思宗教批判的回应》 Gutieleisi jiefangshenxue dui makesi zongjiao pipan de huiying [A response to Marx's Critique of Religion in Teología de la Liberación by Gutiérrez] · 《重庆交通大学学报》 Chongqin jiaotong daxue xuebao [Journal of Chongqing Jiaotong University] · No. 8, 2018, 8 °

4. Elaborating the relationship between the two kingdoms from the dimensions of spirit, soul and flesh

Luther, citing *1 Thessalonians*(5:23), and drawing on St. Jerome and Augustine's theories, divided man into three parts: flesh, soul, and spirit. These parts correspond to the sensual, rational, and spiritual aspects of human nature respectively.⁽²²⁾ The flesh exists in the kingdom of the world; the spirit, a matter of faith and belief, exists in the kingdom of God. The soul, our middle part between the two, is equal to human's response to the reality, including intellect, will, emotion and so on.

The relationship between the two kingdoms is intricately intertwined in three dimensions of human existence: spirit, soul, and flesh. Christians, residing in the earthly realm, are unable to entirely extricate themselves from the sins of the flesh, and they bear spiritual responsibilities for the kingdom of God. The soul enables us to engage in rational activities within the context of social reality. Christians are subject to the authority of secular governments and the potent influence of traditions, customs, morals, and ethics. In the meantime they also adhere to God and remain steadfast in their faith through rational thought. For the sake of faith, their fellow human beings, and the entire world, Christians assume roles such as court officers, judges, public officials, etc., so that the government will not be despised, or tend to annihilation. They also fulfill their social obligations with dedication, as the spirit will drive them to do something good and necessary. Their service to their country is not for their own needs.⁽²³⁾

It should be noted that the attainment of the ideal living is only feasible for those who have received divine grace and cannot be expected of anyone in the secular world. Therefore, unlike the kingdom of God, which is governed by the gospel, the secular kingdom also necessitates the use of the law and the sword. Christians living in a secular kingdom are required to comply with the laws of secular rulers. However, in addition to obeying secular laws, Christians may be prompted by the spirit to emulate the "incarnation" of Jesus Christ by prompting the theology of soul and flesh. Christians may also be impelled by the spirit to undertake secular tasks and engage in social service in the dimensions of soul and flesh. It is evident that the relationship between the kingdom of God and the earthly kingdom in Luther's theory is not a dichotomy, or "quietism" as Moltmann defined. Instead, it represents a synthesis of opposing forces and mutual influences within the triadic nature of the the spirit, the soul and the flesh.

Luther placed greater emphasis on the spirit rather than on the flesh and the soul, believing that mundane aspirations are intrinsically incapable of achieving perfection. Luther recognized very clearly that high-handed politics cannot be eliminated on earth since neither man nor society can be perfect, and politics cannot be either. Therefore, there is no need for Christianity to insist on a government with sound political theory and perfect political practice in the kingdom of the world.⁽²⁴⁾ Luther opposed revolution and supported reform in the face of an imperfect government because he believed that the kingdom of the world could not live up to the ideal of Christianity, and the kingdom of God could not exist on earth. He quoted the story of the beggar who feared that a

(22) Paulos Huang · *Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, (Leiden&Boston : Brill · 2009),11-12.

(23) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编 · 《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》 Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong : 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 137。

(24) 陈驯 Chen Xun, 《路德论政教关系》 Lude lun zhengjiao guanxi [On the Relationship between Church and State according to Martin Luther], No.1 (赫尔辛基 Helsinki : 《国学与西学国际学刊》 杂志社Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan [International Journal of Sino-Western Studies], 2015),46.

fly that had drunk its fill of blood would be driven away which might invite other thirsty flies, a metaphor for the unreliability of political revolutions.⁽²⁵⁾ While it is easy to change the government, it is difficult to obtain a better one, and its danger is difficult to perceive. Based on the fact that the kingdom of God cannot be realized on earth, the difference between the old and new governments is just old wine in a new bottle.⁽²⁶⁾

Since World War II, with the accelerated secularization of theology, the theology of soul and flesh has been overemphasized while the theology of the spirit has been neglected so that the relationship between two kingdoms is at risk of becoming unbalanced. As Luther said, the lack of a theology of the Spirit produces severe consequences. "The spiritual man rests outwardly in the Word and in Faith, namely, positively, as long as the object of his faith, that is, the Word, remains fixed in him. But he is disturbed outwardly when his faith is in danger."⁽²⁷⁾ The theology of soul and flesh has gradually become a social evangelical movement with the rise of political theology and liberation theology, replacing the theology of the spirit. These evangelical movements placed too much emphasis on the theology of flesh and soul to reduce injustice and suffering in this world, neglecting the theology of spirit such as identity, origin, mission and so on. The history between 1950 and 1980, including liberation theology, shows that the social gospel movement couldn't bring the kingdom of God anywhere on earth. Therefore, the social gospel should not be the essence of Christianity. The next chapter will address how to achieve a balance between the two kingdoms in these three dimensions in the context of the Latin American liberation theology movement.

5. Spirit, Soul and the Flesh in the Movement of Liberation Theology in Latin America

A theology of soul and flesh is complementary to the theology of the spirit rather than a substitute. In contrast, the social gospel is a substitute for the theology of the spirit. The soul and the flesh comprise two-thirds of human beings. However, they cannot replace the other third, namely the spirit. Although temporary, soul and flesh are essential and necessary for human existence. Focusing solely on soul and flesh, the social gospel neglected spirit and failed to deliver the blessings that Christianity was intended to provide, therefore losing its essential dimension.⁽²⁸⁾ This is also the fundamental issue of the theological crisis of liberation theology. Liberation theology mistakenly believes that people can only be won over by keeping up with history and changing the social structures which lead to poverty. It fails to realize that people prefer an "eternal" fundamentalist religion rather than a religion that changes with time.⁽²⁹⁾

(25) The story of the beggar and flies could be referred to Rhetoric 2, 20, Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jewish People*, 18, 174-175 (VI,5) 转引自黄保罗 Paulos Huang: 《反思马丁·路德在农民起义、使用暴力和反对造反三方面所受到的批评》[Reflections on the critique of Martin Luther's attitudes towards farmers' uprising, violence and rebellions against some regimes], 《云南民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》 Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexueban [Journal of Yunnan Minzu University (Social Sciences)], (云南 Yunnan: 2016年第1期 · 54。

(26) 黄保罗 Paulos Huang: 《反思马丁·路德在农民起义、使用暴力和反对造反三方面所受到的批评》[Reflections on the critique of Martin Luther's attitudes towards farmers' uprising, violence and rebellions against some regimes], 《云南民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》 Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexueban [Journal of Yunnan Minzu University (Social Sciences)], (云南 Yunnan: 2016年第1期 · 54。

(27) Paulos Huang · *Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, (Leiden&Boston: Brill · 2009),18.

(28) Paulos Huang · *Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, (Leiden&Boston: Brill · 2009),16.

(29) 叶健辉 Ye Jianhui · 《托邦 拉丁美洲解放神学研究初步》 Tuobang ladingmeizhou jiefangshenxue chubuyanjiu [Utopia: Preliminary Study of Liberation Theology in Latin America Yearbook of Chinese Theology], (北京 Beijing: 中央编译出版社 Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe [Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2015], 276。

In the 1960s, the movement of liberation theology took place within the global trends of innovation, against the backdrop of the political and economic realities of Latin America. The Second Vatican Council, from 1962 to 1965, created an opportunity for reform in liberation theology with its resolution to comprehensively reform Roman Catholicism to adapt to new trends, including international communism. Meanwhile, Latin American countries adopted the developmentalist theory of Raúl Prebisch (1901-1986) and engaged in import substitution industrialization to develop their national economies and to overcome their dependence on Western industrial processed goods. However, this import substitution industrialization strategy eventually failed due to unbalanced economic development. As a result, the dependency theory emerged based on the success of the Cuban Revolution and some of views of Structuralism. The dependency theory called for a revolutionary break with capitalism and advocated for the liberation of poor countries from the dependence. Early liberation theology replaced “development” and “revolution” with “liberation”, rejecting economic discrimination against the weak and the inhumane while also inheriting the content of the “revolution” to change the existing order without strong political overtones.

At the political level, the authoritarian rule of military governments in South America in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as individual dictatorships in Central America, weakened intermediate organizations that could channel the political participation of the people. Political parties and interest groups were banned or strictly controlled. Built on liberation theology, grassroots church groups grew rapidly and became a channel for the voice of the people to seek “liberation” from totalitarian politics.

In the early stages, Liberation Theology primarily focused on the theology of soul and flesh. As a tangible expression of the secular realm, the theology of flesh manifested in the physical dimension, encompassing the physical body, the surrounding environment, and material wealth, so that it became a crucial factor in the movement of Liberation. In the book, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, Leonardo Boff (1938-) and Clodovis Boff (1944-) proposed that “Liberation Theology was born when faith confronted the injustice done to the poor.”⁽³⁰⁾ It shows that the elimination of poverty became the primary demand of early Liberation Theology.

At the social and psychological level, the theology of the soul focuses on individuals’ interaction with others in their surroundings and rational reflection on them. For instance, people respond to their cultural, racial backgrounds and other people. Based on their perception of the self and the world, some individuals choose to conform to the existing social order and norms, while others strive to transcend the prevailing social structures by becoming leaders.⁽³¹⁾ The early Liberation Theology belonged to the latter, as they actively engaged with the world, contemplated reality while reflecting on people and the world, critiqued the exploitation and oppression perpetuated by the capitalist system, and endeavored to break the established rules and transcend the prevailing social structure in this world. However, although pursuing the material and physical realm is reasonable, it can never attain absolute perfection. However, it just leads to relative progress. Only by unifying the spirit, soul, and flesh can we alleviate the sinfulness of the flesh and the sins of the world.

In Luther’s theory, the spiritual kingdom, reaching perfection, is elevated above soul and flesh. Luther referred to the fleshly man as the old man, while the spiritual man was referred to as the new man.⁽³²⁾ The concept of the spirit in theology “ may be their understanding of their own characters, their past experiences, and their

(30) Leonardo Boff, Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, tr. by Paul Burns, (New York: Orbis Books, 1989), 150.

(31) Paulos Huang · *Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, (Leiden&Boston : Brill · 2009),14.

(32) 胡斯都·冈萨雷斯Huston L. Gonzalez, 《基督教思想史》 Jidujiao sixiangshi [A History of Christian Thought], 陈泽民 Chen Zemin孙汉书 Sun hanshu 译 · (南京Nanjing: 译林出版社[Yilin Translation Press]), 2008, 313 °

future possibilities.”⁽³³⁾ The belief in the invisible spiritual dimension is believed to drive change in the tangible physical world through the role of the soul dimension.

In the movement of liberation theology, Gutiérrez, in his book *Liberation Theology*, noted that the development of Christianity showed a tendency to give a positive connotation to poverty as an ideal state of religion. Therefore, he criticizes the indifference of religion in the face of the present world.⁽³⁴⁾ Gutiérrez argues that poverty, as an immoral state according to biblical standards, violates human dignity and is therefore contrary to the will of God.⁽³⁵⁾

Liberation theology rejects the rationalization of “poverty” and frequently cites the liberation of the Israelites from slavery and oppression written in *Exodus*, as a foreshadowing of the way for the Latin American people. Through faith and reflection, individuals engage in revolution and struggle to improve the conditions of the poor in the kingdom of the world.

In the initial development of the liberation theology movement, the relationship between the two kingdoms gradually shifted towards the secular kingdom. Although Gutierrez emphasized the importance of alleviating both material poverty and “pobreza espiritual” (spiritual poverty), the movement paid more attention to the soul and the flesh. As an important base for liberation theology, grassroots christian groups gradually became radical in the development and increasingly involved in political movements in countries such as Chile and Nicaragua. The early roots of the movement could be traced back to a group of young Christian intellectuals in Chile, the leaders of a socialist Christian movement in 1972. Their aim was to be Christians in faith but socialists and revolutionaries in politics. Their efforts paved the way for the growth of liberation theology.⁽³⁶⁾ Subsequently, in 1979, the movement played a role in the violent overthrow of Anastasio Somoza (1925-1980) in Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan Revolution was considered a “new experiment” in liberation theology. Both grassroots church organizations and the socialist Christian movement in Chile aimed to intervene and change the irrational political and economic order in order to achieve social justice.

Liberation theology faced a spiritual crisis as it emphasized the kingdom of the world at the expense of the theology of the “spirit” and the kingdom of God. This led to attacks from both Catholic fundamentalists and Protestant charismatics, causing a need for transformation. In 1979, the Third General Conference of Episcopalian Latin American proposed a conservative version of liberation theology that would not threaten the social order and would go beyond the secular revolution, providing a foundation for the transformation of liberation theology.

In the 1980s, the fall of military governments and the return of civilian governments led to the gradual retreat of liberation theology from politics. They began to focus on the issue of cultural identity to address the theological problem of the spirit. Liberation theology began to regain its theological identity while avoiding political controversies, which could be seen in two trends of tendency of Liberation Theology, the theology of the people and Indian theology.

The grounding of liberation theology in this period shifted from the global trend of innovation in 1968 to a more profound exploration of its own internal historical heritage since 1492. That Columbus discovered the New World in 1492 marked the encounter between Christian civilization and the Other. As the idea of Christian mission

(33) Paulos Huang · *Yearbook of Chinese Theology*, (Leiden&Boston : Brill · 2009),15.

(34) Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la liberación*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Sigume, 1972), 366.

(35) Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la liberación*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Sigume, 1972), 269.

(36) 余文烈 Yu Wenlie, 《当代国外社会主义流派》 Dangdai guowai shehuizhuyi liupai [schools of Contemporary Socialism Abroad], (合肥 Hefei : 安徽人民出版社 Anhui Renmin chubanshe[Anhui Renmin Press] · 2000) · 398.

emerged while local cultural traditions throughout the Americas were weak, Christianity easily made Catholicism prevail in Latin America and dominate this land.⁽³⁷⁾ Nevertheless, the native Latin American faith and civilization did not become extinct but were revitalized through the mutual integration of Iberia and Indian America.

The theology of people can be traced back to the encounter and convergence of these two different continents after 1492. Carlos Scannone, a representative of the theology of the people, posited that the theology of the people, as a combination of culture, religion, and history, consists of the second generation liberation theology. He extended the source of liberation theology, the “poor”, to the grassroots from the pastors of the Church, from revolutionary communities, from the poor and the oppressed.⁽³⁸⁾ “Juan Pueblo”⁽³⁹⁾ represents the image of the common people in the theology of people, clings to their own historical identity and discovers a new expression of grassroots religion during the wave of industrialization.⁽⁴⁰⁾ They searched for the ultimate meaning of life and death in the depths of their own history and culture. Scannone described it as a fundamental characteristic of their culture.⁽⁴¹⁾

Indian theology embodies a unique spiritual experience that highlights the divine presence within a history of cultural integration. The Indians’ belief in a natural animistic deity was integrated in their spiritual experience with the “liberator” Christ sought during colonial period. As a result, ancient Indian religion became the path to the “kingdom of God”, as they put it: our own God gave us the way to the Word of God and to Jesus Christ.⁽⁴²⁾

Indian theology is an another practice of religious integration in the Christian encounter with the Other, conform to evangelical paradigm proposed by Charles Van Engen. This model confronts the historical and intrinsic dynamics of interfaith, consistent with the developmental patterns of Indian theology. In contrast to exclusivist, pluralist, and inclusivist paradigms, it has three distinct characteristics. First, in the evangelical paradigm, Christianity is exclusivist in its beliefs, i.e., the Gospel is only in Jesus Christ, while Indian theology recognizes God and Jesus as the ultimate destination. Second, it is pluralist in its cultural aspects, as Indian theology embraces indigenous beliefs and cultures. Third, it is inclusivist in ecclesiastic area, i.e., it rethinks theology in the new age with multiple cultures and the context of the globalization.⁽⁴³⁾ In the 1980s, Indian theology, grounded in its own history and culture, became one of the developing trends in the transformation of the liberation theology movement.

The theology of the spirit has played a crucial role in the development of liberation theology since the 1980s. Christianity has been the dominant religion in Latin America since its introduction in 1492 during Spanish colonization, but the indigenous population also had their own spiritual beliefs. They believed in the mountains, the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars. Despite the violent eradication of culture during the colonial era, this spirituality and culture persisted. The tension between these two religious and cultural identities has been a consistent theme in the history of Latin America.

(37) 黄保罗Paul Huang, 《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue [Theology of Chinese Academic Dialogue in the Light of the Great Guoxue], (北京: Beijing: 民族出版社 Minzu chubanshe [The Ethnic Publishing House], 2011) · 125 ·

(38) Juan Carlos Scannone, *Evangelización, cultura y teología Editorial*, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Guadalupe, 1990), 61-66.

(39) Juan is a very common name of local people like John; Pueblo means people.

(40) Juan Carlos Scannone, *Nuevo punto de partida en la filosofía latinoamericana*, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Guadalupe, 1990), 18.

(41) Juan Carlos Scannone, *Evangelización, cultura y teología Editorial*, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Guadalupe, 1990), 70.

(42) Eleazar López Hernández, “Cambinos de la Teología India”, in Gisela Grundges (IPA), ed., *Teología Inia. Sabiduría indígena, fuente de esperanza. Tercer Encuentro-Taller Latinoamericano*, (Cusco, Perú; Editorial Grafisol, 1998), 75.

(43) “Evangelicalism” is further discussed in Van Engen’s works from 2000a and 2000b. 转引自黄保罗Paul Huang, 《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue [Theology of Chinese Academic Dialogue in the Light of the Great Guoxue], (北京: Beijing: 民族出版社 Minzu chubanshe [The Ethnic Publishing House], 2011) · 172-173)

Early liberation theology focused primarily on social and political movements and revolutions, neglecting the theology of spirit. This resulted in an imbalance between the secular kingdom and the kingdom of God. The "poverty" that underlaid the spiritual experience in early liberation theology was seen as a result of the intervention of nuclear countries and closer to the theology of flesh. The rise of the theology of the people and Indian theology helped to address this imbalance and to develop a theology of spirit. In face of the oppression and suffering in the secular life, these theologies draw new spirit that integrates the relationship between two kingdoms on the collision and convergence of two continents in 1492. At this point we can refer to Guadalupe, a religious figure that emerged from the combination of Spanish Catholicism and Indian civilization. The theology of the people and the Indian theology achieved a balance between the two kingdoms by obeying the rule of the government in the secular kingdom and reciting *the Rosary* under the statue of Guadalupe for the suffering people. It reflects Luther's teachings and demonstrates that spirituality and politics can work in tandem to address social injustices.

6. Conclusion

Luther's theory was susceptible to misinterpretation and misunderstanding particularly during periods of dictatorship, therefore leading to criticism. This is especially evident during the fascism of the Second World War and the various totalitarian regimes that emerged in Latin America in the last century which caused much harm to the development of human rights and political democracy. In such contexts, obedience to established order is tantamount to hold the candle to the devil. However, it is essential to note that Luther acknowledged the usefulness and benefits of the sword for the sake of the neighbor and the whole world. ⁽⁴⁴⁾In extreme cases, Luther was likely to suggest that Christians were not necessarily opposed to the use of violence for others. As human being exist in the secular world, they have both a duty to observe social order and the right to oppose violent governance. The "two kingdoms" doctrine appears to be more valuable in democratic politics, as it not only prevents threats to existing democratic political orders but also reinforces spiritual refresh, which is often overlooked in economic growth.

Through Latin American liberation theology, this paper further elaborates the relationship between the two kingdoms in the dimension of spirit, soul and flesh · responding to the critique of Martin Luther's "two kingdoms" theory in a new light. In the late 1960s, liberation theology shifted the focus of Christianity from spiritual areas to the improvement of the material conditions of life. This movement drew attention to the political order and social structure. However, liberation theology neglected spiritual construction in its struggle for political, economic and social liberation, leading to a crisis. After the 1980s, with the fall of military governments and the rise of democracy, liberation theology turned to spiritual reflection and sought more moderate approaches to fight against the evils in the present world.

The relationship between the two Lutheran kingdoms is similar to the "inner affinity" described by Weber in his analysis of the relationship between capitalism and Protestant ethics. ⁽⁴⁵⁾The kingdom of God and the

(44) 黄保罗Paulos Huang主编·《马丁·路德研究丛书之二论两个国度》Mading Lude yanjiu congshu zhi er [Series on the study of Martin Luther: Two kingdoms], (山东Shandong : 山东省基督教两会Shandongsheng jidujiao lianghui [Shandong Province Christian Association], 2018), 138 ·

(45) 马克斯·韦伯Max Weber·《新教伦理与资本主义精神》Xinjiaolunliyuzibenzhuyijinshen · [The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism], 康乐Kang Le·简惠美Jian Huimei译·(上海 Shanghai : 上海三联书店 Shanghai Sanlianshudian [Shanghai Joint Publishing Company]) · 2019 · 16 ·

secular kingdom both derive their authority from God, which forms the basis of their affinity. The dimensions of spirit, soul and flesh further reveal the concrete location of the “two kingdoms” and their intersection, reflecting the affinity between them.

Between the Sacred and the Profane, Christianity does not emphasize worldliness and the elimination of fleshly desires in the same way that Buddhism and Hinduism do. Instead, in the Christianity thought there are many society-entry thoughts which can be concluded from Jesus’ arriving world to guide suffering people towards eternal rejoice. The “two kingdoms” concept links the ultimate concerns of religion with the social concerns of mundane life, achieving a reconciliation between the spiritual and the physical as well as the intersection of the eternal and the real.

中文题目:

马丁·路德的“两个国度”理论及其实践维度

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提要:路德的“两个国度”理论勾画了由“属灵政府”管理的“上帝之国”和“俗世政府”管理的“世界之国”这两个国度,并强调即使俗世君主不公,也不得反抗。对俗世政府暴政问题的解决方法使路德饱受争议,特别是在二战的奥斯维辛极端强权政治压迫平民和犹太人之后,尼布尔、莫尔特曼等学者批判两个国度的宗教二分使得宗教对社会与政治保持距离和冷漠的态度,提出关注此岸世界的人类现实处境的政治神学。拉美解放神学将这种属世神学进一步运用到实践,但在后期失去神学身份的灵性危机下逐渐转向属灵建设。本文从“灵、魂、肉”的视野,以拉美解放神学为例,探究两个国度的关系及其实践维度。本文意在回应一些学者所认为的两个国度的分裂问题,从“灵、魂、肉”的人论视野证明两个国度之间的内在亲和性;本文也希望通过对“两个国度”理论的重新解读,为处理属世神学的困境提供可借鉴之处。

关键词:马丁·路德·“两个国度”理论·“灵魂肉”理论·拉美解放神学

实践神学

与中西教会和社会

**Practical Theology and Sino-Western
Views on Church and Society**

The Theory and Practice of the Development of Healthcare and Epidemic Prevention in the Christian Church since the Middle Ages —On The Contribution of Christianity to China’s Modern Medical and Health undertakings

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Abstract: The “Black Death” in the Middle Ages has become a painful memory of European society that cannot be erased. On the basis of inheriting the medical thought of ancient Greece, the Catholic Church extended its unique concept of epidemic prevention with the concept of Christian theology, and urged the Christian Church (Catholicism and Protestantism) to take medical epidemic prevention and improve the level of public health as an important means to spread the Christian gospel to the world after the religious reform. On one hand, it has expanded the influence and affinity of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and on the other hand, it has promoted the development of modern medical and health care all over the world. It has also become a major force in building China’s modern medical and health system, and its influence continues to this day.

Key words: Christian churches, epidemic prevention theory and practice, medical and health care in modern China

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Christianity has a long historical tradition of focusing on social public health care. As the largest social organization in the West, the Catholic Church has always played a leading role in all aspects of social affairs, especially the Catholic Church has had a profound impact on western medical theory and practice in the fight against all previous plagues in the long medieval Europe, with its strong power, abundant wealth, numerous talent elites and absolute authority.

1. Historical Tradition: The theology and epidemic prevention of the Catholic Church in the epidemic of the Black Death in the Middle Ages

Looking back on the history of Europe in the Middle Ages, it is not difficult to find that the Catholic Church in Middle Ages made certain positive contributions to the cause of epidemic prevention in Europe under the control of theological system of the Holy See. At the same time, it is undeniable that the backward idea also brought some negative effects to the European people. In a word, the medieval Catholic theology and the epidemic prevention take the interdependence and integrated development in social practice, which became an inevitable result of the social and historical development in the Middle Ages.

From the middle of the 6th century to the 18th century, the “Black Death” and other plagues spread across the European continent. At this time, a series of disastrous consequences followed, such as political unrest, sharp

population decline, and cultural destruction, and Western European society was in chaos under the rule of the Holy See. In particular, the Black Death (plague, then called Pestilenza⁽¹⁾), which ravaged Europe from 1348 to 1350, left people with tragic memories. Giovanni Boccaccio wrote in *The Decameron*: “And were it not for the fact that I am one of many people who saw it with their own eyes, I would scarcely dare to believe it, let alone commit it to paper, even though I had heard it from a person whose word I could trust.”⁽²⁾ and gave a detailed and vivid description of the tragedy caused by the plague in the first part of *The Decameron*. In the face of the situation that the epidemic patients were left unattended and had no place to live, the Catholic Church made the recognition and response with extensive social impact at that time. Churches at all levels set up hospitals as charitable organizations in various places to guide friars to participate in the work of hospitals, providing nursing services for people in need of help in the plague and daily medical services for patients when necessary; The church also called on people to clean up dirt and to pay attention to environmental sanitation to reduce the pollution and avoid the spread of viruses again. In addition, these church aid agencies quickly became the shelters for the sick and the homeless. The priests not only provided diagnosis and treatment to the patients as much as they could, but also tried their best to help these people.⁽³⁾ These are the positive practices of the church in the face of the plague.

In the process of coping with the “Black Death”, medical theories based on medieval Christian theology gradually formed. Christian medical thought in the Middle Ages mostly inherited from the philosophy and medical theory of ancient Greece and Rome. Medieval doctors with monks and priests as the main body continued to use the “Humorism” balance principle of Hippocrates and Claudius Galenus to diagnose patients. However, with practical needs and the deepening of medical research, medical theories of surgery and pharmacy were innovated to a certain extent. Influenced by Christian theology in the Middle Ages, the church adhered to the idea of “love”, and the clergy firmly believed that visiting and caring for epidemic patients were the requirements of Jesus Christ, and consciously assumed the responsibility of caring for the common people; At the same time, they continued to emphasize the concept of original sin, attributing the death of the patient to his sin, and healing of the patients because of his pious confession; While the practice of surgical treatment was considered to be “diabolic tricks and exotic technology”, excluded from the main medical ideas, and was always difficult to enter the mainstream. Under the unified instruction of the Holy See, the “God-denounce”, proposed by the Church to seek the cause of the “Black Death” from the root, has become the main cognition and prevention theory of the society. For example, William Zouche, the Archbishop of Yorkshire, was the first in Britain to respond to the epidemic. He was influenced by the fact that Pope Clement VI of Avignon clearly regarded the plague as the punishment of God for human sins⁽⁴⁾, and proposed: “There can be no one who does not know, since it is now public knowledge, how great a mortality, pestilence and infection of the air are now threatening various parts of the world, and especially England; and this is surely caused by the sins of men who, while enjoying good times, forget that such things are

(1) In any European language before the 14th or 15th century, the epidemic in the Middle Ages had not been explicitly named “the Black Death”, although the expression “Black Death” was occasionally used to refer to a fatal disease (the word “Black” in the context of Western culture had originally meant “fatal” and “terrible”). At that time, people usually called the terrible pestis epidemic in the 14th century as “Pestilenza”, “great death” or “great disaster”. In English, it was not until the 1750s that the term “Black Death” was used to refer to the great plague caused by the epidemic of pestis. As a medical term, “pestis” appeared later. In 1894, French biologist Nelson first discovered the pathogen of pestis—*Bacillus pestis*, and pestis was known as an infectious disease.

(2) Giovanni Boccaccio. *The Decameron*, Translated by G. H. McWilliam. (London: Penguin Group, 1995), 56.

(3) Frederick F. Cartwright. *A Social History of Medicine*. (London and New York: Longman, 1977). 24.

(4) Henry Knighton. *The Plague According to Henry Knighton*, Horrox trans. and ed., *The Black Death*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 79.

the gifts of the most high giver.”⁽⁵⁾ He also issued edicts that: “And thus, indeed, the realm of England, because of the growing pride and corruption of its subjects, and their numberless sins, has on many occasions stood desolate and afflicted by the burdens of the wars which are exhausting and devouring the wealth of the kingdom, and by many other miseries.”⁽⁶⁾ All the bishops in England agreed with Zoch’s explanation of the plague and followed suit. The Catholic Church’s interpretation of the Black Death became the main cognition of the society at that time, and the prevention and treatment of the “Black Death” in European society was also guided by this understanding.

It was the absolute dominance of the Christian Church in the European society at that time that caused a very strange situation in Europe. On one hand, people showed distrust of medical means, believing that plague was God’s punishment to human beings, and prayer was the only way to seek God’s forgiveness; On the other hand, large-scale prayer activities intensified the spread of the plague. The capricious plague also brought tremendous physical and mental trauma to followers, shaking their morality and the faith to the Catholic Church. At this time, some insiders of the church proposed that the Roman Catholic Church could neither guide the people to obtain God’s forgiveness and salvation, nor avoid its own depravity. Therefore, it would be better to achieve integration with God and get direct inspiration from God through self spirituality, seeking amnesty, and doing Mass regularly. As mentioned in *Cloud of Unknowing*, “but the higher part of contemplation, as it may be had here, hangeth all wholly in this darkness and in this cloud of unknowing; with a loving stirring and a blind beholding unto the naked being of God Himself only.”⁽⁷⁾ In the face of being questioned, the Catholic Church continued to forcefully suppress it. In 1413, Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, believed that people should not only repent to alleviate the plague, but also pray to stop abusive words and eliminate heresy.⁽⁸⁾ This kind of belief query and debate in the face of the “Black Death” directly affected the subsequent religious reform, and had a significant impact on western social history.

It can be seen that the Christian Church in the Middle Ages was in a contradictory psychological state when facing the plague. It not only expected to eliminate the epidemic and stabilize European society, but also maintained the foundation of Belief of Catholic theology. At this time, the idea and practice of Christian public health were still in the embryonic stage, basically maintaining the tradition of theological domination of medicine, and was still far from the expectations on public health.

2. The Road to Practice: the Enlightenment of the Development of Christianity in China since Modern Times on Modern Chinese Medical and Health Undertakings

After the end of the Middle Ages, especially the beginning of the 15th century, the European plague still recurred intermittently. The long-lasting plague and the effectiveness of different measures have made the Catholic Church, with the Holy See at its core, gradually change its attitude towards medical means from contempt to acceptance, and become more mature in prevention and treatment of disease. During later outbreaks of plague, secular and clerical authorities attempted to limit the spread of the disaster with prayers and quarantine regulations. Antiplague measures

(5) William Zouche. *Intercessionary Processions* (1), *The Black Death*, 111.

(6) D.Wilkins ed.. *The importance of prayer*, *The Black Death*. 113-114.

(7) *The Cloud of Unknowing*. (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2009), 35.

(8) Christopher Harper-Bill, *The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death, The Black Death in England*, eds. M. Ormrod & P. Lindley, (Stamford: Paul Watkins Publishing, 1996), 79-124.

eventually included mandatory reporting of illness, isolation of the sick, burning the bedding of plague victims, closing schools and markets during epidemics, virtual house arrest of off-duty gravediggers, and laws forbidding physicians from leaving infected areas.⁽⁹⁾ This was a big change for the Christian Church. Many Christians believed that the isolation of patients would not reduce the incidence of the plague at the beginning, because the plague was God's punishment for the guilty, and the isolation would do nothing to alleviate God's punishment. The isolation of patients violated the Christian principle of love, and it is considered barbaric to isolate the patients in a space, neglect the care of them, and make them suffer in loneliness. With the advice of doctors, the increased understanding of the plague and its mode of spread made Christian people gradually accept the isolation policy, even support the isolation of people who had been ill, and call on people to do the cleanup. However, the long-term plague inevitably resulted in a series of facts, such as the loss of clergy, the damage of the church's reputation and even corruption. This affected the people's belief in the Catholic Church, encouraged the suspicion within the church, and thus triggered the protests and splits, laying the foundation for the modern religious reform.

On October 31, 1517, Martin Luther launched the Reformation against the Catholic Church represented by the Holy See. On August 2, 1527, a terrible plague struck Luther's town of Wittenberg. Concerned about the safety of Luther and other university professors, Elector John ordered Luther to go to Jena on August 10 and then to Schlieben, near Wittenberg. However, in the face of epidemic, Luther was indifferent to the order of the elector and the persuasion of his friends. He, with his follower Bugenhagen⁽¹⁰⁾, chose to stay to care for the sick and frightened people. During this period, he wrote an article entitled "Can Man Escape a Deadly Plague?" to comfort the believers suffering from the plague, and discuss with them about the attitude and moral obligation that Christians should hold when facing the plague of themselves or others. In the article, Luther believed that all clergy and public officials should stay unswervingly in the face of the death threat of the epidemic, and they should play their roles and fulfill their responsibilities in the epidemic area. He said, "for when people are dying, they most need a spiritual ministry which strengthens and comforts their consciences by word and sacrament and in faith overcomes death."⁽¹¹⁾ At the same time, the authorities should also stay to ensure that law and order were maintained. In addition, Luther also proposed that Christians should abide by God's laws and orders at all times, fulfill their obligation to care for their fellow citizens, and leaving the people in danger was no different from murderers. If the people in a city were to show themselves bold in their faith when a neighbor's need so demands, and cautious when no emergency exists, and if everyone would help ward off contagion as best he can, then the death toll would indeed be moderate⁽¹²⁾. The reason why God let the plague come was not only to punish human beings and show his strength, but also to test people's will and love. This was a test of personality and spirit, and about how people deal with the "evil". People should understand God's good intentions, "go to the church and listen to the sermon, so that they learned through God's word how to live and how to die"⁽¹³⁾, and thus were truly

(9) Lois N. Magner. *A History of Medicine*, Second edition, (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 166.

(10) Johannes Bugenhagen(1485-1558), also known as Dr. Pomerania by Luther, introduced the religious reform to the Principality of Pomerania and Denmark in the 16th century. One of his major achievements was the establishment of faith-based religious associations in northern Germany and Scandinavia. He was also known as the "Second Apostle of the North". In 1520, Bugenhagen read the preface to Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, which was his first contact with Luther's works. At first he did not like Luther, but after the in-depth study, he became a supporter of religious reform and moved to Wittenberg.

(11) Martin Luther. *Luther's Works (Lw)*, Vol. 43: Devotional Writings II, ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), 121.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 132.

(13) *Ibid.*, p, 134.

redeemed. The Protestants represented by Luther innovated the Christian doctrine and advocated by themselves, which showed their courage, sense of responsibility and compassion when the Black Death was rampant. It also laid a solid ideological foundation for the theological development of Protestantism and the concept of charity, and the anti-epidemic practice and social services have also been improved and developed.

After the religious reform, the Holy See was greatly shocked, which promoted the purification and development of the Catholic Church itself. Under the influence of Protestantism, the reformists in the Catholic Church represented by the Jesuits began to preach in Asia with the worldwide colonial expansion since the end of the 15th century. They found that they must break their “Chinese” traditional world outlook in order to transform the ideological and religious ideas of the residents of the newly conquered territories in Asia.⁽¹⁴⁾ Therefore, China became an important missionary target. The missionaries decided to “do missionary work by practising medicine”, hoping to show the powerful force of Christian faith and ethics through medical knowledge and achievements. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, Catholicism was introduced to China. At the same time, Jesuit missionaries also brought western medical thought and technology into China, and translated the books on western medicine in Chinese and Manchu, such as the Manchu-language book *Si Yang ni Okto i Bithe and Dergici Toktobuha Ge Ti Ciowan Lubithe Dergi Yohi* translated by Jean-Francois Gerbillon, Joachim Bouvet and Dominique Parrenin, which were trusted and favored by Emperor Kangxi.⁽¹⁵⁾ In the middle of the 19th century, the Opium War opened the door of China, and Protestant missionaries of North America also began to set up medical charities, and carried out medical education and publicity in China. They also set up clinics, hospitals and other institutions to provide medical assistance, and established medical schools and western medical journals. For example, Peter Parker of the American Congregational Church established the Medical Missionary Society in Guangzhou in 1835, and opened the Canton Hospital to treat eye diseases and other diseases. In 1847, Dr. Walter Henry Medhurst and Dr. William Lockhart of the London Missionary Society established Yan Chai Hospital in Shanghai⁽¹⁶⁾. In 1860, John Glasgow Kerr, a missionary doctor at Canton Hospital, collected vaccinia to inoculate the Chinese against smallpox. In 1874, British missionaries founded Mission to Lepers, an international Christian organization dedicated to providing services to leprosy patients, and subsequently promoted the establishment of many leprosy pesthouse in China.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the case of the Northeast plague in 1911 and the Shanxi and Suiyuan plague in 1918, many missionaries in China took an active participation in the epidemic prevention, such as the famous Dr. Dugald Christie and Arthur Jackson.⁽¹⁸⁾ These measures not only provided the important help to Chinese people suffering from the epidemic, but also caused the Chinese government to pay attention to the epidemic prevention. The missionary medical service gradually spread throughout the provinces and cities in China. Western medical education also vigorously developed with the compilation of Western Medical Classics and the establishment of medical schools, and numerous local doctors were cultivated.

(14) Cf. 范行准FanXingzhun, 《明季西洋传入之医学》*Mingji xiyang chuanru zhi yixue* [Medicine Introduced from the West in the Ming Dynasty], Vol.9, (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社Shanghai People's Publishing House · 2012).

(15) 赵晓阳Zhao Xiaoyang. 《60年来基督教与近代中国医疗卫生事业研究评述》*60nianlai jidujiao yu jindai zhongguo yiliao weisheng shiye yanjiu zongshu* [A Review of 60 Years of Research on Christianity and Health Care in Modern China], 《兰州学刊》Lanzhou xuekan [Lanzhou Academic Journal], No.12,(2017),11.

(16) Kwang Ching Liu. *American Missionaries in China*, (Boston: Havard University Press, 1966), 104.

(17) List of Leprosaria and Clinics in China, *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol.71, No.7, July (1940), 465-471; &The Leper Quarterly, Vol.14, No.1, (1940),79.

(18) 刘仲明Liu Zhongming. 《盛京施医院创立纪实》*Shengjing shi yiyuan chuangli jishi* [Chronicle of the founding of Shengjing Shi Hospital], 《中华文化史资料文库》*Zhonghua wenhuashi ziliao wenku*[Chinese Cultural History Resource Library], Vol. 16, (北京Beijing : 中国文化历史出版社China Culture and History Press, 1996), 838-839.

It can be seen that the medical and health undertakings launched by Christian medical missionaries in China have brought practical and beneficial effects on Chinese people, played the role of charity and relief, and alleviated the shortage of medicine in China; At the same time, the advanced western medical thought and technology they brought have thoroughly impacted Chinese traditional medicine, profoundly changed the medical structure of China and the medical idea of the Chinese people, cultivated people's public health consciousness, and promoted the establishment of public health. It is worth mentioning that the reformers in China compared Chinese and Western medicine, put forward the idea of "saving the nation by medicine", actively promoted western medical knowledge, and tried to reform Chinese society in this way at the end of the 19th century. This gave "the spread of western medicine into the East" strong political and social significance, shook the traditional social system and backward medical idea, and also trained China's talents to learn the advanced medical theories from the West. Western medicine has changed from a missionary tool attached to religion to a political and social one, and its significance has been far beyond the original assumption of missionaries, which has had a profound influence on the development of China.

In the second half of the 19th century, the public health in the west seriously deteriorated due to the rapid development of social economy brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the increased pollution by industrialization. In the face of this problem, some people in Western Christian churches put forward that the solution to social problems is to "Christianize" the social order, apply teachings of Jesus to the social and economic structure, and reform people's living and working environment. As a result, the rise of Social Gospel Movement⁽¹⁹⁾ in the United States has had an important impact on the overseas missionary work of the church. The cognition of missionaries in China also changed from "being satisfied with educating students and treating patients" to "building a new and healthier China"⁽²⁰⁾. Therefore, based on the need to expand missionary work and care for the society, the Christian community in China began to focus on the development of the national public health campaign. In 1910, the Christian health campaign in China officially began; and in 1916, Young Men's Christian Association, the Public Health Committee of the Chinese Medical Association and the Ministry of Public Health of the Chinese Medical Association jointly established Chinese Association of Health and Education, which gradually promoted the health education campaign nationwide through the speeches for all the people, exhibitions, parades and other activities. As time goes on, it covered the urban health, school health, child health and many other aspects with the participating groups increasing and the field of work deepening.⁽²¹⁾ Such initiatives and actions continued until 1930, after which the Christian Church became more cooperative with the Government in health education; After the founding of the People's Republic of China, most of the former medical institutions of the Church were transferred and merged into national medical institutions, such as Peking Union Medical College Hospital. The health education campaign continued by the Christian Church was an important enlightenment of modern health knowledge and ideas, which showed strong social concern, and at the same time, it has led to the extensive participation of all sectors of society. It has had an important impact on the awakening of public health awareness and the spread of health knowledge, and the focus of Chinese medical practitioners has shifted from

(19) The social gospel movement was a religious movement launched by American Christianity in the second half of the 19th century under the impact of industrialization and urbanization. It criticized the capitalist industrial and commercial ethics, but believed that industrial democracy could be achieved in a gradual way through moral preaching and social improvement, so it was with strong idealism.

(20) Elliott I. Osgood. *A Sanitary Propaganda for China*. The China Medical Journal, 27(4), (1913): 202.

(21) 毛光骅Mao Guanghua, 《基督教在河南省的传播与西方医学的传入》Jidujiao zai henansheng de chuanbo yu xifang yixue de chuanru [Spreading of Christianity and Western Medicine into Henan Province] · 《中华医学杂志》Zhonghua yixue zazhi [National Medical Journal of China, Vol.25, No.4, 1995] · 213-215.

therapeutic medicine to preventive medicine. Through the education of western medicine and the development of health missionary movement, the Christian Church has cultivated a group of intellectual elites and medical talents for China, and further promoted the modernization development of medical and health system in China.

In a word, the Chinese government's ability to carry out public health construction was very limited due to the political and social unrest. As an important religious civil group, Christianity paid early attention to the problems of health service in China. And it carried out various kinds of medical and health activities nationwide to meet the needs of its own development, which promoted the development of Chinese public health service. This trend continued to this day, reflecting Christian historical tradition and doctrinal spirit that integrated the religious benevolence into social charity.

3. The Development in the New Era: the Important Contribution of Chinese National Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement to the Development of Medical and Health Undertakings in the People's Republic of China

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chinese Christianity entered a new era. In 1954, China's Christian Church(CCC) initially achieved independent development with the establishment of Chinese National Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee(TSPM). Over the past 70 years, Chinese Christianity has actively participated in the medical and health care of the People's Republic of China under the guidance of the "Three-Self" principle, established a very large-scale medical enterprise in China, and made important contributions to the development of China's medical and health undertakings.

At the beginning of the founding of the People's Republic of China, China's public medical and health care was still in its early phase. China adopted a policy of acceptance and support to the original Christian medical business⁽²²⁾, and incorporated the church medical system into public health, which originally covered church hospitals, clinics, church medicine, education of nurses and midwives, medical research, public health, and translation and publication, etc.. The Christian Church made up for many areas and fields that the government public medical and health failed to reach, and played an important role in building a comprehensive medical and health system in China. For example, from 1939 to 1955, Christians carried out Frontier Service Movement in western Sichuan and Xikang ethnic areas, which received the people living on the frontiers for treatment, made a round of visits and helped the region establish a modern system of public health and epidemic prevention.⁽²³⁾ After the reform and opening up in 1978, China's religious policy was re-established. A large number of Christian churches have been restored and developed in an orderly manner, and many members of the church were reinvested in social and medical charity and other public services, carrying forward the Gospel of religious love. For example, Huzhou Christian Church inherited the tradition of education, medical care, poverty alleviation and disaster relief of Sichuan Christian Church, paid attention to the development of social affairs projects, and established and developed Gospel Kindergarten, Gospel Clinic, Gospel Hospital and other medical institutions. Taking the community medical service station as an example, its single medical service has turned to multifunctional

(22) 李传斌Li Chuanbin, 《条约特权制度下的医疗事业:基督教在华医疗事业研究(1835-1937)》Tiaoyue tequan zhidu xia de yiliao shiye: jidujiao zaihua yiliao shiye yanjiu(1835-1937)[Medical Business under the Treaty Privilege System: on Christian Medical Care in China (1835-1937)], (长沙Changsha:湖南人民出版社Hunan Province People's Press, 2010), 19.

(23) 邓杰Deng Jie, 《基督教与川康民族地区公共卫生事业——以边疆服务运动(1939-1955)为例》[Christianity and Public Health in Sichuan-Xikang Ethnic Areas--An Example of the Frontier Service Movement (1939-1955)], 《社会科学研究》Shehui kexue yanjiu [Social Science Research], No.5, (2012), 208.

development, such as prevention, health care, medical treatment, rehabilitation and others,⁽²⁴⁾ ensuring people's life in an all-round way and spreading the social Gospel; During the "Religious Charity Week" in 2012, Chinese National Christian Three-self Patriotic Movement Committee and China Christian Council carried out activities such as education, free medical treatment and poverty alleviation in Shangqiu, Henan Province, Baoshan, Yunnan Province, and Hefei, Anhui Province, benefiting more than 8,000 people, constantly expanding the field of charity, and improving the level of social services.⁽²⁵⁾ Such healthcare and charity have been the normal activities of the Christian Church in the past 70 years. The establishment of relevant institutions and activities have gradually formed a complete set of systems and norms, which play an important role in maintaining the daily operation of social medical services. In the new era, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement promoted the emergence of Chinese Christianity in a real sense. The Christians and Christian groups joined hands with the people of the motherland, actively participated in social construction, and gave full play to the advantages of Christianity in theory and practical experience in healthcare. Christian medicine is still in the ascendant all over the country, and it has become an important part of the development of healthcare in various places with its profound historical accumulation and rich practical experience. It has a rich and comprehensive theoretical construction and a good interaction with the society, conforms to the development of the times, and gradually moves towards medical modernization, contributing the sustainable strength to the development of China's healthcare.

At the beginning of 2020, the COVID-19 epidemic broke out across the country, and the Christian community responded positively to the country's call and quickly devoted itself to the prevention and control of the epidemic. Christian churches and theological seminaries all over the country not only actively got aid, integrated resources and adjusted services by virtue of their extensive social and overseas connections, but also shared the experience of China's epidemic prevention with the world through media; They expressed the good wishes of all countries to jointly fight against the epidemic, and promoted the initiative of building a community with a shared future for mankind. Taking Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) as an example, first of all, there was a shortage of anti-epidemic materials at the beginning of the outbreak. Shanghai YMCA and YWCA raised over 300,000 yuan of donations and over 100,000 pieces of anti-epidemic materials⁽²⁶⁾, which were immediately sent to disaster areas such as Hubei and the frontline of epidemic prevention in order to maximize the effectiveness of materials. Secondly, according to the epidemic situation and development, Shanghai YMCA and YWCA adjusted the old services and created new ones on the basis of the past. They paid more attention to the needs in health education, anxiety relief, indoor physical exercises and other aspects. Finally, Shanghai YMCA and YWCA's clear organizational structure and anti-epidemic group ensured the successful communication of information and the orderly operation of the organization; In the anti-epidemic

(24) 陈建明Chen Jianming, 《四川省泸州市基督教会社会服务调研报告——以医疗卫生服务为中心》Sichuansheng luzhoushi jidujiaohui shehui fuwu diaoyanbaogao-yi yiliao weisheng fuwu wei zhongxin[Research Report on Social Services of Christian Church in Luzhou City, Sichuan Province--Focusing on Medical and Health Services], 《宗教学研究》Zongjiaoxue yanjiu [Religious Studies], No.4, (2011), 146.

(25) 傅先伟Fu Xianwei, 《中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会第八届中国基督教协会第六届常务委员会工作报告：凝心聚力·建设一个和谐健康发展的中国教会》Zhongguo jidujiao sanzì aiguo yundong weiyuanhui dibajie zhongguo jidujiao xiehui diliujie changwuweiyuanhui gongzuobaogao: ningxinjuli, jianshe yige hexie jiankang fazhan de zhongguo jiaohui [Report on the Work of the Sixth Standing Committee of the Eighth Chinese Christian Council of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement of China: Gathering our Strength to Build a Harmonious and Healthy Chinese Church.], 《天风》[Tien-feng], No.11, (2013), 10.

(26) 马兆珍Ma Zhaozhen, 《社会服务机构在防疫抗疫中的场域分布与功能发挥——以上海基督教青年会、女青年会为例》Shehui fuwu jigou zai fangyi kangyi zhongde changyu fenbu yu gongnengfahui- yi shanghai jidujiao qingnianhui;nvqingnianhui wei li [Field Distribution and Functioning of Social Service Organizations in Epidemic Prevention and Countermeasures: The Case of Shanghai YMCA and YWCA.], 《中国宗教》Zhongguo zongjiao[China Religion], No.5, (2020), 52.

service, they did not forget to transmit and practise the idea of charity, and the members of the organization and volunteers joined the frontline of the anti-epidemic community side by side, reflecting the dedication and spiritual pursuit of the practitioners of social service institutions. Besides Shanghai YMCA, the Three-Self churches all over the country also kept close contact with Chinese National Christian Three-self Patriotic Movement Committee and China Christian Council. Adhering to the teachings of Christian charity, the churches and the Christians actively donated supplies and raised funds, which totaled 139 million RMB within one month after the outbreak of the epidemic. Some church groups and believers in Shaanxi, Hunan, Zhejiang and other places managed to collect anti-epidemic supplies, and some believers in Fujian, Jiangxi and other places supplied free donation of fresh vegetables and other living materials.⁽²⁷⁾ A little love will create an ocean of love, and the believers and churches actively assume the responsibility of serving the society and make contribution to fighting against the epidemic. As a bridge of communication between churches at home and abroad, through the Overseas Relations Department and the Social Service Department, CCC&TSPM shared with some overseas churches and organizations China's measures and successful experience in fighting against the epidemic, especially the continuous participation of the Christian community in social services and joint anti-epidemic activities in these difficult times, to encourage their confidence in overcoming the virus. In addition, CCC&TSPM has purchased 4,000 KN95 masks, donated to the Uniting Church in Australia, a partner church of Church in China, and provided them to staff and volunteers of its social service agencies. These supplies can help them protect themselves when providing services to the elderly, the disabled, children and other vulnerable groups.^[(28)]

To sum up, the Christian idea of medical charity and social services with “universal love” as the core played a positive role and made vital contributions in history; Today, Christianity has also huge potential and unique call capacity to demonstrate its mission in the world medical and healthcare. In the new era of the importance of a community with a shared future for mankind is increasingly prominent, China's Christian Churches can not only contribute to disaster prevention, epidemic prevention and healthcare in China, but also provide a bond for people all over the world to help one another, resolving conflicts with love and tolerance to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity.

(27) 本刊编辑部Editorial Office. 《基督教界正积极为坚决打赢疫情防控阻击战增添助力!》*Jidujiaojie zheng jiji wei jianjue daying yiqing fangkong zujizhan zengtian zhuli!* [The Christian Community Is Actively Adding to the Determined Effort to Win the Epidemic Prevention and Control Blockade!], 《天风》[Tien-feng],No.3 ,(2020), 7.

(28) <https://en.ccctspm.org/sernewsinfo/13312>.

中文题目：

**中世纪以来基督教会卫生防疫事业发展的理论与实践
——兼谈基督教对中国近现代医疗卫生事业的贡献**

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提要：中世纪的“黑死病”成为欧洲社会难以抹去的痛苦记忆·面对这一瘟疫·天主教会在继承古希腊医学思想的基础上·以基督教神学观念引申出独特的防疫观念·促使宗教改革后基督教会(天主教与新教)将医疗防疫与提升公共卫生水平作为向世界传播基督教福音的重要手段·一方面扩大了基督教在亚非拉等地区的影响力与亲和力·另一方面促进了包括全世界范围近现代医疗卫生事业的发展·也成为构建中国近现代医疗卫生体系的主要力量·其影响延续至今。

关键字：基督教会、防疫理论与实践、中国近现代医疗卫生事业

A Wisdom-Pneumatology in Exegetical, Historical and Pastoral

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Abstract: The Spirit is the coequal Person with other Persons of the Father and the Son, and in the practical dimension it was called frequently, nevertheless, it inclines to be abstracted and senseless and to be only a feeling of self-confidence and psychologized. After an independent exegesis on Pr. 8:22-23 referring to Isa. 11:1ff., this author advocates that the Wisdom is attributed to the Spirit in accordance with Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus; paralleling with the modern creation pneumatology by Jürgen Moltmann, this research is to propose a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology.

Key words: Wisdom-Pneumatology, Proverb 8:22-23, Isaiah 11:1ff., Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Jürgen Moltmann

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INTRODUCTION

The Spirit is the coequal Person with other Persons of the Father and the Son⁽¹⁾ and in the practical dimension it was called frequently, nevertheless, it inclines to be abstracted and senseless and to be only a feeling of self-confidence and psychologized.

On the other hand, the quasi-person, quasi-hypostasis Wisdom is so affinity with the Spirit in Bible especially Proverb and would contribute to the construction of pneumatology, but in theological history it always more affinity to the Son, whereas it rarely contributes to the construction of Christology. What is the relation of the Wisdom with the preexisting triune Persons? Was it created as other creatures or uncreated as the triune Persons according to its narrative in Pr 8:22ff.?

After an independent exegesis on Pr. 8:22-23, the reorientation of the Wisdom in the triune Communion will be processed. A historical review will be involved of both Judaism and Christianity. The proposition that the Wisdom is attributed to the Spirit will be proposed, following the view of the marginalized Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus. Paralleling with the modern pneumatology development especially the creation pneumatology by the post-WWII theologian Jürgen Moltmann, this research is to propose a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology referring to Is 11:1ff.

The cause that why the mainline theologians always anchored on the affinity of the Wisdom with the Son rather than with the Spirit will be analyzed as an appendix.

In this paper various versions of Bible will be referred technically: NIV 1984 and 2011, KJV, The Jerusalem Bible (JB) by Catholic, Studium Biblicum Version (SBV) in Chinese by Catholic, NRSV, etc. If not indicated in the texts, it will be default as the author's own translation.

(1) "Athanasian Creed," in John H. Leith, *Creeeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 33, 706.

On the original language exegesis, the IT tools will play a helpful role, such as BibleWorks and website <https://www.stepbible.org>. The OT Hebrew text is the BHS version, and the NT Greek text is the Nestle-Aland 28th.

I. THE RELATION OF WISDOM WITH TRIUNE PERSONS: BIBLICAL AND CREDAL

According to the Scripture of both OT and NT, besides the triune Persons in preexistence, there is another quasi-Person being there as narrated in Pro 8:22–31, i.e. the Wisdom. In some sense, the Wisdom is more prominently personified than the Spirit even less than other Persons. The Spirit is personified at most as a dove in NT,⁽²⁾ while the Wisdom is personified just as a female teacher in Pro 1:20–33, 8:1 ff., and 9:1 ff.⁽³⁾ Then what's the relationship of the Wisdom with the triune Persons in the preexistence?

As for the relation between the Father with the Wisdom in preexistence, according to Pro. 8:22: “The LORD [Yahweh] brought me forth as the first of his works,” et al., the Wisdom evidently cannot be identical with or attributed to the Father (Yahweh)⁽⁴⁾ but subjected to the Father.

As for the relation of the Father with the Son in preexistence, according to the *begotten* Son identity in Ps 2:7⁽⁵⁾ and the Only *Begotten* identity in Jn 1:14, 1:18, 3:16, 3:18, and 1 Jn 4: 9, the relation of the Father with the Son is evidently *begotten* in biblical, which is also congruent with the Creeds: “begotten not created” in Nicene Creed and “begotten before time” as well as “born in time” in Athanasian Creed.⁽⁶⁾

As for the relation between the Father with the Spirit, it is vague in biblical, but the Creeds defined it “accurately”: “Who proceeds from the Father” in Nicene Creed, but in Athanasian Creed there was one more originator, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, not made nor created nor begotten but proceeding.”⁽⁷⁾ This added “Son” is the famous *filioque* controversy inducing the great schism between Latin Church and Greek Church.

In comparing, the core issue returns again to Pro. 8:22ff.: Yahweh *brought forth* the Wisdom is more like *begot* of the Son or more like *was proceeded of* of the Spirit? There have been various translation of the verbs itself covering all *beget*, *bore*, *proceed*, etc., so this passage needs to be investigated independently again in this paper. Since the verb itself can be interpreted so broadly in literal, the exegesis requires a highly intrabiblical-intertextual approach.

(2) As for the relation the bird allusion (eagle and dove) with the Spirit in Jewish literatures, cf. Wilf Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 37-39.

(3) Cf. *Ibid.*, 42-44.

(4) As for whether Yahweh reserves the Fatherhood or the Sonship, there is the disputation. In this paper Yahweh will be exclusively identified with the Father. On one hand, the fatherhood of Yahweh can be found in OT, e.g. “This is what Yahweh says: Israel is my first-born son;” (Exodus 4:22) “he [Yahweh] said to me, ‘You are my son, today I have become your father;’” (Psalms 2:7) etc. Whereas for “the sonship of Yahweh,” the author cannot find evidence in OT or the whole Bible so far. On the other hand, the Scriptures applied by the scholars to support the Sonship used to be Pauline epistles (e.g., Richard Bauchham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids · Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 194-5, 1 Cor. 10:26 [Psalm 24:1]: “The earth and everything that is in it belong to the Lord [Yahweh];” Rom. 10:13 [Joel 2:32]: “for everyone who calls on the name of the Lord [Yahweh] will be saved;” Rom. 14:10-12 [Isa. 45:23]: “‘By my life, –it is the Lord [Yahweh] who speaks, ‘every knee shall bend before me, and every tongue shall praise God.’” (JB) We should be alerted that, when Paul quoted OT scripture, they are in Greek in NT, and the title “Yahweh” has been (mis)translated/transmitted into “Lord” in the Greek LXX OT. This is not a small problem in the Pauline theology: “Paul’s more specific concern about misapplying Torah;” (Craig S. Keener, *Spirit Hermeneutics: Reading Scripture in Light of Pentecost* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016, 2017), 239) “When it comes to allusions and echoes, it becomes much harder to identify where Paul relies on the Old Testament text, theme, or theology.” (Andreas J. Köstenberger and Richard D. Patterson, *Invitation to Biblical Interpretation: Exploring the Hermeneutical Triad of History, Literature, and Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2011), 471)

(5) Ps 2:7: “He [Yahweh] said to me, ‘You are my Son; today I have begotten you.’” (Cf. Heb 1:5, 5:5)

(6) Leith, *Creeds of the Churches*, 33, 706.

(7) *Ibid.*, 33, 705.

II. AN EXEGESIS ON PROVERBS 8:22-23

יהוה קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מקעליו מאז²²

ממעולם נסכתי מראש מקדמי-ארגז²³

²²Yahweh conceived⁽⁸⁾ me the Beginning his Way, the first of his work from then;

²³From the eternity I was installed, from the beginning, from the works of the earth.

Wisdom Is the Beginning, the Way: v.22a

The grammatical role of ראשית would be highlighted: whether it plays an adverbial role “at/in the beginning”, or a second object “the beginning”. If the former will be the option, as some versions add a preposition before it,⁽⁹⁾ how about its counterpart קדם in the second semicolon since a similar preposition cannot be seen to be suggested. ראשית cannot play both adverbial and objective roles simultaneously, so the second object would be the ideal option for ראשית (as well as קדם). Accordingly קנה would be a transitive verb with double accusative.⁽¹⁰⁾ Regardless of the polyvalent of the verb, ראשית is an object, even though there are still the nuances of appositional object “Yahweh conceived me [Wisdom], the first, his principle,” or indirect object “Yahweh conceived me [Wisdom] as the first, his principle.” Anyway, Wisdom is the Beginning, the Way of Yahweh.

It would be supplemented that the Beginning is not (only) a temporal term, but (also) a logic/spacial term. Since this is an typical Creation passage, the Genesis 1:1 would be reminded and reflected: “In the beginning...” Besides the temporal beginning, Eichrodt argued also an principle being for the first word of Bible.⁽¹¹⁾ (Actually a cognate המכה תישאר in Ps 111:10, referring to KJV, as well as Pr 4:7, would be translated into indicative “wisdom is the principle” rather than attributive “the beginning of wisdom”).⁽¹²⁾

(8) At the start in v.22, the most debate would be the meaning of קנה. But the methodology in this research will be the context-first, so the syntax would be privileged. And the translation of קנה will apply “conceive” in accordance with my exegesis directly from J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Colouring of the LXX Proverbs* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 213. The same approach will be applied to the other verb נסך.

(9) Cf. BHS. Echrodt indicated that the absolute form of ראשית with the preposition ב appears only as the first word of the whole Bible except else where. Walther Eichrodt, “*In the Beginning: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the First Word of the Bible*,” in *Creation in the Old Testament*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson. (Philadelphia and London: Fortress and SPCK, 1984), 69.

(10) Paul Joüon-T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma, Italy: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006): 125u-w.

(11) Eichrodt, “*In the Beginning*,” 66.

(12) In Pr 4:7, there also occurs twice of קנה as imperative and noun respectively, this will help to perceive it in the current context. This will also be available to Pr 1:7, 9:10; Job 28:28; etc. In Job 28:28, הַיָּאֵהוּ אֲדֹנָי הָיָא הַכְּמָה, the feminine pronoun הִיא (“it/she”) indicates the feminine ראת (“awesome/fearing”) so that it ought to be translated into “The awesome of YHWH itself/herself is Wisdom.”

Throughout the whole Bible, the majority of the occurrences of ראשית is to refer to “firstborn,” in which it would be perceived as “chief, best.” In Job 40:15-24, Yahweh replied with a בהמות, which was at times treated as a kind of animal, but is identified in Job 40:19 “the chief of the ways of God” (KJV) similarly with the current Wisdom.

In Masoretic Text, in Ps 111:10, the punctuation *paseq* (“restraining, dividing”) in ראת יהוה | ראת חכמה indicates the translation would be “The Principle is the Wisdom, i.e. the awesome of YHWH.” *Paseq* Cf. Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. enlarg. Emil Kautzsch, 2nd ed. Eng. trans. Arthur Ernest Cowley (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 59-60. In Job 28:28, there is also a *paseq*, it is especially difficult to translate.

These verses all involve the issue of the nominal sentence (or nominal apposition, objective apposition): Job 28:28 “The awesome of my LORD (is) Wisdom,” Ps 111:10 “The Principle (is) Wisdom, the awesome of YHWH;” Pr 1:7 “The awesome of YHWH (is) the head of knowledge, (Wisdom...);” Pr 8:22 “YHWH conceived me (Wisdom,) (as) the Principle, his Way;” Pr 9:10 “The imbuing of Wisdom (is) the awesome of YHWH (, the knowledge of Holies [is] understanding).”

The longest nominal sentence the author saw in the Bible is Deut 6:4 “YHWH, our God, YHWH, one,” four substantives juxtaposed; the longest objective apposition would be Gn 22:2 “Now take your son, your only, whom you love, Issac.” Surely the current couplet can also be translated into four objectives apposed, “YHWH conceived me (Wisdom), the Principle, his Way, the Head of his Deeds.”

Yahweh Conceived Wisdom before Time: v.22b

Then turn to the second semicolon. The first word קדם would play the same syntactical role with ראשית with the similar meaning of “first/beginning.” If “the Beginning/his Way” in the first semicolon is emphasizing on the principal/logic role of Wisdom, the second semicolon would be more temporal/progressive aspect.⁽¹³⁾

The second word plural וילעפמ (his works), compared with the singular וכרד (his Way) in the first semicolon, would more certainly play a role of attributive to מדק. The word לעפמ occurs only once here in the whole Bible. It has a feminine counterpart הלעפמ which occurs twice in Bible, Ps. 46:9 and 66:5. In both passages the feminine הלעפמ implies a judgement, while here the masculine לעפמ implies a/the creation.⁽¹⁴⁾

The third word is evidently temporal:⁽¹⁵⁾ “from then (זאמ),” literally. A disputation is whether it modify only the second semicolon: “Yahweh acquired me as the Beginning his Way, and (Yahweh acquired me) as the first of his deeds from then”, or modifies both semicolons: “Yahweh acquired me [as the Beginning his Way and as the first of his deeds] from then”. Anyway a proposition can be deducted: “Yahweh acquired me from then.”

As for the meaning of זאמ, it plays as either preposition or conjunction “since,” or absolute “long since/ from old.” This context suggests the latter. The question is “how long/how old did YHWH acquire me?” Before consulting the following מלועמ in the second couplet, it should be referred intertextually to its cognates in other Books: Ps 93:2 and Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, 7.

In these Isaianic passages it can be seen of Creation, Judgement, Soteriology, Eschatology, etc., they can be categorized into several groups. What we can deal is Is 48:3, 5, 7;⁽¹⁶⁾ comparing with the current passage of Wisdom-Creation, its can be discovered of a Word-Creation, which can be seen through the verb-chain: told (דגנ, *hiphil*)-heard (עמש, *hiphil*)-did (השע, *qal*)/created (ארב, *qal*). There are two coordinate action: the mankind was told (דגנ, *hiphil*) and heard (עמש, *hiphil*) of the former things, and Yahweh did/they were created⁽¹⁷⁾.

In Is 48:7, there are three temporal terms: אז (then), התע (now), and בוי (day/time). Different from other current suspicious translations, the author proposes that בוי (day/time) clause should be jointed into the first semicolon: התע: הארבע אלן זאמ אלן, the translation would be, “They are created now, and not from then, *and/but in the presence of day/time.*” This בוי (day/time) reminds the author the cognate of its first occurrence in Gn 1:5, the title of the Light, the first thing God *spoke out*. The creation is a *now* (התע, in time) *respond* (הנע) to the *then* (אז, before time) *former things/principles* (תונשאר) *in the presence of day/time* (ינפל).⁽¹⁸⁾

(13) As for the progressive aspect, it can help to perceive קדם’s frequent meaning of “eastward” in Bible. Cf. the various translations of Job 23:8. This aspect can be understood through H. W. Wolff’s insight: the Hebrew conception of time can be perceived through a man rowing a boat, who sees the past as before him (קדם), the future as behind his back (אחורית). R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, ed., *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, vol. 1-2 (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980) (abb. TWOT), 785.

(14) As for their common cognitive masculine פעל, when it is applied to God in Bible, “refers primarily to God’s acts in history, not his acts in creation.” Cf. TWOT:1792.

(15) More cf. TWOT, 27, and Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1909) (abbr. BDB), 23.

