

国学与西学
(国际学刊)

International Journal of
Sino-Western Studies

主编 黄保罗
Editor-in-chief Paulos Huang

A Special Volume on Aesthetics, Art and Theology in China

“中国的美学、艺术和神学”专辑

Guest Editors Professors DAO Zi and ZHU Donghua, Tsinghua University

特邀编辑 清华大学岛子和朱东华教授

No. 15, 2018

国学与西学：国际学刊（半年刊）

第十五期：二零一八年十二月

主编及出版总监

黄保罗（芬兰赫尔辛基大学国学与西学北欧论坛主席/博睿《中国神学年鉴》英文版主编）

网络电子版（www.SinoWesternStudies.com）和微信版（国学与西学国际学刊）

副主编：肖清和（中国：上海大学历史系副教授），苏德超（武汉大学哲学学院）

执行编辑

包克强（美国：世华中国研究中心 研究员），英语

陈永涛（金陵神学院副教授、博士），汉语

郭瑞珠（澳大利亚，西澳大利亚大学神学系研究员，珀斯），英语

K-H. Johanna（芬兰 TD 出版公司编辑），英语

Jørgensen, Knud（挪威神学院兼职教授），英语

胡宗超（武汉大学哲学系），微信版编辑

学术顾问（以姓氏拼音为序）

陈 来（清华大学国学研究院院长、教授）

戴德理（美国：世华中国研究中心主席）

格勒格森（丹麦：歌本哈根大学系统神学教授）

汉科克（英国：牛津亚洲宗教社会研究院院长）

郭齐勇（武汉大学国学院院长、教授）

江 怡（长江学者教授、北京师范大学哲学及社会学学院院长）

赖品超（香港中文大学文学院副院长、教授）

罗明嘉（芬兰：赫尔辛基大学系统神学系主任、教授）

麦格拉斯（英国伦敦英王学院，神学、宗教与文化中心教授、主任）

南乐山（美国：波士顿大学神学学院前院长、教授）

施福来（挪威：斯塔湾格神学与差传学院教授）

孙向晨（复旦大学哲学学院院长、教授）

田默迪（奥地利维也纳大学哲学博士、澳门圣约瑟大学哲学教授）

王晓朝（中山大学哲学系珠海校区教授，广东）

王学典（山东大学儒学高等研究院执行院长、《文史哲》主编）

魏克利（美国伯克利神学研究院教授 / 香港圣公会大主教之神学及历史研究特别顾问）

杨富雷（瑞典：哥登堡大学教授）

杨熙楠（香港：汉语基督教文化研究所总监）

杨煦生（北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心主任、教授）

张福贵（吉林大学文学院院长、教授）

钟鸣旦（比利时：皇家科学院院士、天主教鲁汶大学汉学系主任、教授）

张志刚（北京大学宗教文化研究院院长、教授）

钟志邦（新加坡三一神学院前院长）

卓新平（中国社会科学院学部委员、中国宗教学院会长、教授）

特约评委（以姓氏拼音为序）

爱德华多·丹尼尔·奥维耶多（阿根廷 科技研究委员会研究员、罗萨里奥国立大学教授）

曹剑波（厦门大学哲学系教授）

陈建明（四川大学道教与宗教文化研究所教授、主任）

陈声柏（兰州大学宗教文化研究中心副教授、主任）

樊志辉（黑龙江大学哲学院教授、院长）

高师宁（中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所研究员）

李向平（华东师范大学宗教与社会研究中心教授、主任）

梁 工（河南大学圣经文学研究所教授、所长）

刘家峰（华中师范大学基督教研究中心教授、副主任）

刘建军（东北师范大学教授、社科处处长）

宋 刚（香港大学文学院助理教授）

王志成（浙江大学基督教与跨文化研究基地教授、主任）

游 斌（中央民族大学宗教学研究院院长、教授）

亚达夫，阿润·库玛尔（印度新那烂佛教学巴利语和佛教助理教授）

张先清（厦门大学人类学及民族学系教授、主任）

赵 杰（山东大学哲学及宗教学系教授）

赵 林（武汉大学欧美宗教学文化研究所教授、所长）

朱东华（清华大学人文学院哲学系教授、景教研究中心主任）

封面题款：刘大钧（中国周易学会会长，山东大学终身教授）；封面设计：黄安明；本刊 logo 取自汉砖图案，一首两翼四足一尾的飞龙，象征中国精神体系的实际形象。

引用索引：本刊已被收入芬兰艺术 & 人文学索引（芬兰国家图书馆）、美国宗教学 & 神学提要数据库（www.rtabstracts.org）、汤姆森路透新资料引用索引（ESCI, Thomson Reuters）和美国神学图书馆协会数据库（ATLA RDB ©, 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/1IPWhTD>).

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies (IJS)

(Semi-annual)

No. 15; Dec. 2018

Editor-in-chief and Publishing Supervisor:

HUANG, Paulos (Ph. D., Th. D., Adjunct Prof., Univ. of Helsinki, Finland, and Chief editor for Brill Yearbook of Chinese Theology, Leiden & Boston)

Vice-editor-in-chief for Electronic Version (Online; www.sinowesternstudies.com)

XIAO Qinghe (Associate Professor, Ph. D., Dept. of History, Shanghai University, China)

Vice-editor-in-chief for Wechat Version (Guoxue yu xixue guoji xuekan)

SU Dechao (Professor, Ph. D., School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, China)

Executive Editors

BAR WICK, John (Researcher, Ph. D., Global China Center, Virginia, USA), English

CHEN, Abraham (Associate Professor, Th. D., Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, China), Chinese

GUOK, Rose (Researcher, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia), English

JORGENSEN, Knud (Adjunct Professor, Ph. D., Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo, Norway), English

K-H, Johanna (Editor, TD Publishing Company, Helsinki, Finland), English

HU Zongchao (Researcher, School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, China), Wechat version editor

Editorial Advisory Board (in alphabetical order)

CHEN Lai (Prof. & Dean, Institute of National Studies, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China)

CHOONG Chee Pang (Previous Principal, Trinity Theological Seminary, Singapore)

CHRISTIAN, Matthias (Prof. of Philosophy, St. Joseph University, Macau/Ph. D, Vienna University, Austria)

DOYLE, G. Wright (Director, Global China Center, Virginia, USA)

FÄLLMAN, Fredrik (Researcher, Dept. of East Asian Studies, Göteborg University, Sweden)

GREGERSEN, Niels Henrik (Prof., Dept. of Systematic Theology, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark)

GUO Qiyong (Prof. & Dean, Institute of National Studies, Wuhan University, Wuhan, China)

HANCOCK, Christopher (Director, Institute for Religion and Society in Asia, Oxford, UK)

JIANG Yi (Prof. & Dean, School of Philosophy and Sociology, Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China)

LAI Pan-chiu (Prof. & Dean, Faculty of Arts, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

LAITINEN, Kauko (Previous Director of Confucius Institute in the University of Helsinki / Director & Professor, Finnish Institute, Tokyo, Japan)

MCGRATH, Alister (Professor & Head, Centre for Theology, Religion and Culture, King's College, London, UK)

NEVILLE, Robert C. (Prof. & Previous Director, School of Theology, Boston University, Boston, USA)

RÜO KANEN, Miikka (Prof. & Head, Dept. of Systematic Theology, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland)

STANDAERT, Nicolas (Member of Belgian Royal Academy of Sciences; Professor & Director, Dept. of Sinology, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)

STRANDENAES, Thor (Professor, School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway)

SUN Xiangchen (Prof. & Dean, School of Philosophy, Fudan University, Shanghai, China)

WANG Xiaochao (Prof., Department of Philosophy, Zhuhai Campus, Zhongshan University, Guangdong)

WANG Xuedian (Executive Dean of Advanced Institute of Confucian Studies, Chief editor of *Journal of Literature, History and Philosophy*, Shandong University)

WICKERI, Philip L. (Prof. of Interdisciplinary Studies, the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, USA / Advisor to the Archbishop on Theological and Historical Studies, Hong Kong Anglican)

YANG Xusheng (Prof. & Director, Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies, IFAHS, Peking University, China)

ZHANG Fugui (Prof. & Dean, School of Humanities, Jilin University, Changchun, China)

ZHANG Zhigang (Prof. & Director, Academy of Religious Studies, Peking University, Beijing, China)

ZHUO Xiping (Prof CASS Member / Chairman, Chinese Association for Religions Studies, Beijing, China)

Special Reviewers (in alphabetical order)

CAO Jianbo (Prof., Dept. of Philosophy, Xiamen University, Xiamen, China)

CHEN Jianming (Prof. & Director, Institute for Daoism and Religious Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, China)

CHEN Shengbai (Prof. & Director, Center for the Study of Religion and Culture, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou, China)

FAN Zhihui (Prof. & Dean, Faculty of Philosophy, Heilongjiang University, Harbin, China)

GAO Shining (Researcher, Institute for World Religions Studies, China Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China)

LI Xiangping (Prof. & Dean, Center for Religion and Society, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China)

LIANG Gong (Prof. & Director, Institute of Biblical Literature Studies, Henan University, Kaifeng, China)

LIU Jiafeng (Prof. & Vice-Director, Center for Christian Studies, Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China)

LIU Jianjun (Prof. & Director, Council of Research, Northeastern Normal University, Changchun, China)

Oviedo, Eduardo Daniel (member of the Argentine National Research Council (CONICET) and Professor at University of Rosario, Argentine)

SONG, Gang (Assistant Professor, School of Humanities, Hong Kong University, Hong Kong)

WANG Zhicheng (Prof. & Director, Institute of Christian and Cross-Cultural Studies, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China)

Yadav, Arun Kumar (Prof. Dr., Department of Pali, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara University, India)

YOU Bin (Professor & Dean, Institute of Religious Study, Minzu University of China, Beijing, China)

ZHANG Xianqing (Prof. & Director, Dept. of Anthropology & Ethnicity, Xiamen University, Xiamen, China)

ZHAO Jie (Prof., Dept. of Philosophy, Shandong University, Jinan, China)

ZHAO Lin (Prof. & Director, Institute for European and Director for Research Center of Jingjiao, American Religious & Cultural Studies, Wuhan University, Wuhan, China)

ZHU Donghua (Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China)

Calligraphy of journal title by Prof. LIU Dajun (Chairman of the Chinese *Yiching* Association, Shandong University). Cover design is by Joonatan Anning HUANG. The logo of journal is taken from a Han Dynasty brick carving. It is a flying dragon with one head, two wings, four feet and one tail; and it symbolizes the reality of Chinese thinking system.

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/1IPWhdD>).

目 录

Contents

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk *

YOU Xilin

ZHANG Jun Aesthetics, Art and Theology in China 1

Paulos HUANG

尤西林, 张俊
黄保罗 中国的美学、艺术与神学

人学、神学与国学 Humanities, Theology and Chinese National Studies

BAI Junxiao Reasonable Measurement and Motion; Numerical Order in the Soul and Music 27

柏峻霄 理性的测量和运动: 灵魂和音乐中的数理秩序 48

宋旭红 光何以美? ——论基督教教父释经学对《创世记》首章中光的美学阐释 49

SONG Xuhong How can Light be Beautiful? On the Aesthetic Interpretations of Light in Genesis 1 by Patristic Exegetes 59

实践神学与中西教会和社会

Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society

董丽慧 明清之际随传教士入华的西文插图书籍及其在华影响 63

DONG Lihui In fluence and Diffusion of Illustrated Books Imported by Western Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Century China 72

Sung Sook KIM The Korean Poet Yoon Dong Ju's Cross and its Image of Martin Luther 73

金性淑 尹东柱《十字架》诗中所体现的马丁路德形象考察 91

中西经典与圣经 Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible

刘光耀 命运与使命、诗歌神学与诗歌的神学——《岛子诗选》研究 95

LIU Guangyao Destiny and Mission, Poetic Theology and the Theology of Poetics —— A Study of Dao Zi Selected Poems 104

RONG Guangqi On Christian Poetry of Contemporary China 105

荣光启 当代中国基督徒的诗歌创作 112

教会历史与中西社会 Church History in the West and in China

ZHA Changping A History of Ideas in Pioneering Contemporary Chinese Art as a History of Devotion 115

查常平 中国先锋艺术思想史——作为灵性史 123

张 怡 民国时期基督教艺术的本土化——以陆鸿年作品为例 125

ZHANG Yi The Localization of Christian Art in the Republic of China —— Taking Lu Hongnian’s Works as an Example 133

比较宗教文化研究 Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies

HWANG Youngmee The Meaning of Christianity in the Film and Novel “*The Flowers of War*” 137

黄荣美 电影及小说《金陵十三钗》的基督教意义 159

Three Comparative Studies by LI Yi, FANG Weilin and Leyli ALEKSANYAN

LI Yi “To Have” or “to Be”: Way of meaning and being——Fromm’s encounter with Lao Zi and Meister Eckhart 161

李宜 “有” 还是“是”: 意义与存在之途——当弗洛姆径遇老子及埃克哈特大师 185

FANG Weilin The Hidden Feminine Tradition of Trinity 186

方蔚林(笔名 舒也) 三位一体结构中的阴性传统 197

Leyli The names of God in the Hebrew Bible and the absence of names of God in the Armenian Bible 198

ALEKSANYAN 希伯来圣经中上帝的名字在亚美尼亚译本中的缺席 204

雷丽

书评与通讯 Reviews and Academic Reports

刘平 文学想象中的本色神学: 墨面基督——评姜原来《兰林复活节》 207

LIU Ping One Indigenous Theology of the Literary Imagination; Ink-faced Christ——A Book Review of Jiang Yuanlai’s *Easter in Lanlin* 212

张迎迎 1990—2017 年中国大陆基督教音乐研究综述 213

ZHANG Yingying A Review of Christian Music Studies in Mainland China from 1990 to 2017 219

郝青松 以基督信仰带领中国当代艺术: 宗教改革对艺术史的发问与呼召 221

HAO Qingsong Chinese Contemporary Art with the leading of Christian Religion; Religion Reform questions and calls on art histor 231

投稿须知 Notes for Contributors 232

注释体例及要求 Footnote Format and Requirements 236

Publication Ethics and Malpractice Statement 239

* Neither English abstracts nor key words are provided for the foreword from the editor’s desk, book reviews and academic reports.

卷首语 From the Editors' Desk

Aesthetics, Art and Theology in China

YOU Xilin, ZHANG Jun and Paulos HUANG

This volume is a special volume on Aesthetics, Art and Theology in China (“中国的美学、艺术和神学”专辑), and Professors DAO Zi and ZHU Donghua, Tsinghua University have been invited as Guest Editors.

In this article, we will introduce aesthetics and theology generally first by Professor YOU Xilin, and then professor ZHANG Jun will introduce Christian Aesthetics in China, and finally Paulos HUANG will introduce the content of this volume.

Part I

Aesthetics and Theology^[1]

YOU Xilin

(Professor, Faculty of Literatures, and Director for General Education, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China)

As a branch derived from enlightenment philosophy, aesthetics has always been treated by the newborn ideology as the opposite of theology. China also saw the doctrine of “substituting religion for aesthetic education” in its enlightening culture era. Opposed to each other as aesthetics and theology (or aesthetic education and religion) are interpreted, their sibling relations become even more prominent. The supposed substitution of one for the other suggests that they have symmetric or similar functional status. Moreover, even with the above-mentioned modern progressive pedigree, as historical successions, they both surely contain relational aesthetics inherited from previous times. But the above-mentioned unity has been overshadowed by modernity and modern ideologies that sprang up in the 18th century and has shaped the popular concept of aesthetics thereafter. Aesthetics has been misled by its literal meaning of sensibility, and degenerated into “sensation study”, even into “sensuality study”. Those who hold such aesthetic views often trace their theories to Nietzsche, but they don't realize that Nietzsche stands at the peak of a watershed that is thinner than a blade, with aesthetics and theology on two sides. In other words, his aesthetics is also his theology, or aestheticized theology, which can be further interpreted as aesthetics of symbolic theology or aesthetics attempting to replace theology etc. Nietzsche's peak-positioned aesthetics has inherited from theology its transcendental temperament, while the “sensuality” aesthetics is falling down into

[1] The Chinese version of this article was first published on *International Aesthetics*, vol. 20, Jiangsu Education Publishing House in 2012.

the sticky wicket of sensual pleasures. From the perspective of academic history, “sensitivity” aesthetics deviates not only from Nietzsche’s aesthetics, but also from its profound historical mission of enlightenment. Such a change in the concept of aesthetics is brought forth by the historical evolution of modernity^[2].

The rising of theological aesthetics led by Balthasar in the 20th century drew the world’s attention, including China. In a sense, it intends to make theology and aesthetics return to the state of relatedness as was in Nietzsche. However, theological aesthetics represented by Balthasar is featured with theological dominance, that is, religious belief is the utmost dominance over aesthetics. More specifically, it focuses on how aesthetic experience witness (*μαρτυρια*) super-sensuous divinity, or how super-sensuous divinity dominates aesthetic experience. This approach is consistent with Platonism in the history of philosophy-aesthetics. As a result, it rejuvenated the tradition from Plato to Plotino in the 20th century, and highlighted the relationship Augustine built between theology and Platonism. In the light of “incarnation” belief, the significance of the transcendental world can be embodied by the perceptual world, so the real world should be put into the domain of the transcendental for examination. However, the transcendental domain prohibits the intrusion of experience. The well-known “anti-idolatry” movement fought not only against the indulgence in experience, but also against making God visible under the excuse that is a substitute for the invisible (God). Therefore, the tension of unity of opposites between sensibility and faith, including between theology and aesthetics, runs through the history of Christian thought. Theological aesthetics, which is a theological interpretation of aesthetic experience, is different from the “aesthetic theology” that attempts to incorporate theology into aesthetics^[3].

Therefore, the domain of “theology and aesthetics” is different from that of “theological aesthetics”. The former is a discipline of humanities, while the latter needs to maintain at least a minimum level of religious belief. Aesthetics’ interest in theological aesthetics and then in theology itself is based on the fact that aesthetics and belief are two similarly high-level spiritual forms of humanity. From the perspective of spiritual and intellectual history, the transformation of human temperament and taste from ancient to modern leads the relation between religion and aesthetics into a new and fundamental phase. They quote from and dissolve into each other to combat against the common problem of nihilism, consumerism and hedonism. In essence, the historical background of “theology and aesthetics” is their unparalleled proximity and attraction to each other based on their reflections on modernity and endeavors to rebuild modern spirit. As pointed out at the beginning of this article, the modernization of aesthetics tends to depart from religious belief or become non-spiritualized. It is this trend that forces aesthetics to take up analytical techniques and confuse itself with art theories to maintain the position of an already marginalized discipline. Thus, theological aesthetics, or even theology itself, is not only an antidote to the fashion of indulgence in “sensual aesthetics”, but also an active resource for aesthetics to restore its inherently spiritual upwardness.

[2] The study of the history of aesthetics as a subject must be combined with the history of thought, especially the relationship between enlightenment and modernity. The study of the history of a subject is not only superficial, but may lead to astray if it is confined to etymology or a post-disciplinary subject.

[3] For detailed review about this set of concepts, see DI Youzhuang, *Aesthetical Theology; or Theological Aesthetics after Balthasar*. Christian Culture Journal, 20th Series, Beijing: China Religious Culture Publisher, 2008.)

In the five monographs published in this column, Geiger's *Theology and Aesthetics* can serve as a general introduction to the field of theological aesthetics. It made a comprehensive introduction to the representative authors and viewpoints, and reviewed systematically the history of theology and its inherent contradictions based on literature retrospection. Zhang Jun's study of the transcendental aesthetic pedigree in Baltazar's theological aesthetics provides a unique interpretation of Western classical aesthetics. The article may have a bigger ambition, that is, to partially lay the foundation for reforming Western classical aesthetics according to modern requirement. With a critical attitude toward modernity, it anticipates a future aesthetics featured by a unity of the classical concepts of truth, goodness and beauty. In the same direction, Xiao Xiao's paper intends to demonstrate the importance of theological aesthetics to the reconstruction of aesthetics. As "sensibility study", aesthetics is "to extract spiritual denotation from various feelings and to show the spirit that attached to each gesture, event and reality." Besides, it highlights theological aesthetics' Christian color. "Beauty" in theological aesthetics is inseparable from "love" and "truth", which is different from traditional aesthetics that mainly values "goodness". Liu Guangyao traced the theological premise of poetry and poet, a task similar to Heidegger's account on the origin of works of art. As to theological aesthetics which related to both theology and aesthetics, his emphasis is that if aesthetics intends to benefit from theological aesthetics, it must be premised on a complete and sound theological belief. A deep investigation into works of art from aesthetic perspective has always been expected, because differences can provide insights. Two papers in this series carry out their research from this approach. They show how effective the introduction of theological aesthetics can be in deepening the understanding of art works. Lu Yang's close reading of the differences between Greek tragedy and the corresponding Hebrew text is actually a theological aesthetic interpretation of the latter, which reveals the religious origin of catharsis in aesthetic and art theory. According to him, only when faith surpasses the notion that life is suffering, may a kind of universal tragic beauty which, as Tolstoy said, transcends physical pain and personal misfortune, be testified and logically explained. Bai Junxiao's research on Augustine's thoughts on theological music explores a key issue in Western music history. Though it is an apparent fact that Christianity plays a significant role in Western music, as can be seen from the landmark status of Gregorian Le chant du silence, the internal laws under the apparent facts could only be revealed by interpreting the course of music-related events in the history of aesthetic thoughts. And an aesthetic interpretation of the inner relation between Christianity and music must consult Augustinian theology. Much more can't be covered here.

The relationship between theology and aesthetics is positive and complex. The more so, the more aesthetics should delve into this issue.

Part II

Christian Aesthetics in China

Zhang Jun^[4]

(Professor and doctoral supervisor at Yuelu Academy, Hunan University)

Whether in the Christian or aesthetic field, as an interdisciplinary subject Christian aesthetics is always a marginal academic field, and its marginal status in China is more obvious. Theological aesthetics has at least formed an academic phenomenon in Western contemporary theological circle, but the related research in China has just begun. Based on the need of the wholeness of history of Western aesthetics, Christian aesthetics was introduced to Chinese academia half a century ago. However, the real interest in the study of Christian aesthetics in the Chinese academic community can only be traced back to the mid-1980s. The Chinese studies of Christian aesthetics in the last 30 years can be divided into two stages in 2000, the beginning era and then the enterprising era. Thirty years of research have achieved some results, but the short board is obvious. To deepen the study of Christian aesthetics, we must first sort out the ideological development of Christian aesthetics.

Key Words: Christian aesthetics, theological aesthetics, history of western aesthetics, classical aesthetics, Chinese academic community

基督教美学在中国

张俊

(湖南大学 岳麓书院, 湖南 长沙 410082)

提要:无论在基督教学界还是在美学界,作为跨学科研究的基督教美学历来都属于边缘学术领域,其在中国这种边缘性地位更为明显。神学美学至少在西方当代神学界已经形成现象,但在中国相关研究才刚刚开始。基于西方美学史书写完整性的需要,半个世纪前基督教美学被引介到中国学术界。然而,汉语学界对基督教美学的真正研究兴趣,却只能追溯到二十世纪八十年代中期。最近三十年的汉语基督教美学研究,可以 2000 年为界划分为两个阶段,之前为起步阶段,之后为进取阶段。三十年的研究,取得了一些成绩,但短板明显。深化基督教美学研究,首先必须梳理出基督教美学的思想发展脉络。

关键词:基督教美学;神学美学;西方美学史;古典美学;汉语学界

作者:张俊,男,湖南大学岳麓书院教授、博士生导师,湖南大学比较宗教与文明研究中心主任,主要研究领域为宗教、美学与比较哲学。岳麓区麓山南路 2 号胜利斋,410082,湖南省长沙市,中国, Tel:13609161029. E-MAIL: yorckzhang@hotmail.com

[4] Zhang is serving as the director of Center for Comparative Religions and Inter-civilization Dialogue, Victory Hall, Lushan Road No. 2, Yuelu District, Changsha 410082, Hunan Province, P. R. China. Tel:13609161029. E-Mail: yorckzhang@hotmail.com

一、基督教美学的现代处境

美学在基督教研究中向来是不受重视的领域,同样基督教的美学思想历来也是美学研究中长期漠视的部分。美学研究成为基督教神学真正关注的焦点之一,大概只能追溯到上世纪六十年代。其标志便是当代天主教神学巨擘巴尔塔萨(Hans Urs von Balthasar, 1905—1988)具有里程碑意义的七卷本巨制《上帝的荣耀:神学美学》(*Herrlichkeit; Eine theologische Ästhetik*, 1961—1969)的问世。近一甲子,神学美学相关论著已超过远远超出历史上的总和,总数逾 500 部,其中近三十年来的著作又占了总数约三分之二的比例。总之,神学美学研究在西方已蔚然成风。自 2004 年 5 月,神学美学界在圣波纳文图拉大学(St. Bonaventure University)发起首届神学美学国际学术会议后,相关学术交流活动亦蓬勃展开,迄今已成为不容忽视的学术现象。不过,这些学术工作主要是神学界在做,世俗美学界对基督教美学的关注还是远远不够的。而且,世俗美学界对当代神学美学的最新成果似乎也一直缺乏了解的兴趣,所以基本上他们对于神学美学在当代的快速发展是漠视的——一种全然无知的冷漠态度。

基督教美学作为跨学科研究,其对美学研究者知识结构的挑战是不容小觑的。从现实的角度看,这应该也是阻碍世俗美学界深入了解基督教美学的一个重要因素。但更为重要的原因却是现代美学史对基督教美学思想的长期贬低。现代美学史对神学美学的边缘化,根源在于现代美学(Aesthetics)的知识学立场和美学史观。

现代美学,从鲍姆加登(Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, 1714—1762)以来发展成为一个独立于形而上学、逻辑学、伦理学、政治哲学的重要哲学学科,实质的依据是美作为价值本体的独立,于是审美成为一种可以独立研究的现象,并因此影响现代文学与艺术观念。然而在古典时代,美并不是独立于存在、真和善的一种独立价值。中世纪神学家们的观点也是一样的,无论是波纳文图拉(San Bonaventura, 1221—1274)还是阿奎那(St. Thomas Aquinas, 1225—1274),都把一(unum)、真(verum)、善(bonum)和美(pulchrum)视为是存在(ens)的先验属性,真、善、美作为先验价值本体互渗相寓,统一于存在^[5]。所以在本体论层面上探讨美,必然会涉及真与善,没有真与善,美的价值也不成立。巴尔塔萨在《上帝的荣耀》“导论”中就讲,美作为一种无限的光辉,始终环绕在真与善这对双子星座上,是不可能与真和善分开的^[6]。在古希腊罗马时代和中世纪,美学因此完全内在于哲学或神学。将美学从哲学和神学中剥离出来,启蒙哲学家乃是始作俑者。

启蒙哲学的人类学转向,实质是主体理性意识的觉醒,而主体理性觉醒在当时直接指向宗教蒙昧主义批判,基督教神学首当其冲。由于古典美学在中世纪已完全托付给神学,哲学的古典美学传统已经中断,而内在于基督教神学的古典美学,仅靠近代以来已经式微的神学美学,当然无法通过启蒙理性的检审。所以现代审美学的兴起后,古典美学便彻底边缘化了。

德国莱布尼茨—沃尔夫唯理派哲学家鲍姆加登的《美学》(Aesthetica)一书第一卷于 1750 年的面世,被公认为现代美学的开山之作——尽管严格讲起来十八世纪上半叶的英国经验派美学(如 W. Hogarth, F. Hutcheson, D. Hume 等)才是现代美学的开端。在《美学》中,鲍姆加登把美学界定为低级认识论(gnoseologia inferior)——“感性认识的科学”^[7],按照巴尔塔萨的说法,就是把美学从关注

[5] Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism and the Frontiers of Poetry*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962, p. 30. See also Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d'Esthétique Médiévale*, vol. 3 (Brugge: De Tempel, 1946), 190.

[6] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* vol. I: Seeing the Form (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982), 18

[7] “Aesthetica…… est Scientia cognitionis sensitivae.” Alexander G. Baumgarten, *Aesthetica* (Francofurti cis Viadrum: Joannes Christianus Kleyb, 1750; Reprographic reprint: Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961), 35.

存在的形而上学的一个面向变成了限定到一个特定知识领域的“科学^[8]”——感性学或美学(Aesthetics)。美学由之经历其现代转化,即从哲学和神学的母体中分离出来,与真和善分道扬镳,自成一门独立的现代学科。正如巴尔塔萨所讲,“毫无疑问美学就其作为脱离真与善的美的观念而言,是一门新学科,之前一直埋藏在真与善的观念里,直到——虽然这个过程开始于文艺复兴——启蒙后期才在德国唯心主义中完全实现^[9]。”

无论是鲍姆加登的“感性学”,还是后来所谓的“美学”,其所代表的美的价值的独立或美学的独立,本质是启蒙现代性的内在诉求,而其更大的背景则是肇始于中世纪晚期的知识膨胀与分化的必然结果和必然环节。然而正是这种价值观与知识体系的分化,彻底改塑了美学的知识历史。美学经过启蒙运动尤其是在德国古典哲学时期康德、席勒、谢林、黑格尔等人的发展,美学的系统性与思辨深度得到前所未有的强化。比照古代美学东鳞西爪杂糅于各类著作中的支离状态,现代美学的系统化使其专业知识属性大大增强,从而发展成为一个具有现代知识合法性的学科门类,进入一种职业化的知识生产模式。这无疑是启蒙哲学家为现代美学做出的巨大贡献。但在此过程中,美学的独立使美的观念因为剥离了存在及真与善的观念,因此被严重狭义化为审美的对象观念,从而将古典美学原有的丰富的形上内涵抛弃,使美学“丧失其本体论意义^[10]”,从一种形上价值哲学降格到一门“哲学认识论的亚学科^[11]”,甚至在谢林和黑格尔等许多哲学家那里只是所谓的艺术哲学(Philosophie der Kunst)。古典美学的形上维度被遮蔽后,美的崇高价值、超越性与神圣感也就自然瓦解了。现代美学因此无可避免地向感官世界沉沦。现代美学的危机,殆半由此而起。

从美学史的角度看,美学依托启蒙现代性,在古今之争中取代古典美学,由此改变了美学史观。古典美学在现代美学的系统性知识话语的检视下,很容易就被视作是“美学的史前阶段^[12]”,克罗齐、朱光潜等著名美学家都自觉地将其看作是“美学”的不成熟状态,某种甚至连哲学、美学都算不上的“美学思想”。在这种美学史观下,基督教美学或神学美学自然得不到应有的尊重和重视。

美学自清末舶来中国,中国学术界接受的是便是这种源自英、德的现代审美学,再加上中国社会经过共产革命与长期无神论精神洗礼,世俗化的语境极其强大,故而基督教美学在中国学术界的处境更加边缘。中国美学界和基督教学界对于神学美学的研究,目前还相当薄弱。但从基础研究的角度出发,这又是学术界必须认真面对的领域。

二、中国的西方美学史研究视域中的基督教美学

基督教美学进入大陆美学界的视野,最初始于西方美学史家的介绍。国内最早的西方美学史家当属朱光潜、宗白华、汝信等几位先生。

上世纪五十年代中期开始,关于美的本质的论争在文艺界、思想界掀起波澜,这次美学大讨论持续到六

[8] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* vol. IV: *The Realm of Metaphysics in Antiquity* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989), 19.

[9] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Explorations in Theology* vol. I: *The Word Made Flesh* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 95.

[10] David L. Schindler (ed.), *Hans Urs von Balthasar: His Life and Work* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 185.

[11] Stephan van Erp, *The Art of Theology: Hans Urs von Balthasar's Theological Aesthetics and the Foundations of Faith* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 128.

[12] [意] 克罗齐 Kluoqi [Croce], 《美学纲要》 *Meixue gangyao* [Outline of Aesthetics], 韩邦凯 HAN Bangkai、罗芘 LUO Peng 译, 北京 Beijing: 人民文学出版社 Renmin wenxue chubanshe [People's Press], 1983 年, 第 243 页。

十年代初,被美学界称为新中国第一次“美学热^[13]”。作为美学批判的发难对象,朱光潜先生首当其冲,当然他也作为其中一派美学思想的代表人物直接参与这次大讨论^[14]。宗白华先生不是当时参与论争的主要派别或焦点对象,作为资深美学专家他也发表了几篇文章参与其中^[15]。不过因为发表的文章争议性不强,故并未使其卷入这场论争的漩涡中心。稍晚一辈的汝信,是次“美学热”兴起之时(1956年),正值其在贺麟先生门下攻读哲学研究生,虽未直接参与讨论,但也躬逢其盛。总之,五六十年代“美学热”的历史机缘促使几位美学学者不约而同地开始思考西方美学史的系统梳理研究问题。

宗白华先生美学与艺术哲学研究重心虽然主要在中国本土传统部分,但也翻译过多种西方美学著作,如康德的《审美判断力的批判》(《判断力批判》上卷,商务印书馆,)、莱辛的《拉奥孔》节译、温克尔曼美学论文选译,以及有关歌德、席勒、海涅、黑格尔、罗丹等人的文献^[16],撰写过多篇西方美学史专题文章,如《文艺复兴的美学思想》、《德国唯理主义的美学》、《英国经验主义的心理分析的美学》、《康德美学思想评述》等^[17]。从其作为西方美学史大纲的遗稿《美学史》^[18]一文可知,他在上世纪五六十年代也非常认真地思考过西方美学史撰写的问题。但据北京大学叶朗教授讲,1962年国务院指派周扬负责统筹大学文科教材编写,当时美学学科中规划了三部教科书:《美学概论》(委托王朝闻负责),《中国美学史》(委托宗白华负责),《西方美学史》(委托朱光潜负责)。大概是因为朱光潜先生已

[13] 1956年,在“百花齐放,百家争鸣”文艺方针的号召下,《文艺报》发起了一场对朱光潜早期唯心主义美学思想的批判与讨论,由此引发主观派(吕莹 LV Ying、高尔泰 GAO Ertai)、客观派(蔡仪 CAI Yi)、主客观统一派(朱光潜 ZHU Guangqian)、客观性与社会性统一派(李泽厚 LI Zehou)等四个主要学派对于美的本质的大讨论,形成所谓“美学热”。

[14] 朱光潜 ZHU Guangqian 在这场美学大讨论中发表了大量争鸣文章:“我的文艺思想的反动性 Wo de wenyi sixiang de fandong xing” [The reactionary nature of my literary thought],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第一集),作家出版社 Zuojia chubanshe [Writers Press],1957年5月;“美学怎样才能既是唯物论的又是辩证的” *Meixue zenyang caineng ji shi weiwu de you shi bianzheng de* [How can Aesthetics be both materialist and dialectic?],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》(第二集 vol.2),作家出版社,1957年8月;“论美是客观与主观的统一” *Lun mei shi keguan yu zhuguan de tongyi* [On that beauty is the union between objectivity and subjectivity],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第三集 vol.3),作家出版社,1959年1月;“美就是美的观念吗?——评吕莹的美学观点” *Mei jiushi mei de guannian ma? Ping LV Ying de meixue guandian* [Is beauty the concept of beauty? On LV Ying's opinion of Aesthetics]、“美必然是意识形态性的——答李泽厚、洪毅然两同志” *Mei biran shi yishi xingtai de: Da LI Zihou, HONG Yiran lian tongzhi* [Beauty must be ideological: On LV Ying's opinion of Aesthetics? Reply to LI Zehou and HONG Yiran]、“见物不见人”的美学——再答洪毅然学生” *Jian wu bu jian ren de meixue; Zai da HONG Yiran xuesheng* [The aesthetics of seeing things but not human beings: A second reply to HONG Yiran],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第四集 vol.4),作家出版社,1959年1月;“黑格尔美学的评介” *Heiger meixue de pingjie* [A review on Hegel's Aesthetics],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第五集 vol.5),作家出版社,1962年2月;“从姚文元同志的美学观点谈到美学中理论与现实的结合” *Cong YAO Wenyuan tongzhi de meixue guandian tando meixue zhong lilun yu xianshi de jiehe* [The Union between Theory and Reality in Aesthetics in the light of Comrade YAO Wenyuan's Aesthetic Opinion]、“生产劳动与人对世界的艺术掌握——马克思主义美学的实践观点” *Shengchan laodong yu ren dui shijie de yishu zhangwo: Makeshi zhuyi meixue de shijian guandian* [Producing Labour and Human Artist Grasp of the World: A Practical Opinion of Marxist Aesthetics]、“美学中唯物主义与唯心主义之争——交美学的底” *Meixue zhong de weiwu zhuyi yu weixin zhuyi zhi zheng: Jiao meixue de di* [The conflict between materialism and idealism in aesthetics: To expose the bottom of aesthetics],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第六集 vol.6),作家出版社,1964年3月。

[15] 宗白华,“读‘论美’后的一些疑问” *Du Lun Mei hou de yixie yiwen* [Some questions after reading the article on Beauty],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第二集 vol.2),作家出版社,1957年8月;“美从何处寻?” *Mei cong hechu xun?* [From where can find beauty?],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第三集 vol.3),作家出版社,1959年1月;“美学的散步” *Meixue sanbu* [A walk of aesthetics],载文艺报编辑部,《美学问题讨论集》*Meixue wenti taolun ji* [Collection of Discussions on Aesthetic Issues](第五集 vol.5),作家出版社,1962年2月。

[16] 宗白华,《宗白华全集》ZONG Baihua quanji [The Whole Collections of ZONG Baihua](第四卷 vol.4),安徽教育出版社 Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe [Anhui Education Press],1994年。后来安徽教育出版社将其美学译文结集出版《西方美学名著选译》*Xifang meixue mingzhu xuanyi* [Selected collection of Western Aesthetic Translations](2000年第1版,2006年第2版)。

[17] 宗白华 ZONG Baihua,《宗白华全集》ZONG Baihua quanji [The Whole Collections of ZONG Baihua](第三卷 vol.3),安徽教育出版社 Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe [Anhui Education Press],1994年。

[18] *Ibid.*, 297-327.

经受命撰写《西方美学史》，而自己又分配有《中国美学史》的编撰任务，宗白华先生最后就主动放弃了西方美学史的研究。不过令人遗憾的是，由于种种原因，他也未能完成《中国美学史》的编写。从宗白华先生的译稿和西方美学研究论文及那篇西方美学史提纲来看，他对基督教美学的研究近乎空白。几乎可以断定说，基督教美学这个概念从未进入过他的西方美学史视野。

汝信大学时代并非哲学科班，“美学热”兴起之时，他才正式进入哲学领域的学习，并没有系统的美学训练，所以他没能赶上美学大讨论。但“美学热”显然潜在地影响这位后来的西方美学史大家。据他讲，他最初的美学兴趣源于“抗美援朝”战争中读到一本俄文的《车尔尼雪夫斯基选集》。当然，仅靠车尔尼雪夫斯基一些讨论文艺的片段文章是不可能建立起西方美学知识体系的。就算是他的导师贺麟，大概也不可能真正带领他进入美学的领域——贺麟虽然是会通中西的哲学大家，但他并不是美学专家。设若没有“美学热”的学术氛围潜移默化的影响——须知文艺和美学问题是当时文化环境下极少数允许进行有限度的思想争鸣的领域，汝信大概也不会走上西方美学史的研究。不过，作为新中国培养的第一批哲学—美学学者，《车尔尼雪夫斯基选集》象征性地奠定其思想底色——马克思主义美学史观。故在其第一部西方美学史著作《西方美学史论丛》（上海人民出版社，1963）中，看不到任何基督教美学的影子，他把论述重心放在古希腊和德国古典美学上，中世纪美学则是他完全忽视的领域，更不用说当代神学美学了。二十年后他出版的《西方美学史论丛续编》（上海人民出版社，1983）也是如此。不过他在《西方美学史论丛》中，专门写了《普罗提诺论美》一文，这也算间接涉及到了基督教美学的思想。毕竟，普罗提诺神性化的新柏拉图主义是中世纪美学的重要哲学基础，其美学思想与中世纪神学美学有异曲同工之妙，任何人讨论中世纪美学都不可能绕开普罗提诺。

汝信的《西方美学史论丛》严格讲起来只能算作西方美学史专题论文集，并不是完整的西方美学通史。中国真正意义上的第一部西方美学通史当然是朱光潜先生的《西方美学史》（人民文学出版社，上册 1963 年，下册 1964 年）。在这部两卷本美学史中，朱光潜先生把奥古斯丁和托马斯·阿奎那作为中世纪的美学代表人物做了简要论述，同时，他也提到了普罗提诺和但丁。客观地讲，大篇幅地论述基督教美学在当时的意识形态环境下是不现实的，同时受限于文献资源的稀缺以及语言（主要是拉丁文）障碍，朱光潜先生也不可能靠一己之力对中世纪美学做出非常深入的研究——这点从半个世纪后整理出版的朱光潜《西方美学史资料翻译·残稿》（中华书局，2013 年）即可以清楚地看到，朱光潜先生几乎没有整理翻译过任何中世纪美学资料。这个问题也不仅仅是他的问题，西方国家的美学史家也会遭遇同样的困难。譬如曾任国际美学协会（International Association of Aesthetics）主席的高建平教授极力推荐的美国学者门罗·C·比厄斯利（Monroe C. Beardsley）的《西方美学简史》（*Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present: A Short History*, The Macmillan Co., 1966），这部跟朱光潜同时代的西方美学史教材对于基督教美学也同样只是浮光掠影地提到普罗提诺、奥古斯丁、托马斯而已。

中国美学界对基督教美学思想资料译介的漠视，是西方美学史研究的一大积弊，而且至今都没得到太大改观。1987 年，美学界出版了第一部西方美学通史资料选编和第一部西方美学名著提要：马奇主编的《西方美学史资料选编》（上海人民出版社，1987 年）和曲戈、盛广智编著的《西方美学名著提要》（辽宁人民出版社，1987 年）。《西方美学史资料选编》分上、下两卷，收录 66 位西方美学思想家的著作节选，其中首次收入普罗提诺《九章集》、奥古斯丁《忏悔录》和《论音乐》、阿奎那《神学大全》等著作节译内容。显然，马奇的选本受到了朱光潜《西方美学史》的影响。这也就意味着他对基督教美学的眼界，并未超出朱光潜。同年出版的《西方美学名著提要》涉及 55 位西方美学思想家共 56 部（篇）著作，其中基督教美学著作只介绍了奥古斯丁的《忏悔录》。八十年代末邹英编著的《西方古典美学导论》（东北师范大学出版社，1989 年）介绍了十几部西方美学名著，其中一部基督教美学著作都没提到。如果说八十年代美学甫兴，西方美学译介不够全面，那么经过八九十年代西方美学的大量译介，世纪末复旦朱立元教授重编《西方美学名著提要》（江西人民出版社，2000 年）时，理论上内容应该更全

人民大学出版社, 1998 年) 出版。仅凭个人之力, 从各种原著中译出四卷西方美学史资料, 实属难得。缪灵珠先生可以说是中国美学界百年来, 除了朱光潜外, 唯一有资格独立选译一部西方美学通史资料汇编的人物, 但他的译介也几乎完全忽略了中世纪基督教美学。我们现在只能在《缪灵珠美学译文集》第一卷中找到普罗提诺的《九章集》片段选译、但丁的《致斯加拉亲王书——论〈神曲·天国篇〉》、薄伽丘的《诗与神学》(《但丁传》第二十二章) 等少数几篇与中世纪基督教美学有间接关系的著作。所以, 对基督教美学的漠视不是哪个学者的问题, 而是整个中国美学界的软肋。

由于基督教美学汉译文献的匮乏, 加之中国美学界近几十年一直没有培养出能够释读多种西语文献(尤其是希腊文、拉丁文文献)的学者, 所以, 尽管大陆编撰了数十部西方美学史, 但相关部分的研究仍然薄弱。在诸种西方美学简史中, 居然有对中世纪一千年的基督教美学只字不提的, 譬如刘鹤龄的《西方美学简史》(北京师范学院出版社, 1988 年)、庄其荣的《西方美学史探略》(南京大学出版社, 1992)。其他多数著作, 如涂涂编著的《西方美学史概观》(漓江出版社, 1984 年)、杨恩寰的《西方美学思想史》(辽宁大学出版社, 1988 年)、李醒尘的《西方美学简史》(上海文艺出版社, 1988 年) 和《西方美学史教程》(北京大学出版社, 1994 年)、李思孝编著的《西方古典美学史论》(南开大学出版社, 1992 年)、毛宣国的《西方美学思想史》(湖南师范大学出版社, 1999 年)、戴茂堂和雷绍峰的《西方美学史》(武汉理工大学出版社, 2003 年)、张玉能的《西方美学思潮》(山西教育出版社, 2005 年)、王文生的《西方美学简史》(生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2014 年) 等等, 这些美学史对于中世纪美学的交代, 左右不过就蜻蜓点水地谈谈奥古斯丁和托马斯·阿奎那, 或者再捎带提一下中世纪美学的精神先驱普罗提诺和中世纪的文学巨匠但丁, 或者最多再捎带讲一点《圣经》和中世纪的骑士文学之类的边角料。从实质内容来看, 这些美学史家对基督教美学的认识基本还停留在上世纪六十年代朱光潜写作《西方美学史》的层次。

而这几十年来, 西方神学美学蓬勃兴起, 各种论著不说汗牛塞屋, 但至少也算令人目不暇接, 中国美学界岂能无视? 更何况中国的基督教美学研究也并不是完全没有发展? 至少在上世纪八十年代末九十年代初, 阎国忠和孙津就已分别出版了《基督教与美学》的专著。尽管八九十年代的基督教美学研究基本上都是碎片化的, 但只要对这些既有成果稍加吸收, 就算完全不用亲自去梳理西语文献, 也能拼凑出基督教美学的大概面貌, 不至于讲来讲去都是千篇一律的奥古斯丁和托马斯·阿奎那。难道中世纪一千年就只有这两位神学巨擘才有美学思想吗?