(16) In Ps 93:2, it is similar with here that מאז is followed directly by מעולם, so it should co-interpreted with the second couplet Pr 8:23 later. Is. 44:8 and 45:21 refer to “someone/one beside Yahweh”, they should be co-interpreted with אמן in Pr 8:30, we cannot do it in this paper.

(17) We might compare the first semicolon of Is 48:3 “I [Yahweh] have told *former things/principles* from then” with the meta-colon of Pr 8:22 “Yahweh acquired me [Wisdom/his Beginning/his Way/the first of his Deeds] from then.”

(18) There is a book about temporal conception of יום in the Bible, Simon J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975.). Nevertheless, the author didn’t refer to this book when he draft this paper. As for אז (“then”) and עתה (“now, present”), the same author has another book, Simon J. DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Com., 1995).

From Yahweh To World: Chiasm and Parallelism: v.23a

The first word מעולם (“from eternity”) of the second couplet needs not too much explain, for it has been intertextually interpreted though its preceding מאז (“from then”), they are before the Light, the first thing God *spoke out* in Gn 1:3.⁽¹⁹⁾ A supplement is that, עולם “can refer to either the remote past or the future or to both.”⁽²⁰⁾ In other words, the two temporal terms מאז and מעולם mean from out of time, before the Light-being, before the time-being, and the subject Wisdom is pre-existent before the creation, it shares the eternity with Yahweh.⁽²¹⁾

Now we can see a few of prepositional particle מ (מן, from) in this second couplet - if added with the last words from the first couplet, it looks really impressive. A transition would be seen in this couplet from the being of Wisdom, to its temporal locus, and to its spacial locus.

A chiasm can be seen between the two line: זאמ (from then) - מלועמ (from eternity) and יהוה (Yahweh)-ארא (earth);⁽²²⁾ and also a evident parallelism: תישאר (the Beginning/Principal)-שארמ (from the beginning) andקדמ (the first)-ימדקמ (from the first).

*From Temporal to Spacial: v.23b*

The cognate of מראש can be found in Is 40:21, 41:4, 26, 48:16, and Ec 3:11,⁽²³⁾ which can be complement to the passages with מאז (Ps 93:2; Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, 7) mentioned above. In all these occurrences מראש is almost unambiguously translated as “from the beginning”. Comparing the occurring contexts of מראש with מאז, especially the former Is 40:21; 41:26 with the latter Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, it can be found that the meaning of מראש and מאז is identified as “from the beginning”. Through the intertextual exegesis of לקניינום with מאז in Is 48:7 referring to Gn 1:3-5⁽²⁴⁾ in above it has been concluded that the several temporal terms mean from out of time, before the Light, before the time-being, before the creation, sharing the eternity.

One of the most distinct messages, the last colon of Is 48:16, “And now the Lord Yahweh, with his spirit, sends me,” (JB) would be paid some special attention. Herein who is *I/me* sent by Yahweh with his Spirit? It is not the Spirit or the Father Yahweh as the text itself has been implied. The holistic passage Is 48:12-16 should be visited. Then in Is 48:12 the same subject *I*, “I am the first, I am the last” (JB), congruent with Rv 1:17, 2:8, would

(19) Here will induce the relation of Light with Wisdom and the triune Persons, this can not be analyzed in this paper.

(20) TWOT, 672.

(21) Similarly to the verb קנה in last couplet, the second word verb נסך in this couplet will be suspended and the concentration will be paid to the wide context.

(22) There looks be a pan-chiasm or cross phenomenon in Hebraism. The first evidence is the classical chiasm structure in form criticism. The second can be the mutual contamination in clause of curse and oath in Joüon-Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 583 (similar with this grammatical discovery, it looks to happen also in the relation of prefix/affix and vav-conversive/reversible). The third is the “cross blessing” of Israel to Joseph’s two sons. And there should be the fourth that in Ezekiel 37:1-14, the gender-exchanging usages are highly frequent in the resurrection narrative, especially the seemingly “dual-gender” word נתקרבו in verse 7. This unique Hebraism phenomenon always involves a historical, grammatical, or life event. It even recalled the author some Chinese Yin-Yang theory.

(23) The current מראש should be the apposition to מעולם. As for מקדמי ארון, it is the only plural apparatus attributed to “me/I/Wisdom” so far. Even though it should be the same syntactic position, but would play a different attribute rather than temporal.

(24) Since Genesis 1 is the archetype of Creation, it would always be the privileged reference when the topic of Creation is mentioned.

be the Word/Son, sent by the Father Yahweh with the Spirit *now* (הַתַּעַת, v.16), *when* (תַּעֲמִי) *it/she* (the Spirit) *be, I* (the Word) *be there.*⁽²⁵⁾ (Its identity would be highly exegetically disputed, in Catholic JB and Chinese SBV, the identity in v.16 is identified as Cyrus, and SBV even rendered the last colon of v.16 into that, “And now my Lord Yahweh will implement redemption (original in Chinese 我上主现在要施行救援.)”) This is a convince that, תַּעֲמִי הַתַּעַת is about the *now* creation through the trine communion,⁽²⁶⁾ while שֶׁאֵרָמֵי is about the *then* pre-creation. The Now is the junction between the Time with the Eternity.

Now it's the time for the last word חָכְמָה יִמְדַּקֵּמֶיךָ. As above mentioned, this only plural apparatus submitted directly to “me/I/Wisdom” in this strophe, would play a different attribute rather than temporal. A question is whether it is submitted only to the verb כָּסַב, or also to the former verb הִנֵּק. Anyway, it is submitted to the universal subject Yahweh and the universal object Wisdom. Another distinction is that חָכְמָה is the only *concrete term* in the whole strophe. As the last word זֶמַּן in the first couplet inaugurates the temporal chain-terms in the second couplet, the last word חָכְמָה יִמְדַּקֵּמֶיךָ in the first strophe is inaugurating the spacial-geographical chain-terms in the following strophes.

III. REORIENTATION OF THE WISDOM IN THE TRINE COMMUNION

Wisdom Controversy in History

Since the Wisdom is the Beginning Way, the Principle of Yahweh, this will be congruent with the approach of Targum, “Yahweh created the heavens and the earth *in the Wisdom.*”⁽²⁷⁾ This would naturally recall the statement about the Son in NT, “For *in(/by) him* all things were created: things in heaven and on earth...all things have been created *through(/by) him and for him.* He is before all things, and *in him*, all things hold together.” (Col. 1:16–17, NIV 2011/(1984)) From this Targum approach, the affinity between the Wisdom with the Son can be suggested (meanwhile it never refutes the same affinity with the Spirit, as the Apostles’ Creed stated, “Who [the Son] was conceived by the Holy Spirit”⁽²⁸⁾). The author cannot ensure the relation of Targum with the intertestamental scripture, but they would be independently paralleling in Jewish community somehow.

In the intertestamental (or Second Temple) scriptures around Jesus, Wisdom became a hermeneutical construct for interpreting sacred Scripture.⁽²⁹⁾ In Wisdom of Ben Sira (also known Sirach or Ecclesiasticus),⁽³⁰⁾

(25) Even though it is very weak that John 1:1: “In the beginning was the Word” should be remind accordingly, the author still notes it here: Would the author of John’s Gospel also imply that “In Wisdom was the Word” as in Targum? Since it will resonant the Apostles’ Creed: “...who [the Son] was begotten of the Holy Spirit...” (Leith, *Creds of the Churches*, 23ff.) And the counter-relation between Wisdom and the Spirit, between Word and the Son will be elaborated in the next part in accordance with Philo of Alexandria, Theophilus of Anthioch, and Irenaeus.

(26) Jürgen Moltmann, *History and the Triune God: Contributions to Trinitarian Theology*, trans. John Bowden (New York, NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1991), 73-74. The author is indebted to T. David Beck, *The Holy Spirit and the Renewal of All Things: Pneumatology in Paul and Jürgen Moltmann* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 67; Eugene, OR.: Pickwick Publications, 2007), 208. Moltmann called the Wisdom in Pr 8:22ff. as *the daughter of God*. In the English translation, it was very popular: “The Lord *created me at the beginning of his work...*” The author cannot get the original German version to check yet.

(27) Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15* (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), 129. Thomas F. Torrance, *Space, Time and Incarnation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) would have contributed to the spacio-temporal approach in this paper. We should pay attention to that, except the rendering “in the beginning” into “in the Wisdom,” the subject was also rendered from “Yahweh” to “God,” even though the exegetical value cannot be seen yet.

(28) Leith, *Creds of the Churches*, 24ff. A question is that whether the Apostles’ Creed can be listed in the Judaism/Jewish scriptures.

(29) Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, BZAW (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), pp. 13. I was indebted to Craig G. Bartholomew and Ryan P. O’Dowd, *Old Testament Wisdom Literature: A Theological Introduction* (Downers Grove, IL.: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 237.

(30) Sirach is listed as deutero-canon in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Slavonic Bibles. Cf. NRSV.

which was written in the later second century, the Wisdom is identified with Torah, but as *created creature* (not $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon\omega$ in Gen 1:1, but $\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ the same with LXX of Pr 8:22) in creation context.⁽³¹⁾ Thus the approach of Sirach about the Wisdom is different from Hebrew Bible or Targum. In Sirach it is evidently said that the Wisdom was created, while in Hebrew Bible and Targum the Wisdom is that in which God created.

Since Hebrew Bible, Targum and Sirach all belonged to the Jewish community in the intertestamental era, we can see that in the Jewish community there has been the disputation about the nature of Wisdom. In Hebrew Bible and Targum the Wisdom is that in which God created⁽³²⁾, while in Sirach and LXX it is evidently said that the Wisdom was created plainly.

Among the Fathers, who were capable commonly to read LXX rather than Hebrew, they overwhelmingly accepted the connotation that the Wisdom is created. In addition, they were eagerly looking for the scriptural evidence in OT about the preexistence of the Son, then the ideal option come to be Pr 8:22ff. which looks most like. The result is that, the cognate or prototype of the Son, i.e. the Wisdom, was perceived to be the first creature among Fathers. Athanasius (ca. A.D. 325) risked to undercut the Son to be created when he became incarnate. While the supporter of Arius spoke boldly that “Yahweh created me,” which “reverberated in every street and alleyway in Alexandria and everywhere else.”⁽³³⁾

This is the consequence that the Father interpreted according to LXX, as Waltke’s statement (as well as what we found in independent exegesis) revealed, “a grammatico-historical exegesis of Proverbs 8 does not

(31) James D. Martin, *Proverbs* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 88. Sir 1:4: “Before all other things wisdom was created;” v.5: “Wisdom’s source is the word of God in the heavens; her ways are the eternal laws;” v.9: “He himself has created her (in the Holy Spirit. Vulg.)” (JB) The Fathers’ exegetical approach on Wisdom in Pr 8:22ff. looks influenced by Sirach rather than following Hebrew Bible or Targum. Especially in v.5, it suggests that the Word precedes/ed the Wisdom, while the Apostle’s Creed suggests that the Spirit precedes/ed the Son, in terms of the approach in this paper.

(32) Accord to the reading of Martin about another intertestamental scripture the Wisdom of Solomon, in which wisdom not just presents at creation but as an active participant in it as a quasi-hypostasis and God’s gift to humankind, the Solomon of Wisdom would be listed with Hebrew Bible and Targum.

(33) A. L. Clayton, “The Orthodox Recovery of a Heretical Proof-text: Athanasius of Alexandria’s Interpretation of Proverbs 8:22-30 in Conflicts with the Arians” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 1988), 126-7. The author is indebted to Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 255-312. I am indebted to Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 127. Athanasius’ thought is too sophisticate to deliberate in this paper, the author only present the quotation DNS 14, DSD 11 and AEL 17 in Clayton, 259 in accordance with Nicene Creed and Pr 8:22. (The Greek text will refer to Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 25)

DNS 14 explained that “formed ($\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$)” is applied to just when he “has become human ($\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$),” which is easily to identified with incarnation. The problem is that in Nicene Creed, that are two different terms: $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omega\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ (“already-being-fleshed”) and then just $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ (“among-human-being”). The former is rendered from the prologue of John’s Gospel as was translated as “incarnation,” with which the latter is usually treated identical. Is this real? Burn’s writing suggests no, the latter succeeded Creed of Eusebius with the meaning “lived as a citizen amongst men,” which would be rendered also from the prologue “made his dwelling among us ($\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$).” (A. E. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds* [London: Methuen, 1899] The author is not sure yet the relationship between the terms in various texts [Cf. AEL 17]). In this text, the term $\theta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$ (“god-being-created, deification”) was mentioned. In addition, the author cannot ensure the relationship between “flesh ($\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\xi}$)” and “body ($\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$).”

DSD 11 referenced to Heb 3:2 (in which there is exactly “(The One) already creating ($\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\theta\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$)” Jesus - if so, how can we treat “Jesus Christ... being begotten not being created ($\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$)” in Nicene?), Heb 1:4 (in which the Son “already becoming [$\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$]”) as well as Pr 8:22. Athanasius applied three words in juxtaposition “to have (been) formed ($\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), to have (been) created ($\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), to have (been) become ($\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$)” for his incarnation, while they are not congruent with Is 43:7 in LXX.

In AEL 17, we can see a theological translation nuance happened. Pr 8:22 “The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways for His works” added with an “in.” One puzzle is what is the meaning of “being Word and Wisdom of the Father, He...is the Creator, and is not created ($\tau\omicron\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$),” referring to his Godhead herein? It looks like that in accordance with that “...being made man, and bearing our flesh, He is necessarily said to be created and made ($\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$).” Moreover, Athanasius applied the Nicene term $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ in “the body or the incarnation ($\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\varsigma$) of the Lord.” According to Nicene and Johannine text, it would be translated as “economy.” More definitely, we can see the distinction between “flesh” and “body,” the latter refers to the temple of body (Joh 2:21), i.e. Shekhinah (שכינה).

As a conclusion: the definition of Athanasius about whether Jesus Christ was created, doesn’t coincide with Nicene Creed.

support patristic exegesis,” which was just “two blindfolded men trying to hit each other.”⁽³⁴⁾ For the Wisdom is not created in nature, as revealed in Hebrew exegesis. Nevertheless, the modern exegetes are still applying the old path. For example Waltke still attributes Wisdom to the Son, change the new wine in the old wineskins. To resolve the problem of the locus of the preexisting Wisdom among the triune Persons, Waltke even applied typology, “Solomon’s personification of Woman Wisdom functions as a type of Jesus Christ...the antitype shows both similarities and superiority to the type. Without escalation history would be going nowhere.”⁽³⁵⁾ Waltke looks falling into the same dilemma as Athanasius thousand years before, or even into Darwinism or progressivism.⁽³⁶⁾

Another Marginalized Wisdom

The Wisdom Attributed to the Spirit

But another option was overlooked in the footnote, that is the two except Fathers Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus, both of whom attributed Wisdom with the Spirit instead of the Son.⁽³⁷⁾ In Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies*,⁽³⁸⁾ the Word and the Wisdom is paralleled and identical respectively with the Son and the Spirit:

For with Him were always present the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, by whom and in whom, freely and spontaneously, He made all things.” (4.20.1 or p. 487-8)

...the same God who made all things by the Word, and adorned them by [His] Wisdom. (4.20.2 or p. 488. The underlines were added by the author.)

...the Word, namely the Son, was always with the Father; and that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was present with Him, anterior to all creation... “The Lord conceived⁽³⁹⁾ me the beginning of His ways in His work...” (4.20.3 or p. 487-8)

(34) Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 128-8.

(35) Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 131.

(36) Waltke’s dilemma would be indebted to his confined temporio-spatial worldview. All his arbitrary statements focusing only on the temporal aspect are suspicious, e.g., “*As the first (rē šit)* probably means ‘first’ in time (i.e., ‘as the beginning’ or ‘in the beginning’), not in importance or quality of the best of a series (i.e., ‘choicest,’ ‘chief,’ ‘foremost’), nor in principle (see 1:7; 4:7), nor in virility (i.e., ‘firstborn’). In vv. 22-23 temporal *min* (‘of,’ ‘from’) is repeated four times in connection with terms, such as the parallel *qedem*, that almost exhaust the vocabulary of primordial time.” (Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 409-410) et al. In contrast, as the above independent exegesis revealed, the Hebrew texts convey typical logical, principle, or spacial aspects more than only temporal. Even though Waltke and other modern exegetes can read original Hebrew better than that most of the Church Fathers were reading only translated versions (Cf. Robert Louis Wilken, with Angela Russell Christman and Michael J. Hollerich, trans. ed. *Isaiah: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids: Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), xxvi, cf. xviii), their temporio-spatial worldviews shared the same typical dualism with a linear time and a stereo space. As for the worldview of time and space, see Torrance, *Space, Time and Incarnation*.

(37) A. L. Clayton, “The Orthodox Recovery of a Heretical Proof-text: Athanasius of Alexandria’s Interpretation of Proverbs 8:22-30 in Conflicts with the Arians” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 1988), 126-7. The author is indebted to Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 127.

(38) Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, Vol. I, *The Apostolic Fathers: Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson et al. (Grand Rapids, MI.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973).

(39) English translation is “created,” the author retro-translated theologically without finding a Greek original. Migne’s Latin translation is “creavit”. The German translation is similarly “schuf.” <http://www.unifr.ch/bkv/kapitel694-2.htm>, accessed September 4, 2020. The Father Irenaeus Hatzieffraimidis from University of Western Macedonia emailed the author that it is κτίζω congruent with LXX.

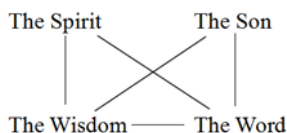
In Theophilus' *Ad Autolyicum*,⁽⁴⁰⁾ the Spirit of God (Gen. 1:2), the Beginning (Gen. 1:1; Prov. 8:22), the Wisdom (Prov. 8:22) in OT, with the Spirit (Luke 1:35) in NT are identical:⁽⁴¹⁾

He is God, who heals and gives life through Logos and Sophia. God made everything through Logos and Sophia, for by his Logos the heavens were made firm and by his Spirit all their power [Ps 32/(33):6]. His Sophia is most powerful: God by Sophia founded the earth; he prepared the heavens by intelligence; by knowledge the abysses were broken up and the clouds poured forth dews [Prov 3:19f.]. (1.7 or p.11)

Therefore God, having his own Logos innate in his own bowels [cf. Ps. 109/(110):3], generated him together with his own Sophia, vomiting him forth [Ps. 44.2] before everything else. He used this Logos as his servant in the things created by him, and through him he made all things [cf. John 1:3]. He is called Beginning because he leads and dominates everything fashioned through him. It was he, Spirit of God [Gen. 1:2] and Beginning [1:1] and Sophia [Prov. 8:22] and Power of the Most High [Luke 1:35], who came down into the prophets and spoke through them about the creation of the world and all rest [cf. 2.9] For the prophets did not exist when the world came into existence; there were the Sophia of God which is in him and his holy Logos who is always present with him. ...And Moses...says: 'In the Beginning God made heaven and earth' [Gen. 1:1]. First he mentioned Beginning and creation, and only then did he introduce God, for it is not right to mention God idly and in vain [cf. Exod. 20:7].⁽⁴²⁾ (2.10 or p. 39)

...the three days prior to the luminaries are type of the triad of God and his Logos and his Sophia. In the fourth place is man, who is in need of light - so that there might be God, Logos, Sophia, Man. For this reason the luminaries came into existence on the fourth day. (2.15 or p.53)

Following the approaches of Theophilus and Irenaeus, the Wisdom would be attributed to the Spirit, and the Word would be to the Son; according to Theophilus' *Ad Autolyicum* 2.10, the Wisdom and the Word can be inter-transformed or inter-changed. As "without either confusing the persons or dividing the substance" in Athanasian Creed,⁽⁴³⁾ the relationship between the Wisdom and the Word with the Spirit and the Son would be illustrated as following (If the Father appears, the illustration requires to be stereo, as should be not mentioned in this paper):



This approach will neatly theologially order the the relation of the preexisting Wisdom with the triune Persons. Wisdom Pneumatology for the Trinity

(40) Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum*, with trans. Robert M. Grant (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford University Press, 1970).

(41) Cf. 1.7. Herein we can see that Theophilus would be listed in the same line with Targum.

(42) As Clayton discovered, in this passage, the Word and the Spirit and the Wisdom seem identical sometime.

(43) Leith, *Creeeds of the Churches*, 705.

In earliest Christianity, “creation through the Word/Son” is not found apart from the Prologue of John’s Gospel, and it would be the Wisdom/Spirit in prominent as in its contemporary Judaism, even though it lost its importance after a time in both religions, as R. S. Barbour proposed.⁽⁴⁴⁾ But the Spirit was much vague and uncertain, some of the earliest approaches to the Christian formulation of the doctrine of God were essentially binitarian rather than trinitarian, concentrating on God and his Word, on the Father and the Son.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Nevertheless, there was another stream of Christian thought which maintained the link of the Spirit with the Wisdom, i.e. in the theology of Theophilus of Antiochene – the precedent of Nestorian, as mentioned above – the Wisdom identified with the Spirit found a prominent place.⁽⁴⁶⁾ (And this Wisdom-oriented theology earns its accord with its neighbor Judaism and centuries later with Islam.⁽⁴⁷⁾) Once the Christology was clarified in the fourth century and the status of the Spirit had to be considered, the wisdom pneumatology of the Antiochene provided some of the necessary materials for a more fully trinitarian understanding.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Tragically, soon the Syriac Antiochene Church was marginalized and persecuted more again following the condemnation of Nestorius in the Council of Ephesus (431 AD)⁽⁴⁹⁾, this is called the Great Schism by Asian church historian Samuel Moffet.⁽⁵⁰⁾ And in the following millennium, the second Greatest Schism inside the Latin Catholic and Greek Orthodox happened just because of the *filioque* dispute about the Spirit again.

The Wisdom Contributing to a Holistic Pneumatology

The Challenge of Current Pneumatology

There is an evident crisis of current power-oriented pneumatology popular among NT believers, especially Evangelical-Pentecostals. The confined Spirit of redemption in the Latin tradition (Catholic and Protestant) has been observed by Jürgen Moltmann, it led Western Christians – in fact the global Latinized Christians – to look for the experience of the Spirit only in the context of the intrinsic religion. Moltmann associated it with the influence of Platonism that “spirit and spirituality are set over against the concerns of the body and the world.” Thus, it is a concept of the human redemption as inner salvation from the world.⁽⁵¹⁾ This dualism induces the crisis of individualism as well as consumerism, that is why Moltmann proposed an ecological theology in the eschatological perspective and holistic pneumatology.⁽⁵²⁾

In the preface to *God in Creation*, Moltmann deliberated that, following the systematic theological agenda for the reconciliation between the humankind and the nature in the relative peace of the post-World War era, he

(44) R. S. Barbour, “Creation, Wisdom and Christ,” *Creation, Christ and Culture: Studies in Honour of T. F. Torrance*, ed. R. W. A McKinney (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), 23.

(45) Alasdair Heron, *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, the History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Westminster Press, 1983), 38.

(46) Barbour, “Creation, Wisdom and Christ,” 22. Cf. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 38.

(47) Dale T. Irvin, and Scott W. Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, Vol. I: *Earliest Christianity to 1453* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001), 133-4.

(48) Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 38.

(49) Irvin, *History of the World Christian Movement*, Vol. I, 200.

(50) Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, Vol. I: *Beginning to 1500*, 2nd revised and corrected edition (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 169 ff.

(51) Beck, *The Holy Spirit and the Renewal of All Things*, 207.

(52) Cf. *Ibid.*, 208-227.

was to develop a “pneumatological doctrine of creation,” not only related Protestant and Catholic sources, but also rediscovered “the Orthodox theology has preserved a creation wisdom which was pushed aside and lost in the West,” alongside the ancient, medieval, and modern Jewish theology.⁽⁵³⁾ Through a historical investigation in this paper, the wisdom-pneumatology tradition concealed in another Eastern tradition Antiochene-Nestorian was revealed.)

In the Pentecostal circles, the Spirit and spirituality are emphasized especially and exited also several ecumenical theologians such as Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, but the Pentecostal theology looks always historical and dogmatic weak. That can explain why Kärkkäinen’s five volumes brilliant and systematic theology *A Constructive Christian Theology for the Pluralistic World* was on one hand so inclusive, but on another hand can rarely be seen of his own original insight especially about pneumatology, which is been mentioned mostly by Pentecostals ironically.

A Holistic Pneumatology referring to Is 11:1ff.

The author proposes Is 11:1ff. as a scriptural foundation for a wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology. In Isa 11:2 wisdom is narrated as the first attribute of the six.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The six attributes were categorized by Alec Motyer into three pairs. The first pair of wisdom and understanding are judicial and governmental attributes, the second pair of counsel and power is strategical and actual attributes/gifts, and the third pair of knowledge and fear of Yahweh is the intellectual and moral attributes.

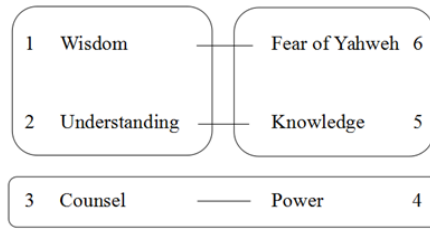
Several insights from this passage about the six attributes of the Spirit will be presented. Firstly, all the six attribute words in Hebrew are feminine. Secondly, so far only Gregory of Nazianzus was observed to take the mention of the attributes as an occasion to discuss the nature of the Spirit.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Thirdly, Augustine of Hippo notice that it begins with wisdom and closed with the fear of Yahweh, and the fear of Yahweh is Wisdom, the Beginning (Ps 111:10; Pr 1:7, 9:10; Job 28:28).⁽⁵⁶⁾ Fourthly, following the approach of Augustine, another strategy about the six attributes can be rearranged: wisdom=fear of Yahweh, understanding=knowledge, and counsel=power, or even, wisdom=fear of Yahweh, understanding=knowledge, and counsel=power.

(53) Jürgen Moltmann, *God in Creation: An Ecological Doctrine of Creation: The Gifford Lectures 1984-1985*, trans. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1985), xi-xiv.

(54) J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 122. Following the classical exegesis, Thomas Aquinas summarized herein seven gifts of the Spirit: wisdom, science, understanding, counsel, fortitude, piety, and fear, inheriting from some Latin traditions. Cf. Saint Thomas Aquinas, “Of the Gifts,” and “Of the Gifts of Wisdom,” *The Summa Theologica*, V. II, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Great Books of the Western World, v. 20, ed. Mortimer J. Adler. Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), 87-96, 598-603. The author is indebted to Kieran Conley, “The Wisdom of the Holy Spirit,” *A Theology of Wisdom: A Study in St. Thomas* (Iowa: The Priory Press, 1963), 105-140. Whereas, it can be seen that at Aquinas’ time the wisdom tradition is prominent (in this paper they will be identified as “attributes” rather than “gifts” technically.). The formula of “seven gifts” was popular among early churches rather than the “six attributes” in Hebrew text. Cf. Wilken, *Isaiah*, 123.

(55) Wilken, *Isaiah*, 134.

(56) Wilken, *Isaiah*, 148.



These six attributes in Is 11:2 can also be found in Pr 8:12-14, and the following passage Is 11:3-5 about righteousness/justice is paralleling with Pr 8:15-21. The justice and the following messianic peace in Is 11:4ff. does not come directly from Yahweh, but from the one who has been anointed with the Spirit with the six attributes. This Anointed One will administer justice among peoples.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Spirit/Wisdom’s role in the socio-historical community (Is 8:1-9; Pr 12-21) is not discontinuous with her role in the cosmological or protological context (Pr 22-31).⁽⁵⁸⁾ God’s creative decrees give enduring structure to the cosmos or proto-existence (Pr 27-31), and Wisdom in turn enables the anointed one to issue decrees that give enduring structure to society. Only Wisdom has observed the creation from the Beginning, only she knows the whole story and so has the knowledge to counsel others.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The kingdom of God would not occur until the divine provision of righteousness became a reality; the gifts of righteousness of God cannot become a reality unless they were given shape within the socio-economic sphere. The peace is not the “peace of soul” for the believer who survives in the midst of a wicked world, but can be attained only when evil is overpowered.⁽⁶⁰⁾

IV. THE PREEXISTENCE OF THE WORD REORIENTED IN BIBLICAL

Why did the theologians incline so spontaneously to relate the Wisdom with the Son throughout the history? One reason would be the seemingly short of support for the preexistence of the Son in OT.

For a long time, the author also treated the Wisdom in Pr 8:22ff. as the scriptural evidence for the preexistence of the Son in accordance with the apostolic statement Col. 1:16–17.⁽⁶¹⁾ But this approach will fall into theological confusion throughout the history as above revealed. So this paper ought give some contribution to this issue.

Firstly it can be traced to how the Son himself revealed his preexistence in gospels. There are several scriptures that can contribute to it. In his own words inducing the stoning, “Your father Abraham rejoiced at the thought of seeing my day; he saw it and was glad...before Abraham, I am!” (John 8:56, 58), his preexistence can be traced to before Abraham but not “in the beginning.” And in the following second stoning by the statement, “I and the Father are one” (John 10:30), his preexistence “in the beginning” was proclaimed.⁽⁶²⁾

(57) Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp, (Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 482. Cf. an “eco-justice” of “eco-theology” in Paul S. Chung, *Postcolonial Imagination: Archeological Hermeneutics and Comparative Religious Theology* (Hong Kong: Christian Study Center on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2014), 299, et al.

(58) Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 408.

(59) *Ibid.*, 407.

(60) Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 484.

(61) Cf. John 1:3, 1 Cor. 8:6, and Heb 1:2.

(62) The preexistence and “in the beginning” herein have “logical, spatial (material), absolute,” senses more than “chronological, temporal, relative” senses. Cf. Eichrodt, “*In the Beginning*,” 65-73; Torrance, *Space, Time and Incarnation*; Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 523.

Secondly, Jesus' *my day* in John 8:56 would shed a light on the Word-Creation in OT as revealed from Isaiaic passages above.⁽⁶³⁾ *My Day*, i.e. the Lord's Day or the Word's Day, is *Now* they are being created, in presence of the Day, as the above inter-textual exegesis of Is 48:7 revealed. From the Speaking Word to its Realization, this process is of the Day, the Day of Lord, the Day of Word (cf. The contextual meaning of six *day* in Genesis 1). The Word was called out from the eternity, out of time; when it is responded in time, God has done it. This is the process of creation, when is the presence of the Day. What Abraham saw in John 8:56 is this Day.⁽⁶⁴⁾

From the Word-Creation or Logos-Creation perspective to read OT, there will be sufficient scriptures to support the preexistence of the Son, the Word. It is unnecessary to obtain the Wisdom in Pr. 8:22ff. eagerly for the Son. Wisdom is more suitable under the attribute of the Spirit.

CONCLUSION

Bible must be read in a supra-temporeo-spacial perspective, but not only in a popular dualism with linear time and stereo space. In this perspective, the exegesis on Pr 8:22-23 reveals the uncreated preexistence of the Wisdom, and the Wisdom-Creation with the typical Word-Creation evident in Isaianic scriptures.

Throughout the history the Wisdom was popularly attributed to the Son, as induces two crisis. On one hand, the Son fell into a proto-identity confusion; the Spirit was hollowed into a psychological feeling. This problem existed both in Judaism and Christianity. In history the proposal of Wisdom-Spirit by Theophilus of Antiochene and Irenaeus was minority and was overlooked. Whereas the Wisdom-Pneumatology that was held by Antiochene has ever contributed to the construction of triune Trinity.

The weakness of pneumatology has maintained until modern times, and was fulfilled somehow by some persons such as the post-WWII theologian Jürgen Moltmann, who rediscovered the heritages from some Eastern traditions including Orthodox and Judaism. In this paper, another Eastern tradition Anthiochene was highlighted by its Wisdom-Pneumatology.

Alongside the Wisdom-Pneumatology in protological or cosmological dimension according to Pr 8:22ff, this paper also proposed a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology in socio-historical or practical dimension according to Is 11:1ff. with Pr 12-21, which was endowed with wisdom, understanding, counsel, power, knowledge, and fear of Yahweh, with the crown of justice and the glory of peace.

(63) Actually the Hebrew term (דבר word) in many OT contexts can be identical with λογος (word) in John's Gospel—actually in LXX many places of (דבר word in Hebrew) have been translated into λογος (word in Greek). The Jewish philosopher Philo's bridge-role must be noticed (Cf. Martin, *Proverbs*, 89). According to Philo, "God's Word is his act" (James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1980), 228). This will resonate the Word-Creation as above exegesis revealed.

Cf. *Philo in Ten Volumes (and Two Supplementary Volumes)*, Vol. II and V, with an English translation by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (The Leob Classical Library, 227, 275; Harvard University Press, 1927, 1934).

The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini) in Vol. II: 65 (p.143): "But the divine Teacher is swifter even than time, for not even when he Created the Universe did time co-operate with Him, since time itself only came into being with the world. God spake and it was done—no internal between the two—or it might suggest a truer view to say that His word was deed."

The footnote a in *On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)* in Vol. V: 95 (p.60): "Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the 'word' which God speaks...every creative act is preceded by 'God said'."

(64) This Day Abraham saw the Word forces the author to ponder the *see* frequently used in the story of Abraham sacrificing Isaac in Gn 22:1ff. When Jesus said "before Abraham, I am!", *before* is not (only) temporal, but (also) spacial or logical. Creation co-exists with redemption. Before Abraham, the Ram is.

As a supplement, coinciding with John's Gospel, the independent discovery of Word-Creation from mainly Isaianic scriptures, can support enough materials for the preexistence of the Word, the Son, guaranteeing for the respective integrity of both Christology and Pneumatology.

The issue about the relation of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, i.e., the controversy is another big question, which needs another big paper to deliberate.

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中文题目:

智慧圣灵论:释经、历史与教牧

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提要:圣灵是与圣父和圣子同等的位格·也经常在教牧中被提到·但是它总是趋于抽象化和虚无化·仅仅成了自信和心里的感觉·在对《箴言书》8:22-23的希伯来文释经以及参考《以赛亚书》11:1及后·跟随安提阿的提阿非罗(Theophilus of Antioch)和爱任纽·作者主张智慧归属于圣灵;平行于尤尔根·莫特曼的创世圣灵论(creation pneumatology)·作者主张一种智慧导向的整全圣灵论(Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology)°

关键词:智慧圣灵论、箴言8:22-23、以赛亚书11:1ff、安提阿的提阿非罗、爱任纽、尤尔根·莫特曼

中西经典与圣经

Chinese and Western Classics
and the Bible

Is Human Freedom an Illusion?

A critical discussion between the current neurophysiologically deterministic interpretation and Martin Luther's theologically deterministic interpretation

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Abstract: Without doubt, Gerhard Roth belongs to a group of contemporary prominent neuroscientists in continental Europe who argue for a deterministic interpretation of brain science findings. In their opinion, mental phenomena can be completely traced back to biological-neuronal processes. The human being is completely determined in his behavior - a claim that arouses highly theological and philosophical interest. Is human freedom an illusion? The Western theological and philosophical tradition has also always been aware of the difficulty of the problem of freedom. A paradigmatic impulse was provided by the Reformer Martin Luther with his doctrine of the unfree will, which he develops above all in the occasional pamphlet *De servo arbitrio* ("On the Bondage of the Will"). The Reformation theological tradition around Luther made the limitedness of the freedom of the human will the core statement of its theological program. The present paper endeavors to reconstruct and analyze the concerns and argumentation of the two authors in order to bring them into conversation with each other in a synthetic step. This paper shows that despite the superficial similarity in word choice and logical operation, the two approaches are fundamentally different. Not only did Luther argue in his historical context for a specific *theological* determinism due to human sinfulness in the face of God-relationship, which has nothing in common with a naturalistic paradigm. He also lays the foundation in his writings - contrary to Roth's abstract philosophical definition - for a differentiated, balanced, holistic concept of freedom in the Reformation tradition, which can be enriching and inspiring for us today.

Keywords: Martin Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, Freedom of Will, Determinism, Dialogue between Science and Theology.

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1. Motivation and introduction

Freedom is an ambiguous phenomenon⁽¹⁾: It is undoubtedly a part of man's essential experience that he experiences himself as free; if he is not subject to any external or internal compulsion, he attributes his actions to the self-determination of his own will. Beyond this self-experience, man is at the same time aware that his decisions

(1) Eberhard Schockhoff, "Wie frei ist der Mensch? Zum Dialog zwischen Hirnforschung und theologischer Ethik," in Christof Gestrich / Thomas Wabel, eds., *Freier oder unfreier Wille? Handlungsfreiheit und Schuldfähigkeit in Dialog der Wissenschaften*, (Berlin: Wichern, 2005), 53; Eberhard Schockhoff, *Beruhet die Willensfreiheit auf einer Illusion? Hirnforschung und Ethik im Dialog*, (Basel: Schwabe, 2004), 23-25.

of will depend on a multitude of inner and outer factors (desires, instincts, environmental influences, external expectations, and social role patternsect.).⁽²⁾ How free is man actually?

Due to rapid progress, neuroscience can distinguish more and more specific structures and functional processes in the brain and assign areas of neuronal activity in the brain to mental phenomena.⁽³⁾ In this context, Gerhard Roth⁽⁴⁾ belongs to a group of prominent contemporary neuroscientists in continental Europe who argue for a deterministic interpretation of brain science findings. They believe mental phenomena can be completely traced back to biological-neuronal processes. Man is completely determined in his behavior - a claim that arouses highly theological and philosophical interest. So is human freedom an illusion?⁽⁵⁾

The Western theological and philosophical tradition has also always been aware of the difficulty of the problem of freedom.⁽⁶⁾ A paradigmatic impulse was provided by the Reformer Martin Luther with his doctrine of the unfree will, which he developed, prompted by disputes with Erasmus of Rotterdam, above all in the occasional pamphlet *De servo arbitrio* ("On the Bondage of the Will").⁽⁷⁾ The theological tradition of Reformation around Luther made the limitedness of the freedom of the human will the core statement of its theological program. To what extent can Luther's teaching be brought into a critical dialogue on freedom with modern neuroscience? And in general: what does a Christian answer to the problem how freedom looks like, and what constructive contribution can it make in an interdisciplinary discussion? This paper aims to shed light on these above questions by reconstructing, analyzing, and discussing the different positions in an interdisciplinary way. In particular, the core thesis of some neuroscientists that human freedom is an illusion will be critically examined based on a biblical-theological discussion oriented to Luther.

At first step of the following, the naturalistic-deterministic position of the neuroscientist Gerhard Roth is exemplarily presented in his argumentation with a preliminary critique. In a second step a presentation of Luther's conception of (un)freedom in a discussion of his work *De servo arbitrio* will be given with a subsequent

(2) Eberhard Schockenhoff, *Theologie der Freiheit*, (Freiburg: Herder, 2007), 33-34; Eberhard Schockenhoff, "Das Netz ist zerrissen – Der Beitrag des Glaubens zum Verhältnis der Freiheit," in Thomas Fuchs / Grit Schwarzkopf, eds., *Verantwortlichkeit – nur eine Illusion?* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), 295-297.

(3) Wolfgang Achtner, *Willensfreiheit in Theologie und Neurowissenschaften: Ein historisch-systematischer Wegweiser*, (Darmstadt: WGB, 2010), 288-290.; Wolfgang Achtner, *Dialog Theologie & Naturwissenschaft*, <https://www.theologie-naturwissenschaften.de/startseite/leitartikelarchiv/willensfreiheit/>, 2019-06-14; Peter Bieri, *Das Handwerk der Freiheit. Über die Entdeckung des eigenen Willens*, 8th Edition (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2007), 25-27.

(4) Gerhard Roth, *Über den Menschen*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2021); Gerhard Roth, *Wie das Gehirn die Seele macht*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014); Gerhard Roth, "Worüber dürfen Hirnforscher reden – und in welcher Weise," in Christian Geyer ed., *Hirnforschung und Willensfreiheit: Zur Deutung der neuesten Experimente*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 66-88; Gerhard Roth, *Aus Sicht des Gehirns: Vollständig überarbeitete Neuauflage*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009); Gerhard Roth, *Das Gehirn und seine Wirklichkeit: Kognitive Neurobiologie und ihre philosophischen Konsequenzen*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996); Gerhard Roth, *Fühlen, Denken – Wie das Gehirn unser Verhalten steuert*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003); Gerhard Roth, "Willensfreiheit und Schuldfähigkeit aus Sicht der Hirnforschung," in Christof Gestrich / Thomas Wabel eds., *Freier oder unfreier Wille? Handlungsfreiheit und Schuldfähigkeit in Dialog der Wissenschaften*, (Berlin: Wichern, 2005), 37-52.

(5) Cf. also Ulrich Eibach, *Gott im Gehirn? Ich – eine Illusion? Neurobiologie, religiöses Erleben und Menschenbild aus christlicher Sicht*, (Wuppertal: SCM, 2006).

(6) Faced with the antinomy between freedom and necessity, Immanuel Kant, for example, developed a practical-moral concept of freedom that establishes human dignity.

(7) Martin Luther, "De servo arbitrio," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, (Weimar: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Graz, 1908), XVIII, 600-787.

systematization of his biblical-theological perspective of the problem of freedom. A critical discussion brings both positions into an interdisciplinary conversation and gives a final conclusion.

2. Gerhard Roth: Human Freedom as an Illusion

2.1 Roth and his neuroscientifically deterministic position

Gerhard Roth belongs to a group of prominent contemporary neuroscientists, such as Wolf Singer⁽⁸⁾, Wolfgang Prinz⁽⁹⁾, who advocate a deterministic interpretation of brain science findings. According to this, mental phenomena can be traced back without gaps to neuronal processes. In his essay “Willensfreiheit und Schuldfähigkeit aus Sicht der Hirnforschung” (“Free will and guilt from the point of view of brain research”), Roth questions the free will of humans, whereas “it is the principle of causal causation or continuous determinacy [...] in a gapless cause-effect relationship that prevails in nature.”⁽¹⁰⁾

In his argument, Roth initially recognizes that man feels free in a specific form of actions, namely acts of will or arbitrariness. Two kinds of content characterize this feeling:

“(1) As conscious thinking and acting beings, we are the source of our will and the cause of our actions. (2) Under identical conditions, we could also act differently or, in retrospect, could have acted differently if we only wanted or had wanted to (this is called alternativism).”⁽¹¹⁾

Roth sees four problems in such a “strong” or “alternative” concept of free will: firstly, the feeling of being free-willed does not necessarily imply that free will actually exists; secondly, free will should not be confused with a will as a mental state of experience which does not have the unconscious external and internal factors (i.e. “conditionality”) to man; thirdly, an act of will does not necessarily lead to action and vice versa, i.e. there is no compelling connection between a willful act and an action of will; fourthly, the claim that free will is based on the indeterminacy of quantum mechanics is not convincing, since the relevant neuronal events that are influenced by quantum effects occur many orders of magnitude below the level of behaviorally relevant events.⁽¹²⁾

For his argumentation Roth refers to experimental-psychological findings, which are interpreted strictly under the macrophysically valid causal law. As a paradigmatic example, he refers to the experiments carried out in the 1980s by the neurobiologist Benjamin Libet, which showed that the so-called readiness potential (RP)

(8) Peter Singer, „Heute weiß ich weniger über das Gehirn, als ich vor 20 Jahren zu wissen glaubte,“ in ed. Matthias Eckoldt, *Kann das Gehirn das Gehirn verstehen?* (Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-Verlag, 2013); Peter Singer, “Vorschaltungen legen uns fest: Wir sollen aufhören, von Freiheit zu sprechen,” in: Christian Geyer ed., *Hirnforschung und Willensfreiheit. Zur Deutung der neuesten Experimente*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004); Peter Singer, *Vom Gehirn zum Bewusstsein*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).

(9) Wolfgang Prinz, “Der Mensch ist nicht frei: Ein Gespräch,” in Christian Geyer ed., *Hirnforschung und Willensfreiheit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 20-22; Wolfgang Prinz, “Kritik des freien Willens,” in Helmut Fink / Rainer Rosenzweig eds., *Freier Wille – frommer Mensch: Gehirn und Willensfreiheit*, (Paderborn: mentis, 2006).

(10) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 37.

(11) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 37.

(12) Roth, *Hirnforscher*, p. 76. For a philosophical-quantum-physical debate see Roth, *Fühlen*, pp. 494-496.

preceding a bodily movement occurs on average temporally before the decision of the will.⁽¹³⁾ Roth sees in these empirical findings evidence that unconscious factors (in Libet's case: RP) exist in humans that massively doubt the concept of free will.

According to Roth, it is indisputable that people experience themselves as free in certain respects, e.g., in conscious deliberation processes, which Roth calls the *phenomenon of self-attribution*: "Characteristic of acts of will is the compelling feeling that *we* are the ones controlling our actions."⁽¹⁴⁾ This phenomenon can be explained in particular by mechanisms of association psychology, which deceptively constructs a causal relationship between desire, will and action by a regular sequence (desires - intentions, plans, states of will - implementation of action). In contrast, people are not aware of the many intermediate steps in the realization of the wish, the processes between the "push of the will and the complicated activation of the many muscles":⁽¹⁵⁾ "What we experience in the volitional realization of a desire is a conscious, abbreviated *image* or *model* of the multiple neurobiological and muscular events."⁽¹⁶⁾

Roth's central objection to a strong, alternative concept of free will is the necessary assumption of *vis mentalis* (lit. "mental power"), for which there is no plausible evidence other than the self-perception of free will (that is problematic as mentioned above).⁽¹⁷⁾ The assumption of a "freely deciding" conscious self is not compatible with the latest findings of neuroscience and psychology. Instead, brain research has shown that not a single conscious self but "completely different states associated with self-consciousness"⁽¹⁸⁾ are involved in conscious decisions and that in addition unconscious processes also play a decisive role. According to developmental and personality psychology, the foundations of personality formation about behavior would already be formed in the first years of life and solidify with increasing age. Therefore, according to Roth, conscious and unconscious decisions can be traced back to biological-neuronal processes, thus only conveying the *illusion of freedom*. While people give reasons for their actions, ultimately, they are determined; what differentiates them is only the origin of the variables that determine the brain which includes all genetic predispositions, socio-cultural influences, conscious and unconscious learning processes:

"All available empirical evidence tells us [...] that these processes of deliberation, however complicated, always take place within the framework of genetic prescriptions, early childhood

(13) Vgl. Benjamin Libet, *Mind Time: Wie das Gehirn Bewusstsein produziert*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005), 623-642; to Libet's own, much more reserved interpretation of his experiments see Benjamin Libet, "Haben wir einen freien Willen?," in Christian Geyer ed., *Hirnforschung und Willensfreiheit: Zur Deutung der neuesten Experimente*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 209-211. For alternative interpretations of Libet's experiment, which contradict Roth's deterministic position, and for criticism concerning the experimental design and framework, which questions the validity of the experiment, it is to be referred to the following literatures: Geert Keil, *Willensfreiheit* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 172-174.; Helmut Mayer, "Ach, das Gehirn – über einige neue neurowissenschaftliche Publikationen," in: Christian Geyer ed., *Hirnforschung und Willensfreiheit. Zur Deutung der neuesten Experimente*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 205-217; Peter Hacker, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen der Neurowissenschaften*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (wbg), 2010), 302-312. The experiment was repeated with some experimental-technical optimizations by P. Haggard and M. Eimer: Patrick Haggard & M. Eimer, "On the relation between brain potentials and the awareness of voluntary movements," in *Experimental Brain Research* 126 (1999), 128-133.

(14) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 41; cf. John Searle, *Geist: Eine Einführung*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2006).

(15) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 41.

(16) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 41; the complex neurobiological basis of self-attribution is explained in detail in other works (Roth, *Fühlen*, pp. 196-198 and pp. 430-432; see also Sarah Jayne Blakemore et al., "Abnormalities in the awareness of action," in *Trends Cogn Sci* 6(6) (2002), 237-242.

(17) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, pp. 42-43.

(18) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 45.

experiences, and other social influences, and in the alternativist sense, there is no moment of actual freedom anywhere.”⁽¹⁹⁾

The subjective human feeling of being free is thus nothing but an illusionary deception; man is wholly determined in his behavior.⁽²⁰⁾

From the experimental psychological findings, he draws far-reaching conclusions about the accountability or guilt of human beings. In his view, those individuals who “lack insight into their wrongdoing due to brain damage” and whose organismic “functional architecture does not allow for appropriate behavior” should not be punished.⁽²¹⁾ Singer, who also argues for a deterministic interpretation of brain and neuroscientific brain research, emphasizes that judging people with problematic behavioral dispositions as bad or evil means nothing else “than evaluating the result of a fateful development of the organ that constitutes our being.”⁽²²⁾ Based on this new view of accountability and responsibility, Roth concludes that the practice of jurisprudence requires profound reform: the retributive purpose of punishment, which is based on the alternative ability to act differently, should be rejected in favor of the purposes of deterrence or rehabilitation of the offender.⁽²³⁾ People should answer for their deeds without being guilty of them; instead of the previous sentence of imprisonment, the focus should be on educating the offender in a clinic or therapy.⁽²⁴⁾

“By the way, we conclude that although people are *not* responsible for their actions in the *moral* sense, they can be educated to be accountable by having parents, school, or society help them form certain personality traits that enable them to engage in deliberative decision-making behavior.”⁽²⁵⁾

2.2 Reflexion: Neurophysiological determinism in philosophical architecture

The current debate on freedom is strongly influenced by life sciences, which focus on domain-specific variants of determinism, primarily genetic and neurophysiological.⁽²⁶⁾ In this context, Gerhard Roth, as a biologist and brain researcher, is among the prominent representatives who advocate the model of neurophysiological naturalistic-reductive determinism.

(19) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, p. 44. Wolf Singer expresses it even more sophisticatedly: “The variables of conscious decisions primarily consist of *late-learned* elements: articulated cultural knowledge, ethical principles, laws, discourse rules, and agreed-upon behavioral norms.” In contrast, *early-existing* strategies for weighing options, evaluations and implicit knowledge, entered the brain due to genetic predispositions, the early childhood experiences or unconscious learning processes, have always unconsciously influenced decisions. (Singer, *Vorschaltungen*, p. 59).

(20) Singer succinctly expresses: “No one can be other than he is.” (Singer, *Vorschaltungen*, p. 63).

(21) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, pp. 46-47; cf. Singer, *Vorschaltungen*, pp. 63-64.

(22) Wolf Singer, *Vorschaltungen*, p. 63.

(23) In addition, the protection of society from incorrigible offenders should be ensured.

(24) Roth, *Sicht*, pp. 181-182.

(25) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, 47; see also: Michael Pauen & Gerhard Roth, *Freiheit, Schuld und Verantwortung: Grundzüge einer naturalistischen Theorie der Willensfreiheit*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 13-15.

(26) Apart from a metaphysical, comprehensive, universal determinism, there are several so-called area determinisms (neurobiological, psychological, social, historical, and cultural determinism), which mostly start from the beginning in a limited way. It could be the case that the world is partially determined, but in other parts outside the domain in question, it is not. For example, one could assume that the human brain is a wholly determined system. In contrast, the answer to whether the world is fundamentally determined at the micro level, is left open. In his argumentation, Roth makes a powerfully comprehensive, universal claim to truth about the world.

Philosophically, the problem of freedom and determinism is to be located in the area of the philosophy of mind. Thereby it can be differentiated between two partial questions: The more classical of the two problems refers to an either-or question (“freedom or determinism?”). Its unambiguous answer leads either to the stubborn defense of freedom and denial of determinism or vice versa.⁽²⁷⁾ The second part of the complex question concerns the problem of compatibility, i.e., the question of whether freedom and determinism exclude each other. It is evident that in case of a negative answer to the second part of the question, the classical problem of the first part dissolves. On closer examination, the following standard positions emerge:

	freedom of will		
Determinism		will is not free	will is free
	Reality det.	Determinism	Compatibilism
	Reality indet.		Libertarianism

Numerous philosophers hold a compatibilist position concerning the compatibility of determinism and free will. It claims that free will and determinism are compatible, which means free will could be real even if reality were deterministic. In this case, a *complementary* concept is present: both real elements are on different, not mutually exclusive levels, which refer to each other and can be valid. The opposite thesis is the so-called incompatibilism. In this case, either the free will is an illusion with a deterministic interpretation (hard determinism), or the free will is real with a non-deterministic assumption of reality (libertarianism). It is a *competitive* concept in which both aspects are on the same level; if one aspect is facilitated, the other must give way.⁽²⁸⁾

In the context of recent findings and insights into brain research and the psychology of action, Roth denies the existence of human free will. His position thus belongs to the naturalistic-deterministic paradigm. For him, two premises seem to be crucial important:

- (1) There is no difference between the spirituality and the (neuronal)materiality: the spirituality of man and thus his being-free can be regarded as the result of emergent movements explainable by evolutionary biology; the conviction of being free represents an essential brain performance for the development and adaptability of man which can be unmasked as a deception;⁽²⁹⁾
- (2) There is no (philosophically relevant) difference between *causes* and *reasons*; reasons are nothing else than the conscious, *internal* experiential form of brain processes, which in neurobiological view

(27) Geert Keil, *Willensfreiheit*, (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 10-11.

(28) The terminological distinction made, the opposition of compatibilism and incompatibilism, is still prevalent today, but it is also often criticized. This sweeping stenciling suggests the possibility of categorizing *all* philosophical concepts according to a logically exhaustive classification criterion. The collective designations conceal a variety of highly diverse ideas. Moreover, outsider positions that do not fit into the categorizations are not sufficiently considered. Another crucial weakness is that both camps, the incompatibilists, and the compatibilists, use the same choice of words (“freedom” and “determinism”) but do not operate with terms of the same quality. Indeed, many incompatibilists use a more robust concept of freedom and determinism. Thus, in the first step, it is crucial to explain what is meant by freedom or free action and which category of freedom is to be tested for its compatibility with determinism (Keil, *Willensfreiheit*, 12).

(29) Roth, *Willensfreiheit*, pp. 43-44.

express themselves as a complex concatenation of neurophysiological events, ultimately represent causes (“*external aspect*”)⁽³⁰⁾; “We act from causes, but we explain this action with reasons.”⁽³¹⁾

The radical demand of some neuroscientists like Roth to expose human free will as an inscrutable self-deception, i.e., to interpret ethically relevant actions as non-personal, no responsible authorship attributable, and neuronal processes, can be countered by various counterarguments from a philosophical perspective. In the context of the philosophical theory of action, the distinction between cause and reason developed by Plato should be noted, which is illustrated in the *Phaedo* using the Socrates example (see Platon, Phaidon 98d.):

To the question: ‘Why did Socrates not escape from prison?’ two types of answers are conceivable: The first type of answer (A) is: Because his sinews and bones did not move. It asks for the causes that explain why Socrates did not escape from prison, like any other event in the physical world. The second type (B), on the other hand, explores the reasons that moved Socrates [...]: because he wanted to follow his Daimonion and obey the laws of the state.⁽³²⁾

Human actions are *determined* by reasons, but not *caused* by them. The structure of their intentionality distinguishes reasons from causes: “People act for the sake of the goals they want to achieve through their actions. However, a recognized and consciously chosen goal does not ‘cause’ their actions, for they are left with the option of acting otherwise.”⁽³³⁾ While physical processes are causally determined, human beings are free insofar as they could act differently for a given reason.

A further criticism is directed at the unexplained premises of the naturalistic-reductionist fundamental ontology. Unproblematic is an *epistemological* reductionism, according to which brain and neuroscientific investigations expose the neuronal correlates of human mental processes but can neither prove nor disprove the independence of the mental in terms of its being.⁽³⁴⁾ The *correlation* must not be confused with the *causation*; the epistemological reductionism must not pass to the *ontological* reductionism (naturalism). Reducing personal actions and beliefs to univocal notions of neuronal events ultimately leads to the dissolution of a complex structure of actions and the underlying idea of a person present in his actions and his life history.⁽³⁵⁾ If the cognitive performances of humans can be transferred entirely into neuronal processes, the subject and the phenomenon of acting and thus the question of ethics are already eliminated by choice of such a scientific language of description.

Also, the reductionistic-physicalistic programmatic shows internal contradictions, which lead to determinism’s impracticability. A scientific theory claiming to explain mental phenomena exclusively from neuronal facts denies its basis: It is a mental phenomenon. An approach that eliminates the mental consciousness of man, destroys its presuppositions. If argumentation and rational consideration do not come to an independent reality, the attempt to convince dissenters is useless. What we think and mean is not owed to well-founded insight but to differently developed brain activities.

(30) Roth, *Hirnforscher*, pp. 66-68.

(31) Roth, *Hirnforscher*, p. 82.

(32) Schockenhoff, *Mensch*, p. 56.

(33) Eberhard Schockenhoff, *Beruhet die Willensfreiheit auf einer Illusion? Hirnforschung und Ethik im Dialog*, (Basel: Schwabe-Verlag 2004), p. 16; cf. Schockenhoff, *Mensch*, p. 56.

(34) Schockenhoff, *Willensfreiheit*, pp. 17-18.

(35) Schockenhoff, *Mensch*, p. 57.

It is interesting to embed the contemporary discussion of freedom, triggered by the ideological advance of naturalism, in a synchronic interdisciplinary and diachronic larger intellectual and ideological historical context. A detailed discussion of the comprehensive subject matter is beyond the scope of this paper. This paper aims to draw on Luther's understanding of freedom as a paradigmatic theological perspective in a critical dialogue.

3. Martin Luther: "On the Bondage of the Will"

3.1 Luther and his theologically deterministic position

Luther develops the concept of (un)free will in his writing "On the Bondage of the Will", which is prompted by a dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam in the interest of the doctrine of justification. His response turns out to be both systematic-theological and polemical. This polemical and sharp tone becomes understandable when one considers the importance Luther attached to the subject:

"It is not irreligious, then, nor curious, nor superfluous, but it is most of all useful and necessary to a Christian, to know whether the will does anything, or nothing, in the matter of salvation. Indeed, to tell the truth, this is the very hinge of our disputation — the very question at issue turns upon it. We are occupied in discussing what the free will does, what the free will allows, and what its proportion is to the grace of God."⁽³⁶⁾

Luther's writing shows more at stake here than just a theological disputation. For Luther, essential statements of the Christian faith relate to the question of free will, which he does not want to drop under any circumstances. What is at stake here is nothing less than the certainty of salvation, which is closely connected with justification:

"But now, God has taken my salvation out of the hands of my own will and received it into his own hands. He has promised to save me, not by my own work or running, but by His own grace and mercy. I am therefore at ease and certain, because He is faithful and will not lie to me; and moreover, because He is great and powerful, so that no number of devils, no number of adversities, can either wear Him out, or pluck me out of his hand."⁽³⁷⁾

Erasmus' understanding of the ambiguity of Scripture⁽³⁸⁾ in specific passages causes him to be indecisive in his Diatribe regarding God's grace and man's free will. Although Erasmus shows what man's free will is capable of and what God's grace does, free will can exert itself at one time, and at another time, it is ineffective without

(36) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 614: „Igitur non est irreligiosum, curiosum aut supervacaneum, sed imprimis salutare et necessarium Christiano, nosse, an voluntas aliquid vel nihil agat in iis, quae pertinent ad salutem. Imo ut scias, hic est cardo nostrae disputationis, hic versatur status causae huius. Nam hoc agimus, ut disquiramus, quid nam possit liberum arbitrium, quid patiatur, quo modo se habeat ad gratiam Dei. Haec si ignoraverimus, prorsus nihil Christianarum rerum, noscemus, erimusque omnibus gentibus peiores.“

(37) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 783: „At nunc cum Deus salute meam extra meum arbitrium tollens in suum receperit, et non meo opera aut cursu, sed sua gratia et misericordia promiserit me servare, securus et certus sum, quod ille fidelis sit et mihi non mentietur, tum potens et magnus, ut nulli daemones, nullae adversitates eum frangere aut me illi rapere poterunt.“

(38) Contrary to Erasmus's assertion that the Holy Scriptures contain dark passages and thus do not allow for "firm assertions", Luther argues that this is entirely clear. According to him, the deepest mysteries of God's majesty are made available to all the public in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The individual difficulties of the Scriptures are not factual but grammatical.

grace.⁽³⁹⁾ Therefore, Luther sees a severe inconsistency in Erasmus' argumentation. Since the argument about free will is relevant to salvation, according to Luther, it is important for Christian to know that God foreknows, decides, and accomplishes all things in the light of his immutable, eternal, and infallible will. For Luther, God's unchanging foreknowledge is related to all events' necessity (*necessitas*). Erasmus strongly opposes this since it would deprive man of the freedom of choice. On the other hand, Luther tries to demonstrate why the latter missed the core statements of the Holy Scriptures.⁽⁴⁰⁾

In another section, Luther specifies his understanding of the unfree will and absolute necessity (*necessitas absoluta*). Obviously, Luther does not mean that man is forced to do something, but that it is part of the nature of man to do evil. Man does therein according to his will with pleasure. However, man can't stop this willingness with his strength; in this one-sidedness of the will, man is trapped. On the other hand, when God works in man, man's will is transformed; this will acts freely and is not forced. Thus, it is about man's inability to turn away from his evil nature out of his strength and to turn to God.⁽⁴¹⁾

In this context, Luther uses the image of the riding animal and the two riders. The mount wants what its rider wants. The two riders, i.e., God and Satan, fight with each other to possess it. At this point, Luther, from his point of view, seizes on a central weakness of Erasmus. Also Erasmus cannot see man's free will as entirely sovereign but gives so much room to God's grace that the power of free will can be regarded as relatively small and becomes ineffective without grace.⁽⁴²⁾ Luther makes the critical inquiry: Where is the power of free will if the grace of God is absent? For Luther, Erasmus is absurd in his conclusion. According to Luther, free will could at best be regarded as man's ability to be seized by God's Spirit and to be filled with God's grace. This is contained in man's creatureliness.⁽⁴³⁾ Free will, as such is something that only belongs to God as a *predicate*:

“It stands fixed, even by your own testimony, therefore, that we do all things by necessity, and nothing by freewill, so long as the power of the free will is nothing, and neither does nor can do good, in the absence of grace [...]. It follows from what has been said, that freewill is a title which altogether belongs to God, and cannot join with any other being, save the Divine Majesty.”⁽⁴⁴⁾

In Luther's theological anthropology, no one can improve his life, i.e., man is from himself not capable of anything good unless the Holy Spirit works it in him. It becomes clear that Luther equates the existence of human free will with human pride, i.e., the possibility of trusting in one's abilities.⁽⁴⁵⁾

But Luther acknowledges man's free will in things that are subject to him. Here he makes a fundamental distinction between two categories, *superiora* and *inferiora*: While people cannot dispose of the realm of *superiora*, i.e., the purely divine realm (specifically: “God-relationship”), they are granted a certain degree of freedom of choice in the domain of *inferiora*, the realm of the worldly (“everyday freedom”).⁽⁴⁶⁾ In the latter case,

(39) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 614-615.

(40) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 615-617.

(41) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 634-635.

(42) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 635, 646-647.

(43) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 636.

(44) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 636: “At nunc cum Deus salute meam extra meum arbitrium tollens in suum receperit, et non meo opera aut cursu, sed sua gratia et misericordia promiserit me servare, securus et certus sum, quod ille fidelis sit et mihi non mentietur, tum potens et magnus, ut nulli daemones, nullae adversitates eum frangere aut me illi rapere poterunt.”

(45) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 634.

(46) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 638-639.

man has a free will, which is manifested in the handling of property and possessions. Soteriologically of essential importance, however, it is not the latter question of freedom of choice or action in life but the former question of freewill.

In his further argumentation against the diatribe of Erasmus, Luther turns to the definition of free will, the exact explanation of which he misses in Erasmus.⁽⁴⁷⁾ According to Luther, the term “free will” in the proper sense means that man can behave as he wishes against God and is bound neither to law nor to command. Luther argues that from the “willing” of free will it results inevitably an ability, i.e., that man with free will can just a little fulfill the law and believe the Gospel. It is precisely in this context that Luther names the already indicated main argument against Erasmus’ argumentation: even Erasmus must admit that grace is indispensable to any willing and performing;⁽⁴⁸⁾ at the same time the latter cites a passage from Jesus Sirach 15:14-16 to prove the contrary view that free can strive for something good according to the commandments of God without grace.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Therein lies the major inconsistency that Luther seeks to expose in Erasmus. Luther’s point, however, is not to deny that man has no will but to point out that man’s will is evil and cannot correspond at all to the will of God. Again and again, the Diatribe of Erasmus paints the picture of a man who can do what he is commanded or at least recognizes that he cannot. Such a person, according to Luther, does not exist. Satan himself keeps people believing in their abilities because the Scripture portrays man as bound, miserable, imprisoned, sick and dead. Only with false self-confidence does man think to be free, blessed, vital, and alive.

According to Luther, God’s promises also deprive man’s free will of the right to exist; based on these promises, God restores the penitent sinner.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Why some are now touched by these promises, and some are not, so that some accept the offered grace while others despise it, it can only be explained by a hidden will of God (*deus absconditus*). Luther differentiates here between God’s revealed will and hidden will; he emphasizes the unavailability of God following Rom 9:20.⁽⁵¹⁾ Here, human logic fails and has no insight into God’s action. Man should not want to fathom the majesty of God but turn to the incarnate God, Jesus Christ. The hardening of people is based on the secret will of God:

“It also belongs to this incarnate God to weep, wail, and groan over the ruin of the ungodly, although the will of the Majesty, according to His purpose, abandons and rejects some so that they perish. And it is not for us to ask why he acts this way, but rather to worship God with fear and trembling who can and is willing to do such things.”⁽⁵²⁾

Luther does not want to and cannot resolve this tension. It behooves man to worship God and not to inquire into what is not revealed.

Regarding the problem of the origin of evil, Luther uses the example of the hardening of Pharaoh (Ex 7:13, 22; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:7) to show that God should not be considered as initiator of evil. Before the Fall, everything

(47) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 651-674.

(48) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 668.

(49) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 671.

(50) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 684.

(51) “But who are you, O man, to answer back to God? Will what is molded say to its molder, “Why have you made me like this?” (Rom 9:20; ESV).”

(52) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, p. 689: “Huius itidem Dei incarnati est flere, deplorare, gemere super perditione impiorum, cum voluntas maiestatis ex proposito aliquos selinquat et reprobet, ut pereant. Nec nobis quaerendum, cur ita faciat, sed severendus Deus, qui talia et possit et velit.”

was created by God very well. After the Fall, God only designs from Pharaoh's corrupt nature; He acts in man as He finds him, i.e., God works evil through evil.⁽⁵³⁾ Luther's central argument and key is God's omnipotence. For Luther, the connection of grace with God's almightiness forms the starting point of *theological determinism*. Man is unfree and utterly incapable of contributing anything to his salvation. At the same time, God works everything in everything and, with unalterable necessity, drives all events, good and evil. While Erasmus starts from a positive image of man with the ability to do morally good works,⁽⁵⁴⁾ Luther recognizes the nature of man as evil. According to his very own striving, man is directed toward himself and against God, and thus cannot change it in its necessity (immutability) by his power: "Thus it happens that he constantly and necessarily sins and errs until God's Spirit leads him onto the right path."⁽⁵⁵⁾

3.2 Systematization: Determinism and free will in Christian anthropology

Given Luther's controversial dispute with Erasmus over man's free will, Zickendraht comments:

"This is actually only in the discussion dominating the whole the question of whether a better ego, which recognizes and desires the good, in the natural man can be found, from the point of view of absolute monergism of grace."⁽⁵⁶⁾

While Erasmus starts from a positive image of man, in which he can do morally good works out of himself, Luther concludes on the biblical basis that nothing good or honorable can be found in man who is detached from God. The whole man (*totus homo*) as a sinner is defined as unrighteous, ignorant of God, a despiser of God, deviated and unfit before God. This hostility to God disqualifies man in terms of doing morally good works and participating in the life of God. If it exists at all, free will in this framework is only suitable for sinning.