尽管多数美学史编撰, 都有漠视基督教美学的问题, 但这毕竟不是全部的真相。实际上, 从上世纪九十年代以来, 还是可以看到有几部西方美学史在基督教美学尤其是中世纪美学研究上做出了一定努力的。譬如汤龙发编著的《西方美学史纲要》(中国国际广播出版社, 1992 年), 这部在美学界影响泛泛的教材, 在中世纪部分, 除了奥古斯丁和托马斯·阿奎那以及普罗提诺和但丁, 也尝试去探讨阿贝拉尔、薄伽丘的相关美学思想, 在现代部分还介绍了马利坦和新托马斯主义美学。次年出版的朱立元主编的《现代西方美学史》(上海文艺出版社, 1993 年) 也提到了新托马斯主义美学, 而且在世纪末蒋孔阳、朱立元主编的《西方美学通史》(上海文艺出版社, 1999 年) 第六卷, 即由朱立元、张德兴等人撰著的二十世纪美学上卷部分, 还专门拓出第十五章介绍新托马斯主义美学, 尤其是其代表人物马利坦和吉尔松的天主教美学思想。不过, 到了 2009 年朱立元主编的三卷本《西方美学思想史》(上海人民出版社, 2009 年) 中, 朱立元做分册主编的下卷即 20 世纪现当代部分, 新托马斯主义美学反倒被刻意忽略, 以致 20 世纪神学美学的发展没有得到一丝呈现。由之可见, 在朱立元的美学知识谱系中, 神学美学还是可有可无的。

上世纪九十年代有一部古代美学史在处理中世纪美学方面倒是堪称公允, 这即是袁定生《西方古代美学史》(广西师范大学出版社, 1995 年)。他这部西方古代美学史, 把中世纪列为三个主要部分之一, 即最后一编, 他在教父美学中重点介绍了奥古斯丁、狄奥尼修斯, 也谈到拜占庭艺术、罗马基督教艺术, 经院美学

除了阿奎那,还涉及朗巴德、波纳文图拉以及哥特式艺术。这在当时的中国美学界应该说还是比较全面地呈现了中世纪美学的主要图景的。上段提到的朱立元的《西方美学思想史》,虽然中卷和下卷都没有涉及基督教,但在陆扬和潘道正做分册主编的上卷中有比较详细地介绍中世纪、文艺复兴和宗教改革时期的基督教美学思想。当然,这主要跟之前陆扬参与蒋孔阳、朱立元的《西方美学通史》(上海文艺出版社,1999年)的工作有关。陆扬是蒋孔阳—朱立元团队中唯一真正了解基督教美学的人物。在蒋孔阳、朱立元主编的七卷本《西方美学通史》中,第二卷《中世纪文艺复兴美学》便是陆扬撰写的,其中半卷涉及基督教美学,虽只有半卷,但其研究的系统性与深度皆超出了八十年代末那两部中世纪美学专著。不过,此书仍受限于中世纪美学资料的匮乏,并没有充分呈现中世纪美学的面貌,个别研究也未能深入展开。说到多卷本的西方美学通史,就不能不再提一下汝信主编的四卷本《西方美学史》(中国社会科学出版社,2005年),这部美学史第一卷的后半部分,即由徐恒醇执笔的中世纪部分,也对基督教美学做了比较集中的呈现,论述规模大致与陆扬的半卷相当,存在的问题也类似。这两个“半卷中世纪美学”虽然推进了世俗美学界对中世纪的认知,但基督教美学的地位并未有太大改观。

尽管大陆美学界对于基督教美学在西方美学史中的定位一直很低,认识也不够深入,故而对待中世纪常常是穿着“七里神靴”(黑格尔语)一跃而过的,然而不得不说,世纪之交以来,大陆美学界在西方美学史中对于基督教美学的呈现,还是有一定进步的。至少在北京美学圈出版的几部西方美学简史中,基督教美学的内容还是引起了相当重视的。如吴琼的《西方美学史》(上海人民出版社,2000年),除了介绍奥古斯丁和托马斯·阿奎那,以及普罗提诺和但丁,还涵盖了《圣经》和拜占庭美学的内容,并以施莱尔马赫殿后。虽然这部美学史较之以前朱光潜模式的美学史,在基督教美学思想的梳理方面并未发生质的变化,但多少还是有些进步。其实真正进步最大的还是几年后凌继尧出版的《西方美学史》(北京大学出版社,2004年)和章启群出版的《新编西方美学史》(商务印书馆,2004年)。或许是受到之前阎国忠等人的基督教美学研究以及复旦大学那部七卷本西方美学通史的影响,这两部教材对于基督教美学的重视程度超过之前几乎所有在中国大陆出版的西方美学简史。譬如凌继尧的《西方美学史》第二编就用了三章内容介绍中世纪美学,教父美学除了奥古斯丁,还提到斐洛、克莱门特、德尔图良、波埃修,中世纪经院美学除了阿奎那,还涉及爱留根纳、波纳文图拉、圣维克多的雨果与但丁等人,此外还专门谈了东方教会尤其是拜占庭美学,涉及圣像之争,伪狄奥尼修斯、大巴西尔和普罗科皮等人。当然他也谈到了大家都会谈到的普罗提诺,其对文艺复兴时期的基督教美学人物如库萨的尼古拉、斐奇诺等也皆有涉及。章启群因早年曾参与其师阎国忠先生的《基督教与美学》(辽宁人民出版社,1989年)一书的研究工作,故其对于基督教美学也算是比较了解的,不过他的《新编西方美学史》在内容方面大抵与凌继尧的《西方美学史》近似,并未展现出太大的创新之处。可见,他们在基督教美学部分的进步,主要还是因为充分吸收了前人在中世纪美学上的研究成果。

如果说中世纪只能谈基督教美学,故意视而不见无疑是连自己也无法欺骗的掩耳盗铃。那么对于现代基督教美学的成果,国内西方美学史的流行书写,受既有模式的影响,则完全有理由堂而皇之地采取一种视而不见的态度了。以致我们常常看到当代主流学界的美学史家,对基督教美学的丰硕成果可以做到只字不提,譬如周宪的《二十世纪西方美学》(南京大学出版社,1997年)、牛宏宝《西方现代美学》(上海人民出版社,2002年)和《现代西方美学史》(北京大学出版社,2014年),等等。当然,如前所述,这种漠视态度背后可能更主要是受知识结构与美学视野的制约。当然也有比较认真看待二十世纪神学美学的,譬如程孟辉、张法等人。程孟辉在其主编的《现代西方美学史》(人民美术出版社,2000年)中,列入专章(第七章)讨论20世纪神学美学,重点介绍了马利坦为代表的新的托马斯主义美学、蒂利希的艺术神学,甚至雅斯贝尔斯和马丁·布伯的所谓“基督教美学”思想,并试图对神学美学进行归纳理论总结。不过这部教材的编者显然对于当代神学美学了解不够,以致误将雅斯贝尔斯和马丁·布伯纳入神学美学范畴作为代表人物来讨论,却独独遗漏当代神学美学的奠基者巴尔塔萨。

另外他对神学美学的本质和特征的归纳总结也显得极其浮泛、空洞,明显没有对 20 世纪神学美学做过真正深入的研究。几年后张法出版的《20 世纪西方美学史》(四川人民出版社,2003 年)也在其书最后一章(第二十章)专门讨论了神学美学,张法吸收了国内基督教美学研究的成果,不仅谈到新托马斯主义的马利坦,也涉及到巴尔塔萨。不过他把海德格尔也作为神学美学思想家来做专节讨论似乎没有什么道理,毕竟海德格尔跟神学美学没有太多直接关系,海德格尔的美学成就主要也不在神学美学方面,而二十世纪明显还有更值得介绍的神学美学思想家。

三、二十世纪晚期中国的西方基督教美学研究

基督教美学作为学术课题进入台湾,大致也能追溯到半个世纪前。台湾学者罗光(1911—2004)、赵雅博(1917—2015)等人,早年间对于天主教美学尤其是经院美学的部分概念都有一定接受,并融入到自身的美学文艺思想中。但这些天主教神父生前并没有出版系统的神学美学著作,加之两岸政治阻隔等因素,其相关学术论著对大陆美学界影响甚微,几乎无人知晓,故此处暂略去不表。

中国大陆对于基督教美学思想的真正兴趣始于上世纪八十年代后期,刘小枫、阎国忠、孙津等学者开始关注基督教文艺及美学思想。其中刘小枫可以视为是一个关键性的人物,尽管基督教美学在他后来的学术工作中所占的比重微不足道。在“美学热”快要退潮的八十年代后期,他出版了两部具有相当影响力的著作,《诗化哲学》(山东文艺出版社,1986 年)和《拯救与逍遥》(上海人民出版社,1988 年),尤其是后者,影响远超出文艺界和美学界。作为上世纪八十年代“美学热”的余响,这两部著作具有文化标志性的意义。刘小枫以硕士论文为基础的处女作《诗化哲学》研究德国浪漫主义美学(哲学)传统,不可避免会涉及基督教文艺思想,而由浪漫主义反思启蒙理性的这条思想路线出发,对情感与审美精神超越的强调最终将他的思想导向西方宗教的终极关怀,于是成就了刘小枫早年具有基督教灵性启蒙意义的代表作《拯救与逍遥》——这部书是九十年代大陆“基督教文化热”的先导,同时也是大陆基督教美学研究兴起的先声。八十年代末,在赴瑞士巴塞尔大学攻读神学博士前后,刘小枫将其在《读书》杂志发表的一组二十世纪西方神学介绍文章结集出版,这便是《走向十字架的真:20 世纪基督教神学引论》(香港三联书店,1990 年;台湾风云时代,1991 年;上海三联书店,1995 年增订版)。此书中收入了专门介绍巴尔塔萨的文章——《十字架上的荣耀之美》,虽然这只是一篇一两万字的文章,但却是大陆学界第一次真正意义上接触西方当代神学美学。留学期间他又编选了一册巴尔塔萨的《神学美学导论》(香港三联书店,1998 年;上海三联书店,2002 年),不过出版延宕了好些年,直到世纪末出版。尽管刘小枫在此领域所做的工作仅此而已,但他的文章和编译著作,成为后来大陆巴尔塔萨乃至当代神学美学研究的一个重要指向标,可谓开风气之先者。

相较于刘小枫,其实阎国忠和孙津在此领域所做的工作更多一些。尤其是阎国忠,他对基督教美学的研究兴趣虽时断时续、但却难能可贵地持续到了新世纪,眼下他算是中国研究基督教美学最久、资历最深的学者。阎国忠作为朱光潜先生晚年的学术助手,很早就意识到汉语中世纪美学研究的薄弱,于是八十年代后期开始着力于基督教美学的研究,出版了《基督教与美学》(辽宁人民出版社,1989 年)一书,并发表《中世纪及文艺复兴时期时期美学论略》(载《江淮论坛》,1988 年第 4 期)、《中世纪及文艺复兴时期时期美学论初论》(载《北京大学学报》(哲社版),1988 年第 6 期)、《论圣托马斯·阿奎那的神学美学》(载《长沙水电师院学报》(社科版),1989 年第 1 期)等文章。《基督教与美学》是国内第一部主要研究中世纪与文艺复兴时期基督教美学思想的著作。阎国忠对于西方基督教美学史的贡献也主要在中世纪,他几乎从未研究过近代以来的基督教美学,但他却最早在中国使用了“神学美学”这个当代概念,甚至比刘小枫译介巴尔塔萨神学美学都早。不过,基督教美学领域在汉语学界的冷僻

性,导致他在该书出版后,一度中断了相关研究,直到1997年受邀访问香港汉语基督教文化研究所,才从新重拾起研究兴趣,将此书的中世纪以及早期基督教部分加以修订、增补,并于新世纪初改版为一部新书《美是上帝的名字——中世纪神学美学》(上海社会科学院出版社,2003年)。该书不仅探讨中世纪美学,还上溯至《圣经》、教父美学,相较于前著,此书增加了圣经与早期教父美学,以及中世纪晚期埃克哈特与库萨的尼古拉等人的神秘主义美学思想,不过在在研究方法与结构上都没有什么改变,主要还是按时序依次展开论述,他将前十五个世纪的基督教美学史分为“早期经典”、“系统神学”、“黑暗时代”、“神秘主义”、“经院哲学”、“隐秘教派”等六个部分,然后每个部分依次论述“文化氛围”、“著述家”、“理论构架”、“简要评析”四个部分,基本上还是教材讲义的形式,其对这一千五百年的基督教美学史的呈现还是片段性的,也没有认真梳理其内在的发展脉络,而且其断代划分及理论概括都比较粗糙。但无论如何,这已是中国第一代基督教美学史研究者能够达到的最高水准了。新世纪以来,阎国忠基本已不再从事中世纪美学史的研究,不过他开始思考从基督教美学家的视野,创造一种以爱、神圣、信仰、自由为核心价值的神学美学。近十几年来,他撰写的多篇神学美学论文,如《关于美、爱、信仰的理论思考》(载《学术月刊》,2004年第8期)、《美是上帝的名字——神学美学的核心命题》(载《吉首大学学报(社科版)》,2008年第2期)、《超验之美与人的救赎》(载《学术月刊》,2008年第5期)、《美·爱·自由·信仰》(载《学术月刊》,2011年第2期)、《美因何而神圣?》(载《中州学刊》,2016年第1期),都较有分量。这些论文,实际上开启了中国本土的神学美学创造探索。阎国忠认为,美学在精神意义上可以称作是信仰之学。美的本质是一种超验性的存在,与真和善同样崇高,所以美是神圣的。美即是自身生命的感悟,又是对终极境界的体验,是跨越在感性与理性、有限与无限之间的桥梁,是人藉以获得自我救赎的机制。美的神圣性、绝对性、永恒性构成了他所讲的美学信仰的核心。阎国忠的这种信仰美学思想,是他在古代基督教美学史研究基础所做的理论升华,具有神学美学价值。然而遗憾的是,在当代中国的主流文化语境中,神学美学向来缺乏接受空间,所以迄今为止他的神学美学思想还没引起美学界与基督教学界的足够重视。当然更根本的原因还是其理论论述流于碎片化,系统性不足,即使作为一家之言也缺乏明显的体系特征,于是被学界暂时忽视也无可厚非。

几乎与阎国忠同时出版《基督教与美学》(重庆人民出版社,1990年)的孙津是一个比较奇怪的学者,他在基督教美学领域只留下这样一部著作,尔后就再也没有关注过这个领域,甚至他本人最后也改行研究起社会学、政治学,显得比较突兀。相比阎国忠的同名著作,这部《基督教与美学》更像是一部关于中世纪美学的学术专题论著,而后者更接近古代基督教美学史讲义。二者虽然同名,但史论各有侧重,各有优长,在当时是内容互补的两部基督教美学著作。可以说,一直到世纪末陆扬出版《中世纪文艺复兴美学》(1999)之前,这两部著作都是国内学者研究基督教美学的主要参考资料。当然,这两本书的时代局限也非常明显,首先最直观的就是原著参考文献不足,以致大量征引二、三手文献,可想而知其描绘出来的中世纪美学会是何种场景。但无论如何,这两部著作的历史地位不可抹杀。

除以上三位学者,上世纪八九十年代还有一些零星的研究涉及基督教美学论题。其实早在八十年代中期,《四川大学学报》(1987年第1期)就专门组织一个中世纪美学的研究生讨论专栏,发表了秦伟的《宗教·基督教·艺术》、余虹的《中世纪美学的超越意识与象征意识》和马小朝的《关于西方中世纪美学及文论的讨论综述》等文章。而在此之前,叶伯泉也发表过《欧洲中世纪美学界思想评介》(载《绥化师范专科学校学报》,1985年第3—4期)一文,初步涉猎此论域。九十年代也有个别学者发表了西方基督教美学的介绍文章,如周文彬的《奥古斯丁与阿奎那的美学思想》(载《青海社会科学》,1991年第4期)、王泽民的《初期基督教的美学精神及其对欧洲文化倾向的影响》(载《西北民族大学(哲社版)》,1992年第1期)、郭绪权的《基督教中找美学——评夏多布里昂的美学理论与实践》(载《暨南学报(哲社版)》,1994年第2期)。但这些都还是相当初阶的研究。整个八九十年代的期刊中,其实并没有发表什么高质量的基督教美学论文。也许稍微值得注意的是陆扬学生时代发表的两篇关于《圣经》的美学论文:《〈圣经〉美学

考》(《文艺研究》, 1989 年第 2 期) 和《〈圣经〉的美学内容及其传统》(载《学术研究》, 1990 年第 5 期)。另外, 也有个别学者试尝试对基督教美学与中国美学思想进行比较, 算是在国内开了基督教美学参与的比较美学的先河, 如姚文放的《儒家美学与基督教美学之比较》(载《江汉论坛》, 1989 年第 6 期)、李启军的《审美变奏——基督教信仰与禅宗理想》(载《学术论坛》, 1998 年第 3 期)。

总的看来, 二十世纪的最后十五年, 是中国基督教美学起步的阶段, 相关著作统共不超过 5 部, 论文也不到 20 篇, 除此之外就是在各种西方美学史和美学资料汇编中偶有呈现。论成就, 阎国忠与孙津的著作应该属于国内基督教美学研究真正的奠基之作。不过有意思的是, 尽管这两部专著撑起了上世纪末基督教美学的大半个天, 但真正对新世纪基督教美学研究产生深远影响的却不是这两部书的作者, 而是刘小枫。后者因为属于八十年代的思想启蒙者群体, 上世纪九十年代以来, 更是中国大陆学术思潮的引领者, 所以他的相关研究工作更容易被学界特别留意到也不足为怪。

四、新世纪中国的基督教美学研究

新世纪以来, 中国基督教美学的相关研究出现了一个小小的高潮。据不完全统计, 从 2000—2018 年, 中国学术界共出版相关著作 20 余部, 发表论文超过 200 篇。这相对于上世纪末的情况来讲, 是一个巨大进步。不仅如此, 基督教美学研究的兴起还突出表现在以下三个方面: (一) 本世纪之前, 中国大陆高校几乎没有学生直接以基督教美学或文艺思想作为学位论文研究课题的, 但目前已有相关主题博士论文 10 余篇, 硕士论文超过 50 篇。(二) 本世纪之前, “神学美学”并不是一个被广泛使用的学术概念, 新世纪以来已有 100 多部(篇)著作(论文)冠以“神学美学”, 表明这个概念和学术领域已被学术界广泛接受。(三) 2004 年, 襄樊学院(今湖北文理学院)刘光耀教授主持成立神学美学研究所, 并于 2006 年 9 月召开首届神学美学国际学术研讨会, 发起《神学美学》学术集刊^[21]。该所虽然地处偏僻, 师资不足, 并且由于刘光耀教授退休, 目前已经基本停止活动, 但该所前些年对于基督教美学与艺术神学的推动无疑可以视为是中国神学美学研究的新起点^[22]。

在著作方面, 阎国忠最近出版的《美是上帝的名字——中世纪神学美学》(上海社会科学院出版社, 2003 年; 商务印书馆, 2015 年), 陆扬最近出版的《中世纪文艺复兴美学》(北京师范大学出版社, 2013 年)都是对之前著作的修订版本。所以, 这些都可以不视为新著。新世纪以来出版的基督教美学著作, 主要是中青年学者的作品。

在古代及中世纪部分, 代表性的专著主要有赵怀俊《走向神坛之路——古希腊至中世纪的西方文论转向探》(中国社会科学出版社, 2010 年)和北京大学徐龙飞教授的《循美之路——基督宗教本体形上美学研究》(香港中华书局, 2013 年; 商务印书馆, 2018 年)。尤其是后书的出版, 标志着汉语学界对于西方古代及中世纪基督教美学的研究进入了一个崭新阶段。徐龙飞教授青年时代留学德国波恩大学, 精通希腊文、拉丁文及西欧多种现代语文, 其原始资料的运用以及对西方前沿研究的掌握, 都是前人无法比拟的。《循美之路——基督宗教本体形上美学研究》是徐龙飞另一部专著《形上之路——

[21] 《神学美学》Shenxue meixue [Aesthetics of Theology]集刊在上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian 刊印, 目前已出版 6 期, 分别于 2006 年、2008 年、2009 年、2011 年、2013 年、2018 年出版。

[22] 现在国内与基督教美学或文艺研究相关的机构还有北京师范大学基督教文艺研究中心(2015 年成立)和湖南大学比较宗教与文明研究中心(2018 年成立)。北京师范大学基督教文艺研究中心前身是北京师范大学文学院附属的院级研究机构(2013 年成立), 曾举办过“末世论与基督教文艺”(2014 年 1 月)、“但丁·中国·世界”(2016 年 11 月)、“北方文艺复兴与艺术”(2018 年 7 月)等研讨会, 该中心的工作主要集中于基督教文学领域。湖南大学比较宗教与文明研究中心是最新成立的研究机构, 神学美学是其四大主要学科发展方向之一, 目前由张俊教授负责, 目前正在推动汉语学界西方基督教美学资料编译与基督教美学史编撰工作, 该中心 2018 年 6 月曾主办专题会议: “美的超越性与神圣性: 西方宗教与美学的对话”。

基督宗教的哲学建构方法研究》(北京大学出版社,2013年)的姊妹篇。该书把基督教美学视作古典美学来分析,分为上、下篇论述,上篇从形而上学的层面探讨基督宗教美学的基本问题与基本理论,溯源至柏拉图、亚里士多德及普罗提诺诸古典美学的源头,下篇研究东部教会的美学思想,尤其是拜占庭的圣像理论。其对基督教形上美学的探究,脉络清晰,分析深入,专业精深程度相对于西方同类著作也有过之而无不及。

现当代部分,与十九世纪基督教美学相关的著作主要有雷礼锡的《黑格尔神学美学论》(湖北人民出版社,2005年)、李枫的《诗人的神学——柯勒律治的浪漫主义思想》(社会科学文献出版社,2008年)和刘慧妹的《克尔凯郭尔文艺审美思想研究》(人民出版社,2012年)等。而二十世纪神学美学部分,主要有宋旭红的《巴尔塔萨神学美学思想研究》(宗教文化出版社,2007年)和《当代西方神学美学思想概览》(中国社会科学出版社,2012年)、李进超《巴尔塔萨美学与文化思想研究》(天津人民出版社,2011年)、张俊的《古典美学的复兴——巴尔塔萨神学美学的美学史意义》(商务印书馆,2013年)等专著。巴尔塔萨成为中国基督教美学研究的热点,对中国学术界来讲也表明神学美学正式登堂入室了。这时候,刘小枫在上个世纪末对巴尔塔萨的译介的重要性就显现出来了。没有他的指引,像巴尔塔萨这种天主教神学家要进入中国世俗美学界的视野,应该还要晚很多年^[23]。而巴尔塔萨作为当代西方神学美学的集大成者和奠基性人物成为基督教美学研究的热点议题,则直接带动了学术界基督教美学研究水平的提升。围绕巴尔塔萨神学美学,在新世纪头十年间先后出现三篇博士论文^[24],并皆修改出版为学术专著。这就是前面提及了宋旭红、李进超和张俊的三部巴尔塔萨神学美学专著。平心而论,这三部专著中,前两部都尚处于介绍性研究的阶段。尽管二者对巴尔塔萨神学美学思想体系进行了比较系统而全面的研究,其对巴尔塔萨神学美学思想轮廓的勾勒、分析都相当中肯,但其研究深度及关注面并未超出西方神学界既有之研究。张俊的《古典美学的复兴——巴尔塔萨神学美学的美学史意义》一书,从美学的现代性危机分析出发,提出复兴古典美学化解危机的主张,全面开掘阐发了巴尔塔萨神学美学对于复兴古典美学的美学史价值,并之成为当代美学发展的一条深度拓展路径。就这一点而言,该书的研究已经超越西方神学界的巴尔塔萨研究,并从更宏观的世俗美学史视野重新定位了基督教美学,为其争取了知识合法性与现代性意义,提升了其价值空间。

新世纪基督教美学研究的另一个亮点是艺术神学,尤其是圣像研究。在西方基督教艺术领域,有张浩达、文庸、荒园编著的《视觉〈圣经〉——西方艺术中的基督教》(社会科学文献出版社,2001年)、彭燕、姚娟翻译的英国学者海伦·德·波希格里芙(Helen de Borchgrave)主编的《基督教美术之旅》(上海人民美术出版社,2002年)、肖潇翻译的德国学者亨利克·菲弗(Heinrich Pfeiffer)的《基督形象的艺术神学》(中国社会科学出版社,2005年)、林瑞堂、黎茂全、杜文田翻译的德国学者罗尔夫·托曼和阿希姆·贝德诺兹编著的《神圣艺术》(北京美术摄影出版社,2016年)等书出版,同时也有多部优秀的研究专著问世,如赖瑞莹《早期基督教艺术》(台湾雄狮图书公司,2001年)、耿幼壮的《圣痕:基督教与

[23] 参见张俊 ZHANG Jun,“附录:巴尔塔萨汉语译介及研究文献索引”Fulu:Baertasha hanyu yijie ji yanjiu wenxian suoyin [Appendix:The Chinese Translations and Introductions on Hans Urs von Balthasar and an Index of Research Sources],《巴尔塔萨生平及著作述略》Baertasha shengping ji zhuzuo shulue [The Biography of Hans Urs von Balthasar and a brief introduction on his works],载《神学美学》Shenxue meixue [Aesthetics of Theology],第三辑 vol. 3,2009:17-28.

[24] 宋旭红 SONG Xuhong,《现代性视域中的巴尔塔萨神学美学》Xiandaixing shiyu zhong de Baertasha meixue [The Aesthetics of Hans Urs von Balthasar in the perspective of modernity](博士论文),北京 Beijing:中国人民大学文学院 Zhongguo renmin daxue wenxue yuan[Faculty of Literature, Renmin University of China],2003年;李进超 LI Jinchao,《巴尔塔萨美学思想研究》Baertasha meixue sixiang yanjiu [A Study on the Aesthetics of Hans Urs von Balthasar](博士论文),天津 Tianjin:南开大学哲学系 Nankai daxue zhexue xi [Department of Philosophy, Nankai University],2008;张俊 ZHANG Jun,《古典美学的现代复兴——巴尔塔萨神学美学的美学史意义》Gudian meixue de xiandai fuxing :Baertasha sheixue meixue de meixue shi yiyi [The Modern Revival of the Ancient Aesthetics;The Significance of the Aesthetics of Hans Urs von Balthasar in the light of Aesthetic History](博士论文),西安 Xi'an:陕西师范大学文学院 Shanxi shifan daxue wenxueyuan[Faculty of Literatures, Shaanxi Normal University],2009年。

西方艺术》(台湾基督教文艺出版社, 2009 年)、张浩达的《基督教艺术与社会生活》(北京大学出版社, 2009 年)、刘国旭的《基督教美术史》(辽宁教育出版社, 2011 年)、崇秀全的《耶稣图像的象征艺术研究——以意大利 12—15 世纪被钉十字架耶稣图像为例》(浙江大学出版社, 2011 年)、徐凤林的《东正教圣像史》(北京大学出版社, 2012 年)、何琦的《基督教艺术纵横》(宗教文化出版社, 2013 年)。在中国本土基督教艺术研究方面, 也有几部著作值得关注, 如顾卫民的《基督宗教艺术在华发展史》(上海书店, 2005 年)和《近代中国基督宗教艺术发展史》(道风山基督教丛林, 2006 年)、褚潇白的《圣像的修辞——耶稣基督形象在明清民间社会的变迁》(中国社会科学出版社, 2011 年)。基督教圣像或图像研究, 是近十年来的一个热点议题, 相关研究生学位论文都已超过 20 篇。

另外, 基督教文学与影视艺术也是近二十年来炙手可热的研究领域, 国内公开出版的论著近百部, 论文几千篇, 硕博学位论文也数以百计, 不过因其与基督教美学只有间接的关系, 所以这里暂略去不表。

在推动基督教美学研究方面, 部分刊物也做出了贡献。当然, 其中贡献最大的无疑是刘光耀主编的《神学美学》(1—6 辑), 这不仅是中国第一个基督教美学与艺术神学期刊, 估计放到全球范围内也是唯一的一份基督教美学专业刊物, 其每期都会发表几篇专题研究论文及西方神学美学著作译文。除此外, 中国人民大学杨慧林教授主编的《基督教文化学刊》至少曾编辑过三期基督教美学与文艺思想的主题专辑:《诗学与神学》(第 18 辑, 2007 年秋季卷)、《审美的神学》(第 20 辑, 2008 年秋季卷)和《圣像的修辞》(第 29 辑, 2013 年春季卷)。香港汉语基督教文化研究所主编的期刊《道风: 基督教文化评论》也曾出版《上帝的形象》(第 21 期, 2004 年秋)等相关专辑; 汝信主编的《外国美学》2012 年复刊后的第一期即邀请尤西林教授主持神学美学专栏, 发表基督教美学论文 8 篇;《哲学动态》(2012 年第 5 期)、《人文艺术》(第 7、10、14 辑)、《国学与西学》(第十五期)等刊物也曾组织发表过专栏文章。

从研究生学位论文来看, 选题主要还是集中在古代与中世纪基督教美学的研究。在论者搜集的几十篇学位论文中, 早期基督教美学选题约 5 篇, 其中 3 篇为《圣经》美学; 中世纪占了近一半, 其中研究奥古斯丁、托马斯·阿奎那的论文就超过 10 篇, 研究圣像画的也超过 5 篇; 近代部分几乎没有; 现代部分有三四篇研究克尔凯郭尔美学的, 也有几篇研究尼采、海德格尔甚至维特根斯坦等世俗哲学家的基督教美学思想的; 在当代神学美学部分, 除了上述三篇研究巴尔塔萨神学美学的博士论文, 则几乎看不到其他研究。由之可见, 尽管美学界已经注意到基督教美学的重要性, 但由于美学界对于神学美学领域的整体陌生, 所以大学中的多数学者没法指导研究生深入到基督教美学的富矿——当代神学美学之中去挖掘美学资源, 反而让学生直接去啃古代与中世纪基督教美学的硬骨头。结果可想而知, 多数论文只能重复国内上一辈学者的研究, 很难有真正的创新, 以致浪费了不少学术资源, 而更容易出成绩且亟待梳理的近现代与当代基督教美学, 却罕有人问津。那些在学术期刊上发表的论文, 也反映出此类问题。

结论

总的来看, 基督教美学正式被引入中国学术界, 是最近半个世纪的事情。而且一开始只是基于西方美学史书写完整性的需要, 而不是基于学术界自发的研究兴趣。从上世纪六十年代朱光潜的《西方美学史》到最近出版的《西方美学史》教材来看, 虽然在对古代及中世纪美学的认识上有所进步, 但中国的美学史家对于基督教美学发展的整个脉络至今并不是十分清楚。当然, 这也跟国内基督教美学的专业领域研究的局限直接相关。我们不太可能指望撰著西方美学史的学者对基督教美学都了如指掌——如此博学的美学史家即便在西方也是百年难遇的, 何况在异质文化语境中的中国学界? 所以, 先把汉语学界的基督教美学基础研究做好, 然后才可能指望在汉语西方美学史书写中能够比较全面、客观地反映基督教美学的历史脉络。国内对于基督教美学的学术兴趣, 其实是从上世纪八十年代中

后期才开始的,迄今不过三十年。这三十年里涌现出了二三十部著作,200多篇论文,超过60篇硕博学位论文,并且拥有自己的学术刊物《神学美学》,可以说掀起了一股小小的热潮。

最近这三十年的基督教美学研究,可以明确以2000年为界,划分为两个阶段,之前那十几年只是起步阶段,而新世纪这十几年则可算作是进取阶段。在起步阶段,刘小枫开风气之先,引介了部分现当代的基督教美学思想,阎国忠、孙津和陆扬等人则侧重于梳理古代到文艺复兴时期的基督教美学,基本上形成了某种历史的互补关系,但研究都不够全面、深入、细致。在进取阶段,虽然著作数量陡增,在中世纪和当代部分也取得一定创新成绩,但研究的短板一仍其旧,近现代的基督教美学发展脉络至今并没清理出来。就算是稍有点成绩的古与当代部分,也只是片面的成绩,教父与中世纪美学的研究并不全面,目前还只是集中在个别重点人物身上,当代神学美学研究也主要是围绕巴尔塔萨,其他许多成就斐然的思想人物基本都还没有涉及。因此,汉语学界下一步的基督教美学研究应该主要侧重从两个方面着手:一是侧重基督教美学史的完整性考虑,研究尚未被汉语学界重视的代表性人物、著述和流派;二是侧重在专题研究的深化上考虑,充分吸收西方研究成果并发掘新的创新点,对经典著作、核心人物及其学派做更进一步的主题研究。

不过,在目前中国这种社会政治文化处境中,推动基督教美学研究并不容易。由于学术资源受限,眼下专业从事基督教美学的学者屈指可数,甚至好些以前从事相关研究的学者都已转移兴趣。故而完全依靠目前还算活跃的几位学者的努力和个别研究生的临时兴趣,无论如何都是无法支撑全部基督教美学的基础性研究工作的。所以,我们在做好基础性研究工作的同时,必须对相关研究做通盘的考虑,借助一定的研究计划,藉以推动汉语学界的基督教美学研究。

推动基督教美学研究,首先是消化西方的成果,梳理出基督教美学的思想发展脉络。所以,最为基础的工作就是相关史料的梳理。西方基督教美学涉及希腊文与拉丁文等古典语言,也涉及英、德、法、意、俄等西方现代语言,所以其史料的汉译整理是非常艰巨的任务。目前,个别经典著作已有翻译,如普罗提诺的《九章集》(石敏敏译本)、奥古斯丁的《忏悔录》(周世良译本)与《上帝之城》(王晓朝译本、吴飞译本)、伪狄奥尼修斯的《神秘神学》(包利民译本)、波纳文图拉的《心向上帝的旅程》(溥林译本)、托马斯·阿奎那《神学大全》(碧岳学社、道明会译本)、尼古拉·库萨《论隐秘的上帝》(李秋零译本),等等。这些经典著作的中译本,都是西方基督教美学研究的文献基础。但这些已经翻译过来的著作毕竟只是西方基督教美学史料中的一小部分,且这些著作并不是现代学科规范意义上的美学史料,缺乏指引就很难为一般基督教美学研究者正确使用。所以,编译一部具有导引性的、全面反映西方基督教美学历史的基础文献汇编,是一项基础研究工作。在此工作基础上,组织国内一流的基督教美学学者编撰一部真正意义的西方基督教美学史也极其必要。这两项工作,是深层次推动汉语学界基督教美学研究的基础。如果这两项工作完成,汉语基督教美学研究必会更上层楼,掀起新的高潮,进入真正深化的阶段。

Part III

An Introduction to this special volume 15 on Aesthetics, Art and Theology

Paulos HUANG

(Visiting Scholar, Collaborative Innovation Center for Confucian Civilization,
Advanced Institute for Confucian Studies, Shandong University, P. R. China)

There are 13 articles in this volume. In **the part of Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National**

Studies, there are two articles. **The first article** is **BAI Junxiao's** (Ph. D. degree from Tilburg University, Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Lutheran Theological Seminary) "Reasonable Measurement and Motion; Numerical Order in the Soul and Music". In her article she argues that according to Augustine, the soul can conduct and perceive musical motions because the soul has been measured by God according to the same harmonic/numerical order based on which the whole cosmos has been measured. The measured soul is rational and has numerical functions. The unchangeable numerical order of musical motion can only be conducted by the ethical movement of the rational soul. Therefore, the harmonious music as a physical motion reflects the harmony of the inner motion of the soul. Since reasonable/ logical thinking and ethical behavior reflect the measurement/temperance of the soul, there must be a priori *ratio* which is the *modus* for both logical and ethical movements; otherwise, the inward motion of the soul cannot move well. **The second article** is **SONG Xuhong's** "How can Light be Beautiful? On the Aesthetic Interpretations of Light in Genesis 1 by Patristic Exegetes". The importance of light in the history of western arts is largely rooted in its particularity in Bible: Light is the first creature in the first day of Creation, and also the theme of the fourth day. There were three aesthetic ways by which patristic exegetes interpreted the light in Genesis: aesthetics of symbolism which was characteristic with Platonism and was put mainly forward by Alexandria School; aesthetics of cosmology which demonstrated the tradition of Neo-Platonism especially in works of St. Basil and Pseudo-Dionysus, etc.; and aesthetics of emotion which was originated by Augustine and led the Christian thought of light to the illumination of mysticism. They have all cast heavy influence respectively on western arts in the following times.

In the part of **Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society**, there are two articles. **The first article** is **DONG Lihui's** "Influence and Diffusion of Illustrated Books Imported by Western Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Century China", During the 16th and 17th century, at the time of the great geographical discoveries and the booming of printing industries in Gutenberg, western missionaries travelled to China and carried with books, serving as a bridge between the eastern and western civilization. Among all the imported publications, illustrated books were usually not only the first choices picked by western missionaries but also welcomed by Chinese people. On the one hand, illustrations are good helpers in missionary works. After all, visual pictures are much more convenient than words to communicate between people with different languages. On the other hand, influenced by the "novelty seeking" trend of the late Ming dynasty, it is not strange that the seemingly novel visual images in western illustrated books draw attentions of Chinese people from diverse classes during the 16th and 17th century. In this paper, I propose that the diffusions and influences of the western illustrated books imported by missionaries play indispensable roles in the construction of modern Chinese visual culture. **The second article** is **Sung Sook KIM's** "The Korean Poet Yoon Dong Ju's *Cross* and its Image of Martin Luther". The Korean poet *Yoon, Dong Ju* was born in *Myongdong* village in 1917, and grew an intelligent student at *Yongjeong, Northern Gando* in China from 1931. His family set out to build a Christian community at the base of *Northern Gando* in China. At the time, *Northern Gando* had been integrated with the transmission of *Chosun* Nationalism and Christianity. There are two similarities that *Yoon, Dong Ju* and *Luthor, Martin*; the Korean poet who died at the prison of Japan for the rebellious ideas in 1945 and the German theologian who argued for the Reformation of the corrupted Catholic Church in 1517, have in

common. First, they are both devout believers. They considered leading a life in accordance with the teachings of Jesus as their most important calling. As such, they did not deny their beliefs in the moments of unjust trials in which their lives were being threatened. Second, they were citizens of powerless countries, each devoted to uniting their nations and forming a common identity through their works written in their native language. Despite the 500-year difference of their time and spatial distance between them, they both pose the same contemporary question of “How do we live a good life as ethical believers (Ethos), as writers that communicate with readers (Pathos), and as intellectuals who strive for logical reasoning (Logos)?” By analyzing the concerns of the poetic narrator in ‘*The Cross*’, written by S. Korea’s major poet *Yoon, Dong Ju*, this study intends to reflect upon the common attitude of Christian intellectuals who stand against the unjustifiable execution forced by existing power structures, across all ages and countries.

In the part of **Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible**, there are two articles. **The first article** is **LIU Guangyao’s** “Destiny and Mission, Poetic Theology and the Theology of Poetics ——A Study of *Dao Zi’s Selected Poems*”. To take the burden of the intersection and tension between Hua Xia Culture and Christian faith, to greatly concern about the Hua Xia Culture’s transformation towards Christian salvation——it seems that these are Dao Zi’s destiny and mission in the Chinese society which is situated in the encounter with Christianity. The anger that is caused by countless unrighteousness and violence in the history of Chinese society and the grief for the deep suffering and pain of innocent people make the poet cry to God that the Hua Xia civilization could go towards God. Dao Zi is a grieving singer. He shares the sufferings of the innocents with his poems, melts into the pain of the sufferers, because God is with sufferers and mourners, and by taking the burdens of them, God’s salvation is finished. Unlike the “plain words” showed in the poems of other poets, Dao Zi’s poems can be called “vague verses”. Dao Zi’s language bears thick cultural implication, because he takes the mission of transforming Hua Xia Culture. What’s more, this is also the requirement of imitating the world from the perspective of the wrestle between God and Devil. In this way, the images in Dao Zi’s poems have become “trans-shape” that no one has ever had. Ordinary world has appeared to be a strange, astonishing and insightful “magical world”. The “personification” in traditional poetry thus turned into “spiritualification”, and the battle in the world has become the battle in the spiritual realm. God is eternal and absolute, the beginning and the end of the world. Dao Zi views time through eternity, process through the end, and sublates the traditional technique in Chinese literature and art that “views the small with grand sight”. From the perspective of God’s absolutely “grand sight” that both transcends and includes time and space, Dao Zi freely collages the social images in Hua Xia history, and creates great poetry images. **The second article** is **RONG Guangqi’s** “On Christian Poetry of Contemporary China”. Contemporary Chinese Christian Literature has bloomed. Some classify these works as “Spiritual Literature”, aiming to stress the sacred part in human. Christian Poetry share some similarities in experiences and aesthetic with Non-Christian Poetry. Many Christian poets pursue “the standard of literature” in their poems. However, readers and critics tend to neglect them as “Religious Poetry”. In fact, “religion” only serves as writing resources. It is non-literary to distain the literature that just based on religion. In terms of the standard of literature, some Christian poems are highly profound and complex in light of experiences and techniques.

In the part of **Church History in the West and in China**, there are two articles. **The first article** is **ZHA Changping's** "A History of Ideas in Pioneering Contemporary Chinese Art as a History of Devotion". After being the history of language, the history of time, the history of self, the history of the natural world, the history of society, the history of culture, this paper discusses the reason why the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art should also be treated as a sort of devotion and its characteristics. The origin of the naming of the history of devotion, its difference from the history of spirit, art being what kind of psychic mode of being, its representative works, all of these problems will become the field of questions which the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art as a sort of devotion try to treat with. **The second article** is **ZHANG Yi's** "The Localization of Christian Art in the Republic of China—Taking Lu Hongnian's Works as an Example". The Fine arts Movement during the Republic of China was a part of the New Culture Movement. The New Culture Movement, under the banner of "Science" and "Democracy," draws lessons from advanced civilizations of Western on the formation of modern China. The purposeful vocabulary that frequently appears in art discussions such as "New Citizen", "New Youth", and "New Culture" shows that art needs to inspire a new spiritual vitality of the nation. The fine arts of the Republic of China made a sincere effort for this goal. Cai Yuanpei hoped that young students will develop new personality and moral concepts through the study of artistic knowledge to fundamentally solve the spiritual problems of China, have been achieved in varying degrees in the factions of different painting claims. However, the mainstream artistic creation in the Republic of China as a whole has not touched people's fundamental problems. In the Christian art, which has never been noticed, there is a flash of humanity. Lu Hongnian's work in the Department of Fine Arts at Fu Jen Catholic University in Beijing is a new case of traditional Chinese painters reconstructing the spirit of traditional Chinese painting; he combines traditional Chinese painting and western painting techniques, and in a long-standing everyday situation with a lively atmosphere, he put the "experience sacred" or even "experienced sacred" attitude introduces the picture. In this respect, he has gone beyond the eyes of other Christian artists, and has introduced innovations—a sense of acceptance and participation in change—into the works. At a time when national salvation and awareness of national independence were unprecedentedly high, such insights were ignored by many intellectuals inside and outside the country during the discussions on religion. The depth of these discussions was actually closely related to the degree of intellectual understanding of Western civilization at that time. His creation not only brought a spiritual dimension to the Christian art of the Republic of China but also to the Chinese traditional culture. This is not touched by other mainstream art.

In the part of **Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies**, there are two articles. **The first article** is **Youngmee HWANG's** "The Meaning of Christianity in the Film and Novel '*The Flowers of War*'". When thinking of the Christian spirit of Martin Luther's practice of love for one's neighbor as we face the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's Reformation, the author sought to reveal the theological ideas of Luther in Chinese literature. We demonstrated that the film and novel, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, written by the Chinese writer Yan Geling, effectively reflected the concept of sacrifice and love emphasized by Luther. "Jinling" is an old name for the city of Nanjing, ravaged by the Nanjing Massacre in 1937 during the Sino-Japanese war. The film *The Flowers of War* takes place in this

very city and at that time, telling the tragic story of the school girls of Winchester Cathedral. Japanese soldiers demand that he turn the girls over to them. The story ends with the prostitutes sacrificing themselves for the girls, disguised as them. The novel has a similar plot, with the difference being the absence of the mortician. Luther's ethic, that a Christian must be a Christ to his neighbor, is reflected in the sacrifice of the prostitutes. Depicted as disguised schoolgirls with gilt-edged bibles in their hands, the actions of the prostitutes can be interpreted as the practice of the Christian ideology of salvation. Their actions depict the image of the scapegoat, symbolizing the sacrifice of the Christ for our sins. Based on documents of a real event, Yan Geling intentionally changed the background from a college to a cathedral to add a religious scheme. "The Heroes of Nanking" effectively portrays the theology of Luther, revolving around the idea of salvation. This paper aims to prove that the writer of the novel, Yan Geling, successfully illustrates the idea of Christianity, and furthermore that the director, Zhang Yimou, intentionally diminished religious schemes to appeal to the Chinese majority, most of whom are non-Christians. **The second article** includes Three Comparative Studies by LI Yi, FANG Weilin and Leyli ALEKSANYAN. Part one is **LI Yi's** " 'To Have' or 'to Be': Way of meaning and being—Fromm's encounter with Lao Zi and Meister Eckhart". In *To have or to be*, Erich Fromm postulated the being mode as the true structure of existence, in contrast to the having mode as an psychological *ill-being*. In a perspective whose underlying orientation was Freudo-Marxism, he opted for an eclectic approach with religious sources, such as Meister Eckhart. This paper points out that this alternative between the two modes could be better understood upon a discussion about meaning and being. To the extent of *being as becoming* instead of traditional ontology as mainstream, Fromm abolished meaning of having mode based on the alienated humanity, even rejected meaning per se beyond being, thus meaning would be nothing but a human self-definition through *the unfolding of his powers, by living productively*. Fromm's suggestion would be very meaningful when we are just trying to reconcile our being within some meanings (axiology, view of fact, etc.); however, his attempt to interpret the fear of dying as a mere illusion of losing possession, came to the end of death as meaningless, which could not restore the original meaning of being especially after its fragmentation in the disenchanting world nor escape from nihilism. It is pity that his wide vision of religious thoughts merely brought a reductionistic way for supporting his rational humanistic standpoint. Through a comparison centered on *obedience, detachment* and *oneness*, it can be clearly seen that there exists a huge divergency between Eckhart's theo-centrism and Fromm's radical humanism; that means the latter benefitting from the former according to his own theoretical predilection erased the fundamental disparity of precondition; Lao Zi's strategy of meaning could be another frame of reference different from the western ontology. Through a comparison with Eckhart and Lao Zi in their very way of meaning, this essay attempts to indicate their metaphysics (especially by negative way) have been solidly based upon Godhead or Dao offering an infinite ground of eternity for generating human meaning whereby the corrupted humanity could be wholly transcended through self-negation so that a new life within the new meaning can be. Part two is **FANG Weilin's** "The Hidden Feminine Tradition of Trinity", which compares the Christian Trinity with the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity, announcing a newly discovered feminine tradition of Trinity. Probing into the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity this article tries to find the hidden signs of the feminine tradition in Egyptian and Indian mythologies.

This article also states that there are hidden signs of feminine tradition in the Hebrew Bible. The Christian Trinity, which believes that there is only one God in Three Persons, reveals the absence of the female part, neglects the presence of the female part in our society. By rediscovering the hidden feminine tradition behind the doctrines of Trinity this article appeals to construct a thoroughly new symbolism system both for male and female. Part three is **Leyli ALEKSANYAN's** "The names of God in the Hebrew Bible and the absence of names of God in the Armenian Bible". The names of God are always specific names, which signify the symbol of God and do not describe God or His essence. This essay is going to discuss the names of God—in Hebrew Bible mainly—and explain why it is fairly rare to find any names of God in the Armenian translation^[25] of the Holy Bible. Thus, this essay try to prove, that God or the Divine Essence cannot be described, because God's Essence exists beyond all description, which is circumscribed and limited.

In the part of **Reviews and Academic Reports**, there are three articles.

The first article is **LIU Ping's** "One Indigenous Theology of the Literary Imagination; Ink-faced Christ—A Book Review of Jiang Yuanlai's *Easter in Lanlin*". The epic-like narrative of *Easter in Lanlin* is set against a broad backdrop of the history of Christianity in China. As the story unfolds itself, a panorama of huge changes in the contemporary Chinese society emerges, in which the multi-dimensional realities lived daily by average Christian men and woman are depicted at great length, manifesting to the fullest extent clashes among different groups of people (the religious vs. the secular), denominations (patriotic churches vs. house churches) and classes (the urban vs. the rural), as well as intergenerational and intercultural conflicts. Written in a quintessentially Chinese literary language, the play expresses most eloquently the true qualities of **Indigenous** Theology in the present era—the "Ink-faced Theology". This review aims at delineating the three basic constituents of the Ink-faced Theology, namely, big-family theology, non-man-eating theology, and sacrifice theology, through an in-depth analysis of the far-reaching spiritual significance of *Easter in Lanlin*.

The second article is **ZHANG Yingying's** "A Review of Christian Music Studies in Mainland China from 1990 to 2017". The most prominent function of art is to provide an aesthetic experience, while religion leads people to spiritual end, and Christian music conveys rich spiritual connotations in perceptual music language. Since the 1990s, a large number of academic achievements in the study of Christian music have emerged in the mainland China, changing the embarrassing situation of Christian music studies decades ago. In recent years, the perspectives of Christian music studies have been plentiful and the depth has been continuously deepened. There are mainly four research aspects as follows: 1. The study of the history of Western Christian music, 2. The study of Christian music genre, music works, and composers, 3. The interaction between Christian music aesthetics and Christian theology, 4. Chinese Christian music studies.

The third article is **HAO Qingsong's** "Chinese Contemporary Art with the leading of Christian Religion: Religion Reform questions and calls on art history". It has been five hundred years since the Religious Reform, but it has not had a positive influence on the development of art history. After the Renaissance, the art history was deeply influenced by humanism, and now it is in the crisis of

[25] Here I have used the Armenian Bible in Armenian, Eastern Armenian new translation, The Armenian Apostolic Church, Catholicosate of All Armenians and The Bible Society of Armenia, Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 1994.

liberalism and nationalism. This article analyzes the thought crisis of contemporary art history, tries to re-establish the close relationship between religion reform and art history, and to stimulate the rethinking and rebirth of art with the spirit of religious reformation. The article particularly focuses on the development of Chinese Contemporary art, hoping that the spirit of Christian art could influence the transformation of society, and leading the new direction of Chinese contemporary art.