In this context, At the same time, Luther seems to grant man free will in things that are subject to him. His differentiation between the realms of *superiora* and *inferiora* is ultimately an expression of Luther's two kingdoms doctrine. Soteriologically of importance, Decisive for Luther in *De servo arbitrio*, on the other hand, is only the salvation-relevant question concerning free will in relation to God. Luther struggles for the *theological* (not psychological) truth of whether man can freely dispose of the constitutional conditions of his faith, i.e., make his will itself the object of free choice.⁽⁵⁷⁾ According to Luther, the human active will is directed toward an ultimate purpose, which in man's sinfulness is not God but his sinful ego. The human will is illustrated as a beast of burden, through which God rides the believer and the devil rides the unbeliever:

"Thus, the human will is placed as a sort of packhorse, in the midst of two contending parties. If God has mounted, it wills and goes where God pleases. As the Psalmist [73:22-23] says: 'I have become like a beast of burden, and I am ever with you.' If Satan has mounted, then it wills and goes where

(53) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 708-709, 711.

(54) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 762.

(55) Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, pp. 753: "Ita fit, ut perpetuo et necessario eccet et erret, donec spiritu Dei corrigatur."

(56) Zickendraht, *Der Streit zwischen Erasmus und Luther über die Willensfreiheit*, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909), 136.

(57) Benedikt Bruder, "Versprochene Freiheit: der Freiheitsbegriff der theologischen Anthropologie in interdisziplinärem Kontext," *Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann*, vol.159 (2013), 145-157.

Satan wills. Nor is it in its own choice, which of the two riders it runs to or seeks as its rider; but the riders themselves contend for the acquisition and possession of it.”⁽⁵⁸⁾

From a theological perspective, all of man’s actions rooted in the unfree will are seen as an expression of selfishness and self-interest, whereby man cannot change the overall orientation of his will and actions by his efforts. The genuine turning to God is not within his possible acts of choice; his existential problem does not consist in a not-being-able-to-change, but in a not-being-able-of-*wanting-to-change*, which is not due to external compulsion, but to the inner determination of the sinful will.⁽⁵⁹⁾ From a soteriological perspective, human freedom is denied insofar as a man cannot radically distance himself from the constitutional conditions of his existence and thus cannot dispose of his relationship with God. “Free will” is, for Luther, a predicate of God that overtaxes man, which becomes paradigmatically clear in prehistory:

“It was shown, therefore, in that first man, by a terrible example, for bruising our pride, what our free will can do when left to itself — yes, if he is left to himself and is not continuously guided and encouraged more and more by God’s spirit.”⁽⁶⁰⁾

The divine omnipotence puts man in the position to ceaselessly operate in the primary direction of his (sinful) will.⁽⁶¹⁾ He is therefore exposed to the restless activity of wanting and acting according to the evil nature of his will; the reality of evil cannot be blamed on God but on his instruments: “The fault, therefore, lies in the instruments, which God does not allow to be idle, so that evil happens precisely under God’s impulse, not unlike when a carpenter cuts badly with a serrated and toothed axe.”⁽⁶²⁾

According to Luther, election manifests itself in man’s faith: While election represents the work of God revealed in Christ, the mystery of non-election belongs to the “hidden God” (cf. Isa 45:15) alone. Given the election by grace, man should pass over to the worship of the hidden counsel of God. The emphasis on man’s unfree will is ultimately soteriologically motivated: Only if salvation is founded in God alone, without being dependent on his human efforts, is the certainty of salvation possible.

From a soteriological total perspective, Luther advocates a *theological determinism*: as a creature to be redeemed, man, corrupted and broken in his innermost being, cannot distance from himself, in other words, from his sinful constitutional conditions. Being enslaved by sin means to be enslaved by oneself and to be bent in oneself.⁽⁶³⁾ Human beings must be liberated from the illusion of freedom of will, to which they fruitlessly fixate themselves and their abilities, through the redemptive Gospel that comes from the outside. God must, on His own initiative, break through man’s rebellious resistance and bring redemption against the evil will of human beings. Free will is a attribute of God, whereas human beings are essentially *servum arbitrium*.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Luther’s concern is thus the certainty of salvation: only when the decision about faith or unbelief is not in man’s hands, only then can the believer be certain of his salvation.

(58) Bruder, *Freiheit*, pp. 46-47.

(59) Bruder, *Freiheit*, pp. 94-95, 164-165.

(60) Bruder, *Freiheit*, pp. 164-165.

(61) Eibach, *Gott*, pp. 26-27.

(62) Eibach, *Gott*. 140-141.

(63) Bruder, *Freiheit*, p. 298.

(64) Bruder, *Freiheit*, pp. 300-301.

4. Synthesis - a critical dialogue between Roth and Luther

Superficially, the two deterministic approaches, Roth's neurophysiological determinism and Luther's theological determinism seem to have great similarities. It can be said that both obviously represent an incompatibilist position. In both cases it is a competitive concept in which both factual elements, determinism and free will, are on one and the same level and thus cannot coexist, i.e., are incompatible with each other. If determinism is true, the conclusion follows inevitably that freedom of will cannot exist.

This logical-rational thinking operation undoubtedly shows the great analogy between the two "determinisms", but conceals the substantial differences behind the surface structure. First of all, their writings are to be located concretely in the respective historical contexts with their specific occasions and motivations, which form the starting points of their respective argumentation.

Roth writes against the background of the undeniable success of neuroscience in recent decades and makes comprehensive truth claims about the world and the whole of human existence. With his philosophical assertion that human free will is an illusion, Roth already transcends the limits of single-scientific research and draws very far-reaching conclusions from empirical findings with grave ethical consequences regarding culpability and responsibility. Luther, on the other hand, represented the fundamental concern of the Reformation with regard to the anthropological constitution and certainty of salvation in the occasional treatise *De servo arbitrio*. It was written as a reaction to the humanist doctrine of Erasmus and essentially addresses the fundamental theological question of whether man, in view of the Fall, has the freedom to turn to divine grace by his own power and in this way bring about personal salvation.

In this context, the fundamental difference between the two approaches becomes clear despite their superficial analogy. While Roth moves from some empirical neurophysiological findings to a far-reaching philosophical thesis, Luther's argumentation is essentially theological. The equation or confusion of the two determinisms resembles a serious philosophical Category error. This difference emerges from an analysis of their argumentation insofar as both use partly the same choice of words ("freedom", "determinism" / "necessity"), but do not operate with terms of the same quality. The exact meaning of the terms with their connotated contexts become understandable only in the respective philosophical and theological context. Thus, it is crucial to explicate what is to be understood by "freedom of will" and "determinism" and thus which category of freedom is to be examined for its compatibility with a specific understanding of determinism.

In any case, it is clear that Roth's central criticism is directed against a philosophically "strong" concept of free will. This alternativeism assumes that man could have acted differently under identical conditions in retrospect, if only he had willed differently. Against this specific understanding of freedom as a negative background foil, Roth develops his counterargumentation on the basis of recent empirical neurophysiological findings. His deterministic approach is first a domain-specific, genetic-neurophysiologically dominated determinism variant, which then undergoes an ontological generalization to all areas of life as a philosophical thesis with the ethical implications mentioned above. Luther's position is quite different, since his position is a specific *theological determinism*. He is concerned with an essentially theological insight: Man is the creature to be redeemed, God is the one who brings about redemption. *In this respect*, man does not possess the ability, i.e. the freedom of will, to distance from himself, i. e. from sin. This would presuppose a neutral part of the person, exempt from sin, which could then decide, as it were, against sin and for God. Luther does not know such a creatureliness; the creature is to be called a sinner in his innermost being. To be enslaved by sin is

thus also to be enslaved by oneself and to be bent in oneself. Consequently, salvation must come to man from outside, in the preaching of the Law and the Gospel. Otherwise, man does not become free from the illusion of this freedom, in which he fixes (in vain) on himself and his own capacity. According to Luther, God must bring about salvation *against the* evil will of man. Free will is a predicate of God, not of man as *servum arbitrium*.

In *De servo arbitrio*, the impression is sometimes given that Luther's theological determinism experiences a metaphysical expansion in this intensification of God's omnipotence: all events, i.e. not only salvation events, but also all calamities, as well as actions or other processes that may be indifferent to the question of salvation, are grounded in God's immutable will; everything that happens is necessarily in accordance with God's will. Luther's concern here, however, remains a theological and pastoral one: whatever happens, the believer may know himself secure in the fact that God holds everything in his hands.

In addition to these fundamental differences between Luther and Roth, it also becomes clear that Luther already lays the foundation for a holistic, differentiated concept of freedom in *De servo arbitrio* (and in other writings such as *De libertate christiana* (On the Freedom of a Christian)). Thus, a Christian theological understanding of freedom cannot be satisfied with taking human freedom in a reductionist way as an abstract being able to act differently in relation to alternative possibilities. Consequently, Luther's aforementioned differentiation between the realm of *superiora* and *inferiora*, which does grant human beings a limited creaturely freedom, is important. A good reflective balanced theology in the Reformation tradition can protect against one-sided aggravation and prevent falling off one side of the horse or the other.

Luther and his Reformation theology knew about - obviously for completely different reasons than neurophysiology - the limitedness of human freedom; a concept of freedom in the sense of *autonomy*, the unrestricted self-determination of man over his physical, mental, spiritual and social life and thus also his actions is always denied. Thus, Reformation theology distances itself from genuine philosophy of the subject, such as Kant. On the other hand, contrary to a neurophysiological determinism of Roth, man as a person, as an acting subject of freedom, is *not eliminated*—despite all the emphasis on the creaturely limitation of freedom and the unfreedom in sin. Rather, even the bondage in sin is produced by a subject as an expression of man's spirituality. Finally, enslavement under sin, which requires liberation on the part of God (theological determinism), has nothing in common ontologically with a naturalistic determinism, which, by assuming a causally closed system, must necessarily lead to the exclusion of the subject, his freedom and ability to shape his life. Consequently, the Christian understanding of freedom is incompatible with naturalistic determinism that Roth advocates.

Beyond these demarcations, the Christian concept of freedom opens up a new perspective of human freedom. Despite human striving for absolute autonomy and subsequent lapse into self-centeredness, sin, man can be liberated to freedom through an initiative intervention on the part of God. In theological terms, this process must be thought of as a dialogical event through which man responds to the call of divine love and grace. This liberated true freedom is not only freedom *from* self, from sin *to* commitment to God in faith; it is at the same time Spirit-led, practical freedom *for* relationships and charity. True freedom is realized in relationships and in the limits of being dependent on others. From a Christian perspective, then, human freedom is grounded in being addressed by God, in a living bond and relationship with the creative source of one's existence. It is always liberated, given and owed freedom from the bond with Christ, in whose new space of life receiving and granting love becomes possible.

5. Conclusion

Due to the undeniable success of natural science, more and more scientists are appearing in continental Europe as “world interpreters” who make truth claims about the world and the entire human existence with often undifferentiated theses. These include the renowned neurobiologist Gerhard Roth, whose deterministic interpretation of brain and neuroscientific research seeks to expose human freedom as an illusion, leading to a problematic view of human culpability and responsibility. His naturalistic-reductive program is to be regarded critically in its philosophical-worldly expansiveness due to unclarified premises. In an intentioned dialogue with the reformer it turns out that Luther’s determinism, despite the logical-operational and conceptual surface similarity (competitive concept regarding the two factual moments determinism and freedom of will), fundamentally differs from Roth in its questioning and concern. Roth operates in the argumentation with purely (religion-)philosophical terms and concepts, which arise from the question of the compatibility of determinism and freedom within philosophy. Indeed, this question is answered philosophically in very different ways (determinism, compatibilism, libertarianism), but not in such a way that a certain approach to the solution can be seamlessly transferred into the theological question of human freedom of will. Further future work is desirable in this area of interdisciplinary dialogue between theology, philosophy, and natural science.

Luther argues from the biblical-theological perspective that (besides the limitation by his bodily constitution) man’s (un)free will is firstly limited by the sinful human nature. This theological view of the limitation of freedom moves on a completely different ontological level than the naturalistic-deterministic paradigm of biologists, neuroscientists and philosophers. Luther’s “unfree will” is not about a physical or psychological but a theological determination, conditioned by the Fall into the bondage of self-centeredness and not derivable from the empirical natural conditions of life. Man is limited by his Creator, who must by no means be equated with an anonymous and all-life-determining natural causality or the “power of genes”. Otherwise, the individual human being would turn out to be a will-less machine, whose existence in its marionette-like existence without sense, meaning and dignity is absorbed in random mechanical-biological functionalities. Moreover, a Christian understanding of freedom cannot be satisfied with a philosophical conception of human freedom as an abstract ability to act differently in relation to alternative possibilities. Even the self-inflicted lack of freedom in sin is open to God’s liberating action on man, who is enabled to true freedom in faith and in the bond with God.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Man’s bondage to sin is embraced by God’s freedom in salvation.

From a Christian point of view, a naturalistic anthropology of the Roth type, which unjustifiably claims to be able to see through the world in its entirety by reducing all phenomena of this world - including mental phenomena - to scientifically explorable quantities through the absolutization of a naturalistic methodology, clearly falls short. On the other hand, Luther’s original thoughts provide the basis for a balanced, differentiated, holistic concept of freedom that can also be enriching and inspiring for us today.

(65) Rom 8:14ff.; Gal 4:5f.

中文题目:

人类的自由是一种幻觉吗?当代神经生理学决定论与马丁·路德的神学决定论之间的批评性讨论

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提要:毫无疑问,格哈德·罗斯(Gerhard Roth)属于欧陆当代杰出的神经科学家群体,他们透过脑科学研究对人的意志有着新的决定论解释。在他们看来,精神现象完全可追溯到生物神经元过程。人类在其行为中是完全被决定的--这种说法引起了神学和哲学界的高度兴趣。人类的自由是一种幻觉吗?一直以来西方神学和哲学传统也一直意识到自由意志的复杂性。宗教改革家马丁·路德在《论意志的捆绑》(De servo arbitrio)中提供了不自由意志教义的典范。宗教改革的神学传统把自由意志的有限性作为其神学的核心声明。本文致力于重建和分析这两位作者的关注点和论证,以便使他们在合成步骤中相互对话。本文表明,尽管在选词和逻辑操作上有表面上的相似性,但这两种观点与方法在根本上是完全不同的。路德在他所处的历史框架下主张关乎人类在上帝关系面前的罪性的特定神学决定论,这与自然主义典范毫无共同之处。与罗斯的抽象哲学定义相反,他还在其著作中为宗教改革神学传统奠定了一个有区别的、平衡的、整体的自由概念之基础,这即使对今天的我们来说都极具丰富性与启发性。

关键词:马丁·路德、《论意志的捆绑》、自由意志、决定论、科学与神学之间的对话

Portraying Our Lady of China: An Alternative Visual Modernity in China

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the icon of “Our lady of China”, which was initiated in the early 20th century, to explore the possibility of an alternative visual modernity that mixed together Chinese and western visual cultures as a new one. Through examination of the patronage and reception of its earlier model of “Our lady of Donglü”, this paper concentrates on the beginning of the encountering of traditional and foreign cultures that exemplified by the icon in China during the early 20th century, to delve into the multiple social and historical contexts within which the modern ways of seeing were shaped in native China. The argument is that it is the 20th-century icon of “Our lady of China” that at last effectively visualized the specific Chinese notion of taking Madonna as “Mother Emperor”, which pursuit could trace back to the centuries-long Sinicization of the western icon of “Maria Regina”. The conclusion is that the icon of “Our lady of China” conveys both realistic and Christianized modernity, while at the same time it also distinguishes with several current typical narratives of modernity. In this sense, the icon of “Our lady of China” provides us a kind of so-called “alternative visual modernity” in the process of visual enlightenment in China in the early 20th century.

Key words: Our lady of China, Our lady of Donglü, Maria regina, visual modernity, Tushanwan (Tou-se-we)

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The title “Our Lady of China” (Notre Dame de Chine) was born in May of 1924, at the first Synod of Bishops in China held in Shanghai. During the conference, at the proposal of Cardinal Celso Costantini, the plenary council unanimously adopted the portrait of the Virgin Mary housed in the local church in Donglü, Baoding as the official icon of “Our Lady of China.” Along with the newly designated title, the image, produced by the painting workshop at Tushanwan, subsequently graced various local and international exhibitions, fairs, and religious spaces in the form of paintings and sculptures. It was also mass reproduced by the Tushanwan workshops into prayer cards, illustrations, postcards, and small religious statues, widely distributed and sold across China and abroad. In June 2019, the Palace Museum presented the “Beyond Boundary” craftsmanship exhibition in its Meridian Gate Gallery (*wumen* 午門). The exhibition featured an exquisitely framed embroidery portrait of Mary (Fig.1), with the inscription that reads “Our Lady of China” (*Zhonghua shengmu* 中華聖母) embroidered at the bottom. Another oil painting of the same subject (Fig.2) from 1924 was also on display in the Gate of Divine Prowess Gallery (*shenwumen* 神武門). Part of the Vatican Museums collection, the oil portrait was signed “TSW” (Tushanwan).

Having emerged at the turn of the 20th century, Our Lady of China not only presents a distinctive model of an indigenous religious icon but also represents a visual phenomenon that grew in tandem with China’s process of modernization, marked by a mixture of local and foreign influences. While its history and iconography await systematic examinations, it raised many questions regarding the construction of visual modernity in China, which deserve even further investigations. For example, commissioned and designated by European missionaries, the image was regarded as a symbol of Sinicized Christian art. What visual signifiers have been adopted to exemplify an “artistic” and “Chinese-looking” image? What kind of imagination for the cultural “Other” is embedded in



(Left) Fig.1 *Embroidered Portrait of Our Lady of China*, embroidery, Private Collection of Tong Bingxue

(Right) Fig.2 Tushanwan (TSW), *Our Lady of China*, 1924, oil on canvas, the Vatican Museums

such signifiers, for both China and the West? What common ground have the two parties managed to find through collaboration, that led to innovations in the visual sphere? Moreover, founded upon the integration and mutual understanding of divergent visual cultures, what kind of iconographic lineage does the image bear, and in what way is this tradition an amalgamation of the visual memories and imaginations of both China and the West? Ultimately, why, how, and to what extent does “Our Lady of China,” created with what today seems to be a conventional and undeveloped “realism,” become a unique representation of the Chinese modernity in the local context of the early 20th century?

1. Origin: What Constitutes “Artistic” and “Chinese-Looking”?

Regarding the reasons behind the commissioning of the devotional portrait to Our Lady of China, there exists a generally believed backstory. In 1908, Father Rene Flament, who had just become the pastor of the Donglü church in Baoding, wanted a more “regal, Chinese-looking” Madonna painting for the church. The finished canvas would later become widely recognized as *Our Lady of Donglü* (東閩聖母).⁽¹⁾ However, J.M.Trémolin’s accounts reveal the existence of devotional images in the Donglü church before 1908. When the church opened in 1902, it already housed a Madonna painting made by a local virgin. Madonna and the child are depicted in the center of the canvas, flanked by Father Giron holding an image of the newly built church on one side and the local Christians of all genders and ages on the other.⁽²⁾ One could hardly argue that this image – painted by the local virgin and depicting

(1) The main source on which the current scholarship is based is a series of articles on Our Lady of Donglü and Our Lady of China published in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* (Beijing, 1925-1933). Jean-Paul Wiest, “Marian Devotion and the Development of Chinese Christian Art During the Last 150 Years,” in *Multi-aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China*, edited by the Institute of Modern History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, and KU Leuven Centre for Nanhuairen Studies, Belgium (Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 2011), pp. 200-202. Song Zhiqing, *Zhonghua Shengmu Jingli Shihua* (Tainan: Wendao Publishing House, 2005), pp. 81-83.

(2) Jean-Paul Wiest, “Marian Devotion and the Development of Chinese Christian Art During the Last 150 Years”, pp.200-201.

Zhang Xiaoyi, “From Mother Empress to Our Lady of China: Behind the Display of TSW’s Our Lady of China at the World’s Fair,” in the *Journal of Catholic Studies (Tianzhujiao yanjiu lunji)*, Issue 12, eds. Beijing Institute of Catholic Culture, 2015, p.193.

local prayers – is not “Chinese-looking.” Nevertheless, Father Flament still considered that the painting “lacks artistic quality and elegance in style. Its crowded composition and vague subject matter fail to achieve a sense of regality and is not suitable as a sacred icon for a church.”⁽³⁾ Therefore, for Father Flament, the ideal image of Our Lady should not just embody Chinese characteristics in a random sense, but be “artistic” while “Chinese-looking.”

What, then, constitutes an “artistic” “Chinese look”? The reference images sent by Father Flament to the painting workshop at Tushanwan give out some clues. The two images included a reproduction of Ingres’s renowned painting *The Virgin Adoring the Host* (*Vierge à l’Hostie*, currently housed in the Musée d’Orsay in France), as a reference for depicting the face, and a photographic portrait of the Empress Dowager Cixi for the costume.⁽⁴⁾ From them, it becomes clear that the “Chinese look” as conceived by Father Flament does not imply a Madonna with a Chinese-looking face, but a Mary in the style of Ingres, dressed as a Chinese empress. In the 1854 painting by Ingres, the virgin stares downwards timidly, her face calm and serene, displaying a sense of humbleness during worship. However, Father Flament decided to replace the virgin’s modest dress with the empress’s gown, intentionally emphasizing the grandeur of the costume as “Chinese-looking.” It can thus be argued that, first, the “artistic” quality is judged by the standards set by the French Neoclassical school, most prominently by Ingres, who is known for his Orientalist paintings. Secondly, the “Chinese look” refers neither to a Chinese-looking face, nor the day-to-day outfits worn by the Chinese. Rather, it is represented by the indigenous clothing that could manifest the highest authority at the time.

Such an idea of westernized Chinese style is likely related to Western missionaries’ actual experiences with clothing in China.⁽⁵⁾ In the late Qing Dynasty where Father Flament lived, clothing was a set of vernacular visual codes that communicated social status, cultural hierarchies, and power structures. As a strategy in visual communications, it inherited the logic behind the design of the special “Confucian dress,” which emerged during the period when Matteo Ricci lived in China and intended to identify the missionaries as “Western literati.” What Father Flament demanded was not simply a Chinese dress, but the gown that belonged to the Empress Dowager. Symbolizing the highest order of female clothing in China, it could best embody the majesty of Madonna. However, the black and white photograph from Father Flament certainly failed to provide a reference to the costume’s colors for the painter.⁽⁶⁾ Whether to adopt the bright, imperial yellow, the color of the highest honor of the Qing royal family, or adhere to the traditionally used blue in Western depictions of Madonna, as seen in Ingres’s painting? the Tushanwan painter eventually chose the latter, since yellow is often associated with sinful acts such as lies, betrayal, and jealousy in the tradition of Christian art.⁽⁷⁾

In addition, as far as oil painting is concerned, with the arrival of the Jesuits during the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, the medium had been featured in exhibitions and moderately popularized. The Qing imperial palace also had the tradition of creating, collecting, and displaying oil paintings. However, before the 1820s, oil painting remained a highly alien import to most ordinary Chinese, and oil paint relied entirely on imports, with

(3) Song Zhiqing, *Zhonghua Shengmu Jingli Shihua*, p. 82.

(4) Zhu Zuohao, *Chao Shengmu Jiannan* (Shanghai: Tushanwan Publishing House, 1934), p. 29. Jean-Paul Wiest, “Marian Devotion and the Development of Chinese Christian Art During the Last 150 Years”, p. 201.

(5) Zhu Zuohao, *Chao Shengmu Jiannan* (Shanghai: Tushanwan Publishing House, 1934), pp. 29.

(6) Although many believed this image was a photograph of an oil portrait of Cixi, originally painted by the American painter Katherine Carl, according to the comparison in color and style, as well as the available material evidence and a portrait of Cixi published by *Father Flament* on French Magazine, it was supposed to be a black and white photograph gifted to Alice Roosevelt, daughter of Theodore Roosevelt, by Cixi. A colored version appeared on the cover of the French newspaper *L’illustration* on June 20, 1908.

(7) Michel Patoureau, *The History of a Color: Yellow* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 111-128.

very limited colors and varieties.⁽⁸⁾ Despite the difficulty in procuring the materials, Father Flament insisted on using oil painting as the medium for portraying Our Lady of China. This insistence is rooted in the tradition of Western visual culture, where paintings are inherently an inseparable constituent of “fine art” and “high art.” Simultaneously, it also stems from the Western definitions of “art” and “artistic,” which are measured by the ability to render “realistically,” at which the painting medium tends to excel. In advocating a “Chinese-looking” portrait of Our Lady, Father Flament adopted the costume of Cixi to evoke the female figure of the highest authority; the blue color typical of portraying Madonna’s gown to reinforce the Christian visual tradition; and the Western medium of painting. These decisions had in fact facilitated an iconographic innovation, by incorporating visual symbols from both Chinese and Western cultures.

Embodying the Western canon of art and the tradition of a systemized visual culture, the medium of oil painting counted toward Father Flament’s definition of “artistic” quality. As mentioned above, he further explained the icon’s lack of aesthetic with respect to its artistic style, composition, and functionality: the image must be done elegantly, without any roughness. It needs to establish a clear composition with its figures and should not be too crowded. It should suit the purpose of religious services, rather than of the public’s entertainment. It is easy to tell that Father Flament deemed the portrait made by the local virgin as “roughly made, compositionally chaotic, and lacking a religious seriousness.” However, according to Father Song Zhiqing, contrary to Father Flament’s sentiment, the Chinese people were not opposed to this portrait but were fond of it. Nevertheless, when the Tushanwan painter completed the commissioned portrait of Our Lady of Donglü, the Chinese responded with a higher degree of “fondness,” even “astonished” by it, as if underwent a visual shock.⁽⁹⁾

From the local reception of the two portraits of Our Lady, one discerns a general acceptance, disregarding whether it is a folk painting made by a local virgin, or an astounding, “artistic,” and “Chinese-looking” portrait made at the requirement of the missionary. As Song explains, “It was because they had never encountered a more beautiful icon. In fact, it [the first portrait] was mediocre.”⁽¹⁰⁾ This was the reason that “Father Flament wanted a more attractive icon, so as to manifest the beauty of Madonna.”⁽¹¹⁾ The newly appointed Father Flament played a crucial role in substituting the Madonna portraits: he was resolute in replacing the portrait that was already accepted by the locals, insisting that the image was too crowded and less presentable for church – that there was an urgent need for a more solemn image with a well-defined composition to fit a sacred space like church. The missionaries were looking for a truly infectious aesthetic in religious icons, which should be reflected in the images’ ability to attract the prayers’ gaze, and thereby immerse the religious in a sacred experience. This aesthetic is deeply rooted in the Jesuit visual tradition, longstanding as a major tool for Jesuit missions abroad since the Age of Discovery.⁽¹²⁾

The Western aesthetic distinguishes itself for its mastery of realism, creating images with “life-like” vividness. Introduced to Western art in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, China experienced a common visual shock. Emperor Wanli once marveled at an oil portrait of the Virgin Mary, comparing it to a “living immortal

(8) Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, “The Tushanwan Painting Studio and Western Painting Supplies,” in *Chongshi lishi suipian: Tushanwan yanjiu ziliao cuibian* (Beijing: Beijing Opera Press, 2010), pp. 238.

(9) Song Zhiqing, *Zhonghua Shengmu Jingli Shihua*, pp. 129.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Evonne Levy, “Early Modern Jesuit Arts and Jesuit Visual Culture: A View from the Twenty-First Century,” in *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, Vol. 1 (2014), pp. 66-87.

(活神仙)。”⁽¹³⁾ The literati and scholars also praised the portrait as “almost alive (其貌如生)” and “a bright mirror reflecting her likeness, as if moving (如明镜涵影, 踽踽欲动)。”⁽¹⁴⁾ While religious images provide more than just an aesthetic experience, a striking visual impression tends to be a potent means of achieving transcendence and epiphany. Therefore, an impactful aesthetic delivery often predicated the success of a mission. For example, when Matteo Ricci founded the first mission station in Zhaoqing, Guangdong in the 16th century, the locals all spontaneously knelt in front of a portrait of Madonna to worship it, attracted by its “life-likeness.”⁽¹⁵⁾ In the 17th century, upon an “extraordinarily beautiful” portrait of Virgin Mary, Xu Guangqi felt “his heart and soul were connected, reaching a moment of epiphany (心神若接, 默感潜孚).” Soon after, he was baptized and converted to Christianity. And in the 18th century, in a letter written by French Jesuit Jean Francois Foucquet, “Based on what I know about the Chinese, if we could make the religious rites more splendid, it would be more attractive to the Chinese ... The beautiful religious icons brought from France this year have deeply touched all Christians.”⁽¹⁶⁾ In fact, the above descriptions of the “artistic” share the same tradition with the visual and aesthetic canon established since the Renaissance.

Thus, if we consider Father Flament’s commissioning of a new Madonna icon in 1908 as the origin of an artistic project, in deciding what constitutes “artistic” and “Chinese-looking,” we must first recognize the central role of the then dominant visual episteme of the West, assumed by the missionaries. Within it, the process of deciding what is worth looking at and what is not – that is, what is “art” and “artistic,” and what is legitimately “Chinese-looking” – naturally involved the gaze of the Other. It was simultaneously a transcultural reconstruction, where the Western visual culture reconfigured the visual tradition of its Other; and an effective path, along which the modern Western civilization built a globalized network.

Even so, this foreign transplantation of the Western iconographic paradigm should not be wholly equated to the manifestation of colonial and political power. Through a series of interpretations and misinterpretations, images’ inherent multiplicity of meanings, fluidity, and mobility often became a propellant for diversifying and innovating the visual culture of modern China. After all, the gaze does not operate one-sidedly. It works only when the audiences are in “deep resonance.”⁽¹⁷⁾ From this perspective, even the Chinese who lacked knowledge of foreign art were not passive recipients, being unilaterally transformed by the so-called colonial discourse. Rather, they actively inhabit such visual experiences. During the encounter of local traditions and foreign visual culture, a unique, local visual paradigm gradually came into shape. It was neither entirely traditional nor entirely foreign, swinging between modern and classical. In essence, it embodied a synthesis of East and West, where the Self and the Other existed in symbiosis, eventually becoming a part of China’s visual enlightenment in the 20th century.

(13) Matteo Ricci, *Li madou quanji: li madou zhongguo chuanjiao shi* (Taipei: Guangqi Publishing House, Fu Jen Catholic University Press, 1986), trans. Luo Yu, pp. 347.

(14) Gu Qiyuan, “Kezuo zhuiyu,” in *Xu xiu siku quanshu*, Volume 1260 (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1995), pp.192.

Jiang Shaoshu, “Wusheng shishi,” in *Xu xiu siku quanshu*, Volume 1065 (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1995), pp.579.

(15) Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *Li madou zhongguo zhaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2010), trans. He Gaoji et al., pp.168.

(16) Li Duo, “Xu wending gong xing shi,” in *Zhongxi wenhua huitong diyiren: Xu Guangqi xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2006), eds. Song Haojie, pp. 231.

(17) Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Yesuhuishi zhongguo shujian ji* (Zhengzhou: Daxiang Publishing House, 2001), trans. Zheng Dedi et al., pp. 225.

2. Iconography: Tracing “Maria Regina” and Local Innovations in Its Visual Representation

Despite the differences in details, the existing portrayals of Our Lady of China were overall constructed similarly: Virgin Mary is dressed in a blue gown in the style of the Empress Dowager Cixi, wearing a Western crown, holding a scepter decorated with irises. Her throne is raised with steps, flanked by lilies and roses on each side. These common iconographies are the central visual cues of an Our Lady of China icon, which, regardless of their divergent details, unified these various depictions, gaining them equal legitimacy within the church, to be circulated widely. Whether it was the commission of the painting by the French priest Rene Flament in 1908, or the Italian cardinal Celso Costantini’s designation of it as the icon of Our Lady of China in 1924, European missionaries at the time were preoccupied with “localizing” the icon, while maintaining the Western iconographic traditions. In this painting, the plain veil in the Ingres original is replaced by a magnificent crown. Our Lady of China holds an iris-shaped scepter in her right hand, while her left hand was put around the child Jesus, who stands on her knees. The crown, scepter, and throne are a trinity of visual symbols that stand for power, running through the many iterations of Our Lady of China.

The crowned Madonna, or “Maria Regina,” was not a Chinese invention. This iconographic type has existed in Western Christian art since the Middle Ages, along with the emergence of Marian Devotion, it flourished during the Gothic period, as seen in the monumental statue of the Virgin Mary at Norte-Dame de Paris in the early 14th century. In these early examples (such as *The Blue Virgin* at Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière from the early 12th century), Mary is usually depicted frontally, in a pose that was also adopted in the portrayal of Our Lady of China. In addition to the baby Jesus cradled in her arms, Mary sometimes appears with a scepter decorated with lilies in her hand (as seen in the 14th century *Virgin of Jeanne d’Evreux*, housed in the Louvre), a motif that symbolized regality and authority. Generally speaking, the early development of this iconography in Western Christian art was accompanied by the shift in representation, moving from the “Byzantine Empress” in the art from the Near East to the “Western Queen” popular in Catholic art.⁽¹⁸⁾

Tracing the evolution of Marian representations in China, the image of Our Lady of China from the early 20th century established the first instance in the tradition of Sinicized Christian iconography, where “Maria Regina” was represented visually. The earliest Marian image in China was found on Katarina Vilioni’s tombstone in Yangzhou (Fig.3). The tomb dates back to the 14th century but was only rediscovered in the 1950s.⁽¹⁹⁾ The image depicts Mary sitting on a Chinese-style “throne.” Jesus, sitting on her lap, is held by her left hand, while her right hand is placed on her chest. The depiction follows the iconographic type of “Virgin Hodegetria,” which was then popular in Italy.⁽²⁰⁾ In Byzantine art, “throne” often connotes “royal power.”⁽²¹⁾ However, when the motif is translated into a large, unadorned Chinese seat without a backrest, it no longer signifies regal status and supreme power in the Chinese context. The gowns of Mary and Jesus are represented with plain lines, and there is

(18) Marion Lawrence, “Maria Regina”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Jun., 1925), pp.161.

(19) Francis Rouleau, “The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954), pp. 346-356.

(20) Developed from the “Byzantine style,” this Christian iconography arrived in the East through Crusader Art. It became popular in Italy in the 1280s and maintained its popularity until Renaissance.
Wu Qiong, “Virgin Hodegetria and the Formation of Vernacular Paintings During the Italian Renaissance,” in *Yishu xue yanjiu* (Issue 4, 2020), pp. 60-67.

(21) *Ibid*, pp.61-63.



Fig.3 Rubbing of the tombstone unearthed in Yangzhou, with Latin inscriptions and a depiction of the Virgin, 1342, Yangzhou Museum

no portrayal of a scepter or a crown. With such, this Sinicized icon failed in translating the power and noble status of Madonna. Based on the location where the tombstone was unearthed, it is assumed that it was buried in the city walls only half a century after it was made.⁽²²⁾ After all, since the tomb belonged to a foreign merchant family, the image of “Virgin Hodegetria” on a throne struggled to generate a wide and long-lasting impact in China. From the introduction of Christianity in the Tang Dynasty to its prevalence during the Mogol reign, it is generally believed that the activities of Marian devotions and depictions were only carried out among the Hu people. The situation was fundamentally changed with the arrivals of the Jesuits and Torahs in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty.⁽²³⁾

Influenced by the Jesuit mission of “cultural adaption,” Christianity made its third entry into China at the turn of the Qing Dynasty. While the Chinese found it difficult to understand the imagery of a half-naked, crucified Jesus and the claim that he was “a traitor,” the story and image of the Virgin Mary were received more widely, becoming one of the powerful tools for the Jesuit mission.⁽²⁴⁾ ⁽²⁵⁾ Towards the end of the 16th century, the Chinese living in Nanjing commonly believed that the “Lord” is a woman who holds an infant. Some even mistook the Christian God for the Buddhist Guanyin.⁽²⁶⁾ Exemplified by Matteo Ricci, the first wave of Jesuit missionaries catered to the “upper-class” in their mission. Identifying as the “Western literati,” they promoted Christian doctrines in China by introducing to local officials and scholars the latest achievements in Western science, humanities, and art, including the paintings of the Virgin Mary. In 1601, Ricci gifted Emperor Wanli two paintings of the Virgin, which

(22) Xia Nai, “Yangzhou lading wen mubei he Guangzhou weinisi yinbi,” in *Kaogu* (June 1979), pp. 532-537.

(23) Song Gang, “The Many Faces of Our Lady: Chinese Encounters with the Virgin Mary between 7th and 17th Centuries”. *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* (Dec 2018, 66), pp. 312.

(24) Yang Guangxian, an anti-Christian figure active in the early Qing Dynasty, stated that “Jesus is a traitor who is plotting against the righteousness of the law; he is not a law-abiding citizen.”

Yang Guangxian, “Bu de ji,” in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xu bian* (Taipei: Student Book Company, 1966), pp. 1135.

(25) As Jacques Gernet argues, “the very first belief the Jesuits wanted to bring to East Asia was the devotion to the Virgin.” Jacques Gernet, René Étienne et al., *Mingqing jian ruhua yesuhui shi he zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* (Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House, 1993), trans. Geng Sheng, pp. 94.

(26) Xie Zhaozhe, *Wu za zu* (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Press, 2001), pp.82.

H. Bernard, *Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zai hua chuanjiao zhi* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), pp. 282.

John E. McCall, “Early Jesuit Art in the Far East IV: in China and Macao before 1635,” in *Artibus Asiae* (1948, 11), pp. 47.

the Chinese deemed as in “ancient style” and “new style” respectively.⁽²⁷⁾ According to Xiang Da and Fang Hao, two historians specializing in Sino-foreign communications, the gifting of the two paintings marks the “original entry of Western art in China.”⁽²⁸⁾

Based on historical accounts, Ricci received a painting from Europe in 1598. The work was a reproduction of the altar painting at the Cathedral of Santa Maria de la Sede in Seville. Known as *The Virgin of La Antigua Chapel*, this monumental icon in the Hodegetria type shows the Virgin and the Child at a full-body length (Fig.4).⁽²⁹⁾ However, upon arrival, the reproduced painting was already broken into three parts.⁽³⁰⁾ In 1599, Emanuel Dias Senior, the rector of St.Paul’s College in Macau, sent Ricci another bust-length painting, reproduced from the *Salus Populi Romani* icon in the Santa Maria Maggiore Basilica (Fig.5).⁽³¹⁾ Often attributed to St. Luke, the Santa Maria Maggiore Virgin received great popularity in Europe during the Age of Discovery, recreated into paintings and mass-produced intaglio prints (Fig.6).⁽³²⁾ Presumably, these two replicas were the two paintings gifted to Emperor Wanli by Ricci. Based on the artistic styles and conditions of the two pieces, *The Virgin of La Antigua Chapel* Virgin was likely considered “ancient,” while *Salus Populi Romani* was deemed “new” in style.⁽³³⁾

Although Ricci dedicated the two paintings to the royal court, their replicas managed to circulate in public. Ricci had once decorated the church in Zhaoqing with a miniature painting of the Virgin, which resembled the “new-styled” *Salus Populi Romani*, only smaller in size.⁽³⁴⁾ In the early 20th century, Dr. Berthold Laufer purchased a painting of Madonna in Xi’an, signed by a certain Tang Yin. This painting, showing the Virgin in a white robe, is now known as the Chinese Madonna and belongs to the collection of Chicago’s Field Museum of Natural History (Fig.7).⁽³⁵⁾ Only in recent years has it been dug out from the museum storage and shown to the public. In both the ink scroll and the oil painting in the Santa Maria Maggiore Basilica, the depictions of Mary’s posture, hand gestures, and the style of her robe bear iconographic similarities, and the Chinese painter was likely influenced by the latter work. However, neither image stresses the regal status of the Virgin, leaving out the motifs of the crown, the scepter, and the throne. Rather, Mary is portrayed as a commoner, just like how she’d appear in the eyes of St. Luke.

(27) Han Qi, Wu Min, *Xi chao chong zheng ji, xi chao ding an: wai sanzong* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006), pp. 20.

(28) Xiang Da, “Ming qing zhi ji zhongguo meishu suo shou xiyang zhi yingxiang,” in *Tang dai chang’an yu xiyu wenming* (Chongqing: Chongqing Press, 2009), pp. 396.

Fang Hao, *Zhongwai jiaotong shi* (Changsha: Yuelu Press, 1987), pp. 907.

(29) The painting is known as the Virgin of La Antigua chapel. Its date of completion, which remains disputable, is estimated to be between the 8th and the 15th century. Berthold Laufer, *Christian Art in China: Reprinted from Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen Jahrgang XIII*. Peiping: Wen Tien Ko, 1937,111. Harrie Vanderstappen, “Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking”, 106.

(30) Matteo Ricci, *Li madou quanji*, pp.284-285.

Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (Shanghai: Shanghai Far East Press, 2005), translated by Chen Heng and Mei Yizheng, pp.355.

(31) Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *Li madou zhongguo zhaji*, pp.377.

(32) The restoration of the painting was completed in 2018. The work is currently housed in the Pauline chapel. <https://fsspx.news/en/news-events/news/restoration-17th-century-salus-populi-romani-icon-st-mary-major-35397>

(33) Mo Xiaoye, *Shiqi zhi shiba shiji chuanjiaoshi yu xihua dongjian* (Hangzhou: The China Academy of Art Press, 2002), pp.56-57.

(34) H. Bernard, *Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zai hua chuanjiao zhi*, pp. 281.

Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Art Press, 1998), translated by Chen Ruilin, pp.4.

(35) Whether the painting portrays Guanyin, the Virgin Mary, or Marian Guanyin (a figure that helped preserving faith during Japan’s ban of Christianity) remains disputable.

Dong Lihui, “Shengmu xingxiang zai zhongguo de xingcheng, tuxiang zhuanqi jiqi yingxiang,” in *Wenyi yanjiu* (Oct 2013), pp.132-142.

Chen Huihong, “Liang fu yesuhui shi de shengmu shengxiang: jian lun mingmo tianzhujiao de zongjiao,” in *Taida lishi xuebao* (June 2017), pp. 61-63.

Compared to the painting in “new style,” the more antique-looking Seville Virgin might better cater to the “ancient-loving” Chinese.⁽³⁶⁾ Published in the 17th century in Nanjing, *Chengshi Moyuan*, an acclaimed catalog of ink designs, includes a woodblock print of Madonna and the Child (Fig.8). The inscription on top is spelled in Roman letters, which reads “God.” This print shows the Virgin in a similar posture and gown to those in *The Virgin of La Antigua Chapel*, while including a halo and two angels as well. The Virgin’s right hand, pointing upward, indicates that the image was made in conformity with the classic Hodegetria type. Different from *Salus Populi Romani* and its Sinicized ink variant, the Chinese woodcut print and its prototype *The Virgin of La Antigua Chapel*, which was commissioned by the Queen of Aragon, stress the magnificence of clothing and the noble status of the characters.⁽³⁷⁾ The two angels holding the crown transform the depicted scene into a coronation, implying that the Virgin is no longer mortal but has transcended into heaven. However, after cross-cultural and trans-media translations, the Virgin’s clothes – painted and gilded in the original – are only rendered monochromatically in the woodblock print.⁽³⁸⁾ Besides, such clothing would not have been able to manifest the Virgin’s supremacy in a Chinese context, nevertheless. In the woodblock print, the crown is also depicted in a simplified manner, let alone the portrayal of the Holy Father. Appearing above the crown, God is reduced to a supporting character, indistinguishable from the two angels. While Ricci wrote explanatory texts in Chinese for the three other Christian woodblock prints in *Chengshi Moyuan*, this one was left with no caption.

The depictions of the Virgin can be found in an array of Chinese publications in the 17th century. Aside from commercially successful books, advertisements, and product catalogs such as *Chengshi Moyuan*, even within religious publications and pamphlets,⁽³⁹⁾ the image of Our Lady does not fully conform to the Western iconography of Maria Regina. More commonly, the Virgin is illustrated to be a woman who exemplifies the Confucian virtues (as seen in *Song Nianzhu Guicheng*, Fig.9), or an immortal female deity (as seen in the *Illustrated Life of Jesus*, Fig.10). In the Chinese Mariological texts from the same period, the depictions of Mary align with these visual representations: as an exemplary figure who meets the Confucian expectations in Feminine Conduct, Speech, Comportment, and Works (de yan rong gong 德顏容功), a loving mother who embodies the tradition of filial piety, and a Buddhist female deity.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In examining Chinese Mariology from the 7th to the 17th century, Professor Song Gang concludes that by the dawn of the Qing Dynasty, the Virgin had been remodeled to fit the Confucian ideal of womanhood. Intertwined with complex religious beliefs and dominant Confucian morals while exalting the superiority of power, the Sinicized image of the Virgin is epitomized by the figure of “Mother Emperor.”⁽⁴¹⁾

(36) Ricci, *Li madou quanji*, pp. 284.

John E. McCall, “Early Jesuit Art in the Far East IV: in China and Macao before 1635,” pp.48.

(37) Harrie Vanderstappen, “Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking”, *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China 1582-1773* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), eds. Charles E. Ronan, pp. 106.

(38) Lin, Li-chiang. *The Proliferation of Images: The Ink-stick Designs and the Printing of the Fang-shih mo-p’u and the Ch’eng-shih mo-yuan* (Ph.D.Dissertation, Princeton University, 1998), pp. 213-4.

(39) Dong Lihui, “Li madou yu Chengshi moyuan: 17 shiji zhongguo jidujiao tuxiang zai shangye lingyu de chuanbo,” in *Meishu shi yu guannian shi* (Issue 24, Aug 2019), pp. 445-474.

(40) In the early writings of Luo Mingjian, the name of Mary was translated as “Xian ma li ya Tianzhu shengmu niangniang,” which borrowed the title for deity in the local tradition. The title “Xian” refers to the immortal deity in Daoism and similarly, “Tianzhu shengmu” refers to a female immortal, such as Dongling shengmu, Taiyuan shengmu. “Niangniang” is a popular title bestowed to a female deity, as seen in Tianfei niangniang, Songzi niangniang, Yanguang niangniang, etc.

Dai Guoqing, “Mingqing zhi ji shengmu maliya de zhongguo xingxiang yanjiu” (PHD Dissertation, South China Normal University, 2010), pp.101-160.

Dai Guoqing, *Shengmu Maliya zai zhongguo* (Taiwan: Taiwan Christian Art Press, 2014).

(41) Song Gang, “The Many Faces of Our Lady,” pp. 334-337.



Fig.7 The Chinese Madonna, ink and color on silk, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

Fig.8 The “Tian zhu” print collected in *Chengshi moyuan*, woodblock print

Fig. 9 Illustration for João da Rocha, *Song nianzhu guicheng*, the inscription reads: “40 days after Christmas, the Virgin presented Jesus Christ to the Lord”

Fig.10 Illustration for Giulio Alenio’s *Illustrated Life of Jesus*, the inscription reads: “the Virgin was crowned above all saints”

Adopted by Giacomo Rho in *Shengmu jingjie*, this unique title was unknown to Western theology, conjuring a Sinicized imagination of the Virgin as an honorable, authoritative mother figure, as conceived in Confucianism. Emphasizing the supremacy of Our Lady, the title expresses a similar sentiment as seen in Xu Guangqi’s *Eulogy on the Portrait of the Virgin Mary (Shengmu xiang zan)*: “her status is more superb than that of all gods... her virtue exceeds that of all saints.”⁽⁴²⁾

While textual descriptions managed to conjure up this image of the Virgin as a majestic, powerful figure, at the time, there was yet to be a localized visual language that could directly capture the essence of the “Mother Emperor.” Towards the end of the Middle Ages, European Christianity experienced a “visual” turn, by which sight and visuality became associated with spiritual belief and the existence of God.⁽⁴³⁾ The beginning of visual modernity was similarly marked by ideas such as “seeing strengthens beliefs” and “religion bestows art the power to be seen.”⁽⁴⁴⁾ In comparison, it was with the icon of Our Lady of China in the early 20th century that China eventually found its localized visual expression for the unique conception of the “Mother Emperor.”

3. Realism: The “Realist Desire” and the “Christianized Modernity”

Regardless of the difference in the many versions of Our Lady of China, their common adoption of Realist techniques is worth noting. As discussed earlier, Western missionaries believed that realism was the basic guarantee of an icon’s aesthetic quality. This conception is rooted in the artistic canon established by the Renaissance and

(42) Xu Guangqi, *Xu guangqi quanji (jiu)* (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2011), eds. Zhu Weizheng, Li Tiangang, pp. 420.

(43) Nicholas of Cusa, *On the Hidden God* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2017), trans. Li Qiuling, pp. 78-84.

(44) Roland Recht, *Seeing and Believing* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2017), trans. Ma Yuexi, proofread by Li Jun, pp. 1-7.

reinforced throughout the development of Western art, which is also reflected in Matteo Ricci's critique of Chinese painters. For Ricci, they lacked the so-called "basic techniques" and "common knowledge" in painting, such as the skills to manage proportions and light and shadow.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Although the missionaries were deeply attracted to Chinese culture and friendly towards the Chinese, critiques like Ricci's show a Western-centric mode of thinking that judges art based on the realist canon, influenced by the styles dominating European art during the same period. This mode of thinking was similarly taken up by Father Flament in 1908, when he considered the work by the local painter not "artistic" and felt the need to hire painters who were professionally trained in Western realism to create a simultaneously "artistic" and "Chinese-looking" work. This started to change in the 1920s when Celso Costantini's aesthetic ideals started to influence local art-making. During the transitional period between the Ming and Qing Dynasty, the "common knowledge" in Western art was not the primary concern for Chinese painters, nor did the Chinese see the difference between European and Chinese painters as a result of their varied knowledge in painting. What Ricci referred to as "common knowledge" is but an alternative artistic choice: the realist techniques from the West were even regarded by the literati as "entirely absent of controlled brushwork" and "not to be considered as high art."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Despite being degraded as "unqualified" in the 17th century, by the early 20th century, Realism and representational art, which is built around the use of linear perspective, took on entirely different cultural, if not political, connotations for the Chinese. This shift occurred in tandem with the influx of foreign, modern notions, including the concept of "art" and "bijitsu," arriving in China from the West and Japan. In researching early photography—a representative device for producing realistic images—in China, scholar Yi Gu examines the increasing conflation of realism and the modern pursuit of truth in the Chinese cultural sphere during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Particularly, against the backdrop of the Xinhai Revolution, Gu looks into how "realism" was constructed as a sign of progressiveness, synonymous with the rejection of feudal superstitions, the promotion of "modern" knowledge, and the revelation of objective "truth." In constructing this new visual paradigm, *Zhenxiang hua bao (The Truth Record)*, a Shanghai-based magazine founded by the Lingnan School painters Gao Jianfu, Gao Qifeng, and Chen Shuren in 1921, played a critical role.⁽⁴⁷⁾ During the early years of the Republic of China, realism had become a necessary tool for "revolution": as argued by Chen Duxiu during the New Culture Movement, "To improve Chinese painting, we must embrace the spirit of realism in Western painting ... we must adopt realism, so we can allow our talent to be expressed in our own paintings and not follow the steps of our ancestors."⁽⁴⁸⁾

Drawing upon her research on the urban consumer culture that targeted the Chinese intellectuals at the dawn of the Republic of China, Professor Laikwan Pang discerns a dominant force behind the new pictorial style that stressed the use of perspective and the detailed portrayal of facial features and expressions. Calling this force a "realist desire," Pang analyzes the significance of "realism" in the context of modernity from the perspective of Chinese intellectuals, contextualizing and pointing out the divergent meanings of "realism" as understood by Chinese and Western art at the beginning of the 20th century.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Unlike this "internal" perspective that comes from

(45) Ricci, *Li madou quanji*, pp.18.

(46) Zou Yigui, *Xiaoshan hua pu* (Jinan: Shandong Pictorial Publishing House, 2009), pp.144.

(47) Gu Yi, "What's in a Name? Photography and the Reinvention of Visual Truth in China, 1840–1911," in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol 95 (2013, 1), pp. 131.

(48) Chen Duxiu, "Meishu geming," in *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu wenxuan*, eds. Lang Shaojun, Shui Tianzhong, pp. 29.

(49) Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*, pp. 48.

the intellectual sphere, American scholar James Hevia casts an eye on how “external” forces and opinions—the Western civilization—shaped and disciplined the public image of the Chinese during the late Qing Dynasty. Paying special attention to the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, Hevia notes how Western missionaries, in reaction to the aftermath of the uprising, connected it with various religious narratives. Drawing analogy to the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent re-establishment of the Christian order, they evoked a Millenarianist optimism that believes in the overcoming of barbarism by a revived civilization. In this “regeneration” project set out by the missionaries, the rebuilding of churches and sacred sites, along with the evocation of saint figures, was an important part.

The reconstruction of the church in Donglü, Baoding, precisely took place during this period, followed by it becoming a place of pilgrimage, leading to the creation and public display of the first two paintings of Our Lady of China. Quite ironically characterized by Hevia, these developments brought forth a “Christianized modernity,” which “effectively fixed the interpretation of the events of 1900 as one in which foreigners, not the Chinese people, were innocent victims. From that point forward, it would be difficult to contemplate Western imperialism in China without also conjuring up an image of Chinese irrationality and savage barbarism.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ Hevia therefore argues, because the survival story of the Christian mission in China after the 1900 debacle fitted the religious meta-narratives of suffering, redemption, and resurrection, it granted legitimacy to this modernity built upon Christian morals, successfully creating the image of “Chinese irrationality” for the world. It was within this context that realist art, which conforms to the Westernized modality of seeing and perceiving objectivity, naturally became a way to enlighten the Chinese people on achieving “rationality.”

Doubly driven by the internal “realist desire” and the external “Christianized modernity,” the image of Our Lady of China—one that is lifelike and religious—was thus born. Paradoxically, whether from an insider, intellectual standpoint or from an outside, global perspective, by the early 20th century, the illusionist “realist” art had already become formally conservative, if not anti-modernist. Upon landing in China, however, it became an integral part of the awakening of China’s modernity.

Hevia’s concept of this Western-centric “Christianized modernity” is similar to what Nicholas Mirzoeff calls “the right to look.” That is, the construction of visual culture defines what can be looked at, what is worth being looked at, what is the correct way of looking, what is deemed “art,” and what is not: “‘civilization’ could now visualize, whereas the “primitive” was ensconced in the heart of darkness produced by the willed forgetting of centuries of encounter.”⁽⁵¹⁾ Admittedly, this comes from the scholar’s profound reflection on Western-centrism, which opens up the possibilities for rethinking issues that were previously dismissed. Nevertheless, the dichotomies between civilization and primitivism, looking and being looked at, visibility and invisibility are not diametrically opposed – the powerless group is not entirely severed from its powerful other, nor is it forever stuck in the past. Rather, it survives in the constant reshaping of the visual landscape by the dominant power, by reshaping itself. A “circulatory history” thus emerges, as described by Prasenjit Duara, by way of “absorption or unacknowledged ‘borrowings’ and hierarchical encompassment”. “[T]he real history,” Duara continues, “is based on multiple interactions and circulatory transformations.”⁽⁵²⁾

(50) James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Beijing: Social Science Literature Press), trans. Liu Tianyu, Deng Hongfeng, pp. 321-323.

(51) Nicholas Mirzoeff, “The Right to Look,” in *Xiandaixing de shijue zhengti: shijue xiandaixing duben* (Zhengzhou: Henan University Press, 2020), trans. Wu Xiaolei, eds. Tang Hongfeng, p.147.

(52) Prasenjit Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and A Sustainable Future* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2017), trans. Huang Yanjie, pp.11, 87.

Conclusion: Another Possibility for Visual Modernity

If the history of humanity can be roughly divided into premodern, modern, and postmodern periods, then, as Martin Jay states, modernity is distinctly marked by visuality: “The modern era [...] has been dominated by the sense of sight in a way that set it apart from its premodern predecessors and possibly its postmodern successor.”⁽⁵³⁾ Organizing the visual paradigms that dominated the Western visual culture into what he terms the “scopic regime”, Jay distinguishes three competing models that characterized modernity.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The Our Lady of China icon, in fact, falls somewhere in between the first two models, embodying certain characteristics common in both “the Cartesian Perspectivalism” and “the Art of Describing.” While the former is epitomized by the prevalence of the perspective technique in Western art since the Renaissance, the latter is built upon the empiricist philosophy of Francis Bacon. Represented by Flemish art, which values optical experiences and attends to details, it prefigured the fragmentation of photographic images and the prevailing of naturalism. In this regard, the “realism” that underpins the creation of Our Lady of China cannot be strictly categorized into any of these Western realist canons described above.

At the same time, situating Our Lady of China within the context of early 20th century China, it pursues a realism that differentiates itself from the truth-seeking, realist drive (as demonstrated by *Zhenxiang hua bao*); nor does it conform to the realism sought by the New Culture Movement (as expressed in “Art Revolution”) or the “realist desire” of the urban consumer culture (as seen in the early advertisements and films in the Republic of China). The editors of *Zhenxiang hua bao* treat realism as a means for achieving objective truth, but the making of Our Lady of China prioritizes the creation of an illusionist representation of a religious figure over the inquiry of scientific truth. Similarly, Chen Duxiu retools realism to advocate for unique artistic gestures and a brand new cultural “revolution,” while Our Lady of China aims to evoke a mysterious religious experience rather than individual creativity. In addition, the image was legitimized through the traditional folk belief of Marian apparition, and the New Culture Movement precisely deemed supernatural experiences as superstitious and feudalist, rather than progressive and modern. Lastly, the Donglü Virgin was first presented to the villagers in Donglü and the Christians living in the rural area. The audience for both this image and the consecrated Our Lady of China icon was not limited to the urban middle-class and the elite intellectuals. Rather, they were primarily created for the rural population, a demographic largely ignored by researchers of modernity.

Indeed, Our Lady of China finds itself somewhere between China and the West: simultaneously Chinese and Western, yet neither fully Chinese nor entirely Western, it eventually grew into a peculiar hybrid of both. For the Chinese visual art, the creation and circulation of this image represented an attempt to achieve an alternative mode of modernity at the dusk of the Qing Dynasty, one that oscillated between the numerous binaries gradually developed in early 20th century China, between science and mysticism, progressiveness and conservatism, urban modernity and rural obscurantism (or pre-modern feudalism). As it was estranged from the dominant scopic regimes of the West, it situated itself within the existing narratives that outline the Chinese modernity, such as the “masculine” conception of modernity built upon revolutionary narrative, the “feminine” modernity stemmed from the developments in fashion, the modernity of high art and aesthetics, of vernacular culture, of realism, and of modernism itself. Refusing to be generalized by any of them, the icon conjures up a unique and alternative visual modernity, combining cultures from China and the West and bridging many oppositions.

(53) Martin Jay, “Scopic Regimes of Modernity,” in *Vision and Visuality* (Bay Press, 1998), eds. Hal Foster, p.3.

(54) *Ibid*, pp.3-20.

中文题目：
圖繪“中華聖母”：視覺現代性在中國的另類可能

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提要：“中華聖母像”是傳統與外來文化在中國民間相遇、雜糅、進而融合新生的一個視覺文化案例。通過回溯“女王聖母”形象歷經數個世紀的視覺轉換脈絡，本文認為，直到20世紀初“中華聖母像”的創製，將聖母作為“母皇”的獨特本土觀念，才有效實現本土化的視覺呈現。在此基礎上，可以看到，“中華聖母像”既承載了為以往學界所知的“寫實”的現代價值和“基督教化的現代性”表征，同時又在現有諸種現代性範式之外，呈現出20世紀早期中國視覺現代性的另一種路徑。

關鍵詞：中華聖母、東閩聖母、女王聖母、視覺現代性、土山灣

教会历史 与中西社会

Church History
in the West and in China

路德的改教发现：因信称义

赵炜蓉

摘要：路德从他的修道院苦修经历以及当时天主教会的圣礼中所体现出的腐败和外在华浮，看到当时的天主教并没有解决一个最关键的问题——“人如何能继续站在上帝面前，即人因为什么能够称义的问题。因信称义的教义被看作是路德全部神学的基石和衡量的标准，是“照亮上帝圣教会的太阳”⁽¹⁾，关系到整个教会的兴衰。本文梳理了路德宗教改革的历史背景以及因信称义教义的五个神学来源，对“信”和“称义”的本质属性以及“信”与“称义”的关系进行阐释，意图运用目前较新的文献资料对路德因信称义这一核心教义作较为全面深入的解读和分析。

关键词：路德、因信称义、《罗马书》、信、恩典

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引言

中世纪意大利的人文主义者常常对德国人的宗教虔诚的情感感到奇怪，德国人渴望赎罪的心情几乎达到疯狂的地步。他们建造了无数教堂，购买赎罪券，去圣地朝拜，对圣物顶礼膜拜。以15世纪末的圣城科隆为例，有19个教区教堂、22个寺院、12所教会医院和76个修道院。据说科隆每个圣坛每天要做1000多次弥撒。⁽²⁾ 通过弥撒和补赎的圣礼，人们渴求上帝赦免己罪。中世纪末民众心里普遍有着灵性上的不安和内疚，即蒂利希所言的“大量的焦虑”⁽³⁾。

原来如何使一个人的罪蒙赦免只是神学教义的一部分，但在中世纪晚期，罪被认为是每个人身上可见的事情，并且需要以某种公共的和社會的方式加以解决。

在路德身处的时代环境中，对罪的补救方式是向神父忏悔和花钱去买赎罪券。赎罪券使人与神之间的关系变成了用金钱来赎罪和表达被赦免的感恩，这彻底激起了路德的愤怒。

在其早期生命中，路德经历了痛苦的灵性挣扎和寻求。在埃尔福特的奥古斯丁布莱克修道院，路德运用了所有的苦修手段过着宗教上无可挑剔的生活，以求攻克属罪的肉体，弃绝所有的欲念和隐藏的罪。但无论如何努力祈求上帝的怜悯，其内心仍充满恐惧和焦虑（Anfechtung）⁽⁴⁾。经过对灵性生活的所有尝试和努力，路德发现寻求人的行为和品格与拯救的确定性无关，无论什么样的苦修和善行仍无法确定自己会被拯救——“如何让人可以站立在上帝的面前，作为一个虚无的、微不足道的罪人，然而上帝还在对他说话”⁽⁵⁾。

(1) 就此请参见保罗·阿尔托依兹Baoluo Aertuoyizi [Paul Althaus]。《马丁·路德的神学》Mading Lude de Shenxue[The Theology of Martin Luther]。段琦Duan qi、孙善玲 Sun shanling译。南京：译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe[Yilin Press]，1998。第228页。

(2) 就此请参见Thomas M. Lindsay. *A history of the reformation*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, T.&T Clark, 1906, p.115-116.

(3) 就此请参见蒂利希Dilixi[Paul Tillich]。《基督教思想史：从其犹太和希腊发端到存在主义》Jidujiao sixiangshi:cong qi youtai he xila faduan dao cunzaizhuyi[A History of Christian Thought:From It's Judaic and Hellenistic Origins to Existentialism]。尹大贻 Yin Dayi译。北京Beijing：东方出版社 Dongfang chubanshe[Dongfang Press]。第2008页。

(4) 笔者按：Anfechtung指心中的疑惑、混乱、恐惧、不安、痛苦和绝望，这是中世纪人由于没有被救赎的确定性而带来的普遍的宗教敏感和不安感，路德由于他的性格和个人经历，感受尤为明显。

(5) *The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, Volume.3, edited by Derek R. Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. p.246.

中世纪人灵性上的普遍焦虑，和当时教会的腐化及“宗教生活的世俗化”⁽⁶⁾，使这个拥有“各种极端强烈的基本情感，这些情感不时出现在那些古老而高等的种族的深邃天性中”⁽⁷⁾的人，亦为“德国历史上最伟大同时也是最为德意志式的人物”⁽⁸⁾，带领德意志民众进行了一场改变世界的对宗教真实性的“绝对”的探求。

学术界对路德的因信称义教义的研究汗牛充栋。上个世纪以来，被公认为路德研究最重要的学者、德国新教神学家、图宾根大学教授吉哈德·艾柏林 (Gerhard Ebeling, 1912-2001) 出版了一些路德研究的重要著作，包括《信仰的本质》(“The nature of faith”, 1961)、与吉哈德·伯特 (Gerhard Bott) 和波恩德·莫勒 (Bernd Moeller) 合作撰写的《马丁·路德：他在图像和文本中的生命》(“Martin Luther: sein Leben in Bildern und Texten”)、《圣言和信》(“Word and faith”, 1960)。艾柏林提出“信”是路德神学的关键⁽⁹⁾，其神学思想深受路德影响，认为唯有经验造就神学家，基督教信仰以历史的真实的耶稣为根基。

耶鲁大学教授雅罗斯拉夫·帕利坎 (Jaroslav Pelikan) 为《马丁·路德神学的基础文本》(Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings, 1989) 撰写了前言部分，非常精彩，并著有《遵循的背叛：路德宗教改革的天主教实质和新教原则》(Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation, 1964)。

许多学者把路德在去世前一年1545年拉丁文集《前言》中所描述的神学突破——因着对保罗在罗马书1:17上说“因为上帝的义正在这福音上显明出来”受到启示——直接等同于路德神学中的改教转折。路德这段自我见证的叙述、内容及叙述的时间都强力支持这种观点。华人学者林鸿信(《觉醒中的自由：路德神学精要》)，以及天主教神学家汉斯·昆 (Hans Kung) (《基督教大思想家》) 都持这一观点。

德国图宾根大学新教神学系教授奥斯瓦尔多·拜尔力陈己见，在其书《路德神学：当代解读》的第三章《什么是“福音”？路德神学中中宗教改革意识的肇端》中认为，路德对“福音的”新的理解，即改教意识的肇端始于对“应许”(“promissio”)这个词的新的理解，而不是公认的路德1545年在拉丁前言中回顾对“上帝之义”的发现。拜尔认为，对“上帝的公义”(“iustitia dei”)的发现是区分性的“改教”发现，因为上帝的公义是通过上帝救赎应许的话语宣告出来的，而应许 (promissio) 的话语本身才是建构了救赎的确定性⁽¹⁰⁾。

芬兰学派的曼多马提出对“信”的新理解，“一是‘基督本身就在信之中’(in ipsa fide Christus adest)，二是‘信是神性的创造者’”(fides est creatrix divinitatis)⁽¹¹⁾。他认为在“信”之中，“基督的所有特性都是真

(6) 就此请参见黑格尔Hegeer[Hegel].《哲学史讲演录》Zheueshi jiangyanlu[Lectures on Philosophy] (第四卷) (Disi Juan) [Volume IV]. 贺麟 Helin、王太庆 Wang Taiqing译.北京Beijing：商务印书馆 Shangwu Yinshuguan[Commercial Press], 1996.第3页。

(7) 就此请参见雅各布·布克哈特 Yagebu Aikehate[Jacob Burckhardt].《历史讲稿》Lishi JIanggao[Historische Fragments, Judgments on History and Historians].刘北成 Liu Beicheng、刘研Liu Yan译.北京Beijing：三联书店Salian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2009.第114页。

(8) 就此情参见海涅Hainie[Heinrich Heine].《论德国宗教和哲学的历史》Lun Deguo Zongjiao he Zhenxue de Lishi[Zur Geschichte Der Religion Und Philosophie In Deutschland]·海安 Haian译·北京Beijing：商务印书馆 Shangwu Yinshuguan[Commercial Press]·2016.第40页。

(9) The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.477.