Special thanks are expressed to the following scholars. Prof. DAO Zi and Prof. ZHU Donghua have been invited as the guest editors for this volume, and Dr. John Barwick from the History Department of Cornell University, USA has been polishing the English language of all the abstracts. Dr. Prof. XIAO Qinghe from Shanghai University has helped in the online versions of this volume in [www. SinoWesternStudies. com](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com), Dr. Prof. SU Dechao, researchers WANG Weiping and HU Zongchao from Wuhan University, have helped in the Wechat version of this volume.

We are also honored to invite Prof. Dr. Yadav, Arun Kumar from Department of Pali, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara University, India, to be one of our Special Reviewers.

人学、神学与国学
**Humanities, Theology,
and Chinese National Studies**

Reasonable Measurement and Motion : Numerical Order in the Soul and Music

BAI Junxiao

(Assistant Professor, Hong Kong Lutheran Theological Seminary)

Abstract: This article argues that according to Augustine, the soul can conduct and perceive musical motions because the soul has been measured by God according to the same harmonic/numerical order based on which the whole cosmos has been measured. The measured soul is rational and has numerical functions. The unchangeable numerical order of musical motion can only be conducted by the ethical movement of the rational soul. Therefore, the harmonious music as a physical motion reflects the harmony of the inner motion of the soul. Since reasonable/ logical thinking and ethical behavior reflect the measurement/ temperance of the soul, there must be a priori *ratio* which is the *modus* for both logical and ethical movements; otherwise, the inward motion of the soul cannot move well.

Key Words: soul; music; measurement; motion; order; harmony; reason; numbers

Author: Junxiao Bai received her Ph. D. degree from Tilburg University in 2017. Her doctoral dissertation is *The Beauty of God in the Numerical Order : St. Augustine's Musical Cosmology*. She obtained a master's degree in music aesthetics at Xi'an Conservatory of Music in 2009 and a M. A. in theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong in 2012. She is an assistant professor at the Lutheran Theological Seminary. Her research interests focus on musicology, Augustinian studies, church history, and Greek philosophy. Mail address: Hong Kong Lutheran Theological Seminary, Tao fun shan road 50, Taiwai, Kong Kong. Email: baijunxiao@gmail. com, tel: +86 18092257317

Augustine holds that because the soul has been measured by God, by the *modus* embedded in it, the soul can recognize the unchangeable principle of the harmonic order in the temporal realm. Since the harmonic order can be best illustrated by musical motion which only manifests itself in time, Augustine defines that music is the science of good measurement and movement^[1]. Regarding the created forms in the temporal realm, Augustine says that “the form [species] changeable only in time is prior to that changeable in both time and place. ^[2]” Musical motion is superior to any other motion because the order of musical motion is merely in the sequence of time yet directly floods into the soul, rather than in the dimension of space. This article explores how, according to Augustine's musical-cosmological view, the soul can be measured and moved according to the eternal *ratio* of God and how human reason can apply the unchangeable principle of music as a science measured by God.

[1] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 2. 2-3. 4, Patrologia Latina 32, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris; Migne, 1841). Note: In this article, quotations from Augustine's works translated from the original texts to English are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] *Ibid.*, 6. 14. 44.

1 The Musical-Cosmological Concept of Measurement and Motion

Augustine's theory of motion and measurement anatomizes musical motion and the micro-motion of the soul from a musical-cosmological perspective that, throughout his work, dominates his philosophical thinking regarding motion and time. The unchangeable mathematical principle is the basis of Augustine's musical cosmology and his theory of time and motion. When measure refers to God's creation, it indicates the divine order and the wisdom of God, by which God measured all things and set them in orderly motion. Stephen Gersh also recognizes this Augustinian philosophical paradigm, pointing out that the exploitation of musical paradigms and the employment of musical methods remain central to Augustine's philosophical and religious project, and that the particular relations between music, motion, and time established by *De Musica* underlie the application of such paradigms and methods^[3].

According to Augustine, in the temporal realm, measure and motion cover all creatures which under obligation to change according to their unchangeable *modus* (unchangeable nature measured by God). The science of measurement is about movement, time, and numbers in the physical world, and the end of these elements is about the unchangeable order. Measurement and motion are two keywords in Augustine's music definition. Musical motion as an ordered motion is modulated (operated) by human beings both physically in time and rationally in mind. The harmony of both psychic and physical motions is maintained by a harmonic *modus*. Therefore, Augustine's theory of motion and measurement interlocks time, music, and the soul. Augustine simply raises this question: "What would happen if all things were perhaps made from music? As much as the noun *modulationis* (modulation) is widely used with reference to all kinds of instruments, it can hardly be unreasonable, correct?^[4]" This musical-cosmological worldview was first conceived by Pythagoras. The Pythagorean scholars believed that the created world is a cosmos, namely, an ordered, harmonious whole rather than chaos because it has been measured and governed according to the immutable harmonic principle. Even though Aristotle does not identify himself as a Pythagorean, he also affirms that the world is a cosmos, as he says: "The motion must have been either enforced or natural. But if it was natural, careful consideration will show that there must have been a cosmos... Moreover, "disorderly" is nothing else but "unnatural," for nature is the proper order of sensible things.^[5]" Aristotle further insists that "the order of the world is eternal."^[6] After Aristotle, Ptolemy was the most influential scientist in medieval times, being the first astronomer to develop the Pythagorean hypothesis (both for astronomy and music theory) to a significant level. Ptolemy observed the resemblances between celestial motion and musical motion, comparing celestial order to Greek musical modes^[7]. Aristides Quintilianus makes a similar observation: "There is also in the

[3] Stephen Gersh "The Metaphysical Unity of Music, Motion, and Time in Augustine's *De Musica*," in *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 313-314.

[4] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 2. 3.

[5] Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, 3. 2, trans. W. K. C. Guthrie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[6] *Ibid.*, 2. 14.

[7] Jocelyn Godwin, ed. *The Harmony of the Spheres: A Sourcebook of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music* (Rochester: Inner Traditions International, 1993), 34.

body of the universe a palpable paradigm of music. The fourth, again, reveals the material tetractys, the fifth connotes the ethereal body, and the octave the musical motion of the planets. ^[8]”

Based on the unchangeable cosmic-harmonic principle observed by the Pythagorean scholars, Augustine developed his musical-cosmology by investigating the eternal *Ratio* in musical motion and the micro-cosmic motion of the soul rather than exploring astronomy (the celestial motions). Therefore, in *De Musica* I, Augustine states that in order to reach the highest sanctuary from where music has been issued, he begins his investigation by studying the numerical order of musical motion that will unerringly guide him to the highest sanctuary ^[9]. In *De Musica* VI, Augustine states that by sense perception, man cannot judge the rhythm of celestial motions, which are “in the ratio of one to two hours or days or months or years (for they would at least be hindered by sleep), or approve them as iambs of motion. ^[10]” However, man can perceive the mathematical ratio of micro-motion, which is proportional to the celestial motions, because man’s magnitude was measured by God according to the proportion between man and the universe ^[11]. Augustine claims that in the activity of observing the ratio of celestial motions in days, months, and years, only reason can assess the observation of the senses and discern the proportion of motions that surpass the senses; and only reason can perceive the harmony of eternity, from which “times are made and ordered and changed, imitating eternity as they do when the motion of the heavens turns back to the same state. ^[12]” Kepler agrees with Augustine, stating that “there is never judgment of sensations except in the cerebrum; and the effect of joy never arises from a sense-perception except in the heart. ^[13]”

In *De Musica* Book I, Augustine devotes a full chapter to analyzing the relationship between motion and measurement from a musical-cosmological perspective and states that without motion no *modus* can be observed:

Now, since we admit *modulationem* (mensuration) is named from *modo* (measure), you would never have to fear that *modus* (measure) will be exceeded or not fulfilled, except in things that are moving in a certain way. Or rather, if nothing moves, we cannot fear anything being out of *modus* (measure), can we ^[14]?

The phrase “things are moved in a certain way” refers to all kinds of motion and change in the temporal realm (e. g., plants growing, animals’ life rhythm, etc.). The nature of all things has been measured by God. Their nature is the *modus* in them. Only in motions can the unchangeable *modus* (measure) which is the nature of things be found. Augustine classifies two kinds of motions: one is harmonic motion, which is measured according to numerical *modus* in advance before things begin moving, and the other is chaotic motion, which is not measured. He explains that “those which are

[8] Aristides Quintilianus, *On Music*, 3. 20, trans. Thomas J. Mathiesen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 188.

[9] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 13. 28.

[10] *Ibid.*, 6. 7. 19.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 11. 29.

[13] Johannes Kepler, *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy and Harmonies of the World*, trans. Charles Glenn Wallis (New York: Prometheus Books, 1995), 16.

[14] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 11. 29.

related to some numerical measurement are superior to those which are not.^[15]” The former refers to the fact that all creatures move/change either in space or in time according to their measured nature. The latter refers to man’s chaotic motion which is a consequence of deliberately ignoring the embedded measurement in the soul.

Augustine asserts that all mutable things moving in order must contain *modus*, which can be understood as the metaphysical principle that determines the substance of creatures and the way they mutate in the temporal realm. *Modus* is the power to hold parts in harmony. “Therefore, truly, applying small and inadequate parts for unity, this is called moderation because a certain *modus* remains in it. Without *modus*, moderation cannot be, and unity would become nothing because what excessively proceeded would be called immoderate which should be blamed.^[16]” *Modus* is also the standard for harmonious movement. “For we can’t say anything moves well if it does not contain *modus*.^[17]” “Therefore, *modulatio* (modulation) is appropriately called the science of moving, or at any rate that by which something is made to move well.^[18]” Simon Oliver also offers a profound insight into this discussion: “To put the matter simply, motion requires a principle and goal that are beyond motion. These are the boundaries that ‘measure’ movement.^[19]” Augustine points out that the word *modulari* (to mensurate) is applied to every created entity which is maintained by *modus*:

Is it possible to hear or to use the word *modulari* (to mensurate) in contexts other than those related to singing or dancing? ...I know that the word *modulari* comes from *modo*, and, as has just been said, *modus* (measure) is contained in all things created well, as well as in many songs and dancing which are pleasant but are very reprehensible. I want to fully understand what exactly this term *modulatio* (modulation) is, for this one word contains the definition of such a great discipline. Here, certainly, we do not study what any singer or actor knows^[20].

Clearly, the discipline of *modulatio*, here studied by Augustine is not fine art, but the liberal (divine) art. Through the science of music, Augustine is searching out the unchangeable principles by which to prove that this world was measured, numbered, and ordered by God in musical harmony. Although *modulationem* (a change/motion in the quality of a sound or modulation) relates to music, Augustine asserts that all created things can be perfectly created and moved harmoniously in temporality due to the power of *modulationem*, stating:

Obviously, you know that *modulationem* pertains to music only, although *modus* from which the word *modulationem* is derived, can also be in other things ... We

[15] *Ibid.*, 1. 9. 15.

[16] Augustine, *De Natura Boni contra Manichaeos liber unus*, 21, *Patrologia Latina* 42, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865).

[17] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 2. 3.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Simon Oliver, “Augustine on Creation, Providence and Motion,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 18, no. 4 (2016): 393.

[20] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 2. 2.

should know that *modulationem* must be in all things that are well done. For I certainly see that nothing is done well unless it moves well^[21].

Measurement, in other words, is the standard of order. Only God is the highest standard, so Augustine indicates that, in fact, “in speaking of the highest *Modus*,” he means “the highest *Bonum* (Good).^[22]” “God is neither the *modum* which is said to be contained, nor the finite *modum* which can be arranged, but by no means is He immoderate,” Augustine writes. “[Y]et the *Modus* grants all things their *modus* so that they can exist in a certain *modo* (way/manner).^[23]” The *modus*, which God put in things is the unchangeable law that determines their nature and the way they mutate in the temporal realm. The measurement of God can be understood as the creation of God or the motion of God, the motion of the motionless first Mover. According to Aristotle, “there is a prime mover, itself unmoved; and the conviction is strengthened by a consideration of the initiating principles of the (more familiar) agents of motion.^[24]” When Augustine concludes *De Musica*, he relates Aristotle’s motionless mover to the Christian God who commands a life-giving motion (*vitalis motus*) and, though Himself motionless, enacts numbers in time and space for the condition of motion^[25]. The *vitalis motus* is the unchangeable order/principle of God^[26]. Augustine also implies the unmoved Mover in *The Immortality of the Soul*, where he writes: “Every action, in turn, is moved, or causes moving. Hence, not all that is moved, and certainly not all that causes moving, is subject to change.^[27]” And, “there can be something that remains unchanged, even though it moves things that are subject to change.^[28]”

Based on Pythagorean scientific tradition, the discipline of music is regarded as natural science and subdiscipline of mathematics because the ratio of harmonic order is the law of both human music and cosmic harmony. In *De Musica*, Augustine consistently argues for his definition of music as the science of good measurement and movement; “Since we are discussing numerically ordered movements (musical motion), I think we should first consider numbers themselves, and decide that whatever sure and fixed laws in the movements manifest to us shall be searched and apprehended.^[29]” The harmonic order in musical motion reflects the unchangeable law which can neither be invented nor be modified by human beings, while the same order in the vast cosmos refers to the creation of the first Mover who orders the motions of all things (including human reason) according to the eternal *Modus*. Therefore, the substance of creatures can be numbered and measured, and the human mind, which has been measured by God, has the ability to reason the substance of things by their *numeros* and *mesuras*. In her “Measure, Number, and Weight in Saint Augustine’s Aesthetics,” Carol Harrison provides the insight that “Measure, number, and weight therefore together constitute the

[21] *Ibid.*, 1. 2. 2-2. 3.

[22] Augustine, *De Natura Boni*, 22.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Aristotle, *Physics*, 8. 6; 259a20-25, trans. P. H. Wicksteed, F. M. Cornford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934).

[25] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 17. 58.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Augustine, *De Immortalitate Animae liber unus*, 3. 3, *Patrologia Latina* 32, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1841).

[28] *Ibid.*, 3. 4.

[29] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 11. 19.

unity of existence under God and lie at the basis of Augustine's metaphysics.^[30]” However, from an aesthetic point of view, Harrison intends to argue that the triad of measure, number, and weight serves as the revelation of the beauty of the Trinitarian God, by which fallen man might be reformed and acquire an artistic vision in the coming life^[31]. Therefore, instead of addressing the issues of order, she only equates order to weight, as she says, “Weight (*ondus*) and order (*ordo*) are both used for the third member of the triad.^[32]” However, according to Augustine, measure, number, and order indicate the substance of both the metaphysical and physical world; therefore, Augustine regards God as the highest *Modus*, the One, and the *Ordo*; obviously, he never regards God as *ondus*. When measure and number relate to weight, they only indicate the substance of the physical world; nevertheless, logically, order as the standard for measure, number, and weight can neither be omitted nor equal to weight. Augustine is clear that “He has ordered all things in measure, number, and weight.^[33]” “Yet, all things under God who has ordered all things in measure, number, and weight, inevitably contain some *modus*.^[34]”

2 Measurement and Motion of the Soul

2.1 The Harmonic *Modus* of the Soul

Augustine holds a Pythagorean view that God has measured the human soul by the same ratio/standard (*modus*), by which He also measured the motions of the heavenly hosts. He praises *aequalitas* (equality, uniformity) as the standard of beauty. When Augustine talks about equality, he indicates the ratio of one to one, which is unison in music. This perfect equal ratio is the principle of harmony: “[T]he beautiful things are pleasing to people because of numbers, and equality is shown as a requirement in beautiful things.^[35]” The ratio of equality is the basis of harmony because it ensures separate parts agree with each other. So Augustine argues that beauty should be as the whole in harmony: “But aren't all things capable of division more beautiful if their parts concord in equality than if they were discordant and dissonant?^[36]” Kepler made the same statement: “I recognized nothing more beautiful than the ratio of equality.^[37]” Since harmony is the essence of equality, Augustine argues that it is the harmonic power that demands equality and keeps our bodily movement even^[38]. The harmonic power in the soul is the rational number of the soul, namely, the human reason (*ratio*). It assesses the preference of the senses and guides the soul to true joy^[39]. Augustine's understanding of the harmonic power accords with Ptolemy, who applies the harmonic power to the principles of all beings in matter, movement, and form:

[30] Carol Harrison, “Measure, Number and Weight in Saint Augustine's Aesthetics,” *Augustinianum* 28, no. 3 (1988): 592.

[31] *Ibid.*, 602.

[32] *Ibid.*, 600.

[33] Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duo*, 1. 16. 26, Patrologia Latina 34, ed. J. P. Migne, (Paris: Migne, 1865).

[34] Augustine, *De Natura Boni*, 21.

[35] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 13. 38.

[36] *Ibid.*, 5. 2. 2.

[37] Kepler, *Harmonies of the World*, 238.

[38] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 8. 20.

[39] *Ibid.*, 6. 9. 24; 6. 11. 29; 6. 13. 38.

The principles of all beings are matter, movement, and form; matter as the material of their origin, movement as their cause, and form as their purpose. The power of harmony cannot be regarded as an object; it is something active, not receiving impressions from without—nor as a goal, because it already possesses something: harmonic and rhythmic rightness, or order and beauty according to rules—but as a cause which orders material and gives it natural form. ^[40]

The first ratio of the fewer and the more in the music system is one to two. For Augustine, the ratio of octave 1:2 is both the power of creation and the power of reconciliation, for it is the power of perfect harmony. In *De Trinitate*, Augustine demonstrates that the ratio 1:2 is the power of reconciliation because Christ's bodily death and resurrection responding to the death and resurrection of both the human soul and body is the ratio of one to two ^[41]. He also holds that God has put this ratio in the human soul:

This ratio (1:2) can be called agreement, or accord, or singing, or more suitably, consonance, which is the great power in all composite structures, or better perhaps the "coadaptation of creatures." I am reminded that the word co-adaptation is harmony (*ἀρμονία*) in Greek. Though space cannot show the quantity of harmony, the power of one to two is found especially in us since it is naturally implanted in us (and by whom, unless by Him who created us?) Therefore, even the ignorant cannot fail to perceive it, whether when singing themselves or hearing others. ^[42]

Regarding the embedded harmonic ratio in the human soul, Augustine also mentions this issue in his letter 166 to Jerome, which mainly discusses the origin of the human soul. He states that humans have been endowed with the capability of music by God so that they should have rational souls to know the truth that the world was created in musical harmony. Augustine believes that Isaiah received the revelation from God when he asked this question: "Lift your eyes and look to the heavens; Who created all these ^[43]?" So he says:

For not in vain has the prophet, instructed by divine inspiration, declared concerning God, "He brings forth in measured harmonies the course of time." For which reason music, the science or capacity of correct harmony has also been given by the kindness of God to mortals having reasonable souls, intending to keep them in mind of this great truth. ^[44]

[40] Godwin, ed. *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 23.

[41] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 4. 3. 5, *Patrologia Latina* 42, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865).

[42] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 4. 2. 4.

[43] Isaiah 40:26.

[44] Augustine, *Epistola* 166, *Girolamo*, 5. 13, *Patrologia Latina* 33, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865).

Augustine quotes Isaiah 40:26, reinterpreting the passage as “*Qui profert numerose saeculum*” (He brought forth in measured harmonies the course of time). According to the version of *Vulgata Latina*, this verse is “*qui educit in numero militiam eorum*”^[45]. For Augustine, although time is not heavenly motions, the harmonious movements of the heavenly hosts generate the rhythm of time (day, month, and year). And the great truth is that God ordered every creature in the succession of time, and the consummation of creation is the harmony of the arrangement of all things, while man has been endowed with harmonic reason by which man has the rational soul to perceive harmony. In *De Musica*, Augustine also explains that human reason as the harmonic power has been planted in the body by the Creator:

The thing which tacitly commends equality and harmony and restrains and keeps us from arbitrary, unequal motions in the application of acting through bodily members is something judicial. It also keeps us from walking unequal steps, or from beating irregular intervals, or from eating or drinking with the uneven motions of the jaw, or from scratching with uneven motion of the nails. I do not know what kind of judicial thing it is, but it certainly convinces us to believe that God, the Creator of all living beings, who is the author of all harmony and peace, has embedded it in the soul^[46].

Reason is a harmonic power of the soul that is able to analyze unity and synthesize parts. Sense perception can collect the information of parts and report it to the soul, but reason can synthesize the information and unite it in harmony. Therefore, when a sound stops moving, reason still can calculate the ratios of intervals between the vanished sound, the sound which is sounding in the present and the sound which will sound in the future. Otherwise, “[i]n a song (*carminis*), if syllables should live and be perceived only for as long as they sound, the harmony and beauty of the connected work would in no way please them^[47].” Only the soul can synthesize the information of moving events together, while conduct and evaluate them by reason. The parts in the sequence of time cannot be meaningful to moving events unless the soul by the help of reason (the harmonic *modus*) understands the harmony of the wholeness and rationally conducts the parts according to the standard of harmony. Johannes Kepler holds the same view regarding the function of harmony with reference to the rational soul:

The perfection of the world consists in light, heart, movement, and the harmony of movements. These are analogous to the faculties of the soul: light, to the sensitive; heat, to the vital and the natural; movement, to the animal; harmony, to the rational.^[48]

2.2 The Motion of the Soul

Love is an inner motion (*motus*) of the soul. Beauty has the power to delight the soul; therefore, it

[45] “He brings out the starry hosts in numbers.”

[46] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 8. 20.

[47] Augustine, *Epistola* 166, 5. 13.

[48] Kepler, *Harmonies of the World*, 14.

always relates to love^[49]. Augustine raises a question: “Do you love beauty (*Pulchritudinem amas*)?” This love does not indicate an aesthetical appreciation or enjoyment of a pleasing object, but it is a longing for the right order in God, the Beauty. Werner G. Jeanrond says, “For Augustine, proper love is always *amor dei*, never *amor sui*. Proper desire is always directed towards God as the *summum bonum*^[50].” *Amo* means to love, to enjoy and to be obliged or grateful for something. Regarding the manner of pure love for God, Augustine uses another word *diligens* to indicate a wholehearted attentive love that humans should give to God and other people according to the divine order: “The soul keeps order, so that with its whole self, it loves (*diligens*) God above itself, and loves its fellow souls as itself^[51].” *Caritas* is usually used for Christian love. It literally means high price and costliness, and kindness and sympathy towards others. Augustine uses this word to indicate the unconditional love of God, and humans can receive this love from God and share it with their neighbors.

Regarding how humans can properly love according to the divine order, the inner motion of the soul is the primary concern of Augustine’s investigation. According to the hierarchical order between the Creator and created beings, human beings are deemed exceptional among all creatures because they were created in God’s image. God, the Archetype of the divine image of man, is the highest Good. The orderly progression, from good to very good, then to the highest Good is hierarchically arranged by the providence of God. “God, therefore, the supreme Truth, by an inviolable and unchangeable law, rules all creation; the body subjects to the soul, the soul to Himself, and so everything to Himself^[52].” According to the unchangeable principles of goodness in the realms of physic, logic, and ethics, Augustine developed his concept of beauty which affirms that the soul and body are both beautiful, but they beautifully exist in different degrees. The body is beautiful in the physical realm, but the soul is beautiful in both logical and ethical realms, and only the soul is able to ascend to the highest degree if it desires to do so. However, human beings, as creatures of God, are not able to make themselves beautiful unless they agree or live in harmony with the divine order according to which they were designed to be beautiful, good, and righteous. Augustine figuratively illustrates the journey of the soul’s attention retreating from interacting with the sensible world and back to its inner world, then ascending to the presence of God. Augustine asserts that there are seven steps for the soul to ascend:

Let’s call the first motion of the soul’s ascending from the lowest to the highest, animation; second, sense; third, skill; fourth, virtue; fifth, tranquility; sixth, entering; seventh, contemplation. They also may be named in this way: of the body; through the body; about the body; towards itself; in itself; towards God; in the presence of God. They also may be as follows: beautifully of another, beautifully through another; beautifully about another; beautifully towards a beautiful; beautifully in a beautiful; beautifully towards Beauty; beautifully in the presence of Beauty.^[53]

The first three motions—animation, sense, and skill are abilities of the soul that must be done

[49] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 13. 38.

[50] Werner G. Jeanrond, *A Theology of Love* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2010), 54.

[51] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 14. 46.

[52] Augustine, *De Quantitate Animae*, 36. 80, *Patrologia Latina* 32, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1841).