(10) 就此请参见拜尔Baier[Oswald Bayer].《路德神学：当代解读》Lude shenxue:Dangdai Jiedu[Martin Luther's Theology].邓肇明Deng Zaoming译.香港Hongkong：道声出版社Daosheng Chubanshe[Taosheng Publishing House]·2011.第59页。

(11) 就此请参见曼多马Manduoma[Tuomo Mannermaa].《曼多马著作集：芬兰学派马丁·路德新诠释》Manduoma zhuzuoji: Fenlan Xuepai Mading Lude xinquanshi[The Works of Tuomo Mannermaa as The Father of Finnish School].黄保罗 Huang Baoluo[Paul Huang]译.上海Shanghai：上海三联书店Shanghai Salian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2018.第5页。

实临在的”⁽¹²⁾·路德神学的核心·即“人在信中真正分享基督的本性及其所包含的神性的生命和胜利”⁽¹³⁾·即因信称义。

保罗·阿尔托依兹的《马丁·路德的神学》（段琦、孙善玲译·译林出版社·1998）·这本专著神学体系严谨·注释和引文极为详细·认为称义是因信基督领受罪得赦免并由此得到义的转归和创造了新人使人本身成为义这两者的结合⁽¹⁴⁾。2017年出版于牛津大学出版社三卷本的《马丁·路德牛津大百科全书》（“The Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther”）是目前路德研究最全面和最高的成就·是牛津宗教大百科研究的一部分。比2003年出版的《路德剑桥指南》（“the cambridge companion to Martin Luther”）更为翔实·关于“信”的阐释多达20多页。

研究路德因信称义的学位论文也非常多。近年来一些博士论文独辟蹊径·对因信称义有许多新的解读。试举三例：普林斯顿神学院的Anthony M. Bateza的《成为一个活生生的社区：机构、诚实和马丁·路德神学中的美德作用》（“Becoming a Living Community: Agency, Honesty, and the role of virtue in Martin Luther’s Theology”, 2017）。这篇论文在为路德的伦理学辩护·因信称义否定了人因善行和美德称义·所以路德一直被认为是传统美德的敌人·但作者认为因信称义与美德并不相悖·路德既批评了美德也利用了美德。

埃默里大学的L. Daniel Cantey的《无形的自由：因信称义与新教的恩典体验》（“The Freedom of Formlessness: Justification by Faith Alone and the Protestant Experience of Grace”·2011）·这篇论文讨论了律法和因信称义的救赎恩典带来的自由之间的张力。作者认为恩典将律法变成了无形的事物·在某种程度上破坏了教会立法权威·恩典也将人性解放为一种强大而可疑的自由·造成了信徒之间的纷争和分裂。

杜克大学的David C. Fink的《因信而分：新教的称义学说和圣经注释学的信仰化》（“Divided by Faith: The Protestant Doctrine of Justification and the Confessionalization of Biblical Exegesis”·2010）·作者从圣经注释学的角度细致考察了因信称义教义的出现·提出路德改革从1520到1540年代·关于称义的教导在信众的忏悔声明中有一个演变的过程。随着新的福音神学的出现·一套越来越精确的称义教义被采用。

近年来·国内学界也做出关于路德和因信称义的一些重要工作·包括冯梓琰的《信与爱：芬兰学派对路德的新诠释——读《芬兰学派之父曼多马文集：马丁·路德研究》》（《世界宗教文化》·2015）、黄保罗的《马丁·路德研究的芬兰学派及其突出贡献》（《世界宗教文化》·2015）、刘光顺的《成圣路径内化的中西差异——以马丁·路德的因信称义与王阳明的致良知为例》（《宗教学研究》·2017）、张仕颖的《再思马丁·路德的称义思想——从《称义教义联合声明》来看》（《世界宗教文化》·2018）、孙帅的《马丁·路德论称义和运动》（《哲学研究》2019年第7期）和《没有本质的实体：路德的形而上学基础》（《世界哲学》2020年第2期）·以及黄保罗的《“信”为什么在汉语语境里常被误解？》（《世界宗教研究》2021年第4期）。孙老师前一篇论文认为·路德借用了亚里士多德的运动概念·认为因信称义是罪人从罪到义的运动和整个生活方式·孙老师试图从哲学上澄清和理解义的性质与生成以及与个体之间的关系。他的后一篇论文则认为路德新教思想的形成伴随对亚里士多德及经院哲学的批判·矛头指向亚里士多德存在学说·孙老师认为在路德的十字架神学中·上帝的存在不再显现于受造物的存在之中·而是隐藏于虚无和上帝自身的否定之中·所以路德形而上学的基础是没有本质的存在。黄老师的论文角度很新颖·试图从系统神学分析法入手·参照希腊语原文和拉丁语神学发展史·用术语、概念、论证和前见系统分析法·分别探讨作为动词、动名词、名词、形容词和形容名词的“信”·对“信”涵义做了细致深入的分析·意图找到“信”被汉语语境误解的原因。

(12) 同上·第38页。

(13) 同上·第34页。

(14) 就此请参见保罗·阿尔托依兹Baoluo Aertuoyizi[Paul Althaus].《马丁·路德的神学》Mading Lude de Shenxue[The Theology of Martin Luther].段琦Duan qi、孙善玲 Sun shanling译.南京Nanjing:译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe[Yilin Press],1998.第235页。

一、因信称义的五個神学来源

一些研究者在关于路德的论述中，大都提到两点。一、路德虽然开启了宗教改革，但毕竟是中世纪的人，其神学思想不可避免地带有中世纪的特征和印记。⁽¹⁵⁾二、路德的改革主张并非首次提出，之前已有很多改革者做过各种努力。而路德只是适逢其时，因着他的宗教天才和使命感，提出新的神学与教会改革举措，对中世纪神学和教会弊端进行整顿。汉斯·昆在谈到为什么会有路德宗教改革时说：

路德改革所关切的东西几乎没一桩是新的。只不过过去时机一直不成熟。现在时候到了，需要的只是宗教天才来把这些关切汇总起来，诉之于文字并亲自去代表它们。路德正是反映了时代需求的人⁽¹⁶⁾。

学术界一般认为，路德对“因信称义”的阐释与几个重要的天主教传统和语境相关：（1）托马斯主义和司各特；（2）奥卡姆的唯名论；（3）德国神秘主义及相关的天主教虔敬；（4）保罗的《罗马书》；（5）奥古斯丁的恩典神学。

1、托马斯主义和司各特

托马斯主义代表了对“信”的理解的理性主义倾向。“信”作为“在神的恩典所感动的意志的命令下，理智同意神圣真理的行为”。⁽¹⁷⁾以托马斯主义为代表的经院神学受亚里士多德哲学的影响，对“信”的理解有着比较强的理性主义，强调信（仰）是理性的行为，理智帮助意志在不完善的情况下确信真理。在托马斯对“信”的理解中，理智比意志和情感的作用更大，最终确认真理的是人的理智。在托马斯看来，对真理占有的决定性的因素是认识论。托马斯主义代表的经院神学是中世纪天主教神学的正统，天主教神学的波拉文图拉（Bonaventura）的方济各传统代表了迥异于托马斯主义的另一种对“信”的理解。

方济各会强调在信（仰）中的情感成分，认为“信”是“在悲悯的层面上，带着情感的确定性支持理智的确认”⁽¹⁸⁾。方济各主义影响了后来的司各特（Scouts）。司各特认为，在情感层面的“信”本身不是一个理论，而是一个实践的行为。在司各特看来，神学不是一个理论，而是一门实践的学科。司各特的这个思想对路德的影响非常大。路德始终认为，无论信仰亦或神学首先都是对神和真理的体验和实践，而不是对神和真理的认识。并且，司各特发现了“偶在”的概念⁽¹⁹⁾，中世纪基督教神学把“偶在”与意志自由联系起来。“偶在”是人格与主体性存在的前提。黑格尔认为，路德提出人与上帝发生关系要求他的整个人在场：他的灵魂、他的心、他的感情，他的虔诚在场，他的整个人格和主观性才是他与上帝的关系中最重要⁽²⁰⁾。路德对“信”的内在性的理解开启了基督教对人的个体性的视角，尤其是人的人格性。

(15) 就此请参见林鸿信 Lin Hongxin.《觉醒中的自由：路德神学精要》Juexing zhong de ziyou: Lude shenxue jingyao[Freedom in Awakening: The Essence of Lutheran Theology].台北Taibei：礼记出版社Liji Chubanshe[Rites of Passage Publishing House], 1998.第5页。

(16) 就此请参见汉斯·昆Hansi Kun[Hans Kung].《基督教大思想家》Jidujiao Dasixiangjia.[Great Christian Thinkers]包利民 Bao limin译.北京Beijing：社会科学文献出版社Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe[Social Science Literature Publishing House],2001.第121页。

(17) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.478.

(18) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.478.

(19) 就此请参见潘能伯格Pannengboge[Wolfhart Pannenberg].《神学与哲学》Shenxue yu Zhenxue[Theologie Und Philosophie].李秋零Li Qiuling译.北京Beijing：商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan[Commercial Press], 2014.第123页。

(20) 就此请参见黑格尔Heigeer[Hegel].《哲学史讲演录》Zheueshi jiangyanlu[Lectures on Philosophy] (第三卷) (Disan Juan) [Volume III].贺麟 Helin、王太庆 Wang Taiqing译.北京Beijing：商务印书馆 Shangwu Yinshuguan[Commercial Press].1997.第378页。

2、奥卡姆、比尔的唯名论

虽然路德激烈地反对奥卡姆学派中的伯拉纠主义，但在奥卡姆（Occam）和其学生加百列·比尔（Gabriel Biel）与路德的称义学说之间却存在某种联系。路德在埃尔福特大学做神学生的时候，已读完比尔的《弥撒经阐释》（“Exposition of the Canon of the Mass”）。奥卡姆主义认为，关键的问题在于上帝在此时此地的旨意。这强调上帝权能的绝对性。路德后来写道，“上帝因此必然照着自己的威严，行其所是。凭己意行做万事，我们与他毫无关系，他也不愿意我们与他有任何关系”⁽²¹⁾。汉斯·昆认为，奥卡姆和比尔对路德的影响除了强调上帝的绝对的至高无上的权利，还包括路德“对恩典的恩惠式的理解，以及上帝毫不因为人的任何缘故而通过自由选择接受人”⁽²²⁾。这与路德后来的称义观中上帝处于绝对的主动性，人处于完全的被动性之间有某种关联。路德的称义是完全被动的称义，上帝不会因为人的任何善行让人称义。这与奥卡姆与比尔的思想有某种暗合。路德在埃尔福特的唯名论老师也给予路德关于恩典概念某方面的教诲：即为了接受上帝的恩典，一个人需要“去做自己内在的事情”（“faceted quod in se est”）⁽²³⁾。这对路德转向信仰的内在性有很大的影响。

3、德国神秘主义（陶勒、苏索）

传统的天主教敬虔主义引发了在奥古斯丁修道院的路德的一场心灵危机，路德之后一直把苦修禁欲的修道生活看作是形式主义的事工，它并不能真正把人引到上帝的面前。但天主教敬虔主义灵修生活的内在性仍然给路德以极大的影响。受艾克哈特影响的中世纪神秘主义者约翰尼斯·陶勒（Johannes Tauler）和亨利·苏索（Henry Suso）对路德最大的影响，是把“信”理解为“Gottesleidn”（“suffering of God”），即为了上帝而受苦。德国神秘主义传统继承了狄奥尼修斯（Dionysius Areopagita）的人走向神圣的过程是要受苦的思想，并且伴随情感甚至受难。这个思想被路德所接受，使得路德对“信”的情感性被动的起源有了明确认识。路德因此把一种对上帝的经验认识的生命形式理解为人与上帝关系的基本形象。路德在修道院的上司施道比茨把路德从自己的苦修寻求引向陶勒等神秘主义者，尤其是引向对受难的基督的信仰，对路德的称义观至关重要。路德1518年的《海德堡论纲》里提出的十字架和追随受难的基督构成了虔敬经验的内核，对路德来说，神学认知绝不仅仅意味着理性的把握，它同时意味着在感受当中经历。这是德国神秘主义带给路德的巨大影响。在《海德堡论纲》里，路德明确说若没有基督钉十字架的福音，律法只是害人之物（第24条）。路德这时已经意识到，基督会给人带来救赎的福音，但还没有论述“信”与基督及称义的关系。

其次，陶勒和苏索主张通过信仰的内在生活，藉着冥想和灵魂的静谧来与上帝相交。陶勒使路德领悟到善行和事工只能把人引向骄傲和虚荣，只有转向信仰的内在性，才有可能真正来到上帝的面前。所以，神秘主义者不看中做弥撒或忏悔这些信仰的外在行为。文德尔班亦认为，对于德国神秘主义来说，纯粹的内在的属灵生活和效法基督受难是信仰最重要的内容，这种对外在宗教生活的漠视以及对信仰内在性的追求对路德的称义观有很深的影响。文德尔班在《哲学史教程》里谈到：

(21) 同上；转引自WA18·685（AE33·139）。

(22) 就此请参见汉斯·昆Hansi Kun[Hans Kung]，《基督教大思想家》Jidujiao Dasixiangjia.[Great Christian Thinkers]包利民 Bao limin译.北京Beijing：社会科学文献出版社Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe[Social Science Literature Publishing House],2001.第127页。

(23) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.577..

信念、心灵纯洁，‘效法基督’，成为宗教的唯一内容。同意教义，表面的神圣善行，整个教会的世俗机构，似乎都是不关紧要的事，甚至反而是障碍，累赘，虔诚的感情超越所有这些表面活动，需求的只是自己个人内在的宗教生活的自由。这就是宗教改革的内在源泉⁽²⁴⁾。

4、保罗的《罗马书》和“上帝的义”

《罗马书》的1章17节、3章21-24节、3章28节、5章1节、10章10节的经文是路德的因信称义思想的圣经依据。罗马书1:17 “因为神的义正在这福音上显明出来；这义是本于信，以致于信。如经上所记‘义人必因信而得生’”。⁽²⁵⁾罗马书3:21-24“但如今，神的义在律法之外已经显明出来，有律法和先知为证。就是神的义，因信耶稣基督加给一切相信的人，并没有分别。因为世人都犯了罪，亏缺了神的荣耀，如此却蒙神的恩典，因基督耶稣的救赎，就白白地称义。神设立耶稣作挽回祭，是凭着耶稣的血，藉着人的信，要显明神的义”。⁽²⁶⁾

早在1513年，路德在奥古斯丁修道院讲解《诗篇》时已经注意到上帝的公义与人的谦卑而不是与善行有关。这是一个全新的解释，具有革命性的意义。路德在注释《诗篇》时写道，“当我们判断自己的公义更少时，上帝的恩典和公义在我们里面更加丰富了。我们越是谴责、迷惑和诅咒自己，上帝的恩典就越是丰富地流进我们的心里”⁽²⁷⁾。

从1515年夏天开始，路德开始讲授保罗的《罗马书》。通过每周两次的讲授，路德对保罗的《罗马书》开始有了深入的认识。学界一般认为，这时的路德对“上帝的义”的认识尚未成熟。但是，路德在关于《罗马书》1章17节的评注中，已经开始意识到“上帝的义”是使人称义的义，并且这是藉着对福音的信心而产生的。他在《〈罗马书〉评注》中写道：

因为神的义使人得救，并且在这里，通过我们不能理解的上帝的公义，上帝使我们称义。（因为）这是藉着对福音的信心而发生的。因此，奥古斯丁在《论圣灵与仪文》（“On the Spirit and the Letter”）第11章中写道；“这被称为神的公义，因为上帝把公义赐予人，使人成为义人”⁽²⁸⁾。

这段文字表明路德已经开始理解是上帝使我们称义，也就是说我们是被动地称义。上帝的义是赐予人的，是藉着信心被动地接受的一份礼物，并非人靠自己的行为而获得的。

在路德去世的前一年1545年，路德在其《拉丁文著作全集》的序言中有一段重要文字，是关于保罗的《罗马书》1章17节如何引领路德领悟到“上帝的义”与“信”之间关系的心路历程。

在那一年，我已经回头重新讲解罗马书、加拉太书与希伯来书之后，我对自己的解经技巧更有信心，陷入非比寻常的热情，想要了解罗马书。直到那时，阻碍我的，并非是不热心，而是罗马书一章十七节“因为上帝的义正在这福音上显明出来”。我讨厌“上帝的义”，根据所有当时老师的习惯用法，我被教导以哲学方式了解形式与主动的“义”，上帝是义，而且惩罚一切不义的罪人。——我因着狂热而困扰

(24) 就此请参见文德尔班Wendeban[Wilhelm Windelband].《哲学史教程》Zhhexueshi Jiaocheng[Lehrbuch Der Geschichte Der Philosophie]（下卷）（xia juan）[Volume II].罗达仁 Lou Daren译.北京Beijing：商务印书馆Shangwu yinshuguan[Commercial Press]·2007.第497页。

(25) 就此请参见《圣经》Shengjing [Holy Bible].中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会、Zhongguo Jidujiao Sanzi aiguo yudong weiyuanhui[Three-self Patriotic Movement Committee of the Protestant Churches of China]中国基督教协会zhongguo Jidujiao Xiehui[China Christian Council].南京Nanjing：南京爱德印刷有限公司Nanjing aide Yinshua youxiangongsi[Nanjing Amity Printing Co.,Ltd.].2013·第168页；《圣经》和合本Shengjing Heheben[Holy Bible Chinese Union Version]·国际圣经协会guoji shengjing xiehui[International Bible Society]·2002·第266页。

(26) 就此请参见《圣经》和合本Shengjing Heheben[Holy Bible Chinese Union Version]·国际圣经协会guoji shengjing xiehui[International Bible Society]·2002·第269页。

(27) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.578.

(28) Ibid, p.590.

的良心大大生气，尽管如此，不断地追问保罗，热切地想要明白究竟保罗要什么。最后，因着上帝昼夜不停的慈悲怜悯，我注意到经文的字句“上帝的义正在这福音上显明出来”，而且“义人必因信而得生”，我开始明白，上帝的义就是义人得生的原因，是上帝的礼物，这就是说“上帝的义通过福音而被显明出来，这义是被动的赋予，慈悲的上帝通过信而称我们为义，正如经文“义人必因信得生”⁽²⁹⁾。

这段文字表明，路德是从罗马书的关键章节领悟到“上帝的义”并非是与人相对的，来显明和惩罚一切的不义和罪。相反，“上帝的义”是赐予人的礼物，上帝的义正是在福音上显明出来，是给人赎罪的应许，让人因着信而称义，得着新的生命。所以，这个“义”是被动的赋予的，而非人靠自己的善行而得来的。“义”是一个完完全全的礼物，是藉着人的“信”而得到的。

5、奥古斯丁的恩典概念

一些学者认为，路德最早的恩典概念是由一些公共运动形成的，包括兄弟会(the Brethren of the common life)、现代奉献 (“the Devotion Moderna”)、文艺复兴后期的人文主义、中世纪后期的唯名论和14世纪德国神秘主义⁽³⁰⁾，都对路德恩典概念的形成有很大影响。但是，对路德的恩典概念影响最大的神学家还是奥古斯丁。对奥古斯丁著作中的恩典神学的研读，使路德的恩典概念逐渐成熟。

路德很年轻的时候就研读了奥古斯丁的《忏悔录》、《上帝之城》和《论三位一体》。路德对整个中世纪神学的影响非常大，包括亚里士多德的早期经院哲学、赫尔 (Hales) 的亚历山大和波纳文图拉的经院哲学，甚至在托马斯学派中的影响亦不可小窥。奥古斯丁对路德称义观的影响主要在两个方面：一是奥古斯丁让路德意识到人性的罪的深刻性，罪是背离上帝 (“aversio a Deo”) ⁽³¹⁾和自我扭曲的状态；二是奥古斯丁的恩典神学对路德的影响，这对路德的称义观有着至关重要的影响。

路德的思想与奥古斯丁神学的亲缘关系，即奥古斯丁关于罪和恩典的教导在1513年路德在奥古斯丁修道院时已经可以看出。路德在讲解《诗篇》的第1章第6节时，写道“其中包含了对奥古斯丁最特别的赞美”⁽³²⁾。路德受奥古斯丁的影响对《诗篇》的诠释中提到关于恩典的两个思想。一是谦卑在某种意义上是人领受恩典的前提条件，以此反对人积极的善行；二是路德认为恩典是一种“注入的恩典” (“infused grace”)，路德把恩典理解为注入谦卑的罪人心中的一种物质。

在1517年对《罗马书》1章17节的阐释中，受到奥古斯丁的《论圣灵与仪文》第11章对神的公义的理解的影响，路德开始意识到上帝的公义是藉着对福音的信心而发生的，是全然被动的义。在阐释《罗马书》3章21节的经文“但如今，神的义在律法之外已经显明出来”时，路德引用了奥古斯丁的一个很长的段落，以阐述律法与恩典的区别。在路德看来，律法是被赐予的，为了寻求恩典。后来，在1535年的《加拉太书注释》中，路德对于律法和恩典的区别的理解得到了更深的发展。

路德从奥古斯丁的驳佩拉纠派的著作《论本性与恩典》 (“On Nature and Grace”) 中，学习到“何为上帝的义”与“白白的恩典”。奥古斯丁在《论本性与恩典》中写道“可见上帝的义不在令人生畏的律法

(29) 就此请参见林鸿信 Lin Hongxin.《觉醒中的自由：路德神学精要》Juexing zhong de ziyou: Lude shenxue jingyao[Freedom in Awakening: The Essence of Lutheran Theology].台北Taibei：礼记出版社Liji Chubanshe[Rites of Passage Publishing House], 1998.第82-84页。

(30) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.587.

(31) 就此请参见拜尔Baier[Oswald Bayer].《路德神学：当代解读》Lude shenxue:Dangdai Jiedu[Martin Luther's Theology].邓黎明Deng Zaoming译.香港Hongkong：道声出版社Daosheng Chubanshe[Taosheng Publishing House]·2011.第223页。

(32) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.489.

的诫命·而在基督恩典而来的救助”⁽³³⁾。关于恩典是纯粹的赐予·奥古斯丁明确写道“然而·婴儿和成人没有它便不能得救的这一基督的恩典·却不是对什么功德的报答·而是‘白白地赐予的·因此才被称作‘恩典’。使徒说:‘因他的血就白白地称义’”⁽³⁴⁾。奥古斯丁说的很清楚·无论是作为基督的恩典还是人的称义都是白白地·也就是完全与人本身无关·是纯粹的礼物。

在关于《罗马书》第8章的评注里·受到奥古斯丁的《论本性与恩典》的影响·路德区分了“本性之光”(“light of nature”)和“恩典之光”(“light of grace”)。通过恩典的光照·人会更喜爱上帝和一切属于上帝的东西。但是·人的本性之光会把自己置于上帝的位置·自己成为自己的偶像·构成“可怕的自我弯曲”。甚而·路德认为·“本性的智慧”(“the wisdom of nature”)“不是光·而是——更应该被称为黑暗”⁽³⁵⁾。十年以后·路德把恩典之光运用到一个新的语境中·在著名的《论意志的捆绑》中·路德将恩典描述为神启示的一种形式。路德有时也把恩典之光称为“福音之光”(the light of the Gospel)。路德把恩典之光称为“圣言和信心之光”(“the light of the Word and of the faith”)在路德看来·这种恩典之光“在走向结局的时候·实相本身和神圣的威严在它自己的光中显露出来”⁽³⁶⁾。

二、纯粹被动的称义:“信”是完全的赐予

路德坚定地认为·称义(justification)是“纯粹被动的称义”(“Sola Fide iustificari mere passive”·“faith alone justifies through pure passivity”)⁽³⁷⁾。这是因为“义”是神白白赐予的礼物·是神的恩典·与人的行为没有任何关系·人仅能凭着信心去领受。无论是“义”还是“信”都是上帝的恩典和赐予。路德的“纯粹被动的称义”的思想完全否定了当时的天主教弥撒仪式中人对上帝的献祭。因为在路德看来·人是无法靠着自己的行为立在上帝的面前的·无论他奉献的物品有多么珍贵·他的行为是多么的虔诚·这都不能成为人在上帝面前可以站立得住的依据。路德对“信”的本质提出了完全不同于当时天主教神学的理解·且对人在上帝面前的称义提出全新的神学见解。

1、“信”(“faith”)是什么?

吉哈德·艾柏林(Gerhard Ebeling)说·“从某种意义上说·路德对“信”(“faith”)的理解是其神学的关键”⁽³⁸⁾。对于路德来说·“信”是一个无处不在的主题·他所有的著作或者清晰地或者隐含地分析了关于“信”的概念。路德对“信”的概念的讨论运用了不同的形式和方式·包括释经·系统阐释·甚至包括在叙事中。

在路德看来·“信”就是人全然处于一个被动的状态·完全地依靠上帝的恩典。如同德语里关于“信”的习语“verlassen sich auf”(“leave oneself upon”)·“信”意味着“信靠”·“放任不管”。这意味着人对自己的行为甚至品格完全没有一点凭恃和依赖·而是把自己的生命和称义完全交给上帝。这意味着在上帝面前的称义·与自己做了什么完全没有关联·所以人所做的事在上帝面前是完全不值一提的·不能作为敬

(33) 就此请参见奥古斯丁Aogusiding[St.Augustine of Hippo].《论原罪与恩典》Lun Yuanzui yu Endian[On Original Sin and Grace].周伟驰 Zhou Weichi译.北京Beijing:商务印书馆Shangwu Yinshuguan[Commercial Press]·2012.第93页。

(34) 同上.第95页。

(35) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.594.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid, p.487.

(38) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.477.

拜中对上帝的奉献。这是路德坚决反对的。路德强调信心与行为不能并存，不管行为的性质如何，是多么了不起的行为，都不能“心持两意”（王上18:21）。

路德的宗教改革的三大著作之一《基督徒的自由》出版于1520年的1月，虽然晚于同年的另外两部重要改革著作《致德意志民族基督教贵族书》和《教会被掳于巴比伦》，却含有另外两个著作的神学基础，虽然只有短短30页，诚如路德自己所言“就其篇幅而言是一本很简短的书，但却包含着基督徒生活的总括”⁽³⁹⁾。这本小书开头即谈信心是什么。信心并不是非常浅易的东西，更不是德行之一，“信心是一道直涌到永生的活水泉源”⁽⁴⁰⁾，依据的是《约翰福音》4章14节基督对撒马利亚妇人所说的话。在路德看来，信心是人与上帝连接的东西，信心因此包含三种大能。第一个大能是“信”包含了基督徒所需要的一切，让人无需律法和善工就可以称义得救。第二个大能是基督徒的“信”会造成极度崇敬和信靠上帝，把所有的荣耀都归于上帝，上帝因而荣耀人的义。第三个大能是“信”使基督徒的灵魂与基督连合，成为一体，使人的罪恶、死亡和咒诅归了基督，而基督的恩典、生命和救恩便为人所有。《基督徒的自由》整篇文章都在阐述“信”，上半部分阐述真“信”究竟是什么，且对人意味着什么；下半部分阐述因着“信”人才可以做一切善行。

路德在《桌边谈话录》里亦谈到，自己过去对个人的努力修行仍然怀有期望和信心。路德说，一个天主教徒不可能理解“我相信罪得赦免”这个信条，他自己过去跟他们一样，也坚持人“与生俱来的正义”⁽⁴¹⁾。但是，路德在对恩典和“信”的发现中明白，这种个人对自己行为品德的依靠和信心，按约伯所说，其实是一种非常大的罪性。路德在《基督徒的自由里》谈到信心会带来对己罪的省查时写道，“你一旦有了信心，就会明白，凡你内里的都应在被责、定罪和咒诅”⁽⁴²⁾。因为保罗在《罗马书》3章10-12节里明明白白地说“没有义人，连一个都没有——他们都偏离正路，一同变为无用”。受奥古斯丁的影响，路德对人的罪性的深刻性和彻底性看得很清楚。所以，称义的依据不在人的身上，人无论如何努力都无法摆脱罪性，称义的依据只在于人对上帝的“信”之中。

2、“信”的内源性

在当时路德教会的人看来，一群人对于他们的基督教信仰越严肃，他们对敬拜仪式的需求就越小。因为“精心设计的礼拜形式是一个对于那些不能满足于基督所规定的最单纯的信仰的一个妥协”⁽⁴³⁾。面对当时天主教会圣礼外表的浮华，路德坚称，圣礼和礼拜仪式“不是为取悦上帝而施行的工作”⁽⁴⁴⁾。《基督徒的自由》是路德对称义观在伦理领域的应用。在这篇文献中，路德明确指出“很显然，外在之事对造就基督徒的公义与自由或造就不义与束缚，是没有任何影响的”⁽⁴⁵⁾。之所以会有这样的认识，源于路德把人分为两个层面，一个是属灵的人，是“内在的人”（“inner man”），一个是属肉体的人，是“外在的

(39) 就此请参见Thomas M. Lindsay. A History of the Reformation, Vol.I · second edition, Edinburgh, T.&T. Clark · 1907, p.240.

(40) 就此请参见Martin Luther selections from his writings, edited and with an introduction by John Dillenberger, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1962. p.52-53.

(41) 就此请参见《马丁·路德桌边谈话录》Mading Lude Zhuobian Tanhualu[The table talk of Martin Luther] .林纯洁 Lin Chunjie等译. 北京 Beijing : 经济科学出版社Jingji kexue chubanshe[Economic Science Press].2013.第143页.

(42) 就此请参见《路德文集1》Lude Wenji1[Luther's Collected Works 1].路德文集中文版编辑委员会编.Lude Wendi zhongwenban bianji weiyuanhui[The Editorial Committee of the Chinese edition of the Luther Collection].雷雨田Lei Yutian、刘行仕Liu xingshi译. 上海Shanghai : 上海三联书店Shanghai SanLian Shudian[SDX Joint Pulishing Company].2005. 第403页.

(43) 就此请参见Jaroslav Pelikan. Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation , New York: Harper, 1964, p.93.

(44) 就此请参见Lyndal Roper. Martin Luther : Renegade and Prophet · Random House, 2018 · p.152.

(45) 就此请参见Martin Luther selections from his writings, edited and with an introduction by John Dillenberger, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1962. p.54.

人”(“outward man”)。路德也把内在的人叫做“新人”(“new man”)，而把外在的人也叫做“旧人”(“old man”) (46)。路德作这样的区分的圣经依据是哥林多后书4章16节“外体虽然毁坏，内心却一天新似一天。”(47) 内心一天新似一天是因为路德认为，只有内在的人才能与上帝之道连接。上帝之道是神圣、信实、公义、和平及所有的善，只要人以信心信靠上帝，人的内心即内在之人就会与上帝之道连接，那么上帝之道的所有美善就会变成他内心的一部分。

反过来说，在路德看来正因为“信”只能主宰内在的人，根据《罗马书》10章10节所言“人心里相信就可以称义”。所以，路德认为唯有信心可以称义，内在的人不可能藉着任何外在的行为和善行称义和被救赎。路德坚持认为，不管这些行为的性质如何，内在的属灵的人都与其无关。路德断言“没有任何善工能使人成为基督徒”(48)。

虽然，路德在理论的层面强调“信”的内在性，但是有一点需要注意，路德的“信”却并非是纯粹的理念。路德的“信”的概念存在于教会和会众的社会关系中。从根本上，路德并不认为“圣言”(“the Word”)和对圣言的领受和感知仅存在于个人的阅读当中。路德在之后的教会改革文献《论公共礼拜的仪式》和《弥撒仪式》里强调圣言存在于公共宣讲福音(public Kerygma)即讲道的形式中。也就是说，圣言存在于教会服事的形式中。路德在《论公共礼拜的仪式》(“Concerning the order of the public worship”,1523)中一再讲到在教会服事中，聚会和宣讲和读圣言的重要性。路德写道，“我们应该每天早晨四点或五点聚会，读圣言，或者是学生或者是牧师，或者任何人都可以，用相同的方式在早课时朗读”(49)。路德尤其强调教牧人员每天的服事和聚会的必要性。他在这篇文章中写道，“尽管每天的服事不可能所有会众都参加，但是教士和学生，特别是那些希望成为好的教士和牧师的人，应该出席”(50)。所以，从某种角度来说，路德的“信”又具有外在制度性的特点。所以，路德在1523年开始教会改革时既强调“信”在个人信仰层面的主宰，又强调会众的“信”主要来自于在教会中聆听讲道，即圣言。路德并不主张，信徒的宗教生活成为一个完全内在的方式，一个人在无人之处与上帝相交，而是众信徒在一起成为一个基督的身体，即教会，彼此在“信”中联合。

另一方面，虽然路德的“信”只是与内在的人相关，但从“信”的起源来看，路德的“信”并不能解释为领悟或者领悟成为救赎的意义。如果是这样，“信”的起源将会依赖于人的“释经的能力”。那么，“信”就成为人的一种理性的能力。这就完全背离了路德对“信”的阐释。路德的“信”从本质上来说是神的恩典，神赐予人的礼物，而非人自身的能力。

3、异己的义——纯粹被动的称义

路德坚持认为，“义”是上帝的恩典和礼物，是转归于人的，上帝藉着转归的义赋予人以价值。上帝的这个工作对于人而言是恩典和福音。这个“义”是藉着耶稣基督被赐予人的，所以“义”本是属于耶稣基督的，并非人的本性。路德关于“义”的看法与经院神学是完全不同的，经院神学认为，人藉着耶稣基督的恩典的注入，本性中的“义”会一天一天地成长。这是路德绝对不能接受的。路德认为，人绝不可能因

(46) Ibid · p.53.

(47) 就此请参见《圣经》Shengjing [Holy Bible]. 中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会、Zhongguo Jidujiao Sanzi aiguo yudong weiyuanhui [Three-self Patriotic Movement Committee of the Protestant Churches of China] 中国基督教协会 zhongguo Jidujiao Xiehui [China Christian Council]. 南京 Nanjing : 南京爱德印刷有限公司 Nanjing aide Yinshua youxiangongsi [Nanjing Amity Printing Co., Ltd.], 2013 · 第1页; 《圣经》和合本 Shengjing Heheben [Holy Bible Chinese Union Version] · 国际圣经协会 guoji shengjing xiehui [International Bible Society] · 2002 · 第318页.

(48) 就此请参见 Martin Luther selections from his writings, edited and with an introduction by John Dillenberger, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1962. p.56.

(49) 就此请参见 Luthers Works · Volume 53. edited by Ulrich S. Leupold, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965. p.12.

(50) Ibid, p.13.

着自己任何的努力和善工获得“义”，“义”是全然外在于人的，是“异己的”，只属于耶稣基督。所以，在路德看来，罪人的义并不是“一种‘主动的’的义，而是一种‘被动的’的义，只能去‘遭受’、‘领受’”(51)。“义”仅是因着“信”而带来的结果，而“信”是上帝的事工和恩赐。路德在《加拉太书》里清楚地谈到基督徒的两种义。第一种义是基督徒在基督里的信心，这是上帝的赐予；第二种义是因为上帝接纳了人不完全的信心，算作完全的义(52)。在这两种义中，人都是被动的一方，被上帝赐予信心和被上帝接纳不完全的信心而被称义。

在路德看来，因为信仰的起源是恩典和纯粹的被赐予，所以相应的，基督徒的生活是一种被动的生活，这体现在人的信仰生活的每一个层面，无论是对信仰主体的自我诠释、信仰体验还是自我认知，都是被动的。路德在谈“被动的义”时这样写道：

仅仅只存在被动的义——我们没有做任何工作，献任何东西给上帝，仅仅是接受和同意另一个人在我们中工作，即上帝”。因此，正当称义的义或基督徒的义是被动的(53)。

关于人在信仰中所处的被动地位或者说是被动性，路德有过很多论述。路德说“祂（神）把我们从我身边夺走，把我们置于自己之外。” 这意味着，来自神的外在的义把我们的灵魂重新塑造了，使我们成为一个异于原来的自我的人。路德甚至更为直白地写道，“基督徒是纯粹被动的，而非主动的，——如果你不允许祂给予你，你就不是一个基督徒。”（“Christianus est homo mere passives, non actives,— Si non sinis tibi dari, non es Christianus.”(54)）

正是因为人在信仰中是纯粹的被动者，所以路德认为，人唯一可以做的事就是回应上帝的恩典。在路德看来，凭着信心去感谢和颂扬是在敬拜时人唯一可以做的回应，感恩和赞美上帝赐予耶稣基督作为人被赦罪的代替。“敬拜和礼拜实践与神学之间的相互联系是路德宗教改革的核心(55)。” 路德所施行的教会改革是对人与上帝关系的反思，而不是对上帝本质的思考。而敬拜正是对人与上帝关系的一种表达。精神上的敬拜是活跃在日常生活中的信仰。所以，某种程度上来说，敬拜就是信仰，因着“信”在敬拜中实现称义是路德教会改革的神学根基。

三、“信”造就了人：新的创造的开始

“信造就人”（“fides facit personam”，“faith makes the person”）是路德的一个强有力的主题。无论在路德的宣告中、忏悔中还是祷告中，都可以看到“信”是其中给人以力量的创造性来源。诚如戈尔维策所言，“信确实给人力量——用新的语言说话(56)。” “信造就人”的根本就在于，“信”把基督带入人心，即把上帝本身的圣洁、公义、仁慈、和平带入人心，使人心成为一个新的生命和新的存在。

(51) 就此请参见保罗·阿尔托依兹Baoluo Aertuoyizi[Paul Althaus].《马丁·路德的神学》Mading Lude de Shenxue[The Theology of Martin Luther].段琦Duan qi、孙善玲 Sun shanling译.南京：译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe[Yilin Press],1998.第230页；转引自WA39 I·447；WA40 I·41；LW26·4f；WA40 II,410；LW12·368.

(52) 就此请参见马丁·路德Mading Lude [Martin Luther].《〈加拉太书〉注释》Jialataishu Zhushu[A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians].李漫波Li Manbo译.北京Beijing：三联书店Shanlian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2011.第88页.

(53) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.487.转引自LW26:45.；WA40/I：41·18-21；cf. LW34：337；WA54：186·7.

(54) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.488.转引自WA34/II:414·4-6；cf.20-29.

(55) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.3, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.630.

(56) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.477..

1、人的本质在于信

路德在《桌边谈话录》里说“信仰是我们意志的实质，它让我们以神圣的本能依赖基督，最终的结果是它净化了心灵，使我们成为上帝的孩子，并带来罪的宽恕”⁽⁵⁷⁾。路德研究大家奥斯瓦尔德·拜尔（Oswald Bayer）认为，路德的“人因信称义”（*Hominem iustificari fide*）毋宁说是人论一个根本的问题⁽⁵⁸⁾。路德在1536年的《人辩》（“*Disputatio de homine*”）里把人的本质分为三个层面：一、人是上帝的造物；二、人这个造物自亚当堕落以后，被罪和死亡所辖制；三、只有耶稣基督能够使人得赎，改变被败坏的本质。路德提出信仰是人意志的实质，其前提他认为是人的受造本质已被彻底败坏。他在《海德堡论辩》的第2条里根据《创世纪》六章5、8、21节指出“人从小时候，他心中的每个念头都倾向于恶”。受奥古斯丁的影响，路德深刻感受到人的内心深处的恶是自己有时都无法察觉的。所以，路德“人的本质在于信”的观点是建立在对人性完全绝望的基础上，认为人不可能有真正正义圣洁的行为。

G艾柏林提出的问题非常有力：“是要按人的理性能力来界定还是按他对信的依赖？换言之，世界的存活应由人的行动所保证还是相信人在世上的存活拜上帝在他身上所做的工所赐？”⁽⁵⁹⁾人的本质究竟是由什么来界定？在路德看来，人的存活是一种完全被给予的存活，生命的每一时刻，每一样东西都是被给予的。如同保罗在《使徒行传》里所说，“创造宇宙和其中万物的神，既是天地的主，——自己倒将生命、气息、万物，赐给众人。——其实他离我们各人都不远，我们生活、动作、存留，都在于他”⁽⁶⁰⁾。因此，人的本质在于完全的信靠给予他一切的上帝。“信”是人与神连结的通道，也是属灵人格形成的来源。“信（作为一个神圣的工作）是在被动创世中藉着与基督的联合、合一和相交（*the unio、communio, and communicatio cum Christo*）的人的构成”⁽⁶¹⁾。

在路德看来，“信”是一种创生性的力量。路德多次谈到“信是‘活的’、‘伟大的’和‘运行不止的’事件（*Ding*），它不像‘颜色停留在器皿上一样’而在灵魂中‘休息’”⁽⁶²⁾。在根源上，上帝通过人的“信”不断地在造就人。人因着“信”不断地领受上帝的恩典和赐予，生命臻于美好。藉着“信”，人不再受自己的理性和意愿的支配，而是交托自己让基督来支配其生命。在路德看来，“信基督的人倒空了他自己，不再忙于他自己的工作，以使基督可以活在他里面工作”⁽⁶³⁾。1522年，即三大改革文献发表两年后，路德在《〈罗马书〉前言》（“*Preface to the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans*”）这样描述“信”：

(57) 就此请参见《马丁·路德桌边谈话录》Mading Lude Zhuobian Tanhualu[The table talk of Martin Luther].林纯洁 Lin Chunjie等译.北京 Beijing: 经济科学出版社Jingji kexue chubanshe[Economic Science Press].2013.第147页.

(58) 就此请参见拜尔Baier[Oswald Bayer].《路德神学：当代解读》Lude shenxue:Dangdai Jiedu[Martin Luther's Theology].邓肇明Deng Zaoming译.香港Hongkong: 道声出版社Daosheng Chubanshe[Taosheng Publishing House]·2011.第191页.

(59) 就此请参见拜尔Baier[Oswald Bayer].《路德神学：当代解读》Lude shenxue:Dangdai Jiedu[Martin Luther's Theology].邓肇明Deng Zaoming译.香港Hongkong: 道声出版社Daosheng Chubanshe[Taosheng Publishing House]·2011.第191页.转引自Gerhard Ebeling, Lutherstudien Bd.II/ 3,544.

(60) 就此请参见《圣经》Shengjing [Holy Bible].中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会、Zhongguo Jidujiao Sanzi aiguo yudong weiyuanhui[Three-self Patriotic Movement Committee of the Protestant Churches of China]中国基督教协会zhongguo Jidujiao Xiehui[China Christian Council].南京 Nanjing: 南京爱德印刷有限公司Nanjing aide Yinshua youxiangongsi[Nanjing Amity Printing Co.,Ltd.].2013·第154页.

(61) 就此请参见The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther, Volume.1, Derek R.Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, New York: Oxford University press, 2017, p.488..

(62) 就此请参见曼多马Manduoma[Tuomo Mannermaa].《曼多马著作集：芬兰学派马丁·路德新诠释》Manduoma zhuzuoji: Fenlan Xuepai Mading Lude xinquanshi[The Works of Tuomo Mannermaa as The Father of Finnish School].黄保罗 Huang Baoluo[Paul Huang]译.上海Shanghai: 上海三联书店Shanghai Salian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2018.第43页。

(63) 就此请参见保罗·阿尔托依兹Baoluo Aertuoyizi[Paul Althaus].《马丁·路德的神学》Mading Lude de Shenxue[The Theology of Martin Luther].段琦Duan qi、孙善玲 Sun shanling译.南京: 译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe[Yilin Press].1998.第248页.注释53; 转引自WA2.564; LW27, 332. WA8.6; LW13, 5.

然而，“信”是某种上帝使我们存在和实现我们的东西。它改变了我们，并且我们从上帝那里重生。约翰福音 1:13。“信”让老亚当死亡，使我们在心灵、思想和我们所有的能力上都变得截然不同；且把圣灵带给新人。哦，说到“信”，它是一种活生生的、创造性的、积极的、强有力的事物。它不可能不去做善的事情，无时不刻。(64)

在路德看来，信是一股上帝赐予了创生性的力量，是人生命的本质构成和新生命的开始。它是活生生的，如同一股源泉，彻底改变了人的老我，把圣灵带给人，帮助人建造从基督而来的新生命。这种新生命使人成为一个真正意义上的人。

2、信与称义

路德在1530年《奥格斯堡信条》的第四条《论称义》里简单阐释了称义的概念：

我们教会教导人：人在上帝面前不能凭自己的能力、功劳或善行称义，乃是因基督的缘故，借着信，白白地得称为义，就是相信因基督的缘故得蒙恩宠，罪得赦免，他借着死为我们的罪作了挽回祭，上帝在自己面前就算这信为义。（参《罗马书》三、四章）(65)

正是因为路德认为称义是白白被赐予的礼物，与自己的任何能力和努力都完全没有关系，所以路德把人的称义称为“纯粹的事物”（“material pura”），意为纯粹的上帝的工作。从另一方面来理解，路德这样理解人的称义，也是完全摈弃了人潜在的行善能力，认为决定称义的基础仅仅只在于上帝的恩赐，人的工作不能参杂在其中。路德认为罪彻底败坏了人性，所以任何建立在人的工作上的称义都是不可靠的。

路德早在1518年的《海德堡论纲》中已经谈到依靠行为称义，会给人带来莫大的灾害（第10条）。《海德堡论纲》的1至5条都在谈人的善工与律法的局限性。在路德看来，律法只能使人知罪，却无法使人称义。（第1条）。2至5条对比了人的工作与上帝的工作的不同，突出人之功的表面性和非真实性。在路德看来这是人之工的本质。这就是为什么人之工无法称义的根由。路德认为，人如果不是对自己绝望，存着敬畏的心，转而完全倚靠上帝，不可能行善。荣耀神学家的错误在于想要从受造物中寻找上帝的奥秘（恩典），这只会使人变得骄傲。而真正的神学家（十字架神学家）则懂得唯有透过耶稣基督的十字架，才能获得上帝的恩典。

在路德的称义观中，上帝因着人的“信”借着耶稣基督赦免了人的罪，作为恩典，同时，也把耶稣基督作为礼物赐给人。在“信”之中，“基督的所有特性都是真实临在的，如公义、祝福、生命、力量、平安”(66)。信徒因被赦免了罪，并分享在信之中的基督的神性，而称义。芬兰学派的曼多马认为，路德神学的核心，即“人在信中真正分享基督的本性及其所包含的神性的生命和胜利”(67)。黄保罗老师认为，不同时期的路德对“信”的理解不同。“1518-1519年后，着眼末世论的相信和盼望未来才能实现的义与救恩 (*non in re sed in spe*)，始让位于现在时态的救赎论，信不仅涉及未来希望，且如*adhaesio* 是现

(64) 就此请参见Martin Luther selections from his writings, John Dillenberger edited, Anchor Books ,Doubleday, 1962, p.23-24.

(65) 就此请参见马丁·路德Mading Lude Martin Luther.《马丁·路德文选》Mading Lude Wenxuan.[Selected Writings of Martin Luther]. 马丁路德著作翻译小组 {Translation team of Luther's works}译.北京Beijing：中国社会科学出版社Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press]·2003.第55页.

(66) 就此请参见曼多马Manduoma[Tuomo Mannermaa].《曼多马著作集：芬兰学派马丁路德新诠释》Manduoma zhuzuoji: Fenlan Xuepai Mading Lude xinquanshi[The Works of Tuomo Mannermaa as The Father of Finnish School].黄保罗 Huang Baoluo[Paul Huang]译.上海Shanghai：上海三联书店Shanghai Salian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2018.第38页.

(67) 同上,第34页.

存的拥有·是现在时主动式的(*fide ad praesentem effectum destinata*)”(68)。这样·藉着“信”与基督的联合成为当下每一时刻的称义与被救赎。

路德的称义观与天主教神学的根本不同在于两个方面。一是路德主张人的信心完全不在于人自身·称义是完全由“信”带来的结果。而在中世纪天主教的神学里·称义是一个人成圣的过程·在这个过程中·基督的公义赋予人·“使人连接到由教会圣礼带来的恩典灌注(*infusion of grace*)·由此不断地在义上成长”(69)。这也就是说·人是在接受神恩的同时·不断地以自己的行为与神合作·以取得公义·也就是称义。天主教神学的称义观虽然也强调恩典的灌注·但是并没有取消人在称义和成圣过程中的努力。这就给人的骄傲留有地步。路德完全不能接受·人自身的行为和努力在称义中可以占有一定的位置。

路德强调·人的“信”只能完全在神的身上·不能在于人自己·哪怕是最虔诚的善行。人的“信”所带来的只能是“悔改”。路德在写三大改革文献的前一年1519年写的《两种公义论》中谈到·在《诗篇》的许多章节里·“信”仅仅被称作“主的善工”(“*the work of the Lord*”、“上帝的权能”(power of God”)、“仁慈”(mercy”)、“信实”(truth”)·以及“悔改”(confession)”(70)。所以·“信”与人的善工没有任何关系·信是上帝的权能和对人的工作·体现了上帝的仁慈和信实·人在信心中的表现仅仅是悔改。

路德与中世纪天主教会的称义观的第二个不同在于路德认为人如果“信”·自己是可以确知神恩。但是·当时以罗马教廷为主导的天主教会的神学却认为·没有人能确知他是否得到了上帝的悦纳·神恩是“为了我”的。1518年10月·路德在奥格斯堡跟教宗特使红衣主教卡耶坦论辩·卡耶坦即驳斥路德·认为“每一位领受圣礼的人·心中并未肯定他是否能够接受到恩典”(71)。路德认为这个教导把基督从教会中驱逐出去·限制了圣灵的工作·且折磨人的内心·因为人心里没有信仰的确定性。路德所尊敬的奥古斯丁认为·“一个人如果有信心的话·他自己会清楚地知道”(72)。但是·当时的天主教会否认这一点。在天主教会看来·一个人宣称自己是站立在上帝的恩典之中是极其狂妄的。而路德却坚持认为·一个基督徒是应当确知自己是站立在神的恩典之中的·但这不是从人的自身的价值来看的·而是从因为信基督所成就的美好来看的。

信及随之而来的称义带来的结果必然是善行。关于信与善行这个教义学与伦理学的先后顺序·与《基督徒的自由》同年出版的《论善功》(1被认为是新教的第一篇伦理文献·在这篇文献中·路德明确把信置于善行之前。在路德看来·信是善行的源泉。路德又把善行(善功)称为“外表的人”(73)。

结语

本文试图梳理路德因信称义教义的几个神学来源·运用了目前最新的路德研究的文献资料细致阐述和分析了“信”和“称义”的一些本质属性以及信与称义之间的关系。路德通过自己的经历·发现了每个人都可以通向上帝的道路：因信称义。

(68) 黄保罗：“信为什么在汉语语境里常被误解”·《世界宗教研究》·2021年第4期·第154页。

(69) 就此请参见卡尔·楚门Kaer Chumen[Carl R. Trueman].《路德的人生智慧：十架与自由》Lude de Rensheng Zhihui:shijia yu ziyou[Luther on the Christian Life:Cross and Freedom].上海：上海三联书店·2019.第76页。

(70) 就此请参见Martin Luther selections from his writings, John Dillenberger edited, Anchor Books ,Doubleday, 1962, p.88..

(71) 就此请参见《路德文集1》Lude Wenji1[Luther's Collected Works 1].路德文集中文版编辑委员会编.Lude Wendi zhongwenban bianji weiyuanhui[The Editorial Committee of the Chinese edition of the Luther Collection].雷雨田Lei Yutian·刘行仕Liu xingshi译.上海Shanghai：上海三联书店Shanghai SanLian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company].2005.第221页。

(72) 就此请参见 马丁·路德Mading Lude [Martin Luther].《〈加拉太书〉注释》Jialataishu Zhushih[A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians].李漫波Li Manbo译.北京Beijing：三联书店Shanlian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company]·2011.第140页。

(73) 就此请参见马丁·路德Mading Lude Martin Luther.《马丁·路德文选》Mading Lude Wenxuan.[Selected Writings of Martin Luther].马丁·路德著作翻译小组 {Translation team of Luther's works}译.北京Beijing：中国社会科学出版社Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press]·2003.第16页。

路德认为，“信”是一种活泼的新生命的来源，人“藉此不断地心灵投靠上帝”⁽⁷⁴⁾，接受上帝的恩典和应许，整个生命得到真正的自由和欢悦。是路德发现了上帝不仅是通过律法惩罚罪人的上帝，也是赐予恩典、安慰、怜悯和祝福给那些相信的人的上帝。罪人藉着信因着耶稣基督被钉死在十字架上而被赎罪，成为义人。路德对福音的重新发现改变了民众与上帝之间的关系，使那些恐惧、悲伤的心灵因着耶稣基督带来的福音和“信”重新焕发生机。

路德的神学重建与他的人生境遇息息相关。其神学是为了解答或解决他所处的历史情境下的问题而产生的，而不是为了建立一个完整宏大的神学体系而建立的。所以，路德的新神学与他的教会实践和改革是紧密相关的。他所有的论著都是建立在神学实践而非冥想的基础之上。无论是从历史事件的角度，还是从其思想的角度，路德都是一个力图开启新天新地的人。

(74) 就此请参见马丁·路德Mading Lude.[Martin Luther]《路德选集》Lude Xuanji[Selected Works of Luther].徐庆誉、汤清译.北京：宗教文化出版社.2010.第5页.

English Title:

Luther's Reformatory Discovery: Justification by Faith

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Abstract: Luther saw from his monastic ascetic experience and the corruption and external ostentation reflected in the sacraments of the Catholic Church at that time that Catholicism had not solved the most critical problem – “How can man continue to stand before God”, that is, the question of why humans can be justified. The doctrine of justification by faith is regarded as the cornerstone and yardstick of Luther's entire theology, the “sun that illuminates God's Holy Church,” and is concerned with the rise and fall of the entire church. This paper combs the historical background of Luther's Reformation and the five theological sources of the doctrine of justification by faith, expounds the essential attributes of “faith” and “justification” as well as the relationship between “faith” and “justification”, and intends to make a more comprehensive and in-depth interpretation and analysis of Luther's core doctrine of justification by faith by using the current relatively new literature.

Keywords: Luther; Justification by faith; Romans; Faith; Grace

南明重臣金声与西学西教关系新探

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摘要：金声是活跃于明末政坛、文坛中的一位重要人物，其在宗教信仰上的游离常常难以考证。陈垣先生曾提出金声于天启四至七年(1624-1627)入教并终身奉教，黄一农先生则认为金声可能于崇祯二三年(1629-1630)间入教，然于崇祯五年(1632)年底弃教信佛。本文结合相关的文献资料，对陈垣、黄一农等先生的研究结论进行详细讨论与更新。本文认为身处明末乱局下的金声秉持着会通的心态，认为天主教义理以及西学有助于其追求心目中的理想人格，从而实现儒家修齐治平之愿望。

关键词：金声、天主教、西学

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一、文献与史料综述

目前学界对金声的研究成果较多，主要关注以下三个方面的内容：

首先，讨论金声的天主教信仰、入教时间以及是否弃教等等。1916年，古欢在《进步杂志》第九卷第二期发表《金正希与基督教》⁽¹⁾，讨论金声与天主教之间的关系。1927年，陈垣先生在《青年杂志》发表《休宁金声传》⁽²⁾，认为金声于天启四至六年(1624-1627)入教并终身奉教。黄一农教授在《两头蛇：明末清初第一代天主教徒》⁽³⁾中认为陈垣先生的结论尚有可商榷之处，提出金声应于崇祯二三年(1629-1630)入教，又于崇祯五年(1632)年底弃教，转而崇佛。

其次，关注金声的生平事迹及其思想贡献。1935年，吴景贤在安徽图书馆主办的《学风》上发表《金正希之地抗清运动》、《金正希之地方自卫》、《金正希之学术研究》、《金正希之思想研究》⁽⁴⁾，对金声所参与的自卫、抗清活动以及思想学术做出了较为全面与系统之考察。2005年，叶舟在《安徽史学》上发表《危机时期的士绅与地方：以休宁金声为例》⁽⁵⁾，集中讨论金声在休宁地方社会的诸多活动与贡献。

(1) 古欢Gu Huan,《古欢室夜读书记：金正希与基督教》*Guhuan shiye dushuji: Jin Zhengxi yu Jidujiao*[Secretary of Gu Huanshi's Night Reading: Jin Zheng xi and Christianity],《进步》*Jin bu*[Progress],(1916)Vol 9, No. 6, 15—17.

(2) 《休宁金声传》一文现收入陈智超、曾庆英Chen Zhichao、Zeng Qingying,《陈垣学术文化随笔》*Chen yuan xueshu wenhua suibi*[Chen Yuan's Essay on Academic Culture],(北京Beijing:中国青年出版社Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe[China Youth],2000),97-101.

(3) 黄一农Huang Yinong,《两头蛇：明末清初第一代天主教徒》*Liangtoushe: Mingmo Qingchu diyi dai tianzhujiatou*[Two headed snakes: The first generation of Catholics in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties],(上海Shanghai:上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Ancient Books],2006),324-333.

(4) 吴景贤Wu Jingxian,《金正希之抗清运动：金正希评传之一》*Jin Zhengxi zhi kangqingyundong: Jin Zhengxi pingzhuan zhi yi*[Jin Zhengxi's Anti Qing Movement: One of Jin Zhengxi's Commentaries and Biography]《金正希之地方自卫：金正希评传之二》*Jin Zhengxi zhi difang ziwei: Jin Zhengxi pingzhuan zhi er*[Jing Zhengxi's Local Self Defense: The Second Commentary of Jin Zhengxi]、《金正希之学术研究：金正希评传之三》*Jin Zhengxi zhi xueshu yanjiu: Jin Zhengxi pingzhuan zhi san*[Jing Zhengxi's Academic Research: The Third Commentaries and Biography of Jin Zhengxi]、《金正希之思想研究：金正希评传之四》*Jing Zhengxi zhi sixiang yanjiu*[Jing Zhengxi's Thoughts: The Fourth Commentaries and Biography of Jin Zhengxi]、《学风(安庆)》*Xuefeng(Anqing)*,(1935)第5卷第1期、第5卷第6期、第5卷第8期、第5卷第9期;1-27、1-28、1-21、1-18.

(5) 叶舟Ye Zhou,“危机时期的士绅与地方：以休宁金声为例”*Weiji shiqi de shishen yu difang: yi Xiuning Jin Sheng wei li*[Gentry and Local People in Crisis Period: Taking Xiuning Jinsheng as an Example],《安徽史学》*Anhui Shixue*[Anhui History],No.1(2015),76-80.

再次,梳理金声文集的各个版本异同以及流传关系,如2017年常虚怀在《古籍整理研究学刊》上发表《金声文集版本考述》⁽⁶⁾。常虚怀又对《金声集》进行了整理。⁽⁷⁾

除正史外,与金声研究的基本史料亦可分成三类:

首先,金声本人不同版本之文集、年谱,其中金声文集以明末弘光刻本《金正希先生燕貽阁集》七卷⁽⁸⁾、清顺治年间邵鹏程补刻《金正希先生文集辑略》⁽⁹⁾九卷为祖本;年谱以程锡类撰《金正希先生年谱》民国戊辰二年(1928)思貽堂刻本为祖本,另存光绪十四年(1888年)李宗焯⁽¹⁰⁾所编版本与光绪二十三年(1897年)刘洪烈⁽¹¹⁾注本。⁽¹²⁾

其次,时人或后人所著金声传记、金声文集之序文。如金声之友熊开元所撰《金忠节公传》⁽¹³⁾、邵长蘅撰《明翰林院修撰金公传》⁽¹⁴⁾、吴肃公撰《金文毅公传》⁽¹⁵⁾、汪有典撰《金文毅公传》⁽¹⁶⁾以及彭

(6) 常虚怀Chang Xuhuai:“金声文集版本考述”*Jin Sheng wenji banben kaoshu*[Textual Research on Jin Sheng's Collected Works]·《古籍整理研究学刊》*Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan*[Journal of Ancient Books Arrangement and Research]·(2017)No.11·39-43.

(7) 常虚怀所点校之《金声集》原为《安徽古籍丛书》之一部分,后由黄山书社于2019年出版。

(8) 详见(明)金声Jing Sheng·明末弘光刻本《金正希先生燕貽阁七卷》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng Yanyi qijuan*[Mr. Jin Zhengxi, Yanyi Pavilion Volume 7]·四库禁毁图书丛刊编纂委员会Siku jinhui tushu congkan bianzuanweiyuanhui[Committee on Compilation of Series of The Four Categories Forbidden Books]:《四库禁毁图书丛刊》*Siku jinhuishu congkan*[The Four Categories Forbidden Books],Jibu,Vol.85·(北京Beijing:北京出版社Beijing chubanshe[Beijing]·1997)·1-136.

(9) 详见(明)金声撰Jing Sheng·邵鹏程刻Shao Pengcheng·《金正希先生文集辑略》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng wenji jilue*[A Brief Collection of Mr. Jin Zhengxi's Essays]·四库禁毁图书丛刊编纂委员会Siku jinhui tushu congkan bianzuanweiyuanhui[Committee on Compilation of The Four Categories Forbidden Books]:《四库禁毁图书丛刊》*Siku jinhuishu congkan*[The Four Categories Forbidden Books],Jibu,Vol.50·(北京Beijing:北京出版社Beijing chubanshe[Beijing]·1997)·439-655.(以下简称《文集》)

(10) 详见(清)李宗焯LI Zongmei:《金正希先生年谱》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng nianpu*[Chronicle of Mr. Jin Zhengxi]·北京图书馆编Beijing tushuguan[Beijing Library]:《北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊》*Beijing tushuguan cangzhenben nianpu congkan*[Beijing Library Collection Rare Yearbook Series]Vol.65·(北京Beijing:北京图书馆出版社Beijing tushuguan chubanshe[Beijing Library]·1999)·125-194.

(11) 详见(清)刘洪烈注Liu Honglie:《金正希先生年谱》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng nianpu*[Chronicle of Mr. Jin Zhengxi]·北京图书馆编Beijing tushuguan[Beijing Library]:《北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊》*Beijing tushuguan cangzhenben nianpu congkan*[Beijing Library Collection Rare Yearbook Series]Vol.62·(北京Beijing:北京图书馆出版社Beijing tushuguan chubanshe[Beijing Library]·1999)·4-62.

(12) 关于程、李、刘三版本年谱流传关系,此三份文本经笔者校勘后发现,刘注年谱虽未明言源自程本,但言及谱本来源于金声后人,内容亦与程本相同;李本年谱于卷首小引处注明源于金声八世孙青霭所藏之程本。综合考虑刘、李、程三谱之间文本关系以及成书时间顺序,笔者认为三年谱之间存在以程本为祖本的传承关系。

(13) 此处熊鱼山撰《金忠节公传》根据其文集版本不同,传记名称亦有改动。上海图书馆藏光绪十年乐贤堂刻本《熊鱼山遗集》中载为《金文毅公传》,但只存其目而不见其文,而上海图书馆藏《熊鱼山先生文集》中则称《金忠节公传》。

(14) (清)邵长蘅Shao Changheng:《青门麓橐》*Qingmen lutuo*[Qingmen lutuo]Vol.15《明翰林院修撰金公传》*Ming hanlinyuan xiuzhuan Jingong zhuan*[Ming Imperial Academy compiled Jin Zhengxi's Biography]·四库全书存目丛书编纂委员会编Siku quanshu bianzuanweiyuanhui[Compilation Committee of Siku Quanshu Cataloguing Series]:《四库全书存目丛书》*Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu*[Siku Quanshu Cataloguing Series]Jibu Vol.248,《邵子湘全集三十卷附录邵氏家录二卷》*Shao Zixiang quanji 30juan fulu Shaoshi jialu 2juan*[Thirty Volume of Shao Zixiang's Complete Works Appendix Two Volume of Shao's Family Record]·(济南Jinan:齐鲁书社Qilu shushe[Qilu Publishing House]·1997)·11-14.

(15) (清)吴肃公Wu Sugong:《街南续集》*Jienan xuji*[Street South sequel]Vol.5《金文毅公传》*Jin wenyi gong zhuan*[Biography of Jin Wenyi]·四库禁毁图书丛刊编纂委员会编Siku jinhui tushu congkan bianzuanweiyuanhui[Committee on Compilation of Series of The Four Categories Forbidden Books]:《四库禁毁图书丛刊》*Siku jinhuishu congkan*[Committee on Compilation of Series of Books Forbidden and Destruction in The Four Categories]Jibu Vol.148·(北京Beijing:北京出版社Beijing[Beijing],1997)438-439.

(16) (清)汪有典Wang Youdian:《前明忠义别传》*QianMing zhongyi biezhuan*[Another Biography of Loyalty and Righteousness in the Former Ming Dynasty]卷20《金文毅公传》*Jin wenyi gong zhuan*[Biography of Jin Wenyi]·四库未收书辑刊编纂委员会编Siku weishou shu jikan bianzuanweiyuanhui[Compilation Committee for the Collection of Uncollected Books of The Four Categories]:《四库未收书辑刊》*Siku weishou shu jikan*[Collection of Uncollected Books of The Four Categories]Edit.1 Vol.19·(北京Beijing:北京出版社Beijing chubanshe[Beijing]·1997)·213-216.

际清撰《居士传》⁽¹⁷⁾中金声传记、汪琬撰《金正希先生遗稿序》⁽¹⁸⁾等。

再次，直接或间接涉及金声生平之佛教史料，如《天界觉浪盛禅师全录》、《宗宝道独禅师语录》、《吴都法乘》、《神鼎云外泽禅师语录》、《三峰藏和尚语录》、《华严纲要》等。

本文依据金声文集、年谱、佛教史料，在已有成果的基础上，对金声与西学西教之间的关系进行新的考证。

二、天启四至七年（1624-1627）入教，终身奉教论

陈垣先生曾于《休宁金声传》一文中，根据金声所作《城南叶氏四续谱序》及1626、1627年间传教士的活动轨迹，认为金声于1624-1627年间入教并终身奉教。⁽¹⁹⁾现将陈先生之文摘录如下：

（天启）甲子（西一六二四）廷试，（金声）与竟陵谭元春同入京，肄业北雍，祭酒罗喻义亟赏之，每试辄第一，以为明兴以来所未有，举顺天乡试。时耶稣会士艾儒略、毕方济等以修历留京师，公车士子，多与往还。

（天启）六年（西历一六二六）冬，罗喻义移主南雍，邀声读书鸡鸣寺，令南雍拔俊从声学。声集有《城南叶氏四续谱序》，疑即此时作也。

天启七年（西一六二七），声年适三十，故曰比壮。时南京教案甫息，毕方济承徐光启之召，布教于南京，序中所谓适与泰西诸儒论学者，毕方济也。湖北开教颇迟，徽州西士罕至，声之得闻西说，北京而外，当为南京。”⁽²⁰⁾

陈垣先生从史料中记载金声之生平出发，认为金声最有可能于1624年在北京或1627年在南京接触传教士并因服膺天主教而入教。针对这一观点，黄一农教授根据法文材料证明毕方济于崇祯四年前并未踏足南京传教，故陈先生之说有误。⁽²¹⁾黄一农教授的论证，只是通过援引1627年毕方济尚未赴南京传教而推翻了陈垣先生的结论。本文认为黄一农教授的论证并非完全令人信服。本文认为若想推翻陈垣先生的结论，我们应当从金声本人的生平入手。如果金声于1624-1627年已服膺天主教并受洗入教，那么他与佛教士大夫、僧侣之间的交游和对佛学的追求应当不似往昔那般频繁、热烈，但现存史料却表明在这段时间内金声对佛法的兴趣并未减弱，反而是更加炽热。

首先，正如陈垣先生文中所言，1626年冬金声曾应其师罗喻义邀请入南雍鸡鸣寺读书，直至1627年冬启程前往北雍。陈先生认为除1624年在北雍外，或是此时金声接触传教士并服膺天主教。1626年金声于鸡鸣寺读书一事在金声相关年谱、文集中均有记载，但史料却表明金声在鸡鸣寺读书时曾听宗宝道独禅师讲楞严经义：

(17)（清）彭际清Peng Jiqing：《居士传》*Jushi zhuan*[Biography of hermit]Vol.52《金正希》*Jing Zhengxi*·（日）河村孝照編集 kawamura koushou：《已新纂大日本续藏经》*jinzuan dariben xuzangjing* [Newly compiled Japanese Sutra]Vol.88, No.1646·（东京Tokyo：株式会社国书刊行会[Kokubin Publishing Co., Ltd.]·1975-1989）·283。

(18)（清）汪琬Wang Wan：《尧峯文钞》*Yaofeng wenchao*[Yaofeng banknote]Vol.29《金正希先生遗稿序》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng yigao xu*[Preface to Mr. Jin Zhengxi's Remaining Manuscripts]·（清）纪昀等编纂Ji Yun：《文渊阁四库全书》*Wenyuange sikuquanshu*[The Complete Works of The Four Categories of Wenyuan Pavilion]Vol.1315·（北京Beijing：北京出版社Beijing[Beijing]·2012）·492-493。

(19) 本文中“奉教”、“入教”、“弃教”中的“教”均指天主教。

(20) 陈垣Chen Yuan：《休宁金声传》*Xiuning Jin Sheng zhuan*[Biography of Xiuning Jin Sheng]·97-98。

(21) 黄一农Huang Yinong：《两头蛇：明末清初第一代天主教徒》*Liangtoushe：MingmoQingchu diyidai tianzhujiaotu*[Two headed snakes: The first generation of Catholics in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties](2006)·325。

“犹记(天启六年)丙寅(1626)冬,同半老师(宗宝道独禅师)住鸡鸣,听讲楞严。”⁽²²⁾

如果金声于1624年于北雍接触传教士并入教,那么又怎么会在1626年听宗宝禅师讲楞严呢?故1624年入教一说或存疑。

无独有偶,亦有史料表明金声于1625-1627年间迫切追求佛法。崇祯十年(1637),金声曾为憨山德清(1546-1623)大师之遗作《华严纲要》作引,文中载:

“憨大师之雨法海内,片字落纸,不胫而走四方。著述殷盛,自佛灭以来,未数有也。无愚慧皆知之,(声)不须具论。(声)得生值大师之世,不幸溺于世俗,学道既迟,始有耳目。不克闻见。及其稍自悔觉,能读吾大师之书,而缘尽时穷,师已不复住人间矣。今其上座以晦虚中两上人来此也。来此则吾友程仲延氏,首与游游,数日细问其大师平生行履一切笔舌间事,犹得见师所亲手点窜之《华严纲要》稿本,及诸种襍著尚未获登木行世者。友人捧览,凄然心动。”⁽²³⁾

我们先将文段中的信息梳理一遍:首先,引文中所载“能读吾大师之书,而缘尽时穷,师已不复住人间矣。”说明金声早年与憨山德清大师并无交谊,而是在憨山德清大师去世之后才开始阅读其著作,也就是1623年后(因为憨山德清于1623年去世)。其次,根据“今其上座以晦虚中两上人来此也。来此则吾友程仲延氏,首与游游,数日细问其大师平生行履一切笔舌间事,犹得见师所亲手点窜之《华严纲要》稿本,及诸种襍著尚未获登木行世者”,金声看到憨山德清大师之遗作《华严纲要》手稿时当与程开祚同处。换言之,此时的金声对佛法的追求颇为热烈。那么,二人见面的时间就成为论证1625-1627年金声对佛学态度的关键。

金声曾在其所撰的程开祚(字仲延)墓志铭中提及:

“(天启三年)癸亥(1623)声始学佛,自楚来,君共饮啖,见声断肉,问所由。声具语,君心动,曰:是信然,向吾与子仅一世朋友耳,不知前后无量世,何以入大道?今与子重定交。自是持净戒,酣于佛书。比声北游归,再见则家庭宗党悉谓君长者。……先是,君与声同读书白下,声不及送君就试。君归虽疾,尚意气自如,曰:吾试文颇不当落,吾窃忧此日南雍中诸生,多欲为魏瑄建祠者。予谓:曩者以予辱知大司成,群为予言,予深匿以避之,大司成固持不可矣。天下事若此,若幸无恙,虽不及今日成名,固佳。未几,魏、崔败,君不及见而卒,卒年三十有二。”⁽²⁴⁾

(22) 《文集》卷9《语录下》,第634页。

(23) (明)憨山德清Hanshan Deqing:《华严纲要》Huayan gangyao[*Huayan Outline*]Vol.1《刻憨大师华严纲要引》Ke Handashi Huayan gangyao yin[Citation of Huayan Outline],(日)京都藏经书院原刊[Kyoto Sutra Collection Academy]:《卍续藏经》卍Xu zangjing Vol.12, No.248.(台北Taibei,新文丰出版社Xin Wenfeng chubanshe[Xin Wenfeng],1980),787.

(24) 《文集》卷8《大学生程君墓志铭》,第622-623页。

同样，我们先行梳理一遍文段中蕴含的信息：首先，根据金声文中所言，程开祚之崇佛始于1623年，且是由金声引路。其次，根据金声年谱记述来看，⁽²⁵⁾1624年金声启程前往北雍考试，至1625年归休宁，其间并无金声与程开祚交游记录，直至1626年金声才在休宁与程开祚同读书，这与文中记载“比声北游归，再见则家庭宗党析谓君长者”相符，也就是说在1624年金声前往北雍，至1625年金声回休宁之前，金、程二人的确并无会面。最后，根据文段中“魏、崔败，君不及见而卒”可以判定程开祚最迟于1627年下半年去世。

因此，我们将《华严纲要引》与《太学生程君墓志铭》中所提供的信息进行综合分析，可以得出如下结论：

一、金声虽未在引文中明言“读吾大师之书”是否是《华严纲要》，但仍旧证明了1623年后金声对佛学有浓厚兴趣，且结合“学道既迟，始有耳目，不克闻见，及其稍自悔觉，能读吾大师之书，而缘尽时穷，师已不复住人间矣。”“癸亥声始学佛”来看，金声读憨山德清之书时间当在1623年后。

二、根据《太学生程君墓志铭》，金声自1624年之后与程开祚交游的时间当于1625至1627年下半年程开祚去世前。换言之，《华严纲要引》中所提及与程开祚会面的时间亦在此内。据此文可知，1625至1627年金声是以学道之心读憨山德清著作，又是在与程开祚同处时细读《华严纲要》稿本，足见其崇佛之心。金声又将宗宝道独称为“半老师”⁽²⁶⁾亦是证明了此时金声依然是以弟子身份从师宗宝道独学习佛法。然而，陈垣先生所判定金声入天主教的时间恰恰是1624至1627年。

综上所述，1624-1627年金声入教论不能成立。

三、崇祯二、三年（1629-1630）入教、崇祯五年（1632）年底弃教论

黄一农教授曾于《两头蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒》中凭借法文材料、史料细节以及金声的婚姻情况，对陈垣先生之天启入教论提出质疑。黄一农教授的论点如下：

一、《城南叶氏四续谱序》一文或是崇祯元年至三年（1628-1630）于北京撰写。

二、根据1628年金声致友人书信中之佛教用语以及熊开元（字鱼山）《金忠节公传》中记述，金声之“奉教”时间当于崇祯二年至崇祯五年年底（1629-1632）。

三、根据刘洪烈注本及李宗熠本《金正希先生年谱》中记载，金声次子敦滋出生于崇祯十二年（1639），而金声正妻鲍氏卒于崇祯十一年（1638），由此判定金声纳妾，而天主教对纳妾行为的严厉禁止。此亦证实了金声“弃教”一事。

四、根据金声崇祯八年（1635）至崇祯十六年（1643）之交游活动判定金声非但不是终身奉教，而是晚年崇佛。

五、黄一农教授认为目前史料中未见经金声之手或由其撰写序跋的明清之际天主教相关著述，且根据熊开元所撰传记来看，1632年金声拒绝徐光启出仕修历邀请因于信仰转变。

(25) 程锡类撰《金正希先生年谱》中详细记载了1623在北雍读书、1625年金声赴北雍考试、1626年金声返回休宁与程希吕、程开祚二人同读书于凤山且教导程锡类读书，《年谱》中虽未明言程锡类是程希吕、开祚二人谁之子，仅称“又为程先生评点郝仲興、王季重、汤若士小品以课其子锡类”，而金声作《与程希吕》书中则言：“公郎文思当日益佳，甚相念，愿教之以明道理、养德器为主，而徐以文辞辅之。临书不尽。”，由此推测，程锡类可能为程希吕之子。程锡类这段亲身经历当足证程本《金正希先生年谱》中1625、1626年条目记载无误。详见（清）程锡类撰 *Cheng Xilei*，（民国）金兆蕃刻 *Jin Zhaofan*：《金正希先生年谱》*Jin Zhengxi xiansheng nianpu* [Chronicle of Mr. Jin Zhengxi] 民国戊辰二月思贻堂刻本（1928），北京图书馆编 *Beijing tushuguan* [Beijing Library]：《北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊》*Beijing tushuguan cangzhenben nianpu congkan* [Beijing Library Collection Rare Yearbook Series] Vol.62，（北京Beijing：北京图书馆出版社 *Beijing tushuguan chubanshe* [Beijing Library]，1999），74。（以下简称《年谱》）及《文集》卷3《与程希吕》，第495页。

(26) 金声文集、年谱中常称宗宝道独为半偈老宿、半偈和尚，故此处才有“半老师”之称。

对于黄一农教授的论点，我们可通过考证金声生平推测崇祯二三年入教、崇祯五年年底弃教论是否合理。

首先，若如黄一农教授所言，金声于1629-1630年入教，但《长庆宗宝道独禅师语录》却记载了金声、熊开元延请宗宝道独禅师讲法并为其造室一事：

“先有传师行实至博山者，山异之。凡见粤僧，必问曰：宗宝何不來。此道不到博山得么？至是问师至，即呼入方丈，与语竟夕。一日以倒骑牛入佛殿话。命众下语。师有颂呈曰：贪程不觉晓，愈求愈转渺。相逢正是渠，绕是犹颠倒。蚊子牵大磨，石人抚掌笑。别是活生机，不落宫商调。一众环睹，山曰：太粗生。师云：大了当人，向善知识前，作么开口。山笑视良久云：何消说？师礼拜，山始与易名，登具足戒，一住九越月，辞去，山不许。师住山意决，再三恳辞，山乃訂八月再至。师胡跪牀下曰：某有不是，请和尚勿放过山连声曰：是是，汝他时不得辜负山僧。此崇祯庚午四月也，山竟以是年九月示寂。始悟八月再至之语，师时掩关金轮。复徙黄岩，为金内翰正希、陈督学云怡、熊督师心开诸公所重，尝造室问道请说法，师一意岩隈，无出世志。迨瀛山雪公歿，粤孝廉张荊公黎美周，谋诸内阁象岡何公宗伯秋涛陈公，力请师住罗浮，开博山法门。”⁽²⁷⁾

上述引文前半段记述宗宝道独与石山之间的故事发生于1630年四月。据“复徙黄岩，为金内翰正希、陈督学云怡、熊督师心开诸公所重，尝造室问道请说法，师一意岩隈，无出世志。”即指“石山故事”后，宗宝禅师在庐山，金声、蔡懋德、熊开元三人曾试请宗宝道独禅师讲法，为宗宝禅师所拒。此处未注明邀请讲法时间，故无法做出推测。但文中存在一个非常重要的细节可供我们推断。文中称“金内翰正希、陈督学云怡、熊督师心开”三人分别指金声、陈云怡与熊开元，而据学者考证，陈云怡为蔡懋德参政浙西前的旧名。⁽²⁸⁾

《吴都法乘》载蔡懋德于崇祯初年与金声、黄元公（即黄端伯）等人成立“密社”，以佛学相契：

“蔡懋德字维立，昆山人……崇祯初，出为浙江右参政，分守嘉湖，尝与金正希、黄元公、钱启忠、萧仕玮诸公订为密友，究竟大事。每言：修行人多怕去后，黑漫漫地，不知现前，黑漫漫地，更苦尽说生死事大，不知现前生生死死更切此际重关一击，如何下得闻者悚然？”⁽²⁹⁾

(27) 今释编Jin Shi：《宗宝道独禅师语录》*Zongbao Daodu chanshi yulu*[Quotations of Zen Master Zongbao Daodu]Vol.6《长庆老和尚行状》*Changqin laoheshang xinzhuang*[Biography of Changqing Old Monk]，河村孝照编*kawamura koushou*：《*仁新纂大日本續藏經*》*仁xinzuan dariben xuzangjing*[*仁*Newly compiled Japanese Sutra]Vol.78,No.1443。（东京Tokyo：国书刊行会[Kokubin Publishing Co., Ltd.]，1975-1989）·768-769.

(28) 陈支平、刘婷玉Chen Zhiping;liu Tingyu：“明蔡懋德事迹考辨——《明史·蔡懋德传》补正”*Ming Cai Maode shiji kaobian*——《*Mingshi-Caimaode zhuan*》*buzheng*[Textual Research on Cai Maode's Life in the Ming Dynasty——《History of the Ming Dynasty·Biography of Cai Maode》Correction]·《明史研究》*Mingshi yanjiu*[Ming Studies Journal]·(2010)No.1·345.

(29) 周永年编Zhou Yongnian：《吴都法乘》*Wudu facheng*[*Wudu facheng*]Vol.25，蓝吉富主编Lan Jifu：《大藏经补编》*Dazangjing bubian*[Supplement to the Tripitaka Sutra]Vol.34,No.193。（台北Taipei：华宇出版社Hua yu chubanshe[Hua yu]，1985）·806。（另参见张志哲主编Zhang Zhizhe：《中华佛教人物大辞典》*Zhonghua fojiao renwu da cidian*[A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Figures]·（黄山Huangshan：黄山书社Huangshan shushe[Huangshan Publishing House]，2006）·1052.}

蔡懋德出任江西提学副使的时间在1628年，⁽³⁰⁾即崇祯元年，而《魏叔子文集》提及“王申，量移浙江布政司右参政兼按察司佥事。”⁽³¹⁾此即指蔡懋德出任浙江右参政的时间在1632年，即崇祯五年。我们将这一条信息与上述引文结合起来看，《长庆老和尚行状》中称“陈督学”符合1628年前后尚未改名的蔡懋德与其官职，故而我们可初步确定延请宗宝道独讲法时间是在1628-1632年前后。

接下来我们根据金声的生平行状再进一步确定邀请讲法的具体时间。金声自1628年入京师，而蔡懋德1628年出任江西提学副使，两人一北一南，直至1630年金声辞官回乡方离开京师，难有会晤。也就是说，《长庆老和尚行状》中讲法时间当在1630年至1632年前后，即崇祯三年至五年。由于我们无法判定蔡懋德任职浙江右参政使的具体月份，所以我们还需要进行进一步的考证。

根据《长庆老和尚行状》中“复徙黄岩，为金内翰正希、陈督学云怡、熊督师心开诸公所重，尝造室问道请说法。”此处表明，宗宝道独人应在庐山黄岩寺。⁽³²⁾根据金声文集记载，1632年下半年金声的活动轨迹是秋初曾游访德清，九月从新安出发，过庐山访宗宝禅师后到达嘉鱼，至1633年三月方从嘉鱼归休宁：

“秋初用涉到休宁一日，得翁兄先后手札者三，谓即同用涉来此相晤，是以不修复也。已而用涉有德清之行，弟以九月朔出新安道徘徊于匡庐，上下盖三阅月而始到嘉鱼，到即雨雪，至今未休。又适儿子佈痘，弟未携室人，不能不留视之。北望寒河，不过数百里，天之限人乃至于此！计今岁又晤翁兄无期矣。彼此相过亦诚难，而弟度岁又将东下，不知上元以前台驾可到会城乎？”⁽³³⁾

“(崇祯)六年癸酉(1633)，先生三十六岁...三月自嘉鱼归休宁。”⁽³⁴⁾

又，根据金声与蔡懋德书信中记载，1632年夏天金声曾应蔡懋德之邀至白鹿洞书院：

“翁台倡学江右，江右自虚斋先生而后，于兹为盛。夏间承白鹿之招，弟以宴安自外，今到此间，而文旌又发，遥望云树，不胜怅然美人之思。”⁽³⁵⁾

也就是说，1632年夏间金声先应蔡懋德之邀赴江西白鹿洞书院⁽³⁶⁾，至秋初返回休宁，九月初前往嘉鱼，途中过庐山，1633年三月由嘉鱼回休宁。并且从“白鹿之招”来看，1632年夏间蔡懋德尚未前往浙江赴任，这也解释了为什么金声会在信件中称其为“陈云怡”而非蔡懋德。于是我们便可将邀请宗宝和尚讲法时间进一步定位于1632年秋季之前。此后，金声虽然也曾与宗宝道独会晤，但地点却是在庐山：

(30) 详见苏州通史编纂委员会编Suzhou tongshi bianzuanweiyuanhui[Suzhou General History Compilation Committee]:《苏州通史》Suzhou tongshi[General History of Suzhou]人物卷Renwu juan[personage volume]《明清时期》Ming Qing shiqi[Ming and Qing Dynasties]·(苏州Suzhou: 苏州大学出版社Suzhou daxue chubanshe[University of Suzhou]·2019)·157.

(31) 详见(清)魏禧Wei Xi:《魏叔子文集外篇》Wei Shuzi wenji waipian[Wei Shuzi wenji waipian]Vol.17《明右副都御史忠襄蔡公传》Ming you fuduyushi zhongxiang caigong zhuan[Ming you fuduyushi zhongxiang caigong zhuan]·清宁都三魏文集本·402.

(32) 此处“黄岩”亦有可能指代浙江黄岩，但如为浙江黄岩，结合蔡懋德活动轨迹考虑，金、蔡、熊三人延请宗宝道独时间当在蔡懋德任浙江参政之后，那便不当称为“陈督学”。另外，根据钱谦益所作《长庆空隐和尚塔铭》中所载“徙黄岩，一意住山”来看，此处应当是指代庐山黄岩寺而非地名黄岩。{详见今释编Jin Shi:《宗宝道独禅师语录》Zongbao Daodu chanshi yulu[Quotations of Zen Master Zong Baodao]Vol.6《长庆空隐和尚塔铭》Chang Qin Kong yin du heshangta ming[Inscription on the Chang Qin Kong yin monk'tower]·河村孝照编kawamura koushou:《已新纂大日本續藏經》Jin xinzuan dariben xuzangjing[Newly compiled Japanese Sutra]Vol.78, No.1443·(东京Tokyo: 国书刊行会[Kokubin Publishing Co., Ltd.]·1975-1989),769.}

(33) 《文集》卷3《与谭友夏》·504.

(34) 《年谱》·85-86.

(35) 《文集》卷3《与陈云怡》·501.

(36) 此处若以金、蔡白鹿洞之约为邀请宗宝道独讲法时间，则无法满足熊开元在场条件，此时熊开元尚于北京任吏科给事中。

“(崇祯)五年壬申(1632)先生三十二岁,八月⁽³⁷⁾至嘉鱼游匡庐访半偈和尚(宗宝道独)。”⁽³⁸⁾

综合蔡懋德任职浙江右参政的大致时间和金声1632年的活动以及1631年熊开元在京师出任吏科给事中这三项条件来看,金、蔡、熊三人请宗宝道独讲法一事亦非1632年金声于庐山与宗宝道独之会晤。

综上所述,金、蔡、熊三人延请宗宝道独讲法时间应当是在1630年末金声辞官之后到1632年上半年之间。因此,若如黄一农教授所推断金声于1629-1630年已“奉教”,至1632年底方“弃教”。那么,1630-1632年金声又何请宗宝讲法一事?

其次,根据黄一农教授书中援引熊鱼山所撰金声传记的说法,金声是1632年春夏之交⁽³⁹⁾在熊鱼山的影响下“改宗”佛教的,而且金声也因他的天主教倾向而受到士大夫们的攻讦,在双重压力之下,金声方才“暂行歧路”,并因信仰转变拒绝了徐光启修历邀请。⁽⁴⁰⁾然而在1632年末,金声回复徐光启推荐修历的书信中却说:

“况声近发薄愿,不自揆度,欲倡明大法,尽区区笔舌,将次第译授西学流佈此土,并为人广细宣说”⁽⁴¹⁾。

若真如熊开元传记中所言,金声因好天主教而被士人、友人攻讦,却又在回复徐光启的书信中自称“欲倡明大法,尽区区笔舌,将次第译授西学流佈此土,并为人广细宣说”,似又表明金声欲推广西学。

同样,金声1632年拒绝徐光启出仕修历邀请的原因亦不当是信仰转变,根据金声生平事迹来看,很可能是由于金声与晚明政局、官僚之间的纠葛。程锡类所撰年谱中记载1630年金声辞官前与成基命、周延儒二人之间的冲突:

“(金声)先生巡南城,烈皇帝欲还先生馆职,示意于相臣成基命,成基命但语公:“勿视事”,初不言上意,先生对以人臣事君随地可以自致,绝不干请,成(基命)不悦。会阁臣周延儒亦欲先生往见,先生投一名刺而已,周(延儒)怒,令部委敝甲二千,守昌平陵寝,将士夺气,先生屹然自如。”⁽⁴²⁾

成基命于1630年二月任内阁首辅,周延儒亦于当月入阁,故《年谱》中事应发生于是年二月以后。从引文中所揭金声与成基命、周延儒的矛盾来看,成基命与金声的冲突产生于一场误会,而周延儒则是试图拉拢金声,反被金声蔑视,因此结怨。周、金之矛盾明显比成基命更严重。《年谱》中并未记

(37) 此处程锡类撰《金正希先生年谱》原文称“八月至嘉鱼”,但金声文集中金声离开新安时间是九月初。

(38) 《年谱》·85.

(39) 原文按:“由于觉来大师乃于崇祯五年壬申岁的正月圆寂,知金声率子弟在休宁的还古书院习西学和西教的时间,主要在崇祯四年;当替觉来大师治丧时,因金声行用天主教之礼仪,故曾与好友熊开元发生激烈争执;然据熊氏所言,金声在数月之后再度改宗佛教,且迎宗宝和尚至家,并闭关清修;此故,当徐光启于五年年底荐举他赴京治历时,金声即因兴趣和信仰不合而婉拒。”故而根据熊撰推测金声“改宗”佛教的时间当在春夏之交。(详见黄一农:《两头蛇:明末清初的第一代天主教徒》,上海:上海古籍出版社,2006年,第326页。)

(40) 详见黄一农Huang Yinong:《两头蛇:明末清初的第一代天主教徒》*Liangtoushe:Mingmo Qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiatou*[Two headed snakes: the first generation catholics in the late ming and early qing dynasties],(上海Shanghai:上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House],2006)·326.

(41) 《文集》卷3《上徐玄扈相公》·509.

(42) 《年谱》·81.

载金声于1630年何时辞官，只是将辞官一事置于金声《入台首疏》之后⁽⁴³⁾，然金声《告病第二疏》中则提示了金声可能辞官归乡的时间：

“臣惟臣子大义笃于匪躬，臣虽积病日久，不敢一言及病，至前六月廿七日，突然气塞，至昏晕竟夕，吐血连日。臣力竭难支，始敢据实上乞骸骨，复蒙圣旨，念臣服官未久，臣感激忘生。伏枕三旬，见城务久旷，觉体气暂平，不敢即安，随勉疾视事。不图复以劳烦，于本月十一日本症随发，而怔忡痰厥更剧于前，病苦之状，未敢琐陈以渎圣览。”⁽⁴⁴⁾

根据《告病第二疏》可知，金声至少当在1630年七月十一日后方获准辞官，可能至1631年才返回休宁，也正是文中金声自称“突然气塞”的六月份，温体仁亦入阁，政局更加复杂化。是故，曾开罪周延儒的金声之辞官，或许也不仅仅是他本人所言的病重，而是金声鉴于周、温渐掌大权的明哲保身之举。

1632年十月，徐光启上《修历缺员谨申前请以竣大典疏》⁽⁴⁵⁾，向崇祯皇帝举荐金声入局修历。金声从邸报闻此事，致信徐光启：

“伏惟太老师阁下，身倡绝学，道济苍生，怀千万世之心，应五百年之运，材笃器使，广益集思。如声孤陋，幸依余光，感服明德，未尝去心。顷乃以经天大事，收及病废，奖借称誉，溢迈常分……声不足惜，奈负明举？又声思路本粗莽疏阔，敬服西儒，嗜其实学，乃在理道及修行法律，至于象数，全所未谙。即太老师所译几何原本一书，几番解读，必欲终集，曾不竟卷，辄复迷闷，又行掩置。况历法渊浩，对以浅思狭识，将若编篋移山、卷叶竭海，此其所不能也。”⁽⁴⁶⁾

金声在书信中拒绝了徐光启推荐其修历的邀请，理由是自己对象数历法一窍不通。然而，当我们将发生于1630年的金声与周延儒冲突事件联系起来，并结合徐光启推荐金声修历时崇祯朝的政局来看，金声拒绝修历邀请很可能是由于政局混乱而不愿再介入。发生于1631-1632年的温、周相互倾轧对于曾开罪周延儒的金声来说是一个危险的信号，如此时接受徐光启修历邀请再度入朝，对金声而言是非常危险的。这一推论是否成立，其关键便在于崇祯六年（1633）十月徐光启再次荐金声修历一事⁽⁴⁷⁾。在1632年徐光启首邀金声入局修历之后，又在1633年再度邀请金声入局修历。此即表明，徐光启认为阻挡金声入局修历的关键并不在于病重或者不通象数，而是在于其他。当我们结合金声生平和1633年所发生的大事来看，徐光启认为再度能够再度邀请金声修历的原因，应当是1633年六月周延儒乞归，温体仁继任首辅，徐光启认为周延儒已走，金声当再无后顾之忧，但金声再次拒绝了徐光启的修历邀请，其原因我们可以从金声与罗喻义的书信中推测一二。

金声在听闻徐光启荐自己入局修历后，曾致信罗喻义：

(43) 见《年谱》，83；《入台首疏》见《文集》卷2《入台首疏》，480。

(44) 《文集》卷2《告病第二疏》，483。

(45) (明)徐光启Xu Guangqi：《修历缺员谨申前请以竣大典疏》*Xiuli queyuan jinshen qianqing yijun dadian shu*[*Xiuli queyuan jinshen qianqing yijun dadian shu*]，朱维铮Zhu Weizheng、李天纲Li Tiangang主编《徐光启全集》*Xu Guangqi quanji*[*Complete Works of Xu Guangqi*] Vol.3《钦奉明旨敷陈愚见疏》*Qin feng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu*[*Qin feng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu*]，(上海Shanghai：上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House]，2010)，238。

(46) 《文集》卷3《上徐玄扈相公》，509。

(47) (明)谈迁Tan Qian：《国榷》*Guo Que*[*Guo Que*]Vol.92《崇祯六年十月》*Chongzhen liunian shiyue* [October in the sixth year of Chongzhen]，4093。

“候頃见邱报，蒙上海相公（徐光启）有修历之荐，声自前岁归来，麋鹿之性已将终身，已闻吾师去国，百念益复灰冷，今忽有此意恹恹，殊不欲行，图所以辞之而又未得其说也。”⁽⁴⁸⁾

1632年罗喻义因受温体仁排挤而被革职归家，即信中“声自前岁归来，麋鹿之性已将终身，已闻吾师去国”。这篇书信我们可以从中得出金声拒绝徐光启修历之邀的原因并不在信仰或身体，亦不在于因周延儒当国而明哲保身，而是“百念益复灰冷”，是对崇祯朝朝局的彻底失望。

最后，黄一农教授根据金声次子敦滋出生与正妻鲍氏的去世时间，判定金声当存在纳妾行为，其次子敦滋当为妾室于1639年所生。黄一农教授并未提供更多证据。实际上，金声家族之《瓯山金氏眉公支谱》中的记述可为确证：

“敦滋，声次子，小名慈生，字务兹，县附生，明崇祯己卯年（1639年）十一月初十日生，顺治己亥年（1659年）二月二十九日歿，年二十一岁。配嘉鱼熊鱼山先生长女，侍生母李氏附居岳家。”⁽⁴⁹⁾

“声，文耀三子，小名三聘，字正希。……庶李氏全子敦滋寄居湖广嘉鱼县六溪口，歿于嘉鱼，年四十八岁。”⁽⁵⁰⁾

如同黄一农教授所言，金声晚年确实崇佛，亦有直接史料证明金声的纳妾行为。但是，黄一农教授所确定的金声的“奉教”时间仍存疑。是故问题就仿佛回到了原点，我们仍无法断定金声“奉教”之确切时间，甚至可以说金声的人生中处处可见其与佛教僧侣、佞佛士大夫交游、往来之记录。此是否表明金声从来都未曾奉教？我们或可尝试跳出宗教信仰的视角，抛开宗教信仰“非此即彼”的排他性，从金声的思想与人生追求中来找寻答案。

四、金声与西学西教

前文中我们已通过梳理相关史料得出结论：崇祯三年（1630）金声归乡前至崇祯五年（1632）这段时间内，金声与佞佛士大夫、高僧频繁互动。董少新教授曾提出根据葡文材料证明金声受洗入教的看法，尚未刊文讨论，董少新教授将所见葡文史料作为引文，在他的文章《再论西文文献与中国史研究》中使用，我们也有幸看到了这篇档案，现转引如下：

“（今年）领洗人数有所增加，达150人。其中有一青年尤其值得一提。他是一位很有名望的进士....他是南直隶徽州（Hoèi cheù）人，姓金（Kim），洗名小奥古斯丁（Agostinho）。他在京数年期间，与我们传教士交往，与徐保禄（徐光启）有特别的友谊，因此对圣教颇为了解。但对他而言似乎佛教更好，因此信佛，并且是一个由京城许多士大夫组成的一个佛教团体的领袖。他们有一个和尚，能说善辩，令人生畏....但只有我们的金进士愿意向皇帝举荐他。通过这样的途径，这个和尚名声大噪，同时也为他的老师和他所信奉的宗教赢得了声誉。皇帝令部议此事，考察这个和尚，结果所有人均赞成...此时正有敌众围困京城，金进士

(48) 《文集》卷3《上罗英江老师》，505.

(49) (清) 金锦荣纂修Jin Jinrong: 《瓯山金氏眉公支谱》Oushan Jinshi meigong zhipu[Oushan Jinshi meigong zhipu]Vol.3《贵房存昌文文耀派》Gui fang Cunchang zhi Wenyao pai[Gui fang Cunchang zhi Wenyao pai]·中国国家图书馆藏道光十二年(1832)壬辰刻本·25.

(50) (清) 金锦荣纂修Jin Jinrong: 《瓯山金氏眉公支谱》Oushan Jinshi meigong zhipu[Oushan Jinshi meigong zhipu]Vol.3《贵房存昌文文耀派》Gui fang Cunchang zhi Wenyao pai[Gui fang Cunchang zhi Wenyao pai]·中国国家图书馆藏道光十二年(1832年)壬辰刻本·24-25.

把军队交给这个和尚，让他带队前往杀敌。结果大败，七千人的军队仅剩下七百人，其余均战死疆场。金进士因此而失势，心灰意冷。他随即决定放弃至此一直信奉的教义，埋头于工作中，并接受了圣教...将保禄（徐光启）进士作为他的教父（Padrinho）。”⁽⁵¹⁾

从葡文材料来看，首先金声与徐光启之间并非如黄一农教授所言只是泛泛之交，而是教父教子关系。⁽⁵²⁾其次，文段中所提及的“他们有一个和尚，能说善辩，令人生畏，因为处于战争时期，这个和尚甚少照顾他的信众。”应当即申甫无疑。另外，葡文材料中对申甫的描述或有些夸大的嫌疑。清人汪琬《申甫传》载：

“时权贵人俱不习兵，与刘公、金公数相左，又忌甫已白衣超用。”⁽⁵³⁾

程锡类《金正希先生年谱》亦载：

“当事者束手无策，及见先生此举复不乐，又申甫以布衣超擢，宿将皆不悦，或谓朝廷用人，后来者居上。”⁽⁵⁴⁾

申甫的擢用在朝内明显引起了不小的反应，在汪琬和程锡类的记述中，朝内人士对此多持反对意见，又何来“帝令部议此事，考察这个和尚，结果所有人均赞成。”一说？除此以外，《崇祯长编》中记述己巳中金声徐光启的交集是在1629年11月17日，崇祯在听取刘之纶意见后，擢金声为山东道御史参佐军务、刘之纶为兵部右侍郎协理京营，徐光启亦上奏请求与吴孟明分任训练京营兵。⁽⁵⁵⁾徐光启曾在1629年11月上崇祯《守城条议》中提议“其规划陪臣龙华民、邓玉函虽不与兵事，极精于度数，可资守御。亦日轮一人，与象坤同住，以便咨议。”⁽⁵⁶⁾

葡文材料中金声与徐光启“特别的情谊”很可能便早于1629年11月17日。换言之，金声与徐光启实则存在实质上、不为人知的师承关系。

(51) 董少新Dong Shaoxin：《再论西文文献与中国史研究》*Zailun Xiwen wenxian yu Zhongguo shi yanjiu*[A new study on European sources and the writing of chinese history]·《香港大学中文学报》*Xianggang daxue zhongwen xuebao*[HKU journal of chinese study] (2023) No.1.47.

(52) 徐景贤先生亦持相近论点，认为徐光启与金声之交泛泛，金声文中称徐光启“太老师”只是因徐光启地位崇高，二人并无师承关系。（详见清华大学国学研究院*Qinghua daxue guoxue yanjiuyuan*[The Tsinghua Academy of Chinese Learning]主编：《徐景贤文存》*Xu Jingxian wencun*[collected works of Xu jingxian]·南京Nanjing：江苏人民出版社*Jiangsu renmin chubanshe* [Jiangsu renmin chubanshe]·2016)·503.

(53) (清)汪琬Wang wan：《尧峯文钞》*Yaofeng wenchao*[Yaofeng banknote]Vol.34《申甫传》*Shen Fu zhuan*[Biography of Shen Fu]·(清)纪昀等编纂Ji Yun：《文渊阁四库全书》*Wenyuange sikuquanshu*[The Complete Works of The Four Categories of Wen Yuan Pavilion]Vol.1315·(北京Beijing：北京出版社Beijing[Beijing]·2012)·555.

(54) 《年谱》，第77页。

(55) 《崇祯长编》*Chongzhen changbian*[Chongzhen changbian]Vol.28·北京大学图书馆藏中央研究院历史语言研究所校印本·1590 - 1591.

(56) (明)徐光启Xu Guangqi：《守城条议》*Shoucheng tiaoyi*[Garrison opinion]·朱维铮Zhu Weizheng、李天纲Li Tiangang主编《徐光启全集》*Xu Guangqi quanji*[Complete Works of Xu Guangqi]Vol.2《守城条议》*Shoucheng tiaoyi*[Garrison opinion]·(上海Shanghai：上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House]·2010)·107.

金声早年师从罗喻义(黄江),罗喻义是万历四十一年癸丑科进士,与同年进士孔贞时素有来往。(57)同科进士中,孔贞时、张宗衡(58)俱出自徐光启门下,徐光启亦参加了癸丑科会试(59),任考官,(60)曾因是否取鹿善继、张宗衡二人与魏广微发生争执,事后告假往天津屯田。换言之,罗喻义参加会试时很有可能与张宗衡同为徐光启所取,罗、徐二人之间是门生座主关系。由此一来,金声称徐光启为“太老师”便顺理成章。

另外,崇祯元年(1628)罗喻义与徐光启俱任詹事府詹事、充日讲官,罗喻义另外负责教习金声等庶吉士,金声可能便是此时由罗喻义介绍而结识徐光启。

金声在《城南叶氏四续谱序》中提及的“泰西宿儒”可能就是龙华民或邓玉函,理由如下:

首先,从金声文集中《城南叶氏四续谱序》中所体现的耶儒会通思路来看,金声对天主教的理解仅仅只是作为儒学的补充,如金声从龙华民处受洗入教,对待耶儒关系态度较利玛窦更激进的龙华民当不能无视金声这种态度,这也就解释了为何金声对天主教义抱有好感,却是在己巳之变后“放弃迷信,受洗入教”。

其次,徐光启在崇祯四年(1631)10月21日日所上《钦奉明旨敷陈愚见疏》中称金声“调取澳商,终不得已,宜悉如上年旧事,其统领教士俱在登、莱宜听登抚斟酌,差官伴送前行。其特遣官则在告御史金声,忠猷夙著,亦习夷情,宜起补原职,遣官趣赴广省。”(61)即说明金声与传教士之交谊,徐光启是知情的。

最后,金声同乡后学叶世寅在为《年谱》所作跋中言“公有脑主记忆之论,为世人所鲜知,汪詒庵之《本草备要》、王勋臣之《医林改错》皆著其说,而儒者不传。”(62)。“脑主记忆”一说源自利玛窦之《西国记法》,与儒者所识“心主记忆”相悖,金声此论当得自传教士之口,而邓玉函亦精于医。

在厘清文段人物的前提下,结合金声生平对其受洗时间进行推断可知金声当在1630年刘之纶战死,即己巳之变结束后受洗,这似乎符合黄一农教授的论点。然而,前文中我们已通过对金声的生平考证得知直至1632年底,金声一方面信仰天主教,另一方面也与佛教关系暧昧不明。

然而,金声对天主教的青睐也是不可抹去的事实。那么通过金声留下的“蛛丝马迹”分析金声是如何看待天主教及教义,或许能够帮助我们探析这位士大夫的思想世界。

以金声《城南叶氏四续谱序》为例。金声在该序中采用了儒耶会通的方式赋予叶氏家谱之修撰以更深远的意义:

“翁之为斯谱也,所以作谱之意,诸家言之尽矣,余又何云。而余适与泰西宿儒论学,颇相感触其言,万物最初一大父母,今四海之内皆为兄弟,回念而爱其大父母,遂相推心以及,此兄弟而相爱焉,此大旨也。或曰:信若此,则何为其戛戛于一姓,而家谱是珍,不亦隘

(57) (清)张廷玉Zhang Tingyu:《明史》Ming shi[History of The Ming dynasty]Vol.4 No.216(长沙Changsha:岳麓书社Yuelu shushe[Yuelu Bookstore],1996),3127;(明)孔贞时Kong Zhenshi:《在鲁斋文集》Zailuzhai wenji[Zailuzhai collected works]Vol.1《送同馆罗湘中年兄还益阳》song tongguan Luo Xiangzhong nianxiong huan Yiyang[Send classmate Luo Xiangzhong back to Yiyang],南京图书馆藏崇祯四年孔尚豫刻本,19。

(58) 《徐光启年谱》中有“张宗衡为昔年公所取士”等语,详见朱维铮、李天纲主编《徐光启全集》卷9《徐光启年谱》,上海:上海古籍出版社,2010年,第283页。

(59) 万历四十一年癸丑科主考官为叶向高、方从哲。(详见(清)彭孙贻Peng Sunyi:《明朝纪事本末补编》Ming chao jishibenmo bu bian[Supplement to the Ming Dynasty Chronicle]Vol.2《科举开设》Keju kaishe[Keju kaishe],涵芬楼秘笈本,24。)

(60) 王重民Wang Chongmin:《徐光启》Xu Guangqi[Xu Guangqi],(上海Shanghai:上海人民出版社Shanghai renmin chubanshe[Shanghai renmin chubanshe,1981],177。

(61) (明)徐光启Xu Guangqi:《钦奉明旨敷陈愚见疏》Qinfeng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu[Qinfeng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu],《徐光启全集》Xu Guangqi quanji[Complete Works of Xu Guangqi]Vol.3《钦奉明旨敷陈愚见疏》Qinfeng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu[Qinfeng mingzhi fuchen yujian shu],146。

(62) 《年谱》,第119页。

乎？曰：物之不齐，物之情也，君子观於同人之象而反得类族辨物，故亲亲有杀，古谓之天秩，天秩定而万物各得其所，夫是之谓大同，比而同之，是乱天下也。泰西不为是說，学尊性命而明物察伦，断断焉，井井焉，其必不可意假借而私游移，吾喜其与吾中土圣人大道往往符合也，爰无差等，则墨矣，由斯以观，谱义大矣。”⁽⁶³⁾

在引文中，金声先引用了天主教“万物最初一大父母，今四海之内皆为兄弟，回念而爱其大父母，遂相推心以及，此兄弟而相爱焉。物之不齐，物之情也。”然而，金声并没有顺着天主教义的逻辑往下论述，而是将话锋转向了古儒学说：“君子观於同人之象而反得类族辨物，故亲亲有杀，古谓之天秩，天秩定而万物各得其所，夫是之谓大同，比而同之，是乱天下也。”从语言的前后逻辑来看，这两段话中透露出的逻辑是无法衔接上的，天主教义中人由天主所创造，故而对于天主来说人与人之间没有区别，亦因此诞生出了源自天主教的平等观念，而“亲亲有杀”强调的正是人有亲疏远近、上下尊卑，是与前文完全相反的论断，面对这一差距，金声用了一句“君子观於同人之象而反得类族辨物”来解释它。也就是说，金声认为天主教义有益于当时社会，故而不存门户之见，即便是天主教义与儒学义理存在矛盾和冲突，依旧存在能够调试和融合的地方，这也就解释了为什么在金声眼中，原本耶儒二家义理冲突之处却成了“吾喜其与吾中土圣人大道往往符合也”。

如同晚明诸多士大夫，金声不仅与传教士（“泰西宿儒”）有所交往，而且还相互“论学”。金声对于天主教的教义与思想颇为“感触”，认为天主教与儒家思想相一致。因而在金声的思想世界中，我们可以看到与天主教思想颇为类似之处：

“教之衰也，各道其道，非吾圣人所谓道也。吾所谓道，率性焉者也。亦各性其性，非复吾圣人所谓性也。吾所谓性，天命焉者也。”

朱子曰：人皆知己之有性，而不知其出于天。天者万物之大，大不可得而名，強名之曰天，成形之大者莫如天也。物之不齐，物之情也，至于天而大统同矣，主伯亞旅差焉，而统之于父母，卿士大夫差焉，而统之于君王，无不齐而为万有不齐之所自出也，是为天，以其命于人，是之谓性。

天之与地，乃其两大位也，两大位尤其两相悬绝者也，两大位定，而后可以定万物之位。定万物之位，而后万物可以各得其所而育，是故定天之位，而人之生乃莫不受命于天，受命于天，而后役使万物而宰制之，置此身于万物中，作平等观，而天叙叙之，天秩秩之，皆其相与并育于地上者也，而自天以下无不举矣，是故学莫先于知天，莫大于事天。”⁽⁶⁴⁾

从上述引文来看，首先，金声将道和性归根于天命，认为“天”乃不受人为意志影响的客观存在，主宰着人的生活。同时，金声也没有如理学家一般完全将“天”视作机械的自然存在，而是赋予了“天”一定的人格色彩，“天”给予“人”权力以“役使万物”，“人”和“物”之间的不平等和差别亦是由“天”所制定的。此种将天赋予人格神特征的思想在晚明清初颇为流行。

其次，在社会关系上，金声则认为万物之间存在的差别对于“天”而言是不存在的，正因为“在天”面前，万物之间不存在差别，所以才会有“主伯亞旅差焉，而统之于父母，卿士大夫差焉，而统之于君王”，在社会中臣子、兄弟虽有差别，但君王、父母亦可将前述二者一视同仁。这种理解与天主教义中引申出平等的“圣爱”是近似的，但在其中又蕴含着传统儒家“物之不齐”的思想。在承认人与人之差别的

(63) 《文集》卷6《城南叶氏四续谱序》，第590页。

(64) 《文集》卷9《天命之谓性》，第637 - 638页。

基础上树立起一个更高存在，以更高存在的视角将差别消弭，这很可能就是金声从天主教义中借鉴的思想。

那么金声为何会对西来天主教青眼有加，或许就与他一直所追寻的理想人格有关。海门和尚曾直言金声对修行的痴迷：

“此公是一个汉，为道为友之心，人所不及，惜乎修行习气重。”⁽⁶⁵⁾

金声亦自称对天主教之青睐主要在于修行、义理方面：

“又声思路本粗莽疏阔，敬服西儒，嗜其实学，乃在理道及修行法律。”⁽⁶⁵⁾

又，金声少时便立志追求“圣人之道”，修成理想人格：

“(万历)二十九年辛丑，先生四岁。……先生遂问：孔子何如人？(朱震宇⁽⁶⁶⁾)曰：圣人。(金声)曰：今在何处，吾往拜之。(朱)曰：孔子山东人，今已死两千余年矣。(金)曰：今日仍有似孔子者乎？(朱)曰：无矣。先生即哭不止，比归家，夜不能食。爱山翁怪，问其故。先生曰：吾哭孔子死，今日无圣人耳。爱山翁曰：汝何不学孔子？次日复问朱师曰：人做得圣人否？(朱)曰：可。(金)曰：作圣人行何道理？(朱)曰：贤者识其大者，不贤者识其小者，孔子集其大成，故作圣人。(金)曰：今有贤人否？(朱)曰：贤人何时无之？先生乃喜曰：我此生有圣人分矣。”⁽⁶⁷⁾

金声自始至终未停止过对他心目中理想人格的追求。或许是其少时受到师长启发，金声认为成为“圣人”，不仅仅在于个人的道德自律和修为，更在于与“贤人”的交往和学习。所以在有关金声的各种史料中，我们才会发现他与诸多贤士高僧往来求学的记录，而天主教相较于心学、理学甚至佛学更为严苛的规诫与修行制度，对于孜孜追求“作圣”的金声来说充满了吸引力。《耶稣会士在亚洲档案》似乎很完美地印证了黄一农教授的“崇祯三年入教论”，然而笔者近日在明末名僧汉月法藏的年谱中发现一处细节，又将问题带回了原点：

“崇祯三年(1630年)庚午…诸士绅请(汉月法藏)住大别…答西空道人问道书、王观察志坚问道书、答严司寇一鹏问道书、答金太史声问道书。”⁽⁶⁸⁾

根据相关文献记载，1630年正月以后，汉月法藏依次旅行至娄江、汉阳等地，这封《答金正希太史问道书》至少是在当年年中，亦即《耶稣会士在亚洲》档案中所载金声入教前后。由此可见，将讨论局限于金声是否入教这一问题，其本身就是无意义的。

我们应该抛弃今人“非此即彼”的观点来考察金声的交往与信仰。金声喜好西学西教，并不妨碍其与佛教之间的交往；同样，佞佛的金声也不会将西学西教拒之门外。因为对于金声来说，无论是儒家，

(65) 陈垣：《休宁金声传》，第101页。

(66) 朱震宇为金声蒙师，金声文集中有《寿震宇翁朱老师九表序》可证金声与朱震宇师生关系。(详见《文集》，第593页。)

(67) 《年谱》，第65页。

(68) (明)法藏Fa Zang说；弘储Hong Chu记：《三峰藏和尚语录》Sanfeng Zang heshang yulu[Recorded utterance of Hanyue Fa Zang] Vol.16《三峰和尚年谱》Sanfeng Zang heshang nianpu[a chronicle of Hanyue Fazang's life]，径山藏版藏Jin Shan cangban：《嘉兴大藏经》Jia Xin dazangjing[Sutra Collection of Jia Xin]Vol.34·NO.B299(台北Taipei：新文丰出版社Xinwenfeng chubanshe[Xinwenfeng Publishing House]·1987)，607。

还是佛教，抑或是西学西教，均是其“希天作圣”之资源，有助于其实行理想人格。因此，金声对于“竺乾、天主皆师侍之”：

“先生姓金名声字正希，瓠山人，幼攻儒业，名振艺苑，登崇禎戊辰进士列庶。尝嗜性命之学，乾竺、天主皆师侍之。彼后又有禅宗冒易学而儒其名者，先生亦迎之入。夙夜无懈，不亚曠昔之师庐山老衲（宗宝道独）也。盖先生生而聪慧，务欲立正厥宗，闻其人必致之，宛得何常师家法，凡以一其学，非褻也。”⁽⁶⁹⁾

除金声本人之外，金声的师友中亦不乏与天主教有过互动的士大夫。金声之师葛寅亮常年从事于佛学，为云栖株宏门下弟子之一，处于佛教立场的他对天主教教义并无过多好感，但仍对传教士所宣扬的以天主教为基础所建构的西方社会及道德秩序心生向往：

“予往日于都中见利玛竇，述其国主皆系传贤，号为教化王。……其教如不祀祖，及杀食之说，虽大悖谬，而国主相传之法则甚善。……若再用舜禘尧之法，庙祀传若父子，则人心必愈相安矣。”⁽⁷⁰⁾

综上所述，如果我们将早年金声在佛教、天主教之间的游离简单定义为信仰反复的话，那便完全无法理解金声为何会在其与天主教的信仰“蜜月期”又频繁与佛教僧侣往来求学。只有当我们跳出“非此即彼”的视角，就会发现金声对于宗教并非如我们所理解的那样，只会择其一而从之。在晚明三教合一思想的大背景下，带有“排他性”的天主教依然成为金声追求理想人格的道德资源。《城南叶氏四续谱序》与《上徐玄扈相公》直接表明金声与传教士之间的交往，就在于其认为天主教的思想与儒家之道相一致，而且天主教在科学、修行等方面为金声所青睐。实际上，不只是金声，其他士大夫如冯应京、曹于汴、熊明遇、方以智、瞿式耜等亦持有类似思想。

余论：熊开元“诬友”及熊撰《金忠节公传》

陈垣先生曾在《休宁金声传》中提出熊开元“诬友”一说，认为熊开元在其所著金声传中刻意隐瞒金声的天主教信仰，甚至将金声“污蔑”为佛教徒。黄一农教授则提出了与陈先生相反的论点。熊开元是否“诬友”，尚不得证，但熊撰《金忠节公传》、熊开元文集与金声有关的记述确实存在着矛盾之处。现根据黄一农教授文中所引用熊撰金声传，兹列举如下：

一、熊开元《金忠节公传》中载：

“壬申（1632年），还嘉鱼，觉大师已示寂，公造其庐，用泰西教，不礼佛菩萨像，独拜师神主，哭不辍。鱼山曰：先师故事佛，子骏不然其所事，而哭之恸，独何与？公曰：祇觉先师遗训率由无蔽，他非所知也！坐定寒暄毕，鱼山力斥泰西学非是，至手口交作，气惊一座。”⁽⁷¹⁾

意即金声于1632年觉来大师葬礼时采用天主教丧仪，拒绝礼拜佛菩萨像，仅拜觉来大师神主牌位。然而，熊开元却在《觉来大师墓志铭》中述及：

(69) (清)施璜Shi Huang：《还古书院志》Huangu shuyuan zhi[District annals of Huangu college]VOL.9《传》Zhuan[Biography]·赵所生Zhao Suosheng、薛正與Xue Zhengyu主编：《中国历代书院志》Zhongguo lidai shuyuan zhi[District annals of China college]Vol.8·(南京Nanjing：江苏教育出版社Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe·1995)·607。

(70) 葛寅亮Ge Yinliang：《四书湖南讲》Sishu Hunan jiang[Sishu Hunan jiang]Vol.2《孟子湖南讲·予往日于都中见利玛竇》Mengzi hunan jiang-yu wangri yu duzhong jian limadou[Mengzi hunan jiang-yu wangri yu duzhong jian limadou]·《续修四库全书》Xuxiu siku quanshu[Continuation of Siku Quanshu]Vol.163·影印中国科学院图书馆藏明崇禎刻本·408。

(71) 转引自黄一农：《两头蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2006年，第326页。

“师生于嘉靖乙卯（1555年）冬十一月初十日子时，崇祯王申（1632年）春正月二十七日申时示寂于白湖社。师发短，曾不除，至是，命门人手薙，凶螻如婴儿，不受刀，乃知其得于玄学者深。初止以《净明忠孝集》授开，秘之谓：余人不当与语此，故罕有知者。甲戌冬（1634）十一月十一日开自京师还，与社中老宿会葬师于社之前宋家嘴。”⁽⁷²⁾

根据熊开元生平可知，熊开元自1631年任吏科给事中，后因坐周瑞豹案⁽⁷³⁾而被贬，当于1634年返乡，即上述引文中所言“甲戌冬（1634）十一月十一日开自京师还”。但是，《金忠节公传》却谓1632年正月觉来去世，金声用天主教礼仪，而熊开元与之辩论。换言之，1632年觉来去世后所举办的葬礼，金声、熊开元都在场，因此二人就丧礼有过争论。然而，据《觉来大师墓志铭》，熊开元于1634年自京师回嘉鱼，并与社中老宿将觉来大师葬于宋家嘴。这两份文献令人感到疑惑的是，熊开元所撰《觉来大师墓志铭》没有提及1632年丧礼，也没有提及熊开元是否参与了此次丧礼。然而，熊开元却在《金忠节公传》中却特意渲染其为了维护佛教丧礼，而与金声据理力争之事。

二、《金忠节公传》中曾载1632年觉来大师葬礼上金、熊之争后，金声在熊开元影响下放弃天主教，并于数月后请宗宝道独禅师至家清修。熊撰金声传中，金、熊之争的发生时间至少应该在1632年春正月末觉来大师去世之后，即最早在2月前后，而1632年夏间及八九月之后至1633年3月前金声的活动轨迹在前文已述及，与熊开元所说的数月后请宗宝道独禅师至家清修不相符合。

此非孤证。《长庆老和尚行状》提及“复徙黄岩，为金内翰正希、陈督学云怡、熊督师心开诸公所重，尝造室问道请说法，师一意岩隈，无出世志。迨瀛山雪公歿，粤孝廉张荊公黎美周，谋诸内阁象岡何公宗伯、秋涛陈公，力请师住罗浮，开博山法门。”⁽⁷⁴⁾此即表明很可能在雪公智闾（即瀛山雪公）去世之前，即1637年10月11日之前⁽⁷⁴⁾，宗宝道独一直处于清修之中，金声曾拜访宗宝道独求法，并非如熊开元所谓的延请宗宝道独至家清修。又据金声文集，金声延请宗宝和尚的时间实际上是在1637年冬11月：

“丁丑（1637年）冬十一月，先生延庐山宗宝和尚至家别馆，师礼之，限一矣，相对逾月，师以故去，先生独坐矣房，日夕静究，意念所至，濡笔直书，堆几积笥不可数，计变革时散佚，简存此二条，先生自注，尾云以上俱正月初八日。”⁽⁷⁵⁾

(72) (明)熊开元Xiong Kaiyuan:《鱼山剩稿》*Yushan shenggaoy*[Remaining manuscript of Yushan]·Volume I,Vol. 8《觉来大师墓志铭》*Juelai dashi muzhiming*[Epitaph of Master Juelai]·上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House]:《清人别集丛刊》*Qing ren bieji congan*[Collection of Literary Works of the Qing Dynasty]·(上海Shanghai:上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House]·1984.photocopy)·659.

(73) 此处熊开元坐周瑞豹案被贬时间，《明史·熊开元传》、《明史·毕自严传》梳理周瑞豹案始末可知，周瑞豹考选案导致时任户部尚书的毕自严下狱，后为吴甘来上疏所救，至崇祯八年方复官，时任吏科给事中的熊开元以及御史郑友元被贬外赴任，熊开元拒任不赴。是故，此处熊开元坐周瑞豹案之时间即决定了熊开元身处何地，而《明实录·崇祯长编》中载崇祯五年王申五月（1632）毕自严上疏时仍称其为户部尚书，故而周瑞豹案虽具体发生时间不明，但当于1632年五月之后，也就是说在此之前熊开元仍在京任吏科给事中。（见（清）张廷玉Zhang Tingyu等编：《明史》*Ming shi*[History of The Ming dynasty]Vol.256《列传第144》*Liezhuan No.144*[Biography No.144]·(北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company]·2011)·6611；《明史》*Ming shi*[History of The Ming dynasty]Vol.256《列传第146》*Liezhuan No.144*[Biography No.144]·6669；《崇祯长编》*Chongzhen changbian*[Chongzhen changbian]Vol.59·北京大学图书馆藏中央研究院历史语言研究所校印本·3398.)

(74) 见（清）陈梦雷Chen Menglei、蒋廷锡Jiang Tingxi:《钦定古今图书集成博物汇编神异典》*Qinding gujin tushu jicheng bowu huibian shenyi dian*[Qinding gujin tushu jicheng bowu huibian shenyi dian]Vol.193《僧部列传六十九·智闾》*Sengbu liezhuan No.69-Zhi Yin*[The 69th Monk Biography·Zhi Yin]·蓝吉富主编Lan Jifu:《大藏经补编》*Dazang jing bubian*[Dazang jing bubian]Vol.66, No.88(台北Taibei:华宇出版社Huayu chubanshe[Huayu]·1985)·644.

(75) 《文集》卷9《语录下》，第566页。

可以发现，熊开元在金声传记中存在着时间错乱的严重问题。因此，熊开元所撰金声传记确实如陈垣所谓的存在着诸多问题。又如邵长蘅在《明翰林院修撰金公传》提及：“邵长蘅曰：熊尝为公作传，自诩知公，谓：“欲公千百世存，非予不可。”予友吴允嘉持熊传示予，芜秽拖沓，殊不成文。”⁽⁷⁶⁾

是故在考察金声的宗教信仰以及生平事迹时，完全依赖于熊开元所撰《金忠节公传》可能会有较大问题。金声所撰《城南叶氏四续谱序》以及《上徐玄扈相公书》，是被学者判断金声入天主教的主要证据，而熊开元所撰《金忠节公传》似乎进一步确证了这个推论。然而，此三份文献还不足以充分证明金声曾受洗入教。熊开元所撰《金忠节公传》在可靠性上存疑，而且在此传中，熊开元只是谓金声用泰西礼、不拜佛像。熊开元有意突出金声“叛佛入天主教”的形象。实际上，仅根据熊开元所提供的信息来看，此时金声是否受洗入教还未可知。即使金声拒绝拜佛像，也只是表明金声可能受到天主教的影响，有意恢复儒家古礼，因此只拜木主。换言之，金声在觉来大师丧礼上坚持用古礼，可能是受带有复古倾向的天主教之影响。熊开元可能对此大为愤怒，因而将其原因归结为金声已经受洗加入了辟佛的天主教。

民国时期的英华、陈垣、方豪等学者因为自身的倾向，而判定金声曾受洗入教，无非是为天主教信仰张目，带有一定的扬教心态。黄一农依据熊开元所撰《金忠节公传》再一次确定金声曾入教，却忽视了熊开元所载信息自身的不合理之处。董少新根据《耶稣会士在亚洲》档案确定了金声曾受洗入教，但中文材料又证明同时间段内金声与佛教的来往。

因此，我们在讨论金声与晚明天天主教的关系时，势必要跳出是否曾受洗入教的“怪圈”。毫无疑问的是金声确实受到天主教以及西学的影响。即使金声曾受洗入教，也并不妨碍他与佛教之间的交往，如同晚明时期的其他士大夫，金声希望从西学西教以及其他思想资源中汲取养分，从而为其“希天作圣”以及实现修齐治平提供有益补充。

(76) (清)邵长蘅Shao Changheng:《青门麓橐》*Qinmen lutuo*[Qinmen lutuo]Vol.15《明翰林院修撰金公传》*Ming hanlinyuan xiuzhuan Jin gong zhuan*[Ming Imperial Academy compiled Jin Zhengxi's Biography]·四库全书存目丛书编纂委员会编Compilation Committee of Siku Quanshu Cataloguing Series]:《四库全书存目丛书》*Sikuquanshu cummu congshu*[Siku Quanshu Cataloguing Series] Jibu,Vol.248《邵子湘全集三十卷附录邵氏家录二卷》*Shao Zixiang quanji 30juan fulu Shaoshi jialu 2juan*[Thirty Volume of Shao Zixiang's Complete Works Appendix Two Volume of Shao's Family Record]·(济南Jinan:齐鲁Qilu shushe[Qilu Publishing House]·1997)·13.

English Title:

A New Probe into the Relationship between Jin Sheng, an Important Minister in the Southern Ming Dynasty, and Western Learning and Western Religion

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Abstract: Jin Sheng was an important figure who participated in the political and literary circles actively in the late Ming Dynasty. His blurred standpoint in religious belief is often difficult to verify. Mr. Chen Yuan once proposed that Jin Sheng dedicated himself to the church for his whole life since he was baptized between the fourth and the seventh year of Tianqi (1624-1627), whereas Mr. Huang Yining believes that he might join the church during the second year and the third year of Chongzhen (1629-1630), then converted to Buddhism in the fifth year of Chongzhen (1632).

Based on the relevant sources, I will replenish and discuss in detail of former scholars's research including both conclusions from the research of Mr. Chen Yuan and Huang Yining. This essay argues that Jin Sheng who lived in a chaotic time at the end of Ming Dynasty, maintained an open-mind, regard the beliefs of Catholicism and Western learning as instrumental way to pursuit the ideal personality, thus to carry out the Confucianist's aspirations of Self-Cultivation, Family Regulation, maintaining State Governance, bringing Peace to All Under Heaven.

Keywords: jinsheng, Catholicism, Western learning

比较宗教文化研究

Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies

现代性视野下的路德与卢梭⁽¹⁾

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摘要: 从现代性的宏大视野来审视宗教改革家马丁·路德和启蒙思想家卢梭的思想, 这是一个全新的尝试。尽管神学家路德与启蒙哲人卢梭的思想理论在立场和方法上有着实质性的差异, 但在现代性语境下, 二者共同涉及到启蒙运动的一些主题, 并在理性、自然、自主、自由、人格、信仰及宗教理解等方面作出了深刻的论述。同时, 二者对启蒙思想的某些反思性和批判性洞见, 又为现时代对现代性危机的思考提供了有益的启示。

关键词: 马丁·路德 卢梭 现代性 理性 自由

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在西方文明的发展历史上, 现代社会的形成经历了漫长的时期, 包括一系列重大的历史事件, 公认的有文艺复兴运动、宗教改革运动、地理大发现、自然神论、启蒙运动、法国大革命、英国工业革命、科技革命等。严格地说, 西方社会在制度、文化和思想层面的现代特征主要是启蒙运动造成的, 政治制度的民主化、经济制度的市场化, 社会治理的法治化, 构成了现代国家的基本制度架构。文艺复兴运动关于人与自然的双重发现(布克哈特语)和宗教改革运动新教原则的确立, 对于西方现代性思想的形成产生了深远的影响。本文拟以宗教改革运动领袖马丁·路德和启蒙思想家卢梭为例, 以现代性视野来审视二者思想之间的关联, 同时透视出新教与现代性的内在联系。

一、

德国宗教改革运动领袖马丁·路德(1483-1546), 是典型的过渡时期人物, 介于中世纪与现代之间, 其思想包含两个时代的精神要素。1517年《九十五条论纲》之前的青年路德, 思想上深受经院新学唯名论的熏陶, 在问题和论域上呈现出与中世纪一致的色彩, 如恩斯特·特洛尔奇(Ernst Troeltsch)否定宗教改革运动的现代意义, 主张早期新教思想和中世纪神学精神的一致性, 认为路德所提出和解决的问题都属于中世纪范畴,⁽²⁾这是目前国际路德学界和历史神学界研究的热点。《九十五条论纲》, 特别是1520年改教三大檄文发表之后, 成熟期的路德思想呈现出了与中世纪的断裂性, 其关于上帝、教会、世界、自然、人的看法都对现代西方世界产生了深远的影响, 如卡尔·霍尔(Karl Holl)在其著作《宗教改革运动的文化意义》一书中, 便探讨了路德领导的宗教改革运动和世俗、政治和经济生活的关系, 以及其对教育、历史、哲学、诗歌和艺术等文化领域的影响。⁽³⁾曼弗雷德·霍夫曼编辑的著作《马丁·路德与现代心

(1) 本文的写作受到南开大学亚洲研究中心一般项目“宗教改革运动的现代性意义研究”(AS1910)的资助, 同时接受了2022年“南开大学文科发展基金项目”的资助。

(2) 参见特洛尔奇的1891年的博士论文《论约翰·格哈德和梅兰西顿的理性和启示概念: 对早期新教神学史的探讨》(Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Johann Gerhard und Melancthon: Untersuchung Zur Geschichte der Altprotestantischen Theologie)。

(3) 参见Karl Holl, *The Cultural Significance of the Reformation*, Trans. by Karl and Barbara Hertz and John H. Lichtblau, New York: Meridian Books, INC.