[53] *Ibid.*, 35. 79.

with the cooperation of the body in the sensible world. The fourth and fifth motions, virtue and tranquility, are conducted by the spiritual power which can be accomplished in the soul alone, so Augustine calls these motions of the soul “towards itself” and “in itself.” The sixth motion, entering, is the motion of the soul arriving at the spiritual realm, and the seventh, contemplation, is the soul being in the presence of God. Further, Augustine applies an adverb “beautifully” (*ulchre*) to modify all motions of the soul. Firstly, animation is beautifully moving of the body; sense is beautifully moving through the body; skill is beautifully moving about the body. These physical acts can move beautifully because of the operating power of the soul, and the body as a good creation can be beautifully subjected to the soul. Secondly, Augustine uses the adjective “beautiful” (*ulchrum/ulchro*) to illustrate the image of the soul. Virtue and tranquility are inner motions in the soul itself; therefore, virtue is the soul beautifully moving towards the beautiful (itself); and tranquility is the soul beautifully being in the beautiful (itself). Finally, Augustine uses the noun “Beauty” (*ulchritudinem*) to indicate that God is the source of all beautiful things and the prime power/measurement of all things moving beautifully. Therefore, the soul beautifully moves towards the Beauty, then the soul beautifully contemplating in the presence of the Beauty is the highest degree of the ascending journey of the soul in the order. The orderly journey of beauty can be summed by Smalbrugge’s words: “Beauty does not exist in itself. It only exists in order to overcome the scattered self and become the expression of the connected self. It has no right to be a reality in its own right; it is God’s right^[54].”

In *De Musica* VI, Augustine developed his innovative theory about the numerical power of the soul. In great details, except for the numbers in physical sound can be heard, he expands on the five kinds of tacit numbers (rational numbers, operating/advancing numbers, perceiving/hearing numbers, sensuous numbers, and memory numbers), which are responsible for inner *motus* (motion) of the soul. “We can see that these different kinds of numbers that can be distinguished are of one nature, namely, motion and affection of the soul,^[55]” Augustine says.

The motions (*motus*) of our soul are not alien to us. They are nourished with us together by rational knowledge, the finest moral principles, and eternal life, just as the body is nourished by grain, fruits, and fresh plants. When all these motions harmonize with reason (*ratio*) and truth, we have blessed and peaceful life that can be called joy, holy love, chaste, and goodness.^[56]

Motus can be understood as emotion. However, in the modern context, the word ‘emotion’ mainly refers to humans’ feelings or involuntary responses to objects based on physical conditions and sensory information. Thus, it is not a proper match to *motus* in the primary texts which includes both chaotic motions based on senses and feelings and harmonious motions based on ratio and truth. The harmonious motion of the soul must be conducted in the divine order. For Augustine, if the soul

[54] Matthias Smalbrugge, “Beauty and Grace in Augustine,” in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 49, ed. J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards and M. Vinzent (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 13.

[55] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 9. 24.

[56] Augustine, *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos*, 1. 20. 31.

means to be a whole, it must have God as its Master and the body as its servant. The soul can thus understand its body through the motions of senses and its Master through the motion of reason. In the lawful order, rational inner motion directs physical motion. Then, in the temporal realm, the spiritual and physical motions concord with the consummate harmony of eternity. Augustine's conception of the soul and the body places the soul and the body into the unbroken divine order rather than dividing them into two separate parts. Without considering the divine order, Augustine's dualistic conception of the soul and the body is quickly misunderstood. Some scholars argue that Augustine actually exalts the physical world in order to oppose the view that Augustine maligns the body while exalting the soul^[57]; while others, such as R. J. O'Connell says that Augustine is in a dilemma or commits to a conflict regarding this issue^[58]. Andrea Nightingale even claims: "Since his mind is subject to psychic time and his body to earthly time, Augustine cannot find a stable place to situate himself^[59]." In fact, Augustine strives to search for the perfect balance in the divine order, as in *De Musica*, he declares: "For we shall keep free of them since they are temporal, by using them well, as with a board in flood by not throwing them aside as burdensome and not grasping them as stable^[60]." Augustine's opinion on the wholeness of the soul and the body is the same as that of Aristides Quintilianus, who holds that the soul cannot do anything on the earth without the body as its servant. In his *On Music* II, he states:

Since the soul is neither able to be present and to do things on earth unless it should be contained by the binding material of the body (which indeed, descending to its proper depth, both swallows the soul and prevents it from departing) nor yet at any time truly and in consonance with the universe would be able to perfect its foreknowledge of sensible objects unless it should also have sagacity and perception of the beautiful things from that place, the soul, therefore, needed a certain double nature, which was both in possession of judgment and would not deprecate the things of earth for their connection with the body.^[61]

Aristides holds that rational beauty should be preferred to an irrational beauty according to the properly ordered love of the soul. He assumes that God "instilled memory in the soul as an antidote for its irrationality and dispatched with the soul^[62]." However, Augustine holds that God, the *Ratio* bestows reason (*ratio*) on the soul as an antidote for irrationality. For Augustine, the ability of reasoning and turning away from chaotic movements should be credited to the gracious redemptive power of God, rather than to human memory. In his *De Musica*, Augustine argues that memory is an ability common to all animals and that some animals have a keener memory than that of human

[57] Carol Harrison, *Beauty and Revelation in the Thought of Saint Augustine*; Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, "The Augustinian Conception of Beauty and Dante's Convivio"; David van Dusen, *The Space of Time: A Sensualist Interpretation of Time in Augustine, Confessions X to XIII*.

[58] See R. J. O'Connell, *Art and the Christian Intelligence in St. Augustine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 133.

[59] Andrea Nightingale, *Once Out of Nature: Augustine on Time and the Body* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), 18.

[60] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 14. 46.

[61] Aristides Quintilianus, *On Music*, 2. 2.

[62] *Ibid.*

beings. However, no animals except human beings received reason as an intelligent gift^[63]. Once the soul clings to the irrational, the irrational motions impressed in memory can become an overwhelming burden/or form a bad habit that makes it difficult for the soul to turn back to the rational^[64]. Regarding the role of memory in knowledge, Augustine agrees neither with Plato's concept of recollection that the process of learning is a recollecting of things which are already in mind nor with the notion that opposes the theory of recollection by stating that memory only recollects things in the past. He points out the weakness of both parties that they ignore the mental activities of human reason by which humans can comprehend the unchangeable truth and remember experiences not only in the past but also at the present because things unchangeable cannot be the past^[65].

By dissecting the spiritual basis of musical motion, Augustine analyses mental activities (psychical motions). Musical motion consists of the order of measured numbers in the sequence of time, which must be modulated by the soul. Augustine assumes that unless the power of the soul is numerical, it cannot measure musical motion. Therefore, he divides the inner motion of the soul into five faculties: the ability to operate, the ability to listen, the ability to appreciate, and the ability to remember, and the ability to evaluate all other numbers according to the harmonic order. According to their strengths, they receive their names: operating/advancing numbers, perceiving/hearing numbers, sensuous numbers, memory numbers, and rational numbers respectively. The soul is one, but it has different faculties of numbers. The inner movements of the soul are the incorporating motions of these numbers. Only the sixth numbers, the sounding numbers are the motions of the body. The acoustical sounds are the motions that are conducted by the cooperation of the inner movements of the soul but are presented by the body. Thus, a total of six kinds numbers operate musical motions. When beginning to explore the movement of the soul, Augustine raises the question of where the numbers of rhythm exist:

We may pass from corporeal to incorporeal things, tell me if you will that when we recite this verse, *Deus creator omnium*, where you think the four iambs and twelve times, which constitute the verse, are? Is it to be said these numbers are only in the sound heard or also in the hearer's sense belonging to the ears, or also in the act of the reciting, or because the verse is known, in our memory too?^[66]

Augustine logically argues that the rhythmical numbers of the verse exist in all of them. When the verse *Deus creator omnium* is sung, the inner motion of the singer consists of performing, listening, appreciating, and remembering; these four activities are in both the soul and body. As the body is the servant of the soul, Augustine maintains that the motion of acoustical sounding numbers presented by the body is initiated by the soul—otherwise, the body would be the artisan, and the soul would be the material of the body. This, Augustine tells us, would be ultimate absurd:

[63] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 4. 8.

[64] *Ibid.*, 6. 11. 33.

[65] Augustine, *Epistola 7*, Nebridio, 1. 2, *Patrologia Latina* 33, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865).

[66] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 2. 2.

Can we subordinate the soul to the body that would act upon the soul and impose its numbers, so that the body would be an artisan but the soul a matter made from or in bodily numbers? If we believe this, we must believe that it is worse. What can be more wretched, more loathsome than to believe this?^[67]

Therefore, bodily sounding numbers are acoustical products of the motions of the soul. Listeners can hear the musical sound without sensing a performer's motion because musical sound is an incorporeal physical substance existing independently after being produced by the performer. Both dancing and music present their rhythmical beauty by motion. However, the beauty of dancing cannot be separated from the bodily movement in space; it only attaches to where the body is, and the audience's eyes must be set on the place where the dancer is moving; while musical motion in space can be independent of the physical motion of the performer, for it cannot be confined to the space where the performer is moving, and it can travel to the listener's ears. Since dancing is a visible rhythmical motion, it cannot be properly performed without the accompaniment of musical motion which invisibly serves as a conductor of visible dancing in respect to the body moving rhythmically as well as emotionally. In a general sense, Augustine also calls sounding numbers corporal numbers which can be applied to the measured rhythmical numbers in dancing^[68].

Except for the sounding numbers, which are manifested only in physical conditions, the other four kinds of numbers, operating/advancing numbers, perceiving/hearing numbers, sensuous numbers, and memory numbers stay in both the soul and the body and connect activities between the two. Sensuous numbers' motion is to like or dislike the movements of other numbers in both the soul and the body. The harmonic power of rational numbers evaluates the action of sensuous numbers whether its motions of rejecting or accepting could be justified; therefore, there are two judicial numbers:

So, it is one thing to accept or reject these motions either when they are first produced or revived by the memory, and this is done in delight at the fitness or in the distaste at the absurdity of such movements or affections; and another thing to appraise whether they delight rightly or not, and this is done by reasoning if all this is true.^[69]

These two judicial numbers are all embedded in the soul. The former are the mortal, sensuous numbers and the latter are immortal, rational numbers. When the soul under the guidance of rational numbers pursues the ultimate goal of its motion as being a part of the harmonious motion of the whole universe, the sensuous numbers peacefully serve the body and rightly take care of the motion of another three numbers (operating numbers, perceiving/hearing numbers, and memory numbers). If the motions of these numbers are harmonious, their motions are easily, and the soul will not pay attention to them, while if they are disordered, their motions are difficult, the soul has to pay more attention to it, and this is what is called "sense."^[70] "When the difficulty in action cannot be hidden

[67] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 8.

[68] *Ibid.*, 6. 9. 24.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 10.

from attention, this is called “perceived,” and this perceived difficulty is called “pain” or “trouble.”^[71] The sensuous numbers can cause the body to feel comfortable or uncomfortable when in trouble or pain. When the body has a need, the soul will pay more attention to it; this is hunger or thirst^[72]. When the soul observes something unusual, this unusual perception is called “sickness” or “discomfort.”^[73] And the soul is attentive to any sickness attacking the body and prepares to help the body when it is weak or its health declines. When the body is at rest and in good health, it does not need any attention from the soul, only difficult movements of the body require additional attention. Augustine explains that “[n]o attention is needed to give to it in its surpassing peace. This affection to the body is called health. Indeed, it needs none of our attention, not because the soul does nothing in the body, but because it does nothing more easily.”^[74]

When the soul serves God (its Lord) and rules body (its servant), nothing can make the soul move with difficulty; neither sickness in the body nor trouble from the outside can disturb its true peace. “This disposition, in which the soul fears neither adversity nor death, can only be called fortitude.”^[75] When the soul takes care of the body, this attention will not affect the soul, but when the soul pays attention to the desire (*concupiscentia*) of the body, this attention will affect the soul. By devoting its attention to the desire of the body, the soul ignores its Lord and the rational numbers are neglected, while the motion of operating numbers, perceiving numbers, and memory numbers pay full attention to the desire of the body. Consequently, sensuous numbers threaten to manipulate the three kinds of numbers to work together in yielding to its preference on the bodily desire. In this way, the soul becomes enslaved by the preference of sensuous numbers. The soul cannot be led astray by the sensuous numbers and ignore its position as the master of the body unless it pays full attention to the bodily desires and ignores its Lord^[76]. This is the reason that Augustine is cautious in expressing appreciation for music. He prefers not to listen to music over paying full attention to sensuous enjoyment that will satisfy only his physical pleasure and result in his ignoring the immortal truth. He explains that “my physical delight... strives to be first and to take the leading role, though it deserves to be allowed only as secondary to reason^[77].” When he was attracted only by the charm of a melody to fulfill the pleasure of the inner motion of the sensuous numbers, Augustine knew that he was sinning. Without considering the relationship between the motions of sensuality and reason explicated by Augustine in *De Musica*, some scholars hastily concluded that Augustine was hypersensitive or had an equivocal attitude towards music^[78]. In fact, for Augustine, when sensuous numbers take charge, the soul has already initiated the motion of turning away from the order of God, which is clearly a disordered motion.

Since the ability of counting/measuring time lies in the soul, when the soul loses the ability to count time, its body dies. When the soul loses the ability to evaluate the motions of itself by rational

[71] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 9.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 13.

[75] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 50.

[76] *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 13.

[77] Augustine, *Confessionum libri tredecim*, 10. 33. 49, Patrologia Latina 32, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1841).

[78] Brian Brennan, “Augustine’s *De Musica*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 42 (1988): 277.

numbers, it dies spiritually, meaning that it turned away from God because, in this situation, the soul could conduct neither itself moving in inner harmony nor its body moving in the right way. Augustine states how these four kinds of numbers, whose activities relate to both the soul and the body, lead the soul to ignore the eternal *Ratio* and throw their movements into disarray:

The love of acting on the many impulses of its bodily passions turns the soul away from the contemplation of eternal things, diverting its attention toward the care of sensuous pleasure; the soul does this with reacting numbers. But the love of operating on bodies also turns the soul away, and makes it restless; the soul does this with advancing numbers. The phantasias and phantasms turn the soul away; these it does with memorial numbers. Finally, the love of the vainest knowledge of such things turns it away; this it does with sensuous numbers where lies the rule of a certain skill by which imitation is enjoyed; consequently, curiosity is born by caring itself, namely, the enemy of peace. Then, vanity imposes itself as truth. ^[79]

Therefore, Augustine argues that it is not the body leading the soul to disordered movements, but the soul that initiates the disordered motions and, as a consequence, abuses its body. Whether the body does good or evil, Augustine refutes that the body initiates physical movement and in turn influences the soul. Therefore, Augustine charges the evil of the soul rather than blame the body. More specifically, it is the soul that turns away from the truth and leads the movement of the body to falsity. When the soul has a false goal, the body will move falsely as well because the body passively accepts the demands of the soul. “Since the true should be preferred rather than the false, though the soul is superior to the body, the true in the body is better than the false in the soul. ^[80]” So when the false motions only exist in the soul, such as in dreaming and phantasy, or in the will, as long as they are false, they should not be superior to the motion of the body. Although the desire for sin is only in the soul, the consequence of disordered psychical movement is the death of the body as well as the soul. As Augustine says: “Certainly, as no Christian doubts, we are dead both in the soul and the body; in the soul, because of sin; in the body, because of the punishment of sin, and through this also in the body because of sin. ^[81]” The soul can freely initiate false movements, but it cannot freely stop falsely moving because the power of sin catches it by the numbers of memory in its habit. It can be set free only by withdrawing from the false motions and joining the movement of rational numbers. “Thus, with a determined retreat from every wanton movement where lies the fault in the soul’s essence, and with a restored delight in rational numbers, our whole life is turned to God, giving numbers of health to the body, not taking pleasure from it ^[82]. ”

The restoration of the soul’s movement of rational numbers can only be achieved by the power of God, the harmonic power of 1:2. According to Augustine, the unchangeable *Ratio* has three characteristics: firstly, it always considers good measures, for it is the standard; secondly, it moves freely, for it is subordinate to

[79] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 13. 39.

[80] *Ibid.*, 6. 4. 7.

[81] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 4. 3. 5.

[82] Augustine, *De Musica*, 6. 11. 33.

nothing; thirdly, it discerns the way to the territory of its own beauty^[83]. Augustine illustrates a perfect Person who submitted all numbers in charge of psychical motions to the unchangeable *Ratio* and lived a sinless life for the benefit of others^[84]. He does not mention the name of Jesus, but all descriptions indicate that the perfect Person is the Lord Jesus, the *Ratio*, who would like to rescue the soul from wanton disordered movements and restore the harmonic power of the soul:

However, the soul takes actions, with help from God, its Master to extract itself from loving inferior beauty by fighting and destroying its own habit that wars against itself; At the point of having victory by the power from above to impede desires and envy of itself, the soul soars to the firm support of God; isn't such an action for you called the virtue of temperance (*temperantia*)?^[85]

Temperance (*temperantia*) means self-control or self-discipline, but it also means modulation. The soul was modulated originally according to the same ratio by which the celestial hosts are still moving harmoniously. However, after violating the divine order, the soul moves disorderedly. If the soul turns back to the *modus* (measurement) of the unchangeable *Ratio*, it would receive the virtue, temperance (modulation) and move harmoniously.

Within the Pythagorean tradition, parallels are drawn between musical motion and psychical motion. Augustine's predecessors, not only Plato and Pythagoras but also Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus, wrote compelling works on this issue. As Aristides says:

These numbers, some say, have been so specified because the soul operates by numbers—the soul of each person by numbers corresponding to the arts and the soul of the universe by numbers corresponding to nature; but the more precise say that these numbers present the property of the soul's power and essence.^[86]

Ptolemy analyses the power of the soul in terms of harmonic ratio and divides the power of the soul into three parts: the power of thought corresponding to the octave, the power of feeling to the fifth and the power of life to the fourth. He also divides the power of life into three intervals: growth, maturity, and decline; the power of feeling into four intervals: seeing, hearing, smelling, and tasting; and the power of thought into seven: imagination, understanding, reflection, meditation, opinion, reason and knowledge, corresponding to the seven intervals of the octave. In another way, Ptolemy makes an analogy between the power of the soul and three harmonic ratios: reason corresponding to the octave, emotion to the fifth, and desire to the fourth^[87].

In spite of the fact that Augustine's concept of the numerical soul is in line with the Pythagoreans, to anatomize the motions of the soul and the method of psychical analysis is an innovation of Augustine. This

[83] *Ibid.*, 6. 10. 25.

[84] *Ibid.*, 6. 14. 45.

[85] *Ibid.*, 6. 15. 50.

[86] Aristides Quintilianus, *On Music*, 3. 24.

[87] Godwin, ed. *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 25-26.

significant and esoteric psychical analysis is at best ignored and at worst misinterpreted^[88].

3. Music Measurement and Motion

Since Augustine holds a musical-cosmological view, in his *De Musica*, the flavor of Plato's *Timaeus*, Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, and Aristides Quintilianus' *On Music* is evident. These three forerunners are the Pythagoreans who hold that the ratios of the first four number (1:1, 1:2, 2:3, 3:4) are the fundamentals of both the harmonic tuning system and the cosmic motion. However, unlike his three forerunners who pay more attention to observing the harmonic principle in the astronomical, musical motions of the spheres, uniquely, Augustine's whole concern is to prove that the Christian God is the author of the unchangeable harmonic principle. He developed his theological point by philosophically addressing rhythmical motion of music and the micro-motion of the soul from a musical-cosmological view. Augustine's innovation is that his research in musical motions proves that the mathematical ratios of the first four numbers (1:1, 1:2, 2:3, 3:4) not only determine the Pythagorean tuning system but also condition the rhythmical system.

The topics of *De Musica* II – V focus on mathematical ratios of measured rhythmical numbers, which are the dynamics of musical motion. Augustine explains: "I see the measure of the times as the only reason for imposing the name of the foot."^[89] There is no other moving object in temporality that can be more essentially numerical than musical motion which is manifested by both the ratio of pitches and the ratio of rhythm. Musical sound is an incorporeal non-spatial motion which is neither a changing of location nor a changing of quality or quantity. The changing in musical motion is about the sequential flow of harmonic ratios in time. The unchangeable harmonic principle which conducts musical motion is the eternal wisdom. Augustine maintains that the *modus* of human music should come from the transcendent *Modus* above. So, he reasons that in order to understand the innermost sanctuary of eternity, one must first, as he goes on to point out, explore the reason for human music:

All well measured movements and anything keeping measured boundary that ensures beauty and delight within itself admittedly belong to the rationale of discipline, which is a science of good measurement. However, when these motions take a long period to be accomplished, the proper ratio of measurement which is beautiful and takes an hour or more cannot be perceived by our senses. Since music in a certain manner, proceeds from the innermost of the sanctuary and leaves its footprints on our senses or on things that can be sensed by us, mustn't we follow the same footprints which is suitable for us to be guided without any error so that we can arrive at the place called sanctuary? Then let us not speak of those bounds of time extending beyond the capacity of our senses, but discuss, as far as reason goes, short intervals

[88] See W. F. Jackson Knight, *St. Augustine's De Musica: A Synopsis*, London: Orthological Institute, 1949; Martin Jacobsson, ed. *De Musica VI: A Critical Edition with a Translation and an Introduction*, Ph. D. diss., Stockholms Universitet, 2002. Knight and Jacobsson interpret the word "numbers" as rhythms, missing altogether the significant philosophical meaning of numbers in the Pythagorean tradition.

[89] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 1. 1.

which delight us in singing and dancing. ^[90]

In his letter to Memorius, Augustine explains why he decided to write *De Musica*. Firstly, he explains that true liberty is not in the liberal arts, but only in God who grants freedom to man; secondly, he explains that music is a path to knowing the wisdom of God since the power of numbers is best presented in music movement, as he says:

Truly, among all mutable things, which move because of the power of numbers, motions are most easily recognized in music, which furnishes a path of rising to the higher secrets of truth. Along with this path, Wisdom pleasantly reveals herself, and in every step of providence meets those who love her. ^[91]^[92]

Augustine told Memorius that he never attempted to analyze the rhythm of King David's psalms in the six books of *De Musica* because he did not read Hebrew and it was impossible to explore the original meters of psalms while referring to a translated version^[93]. Augustine's theory of rhythm is based on Latin verses. Therefore, focusing on the rational measurement of music, Augustine, as a professional rhetorician, begins *De Musica* by distinguishing music from grammar:

When you hear a kind of innumerable sounds in which distinct measures can be observed, we admit this kind of sounds cannot be attributed to the art of grammar. Don't you think that it is another discipline which contains harmonious numbers and skillful measurement? ...If I am not mistaken, this is what is called music. ^[94]

For Augustine, the difference between grammar and music is that the measure of music rhythm is the measure of time and determined by the unchangeable ratio, while the rule of grammar can be changed by human authority and customs. In Book II – V, Augustine concentrates on discussing five rhythmical issues. His theory of rhythm includes the ratios of syllables, metrical feet, rhythms, meters, and verses. He carefully distinguishes their differences and offers philosophical reasons for their cause and principles.

Firstly, he begins with syllables, the basic cells of rhythm, and metrical feet. When the syllable's length violates the rationale of the verse, the sense of ears would be offended. So, Augustine states that the measured numbers in reason are the cause of our sensuous pleasure: "Undoubtedly, the things in the sound which please you are the measured numbers, while disorders cannot present pleasure to your ears. ^[95]" Since the ratio of syllables' length is determined by reason, one syllable must be put together with other syllables based on mathematical ratios. The position of the interval

[90] *Ibid.*, 1. 13. 28.

[91] Wisdom 6:17.

[92] Augustine, *Epistola* 101, Memorio, 3, *Patrologia Latina* 33, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865).

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] Augustine, *De Musica*, 1. 1. 1.