灵》,汇集了二十世纪主要路德学者关于路德与现代心灵中自由、宽容、人性、人权、革命、思想和社会相通的探讨文章。(4)新近出版、由杰尼弗·霍肯伯瑞·扎格惹斯编辑的著作《魔鬼的娼妓》,汇集了关于路德与哲学间关系、路德对大陆哲学传统的影响,以及当今时代中路德派哲学家的探讨文章。(5)

让·雅克·卢梭(1712-1789)是与伏尔泰和孟德斯鸠齐名的法国启蒙思想家,其思想中关于人本性自然意义上的自由、平等和尊严,基于公意和社会契约的人民主权理论,由怜悯和自爱的自然情感社会化为道德良心等观点,凸显了现代性的基本价值。按照当代政治哲学家列奥·斯特劳斯关于现代性的分期,卢梭是第二次现代性浪潮的发起者,特别强调德性、理性、道德的自由、历史和自然、自然的自由和善之间,有一条不可逾越的鸿沟。作为晚于路德两百余年的加尔文宗教徒,卢梭在《山中来信》中明确地重申了宗教改革的原则,虽然他在自己的文本里没有提及路德,但却在宗教信仰领域继承了路德的新教原则。法国新托马斯主义者雅克·马里坦(Jacques Maritan),在其思想史著作《三改革家》(Three Reformers)中提出路德发现了人格(the Human Person),笛卡尔发现了思想(Thought),卢梭发现了自然和自由(Nature and Liberty)。令人惊讶的是,马里坦认为卢梭并没有在直接意义上受加尔文及其神学的影响,天主教的影响也是极为肤浅和表面的,反倒是继承了路德的新教精神。“尽管卢梭的乐观主义和路德宗的悲观主义形成了鲜明的对比,但是,在新的形势和条件下,他复活了路德古老的精神,他与路德精神之间的承嗣性,在其早期教育中,要比他与加尔文主义的历史关联更值得思考。”(6)马里坦还认为卢梭完成了由路德开启的无需基督教会基督教形式即福音的自然化,并通过情感神秘主义实现了佩拉纠主义异端,从而缔造了一种极端败坏的自然主义的基督教情感形式。(7)由此,马里坦将卢梭视为宗教改革家,和路德一样的先知,对后世思想的影响具有深远意义。可见,卢梭思想与路德具有精神上的一致性,二人具有共同的思想基础。

首先,二者均是新教徒,面对着来自天主教会的谴责和迫害,大胆地坚持自己对福音和《圣经》的理解,猛烈批判天主教教义及其制度。自路德在1517年10月31日在维滕堡教堂大门上张贴《九十五条论纲》以来,在与红衣主教迦耶坦和莱比锡的约翰·艾克的辩论申诉不能取得成效之后,教廷遂将路德定为异端,希望其能撤销自己的错误言论和著作,然而,路德在1520年发表的改教三檄文,猛烈地攻击罗马教会对德意志民族的经济剥削和教皇的赦罪权,否定教皇和公会议宣告教理的权力,破除了罗马教会的三道城墙,即教权高于俗权,教皇有权召开宗教会议,惟独教皇有权解释圣经。鉴于路德的言论和著作,严重损害了教会和教皇的权威,会产生教会分裂的后果,教皇利奥十世(Leo X)于1520年6月十五日发布《主啊,求你起来!》(Exsurge Domine),斥责路德为异端,称其为上帝“葡萄园里的野猪”。随后,路德的著作遭到焚毁。1521年1月3日,教皇正式革除路德的教籍。路德基于福音真理和上帝之道发动改革教会的初衷,乃是要纯化信仰,缩减圣礼,纠正罗马教会纠缠世俗利益造成的弊端,建立廉洁的德意志自治民族教会。自1529年斯拜耳国会以降,路德成为抗议派的领袖,领导制定了1530年的《奥格斯堡信纲》,在教义、教会组织和崇拜形式与天主教拉开距离,奠定了路德派及新教的基础。在受到天主教迫害的同时,路德一直发表反教皇的论著,如1544年《斥魔鬼所创之罗马教皇制》,称教皇为敌基督者。

卢梭生于日内瓦,自幼接受了家庭的加尔文信仰。1728年受华伦夫人影响,卢梭改宗天主教,华伦夫人本想让卢梭以神甫为职业,并送其进入神学院学习,但他似乎并不感兴趣,退学后以抄写乐谱为生。1754年,卢梭返回日内瓦,重新加入加尔文教,恢复公民身份。1762年,因为《社会契约论》和《

(4) 参见Manfred Hoffman·*Martin Luther and the Modern Mind: Freedom, Conscience, Toleration, Rights*, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1985.

(5) 参见Jennifer Hockenbery Dragseth·*The Devil's Whore-Reason and Philosophy in the Lutheran Tradition*·Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011;

(6) Jacques Maritan·*Three Reformers: Luthe-Descartes-Rousseau*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, p94.

(7) Jacques Maritan·*Three Reformers: Luthe-Descartes-Rousseau*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, p147.

爱弥儿》而受到巴黎最高法院和索邦神学院的谴责，卢梭被指责为用理性审视宗教的查禁，企图建立纯粹人性的信仰，是亵渎宗教的“自然神教”先知。与路德不同，卢梭还招致了日内瓦小议会的惩罚，著作被查禁，因摧毁基督教及其政府而被通告拘捕。卢梭深受十七至十八世纪自然神论的影响，力图在理性的基础上寻求合乎人性和社会需要的普遍宗教形式，并以普遍的理性宗教来批判基督教，认为符合启蒙精神的宗教形式便是公民宗教，效法基督的福音宗教是道德理想的最高形式，他强烈批评以天主教为代表的僧侣宗教，批判天主教的精神权威和组织妨碍了国家主权的独立。

当然，作为宗教改革家，路德不只是神学教授和圣经注释者，他也是信众的牧者，经常布道和教育青年，留下了大量精彩的布道词。作为改教领袖，他既要维护新生教会和福音精神，需要得到新教诸侯们的政治支持，又要与其他教派进行教义上的争辩，如与茨温利就圣餐形质意义的辩论，同时要面对极端改革派的责难，农民起义军称路德为躺在亲王怀中的“睡椅博士”和“猫腿博士”。卢梭作为一名独立的启蒙思想家，崇尚自然主义和寂静主义（*quietism*），但又批评法国启蒙思想家狄德罗和爱尔维修的无神论。卢梭虽然对人性持乐观的态度，但对科学艺术能否促进道德改进持悲观的立场，与启蒙思想家关于人类通过教育不断进步的信念格格不入，伏尔泰因卢梭反对在日内瓦建剧院而讽刺他为“高贵的野蛮人”。

其次，二者都将基督的精神与人文精神相互结合。路德的神学乃是基督中心论的，其称义神学的主旨便是强调救恩依赖基督里的信，而非教会和个人的善功。路德提出“信者皆祭司”和三个惟独（惟独圣经、惟独恩典、惟独信心）的改教口号，都是要强调上帝救恩的主权和特殊恩典的决定性作用，破除了教会对救恩的垄断，灵魂拯救问题根本上是个体与上帝间的关系问题。在救赎论问题上，路德始终认为救赎是个体灵魂的事务，与外在习俗、权威和行为无关。路德在青年时代也深受人文主义学术的影响，文艺复兴运动崇拜古典希腊的科学与艺术的复古氛围，使他将基督教精神的探讨回溯到福音书和使徒时代，法国新约学者勒弗费尔和旧约学者罗伊希林的圣经注解对路德的圣经注释和翻译提供了很好的方法论指导。⁽⁸⁾瓦拉对教廷伪造文献的揭露，为路德批评教皇制度及其权威准备了很好的武器。路德在基督教福音精神和信仰基础上，吸收了当时基督教人文学者的诸多精神，如人在受造世界中的独立价值和尊严，上帝面前人的平等和自由，人的理性和良心的重要价值，人有权解释圣经并持守自己对圣经的理解等等。

而卢梭则是在人文理性的基础上来融摄基督精神，他接受了自然神论的几个简要教义，如上帝存在，人有敬拜上帝的道德义务，人有自由意志，需要为自己的行为后果负责，在此基础上，上帝在末日根据人的行为善恶给予相应奖惩。卢梭认为人类宗教如基督教是纯粹的精神宗教，只关心天上的事物，基督徒并不以尘世为其祖国，只允许人们做虔诚的信徒。他否认基督的神性，仅把耶稣视为人性完善的道德楷模，人类宗教是内在的自然宗教，没有庙宇、祭坛和敬拜仪式，只有内心对上帝的虔诚崇拜和履行永恒的道德义务。人类宗教的现实例证是《福音书》中所说的纯洁而朴素的有神论宗教，它代表自然的神圣权利。与路德不同，卢梭基于人的独立、自主、尊严、平等和自由的启蒙精神，以自然理性和道德良知来审视基督教教义和精神，在社会层面倡导公民宗教，将内在的神圣虔敬外化为对国家保护和神圣律法的服从，从而铸造了一种普遍适合人性和社会的基督宗教，统一了基督的精神和人文精神，佐证了斯特劳斯关于西方现代性不过是圣经信仰的世俗化的论断。接下来，我们将从启蒙精神的主题词分别展开二者现代性思想的论述。

二

当代政治哲学家列奥·斯特劳斯在其《现代性的三次浪潮》中，指出现代性的特质：“现代性乃是世俗化了的圣经信仰；彼岸的圣经信仰已经从根本上此岸化了。最简单的表述就是：不再希冀天国的生活，而

(8) 关于路德与人文主义学术之间的关系，参见拙文《马丁·路德与人文主义》，载于《世界宗教研究》，2017年第1期。

是要通过纯粹属人的手段，在尘世上建立天国。但这正是柏拉图在他的《理想国》中声称要做的事情：通过纯粹属人的手段，来消除尘世上的所有邪恶。”⁽⁹⁾据此，现代性首先是对人的自然性自我和世俗社会生活的肯定，人依靠自己而非超越者来决定自己的生活和行为，从而形成了自主性的自我，独立自主的自我也是自由和自律的自我，基于对人性尊严和价值的尊重，运用人的自然理性能力，构建合乎人性的社会生活，对各种现实的宗教存在保持宽容立场。启蒙运动奠定了西方现代性的基本价值，其主要主题自我、自由、自律、平等、博爱、宽容、理性、良知和人性尊严构成了现代性的精神底色，而路德和卢梭的思想在这方面也有相关的论述。

1、自我

相较于中世纪，现代西方关于自我的理解发生了实质性的转变。按照当代社群主义哲学家查尔斯·泰勒在《世俗时代》中的看法，西方文明自宗教改革以来的500年内，呈现出与1500年前不同的面貌，主要是形成了一种与古代世界的可渗透自我 (porous self) 不同的现代性的缓冲自我 (Buffered self)，前者指自我容易受到宇宙灵魂或神灵等超越力量的影响，并在观念和行为上做出相应的回应；后者指自我已经确立了自己与超越者或力量的边界，自我超脱于充满神灵与魔力的世界，不对其开放、渗透，也不受其伤害，故而去除了世界的魔魅，摆脱了可渗透自我所遭遇的种种恐惧状态，对依靠自己的力量确立道德秩序有着充分的信心。泰勒认为现代性的自我即缓冲的自我，“能够形成一种超脱的抱负，即要超脱于边界之外的任何事物，要将属于它自己的自律秩序赋予它的生活。恐惧的缺席恰恰不是可被享受的，而是被视为自我控制或自我导向的机会。”⁽¹⁰⁾缓冲自我虽然肯定了人有超脱的可能性，但亦非完全在精神和道德上断绝与超越者的联系。

路德对于西方现代性自我的形成至关重要。尽管路德关于人的原罪、善功无助于拯救、恩典和信心的救赎功效、唯名论上帝莫测意志与全能、人神通过信心联合的神秘性、人在上帝面前的恐惧和战栗的论述，以及德意志民间信仰萦绕其心魂，表达出可渗透自我的一面，但是，他通过信仰确立的内在性原则和宗教改革主观性原则却是通往缓冲自我的重要一环。路德是现代性意义上“精神性自我” (spiritual self) 确立的先驱，黑格尔将宗教改革运动称为人类精神的日出。因着信仰，这个自我从托马斯·阿奎那所描述的中世纪“存在之链” (the chain of Being) 中脱颖而出，剔除一切中介，建立了人神之间的直接关系。如《大教义问答》中的名言：“信仰与上帝同在”，可以为证。路德也从人的角度来谈信仰和上帝，离开人，信仰便是不可能的。他说过“信仰创造神，不是在上帝的位格里，而是在我们这些常人里。”⁽¹¹⁾我信 (credo) 确立了宗教信仰领域的主体性 (subjectivity)，信仰必须成为我这个独特而又无法取代的个体的信仰，无人能代替我去信仰。教会、团契、其他信徒的信仰能坚定个人的信仰，却无法代替人去信仰。“基督徒有其个人权利。他为自己而不是代表别人信仰”。⁽¹²⁾信仰使得人成为绝对的个体、自我或主体。

路德关于信仰与上帝之道，人造信仰与真正信仰，人的信仰和神的信仰、信仰与经验相对峙的探讨，无不体现出精神性的自我反思。信仰与经验之冲突带来了苦恼、麻烦、试探和失望，必然让人心充满困惑和怀疑。天真无邪并非信仰的本质特征，人的信仰能力很低，信仰并无确切的把握并肯定自己的存在。“这种事情时有发生，其实这种事情在信仰中是常见的。那些声称信仰的人其实一点也不信仰。那些不认为自己信仰的人，在绝望中的人，其实有最笃实的信仰。”⁽¹³⁾ 鉴于信仰的超越性和内在性，路

(9) 列奥·斯特劳斯：《现代性的三次浪潮》，转引自汪民安、陈永国、张云鹏主编，丁耘译，《现代性基本读本》，河南大学出版社，2005年，第158页。

(10) 查尔斯·泰勒：《世俗时代》，张容南等译，上海三联书店，2016年，第48页。

(11) WA 40 I (Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 88 Bände, Weimar, 1883. 以下同), s.360.

(12) WA 19 · s.648.

(13) WA 26 · s.155.

德发现并确立了超脱于外部世界的内在的精神性自我，这个自我包含着绝对无限的上帝之道（绝对真理）并为其所决定。

卢梭哲学以认识人性及其义务为主旨，“成为你真正的自我”，这是卢梭一生的座右铭。卢梭继承了自然宗教的基本精神，通过自然神论和机械宇宙观，排除了可渗透自我与外在世界的通融关系，否定了上帝对除道德义务之外的人类精神和世俗事务的影响，走向无求于外的人文主义。卢梭基于灵魂和肉体的形而上学二元论，设定了人的自然性自我。自然状态的我拥有自爱和怜悯这两种自然情感，使其独立维生且不会伤害别人。而社会状态下，在理性的资助下，人要抵制文明对人性的败坏，将自然情感转化为公民的良心。良心是一种自然的能力和情感，社会化了的人身上产生的良心源于两种情感的结合：一种是将自身同他人联系起来的自然情感（如怜悯），另一种是以自我为中心的自然情感（自爱），因此，良心是内在、自然和自发的。社会化的人的自然情感与原始人的自然情感有着同样的方向，但却被人类的完善所取代，良心是怜悯心的一种公民化形式。卢梭认为人的本质在于良心，良心是人有别于动物的根本标志。卢梭高声赞美道：“良心呀！良心！你是圣洁的本能，永不消逝的天国的声音，是你在妥妥当当地引导一个虽然蒙昧无知然而却是聪明和自由的人，是你在不差不错地判断善恶，使人形同上帝！是你使人的天性善良和行为符合道德。没有你，我就感觉不到我身上有优于禽兽的地方；没有你，我就只能按我没有条理的见解和没有准绳的理智可悲地做了一桩错事。”⁽¹⁴⁾在承认良心作为人的根本自我的同时，卢梭的乐观人性论也使得他认为可完善性是人类的根本特征。

2、自由

现代性自我的根本特质在于自我的自主性和自由性。自我超脱于外在的世界，建构自己的内在思想和精神世界，自主地决定自己的行为并承担行为的后果，服从普遍的自然、社会和道德法律，获得自由。自由作为人类追求的目标和权利，成为启蒙运动思想的中心议题。卢梭有言：“人生而自由，却无往不在枷锁之中。”对于路德而言，自由首先是摆脱罪，因信称义，灵魂获得救赎，与上帝和解。因着上帝的特殊恩典和上帝之道中的真理，得到自由，胜过罪、死亡和地狱。藉着内在的信仰自由，路德奠定了新教的自由原则。路德以悖反的方式表达了基督徒的自由：“一个基督徒是一个主宰一切的自由者，不服从任何人；一个基督徒是一个对一切都尽职尽责的人，服从所有人。”前者讲的是信心里的自由，后者讲的是爱心里的自由。经由信心的自由，路德提出“信者皆祭司”，实现了人人在上帝面前平等，消除了神圣秩序和世俗秩序造成的地位和身份的差异。现实中人的社会地位和身份差异来源于职分的区分。每个人在上帝面前都是自由和平等的，同为上帝的儿女。黑格尔在《历史哲学》中曾盛赞由路德发动的宗教改革运动为人类带来了精神自由的曙光，正是通过新教的主观性原则，在基督教日耳曼世界，人类发展的历史目标即自由完成了。“日尔曼帝国的第三个时期了，这个时期‘精神’开始知道它是自由的，这就是说，它以真的永恒的东西为意志——以在自己和为自己的普遍的东西为意志。‘自由’已经有了方法来实现它的‘概念’和真理，这便是世界历史的目标。”⁽¹⁵⁾

对于路德自由观所彰显出来的新教主观精神自由原则，当代德国改革宗神学家于尔根·莫尔特曼在《俗世中的上帝》如是说道：“信仰中在上帝面前的自由，在国家之前的宗教自由，在教会之前的良心自由……因此，新教的命运和自由的命运在将来的社会中可能是相同的。自由所在之处，就是新教的立足之处。如果新教放弃了自由，那么新教的精神就荡然无存了。”⁽¹⁶⁾基督徒的自由不是宰制，而是意味着团契。选择性的自由即按照人的意愿去做或不去做，这在形式上属于宰制的概念，如现代个体主义的自由，人是自己的主人，完全属于自己。相反，自由的人性概念则源于团契的语言，具有沟通性和社

(14) 卢梭：《爱弥儿》，见《卢梭全集》，第七卷，李平沅译，商务印书馆，2012年，第47页。

(15) 黑格尔：《历史哲学》，王造时译，上海：上海书店出版社，2006年，第101页。

(16) 莫尔特曼：《俗世中的上帝》，曾念粤译，中国人民大学出版社，第202页至203页。

会性的层面，自由基本上等同于“友谊”：完全成为自己，做自己，意味着完全自由，但人是社会性的存在，即使不把他人当地狱，也得面对他人，只有在他人认识我，并按照我原本的样子接纳我，我才能做自己。在我的生命为他人敞开，并认可他人的他异性，同时也喜欢与他人在一起时，我才是自由的。人类的自由将通过相互的认可和接纳而实现。在人群中，他人不是我个人自由的限制，而是我这个受限的生命的补充。人类自由的社会面和沟通面，即是团结一致、友谊或爱。莫尔特曼关于自由的实质和团契性的论述，实际上是重述了路德关于自由是自主性与爱的统一的观点。

在卢梭看来，人生而自由，自由是自然的绝对要求，任何形式的对人的权威的服从都是与自然相悖的。当然，卢梭不仅把自由当作天赋人权，还谈及信仰自由、道德自由和社会自由。信仰的自由完全继承了新教的自由原则，卢梭在《山中来信》明确表示赞同宗教改革的原则，人有不服从外在权威（教会、教义、圣经、启示、奇迹）的自由，在宗教事务上人是自己的主人。道德自由指实践意义上，自由意志遵从理性和良心所认识到的上帝诫命，与本性里的恶欲相区分，听从良心的指导去行善，尽自己的道德义务，摆脱因嗜欲冲动而陷入的奴隶状态，服从自己为自己所规定的法律，成为自己的真正主人。社会自由指人在平等的基础上建立契约，形成有别于个人意志总和（众意）的公意，公意体现为法律，使得人们作为主权权威参与者，参与国家的政治事务，享受公民应该拥有的正当权益，从而成为国家的主人。

在自由观上，卢梭似乎更重视现实中的自由权利，自由乃是要在自我和社会中实现自主性。而路德更注重内在的精神自由，着重灵魂救赎的宗教事务。自由实际上涉及到内在性与外在性的哲学问题，在路德是律法与福音的关系，卢梭以及其后的康德继续面对这一问题，分别以自主性和自立法来做出回答，路德的信心和卢梭的良心都具有使意志服从律法的能力。总而言之，二者的自由观都体现出自律的启蒙精神，即反对权威主义，以理性与良知作为真理和行为的仲裁者，凡是没有理性证据作为根据的任何信念，人没有接受的义务。上帝的意志和戒律只能转化为一般法则，成为普遍合乎理性的行为原则，才能得到遵奉。卢梭在信仰自由、道德自由和社会自由中凸显出的自主性，贯彻了自律的精神。而路德在理性起主导作用的世俗领域，也同样主张理性对自由意志的控制。

3、理性与自然

在现代性语境中，在人类灵魂的诸多功能中，理性能力被置于核心的位置。理性是人性中的自然禀赋，自然的就是合乎理性的，也就是植根于事物本性之中的东西。启蒙运动特别强调要使人摆脱依附状态，公开地运用理性来管理人类自身的事务。著名启蒙思想家康德曾言：“启蒙运动就是人类脱离自己所加之于自己的不成熟状态。不成熟状态就是不经别人的引导，就对运用自己的理智无能为力。当其原因不在于缺乏理智，而在于不经别人的引导就缺乏勇气与决心去加以运用时，那么这种不成熟状态就是自己所加之于自己的了。Sapere aude！要有勇气运用你自己的理智！这就是启蒙运动的口号。”⁽¹⁷⁾

路德的理性观念内涵要比启蒙思想的理性观要宽泛得多，他划分了人与上帝关系中的理性与世俗王国中的理性，受造时作为恩赐礼物给予人的理性、堕落后罪人身上出现的理性、新生的基督徒生活中的理性。

理性首先是上帝的恩赐，是造物主赐予人的天赋。人凭借理性与其他受造物相区分，并以主人的身份照管整个地球，管理世俗事务。理性是所有文化的源泉和载体，它发现并掌管艺术、科学、医药和法律，人们在现世生活中有智慧、力量、勤奋和尊严的地方就有理性的存在。理性是人按照上帝形象被造的一部分，路德非常强调他的威严，理性的任务就是规范和改善现世生活。理性在属世的事情上拥有最高权威，自身包含着判断和决定正确规范与否的根据，这些事情上，《圣经》、讲道和神学都无能为力。堕落之后，人并未丧失理性能力。只是因罪恶的染污和辖制，理性受到世界的种种辖制和束缚。人

(17) 康德：《历史理性批判文集》，何兆武译，商务印书馆，2009，第23页。

强化自我意识和自信心，以自我为中心，自义并自我荣耀，夺取了上帝的荣耀，不再顺服上帝。堕落之后的理性是“肉体的”，看不清楚上帝、人的真实本性、处境和人的罪。这个理性也接受伦理和宗教的知识，拥有自然律，拥有关于上帝的一般启示，但却无法理解上帝之道、福音、称义、道成肉身、基督神性、三位一体、称义、同时是罪人和义人。只有重生的基督徒生命才能理解这些，获得圣灵启示而成为自由人时，才会抛弃理性的罪恶自大，受罪歪曲的理性才会被道更新，顺服上帝的意志，变成神学的有用工具，帮助信仰去正确理解和阐释《圣经》。

路德对理性作出的划分基本上具有理性的批判意义，但是他也因过分污蔑和贬斥理性的话语而为后世诟病为反智主义者，如“魔鬼的娼妓”（Devil's Whore）。其实，这与路德作为布道者、论辩家和自由的语言修辞风格有关，路德主要从救恩论的立场批判理性的僭越使用，在恩典和信仰的领域，理性的确无能为力。1517年的《反经院神学论纲》和1518年《海德堡论纲》，路德明确批判了经院神学的伦理学基础，认为亚里士多德的获得性义德和西塞罗的正义原则所包含的理性正义观，遮蔽了宽恕罪恶的上帝之义的本义，还极为夸张地称亚里士多德之于福音，犹如黑暗之于光明。从宗教学的立场上来看，宗教学创始人麦克斯·缪勒就将信仰视为有别于感觉和理性的固有天赋，哲学家康德对纯粹理性的适用范围做出批判，他提及限制知识以为信仰留出地盘的说法，实际上也是从学术的严谨立场表达理性对于信仰事务的无能。

作为启蒙思想家，卢梭基本上肯定了人类理性的重要作用，尤其表现在他对信仰证据的要求上。“因为，信念之所以坚定不移，正是由于经过了理解；一切宗教中最好的宗教一定是最为明白的；对我宣扬宗教的人要是使宗教带上矛盾和神秘的色彩，反而使我对那个宗教发生怀疑。我所敬拜的上帝，不是一个黑暗的上帝；他既然给我理解的能力，便绝不会禁止我利用这种能力；因此，谁要我抛弃我的理智，谁就是在侮辱创造理智的神。真理的传播者不仅不压制我的理智，反而会启发我的理智。”⁽¹⁸⁾与马基雅维利、洛克和霍布斯等第一波启蒙思想家不同，他从道德实践的角度对理性或理智展开了批判。他认为与良心相比，理性会愚弄人。理性作为道德基础不充分，理性会犯错，而且反映出人的自私自利，单凭理性无法克服个体善和共同善之间的矛盾。“单凭理性是不能发挥作用的，它有时候可以约束一个人，但很少能鼓励人，它不能培养任何伟大的心灵，要那些卑微的心灵一刻不停地推理，势必会使他们疯狂。”⁽¹⁹⁾作为情感主义哲学家，卢梭在道德义务领域看到了理性的限制，理性使人知善恶，却无力使人爱善和行善。他所说的良心是人灵魂中生而固有的正义和道德的原则，用以感觉是非善恶。良心是灵魂的声音，听从良心就能克服败坏的欲念，服从良心的指导就是依从自然，不会迷失方向。卢梭反对将道德的基础建立在理性之上，而应建基于自然情感。

路德虽然强调良心和理性的重要性，如沃尔姆斯帝国会议上对皇帝发言人的答复所宣示的那样，但在信仰和上帝之道面前，属人的良心仍然是不充足的。良心的谴责意味着上帝的审判。信仰与经验的对峙中，信者只该相信福音，摆脱自己的感情和良心的谴责。我们应与自己的良心去作战，去相信基督和福音对罪的宽恕，而不是相信自己的良心。“现在，把你的良心和情感转向基督，他不会欺骗我们。让我犯罪的心和撒旦都成为骗子。……你对你的良心和感情的信仰不要超过对上帝的道的信仰，那是接纳罪人的主讲的。……你可以与你的良心对抗，说：你在撒谎，基督说的才是真理。你说的不是。”⁽²⁰⁾

马里坦称卢梭是自然的圣徒。自然就一般意义而言，在经验意义上指一种倾向性和习性，自身并不存在矛盾；形而上学意义上，指包含某种目的、结局的本质。卢梭混淆了自然的经验和形而上两种含义的区别，并建造了自然的神话。自然是事物的原初状态，事物应该停止于其中，应该恢复原状，以与

(18) 卢梭：《爱弥儿》，见《卢梭全集》，第七卷，李平沅译，商务印书馆，2012年，第64至65页。

(19) 卢梭：《爱弥儿》，见《卢梭全集》，第七卷，李平沅译，商务印书馆，2012年，第103页。

(20) WA 27,s.223。

其本质相适应。自然是本质的需要，神圣地处于事物之中，是受造物要实现的某种原初状况，或前文明和前社会的状态。

在人性问题上，启蒙思想家对人性都持乐观主义的态度，视基督教原罪论为落后的中世纪观念，认为人性和人类经过启蒙和教育，会走向进步和文明，人类社会会进入理性和自然协调一致的理想境界。卢梭缔造了自然之善的教义 (dogma of natural goodness)：人类生命的前文化和前理性建制的原初状况和原初条件，必然是善、无辜和幸福的，人性本身处于一种善好的状态。显然，卢梭将人性的自然状态与《圣经》中人类受造时被上帝视为完好的情形等同起来。

路德论述过人类的败坏和世界的罪恶，对人性 and 世界持悲观主义的中世纪立场。但如果从人的有限性来理解原罪，辩证的观点来理解上帝对人类的奇妙旨意，从路德生命中洋溢的人性光辉，我们会发现，基于基督教的立场，他同样肯定人性的可完善性，即救赎论意义上的成圣和灵魂的最终拯救，于超自然的立场来救治和包容有缺陷的自然人性。在人性问题上，路德与卢梭存在立场上的对峙。神学人类学的人性观和人本主义的人性观，在面对艰难的存在处境，如政治迫害、婚姻、家庭、教育等问题时，不同的取舍，都反映出人本主义人性观的脆弱。

自律是启蒙运动的标志，反对权威主义，以理性与良知作为真理和行为的仲裁者，凡是没有理性证据作为根据的任何信念，人没有接受的义务。上帝的意志和戒律只能转化为一般法则，成为普遍合乎理性的行为原则，才能得到遵奉。卢梭基于人本主义的立场，在信仰自由、道德自由和社会自由中凸显出的自主性，贯彻了自律的精神。路德虽然基于神本和神律的立场，但在理性起主导作用的世俗领域，他亦同样主张理性对自由意志的控制。

4、宗教理解

路德作为基督教神学家，基本上从基督教信仰和《圣经》的立场来理解宗教，在他的眼里，只有耶稣基督身上体现出的上帝之道才具有宗教意义上的真理性。就基督教而言，他秉持上帝之道的启示神学立场，主张因信称义，强调上帝恩典的先在性和决定性，否定善功获救的宗教实践。在谈及犹太教、伊斯兰教等其他异教时，路德主张应用上帝之道而非武力对待异教或异端，体现出了宗教宽容的启蒙精神。路德对爱德的论述，对日常生活的肯定，反映出基督教的人性和社会性关怀。

卢梭倡导的是自然宗教，通过自然的景象和内心的呼声，获得对上帝深刻的观念。如果人类都只在心里倾听上帝所说的话，世界上就只有一种普世的理性宗教。上帝所要求的崇拜便是内心真诚的敬拜，上帝所希望的，是受到人们精神上真实的敬仰，这是一切宗教、国家和民族应该有的天职。基督教是与自然宗教最相符合的实定宗教，是最合理和圣洁的宗教，卢梭只以圣经和理性为信仰唯一的原则。最真实的宗教是最具有社会性和人性的宗教，即公民宗教。“公民应当尊奉的宗教信仰的条款必须简单，条款要少，措辞要精确，而且不加任何解释和注释。全能的、睿智的、仁慈的、先知而又圣明的上帝是存在的，每个人都有来生，正义的人得福，恶人必受惩罚，社会契约与法律是神圣的。正面的条款就这么几条；至于反面的条款，我认为只应当有这么一条，那就是：不宽容。”⁽²¹⁾经过自然神学宗教宽容思想的熏陶，卢梭秉持人道的立场来看待基督教各派和其他宗教。至于宗教的终极目标，卢梭说道：“宗教的根本在于实践，不仅要善良、悲悯、有人情味、会施舍的人，而且一个人真的做到这一点，也就是信仰神的，足以得到救赎。”⁽²²⁾

在宗教理解方面，二者对宗教的看法体现出神学和哲学的本质区别。神学的自上而下的恩典救赎，与哲学上通过道德和精神自下而上的自力完善之路，始终贯彻在二者思想发展过程之中。由此，我们便可理解到卢梭被教会和神学家指责为佩拉纠主义，或是冉森派中的莫利纳主义。

(21) 卢梭：《社会契约论》，见《卢梭全集》，第四卷，李平沅译，商务印书馆，2012年，第169页。

(22) 卢梭：《致博蒙书》，吴雅凌译，华夏出版社，2014年，第74页。

三

在西方现代文明和现代性语境的塑造过程中，路德和卢梭都起到了不可估量的重要作用。路德发起的宗教改革运动构成了西方现代文明的起源，他破除了对体制性教会等外在权威的无条件顺服，将基督教建基于客观的上帝之道和内在的个体信仰之上，倡导个体基于神人关系上的内在信心自由，主张宗教意义上个体的自由和平等权利。路德关于基督徒的自由、众祭司皆是信徒和做邻人的基督等观点自然蕴含着启蒙精神中自由、平等和博爱的精神；其“两个王国”理论关于政教关系的讨论，划定世俗权力和精神权力（教会）的界限，结束了中世纪教会与世俗国家纠缠不清、权责不分的状态，消除了教会干涉世俗政治的种种弊端，使教会更加专注于精神和道德领域。改革后的政教分治的基督新教形式适应了现代民族国家的需要，对现代民族国家政教分离原则的形成具有奠基性的意义。

在现代性思想家谱系中，卢梭是极具重要性又极其复杂的一位。基于人类社会制度的分析，他找到了克服人类不平等的根源，在缔结社会契约的基础上，公民通过参与法律的制定来实现政治意义上的自由、主权和平等；他热烈追求自由，力图破除束缚人性的各种障碍或染污，恢复人的自然本性，基于自然理性和良心来实现内在的心灵自由。卢梭提倡的公民宗教和宗教宽容，也是现代社会中宗教自由的现实实现形式。

现代性的核心是维护个体的自由、保障公民个人的权利、义务和尊严，以此为基础建构法制社会、市场经济和民主政治。自启蒙运动以来，西方现代文明在殖民化和全球化过程中逐渐成型。然而，西方现代文明中存在的问题在其巅峰时期便有所绽露，从斯宾格勒振聋发聩的《西方的没落》开始，到崛起于二十世纪的后现代思潮，诸多西方人文社科和艺术界的思想家都重新审视了西方现代文明所带来的种种问题，对西方现代文明引发的危机展开了批判性思考，构成了“现代性”问题。在现代性的反省中，启蒙运动确立的人的主体性和理性的至上性被绝对化了，从而导致了人类中心主义意义上人对自然的宰制，以及主客二分的思维方式。对于人类理性、自主性和尘世繁荣的盲目自信，在世俗化时代得到了强化。当今社群主义哲学家查尔斯·泰勒在《世俗时代》一书中归纳出了当今世界三种世俗化类型：1、与超越上帝的关系退出了社会生活的中心位置，世俗化的空间形成。2、信仰及其实践的衰落。3、信仰被赋予新的形态，对道德和灵性的探讨被置于新的语境中探讨。“新语境的特征在于：它结束了对超越领域、对人间福祉（human flourishing）之外的目标或主张的天真承认。天真远离任何人，无论是信者，还是不信者，信仰不再成为一种需要遵从的习俗或传统，在世俗化空间中要面对置疑和检验。”⁽²³⁾现代文化发展出的无求于外的人文主义，造成了现代性的隐忧（melody），即缺乏意义的充实感（fullness）。信仰、超越性、普遍性真理、无限性对于现代人生命意义的充实不可忽视。

超验世界在现代人精神生活中的退隐进一步削弱了个体灵魂在精神层面与绝对精神性实体的更深层次联系，从而稀释了人的人格性和人的尊严。从基督教的立场上来看，人被赋予了上帝形象和样式，因而人性本具有神性。但由于无求于外的人文主义力图凭借理性自身来构造自己的道德和精神生活，这就使得人对自身的塑造走向了两个进路：一是通过纯粹理性自身在道德领域赋予人格神圣性和尊严，这是少数人能够选择的道路；另一个是依靠道德情感和良知获得内在的人性光芒，但却在物质追求和世俗生活中走向迷失，将人格性贬抑为个体性，这是大多数民众实际行走的路径。当代新托马斯主义者雅克·马里坦就曾指出现代性的危机在于人格性（personality）堕落于个体性（individuality）。他严格区分了人格与个体两个概念，“人格凭藉自由来达成人的尊严和人格性，其基质是精神性和不朽的灵魂，绝对独立于一切稍纵即逝的想像物和一切机械的可感现象机制之外。个体化与此相反，其原则在于区分，它导向物质和宇宙的碎片化，最终产生了现代社会中的个人主义（Individualism），自由个体为着自

(23) 查尔斯·泰勒：《世俗时代》，上海三联书店，2016年，第27页。

己，自己捍卫自己、自己拯救自己，造成了文明自杀。”⁽²⁴⁾伴随着人格蜕变为个体，个人主义滥觞于自由的名义下，漠视超越的普遍原则和价值规范，使得单子式的个体在其生存困境中，面临价值虚无和存在遗忘的危机。

对于现代性危机，我们重读路德和卢梭。马丁·路德关于信仰与理性、上帝之道与人之道、上帝之义与人之义、上帝国度与尘世国度、福音与律法、恩典与善功等二分法（dichotomy），将批判的矛头指向属人属世的一切，力图在人神关系中建构超越性的信仰、真理、精神和道德世界，以抵制人性的堕落和世俗的败坏。卢梭算是较早对启蒙思想做出批判性反思的启蒙思想家，他的成名作《论科学与艺术》，开宗明义地批判了科学艺术的进步繁荣对人类道德的败坏，他对人性自然状态的诗意憧憬，对理性和良知的区分，强调情感和道德对于人性完善的重要性，在公民宗教中为人类精神确立神圣道德空间。二者对启蒙运动的自觉或不自觉的反思，无疑向世人传达了这样的信息：缺乏内在深度的自我中心主义和个人主义，最终无法持久挺立于世界。成为一个有德性的人，即有人格、尊严和上帝形象（荣耀）的人，追求永恒的真理、自由和无限，要比人世的繁荣兴旺要更为可取，这或许就是路德和卢梭思想在启蒙语境中对于今日世界的最好启示。

(24) Jacques Maritan, *Three Reformers : Luthe-Descartes-Rousseau*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, p24.

English Title:

Martin Luther and Rousseau in the light of Modernity

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Abstract: It is a brand new attempt to examine the thoughts of the religious reformer Martin Luther and the Enlightenment thinker Rousseau from the grand vision of modernity. Although the ideological theories of the theologian Luther and the Enlightenment philosopher Rousseau are substantially different in terms of their own position and method, in the context of modernity, they two touch upon some key themes of the Enlightenment movement such as “reason”, “nature”, “autonomy”, “freedom”, “personality”, “belief” and etc., and have made a profound discussion. Meanwhile, they two have some reflective and critical insights into Enlightenment movement, which in turn provide useful enlightenment for thinking about the crisis of modernity in our times.

Keywords: Martin Luther, Rousseau, Modernity, Reason, Freedom

中国文化传统与世界主义

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摘要：世界主义乃一种理想，而不是现实。它是分散的理论，而非系统学说。它有许多异名。它从古代到近现代不断趋于完善，也不断接近实现，已经在国际上部分实现。孔子曾倡“大同世界”。孙中山发扬了“天下为公”的观念，他吸收了西方社会主义者的“普世观念”。“世界政府”的观念乃形成于近代。组织“主权国家联盟”，共同维护和平，消除战争，这是先哲的理想。本文只是就世界统一的理念加以梳理，并无任何实际可行建议。这是理论观念，不是实际操作。中国近代学人学了西方思想，然后用以检视华夏典籍，从中寻觅新思想，乱故纸堆，精神诚可嘉，收获亦丰，颇能启发民智。我们应当视野恢宏，面向世界更具先进博大精神的思想家。

关键词：国际主义；大同世界；世界政府；法制；民主；世界公民

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世界主义 (cosmopolitanism) 是一种很古老的哲学理念和社会学说。世界主义是市民社会、航海工商文明、私有财产制度的产物。它通往市场自由经济。它主张全世界、全人类乃一国际大家庭，此种共同利益高于家族、民族、国家的利益。国际公准应以世界人类利益为旨归。它反对民族利己主义，并主张设立世界政府以约束地方政府的行为，同时亦保护种族群、团体、个人的利益不受伤害。这些都类似于“发挥联合国的作用”的理想。国际维和部队、国际红十字会以及无国籍者的行动、跨国市民社会运动，均与此种理念有关。吾人应遵守成文与不成文的国际章程，把自己纳入先进法制民主国家行列，成为世界大家庭的一员，而非游离于先进文明法制之外。如今，“天下主义”等语词已被淘汰，但它的思想精髓实质仍存在。名称可以与时俱进，但名实相符，实质一样。大家所讨论的，都是名词与概念。但这些讨论，却关乎现实，改造现实。

古往今来，不少优秀学者曾提倡“四海一家”、“大同世界”的理念。“国家主义”则被斥为一种狭隘的民族主义思潮，它强调国家至上。国家主义通过灌输抽象的国家观念和“爱国”精神，以维护狭隘的民族利益。人类三大联合形式—家庭、部落、国家—自古被认为是自然的，但自从社会契约论以来，国家便被认为不过是约定的。

一 马克思主义者与世界主义

拉斯基理论概述

英国工党“民主社会主义”理论家拉斯基[1] (H.J. Laski, 1893-1950) 说:共产主义 (communism) 要靠全世界各地同时爆发革命，才能成功。他认为，在马克思主义 (Marxism) 看来，民族主义 (nationalism) 是资产阶级堡垒的一部分。共产主义者主张“必须克服爱国主义 (patriotism)”，因为，工人的真正祖国是他们的阶级。国家政治组织是剥削的机器。第一次世界大战中，许多国家的工人以“保卫祖国”的

名义参战，背离了共产主义初衷。可是，俄国的工人却掉转枪口，推翻本国统治者。拉斯基说：“服从民族主义，就是对工人阶级的最大不忠。” [2]不忠，就是背叛。

英国马克思主义者拉斯基的话乃是对国家主义 (nationalism) 面孔的勾勒：“现代国家是一种主权国家；其意义就是国家除了自身的意志之外，没有其他意志可以束缚它的目的。主权在法律上的意义就是完全的权能。国家可以随它的意愿媾和或作战。国家可以建立自己的关税、限制移民入境、决定国境内的外国人的权利，不必和它的邻国协商，也不必理会什么公道的原则。这一切，许多国家都做到了。为了保卫或扩展自己的权力，没有一种罪恶它们是不准备去犯的。”他又说：“承认民族统一为国家，就意味着个人自由的破坏和对国际正义的违背，除非我们能够找出限制民族国家行使权力的方法。” [3]因此，国家主义的基础就是排他性，也就是在国际关系中丧失道德品质。这在第一次世界大战中为自己国家呐喊助威声中可以听到。国家主义的恶果是个人自由丧失殆尽，国际正义遭到践踏。

作为共产主义的信奉者，拉斯基预言：民族国家的主权终将消失，而这意味着人类的协调一致。他说：“放弃民族国家的主权，就是放弃侵略的权力” [4]。他预言：“世界不同民族的人们，都能在伟大的共同事业之前消释偏狭的成见，通力合作，以从事于国际政府的工作”（这里，“国际政府” (International government) 类似于联合国 (United Nations) ），他认为，这个政府是国际的真正领导者。这使人想到美国 (the United States · United States of America) 。合众国，这个名称就不是原来意义的国家，而是超国家，世界国家。因此拉斯基说，一个英国人会由于他是“世界公民” (citizen of the world) 而更完善。因而他认为，一个“世界国家”的概念正在形成，尽管是缓慢的。他看到，原来的民族国家的主权，同国际社会是势不两立的。世界正朝着“国际政府”的出现发展。他认为“国际联盟 (League of Nations ” [5]就是对无限地行使民族国家主权的限制 [6]。

第一次世界大战以后，斯堪的纳维亚 (Scandinavia) 各国放弃自己的主权，拉斯基认为，他们的国际地位并没有丝毫屈辱，因为拉斯基认为，那里的人民是世界上最幸福的人民。拉斯基说：“承认一个国家，假使主权也包含在内，那是和一种公正的国际关系体系不相容的，并且，这也和被认为对于国际社会中各成员国都有约束力的那种国际法的观念不相容” [7]。他甚至说：“民族国家主权的全部含义，就是容许破坏文明的胡作妄为”。他认为，国家的目的，应当是为着全人类的目的，应当是为其成员谋福利。然而，他认为，国家主权的概念，却违反了国际幸福的需要。世界需要高于民族国家的权力机构。当一个民族国家的行为牵涉到别的国家时，民族国家便无权成为自己行为的仲裁者。

当前，随着全球化的发展而兴起的全球市民社会运动 (Global Civil Society) ，方兴未艾。德国马克思主义哲学家哈贝马斯 (Jürgen Habermas · 1929-) 说：“世界公民权利必须加以制度化，并对所有政府都具有约束力，国家共同体 (例如国际社会——本文引者) 必须以制裁作为威胁，至少能够督促他的成员做出合法行为。” [8]康德认为，国家主权不可逾越。但哈贝马斯认为，世界公民权利的实质是：它超越一切国际法主体，深入到个别法律主体。哈贝马斯认为，我们正走向全球一体化，超乎国家民族之上的机构正在增加。

中国较早接受马克思主义的文化人大都采取世界主义观念。这与后来的国际主义、国际共运异曲而同工。世界主义与共产主义有相近之处。二者都倡导“世界一家”、“万民同体”，全人类走共同道路。共产主义相信国家将最后消失，但对将来是否还有政府并未给予否定。可以肯定，人类的演进不可能彻底消灭政府。因而世界政府的存在是必要的。各国政府将成为它的地方政府。共产主义主张通过暴力革命推翻旧的国家机器，并在社会主义这个过渡阶段实行专政。然而从社会主义到共产主义将是平和的演进，是自行过渡的。总之，暴力将最终消失。从世界主义观点看，在一个世界国家中，犯罪仍将存在，因而世界法庭不会消失。世界主义的目的乃在以国际大家庭制止国家的犯罪行为。

20世纪初期中国马克思主义者的世界主义

中国早期的马克思主义者都奉行世界主义观念，因为这和共产主义、国际工人运动、国际工人协会(International Workers Association)、“全世界无产者”、英特那雄纳尔(internationalism)、共产主义在各国同时实现有关。资本主义使各国人民命运与共，这必然导致世界主义。不过初期所谓共产主义“在各国同时发生”，仅限于欧洲，甚至是西欧，并不包括落伍的俄国和我们挚爱的清王朝大帝国。

秦邦宪(Qin Bangxian, 1907-1946, 又名博古, Bo Gu)在“国际主义和革命的民族主义”中引述“革命的民族主义者”孙中山(Sun Yat-sen, 1866-1925)的话：“我们要知道世界主义是从什么地方发生的呢？是从民族主义发生出来的。我们要发达世界主义，先要民族主义巩固才行。如果民族主义不能巩固，世界主义也就不能发达。因此便可知，世界主义实藏于民族主义之内。”秦邦宪认为，这说明在孙中山那里，民族主义包含了国际主义(即世界主义)。由此可知，中国初期的马克思主义者把国际主义等同于世界主义。但是，事实上，民族主义与世界主义二者并无因果关系。从民族主义之土壤上断乎生长不出世界主义之参天树。而且，二者成对立之势。

20世纪初期中国思想家蔡鼎成(Cai Dingcheng)在《社会主义的进行，以国家主义为手续，以世界主义为目的》(Socialism with nationalism as its formalities and cosmopolitanism as its purpose)中说：国家主义和世界主义两派“聚讼纷纭”。蔡鼎成说：“我国政治革命既成，共和之建设伊始，欲行社会主义，以国家为之引导，以世界为之极则，共产为其实行，大同为其结果。”他折衷地说：“陆行者必宜车骑，水行者必宜舟楫。国家社会主义为实行之基础，非实行之终极，而为世界社会主义的媒介物也。名称虽异，性质则同。国家主义与社会主义，前者为手段，为基础，后者为目的，为结果。”[9]然而，我们知道，国家主义与社会主义南辕北辙，由国家主义断难达到世界主义。国家社会主义以纳粹为代表，征服世界可也，遑论谋世界福利乎？这种调和主义同样难奏效果。这种调和折衷，也具有中国哲学未能彻底的特色。然而，以国家为导引，断难达到世界主义的极则(目标)。他认为，共产为其实行，大同为其结果。经过共产主义，可以从民族主义达到世界主义。用心可谓良苦。这说明，世界主义传入中国，引起共鸣，而不是反感。借他人之酒杯，浇自己之块垒，发思古之幽情，展未来之宏图，良有以也。凡此，足见中国传统文化中家国意识甚强。

马克思提出“世界历史”的思想。他认为随着世界历史的形成，过去那种地方的和民族的自给自足和闭关自守的状态被各民族的各方面的互相往来和各方面的互相依赖所代替。共产主义同世界历史紧密联系在一起。离开了世界历史，共产主义就只能作为某种地域性的事物存在。狭隘的民族历史必将走向广阔的世界历史。科学与生产的发展，使世界各民族不能不卷入世界历史的巨流。世界市场把世界联为一个整体。各民族和国家不再是封闭的、孤立的。“各个单独的个人摆脱各种不同的民族局限和地域局限，而同整个世界……发生实际联系。”[10]从这个意义上说，中国古代缺乏世界主义的基础。世界主义乃商业市场经济和环球航海的产物。

青年毛泽东(Mao Zedong, 1893-1976)说过：“以我的接洽和观察，我们多数的会友(指“新民学会”(the Institute of New Citizens会友)都倾向于世界主义。试看多数人都鄙弃爱国；多数人都鄙弃一部分、一国家的私利而忘却人类全体的幸福之事；多数人都觉得自己是人类的一员而不愿意更繁复的隶属于无意义的某一国家、某一家庭、或某一宗教而为其奴隶；就可以知道了。这种世界主义，就是四海同胞主义，就是愿意自己好，也愿意别人好的主义，也就是所谓社会主义。凡是社会主义，都是国际的，都是不应该带有爱国的色彩的。”[11]这里的社会主义，实指共产主义。蔡和森(Cai Hesen, 1895-1931)也提出“万国一致”，“不要带爱国的色彩”[12]。

“五四”时期，在中国讨论世界主义的，有两种人：早期的马克思主义者和教会神学者。“五四”前后，与马克思主义传入中国的同时，西方世界主义文化观念也如惠风拂面，从开放的国门吹进华夏。与此同时，中国一些护国保家、救亡图存心切的人却抛出“国家主义”实即民族主义的诱饵。这受到马克思主义者的批评。中国早期的马克思主义者以海纳百川的胸襟，以开放的眼光看世界，促使中国人从王朝顺民向“世界公民”的观念转化，这使“睁眼看世界”的中国人心怀更加广大。

中华民国以三民主义立国，民族主义是基石，故世界主义在民族主义者眼中乃尤物。追随孙中山的人，首先以批评的态度介绍过世界主义。从民族主义出发反对世界主义的，在中国有国民党的周佛海(Zhou Fohai, 1897-1948)。周佛海认为有两种“世界主义”释义：一、征服别国的帝国主义论，二、主张各民族平等的世界联邦论。不过我们今天知道，自古至今，世界主义乃取第二种意义。世界霸权主义不是任何意义上的世界主义。世界主义不含霸权主义与奴役弱小民族的成分。周佛海此论，取法乎孙中山：“因为世界上的国家，拿帝国主义把人征服了，要想保全他的特殊地位，做全世界的主人翁，总是站在万国之上，便提倡世界主义。”这是对世界主义的莫大曲解。因之，当时的国民党把这种世界主义等同于共产主义而加以反对。

不过孙中山、周佛海对世界主义的认识包含了极大矛盾。周佛海又表示不反对本来意义上的世界主义：表示拥护“民族主义者所主张的世界主义。这种世界主义，不仅不和民族相冲突，而且须以民族主义为基础才能实现。”我们今天知道，世界主义断不能和民族主义相调和，断不能以民族主义为基础。从民族主义断难达到世界主义的结论。周佛海又说：实行民族主义“就是实行世界主义的第一步”。真不知道这结论缘何而生。周佛海激愤地说：“如果自己民族还在别的民族宰割之下，就大谈世界主义，那不仅是民族主义的罪人，而且是世界主义的罪人。”这真是一种自相矛盾。然而我们知道，列宁和斯大林都对民族主义持批评态度。今天，民族主义也不在被宣扬之列。民族主义不包含世界主义观念。

因而孙中山并不笼统反对世界主义，更提倡别一种世界主义：“必须把我们民族自由平等的地位恢复起来之后，才配讲世界主义。”周佛海因而认为民族独立乃实行世界主义的起点。结论：“世界主义是民族主义的理想，民族主义是世界主义的实行（基石、起点——引者）。”[13]可见，世界主义同国民革命并不矛盾。“五四”时期，民主主义革命者、孙中山的追随者朱执信曾撰文介绍“超国家主义”(Supranationalism)实即世界主义。这可以帮助当时的人认识世界思潮。

瞿秋白的世界主义观念

中国早期的马克思主义者瞿秋白(Qu Qiubai, 1899-1935)则大力提倡世界主义。因为共产主义本身就意味着人类共同体和共同命运。这时在人们心目中，世界主义同共产主义是一而二、二而一的。瞿秋白对所谓“爱国者”多所微词。他恰恰批评下述观念：“中国国富而兵强之后，才能实行世界主义”。他讽刺地说：这样的世界主义，李鸿章、张之洞、康有为也会举双手赞成的。这样的世界主义，乃指望国家富强之后再举兵扫六合！

瞿秋白站在马克思主义立场上，公开批评孙中山(大意)：他要恢复民族主义，便以为民族主义与世界主义是不共戴天的。在孙中山以为世界主义不可抗拒时，乃认为世界主义与三民主义大同小异。孙中山曾说，有些新青年(他指的是“五四”后接受马克思主义的《新青年》，New Youth)以为，三民主义不合世界新潮流，世界上最好的主义是世界主义。瞿秋白说，孙中山没有勇气反对这种世界主义，而是“胡缠一顿”，说什么“康熙是讲世界主义的，因他说夷狄都可以做皇帝”。然而，皇权能属于世界主义吗？在世界主义的世界里，还容得下皇帝吗？康熙那样说，乃因为满清原是汉人眼中的“夷狄”。孙中山显然弄错了。瞿秋白又引孙中山的话：“帝国主义天天鼓吹世界主义。”不过，我们今天知

道，帝国主义鼓吹征服，并不属于世界主义范畴。掠夺他人，乃是真正的狭隘民族主义。孙中山却因此批评“新青年”是“变相的帝国主义”。

中国民主革命先行者孙中山吸收了西方学说。他说，世界主义在欧洲是近世才发表出来的，我们要保守这种精神，扩充这种精神。世界主义之输入中国，乃欧风美雨浸润之结果。然而，必须指出，世界主义乃马克思主义题中应有之义。以西方文化为背景的马克思主义、社会主义及共产主义势必同世界主义联系在一起。孙中山是旧式民族革命代表：提倡“民族主义”等三大主义。1924年，他说，英、苏俄及“五四”新文化运动反对民族主义提倡三民主义(Three Principles of the People)，认为不合世界新潮流。孙中山认为，“世界主义”在中国古已有之，即二千年前的“天下主义”。他又说，康熙是“世界主义者”。“近日中国的新青年，主张新文化，反对民族主义，就是被这种(世界主义)道理所迷惑。”但他认为，如果民族主义不巩固，世界主义也就不能发达。世界主义隐含在民族主义之中[14]。

孙中山打了个比方：一个苦力，终日在码头劳碌，一日忽中彩，兴奋之余，以为从此告别苦力，乃将竹竿连同藏在竹竿内的彩票扔到水中，彩票因而打了水漂。这好比“一个鸡蛋的家当”。彩票代表世界主义，竹竿代表卖苦力的民族主义。孙中山认为不应当以虚幻彩票(世界主义)而扔掉民族主义的竹竿。瞿秋白批评孙中山是“希望苦力最好永久用竹竿”为他们挑行李。这批评当然有些激愤。不过，在我看来，如果中了大彩(20万，即世界主义)，何必再去卖苦力(死守民族主义)呢？瞿秋白毫不留情地说，孙中山是用“宗法封建的办法，结合豪绅地主阶级的利益，以图建立豪绅的民族及其主义。”瞿秋白自己则主张“建设联邦国家(federal state)，进入无国界、无阶级的共产主义”[15]。

周恩来(Zhou Enlai,1898-1976)说：“狭义的爱国主义运动的流弊，至少对内会造成法西斯。”[16]中国自周武王大封诸侯，地方观念开始得到强化。“五四”时期，费觉天(Fei Juetian)[17]提出“国界是变的”。“世界纷争”起源于国界之划分。他认为社会主义革命要打破“国家”，达到“大同世界”。费觉天呼吁“改造国家”，进入“大同世界”。“国家底国界，一进到职业为界，就等于没有国界……打破血统的地方的界限，那世界就缚成一体，就大同了。”[18]初期社会主义者都认为在大同世界中，血统、血缘、地缘关系将被打破。中国较早接受马克思主义的文化人，大都采取世界主义。这与后来的国际主义、国际共运异曲而同工。

“五四”时期，马克思主义者李大钊(Li Dazhao, 1889-1927)提倡“人类一体的生活，世界一家的社会”，“从前家族主义、国家主义的道德”，因为是家庭经济(中国至今仍如此——本文引者)和国家经济，“断不能存在于世界经济时代”[19]。中国近代史上优秀思想家大都发扬世界主义观念。几乎所有西方空想社会主义者，都预言“国家消亡”，都倾向于世界主义，因而一般说来，世界主义在目前仍是一种理想状态。我们正全力以赴之。李大钊说：“试看将来的环球，必是赤旗的世界。”[20]

马克思主义者李大钊提倡“人类一体的生活，世界一家的社会”，“从前家族主义、国家主义的道德”，因为是家庭经济和国家经济，“断不能存在于世界经济时代”[21]。中国近代史上优秀思想家大都发扬世界主义观念。李大钊作为早期马克思主义者，曾号召打破“国家界限”。“不要常备军”、“要欧洲联邦，做世界联邦的基础”。[22]这也就是瞿秋白说的“从劳动者的联邦国家……进于无国界、无阶级的共产主义社会”[23]。中国早期的马克思主义者们大都不怀抱民族主义歧见，而是以天下为己任，对世界共产主义怀抱必胜信念。李大钊讨论了未来的世界组织和联合主义。他说：“全世界人类组织一个人类的联合，把种界、国界完全打破。这就是我们人类全体所馨香祷祝的世界大同！”[24]中国的马克思主义者从民族国家的观念下解放出来，欢迎世界历史的新时代的到来。他预言将来的环球如何如何，肯定是世界主义在激励他。

中国早期卓越的马克思主义者均反对国家主义，倡导“世界一家主义”、“世界大同主义”。这与共产主义的初衷甚相吻合。陈独秀(Chen Duxiu,1879-1942)说：“我们不是国家主义者。”他说无产

阶级本来没有祖国。孙中山指责现在提倡世界主义和大同主义为时尚早，但他从中国古书中寻找大同主义的根据。陈独秀因而说，他断不是国家主义者或民族主义者。陈独秀阐释“工人无祖国”的三层含义是：一、现今之国家不保护工人；二、全世界工人不分国界地联合起来；三、各国工人不应借“保卫祖国”的名义为本国政府卖命[25]。中国共产党内具有世界眼光的人物陈独秀热烈欢迎“世界语”。陈独秀说：“世界语之成立，非即为世界主义之实现，且世界主义未完全实现以前，世界语亦未能完全成立。然世界人类交通，无共同（公同）语言为之交通情愫，未始非世界主义之障碍。”[26]值得提出的是，抗战爆发后，陈独秀转而批评“世界大同主义”，这与当时“一切经过国民政府”，“一切服从国民政府”的政治主张一致。“五四”时期的陈嘉异（Chen Jiayi,生卒不详）自称是东方文化崇拜者。他认为，由国家主义而至世界主义，是东方文化的精髓，然而，他反对欧化，反对吸收西方文化，认为这乃是“愧对先人”[27]。这怎么能叫世界主义呢？而陈独秀却毫不含糊地尊敬西方文化，反对“尊国”，因为这会“堵塞民智”[28]。

共产主义者萧楚女(Xiao Chunv, 1893-1927)区分了两种世界主义：基督教的世界主义（一切国、族皆驯服于上帝）和唯物主义社会主义的世界主义（不承认国家、阶级、种族）。他认为，这两种世界主义，实质上都是个人主义。社会主义的世界主义以每个具体的个人为单位，体现了人类“抽象的平等精神”。我们今天的人，千万别一提到抽象的“平等”便生反感。难道我们的哲学家们不正是以抽象的概念为研究对象吗？抽象能力不正是人的知性和理性能力吗？萧楚女认为，在“消灭国界”这一点上，两种世界主义相同。萧楚女对“少年中国学会”余家菊(Yu Jiaju, 1898-1976)⁽¹⁾因反对基督教而反对世界主义提出批评，说他们是株连以人类统治人类的真世界主义，因为“谈社会主义的人那一方面所主张的人本位的世界主义确乎与基督教底神中心的世界主义不同。”[30]

伟大的东方诗人泰戈尔(Rabindranath Tagore, 1861-1941)批评西方思想是国家主义。他说，我们东方人素来不知国家为何物。他认为自己肩负“世界主义使命”。看来，“世界主义”有了版权之争。然而，实情是：世界主义绝非起源于东方。泰戈尔批评国家主义。他疾呼“不要政治，不要国家”。然而，单单否认国家，并不就是世界主义。不过，世界主义在古希腊却是年湮代远之事。世界主义一开始就同国家主义成对立之势。印度哲人泰戈尔宣传世界主义甚力。他对国家主义的批评亦不遗余力：近代科学卵的“孵”出的是国家主义。他认为当下之急务是抛弃国家主义，“各民族大联邦不久就要开始了”。与这联邦精神相悖的倾向却“不合于将来的世界的潮流”。他相信世界“合一”，“在那万物和一旦合一的地方，愚昧和顽梗是不能存在的。”“和平是在那善在的地方；善是在那合一在的地方”（Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam,合一就是和平，因为合一就是善）[31]。泰戈尔虽是印度人，却无意之中加入了“五四”文化运动的合唱团，占据了中國思想史的一页。他受到瞿秋白的欢迎。但如何达到世界主义的“无国家”的理想社会，马克思主义者瞿秋白认为泰戈尔语焉未详。瞿秋白还批评他向一群劫贼宣传仁爱。不过，瞿秋白仍旧对泰戈尔表示“谢谢”[32]。瞿秋白认为单对国家不在意，并不是世界主义。世界主义提倡只有消灭阶级，才能消灭国家，建立共产主义大同世界。瞿秋白提倡的是无国界、无阶级，但不是无政府！这是世界主义不同于无政府主义之处。共产主义预言国家消亡，但不准备消灭政府。世界主义提倡世界政府，这政府不是霸权政府，不是征服、掠夺、奴役，不是以大欺小，磨灭各族人民的特色。同时世界主义也不是提倡无国家政府。原有的国家政府仍存在，担负地方政府的职能（相对于世界政府而言）。原来的国家将部分职能转让给世界政府，正如国民个人组建政府时，将一部分权利转让给政府，而并不丧失基本人权一样。

(1) 余家菊，字景陶，又字子渊，湖北黄陂人。中国近代著名的教育家、思想家、社会活动家

二 中国文化与世界主义

世界主义乃西方舶来品，主张以世界政府和法律约束各国政府。世界主义不是皇恩浩荡，怀柔远人，泽被万邦，法外施恩。近代中国学人自西方引进世界主义，又从华夏古籍引经据典，弘扬中国古代思想，误以为春秋战国秦汉之际就有世界主义。我们当从世界卓越思想家那里汲取新养分。

世界主义 (Cosmopolitanism) 中的cosmos乃指宇宙，且指秩序井然的亘古荒冷的宇宙。politan指都市市民。世界主义指摆脱狭小地方民族偏见，由诸多民族和语言构成的大都市。都市居民与乡下居民不同。小农经济下耕者有其田，子其子、父其父、亲其亲，至多可以老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼，然而却缺乏世界主义和宇宙公民的观念。说孔孟老庄、秦皇汉武是世界主义者，有时令人奇怪。近代中国学人从古籍中阐扬世界主义，表明了“六经注我”的治学传统。这是向西方学习的结果，摆脱了狭小的地域和种族观念。但古代中国的观念其实依然是天地人不分。

近代中国学人自西方引进世界主义之后，又从华夏古籍引经据典，弘扬中国古代思想，误以为春秋战国秦汉之际就有世界主义。然而，修筑长城同“和亲”政策一样，都不是世界主义。相信中国先秦诸子之“天下”观念是一种世界主义、大同主义或天下一家主义，乃是谬见。近代康有为 (1858-1927)、梁启超(1873-1929)、钱穆从中国故纸堆中翻找世界主义词句，目的仍在发扬西方世界主义，并非引人怀旧。我们当从世界卓越思想家那里汲取新养分。一个农业宗法制的民族，不可能有“市民” (即“公民”) 的观念。

20世纪初期的中国乃文化开放时代。西方思潮蜂拥而至，世界主义传入中国。中国学人开始以西方思想观念审视中国传统学说，从古书中推陈出新，寻觅适合自己观念的事物，研究中国古代哲学的讨论中始有“唯物”、“唯心”、“辩证”、“形上”、“世界主义”、“爱国主义”等观念蓬勃出现。受近代西学影响，许多学者以世界主义眼光看待中国传统哲学，从中推导出“世界主义”观念。他们的要旨并非宣扬上古思潮，乃在推行现代思想。古为今用，颂古厚今，穿古人服，为今人计，借鉴既往，前瞻未来，此之谓也。西方学说传入中土华夏，国人从故纸堆中找到根据，探赜索隐、钩深致远，说中国“古已有之”。然而世界主义毕竟不是中国的“特产”。

康有为与梁启超

中国近代改良主义者康有为(Kang Youwei, 1858-1927)受西方空想社会主义影响，曾大力提倡大同主义即世界主义：一、没有国家，全世界设一公政府；二、没有家族，男女同栖不得逾一年，届期须易人；三、儿童公育公养公教。他甚至提出“胎教”、“火葬”；四、他提议设立公共食堂、公共宿舍、公共澡塘 (近代“公厕”、“公交”、“公共旅舍”……也来自西洋)。这里一方面可以看出西方思想的影响，另一方面也可以看出近代学人对西方典籍的阐释。从西方思想出发阐释世界主义，可以也。但若说世界主义是中国古已有之，则过也。

康有为自己则提出理想的世界：入世界，观众苦，这是谋大同之道的原因；去国界，合大地，这是谋大同之道的步骤；目的是去级界，平民族，去种界，同人类，去家界，为天民，去类界，爱众生 [33]。这显然是受到佛教的影响。他提出全世界只有一个公政府，无帝王、君长，亦无统领。他提出在“大同世界”中，不许私人经商，所有商业贸易均由政府统管。这很类似于计划经济体制。不过他提倡“全世界人类皆为平等”，仍不失为极睿智的念头。

戊戌变法失败后，康有为出洋十二年，思想发生极大变化。他认为美国、瑞士接近于“大同之世”。他的《大同书》推崇联邦制，显系受到西方影响。1891年以后，传教士在《万国公报》

(Multinational Communiqu) 上连载空想社会主义小说《回头看纪略》，描述波士顿一青年人从1887年昏睡到2000年，醒来一看，世界面貌全新，已实现电气化、自动化。康有为也受到这种空想社会主义和傅立叶 (Charles Fourier, 1772-1837) 的影响。康有为的《大同书》表达了他的世界大同的理想。这一大同理想基于他关于“人性皆善”的理念。然而，断言人性本善或恶，其实皆无道理。基督教认为人在伊甸乐园 (Garden of Eden) 里原本没有善与恶，是一张白纸，类如洛克 (John Locke, 1632- 1704) 的“白板” (tabula rasa) 处于无原罪状态。这似乎有些道理。人的犯罪乃后来的事。不过，康有为的大同理想乃起源于人性本善说，因为有此本性，我们才可以对人类未来抱乐观态度。一切对人性悲观的态度，不会导致世界主义。

据说，康有为在构想大同世界时，哀物悼世，居家作长夜坐。然而世界主义并非面壁虚构空想之产物，也不是悲天悯人、怜物伤情的结果。这种专讲仁爱之心的社会主义，早受到《共产党宣言》的批评。据说康有为一天忽“思苍生困苦则闷 (闷)，然后哭” (这比“不哭苍生哭鬼神”强一些)，“天与我聪明才力拯救之”。一副救苦救难的菩萨心肠。但世界主义并不期待有一个救世主救民出于水火。世界主义基于“人性论”，但并不基于“佛性论”(狗子也有佛性)。康氏的心胸与佛教的西方极乐净土理想一致，但与未来世界主义并无共同之处。“凡民有难，匍匐救之”。然而，世界主义者不是救世主。《大同书》开篇便说：“入世界，观众苦”，可见他是现世悲观主义者。一个悲观主义，断难成为世界主义者。世界主义者也绝不是悲观厌世主义者。康有为忘记了各国明达之士及政府的共同努力是世界主义的基石。“国家自行消亡”——其含义乃各国地方政府会自动缩小其权限。康有为的“世界大同”源于其佛教悲悯情怀。他认为应当去除九界，其中之一是“类界”，即去除人与鸟兽虫鱼的区别。这简直不是世界主义，而是兽道主义、生物主义了。《大同书》(Great Harmony) 写毕，康有为秘不示人，以为天机不可泄，其神秘如此，断非真世界主义。

梁启超(Liang Qichao, 1873-1929)在概括康有为的思想时说：其哲学为博爱派、主乐派、进化派、社会主义派。所谓社会主义派，即指他的大同思想[34]。康有为是极反传统的。他认为将来社会“婚姻之事不复名为夫妇，只许订岁月交好之和约而已”，因而家庭必须消亡。“若其农田、工厂、商资皆归之公，即可至大同之世矣。全世界之人皆无家，则去国而至大同易易矣” [35]。他提倡“自去人之家始”，即，首先破除宗法制度。他认为大同世界是极乐世界。可是我认为世界主义之下的世界并非佛教的极乐境界。

康有为的思想仍停留比他早几个世纪的欧洲空想共产主义上。在中国农业宗法制度土壤上生长不出世界主义的树木。黄见德认为，中国文化的主流是“天下主义”(即世界主义)，而不是孙中山的民族主义。他很欣赏顾炎武 (Gu Yanwu, 1613-1682)把“国”与“天下”区别开来[36]。中国古人目力所及仅包括天下，而不如西方人放眼“宇宙”(cosmos)。不过，我不认为中国古人有“环球”意识。中国皇帝固然心忧天下，但他们大都以救世主和真命天子自居，缺乏平等意识——而平等观念恰是世界主义精髓。

近代以来，中国人睁眼看世界，开始向西方学习。但奇怪的是，学生从老师那里学到知识，反过来又说这些知识是东方“古已有之”的。这恐怕是近代思想史上的常例。诚如有人指出的：“《大同书》(Great Unity) 中的思想与中国社会的传统价值观念几乎无不相反。‘大同’的传统与原意已面目全非。” [37]例如，康有为提出“世界大同而无界限的原则”，即世界合并为一国，此时，所有的人成为“世界公民”，选“世界议会”。他认为，必须取消国家，进入大同，使各国的权力逐渐式微。他说：“今欲至大同，先自弥兵 (即“无武器、无军队、无战争”的三无世界) 倡之，次以联盟伟之，继以公议会导之，次第以赴，盖有必至大同之一日焉。” [38]显然，这是西学之结晶，非从古书中可导引出来的。中国人具有世界主义眼光，这未尝不是一件大快人心事。毛泽东说：“康有为写了《大同书》，他没有也不可能找到一条到达大同的路。” [39]可见，毛泽东认为人类将走大同之路——经由无产阶级革命。但康有为认为世界主义下不置私产，没有法律，恐怕就谬以千里了。

早年的梁启超是忠于清王室的民族主义者、国家主义者。他曾反对世界主义。梁启超阐述国家观念时说：“宗教家之说，动言天国，动言大同，言一切众生，所谓博爱主义，世界主义，抑岂不至德而深仁哉？虽然，此等主义，其脱离理想界而入于现实界也，果可期乎？此其事或待至万数千年后吾不敢知，若今日将安取之？……若曰并国界而破之……即成矣，而竞争绝，毋乃文明亦与之俱绝乎？”1902年的梁启超大概仍站在清王朝立场上看世界主义。

梁启超认为，国家思想有四种表现：反对世界主义，即其一也。梁启超认为：“今世之学界，非不知此主义之为美也，然以其心界之美，而非历史之美，故定案以国家为最上之团体，而不以世界为最上之团体，盖有以也。”梁启超认为，“知天下而不知有国家，此不过一时之谬见。”[40]他要求国民“真利己国”，“惟兹国家，吾侪父母兮！”

早期的梁启超是国家主义者和保守党人。1911年辛亥革命后，他仍反对把整个世界看成单一之国。“我国人爱国心之久不发达，则世界主义为之梗也。有世界主义作祟便不会有爱国心。”[41]但他在《先秦政治思想史》（A History of political thought of the pre-Qin period, 1921年）中又转变立场，肯定了世界主义。这与他1918年底旅欧有关。他从先秦典籍中寻觅世界主义的根据。这是他晚年的新思想。他说：“我国先哲之言政治，皆以天下为对象，此国家之所同也……天下云者，即人类全体之谓，当时所谓全体者，未必为全体，固无待言，但其鹄的，常向于其所及知之人类全体以行，而不以一部分自划，此即世界主义之真精神也。”[42]他认为，“先秦诸国并亡之时，其环境与世界主义似相反，然其学说皆共向此鹄的，无异同，而且积极地发表其学理上的意见，成为一个时期的运动。”[43]我奇怪：纵横捭阖，春秋无义战，怎么能叫世界主义！

梁启超说，中国元、清欢迎“外族入主而爱之者，等是以天下人治天下事而已”。我们今天不再宣传抗清、抗金等“民族”英雄，是肯定周边少数民族亦是同胞。不过，上述论点显然也是受到近代西方思潮影响，并非说古之人就有如此博大襟抱。世界主义也不是说对异族入侵袖手旁观。若吴三桂（1608-1678）者，绝非世界主义者也。梁启超说：“国家主义与吾人夙不相习，则彰彰甚也。此种反国家主义或超国家主义，深入人心。”他甚至认为，欧洲迄今大小数十国，而我则久成一体，显然中国得大于失[44]。欧洲国家小而呈多元态势，自有其优越性，不可以之与华夏大一统帝国相比。一统天下，政出一门，有时也可能扼杀多样化。大一统帝国未必会生产出世界观念。

梁启超又认为，孔子（Confucius，前551-前479作《春秋》，第一句常是“元年春王正月”，乃表示大一统。然而孔子梦想恢复周初封建制，乃开历史倒车，算不得世界主义。大封诸侯，以国土资源为私产，封赏子嗣，也能算世界主义吗？他认为，“正月”前冠以“王”字，就表示“超国家”。但我认为这有些牵强。“礼乐征伐自天子出”，把天下万民和锦绣江山装入皇家私囊，以五湖四海为皇家园林，“尽入我彀中”，不能算“超国家主义”。周室乃极具强烈的国家色彩的组织。梁启超说：在古书中“太平之世，非惟无复国家之见存，抑亦无复种族之见存。”[45]他特别引述“四海之内皆兄弟也”，说明这是“将自己所有文化扩大以被于全人类而共立于平等之地位”。然而，“四海”究竟指什么，都很值得商榷。把自己的价值观念强加于世界，并非世界主义。周朝的分封制乃以天下为私产，私相授受，不可能有丝毫世界主义。梁启超以为“据乱世”、“升平世”、“太平世”、“天下远近大小若一，夷狄进至于爵”。然而，同世界主义相比，这些观念还真有些“兴灭国，继绝世，举逸民”的味道，其实质根本不是向前看，而乃复辟。这同世界主义向前看，面对未来，判若天壤，势同水火。

梁启超更认为，道家以自然为宗，气象博大，“以天下观天下”、“以天事治天下”、“抱一为天下式”，是“超国家主义”（supranationalism）[46]。这就根本不成话了。他认为墨家（Mohist School）言“兼爱”（universal love）、“非攻”（non-attack）、“尚同”，是“超国家主义”。他又认为“天志”是世界主义，认为天之视万国兆民，其爱之如一，故凡人类之爱覆育于天者，皆当体天之志以兼相爱而交相利，故曰“视人之国若其国”。如此，则“国家观念，根本消灭”。他认为“天子一

同(一统)天下之义,其世界主义色彩最明了矣”[47]。然而,东西南北,上下四方受一人领导,天子主政,一统天下,帝王思想,家长制,人莫予毒,不是世界主义。如此热切地颂古,其实也包含了一种自大的民族主义。

梁启超认为法家是国家主义,儒墨是主张联邦的统一,平和的统一。梁启超喜欢拿欧洲与中国相比,比来比去,“中国世界第一”便油然而生。不过我以为,一个无远弗届的大帝国,因言论不合当局而无所逃遁,恰恰会窒息生机。这样的大国,反难以萌生人类一体主义。梁启超认为,世界主义乃中国“古已有之”。这不符合史实。他认为自春秋战国以降,凡百家言中,即有世界主义(他错误地称为“平民主义”、“民本主义”),他又称世界主义为“超国家主义”、“反国家主义”、“平天下主义”。他认为近世西方国家主义以仇嫉外人为奖励“爱国冲动”之手段[48]。“五四”新文化运动使中国人大大见识了一下世界主义。梁启超说:我们须知“世界大同”,因而不能将“国际联盟”看得“无足轻重”,而且要促进其发展。国际联盟使“国际互助”深入人心,使人知道,国家意志决非绝对无限,还须“受外部节制”。他主张建立“世界主义国家”。“国是要爱的,但不能把顽固偏狭的旧思想当成爱国”。“我们的爱国,一面不能知有国家,不知有个人,一面不能知有国家,不知有世界”[49]。

梁启超认为中国古代先秦之长处,有“世界主义光大”一说。他认为,希腊人,岛民也,虚想能穷宇宙之本原,其实不脱市府(城邦)的根性,故对人类全体团结之业、统治之法、幸福之原,未有留意者。他认为,中国人以“平天下”为一大问题:孔子言大同,墨子(前476-前390或420)禁攻寝兵,老子(春秋末期人,生卒年不详)抱一为式,邹衍倡终始五德……其理想皆以全世界为鹄的,此即“世界主义”的光大[50]。然而,我们认为,世界主义断不是五德始终说式历史循环论——似乎世界主义实现之后又回到邦国、战争、私有、专权阶段。世界主义不笼统地否认军队与战争,至少在相当一段时间内,战争仍是政治的延伸。中国之重国家,当然与现代世界主义精神相悖。

中国学者从中国典籍找出世界主义大义,梁漱溟可谓独树一帜。他的《中国文化要义》即其显例。他赞颂中国古代广土众民大单元之特质,认为这是“基于文化的统一而政治的统一随之以天下而兼国际”。我却认为世界主义与“天下一统”毫无共同之处。世界主义并不包含用什么观念来统一天下,世界主义不是世袭王权、传之子孙。多样化恰是世界主义的特征。梁漱溟引梁启超的“我族夙以天下为最高理想,非唯古代部落在所鄙夷,即近代国家观念亦甚淡泊。怀远之教胜,而排外之习少,故不以固有之民族自囿而欢迎新分子之加入”[51]以张杨世界主义。然而,皇帝招安,怀柔异己,乃居高临下,并非证明人人享有其基本权利,乃“皇赋人权”。梁漱溟甚至认为,中国人缺乏集团生活,唯重家庭,“政简刑轻”,故中国不像个国家。然而我以为“政简刑轻”可能倒是一个上乘之国。他认为中国人有“天下观念”,“天下”即指世界人类或国际[52]。他说,西洋人反倒轻天下,重团体。我觉得这有点弄错了。西方中古时代即有“出国”留学——当然不是“出洋”——家国观念淡薄。他却认为“天下”指的是关系普及,不分畛域。我认为,世界主义实现之日,国际关系和国家疆域犹存。

梁漱溟意在宏扬“世界天下一家”的观念。这实际上也开阔了中国人的眼光与胸襟。不过梁漱溟赞扬方块汉字象形文字,认为这是人类文化统一的一大助力,这我们实不敢赞同。毛泽东认为中国应放弃方块文字,走世界拼音文字大道。但梁漱溟认为方块字有助于人类统一,恐怕就有些不妥。梁漱溟认为中国传统观念中极度缺乏国家观念,而总爱说“天下”,更见其缺少国际对抗性[53]。但我认为,缺少国际对抗性,同时也可能缺乏国际交流,怎么能是世界主义呢?自我封闭,小农经济,拒绝通商,不是世界主义。梁漱溟又引顾炎武的“天下兴亡,匹夫有责”,说顾氏恰恰没有今日之“国家观念”,他倒发扬了“超国家主义”[54]。他说,这有点“像共产党为了争求一种理想文化,不惜打破国界,其精神倒不无共同之处。”[55]他这样瞩目共产党,不意竟遭不公平待遇。但共产主义从一开始就具有世

界性、国际性，则人人可得而知。梁漱溟说，梁启超在《先秦政治思想史》中“言政治莫不抱世界主义，以天下为对象”[56]。这很打动梁漱溟的心：“孟子时，排斥国家主义也亦更力……凡儒家王霸之辨，皆世界主义与国家主义之辨也”[57]。似乎王道即世界主义。难道王道乐土能等于世界主义吗？明君贤相，熏风和畅，天子亲耕，与民同乐，居高临下，不是世界主义的人人平等。梁漱溟说：“像西洋人那样明且强的国家意识……民族意识……在我们都没有。中国人心目中所有者，近则身家，远则天下。”[58]不错，中国人能放眼世界，甘愿热血，“解救受苦受难之人”，但中国人也胸怀祖国。说中国人没有国家意识，由我的经验看，这根本不对。梁漱溟引述林语堂的话：“历史上中国的发展，是作为一世界以发展的，而不是作为一个国家。”[59]梁漱溟认为这话是不错的。他又说“中国无民主”、“人权之不见”、“民主制度之不见”，是因为中国文化“早熟”，这看法却未必恰当。也许中国文化是“晚熟”，也说不定。

钱穆的观点

20世纪30年代，钱穆(Qian Mu, 1895-1990)著《中国文化史导论》⁽²⁾

(Introduction to Chinese Cultural History) [60]。他认为，中国古人的终极理想是“天下太平与世界大同”。这结论固然值得商榷，但钱穆实借此宣扬一种与中国传统素昧平生的主义与学说，其用心可谓良苦。他从古书中追寻微言大义，借古喻今。钱穆反反复复地说：“中国民族是个趋向和平的民族”。当然，世界主义者肯定是向往和平、拒斥战争的，因为追求一个兵荒马乱、纷争不息的“共同世界”乃是自相矛盾。不过中国历史上战乱频仍，这恰好反驳了钱穆上述乐观看法。毛泽东就认为中国农战频繁，乃中国不屈不挠的优良传统。钱穆却说，西方传统是向外征服，中国是向心凝结。然而，认为中国人是“一盘散沙”，的确也是不少学者的一贯见解。钱穆处处称颂先秦儒家“天下太平、世界大同”的理想。但古人于中国以外的事素来感到陌生，实在难以使人联想到“世界主义”。中国古代的封闭是举世皆知的，“天朝上国”论与“世界主义”难以调和。钱穆正确地说，古人讲“修齐治平”，实则重视“修齐”，忽视“治平”。

钱穆因而否认自秦汉以下中国是“帝王专制的政府”。这观点颇难以为人接受。他甚至毫无根据地说：“将来世界若有真的世界国出现，恐怕决不是帝国式的，也不是联邦式的，而该是效法中国的郡县国的体制。”[61]这可能过于牵强。也许，世界主义理想中的世界乃“联邦式”吧。但钱穆下述一段话却至为精当：“要建立理想的世界政府，便决不是周代般的贵族政府，决不是汉初般的军人政府，一定应该是一种平民政府，由一辈在平民中有知识有修养的贤人（即文人）组织与领导的政府”[62]。钱穆说，纪元前246年东方世界出现了一个“世界政府”[63]。这是指“秦皇汉武”时期。不过，我们很难把修筑万里长城联想为“世界政府”所为。长城乃封闭抗敌的标志，秦皇汉武，略输文采，断不是任何意义上的世界主义者。

钱穆认为，中国古人不存在极为清晰的民族界限。这种说法不确切——恰恰相反，夷狄蛮戎乃汉语特色。他说，相信有一位昭赫在上的上帝关心整个下界，整个人类的大群全体不为部一族所私有[64]。这似乎是中国古代天下万邦一家的观念的根据。不过，拿宗教史的观念来看，这说法很难成立。世界三大宗教中并不含有中国传统宗教。中国传统宗教乃民族主义之神鬼崇拜，民族上帝并不为普天下万民所共同敬仰之。钱穆由此认为，中国古人对国家观念平淡或薄弱。然而，对列国（东周列国、诸侯国）观念的淡化，并不是世界天下主义思想。天子的观念与世界政府的观念难以适应。周天子的观念实难与世界政府相伴。因此像钱穆说的春秋时代就有关心国际的“和平运动”，实乃以今人之心，度古人

(2) 钱穆·《中国文化史导论》，1994年，商务印书馆。

之腹。“春秋无义战”才是正当的结论。钱穆把周天子的观念说成是“超越国家(诸侯国)的国际观念,是世界观念,天下观念”[65],并把这观念与秦王联系起来,这乃是以今村古,滥用现代国际政治与国际外交术语。

中国直至明代,中央王朝仍奉行“控驭八荒”、“怀柔万国”、“四夷宾服”、“万方来朝”。“天朝主义”是其处理外交的原则。“中国是世界的中心”乃其基本看法。“天朝居中驭外”、“王者无外”。除了“朝贡”以外,他们不承认任何别的形式的外交。受西方思想影响,中国近代学人力图从中国古籍中阐发世界主义。这并非说古代中国就有世界主义。自然农耕文明土壤上长不出世界主义。近代中国学人的世界主义乃从西洋“进口”。近代中国启蒙思想家往往追求世界主义的理想。他们一面忧虑民族危机,另一面又向往全球性人类秩序。王韬(Wang Tao,1828-1897)提出“大同”观念,陈炽(Chen Chi,1855-1900),清末维新派,他在《庸书》中提出学习西法,发展资本主义,主张学习西方以求自强。陈虬(Chen Chi,1851-1904)创办我国近代第一所新式的中医学校——利济医学堂。他提出人类“同轨同伦”。

三 汤因比和池田大作对中国的探讨

第二次世界大战后,国家的威信逐渐丧失。在国家形态高度发达完备的国家里,这种情况尤其普遍。人类终于认识到,以国家为中心的国家主义是有害的。国家主义,即崇拜地方民族国家集团力量,在西方是晚近的事。人们奉自己的国家为神明,认为它享有神圣的权利,可以不受法律约束。这种情况,自第二次世界大战后便有了改变。造成这一变化的原因乃在于国际交流的增加。作为个人活动的基层单位的地方民族国家,被视为国际交流的障碍。国家变得越来越小,越来越多,其职能受到限制。大一统的国家观念被削弱。本来意义上的国家于是趋于消亡。国家日益成为代表社会文化的地区单位。这对于抵御国君的残暴和强权极有意义。汤因比(Arnold Joseph Toynbee,1889-1975)因而认为,必须剥夺地方国家的主权,一切都要服从于全球的“世界政府”的主权。地方国家作为行政单位,行使地方自治任务,这同联邦国家中成员国一样。各地方国家的权限于是逐渐转移到“世界政府”手中。这就是为什么我们重视联合国的原因。

对于故乡山水的热爱,使人类把自己的邦国凌驾于别的邦国之上,以为在所有的方面,本国都比别的国家优越。在这种国家主义影响下,许多纯真的爱邦国之心被利用,变成了对其他国家的憎恨。两次世界大战中,许多青年人被邦国精神逼迫到悲惨境地。汤因比认为这是一种古老宗教,是丧失了基督教(Christianity)信仰的结果。“前基督教”的宗教被恢复——此即古代苏美尔(Sumer)人和希腊(Greece)城邦(city-states)国家公民的宗教。基督教在本质上是世界大同主义。它并不去煽动民族主义烈焰。基督教曾反对罗马帝国的皇帝崇拜和民族宗教。这一态度受到汤因比的欢迎。汤因比认为所谓国家,不论是地方国家还是世界国家,都仅仅是公共设施。

现代人的生活基础已经扩大到世界规模,把人类禁锢在国家框架中的作法,已经过时。现代的爱心应当是把世界看成“我的祖国”,提倡人类之爱、世界之爱。现代人生活在一个整体之中。过去只向其政府和居民献身的政治热情,现在则必须奉献给全人类、全世界、全宇宙。人类的远大目标是建立“世界政府”。自古以来,人们都以国家的名义建立武装,使用武力,对外发动战争,表明忠君报国的气节。然而,这一切在现代已失去根据。汤因比认为,应当放弃为防备其它地方主权国家的攻击而建立的常备军,同时要放弃伤害别的国家的行为。人类的信念是废除一切军备,建立一个三无世界(无阶级、无军队、无战争)的最高境界。在一个世界政府领导下,各地方国家将不再彼此动武。当然,一个没有战争与军队的世界,并不彻底排除竞争,相反,竞争还是存在的。这指的是开发宇宙的竞争。这一竞争的目的仅仅在于消除贫困。汤因比因此设想,不能让地方国家永远作为一个有权发动战争,有权最终决

定各种民事的政治单位保存下去[66]。这样，国家就被看作只是供应自来水、煤气和电气的公共事业集团。在这种情况下，将不会有在战场上牺牲自己的生命这种事。最大的忠诚便是献给全人类，而不是献给自己所属的地方国家及其体制。对国家的忠诚便被削弱。“国家的神圣地位要否定，而应恢复纯粹大自然的唯一神圣地位。” [67] 现在人类所居住的整个地区，在技术上已经统一为一个整体，因此在精神上也需要统一为一个整体。

汤因比和池田大作 (Daisaku Ikeda, 1928-) 探讨过世界主义与古代中国思想的关系。汤因比说：“罗马帝国解体后，西方的政治传统是民族主义的，而不是世界主义的。” [68] 因为欧洲处于分裂状态。汤因比的这种说法不妥当。欧洲之分为众多小国，不足以说明他们是狭小的民族主义者。世界眼光与国土面积不成正比。希腊城邦虽小，但希腊人的世界观并不狭小。雅典和耶路撒冷弹丸之地，孕育出的是世界思想与世界宗教。世界主义孕育于希腊，绝非偶然。汤因比不恰当地说：“汉代的刘邦从地方分权主义持久地引向世界主义（即天下主义）。” [69] 他认为秦皇汉武、汉唐雄风有世界主义气度。

鉴于两次世界大战的教训，有识之士都希望对现行国家进行改革，实现“世界联邦”。现代意义上的国家将消失。池田大作认为应当控制国家的残暴。汤因比甚至提出“剥夺地方权力的主权，一切都要服从于全球的世界政府的主权” [70]。他引用程颢说：“仁者以天地万物为一体，莫非己也。” “仁者浑然与万物同体”。汤因比又引用王阳明的话：“大人者，以天地万物为一体也，其天下犹一家也” [71]。似乎这与斯多葛派一致。然而，天人不分，世界如混沌，物我两忘，同基于人类平等的世界主义并非一回事。汤因比认为，罗马帝国解体后，西方政治传统是民族主义，而不是世界主义。他把世界主义理解为“全世界的政治统一”。然而，池田大作认为这种政治上的成功的另一面，却是禁锢人民的创造精神与自由，闭关锁国，固步自封。他说：“中国式的统一也许是有意义的，但是如果自此个人被禁锢在社会里”，那就是一个很大的问题[72]。我觉得池田大作的看法似乎处处比汤因比更洞察玄机。问题因而就是在政治稳定与和平中，同时保证个人能力的自由发展与创造精神，以及为此而建立的体制。这是池田大作与汤因比的深刻分歧。他们二人都认为，中国近代人由原来的世界主义转入民族主义。不过，假如中国古籍中并没有世界主义，何以有“转变”之说呢？

汤因比认为“世界被统一在一个政府之下”，应以中国统治为动力，以中国为核心。他以为应当“以儒家哲学为基础，在一个皇帝统治下，壮大永存的中华帝国的形象与典范。” [73] 对此，池田大作不同意：“在现代世界，使人们接受一人统治的想法有些过于困难。这是因为现代人反对由一个人进行统治和领导的作法，即或作为今天从混乱中产生的一种反动而要求独裁，那就更加危险。” [74] 独裁者认为，为了制止混乱，独裁是必要的。其实这不过是一种借口。其实，独裁恰恰带来混乱。因而，欧洲的统一会是世界统一的样板。地方国家保持其个性与不同背景，在平等的基础上形成联合体，这种西欧式的方式会成为将来世界统一的基础。汤因比似乎被说服：“武力统一世界的尝试，只能是自取灭亡，达不到统一的目的” [75]。然而他又说，没有武力，很难实现世界政治统一。池田大作认为还是要靠宗教。不过我认为用宗教统一世界，是不可能的。

汤因比惋惜地说：“今后西方也不能完成全世界的政治统一……将来统一世界的大概……是中国。” [76] 我身为中国人并不因此就颜面有光。世界主义谈不到自上而下，自外而内的统一，好像始皇大帝们。世界主义不是由谁来统一世界，由谁来领导世界。他又说：“正因为中国有担任这样的未来政治任务的征兆，所以今天中国在这个世界上才有令人惊叹的威望。” [77] 他又说：“将来统一世界的人，要像中国这位第二个取得更大成功的统治者（刘邦），要具有世界主义思想。” 这是以好心的态度把中国涂抹成“恶人”。相反，池田大作的说法就比较科学合理：“今后世界统一应走的方向，不是像中国那样采取中央极权的作法，可能是采取各国以平等的立场和资格进行协商这种联合的方式。” 在这种意义上，与其说哪里是中心，不如说哪里表现出模范作用[78]。他认为，欧共体堪称样板。

结语

中国与欧洲面积相近，但中国自秦以后鲜有“分裂”局面出现。欧洲则长期处在“分裂”状态，多国林立。然而大一统的同质观念阻碍了文明的巨大进步，而多国林立异质交融却造就了“跨国”、“国际”观念。中国人相信：“天无二日，民无二王”。孟子说：“天下恶乎定……定于一”。“天下一家”由此而来。可见，“家天下”不是什么宽容异见的世界主义。千万不要以为大一统的“中央集权”就是世界主义。不要以为地大物博会长出世界主义。中国天下一统来源于周初天神崇拜，从自然的“天”出发，仍停留在自然宗教与自然哲学阶段，与西方历史哲学及人性的观念大不一样。大一统的特点是文化同质性。这种同质性妨碍了中国文化的进步。“天下一家”观念与宗族观念是联系在一起的。这与商业资本主义平等竞争观念有所扞格。世界主义中的个人主义者不会很容易地成为大一统之下的“顺民”。

秦灭六国书同文，车同轨，统一度量衡，如今，世界有公尺、公斤、公里、公分，有共用语言和国际学术刊物。医药标准趋于国际统一标准。国际会议、国际组织、国际科学奖、国际法、国际合作，这和马克思的天下一家、共产国际、国际工人协会的观念，是一致的。在国际领域中，当前正兴起“跨国公司”。“跨国公司”追求“超国家水平的最大经济目标”，而传统民族国家追求的是“本国的最大利益”。“跨国公司”成为“无国界公司”（试比较“无国籍（stateless）护士”），实行“无国界管理”，破除国家观念。这就是打破了主权国家观念的全球主义立场。现代西方学者主张通过“跨国市民社会运动”。

在中国，家与国是密切联系着的。家是国的基础，国乃家的放大。古汉语中“国家”即指帝王。个人价值微小，其价值在于保国卫家，为国杀敌——不论这国是否能保护个人利益，是否正义。传统宗法农耕社会，一家一户为耕作单位，故缺乏世界眼光，家国主义浓厚。热爱人类，尊重一切生命，请从树立世界主义观念开始。我们时代远远超出古代思想家和早期共产主义者的理念。环球一家、宪政共和、人类一体、普世价值，是早期思想家的梦想，是世界主义理念。温故而知新，对于今日思考，大有好处。解放全人类，而不是狭隘民族沙文主义和扩张主义，就是世界主义的理念。市场经济，把中国拉进世界市场和国际社会，闭关自守的狭隘胸襟让位于世界共同价值和国际规则。当今世界，和平而非武力，对接而不对抗，合作而不合谋。世界主义关注世界和平与发展，和平共处世界主义主题中之义。对内对外，诉诸武力，被认为不可取。⁽³⁾

(3) 本刊编辑部附注：列宁关于爱国主义的论述。“爱国主义，这正是小私有者的经济生活条件造成的一种情感。”（《列宁全集》第三十六卷第121页，人民出版社）。“如果你是一个社会主义者，你就应当为了国际革命而牺牲自己的一切爱国主义情感。”（《列宁全集》第三十五卷第208页，人民出版社）。“承认保卫祖国实际上就是支持帝国主义的掠夺成性的资产阶级，就是完全叛变社会主义。”（《列宁全集》第三卷第640页，人民出版社）“我国无产阶级革命的一个特别巨大的、可以说是绝无仅有的困难，就是它不得不经过一个同爱国主义断然决裂的时期。”（《列宁全集》第三卷第580页，人民出版社）。“在1914-1915年的战争中赞成‘保卫祖国’的社会党人，只在口头上是社会主义者，实际上是沙文主义者，他们是社会沙文主义者！”列宁对他们的评价是“社会沙文主义者就是熟透了的机会主义者。”（《列宁全集》第三卷第650页，人民出版社）。“小资产阶级的民族主义，只是把承认民族平等宣布为国际主义，把民族的利己主义仍然神圣地保存起来。但无产阶级的国际主义则要求：第一、一国的无产阶级斗争的利益，须服从于全世界范围内的这一斗争的利益。”（列宁《民族和殖民地问题提纲初稿》）。“资产阶级的民族主义和无产阶级的国际主义——这是两个不可调和的敌对的口号，它们同整个资本主义世界的两大阶级营垒相适应，代表着民族问题上的两种政策（也是两种世界观）。”（《列宁全集》第二十卷第9页）。“谁采取了民族主义立场，他自然就会希望在本民族、在本民族工人运动的周围筑起一道万里长城，甚至明知城墙就得分别筑在每个城镇和村庄的周围，明知他的分崩离析的策略会把关于让一切民族、一切种族、操各种语言的无产者接近和团结起来的伟大遗训化为乌有，也并不感到不安。资产阶级的民族主义和无产阶级的国际主义——这是两个不可调和的敌对的口号，它们同整个资本主义世界的两大阶级营垒相适应，代表着民族问题上的两种政策（也是两种世界观）。崩得分子维护民族文化这一口号，并且根据这个口号制定出所谓‘民族文化自治’的一揽子计划和实施纲资产阶级的民族主义和无产阶级的国际主义——这是两个不可调和的敌对的口号，它们同整个资本主义世界的两大阶级营垒相适应，代表着民族问题上的两种政策（也是两种世界观）。崩得分子维护民族文化这一口号，并且根据这个口号制定出所谓‘民族文化自治’的一揽子计划和实施纲领，因此，他们实际充当了向工人传播资产阶级民族主义的人。”（《列宁全集》第24卷，人民出版社1990年版，第128页）。

2023年3月15日

- [1] (英) H.J.拉斯基 (Harold Joseph Laski · 1893-1950) 英国工党领导人·政治学家·费边主义者·民主社会主义理论家。拉斯基终生是一个社会主义者·自称马克思主义者·主张变私有制为公有制·暴力革命是不可避免的。
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- [6] (英) H.J.拉斯基:《现代国家中的自由权》·H. j. Laski, *The Right to Freedom in a Modern State*·第152页·1938年伦敦·何子恒译·商务印书馆,1959年。
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- [13] 以上皆引自周佛海:“民族主义之科学的说明”·《新生命》*New Life*·第一卷第3号·1928年。
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- [17] 费觉天·生卒不详。1920年李大钊、费觉天等九人发起成立“北京大学社会主义研究会”。1921年·费觉天在《改造》*Reform*上发表《对于社会主义争论问题提出两大关键》。
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English Title:

Chinese Cultural Tradition and Cosmopolitanism

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Abstract: Cosmopolitanism is an ideal, not a reality. It's a decentralized theory, not a systematic theory. It has many different names. From the ancient to the modern times, it has been increasingly perfect and close to realization. It has been partially fulfilled in the world. Confucius once advocated "great harmony with the world". Sun Yat-sen carried forward the concept of "the world for the common good", and he absorbed the "universal ideas" of Western socialists. The idea of "world government" was formed in recent times. It was the ideal of our sages to organize a "union of sovereign states" to jointly maintain peace and eliminate war. This article is just to sort out the idea of the unity of the world, without any practical suggestions. This is a theoretical idea, not a practical one. Chinese scholars in modern times studied western ideas and then used them to examine Chinese classics to find new ideas. By combing through old papers, they gained a lot and were able to enlighten the people. We should have a grand vision, facing the world more advanced thinkers broad spirit.

Keywords: Internationalism; stateless world; World government; The legal system; Democracy; Citizens of the world

书评与通讯

Reviews and Academic Reports

On the Succession of the Thrones in Early Ancient China

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Abstract: This essay argues that the succession of the thrones possibly originated from Confucius, and then it was developed by his seventy famous disciples, and later it faded when confronted by Xunzi's strong assertion in the Rites system. This process reflects the arduous exploration of the pre-Qin Confucianist School into traditional Chinese political system from both theory and practice. The succession of the thrones is not only an innovation based on the historical facts in early ancient China, but also a reconciliation for the chaos back then. The scene of societal prosperity brought by the succession of the thrones is depicted at the beginning of chapter *Yao Code*, *the Book of History*. Also, in *the Analects*, the praise of the Kings Yao, Shun and Yu can be regarded as the praise of the succession of the thrones, yet it has an inner tension with the Rites system. The strong relationship between the primitive Confucianist School and *the Way of Tang and Yu* as well as *Rong Cheng Shi*, the bamboo slips unearthed in Hubei Province, negates the possibility that the latter are the works of the Mohist School. The succession of the thrones proposed by the pre-Qin Confucianist School was strongly suppressed both by the feudal lords for the sake of their vested interests and the traditional Rites system, which are the genuine reasons for the disappearance of the fore-mentioned and related literature. At the very core of the succession of the thrones, there exists a spirit of criticism on the reality at the time, which showed strong sympathy towards the masses who lived in adversity, and it is an important national resource in the process of China's modern construction of its political system.

Key words: The Pre-Qin Confucianist School, the Succession of the Thrones, Rites, Confucius, Mencius, Xunzi, Reasoning and Potential

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Since the publications of *the Way of Tang and Yu*, *Zi Gao* and *Rong Cheng Shi*, the bamboo slips which were unearthed in the Chu tombs in Jingmen, Hubei Province, the issue of the succession of the thrones has become one of the most heated topics in the academia both home and abroad. It is argued that the succession of the thrones possibly originated from Confucius, and then it was developed by his seventy famous disciples, and later it faded when confronted by Xunzi's strong assertion in the Rites system. This process reflects the arduous exploration of the pre-Qin Confucianist School into traditional Chinese political system from both theory and practice. The succession of the thrones is not only a narrative of the early ancient Chinese history, but also a reconciliation for the chaos of the pre-Qin vassal states that "battled for land, and the battlefields were filled with the slain; battled for cities, and the cities were full of the slain" at the time. An in-depth study into this issue would not only assist the

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academia in further understanding the essence of the political philosophy of the pre-Qin Confucianist School and the development of Confucianism, but also sort out the political and philosophical resources of the Chinese nation from the perspective of the succession of the thrones, so that it would provide China with insights for its political system construction in the modern era.

The Background of the Succession of the Thrones

We argue that the primary significance of the discovery of *the Way of Tang and Yu* and *Rong Cheng Shi* is that they not only invalidated Gu Xiegang's assertion that "the legend of the succession of the thrones originated from the Mohist School", but also invalidated Tong Shuye's claim that the word "Tang and Yu" had not existed before Mencius. As Tong Shuye stated in his essay, *Probing into the Origins of Emperor Yao and the Taotang Tribe*, in the following:

In Chapter Wanzhang, the Book of Mencius, it writes: "Confucius said, 'The abdications of Tang and Yu, as well as the *successions of the thrones* throughout the dynasties of Xia, Shang and Chou, are of the same significance.'"

If the above quotation had not been added into the Book of Mencius by later scholars, then the word "Tang and Yu" first appeared here, hence the association of Tang and Yao. The consecutive order of "Tang" and "Yu" is rarely seen in the pre-Qin classics, yet quite common in the works of the scholars in Han Dynasty. ⁽²⁾

In today's research field of the unearthed bamboo slips and silk books, a consensus has been reached by scholars that the burial date of Chu slips at Guodian is between the eras of Confucius and Mencius. Therefore, Mencius' words proved that the use of "Tang" and "Yu" together as a word had emerged before him. The authenticity of this passage by Mencius could be confirmed in that Confucius did mention the successions of the thrones by the two kings "Tang" and "Yu". On top of this, the above statement cannot be invalidated until further contrary evidence is presented. In the following, we would further analyze the rationality of this statement based on the Analects. As Gu Xiegang, the standard-bearer of the modern skeptical school, pointed out in his essay, *A Study on the Origin of the Legend of the Succession of the Thrones from the Mohist School*, in the following:

The successions of the thrones by Yao, Shun and Yu were ancient history that everyone had held to be true; ever since Kang Changsu raised the issue of Confucius' reorganization of the political system with reference to the early ancient times, the dignity of those historical idols had started to shake gradually. However, even if people suspected the hypocrisy of the succession of the thrones, they had always believed that the idea was made up by Confucius and it was the crystallization of the pre-Qin Confucianist School. Nobody knew that such a legend wouldn't have appeared until the Warring States Period, and that it couldn't have been fabricated by the Confucianist School. Now, the purpose of this essay is to reassign the legacy, which was considered to have been inherited from the early ancient times or the Confucianist School, back to its true master—the Mohist School. The fake

(2) 童书业 Tong Shuye, 《童书业史籍考证论集》*Tong Shuye Shiji kaozheng lunji*[Textual Research Collections of Ancient Classics by Tong Shuye], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2005) · 100.

historical facts of Yao, Shun and Yu would need to be exposed to show the true spirit of the Mohist School!⁽³⁾

From Gu Xiegang's perspective, he insisted on drawing a clear boundary between the Confucianist School and the Mohist School, so that the ideas of the two were not confused with each other, yet such a way of thinking is quite controversial. Although unprecedented archaeological discoveries were made in Gu's time, the excavated literature did not change the state of "darkness and indistinctness" concerning knowledge of the early ancient times in the academia. Therefore, it is fair to say that Gu's study was not sophisticated enough, and that he lacked an understanding of the development of ancient Chinese academics shown in *Chapter Tianxia, the Book of Zhuangzi*.

According to Sun Yirang's research, Mozi was from the state of Lu. In *Chapter Yaolue, Huainanzi*, it says, "Mozi studied Confucianism and learned from Confucius. He thought that the Rites of Confucianism were cumbersome and unpleasant, the funerals were excessively extravagant and made the masses poor, people wore mourning clothes for too long, and their businesses became affected."⁽⁴⁾ Evidence could also be found in *Chapter Dangran, Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* that Mozi received education in the state of Lu. In his *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, Hu Shi stated clearly, "Mozi must have been influenced by the Confucianist School dramatically."⁽⁵⁾ Therefore, even though the Mohist School advocated "the succession of the thrones", it cannot be denied that the same theory had not been proposed by the pre-Qin Confucianist School.

If one considers this from the perspective of history, it cannot be said that the succession of the thrones had not existed before Confucius. In *Chapter Biluxun, Huainanzi*, it says, "King Yao had no corridor of more than a hundred chi (about 1.09 feet) in length, King Shun had no land to place his personal belongings", and that "King Yu never had a village of more than 10 households."⁽⁶⁾ Also, in *Chapter Zhiben, Yuliaozi*, it says, "There was no private knitting or farming, and everyone experienced the cold weather and famine together."⁽⁷⁾ With extremely low productivity and under extremely harsh material conditions in the primitive society, the society could only have been managed based on the principle of egalitarianism. In *History of the Pre-Qin Period*, Jian Bozan termed the eras of the kings Yao, Shun and Yu "the middle age of barbarism".⁽⁸⁾ Therefore, Gu's statement was categorical in that he claimed the legend of the succession of the thrones had been a "fake pseudo-historical fact". Moreover, even if he argued "succession of the thrones" had been "pseudo-history", there is no denying of its significance in China's intellectual history.

In addition, in *Chapter Xianxue, Hanfeizi*, it says, "Both Confucius and Mozi claimed that they had followed the true Way of the kings Yao and Shun, yet their practices were completely different; now that Yao and Shun are

(3) 顾颉刚Gu Xiegang, 《顾颉刚古史论文集》*Gu Xiegang gushi lunwenji*[Theses Collections of Ancient Chinese History by Gu Xiegang], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2011) · 119.

(4) 何宁He Ning, 《淮南子集释》*Huainanzi jishi* [Explaining the Book of Huainanzi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1998) · 1459.

(5) 胡适Hu Shi, 《中国哲学史大纲》*Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang*[Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy], (上海Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 1997) · 105.

(6) 何宁He Ning, 《淮南子集释》*Huainanzi jishi* [Explaining the Book of Huainanzi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1998) · 954.

(7) 华陆综Hua Luzong, 《尉繚子注译》*Yuliaozi zhuyi* [Explaining the Book of Yuliaozi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1979) · 44.

(8) 翦伯赞Jian Bozan, 《先秦史》*Xianqin shi*[History of the Pre-Qin Period], (北京Beijing: 北京大学出版社Beijing daxue chubanshe [Beijing: Beijing University Press] · 1990) · 88-96.

gone, who is to judge which school of thought is the authentic one?”⁽⁹⁾ It is thus obvious that both the Confucianist School and the Mohist School have advocated the succession of the thrones, since both schools of thought have inherited the same culture and been confronted by the same social issues, therefore it is entirely possible for them to offer similar strategies for the transformation of social systems.

As mentioned above, the succession of the thrones in the pre-Qin era originated from an early ancient legend. However, in the era of Confucius, scholars began to consider this issue rationally. Based on an in-depth study on *the Analects*, a few budding ideas about the succession of the thrones have already been proposed, as in the following:

(1) *Chapter Weizheng*

Aigong asks, “What needs to be done to make the masses obedient?”

Confucius replies, “If the upright and the just were chosen, then the people would obey them; if the dishonest were chosen, then people would not be convinced.”⁽¹⁰⁾

(2) *Chapter Yongye*

Zigong asks, “What if someone could love the masses extensively and help them? Is this benevolence?”

Confucius answers, “Such a person is more than being benevolent and he could be called a ‘sage’! Both King Yao and King Shun felt ashamed for they had not been capable of loving the masses enough! A benevolent man is someone who not only makes accomplishments himself, but also helps others do so; he not only becomes successful himself, but also helps others do so. If a person cares for others at all times, then we could say he would have practiced benevolence.”⁽¹¹⁾

(3) *Chapter Taibo*

Confucius says, “How great King Yao was! How sublime! Only Heaven would be the highest, yet Yao could be compared to the majesty of Heaven! How magnificent he was, that the masses did not know what language to use to express their gratitude! How accomplished he was, that the system he had formulated was so splendid and brilliant!”⁽¹²⁾

(4) *Chapter Taibo*

King Shun only had five ministers yet the country was ruled in order. King Wu says, “Now I have ten ministers to manage the country.”

Confucius says, “Sages are hard to come by, aren’t they? In the eras of the kings Yao, Shun and Wu of Zhou Dynasty, there was the largest number of sages. Among the ten ministers who worked for

(9) 王先慎Wang Xianshen, 《韩非子集释》*Hanfeizi jishi* [Explaining the Book of Hanfeizi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1998) · 457.

(10) 朱熹Zhu Xi, 《四书章句集注》*Sishu zhangju ji zhu*[Commentaries on the Four Books], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2012) · 58.

(11) 同上书 · 第91-92页。
Ibid., pp, 91-92.

(12) 同上书 · 第107页。
Ibid., pp, 107.

King Wu, there was even one woman. King Wen acquired two-thirds of the world's land, yet he still served the Yin Dynasty whole-heartedly. The moralities of the Chou Dynasty have been the highest.”⁽¹³⁾

(5) *Chapter Yanyuan*

Ji Kangzi asks Confucius a political question, “What do you think of killing those who did not abide by the Way in order to clear the path for those who did?”

Confucius answers, “Why would any king need to enforce the death penalty to manage a country? If he does good deeds, then the masses would follow! The morality of the king is like the wind, and the morality of the masses is like the grass: once the wind blows on the grass, the grass would surely be affected.”⁽¹⁴⁾

(6) *Chapter Zizhang*

“He who excels in learning should be promoted to be a government official.”⁽¹⁵⁾

How can “the upright” be promoted to leadership positions from among the masses? This issue wasn't discussed directly in *the Analects*. However, Confucius highly praised Zigong's claim that a leader should “give unselfishly to the masses and help them”, and his definition is “such a leader would be more than being benevolent and he could be called a sage! Both King Yao and King Shun felt ashamed for they had not been capable of loving the masses enough”, as shown in the quotation (2) above, which has reflected his yearning beyond words. From quotation (3), Confucius couldn't be any more emotional when he praised “Shun being the king”. He was also outspoken about the political achievements brought by the social management model of the succession of the thrones. Limited to its form, *the Analects* did not discuss the succession of the thrones in detail, yet it did not mean that Confucius had not witnessed the fact that the feudal warlords robbed the masses and treated them as private property, much less did it mean that the issue of the succession of the thrones had not been involved when Confucius had various discussions with his disciples. The excavation of the Chu bamboo slips *Zi Gao* shows exactly that Confucius held a strong critical view towards the prevailing phenomena of regime change at the time. From the above-mentioned quotations, it has also been clear that to fully realize the political ideals advocated in *the Analects*, the inevitable path can only be the implementation of the succession of the thrones. It is only through this approach that the ultimate goal, “the morality of the king as the wind”, could be achieved, and the proposal that “he who excels in learning should be promoted to be a government official” could become reality.

Therefore, Gu stated that “the succession of the thrones” was the embodiment of the Mohists' thought of “honoring the virtuous”. Gu also quoted Mozi as evidence: “If one would like to inherit the Way of the kings Yao, Shun, Yu and Tang, one must not disrespect the sages.”⁽¹⁶⁾ This assertion could neither be confirmed nor invalidated, yet if one can confirm that Mozi started his career from Confucius' teaching according to the quotations above,

(13) 同上书·第107-108页。.
Ibid., pp. 107-108.

(14) 同上书·第139页。.
Ibid., pp. 139.

(15) 同上书·第191页。.
Ibid., pp. 191.

(16) 孙诒让Sun Yirang, 《墨子闲诂》*Mozi xianqu*[Annotations of Mozi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company]·2001)·48-49.

one would be certain that either his “honoring the virtuous” or “the succession of the thrones” was based on the Confucianist School, or at least inspired by it.

In light of the texts of bamboo slips *the Way of Tang and Yu* and *Rong Cheng Shi* at Guodian, it is known that the thoughts are both from the Confucianist School and the Mohist School. With a more in-depth study, it is proved that these two works are closer in relation to Confucianism while further away from Mohism. Even if these two works are not downright Confucian, it can be inferred that there is a strong Confucian inclination. In *Rong Cheng Shi*, there are indeed traces of the Mohist School, yet there are also multiple inconsistencies.

The Succession of the Thrones Is an Aborted Dream

Based on a review of the handed-down literature of Confucius, his “succession of the thrones” is much weaker than his idea of “Rites”. According to Wang Guowei’s essay *On the Political Systems of the Yin and Chou Dynasties*, it is obvious that the system based on patriarchal blood kinship had ruled the whole China since the early Chou Dynasty. While advocating “benevolence”, Confucius also vigorously advocated the Rites system.⁽¹⁷⁾ Confucius said to his highly talented disciple Yanyuan, “Restraining oneself and acting according to the rules of Rites are called benevolence. Once this were achieved, then the world would be full of benevolence.” This results in the conclusion that the “Rites” are “benevolence”, and that if the Rites were implemented, then all the people would become “benevolent”. Therefore, the Rites have been pushed to the extreme: “One should look, listen, speak and act according to the requirements of the Rites and not the opposite”,⁽¹⁸⁾ which apparently, is Confucius’ attempt to reverse the situation of the “disintegration of the social institutions” during the Spring and Autumn Period.

It is worth noting that the Rites system in the pre-Qin period, as Yang Xiangkui put it, “No matter Chougong from the early Chou Dynasty or Confucius from the Spring and Autumn Period, their theories were all derivatives of the Rites and customs from the past.”⁽¹⁹⁾ In the early Chou Dynasty, the Rites had been elevated to the level of social norms which included looking, listening, speaking and acting. Therefore, when discussing the division of Jin Dynasty by the three schools, Sima Guang wrote, “Among a king’s duties, the most important one is to maintain the Rites, in which the most important thing is to differentiate the ruling and the ruled, and in which the most important thing is the rankings of officials. What are Rites? It is the law. What is differentiation? It is that the ruling and the ruled are different. What are titles? They are the rankings of officials, such as Gong, Hou, Qing and Dafu...Practicing the so-called Rites is to distinguish between the noble and the humble, to compare relatives to strangers, to categorize all things there are in the world, and to deal with daily affairs, for without a title one cannot articulate and without the object there is no form; only by using titles for people and names for things can the country be in order, and this is the very essence of the Rites. If there were no titles or names, how could the Rites exist on their own?”⁽²⁰⁾ The reason why Sima Guang’s book *History as a Mirror* started from “Jin Dynasty divided by the three schools of thought” is that he tried to use the situation to emphasize that the Confucian Rites

(17) 王国维 Wang Guowei, 《王国维论学集》 *Wang Guowei lun xue ji* [A Collection of Wang Guowei’s Works (北京 Beijing : 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Publishing House] · 1997) · 1-14.

(18) 朱熹 Zhu Xi, 《四书章句集注》 *Sishu zhangju ji zhu* [Commentaries on the Four Books], (北京 Beijing : 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2012) · 113.

(19) 杨向奎 Yang Xiangkui, 《礼的起源》 Li de qi yuan 【On the Origin of Li】 · 《孔子研究》 *Kongzi yanjiu* 【Confucius Studies】 · No. 1, (济南 Jinan: 中国孔子基金会 Zhongguo kongzi jijinhui 【China Confucius Foundation】 · 1986 · 34.

(20) 司马光 Sima Guang, 《资治通鉴》 *Zi zhi tong jian* [History as a Mirror], (上海 Shanghai : 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 1987) · 1.

were the most authoritative norms throughout Chinese history. The Rites advocated by Chou Gong had the same idea that Confucius pursued; therefore both had the same logic and were the same in essence. From the perspective of cultural inheritance, the very founder of the Confucianist School tried to use the ubiquitous “Rites” to reverse the situation of the “disintegration of the social institutions” in the Spring and Autumn Period. As in *Chapter Liqi, the Book of the Rites*, it says, “If one wished to understand things without the Rites, he would fail; if one acted without the Rites, he wouldn’t be respected; if one spoke without the Rites, he wouldn’t be trusted. Therefore, the Rites are the highest standards of all things.”⁽²¹⁾ Thus, it is true that this is a specific portrayal of the Rites system in the early Chou Dynasty.

Based on Wang Guowei’s research essay *Explaining Rites*, the word “Li (the Rites)” had already appeared in the oracle bone inscriptions, as he quoted on *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*: “Li is the norm of social etiquette: obeying the Rites is like people wearing shoes to walk. Abiding by the Rites leads to blessings.”⁽²²⁾ Thus, it is obvious that the Rites had always been a tradition throughout Chinese history. In addition, in *Chapter Yueji, the Book of the Rites*, it says, “The Rites are for people to restore their nature, to study the ancient Way, and not to forget its original intentions.”⁽²³⁾ In *Chapter Yueji, the Book of the Rites*, it also says, “The nature of Music is to give, and the nature of the Rites is to return”, and that “the meanings of the Rites and Music are indeed the same.”⁽²⁴⁾ In fact, the words “gu (ancient)” and “chu (the beginning)” referred to the ancestors who went through adversity to cultivate the mountains and forests. Therefore, it is concluded that the essence of the Rites is patriarchal blood kinship.

Regarding the origin and connotations of the Rites, the above quotations are not supposed to probe into the profound relationship between the Rites and patriarchal blood kinship, but to explain that since the very nature of the Rites is patriarchal blood kinship, upon which the political system was built, it can only result in a family-world, autocratic and centralized model in which the power is passed down from fathers to their sons. Although there are humanistic concerns in Confucius’ filial piety system, which has been revolutionary since the Shang and Chou Dynasties, they cannot cut off the complex relationships between fathers and their sons, as well as kings and the masses at the institutional level. If pushed to the extreme, the Rites are in fact an autocracy in which the power is inherited within the family. This is the inevitable result of the inseparability of the Confucianist’ ethics and political theory. From this, one can see the sharp conflict between the idea of Rites which were inherited from Chou Gong in *the Analects* and the idea of the succession of the thrones.

Regarding the issue above, answers have been sought from *Commentary on the Book of Changes*. As Zhang Xuecheng mentioned in *General Principles of History*, “*The Book of Changes* used the Way of Heaven to judge human affairs, while *the Spring and Autumn Annals* used human affairs to coordinate with the Way of Heaven, as examples can be found in the texts, which indicates that the sage should always be cautious.”⁽²⁵⁾ As far as “Qie Renshi” is concerned, it means that *Commentary on the Book of Changes* has a theoretical dimension of history,

(21) 孔颖达Kong Yingda, 《礼记正义》*Liji zheng yi* [Explaining the Book of the Rites], (上海Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 2008) · 1000.

(22) 许慎Xu Shen, 《说文解字》*Shuo wen jie zi*[Explanation of Script and Elucidation of Characters], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2013) · 1.

(23) 孔颖达Kong Yingda, 《礼记正义》*Liji zheng yi* [Explaining the Book of the Rites], (上海Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 2008) · 1000.

(24) 同上书 · 第1508页。

Ibid., pp. 1508.

(25) 章学诚Zhang Xuecheng, 《文史通义》*Wen shi tong yi*[General Principles of History], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2000) · 20.

culture, politics and the society. In *Xi Ci Zhuan*, it says, “Was the prosperity of *the Book of Changes* in the middle ancient times? Did the author not worry?”,⁽²⁶⁾ which has a spirit of reflection and a sense of anxiety. Although one cannot be sure if *Xi Ci Zhuan* was written by Confucius, there is no denying that Confucius had advocated such ideas in *the Book of Changes* based on the excavated silk books in Mawangdui—*Commentary on the Book of Changes* in Changsha, Hunan Province, let alone denying the fact that the core ideas of the handed-down *Xi Ci Zhuan* are indeed Confucius’. Based on the handed-down documents and the silk books unearthed in Mawangdui, Li Xueqin concluded that “in his later years, Confucius was very fond of *the Book of Changes*, and he also wrote *Commentary on the Book of Changes*, or he wrote part of it at least.”⁽²⁷⁾ He also added, “I certainly do not think *Commentary on the Book of Changes* in the pre-Qin era is the same version as the one we see today. The finalization of ancient books always required a long process, yet the main structure of *Commentary on the Book of Changes* had been constructed in the same era as *the Analects*, therefore it is closely associated with Confucius.”⁽²⁸⁾ Based on such a premise, one would not be surprised to discover that Chapter I of *Xi Ci Zhuan I* has a deep inner tension:

(7) Heaven is high and honorable, and the earth is low; Qian and Kun are determined accordingly. Things in the low and high are displayed; and they appear in order. Movement and stillness are constant, hence the distinction of the strong and the weak. Things of the same kind come together, and they are classified into different categories, hence the lucky and the unfortunate are produced.

(8) In Heaven there are signs and on earth there are forms, therefore transformations are seen. The hard and the soft interact with each other, and the eight trigrams are formed. Motivated by thunder and lightning, and fertilized by wind and rain, the orbit of the sun and the moon are created, hence the cold and the warmth. The Way of Qian makes the male and the Way of Kun makes the female.

(9) Qian brings the beginnings of all things, and Kun completes them. It is easy to perceive Qian through night and day, as well as Kun through all things in the world. The rules of Yi are easy to comprehend and follow. Such ease for comprehension would bring people closer to each other and such ease for implementation would help people achieve successes. Hence, Qian would be eternal and Kun would become spectacular, which would lead to the moralities and careers of the sages. With such ease, the Way of the world would be attained. With such attainment, people would then be able to find their places in the world.⁽²⁹⁾

From above, paragraph (7) is about the unchanging Rites, which means “Yi”; paragraph (8) is about change, which includes a view of historical development, either in order or chaos, and dialectics; and paragraph (9) is about how to comprehend the greatest morality. If one combined the three points above with the developments of

(26) 朱熹Zhu Xi, 廖明春Liao Chunming, 《周易本义》*Zhouyi ben yi* [The Original Meanings of the Book of Changes], (上海Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 2009) · 254.

(27) 李学勤Li Xueqin, 《古文献丛论》*Gu wenxian cong lun* [On the Academics and Thoughts in Early Ancient China], (北京Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [China Renmin University Pres] · 2009) · 4.

(28) 同上书·第5页。

Ibid., pp. 5.

(29) 朱熹Zhu Xi, 廖明春Liao Chunming, 《周易本义》*Zhouyi ben yi* [The Original Meanings of the Book of Changes], (上海Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 2009) · 221-223.

politics and history, he could see that Confucius had the budding idea or tendency to deny the immutable autocracy and the cyclical social model of ruling and disorder, and eventually advocated the succession of the thrones which led to a peak of Confucianists' moral politics—the Confucian “governance through inaction”. Such governance of Yi morality is the same as the morality mentioned in *Commentary on the Book of Changes*. If one combined Confucius' diligence in studying *the Book of Changes* (*Chapter Confucius' Life, Records of the Historian*) with his obsession in *Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*Chapter Yao, Commentary on the Book of Changes* from the excavated silk books in Mawangdui) in his later years, one could deduce that the three lost classics, the *Way of Tang and Yu, Zi Gao* and *Rong Cheng Shi* might have had some direct or indirect relationship with Confucius.

It is known to all that Confucius was humble all his life and he never claimed to have been a “sage” or “benevolent man”, yet he had no modesty in his diligent and enterprising spirit in pursuing his ideals, as he said in *Chapter Shu'er, the Analects*, “I have been so hard-working that I always forget to eat; I have been so happy that I did not have any worries; and I did not even realize that I have grown old.”⁽³⁰⁾ In *Chapter Gongyechang, the Analects*, he said, “Even in a place as small as ten households, there must be people who are loyal and trustworthy like me, but they are not as eager to learn as I am.”⁽³¹⁾ As recorded in *Chapter Confucius' Life, Records of the Historian*, Confucius had been fond of the Rites at an early age, which led to the gathering of disciples from everywhere, and as a result turned his dreams into reality: the great cause of educating three thousand disciples, among whom there were seventy sages. However, one wonders, with the “hard-working and enterprising spirit” and throughout the adversities, if Confucius' further developed his ideals at all. Is it logically possible for him to go into self-denial? Regardless of whether the above reasoning is affirmed, the inner tension in the first paragraph from the above *Xi Ci Zhuan I* is obvious. An explanation is that Confucius had a very brave spirit of self-denial. Of course, the question raised could only offer one dimension for consideration, and one should not draw any conclusions based on the reasoning above. However, from the texts in *the Analects* and *Commentary on the Book of Changes*, one could discover the internal contradiction between Confucius' ideas on the Rites and the succession of the thrones, which shows that there were two kinds of directions of development that existed in the pre-Qin primitive Confucianism.

As a unique critique of regime change at the time, why did the succession of the thrones eventually disappear throughout Chinese history? The answers should be sought through the terms “reasoning” and “potential” from ancient Chinese history and philosophy. In the realm of ancient Chinese history and philosophy, there is a saying called “resisting the potential with reasoning”. If this saying were applied to the study of the succession of the thrones, one could probably state that the potential development of the Rites centered on the patriarchal legal system is “potential”; in his later years, together with a few figures among the seventy disciples, Confucius witnessed the severe harms caused by the feudal warlords and the social model of regime change, and then advocated his political ideal, the succession of the thrones, which is “reasoning”. In other words, even though the succession of the thrones in the era of the pre-Qin Confucianist School was appealing in theory, and although it did possess an incomparably critical spirit against the cruel reality of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, it was impossible to be implemented at the time.

(30) 朱熹Zhu Xi, 《四书章句集注》*Sishu zhangju ji zhu*[Commentaries on the Four Books], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2012) · 98.

(31) 同上书·第83页。
Ibid., pp. 83.

Therefore, the succession of the thrones is “reasoning”, and the development of the pre-Qin society had its profound and complex historical logic, which is “potential”. The interaction of “reasoning” and “potential” in the pre-Qin era resulted in the loss of the former. When faced with the long-standing and deeply rooted patriarchal kinship system, the rise of the succession of the thrones was like hitting a stone with an egg, which is the fundamental reason why documents related to the succession of the thrones had been lost since the middle of the Warring States Period.

After examining the classics of the pre-Qin Confucianist School thoroughly, one could deduce that the true killer of the succession of the thrones was the Rites system. Li Xueqin held that the demise of the succession of the thrones was related to the farce of “the succession of the thrones” in the state of Yan. However, this was just accidental. How can this farce have such a huge impact on the demise of this great, long-standing trend of thought? One could be suspicious, for the development of history cannot be oversimplified, and he would need to rely on positive evidence from the classics only.

We hold that the ideals of Xunzi, who was the leader of the Jixia Academy, represented the mainstream of thought at the time. It is through Xunzi that one could find out how the ideal of the succession of the thrones of the pre-Qin Confucianist School came to an end. In *Chapter Zhenglun, the Book of Xunzi*, a summative criticism was made regarding the succession of the thrones from the perspective of supreme monarchical power and a bird-view perspective of the Rites, which might have been the consensus of most scholars from the Jixia Academy. This also reflects the irreversible trend of autocracy and the centralization of power in the development of pre-Qin society.

First, Xunzi put forward his criticism on the succession of the thrones in his essay *Zhenglun*. Before his criticism, Xunzi respected the Rites proposed by Confucius on the surface, yet his Rites had already been very different. Even though Confucius inherited the Rites from Chougong, he particularly emphasized the spirit of “benevolence”, the beauty of “neutralization”, and the integration of the Rites and Music, which was full of humanism and humanitarianism. However, in his works, Xunzi set the Rites as the norms of the society and he claimed in *Chapter Zhenglun* that “The Rites were the root of everything else.”⁽³²⁾ The idea that “the superior acts and the inferior follows, as well as kings should set examples for the masses” was originally proposed by the pre-Qin Confucianist School, yet the representative works of the primitive Confucianist School, such as *the Analects* and *the Book of Mencius*, not only pursued the relationship between the superior and the inferior, but also emphasized the interaction of the two, as evidence could be found in *Chapter Lilouxia, the Book of Mencius*: “If the king treated the people like siblings, then they would treat him like a confidant; if the king treated the people like dogs or horses, then they would treat him like a stranger; if the king treated the people like dirt, then they would treat him like an enemy.”⁽³³⁾ In Xunzi’s view, the king was the criteria for the people, all the reasoning, and the source of existence. Thus, the spirit of equality and interaction was changed by Xunzi and it was replaced by the authoritativeness of kings who became the criteria for everything there was, which was a precursor for the “Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues”.

Second, Xunzi believed that if the Rites had been implemented all over the country, there would be sage kings, which would restrain a fatuous king like Jiezhou from stealing the supreme power of the state. “Jiezhou only stole the power of the state, not the power of the world”, as Xunzi argued in *Chapter Zhenglun*, “...A state is

(32) 王先谦 Wang Xianqian, 《荀子集解》 *Xunzi ji jie* [Explaining the Book of Xunzi], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1988) · 321.

(33) 朱熹 Zhu Xi, 《四书章句集注》 *Sishu zhangju ji zhu* [Commentaries on the Four Books], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 2012) · 295.

small, which could be owned by the inferior, obtained stealthily and maintained by a weak force; yet the world is big, which could not be owned, obtained or maintained in the same way.”⁽³⁴⁾ According to Xunzi, since the king rose above the Rites system, he should be entitled to holiness naturally. Therefore, the king has a supreme and unshakable position, as evidence can be found in *Chapter Zhenglun*:

The world must be ruled by the right people. In the world, the heaviest burden could not be carried by those who are not most powerful; the broadest scope could not be distinguished by those are not most intelligent; the largest number of people could not be harmonized by those who are not most brilliant. Such a mission could not be accomplished by those who are not sages, and those who are not sages could not run the world. Sages are those who have the best moralities and are perfect in every way and they are the criteria for everything in the world...Countries could be owned by the inferior yet they would perish; the world is the broadest and it could only be owned by sages.⁽³⁵⁾

From above, Xunzi separated “the state” from “the world”, and he treated them as two distinct concepts. In addition, he argued further and distinguished the ordinary feudal warlords of a state from the supreme sage kings in the world, and the latter the acme of all human relations. In any case, Xunzi’s arguments were of utopian nature, and they had only helped strengthen the mysteriousness of the power of the so-called “sage kings”, which had created a pavilion for China’s future kings who could only be looked up to and the masses had to be obedient. Of course, it is one thing that Xunzi’s theory is incomplete, it is another that his theory has been deliberately misused and transformed.

Third, it is therefore logical that according to Xunzi, in a country ruled by the unrealistic “sage king”, “King Yao and King Shun had perfect morals and wisdom. They sat facing the south and ruled the world, and there was no commoner who did not fear to obey, or did not get educated to bow before them, and there were no hermits or decent men who went missing. Everything said or done by Yao and Shun were right, so why would the succession of the thrones be necessary?”⁽³⁶⁾ From this point of view, Xunzi completely justified that the Confucianists’ Rites system he reformed would lead to the birth of “sage kings”, and everything would be perfect, so it was not necessary to implement the succession of thrones. In fact, according to Taishigong’s critique in *Chapter the Essential Ideas of the Six Schools, Records of the Historian*, Xunzi’s thoughts had a fatal flaw that “they were extensive but unessential, requiring much effort yet having little effect, so they were hard to comply with fully.”⁽³⁷⁾ In addition, according to Xunzi, the legend of the successions of the thrones of King Yao and King Shun, as he put it in *Chapter Zhenglun*, “is nonsense, and it is a rumor from the shallow, who had no sense of right or wrong, who didn’t have the right understanding of the country and the world, as well as the superior and the inferior, and who couldn’t comprehend the greatest truth of the world.”⁽³⁸⁾ Just as he failed to understand Mencius’ theory of

(34) 王先谦Wang Xianqian, 《荀子集解》*Xunzi ji jie*[Explaining the Book of Xunzi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1988) · 326.

(35) 同上书 · 第324-325页。
Ibid., pp. 324-325.

(36) 同上书 · 第331页。
Ibid., pp. 331.

(37) 司马迁Sima Qian, 《史记》*Shi ji*[Records of the Historian], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1959) · 3289.