[95] *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 2.

of one long syllable can be replaced by two short syllables if the two short syllables' length of intervals together equals the long syllable. Three long syllables cannot parallel to the position of six short syllables unless the lengths of their intervals are the same. In a chorus of multiple voices and polyphony, rhythmical counterpoint is based on the unchangeable mathematical principle. Syllables are sounds, and sounds make counterpoints to each other in movement thanks to their ratios of time length. Therefore, "when syllables are compared with each other, movements containing numbers which are measured by the length of time are compared with each other."^[96]

Since syllables consist in motion, the shortest syllable dies as soon as it begins, although the longer syllable keeps a relevant interval, but is eventually replaced by another syllable. This instant extinguishing is the nature of motion in time. In the comparison of one syllable with another, the first ratio of syllables is one to one, and the second ratio is one to two. The long syllable is called "two times" because "the long ought to be double time. And therefore, if the interval the short syllable occupies is rightly called one time (*tempus*); likewise, the interval the long one occupies is rightly called two times (*tempora*)."^[97]

The ratio of syllables, namely, the ordered set of sounds, is called a foot. In fact, the ratio of syllables is the ratio of time in movements. Augustine says that "we imposed names on all movements having certain numerical relations to each other... for they were so related with respect to time."^[98] Since musical motion consists of numbers, Augustine points out the unchangeable ratio in the changing successiveness of temporal motion; when the rhythmic ratio of double to single followed by the ratio of single to double, musical motion shows a change in the order, but the ratios of numbers remain the same^[99]. In total, Augustine discusses twenty-eight metrical feet according to the ratios of numbers, concluding with a list of them by name^[100].

Because of measured progression, one foot consists of syllables no fewer than two and no more than four. So "in any foot, no arsis or thesis takes more than four times. And there cannot be a rest interval fewer than one time or more than four."^[101] A beat consists of one arsis (upward beat) and one thesis (downward beat), and they are equal to each other. A rest (*siletur*) is valued as a time-interval in a foot, but it occupies the time-interval without making a sound. "So, when you find some defect in a regular foot, you ought to consider whether there is a measured rest-interval that has been accounted for in compensation of the defect."^[102]

Augustine's definitions of rhythm and meter are almost the same as the definitions which we still use nowadays. The combination of feet without a definite ending and measure in succession is called rhythm in Greek, and it is called number (*numerous*) in Latin; while the rational combination of feet with a distinct ending and a measure in rotating succession is called meter in Greek, and measure (*mensio* or *mensura*) in Latin^[103]. Therefore, "all meter is rhythm, but not all rhythm is meter. For

[96] *Ibid.*, 2. 3. 3.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 4.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] *Ibid.*, 2. 8. 15.

[101] *Ibid.*, 3. 8. 18.

[102] *Ibid.*, 3. 8. 17.

[103] *Ibid.*, 3. 1. 2.

the name, rhythm makes such an extensive appearance in music that the whole part of it having to do with longs and shorts has been called rhythm. ^[104]” When coming to the difference of verse and meter, Augustine specifies that “all verse is also meter, but not all meter verse. Therefore, all verse is rhythm and meter. ^[105]” He further defines verse as two members joined together in fixed measure and ratio ^[106]. A member cannot have fewer than three times, and the shortest verse cannot contain fewer than eight times. So, if one member has three times and another member has four times, a rest-interval is required to fill in the foot in order to form a complete verse, for “a meter can only be a verse if it has two members harmoniously joined together. ^[107]” The minimal meter starts with the combination of two feet and the fourfold progression measures meter; therefore, a meter can only be extended to eight feet as the maximum. Since a verse cannot exceed eight feet (the longest foot is four times), the longest verse cannot have more than thirty-two times. The ratio of time and meter is kept in progression by a circle rolling forward, and numbers in a circle can neither be fewer than two nor more than four. “And whatever ratio is used for the return to the beginning is also used for passing to another such combination. We rightly call this kind of combination a cycle (*circuitum*); in Greek [it is] called *periodos*. ^[108]” In a rhythmical circle, to keep verses according to ratio is to measure time. “Since ending a verse to keep it within its proper bounds is proper only to the time-measure,” Augustine states that “this mark can be taken [from nowhere other] than from time. ^[109]”

In his investigation of the characteristics of rhythms, Augustine discovered that the ratios of 1: 1, 1: 2, 2: 3, 3: 4 create equality and harmony in the rhythmical motion. These ratios are the fundamentals of the Pythagorean tuning system: the unison, the octave, the fifth, and the fourth, respectively. Augustine pays no specific attention to intervals of pitches in *De Musica*; however, he discovers the same significant ratios in rhythmical intervals:

Therefore, in the numerical law from one to four, not every number has proportion with itself. In the first feet, as has been proved, parts are equal to each other (1:1). Then the union of single and double emerges in one to two (1:2); the sesquialter union in two and three (2:3); and the sesquitercian in three and four (3:4). ^[110]

He concludes that “Meter starts with quadruple feet; verse starts with quadruple times and is completed by them; obviously, the *modus* of quaternary ratio preserves the expansion of meter and verse in uniting feet and times. ^[111]” Augustine reinforces his investigation on the ratios of the first four numbers by a question: “From where, then, is the measure of this progression of one to four [1-2-3-4]? ... where, I ask, do these things come from, if not from the highest and eternal rule of

^[104] *Ibid.*

^[105] *Ibid.*, 3. 2. 4.

^[106] *Ibid.*

^[107] *Ibid.*, 5. 13. 27.

^[108] *Ibid.*, 4. 17. 37.

^[109] *Ibid.*, 5. 4. 6.

^[110] *Ibid.*, 2. 10. 19.

^[111] *Ibid.*, 3. 9. 21.

numbers, likeness, equality, and order?^[112]”

Measuring music is equal to measuring time by the ratios of numbers. On the other hand, musical motion should be measured by a certain measured time. The ratios between syllables, feet, meters, and verses maintain equality and harmony in time intervals, by which a rational beauty occurs to the mind. Since humans perceive physical, musical motion naturally with their ears, they are more likely to take personal will into consideration rather than considering the unchangeable ratio of harmonic law. “Yet, for rational measuring, which is not something about ear, but a characteristic of the mind, determined by true and certain ratios, not by irrational opinion.”^[113] The mathematical ratio of musical motion is the rational harmonic law, which cannot be changed by human authority. Therefore, for Augustine, truth itself is the supreme authority of God, and nothing can exceed it, so it is unnecessary to seek human authority to reinforce unchangeable truth. As he states: “It is a human weakness and shame when seeking a human authority for strengthening men’s reason since nothing is to be preferred to the authority of truth and reason itself; it is certainly better than any man.”^[114]”

4. Conclusion

Through analyzing the measurement and motion of the soul and music, we can conclude that since music is the temporal motion of pure numerical ratios when musical motion is measured by the soul, time is measured as well. Musical motion, as the ordered numbers in the sequence of time, must be modulated by the soul before it moves in time, just as the celestial spheres are measured by God before they move harmoniously. Augustine argues that unless the soul has a harmonic numerical power, it cannot measure musical motion. Therefore, the soul must have been measured according to the infallible harmonic ratio 1:2, by which it has been endowed with reason, namely, the rational harmonic power. According to Augustine’s investigation, the soul consists of five classes of numbers, which are responsible for the inner motions. The corporeal motion numbers, which exclusively belong to the body, are the product of the five latent numbers in the soul. Therefore, a physical motion must be accomplished by six classes of numbers. The rational numbers are the embedded *modus*, the reason of the soul, which can be ignored by the soul, but the ignorance of the soul results in disordered motions psychically as well as physically. Nevertheless, humans can turn away from absurd motions and chaos by the redemptive, harmonic power of God. In his investigation on rhythmical motion, Augustine discovered that the principle of rhythm is also based on the ratios of the four-fold progression (1-2-3-4), which determines the harmonic law of both the tuning system and celestial motions. The mathematical-harmonic law cannot be shaped by human authority or customs any more than the measurement of the long and short rhythm of celestial motions can be controlled by humans.

[112] *Ibid.*, 6. 17. 57.

[113] *Ibid.*, 5. 5. 10.

[114] *Ibid.*

中文题目:

理性的测量和运动:灵魂和音乐中的数理秩序

柏峻霄

于 2017 年获得蒂尔堡大学(荷兰)哲学博士学位。博士论文是《数理秩序中的上帝之美:圣奥古斯丁的音乐宇宙论》。她于 2012 年在香港信义宗神学院获得神学硕士学位,2009 年在西安音乐学院获得音乐美学硕士学位。现任信义宗神学院助理教授。研究兴趣是音乐学,奥古斯丁研究,教会历史,希腊哲学。地址:香港 大围 道风山路 50 号 信义宗神学院。电邮:baijunxiao@gmail.com,电话:+86 18092257317

提要:本文论证的主题是奥古斯丁认为灵魂有能力支配和感受音乐的运动是因为上帝用规范宇宙和谐的数理秩序也测量了灵魂。被测量的灵魂是理性的,并具有数理的功能。音乐中的不变的和谐的数理秩序只能在理性灵魂的伦理运转中被实施。因此,和谐的音乐作为物理运动反映着灵魂内在运动的和谐。理性/逻辑思考和伦理行为映现出灵魂的度量或节制,灵魂本身一定具有先验的理性/数理(Ratio)作为灵魂的度量(Modus),否则灵魂的内在活动就无法正常运转。

关键词:灵魂;音乐;秩序;和谐;数字

光何以美？

——论基督教教父释经学对《创世记》首章中光的美学阐释

宋旭红

(中央民族大学文学与新闻传播学院教授,北京)

提要:光在西方艺术史上的重要性在相当程度上根植于它在《圣经》中的独特地位:它是创世首日出现的第一受造物,也是创世第四日的主题。基督教早期教父释经学对《创世记》首章的阐释蕴含着三种不同的光之美学路线,它们分别是:以亚历山大里亚教父为代表的、具有柏拉图主义色彩的释经学为“象征论”光之美学奠定了理论基础;以圣巴西尔、托名狄奥尼修斯等人为代表的新柏拉图主义释经学展现出一种“宇宙论”光之美学;以奥古斯丁为代表的释经学将光的思想导向神秘主义光照论,从而预示着“情感论”光之美学的诞生。这三种光之美学对中世纪以降的西方艺术史均有重要影响。

关键词:《创世记》;光之美学;教父释经学

作者:宋旭红,文学博士,中央民族大学文学与新闻传播学院教授。研究专长为基督教美学、西方文论。著有《巴尔塔萨神学美学思想研究》、《当代西方神学美学思想概览》等。中央民族大学文学与新闻传播学院,北京市海淀区中关村南大街27号,100081北京。电子信箱:songxuhong@muc.edu.cn;电话:+86 134 3681 7118。

光在西方艺术史上有着独特而重要的地位。文艺复兴以降,西方绘画艺术发展的一条主要线索就是对光的表现技法的日益娴熟和不断更新,从十六世纪威尼斯画派对光线和色彩的精准把握,到十七世纪伦勃朗对光的出神入化的运用,再到浪漫主义和印象派对光影变幻的世界的迷恋及其震撼人心的表达,无数美术珍品因为对光的出色表现与处理而获得永久的艺术魅力。如果自文艺复兴往前看,在中世纪基督教世界最主要的两种艺术样式(即东方教会的拜占庭艺术和西方教会的哥特式艺术)中,光也是其审美特征最为重要的构成要素:拜占庭圣像画通常以代表着光的金黄色为底色,并且所有人物头顶均饰以光环,用以表达其神圣性内涵;哥特式教堂则以大面积的彩绘玻璃窗将光线引入室内,营造天堂般光明绚烂的审美效果。不过,如果我们再往前看,就会发现希腊罗马艺术并没有如此强调光的作用和美学效果,而是以生动无比、精准无双的造型能力和“表现运动和表情的绝技^[1]”著称于世。事实上,光成为艺术的基本要素的确在很大程度上是基督教时代的贡献。然而这一贡献到底是如何达成的呢?

基督教思想对光的重视在很大程度上源于光在《圣经》中的独特地位,这一点应该是毋庸置疑的。《旧约·创世记》开篇有云:“神说:‘要有光’,就有了光。神看光是好的,就把光和暗分开了。神称光为昼,称暗为夜。有晚上,有早晨,这是头一日。”(创1:3—5)到了第四日,“神说,‘天上要有光体,可以分昼夜,作记号,定节令、日子、年岁,并要发光在天空,普照着地上。’事就这样成了。于是神造了两个

[1] 贡布里希 Ernst H. Gombrich,《艺术发展史》*Yishu fazhanshi* [The Story of Art],范景中 FAN Jingzhong 译,(天津 Tianjin:天津人民美术出版社 Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe [Maison d'Édition des Beaux-Arts du Peuple de TIANJIN],2006),75。

大光, 大的管昼, 小的管夜, 又造众星, 就把这些光摆列在天空, 普照着地上, 管理昼夜, 分别明暗。”(创 1:14—18) 据此, 上帝在创世六日之中有两日造光, 且首日之光乃是第一受造物。这是奠定光在基督教思想中卓越地位的主要源头。此外, 《新约·约翰福音》说“道成了肉身, 住在我们中间, ……我们也见过他的荣光, 正是父独生子的荣光。”(约 1:14) “那光是真光, 照亮一切生在世上的人。”(约 1:9) 称圣子耶稣基督为光, 更是基督教必然重视光的理由。鉴于此, 本文拟从《创世记》首章入手, 通过分析基督教早期教父释经学对创世六日中光的解读, 寻找其中所蕴含的美学思想, 从而发现光进入中世纪基督教美学的理论轨迹, 解开西方光之美学传统的奥秘。

一、教父释经学的柏拉图主义传统与“象征论”光之美学

一般认为基督教史上的教父时代始于公元 1 世纪后期《新约》各篇基本成型、众使徒凋零之后。生活于彼时、具有坚定的基督教信仰的教父们一方面浸润于晚期罗马帝国多元化的文化氛围, 另一方面又执着于信仰、并需承受信仰身份给他们带来的种种困扰甚至苦难。为了阐明信仰、抵制异端、传播福音, 解释圣经乃是教父们的一项主要工作, 留下了大量的释经学著作。“光”作为《创世记》首章的重要内容, 自然备受关注。

亚历山大里亚学派(Alexandria School)是最早系统阐释《圣经》的学派之一。该学派以继承希腊哲学的智性传统著称于当世, 其释经学远溯耶稣同时代人、犹太思想家斐洛(Philo Judeaus of Alexandria, B. C. E. 20—C. E. 40)提出的“寓意释经法”。这种方法认为, 《圣经》文本有着双重含义, 一种是字面的或显明的, 另一种则是隐藏的或潜在的。因此释经家的工作不止是要指出经文的表面意义, 更重要的是要揭示其深层的隐含意义。学者们指出, 斐洛的这一方法实际上受到了斯多亚学派的启发, 其目的在于使得本民族经典能够获得被普世接受的可能性, 因为“当寓意解经法超越了文字表面而达到灵性的直接诉求时, 文字上的种族同一性和风俗的原始性就会消失, 形成对于灵性的纯粹智力上的关注, 人所赋予人的一切身份上的优先性也就失去了救赎上的特殊性。^[2]”因此这种解经法可谓是犹太教传统在希腊化时代的一个必然选择。这个方法当然非常奏效, 因为一个世纪以后在这座城市里生活和写作的基督教初代教父们——主要是克雷芒(Clement of Alexandria, 150—215)和奥利金(Origen, 185—254)、乃至更后来的教父们都采用了它。

按照“寓意解经法”, 斐洛将《创世记》所载上帝在创世首日所造的光解释为无形体、不可见的“理智之光”, 而正是“看着这原初的理智之光, 神创造出我们的感官所能感受到的天体, 我这里提到的理智之光属于无形世界的序列。^[3]”对于斐洛的这种高度柏拉图化的解释, 出生于雅典、热爱希腊传统的基督教教父亚历山大的克雷芒基本上是全盘接受。在其《杂记》中, 克雷芒说《创世记》第 1 章 1—3 节所述上帝“起初”“创造天地”, 后又说“要有光, 就有了光”, 这里的“天、地和光”并不是可感的天、地和光, 而是它们可知的范型。换言之, 它们体现的是“理智世界”。这几乎是对斐洛思想的重复。奥利金则稍有不同。他不是像克雷芒那样在学习过希腊哲学、并且加入过其他宗教秘仪之后才皈依基督教, 而是出生于基督徒家庭, 自幼就对基督教充满热忱与信心。不过让研究者们津津乐道的是, 奥利金的父母双方种族血统复杂, 使得他可能拥有希腊、基督教、犹太和埃及等多种文化渊源。这样的家庭背景与亚历山大里亚城的多元文化氛围相得益彰, 共同塑造了奥利金既有着极虔诚的信仰、又能够

[2] 章雪富 ZHANG Xuefu, 《基督教的柏拉图主义》*Jidujiao de bolatuzhuyi* [Christian Platonism], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chabanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2001), 47-48.

[3] Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, XVIII. 转引自章雪富 ZHANG Xuefu, 《基督教的柏拉图主义》*Jidujiao de bolatuzhuyi* [Christian Platonism], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chabanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2001), 49.

兼容其他思想的特征。奥利金一生写作了大量的释经学著作,其基本的释经方法亦追踪斐洛。不过与前辈们相比,奥利金解经除了采用柏拉图主义的二元论框架以外,还大量采用“预表法”,即以《新约》解《旧约》,努力将《旧约》传统纳入到基督教《新约》教义和神学体系之中。在他专门解读《创世记》的布道文中,奥利金没有对上帝首日所造之光给出单独的解释,而是将它放在1—5节的整体内容中加以理解。根据《约翰福音》首章内容,奥利金认为“起初”所造之天地指向耶稣基督,因为天地万物都是藉由作为上帝之道的基督所造;根据《马太福音》25章41节和《路加福音》8章31节等内容,奥利金又把“渊面黑暗”之“渊”理解为魔鬼所居之所,因此与黑暗相对立的光明,即“上帝说‘要有光’”并将光暗分开,则象征着基督驱散一切魔鬼邪恶^[4]。至于第四日所造的“大光”“小光”和众星,奥利金认为它们分别象征着基督和教会:“正如太阳和月亮被说成是天上的大光,基督和教会就是我们中间的大光。^[5]”基督是“真光”,能照亮世间万物;教会则被基督之光照亮,犹如月亮因反射太阳而发光,并使自己成为“世界之光”。

综上所述,斐洛、克雷芒和奥利金对创世之光的解释虽有不同,但有一点非常明确:他们都认为首日之光是不可见的理智之光或“真光”,与可见可感的世界相对,二者之间存在着严格的对应、类比或象征关系。这种理解显然受到了柏拉图主义的影响。亚历山大里亚学派与柏拉图主义之间有着密切的关系,学者们认为该学派的诞生正是“基督教与古代哲学精华——柏拉图主义和斯多亚主义——结合”的结果,这种结合“是任何正统的基督教所在之地所未有的。^[6]”该学派也因此常被冠以“基督教柏拉图主义”或“基督教诺斯替主义”之名。不过需要指出的是,亚历山大里亚学者所体现出的柏拉图主义立场严格来讲应为中期柏拉图主义。哲学史上的中期柏拉图主义指公元前一世纪末期到公元三世纪前夕这段历史时期的柏拉图主义学说,其特点是他们所持守的柏拉图主义思想已经在与该时期十分繁荣的各种其他哲学流派的争辩交锋中吸收了后者的很多思想因素,特别是继承亚里士多德主义的逍遥学派以及斯多亚学派的思想。上述对光的阐释亦是如此。我们看到,将上帝首日所造之光理解为不可见的“理智之光”并不符合柏拉图本人的观点,因为后者在《蒂迈欧篇》中明确说道:“凡被创造出来的东西必然是有形体的,也是可见和可触知的。^[7]”依此来看,首日之光既然为上帝所造,即使是第一受造物,也应为有形体、可见的。事实上,柏拉图虽然在《国家篇》中提出著名的“洞喻”,使得太阳光得以因象征“善之型”而进入西方形而上学思想史,然而究其实质,柏拉图清楚地是在可见之光的意义上谈论“光”之概念的。正因为光属于可见世界,它才会与不可见世界的真理(理式)形成类比及象征的关系。柏拉图对话中其他大量涉及到光的内容也多是指可见之光,而非亚历山大里亚诸贤们所说的“理智之光”。除此之外,柏拉图还曾将“美本身”描述为“光辉灿烂的”,暗示出光与美的密切联系,但亚历山大里亚释经学也基本没有提及这一点。

在有关光的思想方面,早在公元前一世纪,罗马人就已经通过晚期斯多亚主义的代表人物西塞罗(Cicero, 106 B. C. — 43 B. C.)熟知了“光即是神”(芝诺)的学说,这是斯多亚学派远承赫拉克利特(Heraclitus, 535 B. C. — 475 B. C.)以“火”为世界本原的思想之余绪、将柏拉图用以象征神性和真理的可见之光直接提升为形而上学抽象本原的结果。在此语境下,亚历山大里亚释经家们把“首日之光”理解为不可见的“理智之光”或“真光”是很自然的。这个理解对于基督教神学史固然重要,如前所述,

[4] Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. Ronald E. Heine, *The Fathers of the Church (a new translation)*, vol. 71, (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of American Press, 1982), pp. 47-48.

[5] *Ibid.*, 55.

[6] 章雪富 ZHANG Xuefu, 《基督教的柏拉图主义》 *Jidujiao de bolatuzhuyi* [Christian Platonism], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chabanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2001), 106.

[7] 柏拉图 Plato, 《柏拉图全集》(第3卷) *Bolatu quanji* [Plato Complete Works] volume 3, 王晓朝 WANG Xiaochao 译, (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin chabanshe [People's Publishing House], 2003), 282.

它并没有强调此光与美之间有什么直接联系,且彼时基督教艺术尚处于萌芽状态,我们也很难说它对当时的基督徒有何美学上的启示或意义。然而本文之所以将亚历山大里亚教父们深具柏拉图主义色彩的光之阐释列为基督教光之美学路线之一,是因为这种阐释路线所彰显的光的感性维度和神性维度之间的象征关系给后世的基督教艺术带来了深刻而持久的影响。对于斐洛和克雷芒而言,首日所造理智之光既是第四日所造天体之光的范型,按照柏拉图主义的思想框架,二者间必然构成象征关系;对于奥利金而言,不仅存在着这种象征关系,在太阳与基督、月亮与教会以及众星体与众圣徒之间均存在着明确的象征对应关系。这种象征关系后来成为基督教美学与艺术极为重要的理论基石。众所周知,象征是普遍存在于早期人类精神生活之中的一种思维方式,因而也是广泛存在于不同种族、不同地域和不同时期人类艺术现象中的一种基本的创作手法。基督教艺术亦不例外。据考,在最早的基督教形象艺术作品中就已经出现了诸如羊群、鸽子等象征意象,这些意象通常也都出自圣经,具有明确的寓意指向,体现出艺术象征手法的典型特征,即以具体可见的物象代表抽象、不可见的观念或存在^[8]。不过在古典主义晚期,这些仅出现于基督徒地下墓室的绘画和雕刻作品尚未把光作为重要的象征意象来加以描绘。直到第一种真正具有代表性和独创性的基督教艺术风格——拜占庭艺术——兴起于东方基督教帝国,光作为神性之象征的内涵才得到了充分的尊崇与表现。拜占庭圣像画以满涂代表阳光的金色背景、且人物头部均饰以光圈为典型特征,几乎把光的象征意义运用到极致,追根溯源,当是柏拉图主义馈赠于基督教时代的美学观念所结出的艺术硕果。

二、教父释经学的新柏拉图主义传统与“宇宙论”光之美学

据传亚历山大里亚教父的集大成者奥利金与新柏拉图主义创始人普罗提洛(Plotinus, 204—270)师出同门,这意味着二者有着共同的思想来源。然而奥利金成为最著名的基督教柏拉图主义者,普罗提洛则被认为开创了一条能够更好地将柏拉图主义带入基督教语境的新的哲学路线,盖因前者仍然沿用了柏拉图主义的二元论世界观图景,而普罗提洛则将这个图景改造成了一种“一元多层”的结构,改造的关键一则在强调神圣者的重要性和唯一性,即以“太一”代替柏拉图的“善之型”成为最高的神圣存在;一则在于引入亚里士多德主义的思想原则,以“流溢说”代替柏拉图主义的“分有说”,力图实现理式世界与现实世界在存在论意义上的连续性。在此过程中,由于沿用柏拉图传统将太一比喻为太阳,普罗提洛将他的“一元多层”世界图景描述如下:“神圣领域的太阳就是理智……,它之后是灵魂,灵魂依赖于理智,……这灵魂将它自身的边锋——与这个可见的太阳相连——给予这个太阳,使这太阳通过灵魂自身这个中介与神圣领域相连,就如同解说员,将来自这个太阳的信息解说给可理知的太阳,又把来自于可理知太阳的信息解说给这个太阳……^[9]”神圣世界的最高存在理智被喻为太阳,即可理知的太阳,灵魂则是出于可理知的太阳与可见的太阳之间的中介。按照“流溢说”,灵魂首先被神圣的理智照亮,然后它“离开可理知者之后,进入天空……照亮天宇,把它们自己最大的、最先的部分给予它”(此即可见的太阳),而“对于世界的其余部分,就用次级部分照亮。^[10]”这个逐层被照亮的世界在普罗提洛看来是美的,因为“理智是美的,是万物中最美的;它处在纯洁的光和清澈的光芒之中,它包含着真实存在物的本性。我们这个美丽的宇宙只是它的影子和形象。^[11]”由此可见,新柏

[8] 贡布里希 Ernst H. Gombrich,《艺术发展史》*Yishu fazhanshi* [The Story of Art],范景中 Fan Yingtian 译,(天津 Tianjin:天津人民美术出版社 Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe [Maison d'Édition des Beaux-Arts du Peuple de TIANJIN],2006),70.