(38) 王先谦Wang Xianqian, 《荀子集解》*Xunzi ji jie*[Explaining the Book of Xunzi], (北京Beijing: 中华书局Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company] · 1988) · 3.

good nature, Xunzi didn't truly understand the value of the succession of the thrones due to the limitations of his era. Relying on the long-standing influence of the Rites system, Xunzi advocated the idea of the so-called "sage king" to replace the pre-Qin primitive Confucianist' "succession of the thrones", and hence indeed simplified a profound issue.

In fact, in more than two thousand years of history that followed, the Rites had indeed been implemented, yet there was never a "sage king" and the perfect scene depicted by Xunzi had never appeared. Thus, it can be seen that as an ideal from the early ancient times, the succession of the thrones still needs to be pursued through Chinese people's relentless efforts.

Conclusion

Throughout history, all great philosophers have been inevitably entangled in the past and future visions. The contradiction manifested in the theory of state power embodied by *the Analects* shows exactly the dilemma the majority of the intellectual was in when they were in a state of being torn apart by history. From the perspective of the Rites, it has a profound folklore foundation, that is, the "potential" of historical philosophy and has an irresistible historical inertia. From the perspective of the "succession of the thrones", it has extensive universality, and it is the greatest truth in the world. The introduction of the succession of the thrones by the pre-Qin Confucianist School shows their criticism of reality and that it is an attempt to "revolt against the potential with reasoning".

Undoubtedly, judging from the contents above, if one examined the chaotic situation of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, the ideal of the "succession of the thrones" had been extremely pedantic, and it had been nothing but a dream. It was crashed by the ruling class of multiple feudal states and the traditional Rites system, and this only led to a dead end. However, the succession of the thrones had a spirit towards criticism of reality, as well as deep sympathy for the vast number of people who lived in adversity. In the dark political arena of the pre-Qin era, the "succession of the thrones" was like a comet's light sparkling across the vast night sky and faded away within seconds. Other than being a utopia throughout a few thousand years of Chinese political history and manipulated by those who had tried to steal power, it never really played an important role. However, in today's era of economic globalization, the "succession of the thrones" seems to have become a bridge between ancient Chinese political culture and the modern "democratic system". The succession of the thrones was a dream of the Chinese ancestors a few thousand years ago which was never realized in the eras of ancient autocracy. It is worth noting that the succession of the thrones is only a political ideal, as well as a value and philosophy. It has profoundly reflected the Chinese people's thirst for the justice of the political system and power since the ancient times. This national psychology of "longing" might just be a bridge and cornerstone for the contemporary Chinese political system to meet the world.

In *Zi Gao*, it asks: "What would it take to be king?"⁽³⁹⁾ In *Parents of the Masses*, it also asks, "How could a king become the guardian of the masses?"⁽⁴⁰⁾ These two quotations have raised a question concerning the justice of political power. As *the Way of Tang and Yu* narrates in detail: "The successions of the thrones regard moralities

(39) 马承源Ma Chengyuan主编：《上海博物馆藏战国楚竹书》（二）*Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhu shu (er)* [Chu Slips of the Warring States Period from Shanghai Museum II] · (上海Shanghai：上海古籍出版社Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House] · 2001) · 33.

(40) 同上书·第17页。

Ibid., pp. 17.

as the priority and therefore the power of the state should be given to the sages. With such kings, there would be justice in the world and the people would pursue the Way of Heaven and the Way of Man. Without such kings, there would be no better way to rule the world.”⁽⁴¹⁾This passage from *the Way of Tang and Yu* has raised a sharp question, that is, a country or regime should not only make the masses fed; more importantly, it should make the masses “comprehend the Way”. In other words, each independent individual must be an integration of the Way of Man and the Way of Heaven. It is only through this way that social intergrity and harmony can be established. The fundamental premise of these establishments is the legitimacy and justice of the political power. This is at least the very essence of the primitive Confucianists’ political philosophy that is seen today when one interprets the succession of the thrones of the pre-Qin primitive Confucianist School. As early as more than two thousand years ago, the Chinese ancestors had already had such political ideals, one should be very proud as heirs of the Chinese culture. However, if this ideal could not be realized through the means of modern science and democracy, then it would indeed be a shame.

(41) 李零Li Ling, 《郭店楚简校读记》*Guodian chu jian jiaodu ji*[Annotations on the Unearthed Bamboo Slips of Chu State Tombs at Guodian], (北京Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [China Renmin University Pres] · 2007) · 125.

中文题目：
中国上古时期禅让制研究

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提要：禅让制的思想很有可能萌生于孔子，形成于七十子，在荀子的时代“礼”学强势面前衰落。这个过程反映了先秦儒家对中国传统政治体制在理论与实践层面的艰苦探索。禅让制既是对中国上古历史史实的发挥，也是直接面对当时的社会现实问题所开出的救世良方。《尚书·尧典》开门见山描述的就是禅让制的社会盛况。《论语》中对尧舜禹的称赞，就是对禅让制的称赞，但是与其“礼”学思想有内部的紧张。楚简文献《唐虞之道》、《容成氏》与原始儒学的深层关系否定了它们是墨家作品的可能性。先秦儒家禅让制的思想遭到了诸侯各国既得利益者以及传统“礼”制两方面的强烈挤压，这是《唐虞之道》和《容成氏》等相关文献湮没无闻成为佚籍的真正原因。禅让制思想的骨子里有一种对现实的批判精神，对生活在水深火热中的广大人民具有深刻的同情，是我们当今政治生活建设过程中的一笔重要的民族资源。

关键词：先秦儒家·禅让制·礼·孔孟荀·理与势

从儒学之“敬”到朝鲜东学“三敬”

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摘要：儒家主“敬”，持敬作为一种意识、态度和德目，乃是宋明理学心性修养的功夫论，在整个儒学体系中举足轻重。高丽末期，程朱理学正式传入朝鲜半岛，朝鲜儒学加速发展，形成了具有本土特色性的理学。朝鲜朝以儒教立国，儒家的修齐治平、持敬存诚，朝野士庶皆知。东学是韩国19世纪最主要的新兴思潮之一，其修养学说为“三敬”，即敬天、敬物、敬人。本文认为，“三敬”思想秉承自儒家，“三敬”的特色在“敬物”。“敬物”思想巩固了人人平等的理念，又把这种平等观扩大到万物，其对自然的温情体贴态度与近世西学的人类中心主义对对照鲜明。现代环境污染、生态失衡、人情淡漠的现状，很大程度上肇源于人类中心主义与个体主义所导致的敬畏感缺失。从这一角度看，东学“敬物”思想作为儒家之“敬”在朝鲜近代思潮中的余响，于人类命运而言又可谓一种前瞻的智慧。

关键词：儒家；敬；朝鲜东学；敬物

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一、儒家“敬”学说源流述略

据《诗经》、《尚书》载，尧舜时便有很强的“敬”的观念，其最初源于人对自然的畏惧和对生存的忧患，这从当时盛行的祭祀活动中可看出端倪。先民通过祭祀来沟通神明以求得庇佑，对神明的戒惧态度可谓“敬”的初始表现。至春秋，“敬”的内涵扩大、地位上升，不仅指面对自然与命运时的心理状态，还包括一个人独处与处世的某种态度，甚至成为一位君子的德行修养。

《论语》中有二十几处讲到“敬”，大多数指待人接物的态度，如“敬事而信”、“居处恭，执事敬”等。《宪问》篇中，“子路问君子。子曰：‘修己以敬。’曰：‘如斯而已乎？’曰：‘修己以安人。’曰：‘如斯而已乎？’曰：‘修己以安百姓。’”此处是把敬作为德行修养的目标。至《孟子》，则有四十余处涉及“敬”，其中二十多处讲的是对人在礼仪和态度上的尊重，如：

父子主恩，君臣主敬，丑见王之敬子也，未见所以敬王也。（《公孙丑下》）

爱人者，人恒爱之；敬人者，人恒敬之。（《离娄下》）

用下敬上，谓之贵贵，用上敬下，谓之尊贤。（《万章下》）

此外，孟子已经开始对“敬”加以解释，他说：陈善闭邪谓之敬。（《离娄上》）即，开陈善德、禁闭邪心就是“敬”，孟子此说进一步拓展了“敬”的内涵，使其具有了修身内省的含义。荀子也曾论述“敬”，《荀子》一书中出现“敬”字达一百多处。《修身》篇曰“体恭敬而心忠信”，《不苟》篇讲“君子大心则敬天而道，小心则畏义而节”，《臣道》篇则曰：

仁者必敬人。凡人非贤，则案不肖也。人贤而不敬，则是禽兽也；人不肖而不敬，则是狎虎也。禽兽则乱，狎虎则危，灾及其身矣。诗曰：“不敢暴虎，不敢冯河。人知其一，莫知其

他。战战兢兢，如临深渊，如履薄冰。”此之谓也。故仁者必敬人。敬人之道，贤者则贵而敬之，不肖者则畏而敬之；贤者则亲而敬之，不肖者则疏而敬之。其敬一也，其情二也。（《荀子·臣道》）

由上可看出，荀子的“敬一情二”论，将“敬”的对象扩大了一倍，兼及贤者和不肖者，对贤者敬而亲之，不肖者敬而远之，前者可亲贤进德，后者可明哲保身。

总而言之，先秦时期，“敬”的内涵由最初对天的态度扩展到人身上来，成为一种对人的伦理性要求。先秦儒家“敬”的诸多含义是外指性的，即有一种外在的对象与之相对应，或事，或天，或祖，或长上；至荀子，敬的对象则兼及贤者和不肖者。

“敬”的学说至宋明而系统化、深刻化，上升为儒家德性修养的基本功夫。《周易·坤·文言》里提出“君子敬以直内，义以方外”，二程以之为根据，提出“主敬”的修养方法，其后的理学家则在不同程度和不同角度上进行完善与阐释，从而使“主敬”在儒家的修养功夫论上凸显出来。

北宋前期，理学的奠基者周敦颐在与释老两家进行论辩的基础上，首创儒家心性修养上的“主静”说，作《太极图说》言：“定之以中正仁义而主静”，“无欲故静”。所谓“无欲”，指的是充养有方从而达至某种无有欲念纷飞的心灵状态，泰定而安静。程颢程颐兄弟吸收了周敦颐的“主静”说，继而回溯《周易》“敬以直内，义以方外”的文辞，推出一个“主敬”说。二程虽都“主敬”，但彼此亦有差异。程颢“诚敬”并提，主张在用“敬”之时“勿忘勿助”，不能过分断严、把持不放，否则会影响内心的平静和谐，他说：“今之学者敬而未见得，又不安者，只是心生，亦是太以敬来做事得重”⁽¹⁾，认为持“敬”要恰到好处，以不影响身心安乐为宜。程颐主“敬”，则包括内外两方面，外要求“整齐严肃”，内要求“主一无适”，他说：“俨然正其衣冠，尊其瞻视，其中自有个敬处”⁽²⁾，又说：“动容貌，整思虑，则自然生敬。敬无他，只是整齐严肃，则心便一，一则是无非僻之奸”⁽³⁾，就是说要注意外在的举止和形象，衣冠宜端正，表情应严肃，通过外在的情态威仪，来让“敬”在内心生起。那么，程颐认为何为“敬”呢？其要在“主一”：“或问敬，子曰：‘主一谓敬。’‘何谓一？’子曰：‘无适之谓一。’”宽问：“如何是主一？愿先生善喻。”先生曰：“敬有甚身影，只收敛身心便是主一。”⁽⁴⁾又说：“所谓敬者，主一之谓敬；所谓一者，无适之谓一。且欲涵咏主一之义，一则是无二三矣。”也就是说，程颐先生的“主一”是要身心收敛一处，同时又保持内心的中和，既不至东，也不至西，而是中道行之，不偏不倚，其实也还是在内心的养善闭邪上下功夫。

朱熹是理学之集大成者，他继承和发展了二程，“敬”到朱熹这里，成为更重要的修养功夫。朱熹主张，“敬”乃是“圣门第一义”，其对“敬”的重视程度如此。朱熹言“敬”，在继承小程“主一”与“整齐严肃”外，又增添“收敛”、“惺惺”、“谨畏”等意，而以“畏”训“敬”，可以看作朱熹“敬”说的一个鲜明特色。朱熹十分强调“敬畏”：“有甚事？只如畏字相似，不是块然兀坐，耳无闻，目不见，全不省事之谓，只收敛身心，整齐纯一，不凭地放纵，便见敬。”“敬只是收敛来”，“敬只是一个畏字”，“敬不是万事休置之谓，只是随事专一，谨畏，不放逸耳。”⁽⁵⁾朱熹在阐释二

(1) [宋]程颐Cheng Yi、[宋]程颢Cheng Hao：《二程集》Er cheng ji [Anthology of Two-Cheng]，《河南程氏遗书》Henan chengshi yishu[Remaining Documents of Two-Cheng]，北京Beijing：中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company]，1981·13。

(2) [宋]程颐Cheng Yi、[宋]程颢Cheng Hao：《河南程氏遗书》卷十八Henan chengshi yishu juan shiba[Remaining Documents of Two-Cheng, Vol 18]，北京Beijing：中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company]，1981，182。

(3) 同上。

(4) [宋]程颐Cheng Yi、[宋]程颢Cheng Hao：《河南程氏粹言》卷一Henan chengshi cuiyan[Essential Words of Two-Cheng, Vol 18]，北京Beijing：中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company]，1981，1183。

(5) [宋]朱熹Zhu Xi：《朱子语类》卷十二Zhu zi yulei juan shi'er[Analects of Zhu Xi]，北京Beijing：中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company]，1986，208。

程先生的“主一”时，也偏重发挥戒惧小心之“畏”的方面义，从而丰富了二程“主一”的内涵。朱熹说：“遇事临深履薄而为之，不敢轻为，不敢妄为，乃是‘主一无适’。一如汤之‘圣敬习齐’，文王‘小心翼翼’之类，皆是。只是他便与敬为一，自家须用持着，稍缓则忘了，所以常要惺惺地”⁽⁶⁾。不止于此，朱熹又把“涵养致知”和“敬”相联系起来，他发挥程颐先生“涵养须用敬，进学在致知”的主张，提出“主敬以立其本，穷理以进其知”，把“主敬”思想发挥到极致。

在心性修养功夫上，一般认为理学家主“敬”，而心学家主“静”，其实并不是绝对的，两派并非全然排斥对方之所主，而是基于同样的对天道性命的理解，彼此补益。朱熹之后，主“敬”说作为儒门修养功夫为后学所继承，后皆是在朱熹的主“敬”基础上进行小修小补，“敬”的内涵并未有多大变化，有“海东儒学双璧”美誉的退溪李滉（1501-1570）与栗谷李珣（1536-1584）亦在此列。

综上可知，儒家的“敬”说乃是旗帜鲜明且一脉相承的，经历了一个较明显的概念演变，从原初的畏惧、忧患意识，到先秦成为待人处事的态度和德目，到宋明理学则进入儒学心性修养的功夫论，并且占据了举足轻重的位置。

二、朝鲜东学“三敬”说摘要

朝鲜王朝以儒教立国，儒学影响之深，遍及朝野，虽乡间小民、市井贩夫，对儒家的诚信立本、敬天爱人德目亦熟谙。东学教理创始人崔济愚生于庆州一个儒生家庭，秉承庭训，熏习年深，其建立思想体系之初，自然倾向于倚重儒学。崔济愚尊儒学为“圣教”，指出“圣教”之要在仁义礼智，其核心社会功能为“明人伦，行教化”。正是承续儒家重德性教化的传统，崔积极整合利用儒学思想资源，以对抗传入朝鲜的西方文化，创立起东学“三敬”修养学说。东学思潮成为朝鲜19世纪最主要的新兴思潮之一，其修养学说扼要鲜明，即“三敬”：敬天、敬物、敬人。

朝鲜王朝到了19世纪后半叶，处于一个重大的转折期，即从独尊儒学的封建制国家开始渐次步入近代化，而其过程乃是受迫的。西方列强和东邻日本的接续侵略，将朝鲜民众的民族反抗意识大大激发了出来，同时，朝鲜社会也被平等、民主、自由等思潮以及生活方式深深影响，下层民众与上层统治者之间的矛盾激化，变得难以调和。社会乱象带来朝鲜思想界的动荡，为统治者所倚重的儒家学说从而有了被重新解读的可能。⁽⁷⁾这一背景下，朝鲜统治阶层中同时出现三派，对儒学的态度有着明显的差异：第一派是“斥邪卫正派”，以正统自居，力图捍卫朱子学的思想纯洁性；第二派是“全盘西化派”，主张儒学已过时，且导致民族国家积贫积弱，应全然抛弃；第三派被称为“开化派”，主张因时损益儒学，同时接纳西方的先进器物 and 思潮，取好用之。与此同时，东学思潮在底层民众群体中兴起，可以说体现了朝鲜王朝末期一种有代表性的民间思潮的涌动，表达出底层社会民众超克现实生活困境的诉求。

东学思想体系的核心为“侍天主”和“诚敬信”，“天主”与“气化”的普遍存在，决定了人与他人、与天地万物本质上是平等的、一体的，这乃是东学“诚敬信”德目的依据，崔济愚在《座箴》中说道：“吾道博而约，不用多言义。别无他道理，诚敬信三字。这里做工夫，透后方可知，不怕尘念起，惟恐觉来知”⁽⁸⁾。”⁽⁹⁾《海月神师法说》之《诚·敬·信》篇载：“吾道只在诚敬信三字，若非大德，实

(6) [宋]朱熹Zhuxi:《朱子语类》卷十二Zhuzi yulei juan shi'er[*Analects of Zhu Xi*], 北京Beijing:中华书局Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1986, 495.

(7) 王坤Wang Kun:“朝鲜东学创教与思想体系考”Chaoxian dongxue chuangjiao yu sixiang tixi kao[*The Establishment and Ideological System of Korean Donghak*],《世界宗教文化》Shijie zongjiao wenhua[*The Religious Cultures in the World*], 2015(04):34-39.

(8) 疑为“迟”。

(9) 《东经大全·座箴》Dongjing Daquan-Zuozhen[동경대전·좌참, *Classics of Donghak- Proverbs*],《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]:天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism], 2001, 74.

难践行，果能诚敬信，入圣如反掌。”⁽¹⁰⁾东学言诚信言必言敬。“敬者道之主，身之用，修行行身，唯敬从事。”⁽¹¹⁾到第二代思想领袖崔时亨，则根据所恭敬的对象不同，做了“敬天”、“敬人”、“敬物”的分殊：

人首先不得不敬天，此乃先师创明之道法。不知敬天原理者，为不知爱真理之人。所以者何？天主握着真理之表。然敬天断非向虚空恭敬上帝，恭敬我心即是敬天之正道，所谓“吾心不敬，即天地不敬。”人知敬天，而后知自己永生；知敬天，而后得悟“人吾同胞，物吾同胞”之理谛；知敬天，而后生为他人牺牲之心、为世界尽义务之心。故敬天为把持世间所有真理之中枢。其二为敬人，敬天依存于敬人之行为，通过敬人之事实方显出敬天之效果。只知敬天而不敬人，有如知农事理致而不对地播种之行为，修道者唯有待人如天，才是真正行道者。道家人来，不语人来，而语天主降临，不敬人唯敬鬼神，则何实效之有？愚俗知恭敬鬼神而贱待人，是何异于恭敬父母亡魂而贱待父母之为生人？天主离人则无居处，弃人而恭敬天主，有如弃水而求解渴之道。其三为敬物。人能敬人，非道德之极致，臻敬物之境，方能与天地气化之德合一。⁽¹²⁾

言及“三敬”的实际功用时，崔时亨说：

人人敬心则气血泰和，人人敬人则万民来会，人人敬物则万相来仪。伟哉，敬之敬之也夫！⁽¹³⁾

我心不敬，天地不敬；我心不安，天地不安；我心不敬不安，天地父母长时不顺也。此无异于不孝之事，逆其天地父母之志，不孝莫大于此也。戒之慎之。⁽¹⁴⁾

强调我心与天地、父母的密切关联，只有对三者恭敬一如，才是真正的敬，才能真正实现内心的安宁、父母的安宁和天地的安宁。又：

(10) 《海月神师法说·诚敬信》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo-Cheng jing xin[해월신사법설·성경신, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Sincerity, Respect, Faith*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, Classics of Cheondoism], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanju[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 303.

(11) 《海月神师法说·降书》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Jiangshu[해월신사법설·강서, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Heavenly Descended Book*] · 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, Classics of Cheondoism], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanju[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 401.

(12) 笔者译。《海月神师法说·三敬》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo-San jing[해월신사법설·삼경, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Three Respects*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, Classics of Cheondoism], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanju[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 354-358.

(13) 《海月神师法说·诚敬信》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo-Cheng jing xin[해월신사법설·성경신, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Sincerity, Respect, Faith*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, Classics of Cheondoism], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanju[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001 · 305-306.

(14) 《海月神师法说·守心正气》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Shouxin zhengqi[해월신사법설·수심정기, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Keeping Mindful*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, Classics of Cheondoism], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanju[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001 · 298-299.

心不喜乐，天不感应；心常喜乐，天常感应。我心我敬⁽¹⁵⁾，天亦悦乐。守心正气，是近天地我心也。真心天必好之，天必乐之。⁽¹⁶⁾

如上，只有恭敬自己的内心像恭敬天主一样，才会中心愉悦，中心愉悦才能和天主感通，而守心正气是达致中心愉悦的途径，敬心才是敬天。崔时亨告诉门人，树林间的鸟声也是在侍奉天主。这种体认不无浪漫气息，宇宙万物都有“天主”，因而人应像敬天一样，对他人恭敬，对万物恭敬，即崔时亨所概括的“三敬”：敬天、敬物、敬人。

(一) 敬天

“三敬”之首为敬天。在追仰天之威德时，崔时亨引儒家经典如是：

《葩经》曰：“畏天之威，于时保之。”此敬天也。邹圣曰：“莫之为而为者天也。”此信天也。正心正身，勿获罪于天，竭诚尽忠，勿获罪于上。⁽¹⁷⁾

在《天地父母》篇中则说：

天地即父母，父母即天地。天地父母，一体也。父母之胞胎，即天地之胞胎。今人但知父母胞胎之理，不知天地胞胎之理气也。天地盖载，非德而何也？日月照临，非恩而何也？万物化生，非天地理气造化而何也？天地，万物之父母也。……不知天地其父母之理者，迄五万年久矣，皆不知天地之父母，则亿兆苍生孰能以孝养父母之道，敬奉天地乎？父母之胞胎，即天地之胞胎，人之幼孩时，吮其母乳，即天地之乳也。长而食五谷，亦是天地之乳也。……乳与谷者，是天地之禄也。人知天地之禄，则必知食告之理也，知母之乳而长之则必生孝养之心也。食告，反哺之理也，报恩之道也。对食必告于天地，不忘其恩，为本也。……人不离天，天不离人，故人之一呼吸一动静一衣食，是相与之机也。天依人，人依食，万事知，食一碗。人依食而资其生成，天依人而现其造化。人之呼吸动静屈伸衣食，皆天主造化之力，天人相与之机，须臾不可离也。⁽¹⁸⁾

这段文本将人应敬天的原因描述得非常具体。海月对弟子有“十毋天”的训诫：“毋欺天，毋慢天，毋伤天，毋乱天，毋夭天，毋污天，毋侮天，毋坏天，毋厌天，毋屈天。”⁽¹⁹⁾这里的“天”除狭义的“天

(15) 此为韩国语序，宾语在谓语前，意同汉语表述法“我敬我心”。后引文类似情况参考此条。

(16) 《海月神师法说·守心正气》Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Shouxin zhengqi[해월신사법설·수심정기, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Keeping Mindful*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanshu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001 · 301-302.

(17) 《海月神师法说·降书》Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Jiangshu[해월신사법설·강서, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Heavenly Descended Book*] · 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanshu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 397.

(18) 《海月神师法说·天地父母》Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Tiandi fumu[해월신사법설·천지부모, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Heaven and Earth as Parents*] · 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanshu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 249-254.

(19) 《海月神师法说·十毋天》Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Shi wu tian[해월신사법설·십무천, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Ten things not to do to Heaven*] · 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanshu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism] · 2001, 374.

主”之“天”外，还包括人与物。因为“天主”是泛在的，在每个人身上，在世间万物中，于是在这里海月索性将“人”与“物”一并称为“天”，而“敬天”落实在“敬人”和“敬物”上方充实具体、可行可信。

(二) 敬人

崔时亨在《待人接物》篇中讲过这样一件事：

余过清州徐垞淳家，闻其子妇织布之声，问徐君曰：“彼谁之织布之声耶？”徐君对曰：“生之子妇织布也。”又问曰：“君之子妇织布，果是君之子妇织布耶？”徐君不卞吾言矣。何独徐君耶？道家人来，勿人来言，天主降临言。道家妇人轻勿打儿，打儿即打天矣。天厌气伤，道家妇人不畏天厌气伤而轻打幼儿，则其儿必死矣。(20)

东学倡导“敬人”，特别强调对妇孺的敬重。妇人和幼子属于当时社会人群中的弱势，许多韩国学者认为，东学的“敬人”思想开了韩国近代历史上维护妇女和儿童权益的先河。崔时亨又说：

孰非我长，孰非我师？吾虽妇人小儿之言，可学而可师也。(21)

毁斥伤生，君子谓之不孝也。论人长短，大害道德也。良工之庭，不拒曲材；明医之门，不拒病夫；圣道之席，不拒愚夫。(22)

发挥孔子“三人行必有我师焉”的训诫，追慕圣门有教无类、明医广济苍生的平等博爱思想，突出对社会弱势阶层的尊重。《中庸》讲“君子之道，造端乎夫妇，及其至也，察乎天地”，东学亦强调夫妇之道，《海月神师法说》中有专门的一篇《夫和妇顺》，其中讲到：

妇人，一家之主也。敬天也，奉祀也，接宾也，制衣也，调食也，生产也，布织也，皆莫非必由于妇人之手中也。男乾女坤，男女不和则天地丕塞，男女和合则天地泰和矣。夫妇即天地者，此之谓也。妇人不敏，虽日用三牲之养，天必不应也。夫妇不和，子孙零落。女人偏性，其或生性，为其夫者，尽心竭诚，拜之，一拜再拜，温言顺辞，勿加怒气，虽盗跖之恶，必入于化育之中。如是拜，如是拜。(23)

(20) 《海月神师法说·待人接物》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Dairen jiewu[해월신사법설·대인접물, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- The Way Getting Along with People*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 279-281.

(21) 《海月神师法说·待人接物》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Dairen jiewu[해월신사법설·대인접물, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- The Way Getting Along with People*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 285-286.

(22) 《海月神师法说·待人接物》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Dairen jiewu[해월신사법설·대인접물, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- The Way Getting Along with People*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 286-287.

(23) 《海月神师法说·夫和妇顺》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Fuhe fushun[해월신사법설·부화부순, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Harmonious Couple*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 340-341.

而针对弟子关于妇人修道的提问，则更是给予积极肯定的回答：

问曰：“吾道之内，妇人修道奖励，是何故也？”神师曰：“妇人，家之主也。为饮食，制衣服，育婴儿，待宾奉祀之役，妇人堪当矣。主妇若无诚而俱食，则天必不感应，无诚而育儿则儿必不充实。妇人修道，吾道之大本也。自此以后，妇人道通者多出矣，此一男九女而比之运也。过去之时，妇人压迫，当今此运，妇人道通活人者亦多矣。此人皆是母之胞胎中生长者如也。”⁽²⁴⁾

东学倡导的平等不仅在乎男女长幼之间，对班常、嫡庶间的不平等，东学亦主张彻底消弭，看《布德》篇可知：

吾道之内一切勿别班常。我国之内，有两大弊风，

一则嫡庶之别，次则班常之别。嫡庶之别，亡家之本；班常之别，亡国之本。此是吾国内痼疾也。吾道头目之下，必有百盛之大头目，诸君慎之，相互以敬为主，勿为层节。此世之人，皆是天主生之，以使天民敬之，以后可谓太平也。⁽²⁵⁾

（三） 敬物

“三敬”思想之中，其极致为“敬物”。“敬物”功德甚大，“万物莫非待天主，能知此理，则杀生不禁而自禁矣。燕雀之卵不破，以后凤凰来仪；草木之苗不折，以后山林茂盛矣。手折花枝则未摘其实，遗弃废物则不得致富。羽族三千，各有其类，毛虫三千，各有其命。敬物则德及万邦矣。”⁽²⁶⁾不仅言语谆谆，崔时亨亦用自身的实际践履对弟子进行教化，可谓言传身教兼备：

宇宙间充满着，都是浑元之一气也。一步足，不敢轻举也。余闲居时，一小儿着屐而趋前，其声鸣地，惊起抚胸曰：“其儿屐声，我胸痛矣。”惜地如母之肌肤，母之肌肤所重乎？一袜子所重乎？的知此理，体此敬畏之心，虽大雨之中，初不湿鞋也。此玄妙之理也，知者鲜矣，行者寡矣。吾今日始言大道之真谈也。⁽²⁷⁾

此种感同身受的敏锐与温情，细细体味是十分感人的。对大地尚能体贴如此，则对于人及天主的真挚礼敬自不待言。

(24) 《海月神师法说·妇人修道》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Furen xiudao[해월신사법설·부인수도, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Women's Spiritual Practice*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 342-343.

(25) 《海月神师法说·布德》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Bude[해월신사법설·포덕, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- On Virtues*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 388-390.

(26) 《海月神师法说·待人接物》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo- Dairen jiewu[해월신사법설·대인접물, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- The Way Getting Along with People*]·《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 287-288.

(27) 《海月神师法说·诚敬信》 Haiyue shenshi fashuo-Cheng jing xin[해월신사법설·성경신, *Master Hae-wol's Teachings- Sincerity, Respect, Faith*], 《天道教经典》Tiandaojiao jingdian[천도교경전, *Classics of Cheondoism*], 首尔Shou er[서울, Seoul]: 天道教中央总部出版部Tiandaojiao zhongyang zongbu chubanbu[천도교중앙총부출판부, Publishing Department of the Central Headquarters of Cheondoism]·2001, 305-306.

三、东学“敬物”思想

如上，我们扼要梳理了儒门“敬”说和东学“三敬”说，发现其“敬”的基本含义皆为礼敬、恭敬。东学“三敬”包括“敬天”、“敬人”和“敬物”，可以说，渊源皆在儒家。“敬天”传统古已有之，自先秦而宋明，沿袭递进；“敬人”乃儒门君子修身之基本规范，不待细论；孟子主“仁民爱物”，然而“民”和“物”毕竟分位是不同的，故对二者之所施不能无差等，张横渠亦吐露“民胞物与”襟抱，而“胞”（同胞）和“与”（朋友、伙伴）的地位也显然是有差池的。在思想史上，朝鲜东学第一次将“敬天”、“敬人”和“敬物”这三敬并举。在析义论理上，儒学“敬”说比东学“三敬”说精微许多，但正因为“三敬”说浅显而具体，平民百姓更加容易理解和实践，故而其在19世纪后半叶之朝鲜民间反而拥有健壮的生命力。

值得注目的是东学的“敬物”思想。张载的“民胞物与”本乎“气论”。张载认为，宇宙充盈着“太和”之气，天地万类种种不同，都不外乎是“气”大化流行的结果，故人不唯与他人，而且和宇宙万物，在根本上是同此一“太和之气”的。这种万物一体的宇宙观，将人发自内心的真挚情感推及宇宙万物，决定了人对一切存在的普遍关爱。而东学“敬物”思想的根据，则是“天主”的“泛在”，即“天主”普遍存在于宇宙万物之中，万物皆“内有神灵，外有气化”；对“天主”恭敬就必须对万物恭敬，“敬物”就是“敬天主”，“天主”的“泛在”对教徒的心理和行为进行着约束，“天主”却非人格神，而是其大无外、其小无内、无形无相的，这比泛神论高级，更切近于万有在神论。

东学认为“敬物”是“敬”的最高的境界，还因为人受五谷百果的滋养才能存活，这就是所谓“人依食”，“没有自然生命的牺牲和滋养，人不可能有站脚之地。”⁽²⁸⁾这种对自然之物的温情感恩态度，与西方文化中的人类中心主义形成鲜明对照。其实，东学“泛在”的天主，毋宁说是天地造化之机。天地蕴育万物，造化之机遍在万物里，人与万物同生天地间，彼此间有着千丝万缕的联系，根本上同源同质，样态上相互依存。这一点越来越被现代科学证明，而尚未被证明的，也未必不存在，我们不妨先采取一份恭敬的态度。人类的认识力是不断进展的，而在某一特定时间、特定空间内的认识，难免有局限，如果执信于某一阶段的认识而断然否定排斥其他，并在这一认识指导下胡作非为，违背了自然界的“基本定律”，则将自食其果。

东学的敬物思想一方面巩固了人人平等的理念，另一方面把这种平等观扩大到万物。而今环境污染、生态失衡、人情淡漠的现状，很大程度上是因为人类欲望的膨胀、“敬畏”的缺失，肇源于短视的人类中心主义、个体中心主义，一味贪图生活的便利和享受，无心顾及他者——包括他人与万事万物。我们需要对他者多一分关切和尊敬，这是人类应有的教养，这一点已是东西方一切高瞻远瞩者共同的关切与识见。被誉为“20世纪最伟大神话学大师”的约瑟夫·坎贝尔（Joseph Campbell, 1904-1987）坚称：“今天我们必须学习和大自然的智慧相协调，学习去觉察不论动物、河流或海洋都是我们的兄弟。泛神论认为上帝创造了这个世界以及所有的生物。然而泛神论这个词会引起误解。因为泛神论引申说有一个人格化的神住在这个世界上，而这是错误的。正确的应该是一种超越神学意义的概念，它属于一种无法定义、无法言传的奥秘，应该被当作一种力量。这种力量是所有生命及生物的源头、终点和支撑。”⁽²⁹⁾东学的“天主”即具有这样一种性质。从这一角度看，东学的“敬物”思想及其所渊源所自的儒家敬天仁民爱物传统，毋宁说是一种前瞻的智慧。

(28) [韩]黄棕源Huang Zongyuan[황종원, Huang Jongwon]:“东学与近代文明的出路”Dongxue yu jindai wenming de chulu[Donghak and the Way out of Modern Civilization],《哲学门》Zhexue men[Beida Journal of Philosophy],2004年卷·196.

(29) [美]约瑟夫·坎贝尔Joseph Campbell、比尔·莫耶斯, Bill Moyes著,朱侃如Zhu Kanru译,神话的力量Shenhua de Liliang[The Power of Myth][M].杭州Hangzhou:浙江人民出版社Zhejiang renmin chubanshe[Zhejiang People's Publishing House], 2013, 50-51.

English Title:

From “Respect” in Confucianism to “Three Respects” in Korean Donghak

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Abstract: Confucianism advocates jing 敬 [*Respect*], and the Neo-Confucianism of Song and Ming considers chijing 持敬 [*Maintaining Respect*] as a method for cultivating awareness and virtue. Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism was formally introduced to the Korean peninsula at the end of the Goryeo period, having greatly enriched the Korean Confucianism and created a Neo-Confucianism with Korean local characteristics. The Joseon Dynasty had Confucianism as its founding philosophy, as a result the basic virtues of Confucianism such as *Maintaining Respect* and Sincerity (持敬存诚) are well known to the common people. In the 19th century, Donghak emerged as a major trend of thought championing self-cultivation through “Three Respects” (i.e., respect for heaven, for people and for things), a concept that is, this article argues, grounded in the teaching of jing (敬) and chijing (持敬) in Confucianism. It emphasizes “Respect for Things”, promoting a warm and thoughtful attitude towards nature, thus setting it in sharp contrast with the apathy of modern Western anthropocentrism and individualism that leads to environmental pollution, ecological imbalance, and human indifference. “Respect for Things” in Donghak, as a reverberation of “Respect” in Confucianism, serves well as a forward-looking insight in addressing the current human condition.

Keywords: Confucianism, Respect, Korean Donghak, Respect for Things

认知哲学对元宇宙认知主体困境的分析

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摘要：元宇宙从2021年末至今，已经成为一个热门议题。当社会面热切拥抱元宇宙的时候，对个体在元宇宙中的可能境遇进行充分设想是一个不容回避的问题。受相关技术和自身认知能力的影响，认知主体在与元宇宙的互动过程中将产生各种困扰。由此，对元宇宙所引发的认知主体困境进行解读和思考认知哲学的分析，或许会加深这个问题的认知并对此一问题的解决发挥积极的影响。

关键词：元宇宙、复杂性、主体性、认知哲学

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引言

2021年末，元宇宙概念被彻底点燃，成为了一个全新的社会趋势。或许在不久的将来，元宇宙将会成为全人类共同经历的事件。由此，对元宇宙可能引发的问题进行透彻研究也就具有了强烈的现实意义。在诸多潜在的问题中，元宇宙引发的认知主体困境尤为值得关注。因为该困境将对参与元宇宙的广泛主体产生极大的影响和深度的困扰。遗憾的是，学界似乎对此问题鲜有关注和讨论。

从现象上看，元宇宙似乎是个全新的领域。然而，通过梳理元宇宙的创生历程，不难发现这个新世界的孕育基础仍然是当下趋近成熟的新技术和理念。正是由于虚拟现实、人工智能、机器学习等新技术和理念的复杂互动和深度融合，才使得元宇宙得以“涌现”。需要明确的是，整个元宇宙的创生过程并非是个单一元素遵循单一逻辑演进的结果。换言之，各种元素的互动过程呈现出了某种复杂性。事实上，对于这种复杂性的认识在一定程度上启发了我们探究认知主体困境的思路。

要知道，认知主体困境也并非一个新问题。早在互联网时代，这个问题就已经悄然发生。曾有文章指出，互联网时代的认知主体困境有三个方面的特点，即信息过剩、认知错位，及主体性的自身削弱⁽¹⁾。然而，该困境在元宇宙中会呈现出何种特点和变化，则须考虑到各方面因素的复杂性作用。诸如虚拟现实和智能算法等技术的广泛应用，无疑将使认知主体困境变得更加严峻。

由此，我们将不难理解元宇宙中认知主体困境的发生情景和确切内涵。然而，如果想要对元宇宙主体性困境的发生逻辑做一番更细致的探究，认知哲学视角的介入就显得很有帮助。在认知哲学看来，这类主体性困境的根源还是在认知主体在信息表征和处理的过程中出现了障碍和困难。需要指出的是，认知过程有很强的自动化倾向。这也在一定程度上促成了认知主体困境发生的必然性。然而，一个常常被忽略的事实是，认知主体可以随时对认知进程进行影响和重塑，进而调整认知过程和结果。考虑到主体对认知进程和结果的积极影响，认知哲学或许能为元宇宙认知主体困境的解读提供一个全新的视角。

(1) 宋春艳Song Chunyan, “网络伦理困境中的主体性重建” Wangluo lunli kunjing Zhong de zhutixing chongjian 【To rebuild the subjectivity within the dilemma of Cyberethics】·《云南社会科学》Yunnan shehui kexue 【Social Sciences in Yunnan】 ,No. 2017(03):35-40.

一 元宇宙概念的缘起及其内涵

元宇宙 (Metaverse) 概念起源于美国科幻作家史蒂芬森出版的小说《雪崩》(Snow Crash)。在这本小说中,人类通过“Avatar”(数字替身),在一个虚拟三维空间中生活,作者将那个人造空间称为元宇宙⁽²⁾。随着VR (Virtual Reality, 虚拟现实)、AR (Augmented Reality, 增强现实)、MR (Mixed Reality, 融合现实)、AI (Artificial Intelligence, 人工智能)、机器学习等相关技术不断进步,这个由数字时空组建的元宇宙也逐渐成为可能。伴随着脸书改名,元宇宙成了一个彻底被点燃的新趋势。

虽然元宇宙的概念是源自科幻小说,元宇宙概念能成为社会热点和趋势,却有着复杂的现实基础。首先,元宇宙作为虚拟数字时空,本质上是对想象时空的虚拟实现。从某种程度上说,我们可以将人类的想象世界追溯为元宇宙的最早原型。最初,人们用语言文字,构造了诸多的想象时空。期间,通过书面和口头的交流,这类想象时空得以逐渐丰富。得益于互联网和计算机,这类想象时空有了更为高效的沟通渠道和更为逼真的呈现方式。此外,计算机和互联网也使得现实世界和虚拟世界有机会以一种相互融合的形式出现在世人面前。

其次,开放多人游戏所构造的游戏时空可以被视为元宇宙的最初平台。与互联网世界不同,游戏世界的核心意向是构建和体验,其目的是使人在其中获得体验和娱乐。因此,游戏会尽可能的将虚拟情景做的逼真和形象,以便让玩家有更好的体验和感受。需要指出的是,开放多人游戏和普通游戏存在着一个很大的区别。开放多人游戏,实际上是将社交需求的概念引入到了游戏世界中。这类游戏世界的繁荣,使得一些社会组织也有意在该世界中有所参与和活动。2003年,一个现象级的虚拟世界是“第二人生”(SecondLife):在这个虚拟世界,IBM曾在该游戏中购买过地产,建立自己的销售中心,瑞典等国家在游戏中建立了自己的大使馆,西班牙政党在游戏中进行辩论⁽³⁾。近些年来,随着VR、AR、MR技术的普及和商业应用,这类虚拟数字时空变得愈发逼真。与此同时,人们接入到这类世界的渠道也变得更加多样,更加便捷。借助丰富的技术手段,我们可以很好的实现虚拟现实、现实虚拟,以及二者的融合。至此,线上、线下的界限已经逐渐模糊。换言之,人们两栖在现实和数字世界之间的可能性已经变得可以预见。

再者,得益于移动高效的互联网,人们已经习惯于通过网络来辅助处理现实生活的事务。变相来说,人类在虚拟数字空间生活的铺垫事实上已经完成。眼下,网络也已然被人们接纳为现实生存环境的一部分。从这个角度讲,人们对元宇宙进入人类正常生活,并不会有任何不适的表现。

最后,元宇宙概念的爆发,也离不开资本和现实的契机。现实的技术条件、长期的生活体验,使得资本非常敏锐地嗅到了元宇宙的商业前景。受新冠疫情影响,普遍的地域隔离使人们对线上生活的依赖也愈发增强。因此,很多互联网巨头都在这个领域加速投入,以期获得元宇宙产业中的先发优势。清华大学《元宇宙发展研究报告2021》指出,2021年4月,字节跳动以1亿元投资元宇宙概念公司代码乾坤;8月,脸书推出了VR会议软件Horizon Workrooms,让用户以“数字人”分身进行线上VR会议;同月,英伟达(NVIDIA)宣布,全球首个为元宇宙建立基础的模拟协作平台Omniverse,将向数百万新用户开放⁽⁴⁾。2021年10月28日,Facebook正式改名Meta,元宇宙概念被最终点燃。

(2) 喻国明Yu Guoming.“未来媒介的进化逻辑:‘人的连接’的迭代、重组与升维——从‘场景时代’到‘元宇宙’再到‘心世界’的未来” Weilai meijie de jinhuia luoji: Ren de lianjie de diedai chongzu yu shengwei cong changjing shidai dao yuanyuzhou zaidao xinshijie de weilai 【The Evolution Logic of Future Media: The Iteration, Reorganization and Sublimation of “Human Connection”——From the “Age of Context” to the “Metaverse” to the Future of the “Mental World”】《新闻界》Xinwenjie 【Journalism Research】, No. 2021(10):54-60.

(3) <https://www.aisoutu.com/a/988282>

(4) Ibid.

从本质上看,元宇宙是数字互联的虚拟世界。由于兼具了融合现实能力,使得元宇宙在具备了很强的逼真性的同时,也实现了与现实世界的平行性。随着现实世界事务的不断接入,元宇宙也将逐渐被接纳为一个虚拟的社会空间。如此一来,这个虚拟世界也就具备了某种实在性。正是因实在性的获得,使得元宇宙的认知主体困境,较之互联网时期,变得愈发凸显。

二 元宇宙中认知主体困境的构成与表现

如前所述,元宇宙作为数字时空,很大程度上是互联网的演进,并非是凭空出现的新事物。因此,当我们在研究元宇宙中的认知主体性困境时,也有必要对此前的主体困境问题进行关注。事实上,互联网已然存在类似主体困境问题。曾有文章指出,由人-机-(互联)网构成的延展认知系统⁽⁵⁾将对人的主体性造成三方面的困境和挑战:1)盲从网络信息使得独立思考能力下降;2)混淆虚拟与现实导致社会责任感缺失;3)网络成瘾以至于失去对现实生活交往的兴趣⁽⁶⁾。考虑到元宇宙对互联网的继承关系,此类主体困境亦将在元宇宙中持续存在。

不过,元宇宙世界的延展认知系统,由于融合了智能算法以及各类虚拟现实技术的缘故,将会变得相当复杂。在与这种新型延展认知系统的遭遇过程中,主体困境将变得更加严峻。

仅以智能算法来说,认知主体会在三个方面受到影响:首先,基于算法的信息推送,使得主体愈发被动,进而强化了主体惰性;其次,算法在设计之初和后期训练中,会有意无意或不可避免的包含一些偏见,此类偏见会在人机互动中得以强化,并导致主体产生强烈的偏执和偏见;再者,基于大数据,算法成为了超越个人主体的实在,这显然会增加主体被算计和奴役的风险⁽⁷⁾。甚者,认知主体偏见的加剧会导致极权主义盛行,而算法的算计和奴役将使得主体在元宇宙的隐私荡然无存⁽⁸⁾。

受到各种虚拟现实技术的影响,元宇宙引发的认知主体判断混乱和叙事逻辑颠倒也是一个不容回避的问题。我们知道,虚拟和计算是元宇宙的重要二元特征。虚拟现实技术会让主体在虚拟情境中触发自然感受。由此,自然感受被触发的条件已然被改变,这将导致主体感受的发生将无需再区分真实和虚拟情境。当习惯于元宇宙的虚拟和融合现实之后,认知主体判定真假的意愿、能力、习惯势必逐渐退化。最终,认知主体会认定虚拟与现实之间将存在着某种等效性。这种等效性的构建,必然会造成判断混乱的后果。

更糟糕的是,这种等效性认知会在参与元宇宙的过程中不断强化,进而形成一种认知上的突进,即主体或许会认为真实世界的建构逻辑与元宇宙的建构逻辑同构,甚至,主体可能会认为元宇宙的建构逻辑才是真正的底层逻辑。如此一来,真实世界将会被构造元宇宙的底层逻辑进行解构,进而使主体沉溺于人工构建的元宇宙世界和运作逻辑,忘记了其与真实世界的互动才是一切意义的生发源头。从一定程度上说,如果我们创造并选择了虚拟实在及赛博空间,就相当于在根底上重造了一个经验世

(5) 此处讨论的延展认知系统对人的主体性困扰,其实质就是互联网给人造成的主体性认知困境。

(6) 宋春艳Song Chunyan,“网络伦理困境中的主体性重建”Wangluo lunli kunjing Zhong de zhutixing chongjian【To rebuild the subjectivity within the dilemma of Cyberethics】·《云南社会科学》Yunnan shehui kexue【Social Sciences in Yunnan】·No. 2017(03):35-40.

(7) 王敏芝Wang Minzhi,“算法时代传播主体性的虚置与复归”Suanfa shidai chuanbo zhutixing de xuzhi yu fugue【The Virtual Situation of Human Subjectivity and Its Return in the Algorithm Age】·《苏州大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》Suzhou daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexue ban【Journal of Soochow University Philosophy & Social Science Edition】·No. 2021(2):166-175.

(8) 李保艳Li Baoyan,刘永谋Liu Yongmou,“元宇宙的本质、面临的风险与应对之策”Yuanuzhou de benzhi mianlin de fengxian yu yingdui zhi ce【Nature, Risk and Countermeasures of the Metaverse】·《科学·经济·社会》【Science Economy Society】·No. 2022(1):15-26.

界⁽⁹⁾。如果此事发生，主体将失去了传统意义上与现实世界主客互动的机制，而深陷在自己和自己构造的关系之中。

再者，元宇宙赋予主体的ID会造成认知主体在身份认同上的困境。由于智能算法和虚拟技术的引入，元宇宙为主体设定的分身注定将产生更多主体的认同，进而引发其认同感的强化。具体来说，主体对元宇宙的分身认同可以体现在四个方面：1) 该分身与主体的关联性会很强。在元宇宙中，虚拟环境与主体分身之间的互动关联与之前的环境和主体之间的互动关联存在着深度等效，使得主体会认为分身和肉身之间也存在某种等效性。2) 该分身处在“智慧算法”的统摄之下。在算法的加持下，元宇宙中的主体分身不仅满足了主体的某种幻想，又使得主体与分身之间的关系总是处在高度的协调之中。这种量身定制属性将会进一步强化主体与元宇宙分身的粘性。3) 该分身具有一定的独立性。鉴于数据留存和用户习惯，元宇宙中的分身在特定角色基础上还预备了一定的特殊性，即其可以按照既有的数据信息和处理习惯，在主体离线的环境下保持某种惯性，进而实现了某种程度的“自我思考和自我行为”。如此一来，元宇宙中的主体分身将为主体赢得某种额外效益。4) 该分身将造成某种事实上的“不朽性”。长久以来，如何实现主体不朽一直是自然主体的目标和追求。对于元宇宙主体分身而言，一个基本的属性就是数据留存。这一属性将使得该分身在某种程度上实现了主体对“不朽性”的追求。

基于上述四个方面，认知主体对元宇宙分身的认同和偏好将会不断强化。随着这种认同的强化，主体会不自觉的将元宇宙作为主体第一位的认同归属。由此，现实世界则会被当作是认知主体的附属认同。一旦这种归属认同发生转化，就意味着认知主体的参考坐标发生了转变。当元宇宙成为归属认同的价值取向，人们对元宇宙世界的投入热情将成指数增长，由此也会促成元宇宙的指数级进化。届时，元宇宙也将真正迎来现实世界的第一批居民。

最后，元宇宙还将引发认知主体的情绪困境。在元宇宙建设过程中，必然需要创建者和参与者的大力投入。从这个意义上说，尽最大限度激发这两类人对元宇宙的热情、渴望、以及倚赖，会成为一个基本的诉求和导向。如此一来，在智慧算法的“加持”下，创建者和参与者的主体情绪不可避免地会处在长时间的亢奋和焦虑状态。故而，在探究元宇宙认知主体困境的时候也必须注意到它对主体带来的情绪影响。

简而言之，我们可以将元宇宙的主体性困境归纳为：（一）思考意愿及能力下降；（二）偏见强化；（三）判断标准和叙事逻辑混乱；（四）身份认同颠倒；（五）情绪长期受控。其中，智能算法对于思考意愿及能力下降、偏见强化、情绪受控都将产生直接影响，而虚拟现实技术将会导致判断标准和逻辑的混乱，并颠倒主体原有的身份认同。

值得注意的是，元宇宙中所有的认知主体困境都与认知过程紧密相关。从某种程度上说，正是因为主体在认知上遇到了障碍和困难，才导致了各类困境的发生。因此，想要更加透彻地了解上述困境的发生机制，就必须对其进行认知视角的解读与分析。

三 认知哲学对上述困境的解读

认知哲学主张通过认知的视角来理解和研究对象。所谓认知，实际上是信息处理（或加工）和判断的过程，该过程能够用表征（目标、信念、知识和知觉等）和对这些表征实施操作的运演来解释⁽¹⁰⁾。在具体认知过程中，认知活动有时会受到认知能力局限，致使认知过程异化。事实上，这也是导致主体困境发

(9) 翟振明Zhai zhenming, “虚拟实在与自然实在的本体论对等性”Xuni shizai yu ziran shizai de bentilun duidengxing【The Ontological Equivalence between Virtual Reality and Natural Reality】,《哲学研究》【Philosophical Researches】, No. 2001(6):62-71.

(10) 酆全民Li Quanmin,《当代科学认知的结构》Dangdai kexue renzhi de jiegou【The Structure of Contemporary Scientific Cognition】, (北京 Beijing: 科学出版社 Kexue chubanshe [Science Press], 2021), 44.

生的原因所在。前文曾指出,元宇宙认知主体困境主要有五个方面。从认知视角看,这些困境主要是由于认知能力受损,认知标准消解,以及认知逻辑重塑引发的结果。具体来说,思考意愿和能力下降、情绪受控很大程度上是源于认知能力受损及认知逻辑重塑。其中,认知逻辑重塑还引发了偏见强化、身份认同颠倒等问题。需要特别说明的是,认知标准消解和认知逻辑重塑的连续作用是判断标准和叙事逻辑混乱的主要原因。

首先,认知能力受损进而造成的认知逻辑重塑可以对思考意愿下降和情绪受控问题作出非常有效的解释。我们知道,认知活动的发生和计算有其必要的主体条件。当过多心智运算结果,即信息,涌向主体,并超过主体承受负荷之时,主体的信息处理意愿和处理能力就会出现一定程度的崩溃。究其原因,主体获取信息的过程中,会面临对信息的选择和处理。在信息选择中,主体会有自身的偏好标准。这种偏好标准一定程度上决定了主体对信息的选择负荷。一旦超过信息选择的极限阈值,整个信息获取的准入端口就会进入奔溃或应激闭合状态。在奔溃状态中,被获准进入主体的信息精度就会失准,进而导致后续信息处理进程的一系列混乱。另外,如果信息准入端口处在应激闭合状态,主体会因为信息选择的极限阈值被突破,进而拒绝信息接入,对自身实行临时保护。无论处在何种状态,主体将不可避免地遭遇认知困境。

在互联网时代,人类社会迎来了前所未有的信息爆炸。随着移动互联网的普及,只要有终端智能设备,人们可以随时随地接触到海量信息。在互联网的初阶阶段,主体只是初步呈现在海量信息面前。由于面临的信息存在重大差异,使得信息的选择和评判还依赖主体主动的搜寻和界定。然而,当前的互联网已经基本实现了算法加持下的信息推送,致使主体会定向接收到经过精准分类并符合其自身偏好的信息。在此条件下,主体获取的信息一方面会趋于同质化,另一方面又会数量庞大。由此,主体的信息准入端口就极易处在奔溃或应激闭合状态。

我们知道,智能算法将被作为底层技术整合在元宇宙当中。换言之,这种信息的定制化服务将会进一步加强。如此一来,主体对信息的选择疲劳也会加剧。要知道,主体在前期信息处理过程中能量消耗过大,也会造成在后续进程(如信息处理精度、能力、意愿等)的相应失准。

在海量信息和精密算法面前,主体的处理能力显得过于无力。在元宇宙中,主体将不可避免地应对长期、强度的认知轰炸。因而,在经历足够长的轰炸周期之后,认知逻辑势必被扭曲。其直接结果便是主体的思考意愿与能力的懈怠,以及日常情绪受到不可逆的消极影响。

再者,在传统的日常世界中,对真实世界的感知可以触发真实的认知活动和认知结果。对于虚拟情形触发的感受和认知活动,我们可以轻易地归结为虚假范畴。由于原先虚拟技术水平有限,人们很容易对这类认知活动和结果进行真假判定。然而,随着虚拟现实、增强现实、以及融合现实等数字技术的进步,主体对元宇宙的感受认知或将等效于其与现实世界的感受认知。由此,传统日常世界中的主体认知过程或可以完美地在元宇宙中得以置换。如此一来,主体在元宇宙中获得的感知和认知结果也就具备了某种真实性。毕竟,主体感受和认知过程在元宇宙中得到了完全的触发,整个进程和主体先前与现实世界的互动似乎毫无差异。于是,人们从原来可以轻易得出一真一假的判断,变成了二者皆真的状态。从这个意义上讲,元宇宙或许变成了“另类的真实宇宙”。诚然,如果我们站在现实世界的传统视角看,元宇宙中的各类虚拟现实技术本质上是完美虚拟了认知发生的前提和有关条件,而非本身具备了真实的前提和条件。故而,其所产生的认知过程和结果还是不具备真实性。需要警醒的是,我们很难判断身处元宇宙的主体是否随时有这类自觉。须知,当主体投身元宇宙之时,自然真实的相似性感受会频繁被触发、强化,即元宇宙的运行逻辑似乎和现行世界似乎别无二致。在此条件下,“等效为真”的处境将愈发频现。从这个角度看,此时的虚拟已经不是以往的虚拟。换言之,元宇宙的虚拟真实已然在某种程度上获得实在性。

这种认知等效真实性的发生，很大程度上解释了认知标准和叙事逻辑的混乱所在。再者，仍然是由于这种认知等效真实性的发生，使得认知元宇宙的主体身份认同问题变得异常棘手。

要知道，叙事逻辑混乱、身份认同颠倒极为严重的问题。在前元宇宙世界中，人们的认知活动存在一个基本假设，即此一活动的目的是为了理解现实世界并与之互动。换言之，人们生活的意义中心是在现实世界。当叙事逻辑和身份认同发生颠覆后，元宇宙似乎成了一切活动的中心和意义所在。在一定周期的驯化后，人们将逐渐习惯于主体在元宇宙中的认知逻辑。当这种认知逻辑僭越成为主体的默认设定后，主体会将这种认知架构下意识地投射到所有的认知活动之中。由此，人们在前元宇宙时期形成的认知模式或将彻底消解，取而代之地是我们为自己构建的元宇宙“新架构”。

元宇宙的最后一个认知主体困境是偏见强化。这主要是因为认知具有自动化倾向的结果。在认知过程中，为了加快信息处理的效率，主体往往会产生一系列习惯和偏好，进而形成认知偏见。由于数据和智能算法是元宇宙的底层技术，所以在认知活动中，主体能接触到的都是基于用户习惯和过往数据而推送的信息。当同质信息的大量涌入时，主体对这部分信息认同的流程加快，从而出现某种程度的信息处理自我任性化。当此过程重复到一定程度之后，信息处理流程会逐渐程式化、模块化。换言之，只要接触到同类信息，主体就会启动相应的自主化进程。这便是认知偏见形成的简单机理。在元宇宙中，认知主体接触的几乎都是预设信息。可以预见，当主体自主处理的信息量达到一定数值之后，认知偏见会自然形成。更需要警觉的是，在元宇宙中，主体对信息处理进程和结果都会以数据的方式留下痕迹。如此一来，元宇宙的智能算法就可以基于更新的数据进行自我迭代。在不干预的情况下，智能算法和主体的认知偏见之间将呈现出正相关的关系。

通过认知哲学的进路，我们找到了一条理解元宇宙认知主体困境的新途径。以信息处理为理解认知的基本思路。信息体量、逼真度，及其受控度，将极大地影响到主体对于信息的处理和判断。在认知主体接触元宇宙的过程中，虚拟世界的信息总是呈现在先，而后才是主体进行的应对。这使得主体在与元宇宙的信息互动中，总是处于一个被动的位置。简单来说，认知主体的认知过程如果长期处在受控状态，将造成先置叙事逻辑瓦解，直至被颠覆。从这个意义上说，元宇宙中的认知主体困境实际上是主体认知在元宇宙中不适应的结果。当前，社会各界都在摩拳擦掌，向元宇宙进军。对此，一种更加必要的态度是保持必要的认知审慎。尤其是对其中的问题和风险，我们需要保持警惕和戒备。只有具备了充分的考虑和预案，我们才有可能充分的享受到元宇宙带来的重大红利，并尽可能免除一些可以预见的误导和防范不利的陷阱。

四 对元宇宙认知主体困境的逆向反思

如果将认知过程当作一个自主处理的过程，那么主体在元宇宙认知的过程中，将不可避免地陷入各种困境。需要指出的是，将主体认知过程看作自然处理进程并非使唯一的思考角度。要知道，认知主体自身存在着相当大的反思能力和自觉能力。基于自觉、反思、乃至经验践行，认知主体可以站在综合判断的高度，调整其在遭遇元宇宙过程中的种种应对思路，进而使得自身处境得到积极的改善。换言之，如果认知主体能对自身认知过程启动不断反思和诘问的话，其困境会大为改善。

从认知科学的一般意义上说，认知的本质是信息的表征和处理过程。主体性认知的发生，离不开诸如建模、感受、推理、行动的认知步骤。事实上，认知主体在每个认知步骤中，都能发挥特定的主体性作用。只是，在很多时候，主体的自觉认知都表现为不在场的状态，使得整个认知进程极其“自动化”。在此条件下，如果没有特殊干预，认知主体困境的发生就存在着某种必然性。需要指出的是，一个常常被忽略的事实是主体在整个认知过程中其实一直在场。倘如认知主体能察觉自身在场，

那么他就能随时理性介入各类“自动化”认知进程，并作出相关调整，进而使认知结果最大限度地为其自身服务。

在信息和主体发生互动的过程中，我们通常更多关注到的是信息在主体场域中的被处理过程。在整个认知过程中，所有认知活动都趋近于自动完成，并将结果直接传送给主体，并由此指导主体的后续行为。故此，大多数认知主体困境，实际上都是主体对信息处理及其结果的直接遭遇和感受。在此过程中，主体虽然处在实际在场的状态，但却未能表现出相应的主体性自觉。换言之，整个认知进程还是趋近自动处理，甚至有意无意地推动各种遭遇的具体形成。

然则，如果主体自身随时察觉自身在场，察觉主体自身才是主体性场域的真正主导者，那么主体就可能对自身所将遭遇的困境做出积极的干预，以便对认知进程施加相应的影响，进而让整个过程尽可能的让主体自身清醒。简单来说，当主体觉知自身在场且察觉自身已经或即将遭遇困境的时候，其必然会适度规避困境、必然寻求补救措施、必定探求新的替代方案。纵然相关举措未必成功，但是其结果肯定会优于主体觉察缺失的状况。由此，我们就可以注意到主体性自觉对于主体性困境的积极意义所在。我们知道，在主体遭遇元宇宙的过程当中，已然处在相当被动状态中。对此，前文所述及的种种困境便是证明。在这种情况下，随时唤醒主体性自觉就显得尤为重要。

不过，我们必须承认，每个主体自觉的效果和能力的确存在着明显的个体差异。通俗地讲，主体性自觉从本质属性上，人人平等；在觉知程度和效果上，个体有别。事实上，正是这种差异，决定了个人主体对主体性困境缓和乃至贡献的差异。客观的说，如果参与的主体均能做到主体性觉知的唤醒，对其自身而言，其所遭遇的困境压力必然大大减轻。但是，因为不同主体存在着觉知程度和效果的差异，导致了主体困境的改善程度也各有差别。从理论上讲，只有主体性觉知的充分参与，才能在认知意义上构建出个体、群体、乃至制度意义上的补救。由此，如何系统地运用主体性自觉进行有关的主体困境对治，就是一个值得进一步思考的问题。

结合以主体性自觉的特点，应对认知主体困境的策略或许可从元宇宙的构建者和参与者两个维度进行思考。在元宇宙的构建者当中，通常有整体设计者、局部设计者，以及具体建设者三类角色存在。从根本上说，在元宇宙的创建过程中或许尚未有整体设计者这一角色存在。但不可否认，总会有人试图对元宇宙的基础架构和宏观方向作出各种设计和方案。如果这类角色实现了主体性自觉，就意味着他们对元宇宙的认知逻辑进行了重塑，进而也就影响了元宇宙的创生结果。当创生结果得已改变的时候，其主体境遇可能会有较大的改观。

当然，对于局部设计者而言，他们的影响力同样不容低估。正是由于他们，直接设计了局部的元宇宙构想，并设定了可能的主体境遇。如果他们也能实现主体性自觉，人们将面对的必然是一个温和、人性化的元宇宙。对于具体建设者而言，他们亲手实现了某一种元宇宙构想的创生。然而，相比于整体设计者和局部设计者而言，他们对于元宇宙的宏观和微观格局似乎作用有限。但是，他们仍能在很多细致的节点中发挥其积极的影响。因此，这一角色的主体性自觉对于认知主体困境的缓和也存在着不容忽视的作用。

从元宇宙构建者的初衷来看，让主体更多地参与元宇宙应该是一个基本的内在诉求和假设。换言之，让主体可持续地参与并尽可能的伴随舒适、愉悦的体验也是其中的一个维度。可以预见，如果各类元宇宙构建者群体都能实现主体性自觉，则相应的制度性规范也将相应发生。再者，我们也需注意到，元宇宙的创生并非一劳永逸。事实上，元宇宙在创生后将继续演化。当构建者群体或参与者群体接入元宇宙后，如果他们体验到了构建过程中未曾发觉的某种困境，构建者依然能进行相应的察觉并进行改进调整。由此，针对元宇宙认知主体困境的制度性构建也将在这种动态循环中逐渐完成。

从元宇宙参与者的角度来说，也存在两个层面的操作思路。首先，主体可以发挥主体性自觉对参与者自身的积极作用，进而缓解其主体性困境。关于这条思路，前文已作相关阐述。事实上，对于参与者而言，还有另外一条实现认知主体困境缓和的进路，即让不同元宇宙参与者都能分享并讨论各自遭遇的认知主体困境以及自身体验到的主体性自觉状态。要知道，不同参与者的主体性自觉存在着明显差异。如果其能对困境遭遇和主体性自觉做到联通共享，则可以为弱势主体的主体性境遇提供不同程度的防火墙，从而积极改善每一位参与者的认知水准。与此同时，该共享或可以被元宇宙的构建者所关注，从而促成元宇宙的进一步积极演化，进而为元宇宙参与者带来较为清醒的参与体验。

需要指出的是，上述群体的界定更多的是一种角色认定，而不是现实划分。事实上，一个主体可以分属于不同角色。举例而言，在特殊情况下，一个个体可以同时兼具整体设计者、局部设计者、具体建设者，以及参与者的角色。此时，该个体实现的主体性自觉将是多重的主体性自觉。如果这种多重主体性自觉能投入元宇宙的建构过程，相信此后的主体性境遇将会有明显的改善和提升。

种种迹象表明，元宇宙正作为一个社会大势席卷全球。相应的，其主体性困境也将必然发生。在此情境下，对主体性困境进行研判、预设、及其制度设计是刻不容缓的事情。针对可能引发的主体性困境，当前一个比较迫切的任务就是对元宇宙的构建者和参与者进行主体性自觉的观念建设，并引导其对可能的认知主体困境做出相应预案。随着各种预案在将来的不断应用和迭代，各类制度、规范也将得以快速完善。届时，元宇宙将会提供更好的主体性体验，而主体自身也将具备更好的应对能力，并以更恰当的方式参与到元宇宙之中。

English Title:

An Analysis of Cognitive Philosophy on the Dilemma of Cognitive Subject Caused by Metaverse

WANG Zhiqing

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Abstract: Metaverse becomes a prevalent topic from the end of 2021. As the Metaverse has been embraced enthusiastically by the society, one of its unavoidable issues is to have an integrated consideration on the potential encounter of individuals towards the Metaverse. Due to the effect by related technologies and self-capability of cognition, cognitive subject will experience various difficulties during his interaction with the Metaverse. Therefore, an analysis of cognitive philosophy on the dilemma of cognitive subject caused by Metaverse may deepen our cognition on the issue and exert a positive influence on the problem-solving.

Keywords: Metaverse, Complexity, subjectivity, cognitive philosophy

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Stanley A. Erickson, “Economic and Technological Trend Affecting Nuclear Nonproliferation,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 8, no.2, 2001, p. 43, quoted from Michael Wesley, “It’s Time to Scrap the NPT,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 59, no. 3, (September 2005), 292.

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