[9] 普罗提洛 Plotinus,《九章集》*Jiuzhangji*(上册 Shangce)[Enneads],石敏敏 Shi minmin 译,(北京 Beijing:中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press],2009),396.

[10] 同上书 *Ibid.*,第 403 页.

[11] 同上书 *Ibid.*,第 362 页.

拉图主义试图建立的是一个沐浴于永恒的光明之中、内部层级清晰而往复运动不息的美丽宇宙。这个宇宙观对后世的基督教思想家有着极大的吸引力,不仅影响了他们对《创世记》首章的阐释,也是基督教神秘主义神学的理论根基。

在众多早期教父神学家之中,圣巴西尔(Basil of Caesarea, 329/330—379)对《创世记》的阐释可能是最为深得普罗提洛宇宙观之精髓的。巴西尔位列卡帕多西亚三教父之一,他出生优越,年少时受到了他那个时代最好的教育,精通希腊文化,对众多古典时期的思想家如数家珍,研究者评价“他的作品反映了他那个时代知识的各门分支领域^[12]”。据称,巴西尔尤其热爱自然,他的自然观综合了柏拉图、普罗提洛、泰奥弗拉斯托斯、希罗多德、亚里士多德等人的思想。因此我们看到,在其名为《创世六日》(*Hexaemeron*)的布道文中,巴西尔对《创世记》首章有关光的内容的解读如下:他认为“上帝说‘要有光’”是创造了“光的本质”(the nature of light),而第四日所造的太阳月亮等天体则是创造了“光的容器”(the vehicle of light)。这种区分既延续了自柏拉图以来对光的形而上学性和物理感性的二元论理解,同时又颇具亚里士多德主义色彩。至于可能引起的有关“事物的本质(形式)与其质料如何可分”的质疑,巴西尔答曰:在人当然是不可分,但在上帝却是可能的,因为“我们能够在思想中区分的,造物主必可在现实中区分^[13]”。然而,作为光之本质的首日之光却不仅仅是一个形而上学的抽象概念。它“驱散黑暗,终结阴郁,照亮世界,为万物赋予一种美丽的、令人愉悦的外表……光照之后,空气更加甜美,水更加明亮,因为它们不仅接受光,自身也反射出那从光而来的光辉……^[14]”这段优美动人的描写显然与普罗提洛式的宇宙图景很相像。光在这个宇宙图景中所起的作用类似于普罗提洛笔下的灵魂,它介于最高的神圣者与可见世界之间,起到一种能动的作用,将来自神圣者的活力与美赋予万物,将整个宇宙和谐完美地统一起来。就此而言,在柏拉图主义者那里始终分属两重世界、相互间只存在类比或象征关系的两种光——即理智之光和可见之光,或曰光的神圣属性与可感属性——也完美地统一起来了。

翁布托·艾柯(Umberto Eco)将自毕达哥拉斯学派以来一直统治着古代希腊罗马世界的最基本最普遍的美学原则——即比例论美学——界定为“量的美学”(aesthetics of quantity),而将植根于柏拉图、新生于新柏拉图主义的光之美学称为“质的美学”(aesthetics of quality),意指前者有赖于某种数量关系,而后者取决于光的特殊性质^[15]。此论可谓精辟,因为光之美所依凭的的确不是组成物体的各部分之间的数量关系(光不能被区分为不同部分),而是光集神圣性/形而上学性和可感性于一体的特殊性质。艾柯还将这种新柏拉图主义宇宙图景命名为“物理—美学宇宙论”(physical-aesthetic cosmology),可谓抓住了这一美学图景重视可感物质之美的特色。巴西尔还曾说道:“黄金是美丽的,它对视觉而言令人愉悦、充满吸引力,但这不来自它的各个部分,而仅仅来自其色彩的美。夜空中的星星是诸星辰中最美的,不是因为构成它的各部分合乎比例,而是因为它让一种令人快乐愉悦的光辉落入我们的眼睛^[16]。”普罗提洛也曾在其《论美》一文中以光之美为例反驳古老的比例论美学原则,但他给出的结论是:光之美不来自比例,而是来自作为人类形式的心灵能够在光中看到事物的“形式”,

[12] Saint Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*. Trans. Sister Agnes Clare Way, C. D. P., The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, Washing, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963. P. x.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 86.

[14] *Ibid.* P. 31.

[15] See Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). pp. 43-51.

[16] Saint Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*. Trans. Sister Agnes Clare Way, C. D. P., in The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, (Washing, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963), pp. 32-33.

并因此感到一种“同类相知”的愉悦^[17]。与之相比,巴西尔直接将“视觉的愉悦”定义为美的必要条件,无疑更加凸显了光之美的物理可见属性和心理可感属性。

其实在巴西尔所处的教父“黄金时代”,从物理可见层面解读创世首日之光者不乏他人。比如与亚历山大里亚齐名的另一个早期基督教释经学派——安提阿学派——的重要人物约翰·克里索托(John Chrysostom,)也在他关于《创世记》首章的布道文中写道:“当混沌无状的物质充塞四方,上帝,那强有力的艺术家发出了指令,使无形之物获得了形式。那令人目眩的超越之美出现了,它驱散可感接触的阴郁,点亮了万物。^[18]”这一段对首日之光的描写与巴西尔基本一致,因为巴西尔也是将光的神奇作用归于上帝,认为正是神圣之道(话语)“将万物转向最精彩、最愉悦的状态^[19]”,“上帝说”的命令同时即是行为,是神圣意志的临在。但二者的本质区别在于:巴西尔将首日之光定义为“光之本质”,明确赋予其形而上学性或神圣属性,但对于克里索托而言,上帝以道言之指令所创造的一切,包括起初的天地和首日之光,都是真实客观、可见可感的。光的重要性在于:在它之前,受造的物质世界是混沌无形的,而光的出现赋予了万物形式与美。众所周知,在早期基督教历史上,安提阿释经学与亚历山大里亚释经学两相对垒,遵循的是不同的释经原则:亚历山大里亚学者善用“寓意解经法”,而安提阿教父们坚持按字面及历史意义解释圣经经文。应该说他关于事物质料与形式关系的理解、以及将光之美理解为“赋予形式”的功能都不无希腊哲学的痕迹,但是与柏拉图主义和新柏拉图主义不同的是,安提阿教父更加关注现实世界。因而就其对光之美的物理维度的重视而言,克里索托与巴西尔可谓殊途同归——尽管后者其实与安提阿并无关系,反倒是与亚历山大里亚学派颇有渊源。

随着安提阿派的聂思脱里(Nestorius)基督论主张在 431 年的以弗所公会议(Council of Ephesus)上被定为异端,安提阿学派的影响力逐渐减弱,而卡帕多西亚教父学却因对确立三一教义的重大贡献而名垂青史。自然,后者所持光之美学的新柏拉图主义传统也日益发扬光大。巴西尔的《创世六日》在当时就获得了极高的评价,与他同称为“卡帕多西亚三教父”的另两位格利高里(Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa)以及圣安布罗斯(St. Ambrose, 340—397)、圣奥古斯丁(St. Augustine, 354—430)等人都曾模仿此作,可见其影响之大。不过若仅就其中的光之美学思想而言,与之最为相契的可能是一个多世纪后的另一位希腊教父托名狄奥尼修斯(Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite, late 5th to early 6th century)。这位只留下四篇著作、却能跻身于基督教史最伟大神学家之列的教父在其《天阶体系》一文中描述了他心目中的宇宙图景。他首先称耶稣基督是从圣父原初之光而来的“真光”,这光即是“上帝之美——如此单纯、如此美好、如此丰盛地是完满的泉源——是完全不受不相似的东西浸染的。他向外伸展,根据每个存在物的功德而给予它们一份光,并且通过神圣的圣事而在和谐与宁静中给予每个已经完全的存在者以它自己的形式。……它确保它的成员在接受了这充沛而神圣的光辉之后,能慷慨地和根据上帝的意志把光传递给下一级别的存在者^[20]。”这一宇宙图景与普罗提洛和圣巴西尔的思想一脉相承,如果说有什么不同的话,那就是他更加明确了创世之光即是圣子、以及这光对于从纯理智存在物到纯物质存在物的整个宇宙的生成性作用,无怪乎二十世纪的教父学大家、神学美学倡导者巴尔塔萨十分激赏托名狄奥尼修斯,称赞“几乎从未有一种神学像雅典大法官

[17] 普罗提洛 Plotinus,《九章集》*Jiuzhangji* (上册 Shangce)[*Enneads*],石敏敏 SHI Minmin 译,(北京 Beijing:中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press],2009),60.

[18] St. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* 1-17, trans. Robert C. Hill, in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (volume 74), (Washington, D. C. :The Catholic University of America Press,1986) p. 49.

[19] Saint Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*. Trans. Sister Agnes Clare Way, C. D. P., *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, (Washington, D. C. :The Catholic University of America Press,1963), p. 32.

[20] (托名)狄奥尼修斯 Pseudo-Dionysus,《神秘神学》*Shenmi shenxue* [Mystical Theology],包利民 BAO Limin 译,(北京 Beijing:三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company],1998),114-115.

(即指托名狄奥尼修斯——引者注)的圣礼神学那样深深依赖于美学概念的传达^[21]。”

与承袭柏拉图主义传统的“象征论”美学路线相比,基督教新柏拉图主义的“宇宙论”美学试图跨越神性与感性、不可见世界与可见世界之间的鸿沟,而光同时作为第一受造物 and 视觉之中介、兼具神性与感性的特性使之恰好被视为实现这种跨越的唯一介质,由此也造就了西方艺术史上另一种重要的基督教艺术类型:哥特式教堂建筑。这种出现于十二世纪的全新建筑样式一改庄严厚重的罗马式风格,以纤细高耸的造型和巨大的彩色玻璃窗营造出建筑内部光彩迷离、犹如天堂的效果,完美表达出新柏拉图主义以光连通神性与感性世界的宇宙观图景。

三、奥古斯丁主义与“情感论”光之美学

作为希腊传统最后一个重要的哲学体系,新柏拉图主义对基督教教父学的影响极为深远。就对光的理解而言,如果说巴西尔等人的“物理—美学宇宙论”图景展现了新柏拉图主义在存在论的客观维度赋予光的重要作用,那么,基督教神秘主义神学所揭示的信仰主体在上帝的光照下实现心灵的上升、最终与上帝合一的路径所遵循的正是新柏拉图主义关于灵魂回归太一的信条,其中光仍然起到能动性的作用,只是该作用发生于信仰主体身上,从而构建出另一种独特的、主观维度的基督教光之美学。

广义的神秘主义,指的是一种追求“与绝对合二为一,同时又意识到自己的一^[22]”的特殊的宗教体验,它广泛存在于人类各种宗教文化之中。基督教神秘主义,按《神学的灵泉》一书作者的意见,正是形成于教父时代,尤其是在“教父们试图理解灵魂与上帝之关系所作的开创性努力”中^[23]。这些努力自然也包括他们的释经学。更由于光在基督教神秘主义神学中具有极为重要的地位,教父们对《创世记》首章中的光的解释也就在一定程度上决定了神秘主义神学的方向与面貌。奥古斯丁就是一个很好的例子。

拉丁教父奥古斯丁一生曾四度注释《创世记》,特别是其中的首章内容,分别是388年的《〈创世记〉注解:反摩尼教二书》、391年的《〈创世记〉字解》、397/401年的《忏悔录》第十一至十三卷以及年的《上帝之城》第十一至十四卷。学者们一般认为第二部最为详细专业,也最能代表奥古斯丁思想成熟期的观点。在这本书中,奥古斯丁首先提出了“创世首日所造之光到底是精神的还是物质的?”的疑问,随后回答说,如果它是精神的,那么它可能就是“第一被造之物”,即“起初神创造天地”之“天”。“天”在被造之初是无形式的纯精神存在,而当“神说‘要有光’”时,就“通过这说话使之完善了”。因此奥古斯丁说,“神说要有光就有了光”可以理解为“造物主转化并点亮了它(天),并召唤它回到他自身^[24]。”到了《忏悔录》第十三卷,奥古斯丁以更加肯定的口气重复了这一观点:“至于你在创世之初说的:‘有光!’便有了光。我以为是指精神受造物,我这样理解并非不恰当,因为既能接受你的光明,必已具有某种生命。这精神受造物的具有生命和受你的光照,也并非对你有什么权利。如果它不成为光而停留在无形相的阶段中,也不会取悦于你。它的成为光,不是由于存在,而是由于仰望着照耀万

[21] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics, II: Studies in the Theological Style: Clerical Styles*, trans. Andrew Louth, Francis McDonagh and Brian McNeil C. R. V., (San Francisco: T & T Clark Ltd, 1984), p. 154.

[22] 威廉·詹姆斯 William James, 《宗教经验种种》*Zongjiao jingyan zhongzhong* [The Varieties of Ewlious Experience], 尚新建 SHANG Xinjian 译, (北京 Beijing: 华夏出版社 Huaxia chubanshe [Huaxia Publishing House], 2005), 253.

[23] 安德鲁·洛思 Andrew Louth, 《神学的灵泉》*Shenzue de lingquan* [The Origenis if the Christian Mysitical Traditin], 游冠辉 YOU Guanhui 译, (北京 Beijing: 中国致公出版社 Zhongguo zhigong chabanshe [Zhongguo Zhigong Publishing House], 2001), 1.

[24] St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. Edmund Hill, O. P., *The Works of Saint Augustine A Translation for 21th century*, vol. 13. (New York: New City Press, 1982), 171.

有的光明, 依附于这光明。它的具有某种生命, 它的享受幸福的生命, 都是由于你的恩赐, 它是通过一种有益的变化而转向着即不会变坏、也不会变好, 而是永恒不变的你^[25]。”我们看到, 就将首日之光视为不可见之光而言, 奥古斯丁与众多前代教父们的观点并无二致。他所谓的精神受造物, 指的是类似于普罗提洛宇宙图景所示的处于神圣理智之下、可见世界之上的灵魂。然而他的理解有两点与众不同之处: 第一, 他认为首日之光的主要功能是“赋予形式”, 而且是为“起初”所造的无形式的精神存在物“天”赋予了形式。由于按照亚里士多德主义的立场, 精神本身相对于物质而言即为形式, 因此这光也就是“形式的形式”。这一点与东方教父的区别尤其明显。如前所述, 安提阿教父们认为上帝所造的一切、包括首日之光都是可见的; 亚历山大里亚教父和卡帕多西亚教父们基本都认同首日之光属于不可见、仅可理知的, 但秉承柏拉图式宇宙观的教父们并没有太多地讨论这不可见之光与现实世界的关系, 毕竟象征即足以说明二元世界的关系; 而秉持新柏拉图主义宇宙观的教父则着眼于首日之光对整个宇宙的完善与美化之功, 此正是巴西尔释经学的特色所在, 而这个特色被更晚近的东方教父大马士革的约翰所继承, 后者在《正统信仰阐释》中宣称首日之光是“整个可见受造世界的装饰与荣耀”, 因为如果没有光, 所有事物都将堕入黑暗之中, “万物就不能展现出它们固有的美^[26]”; 第二, 他强调首日之光富有“生命”, 能接受上帝光照的恩赐, 就与之发生一种伴随着情感的密切互动关系。

正是以上述理解为基础, 奥古斯丁发展出了自己独特的神秘主义神学——学者们通常用“光照论”来指称这一神学, 因为他没有太多地去描绘这灵魂如何去完成一个层级清晰的美丽宇宙, 而是转向信仰主体的内心, 着重研究这首日之光、“形式的形式”如何照亮了人类的心灵, 使之也转向寻求上帝的信仰之旅。众所周知, “光照论”是奥古斯丁继承和改造柏拉图“灵魂回忆说”而来的、独特而重要的神学认识论, 以“光”名之亦是借用了柏拉图的以太阳喻真理的旧例。不过奥古斯丁所言之光更加接近新柏拉图主义彻底神圣化的光。正因为奥古斯丁将创世首日之光理解为“精神受造物”, 完全排除了光的可见性因素, 他才可以将柏拉图建立于可见之光与神圣之光、肉体的眼睛与心灵的眼睛之间类比和比喻关系之上的哲学认识论转变为以存在论为基础的神学认识论: 光是精神之形式, 亦即斐洛所言“理式的理式”; 它出自上帝之言说, 即圣子耶稣基督; 而人类的心灵或灵魂作为“一个被造物, 即使是精神的或理智的、理性的, 看上去比其他事物更接近上帝之言的被造物, 也可能拥有一种无形式的生命……, 总之, 如果它离开永恒不变的神圣智慧, 它会活得愚蠢而悲惨; 然而, 它转向永恒的智慧之光, 即上帝之言, 从而被赋予形式; 它转向那它能从中获得实存者……是为了智慧而蒙福地生活着^[27]。”唯有当神圣道言与智慧之光照进人的心灵, 心灵才能获得认识上帝的可能途径, 并且与上帝建立起密切的情感联系。在这一点上, 奥古斯丁表现出强烈的人类本位主义色彩。他说, “尽管某些动物能用比我们敏锐得多的眼睛看这世上的光, 但它们却不能获得那照耀我们心灵的无形体之光, 我们的心灵有了这种光的照耀, 方能判断一切事物^[28]。”不仅如此, 在奥古斯丁看来, 人类心灵认识上帝的道路是一种真正基于个体存在之上的心理主义的道路。他认为, 人类拥有一种“只属于人的内心的、比感官高贵得多的感官”, 正是靠着这种“内在的感觉, 我确认我存在, 确认我知道自己存在, 我热

[25] 奥古斯丁 St. Augustine, 《忏悔录》*Chanhuilu* [Confessions], 周士良 ZHOU Shiliang 译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2009), 309.

[26] John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, trans. The Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, D. D. F. E. L. S., in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9, Hilary of Poitiers, John of Damascus, second series, (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers Inc., 1999), P. 22.

[27] St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. Edmund Hill, O. P., *The Works of Saint Augustine A Translation for 21st century*, vol. 13. (New York: New City Press, 1982), 172.

[28] 奥古斯丁 St. Augustine, 《上帝之城》*Shangdi zhicheng* [The City of God](上卷 Shangjuan [First volume]), 王晓朝 WANG Xiaochao 译, (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin chabanshe [Renmin Publishing House], 2006), 480.

爱这两样确定的事情,并以同样的方式确认我爱它们^[29]。”在此基础上,方能有心灵沿着《忏悔录》第七卷所示的那种先遍观外部世界、再进入自己内心、最终“在你里面,著我上面^[30]”找到上帝的历程。正因如此,学者们才指出奥古斯丁的光照论特别强调心灵认识上帝的“亲身”、“亲证”、“亲见”的特征,即“一种切身体会,对理解对象本性和特征的一种‘体悟’,它强调的是‘亲身体会’或‘印证’或‘亲证’,这要求理解者与被理解者有着密切的交往实践,要求理解者相信、信任被理解者^[31]。”换言之,“光照”的认识不是单纯理性的认识过程,而是人与上帝在个体位格层面上所建立起的一种亲密的互动关系,伴随着强烈的情感,这种情感就是“爱”:基督之光照亮心灵是神圣上帝的恩典之爱,与此同时,寻求上帝的心灵只有在爱中才能认识上帝,正如奥古斯丁在《忏悔录》中所说:“谁认识真理,即认识这光;谁认识这光,也就认识永恒。唯有爱能认识它^[32]。”

在一般意义上,光照论所描述的神人关系图景与其他基督教作者的神秘主义作品并无本质差异,并且神人关系中的情感因素也是神秘主义论者们经常提到和强调的,比如斐洛、奥利金、尼撒的格里高利等人都曾详论神秘主义的爱的情感^[33]。然而他们对神圣光照和爱的描述基本上是理论性或想象性的。与之相比,作为西方文化中第一部自传性作品(《忏悔录》)的创作者,奥古斯丁的思想有着鲜明的个人印记,明确将作为个体的人的感受、体验与情感状态,即“亲在”,视为神学思想的重要组成因素,这使得个体主义和心理主义成为他的神学区别于其他教父思想的重要特征。他的“光照论”最好的实践案例当是他自己在《忏悔录》第九卷中所述他与母亲在梯伯河口的神秘主义体验:“在你、真理本体的照耀下,我们探求圣贤们所享受的‘目所未睹、耳所未闻、心所未能揣度的’永生生命究竟是怎样的……我们这样谈论着,向慕着,心旷神怡,刹那间悟入真慧……^[34]”正是由于亲身经历了“光照”,奥古斯丁结束了漫长的痛苦挣扎,实现了皈依;同时,经受了强烈的情感淬炼的信仰也格外地坚定和深刻,“爱”成为他的神学思考中极其重要的主题。正因如此,我们认为奥古斯丁的“光照论”虽然看上去与新柏拉图主义“同类相知”学说一样,但它不仅仅是一种神秘主义神学认识论,更是一种神学美学。这是因为,自康德将美学的根基立于一种无利害的自由的愉悦之上,基于个体在场性存在的情感就不再仅属于伦理学的研究范围,也是美学关注的领域。当然,基督教语境下的情感,尤其是神秘主义神学所描述的神人之爱与康德式的审美情感仍然相去甚远,但其心灵对真理的刹那领悟,以及由之而来的极度愉悦喜乐的情感体验等都与康德之后的诸多现代美学流派与命题——如直觉主义、浪漫主义等——高度契合。在此意义上,我们将“光照论”视为一种美学应无不妥。

当然,作为古代美学思想的集大成者,奥古斯丁对于客观维度的美也有非常丰富的论说。总体来看,他对于世界美的判断主要服膺于比例论美学原则,同时也带有一些新柏拉图主义的存在论色彩。但是对于光之美,他谈的最多的始终是内在主观维度。当然,将“光”与“爱”相连接远不是奥古斯丁的独创。除了上述其他思想家在有关神秘主义的著述中对此多有体现,更为直接和系统化的观点出现

[29] 同上,第481页。

[30] 奥古斯丁 St. Augustine,《忏悔录》*Chanhuilu* [Confessions],周士良 ZHOU Shiliang 译,(北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press],2009),222。

[31] 周伟驰 ZHOU Weichi,《记忆与光照——奥古斯丁神哲学研究》*Jiyi yu guangzhao: Aogusiding shenzhexue yanjiu* [Memory and Illumination: on the Theology & Philosophy of St. Augustine],(北京 Beijing:社会科学文献出版社 Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe [Socia Science Academic Press],2001),75。

[32] 奥古斯丁 St. Augustine,《忏悔录》*Chanhuilu* [Confessions],周士良 ZHOU Shiliang 译,(北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press],2009)奥古斯丁著,《忏悔录》,周士良译,北京:商务印书馆,2009,134。

[33] 参见 Canjian [see]安德鲁·洛思 Andrew Louth,《神学的灵泉》*Shenxue de lingquan* [The Origins if the Christian Mysitical Traditin],游冠辉 You guanhui 译,(北京 Beijing:中国致公出版社 Zhongguo zhigong chabanshe [Zhongguo Zhigong Publishing House],2001),42,90-91,128。

[34] 奥古斯丁 St. Augustine,《忏悔录》*Chanhuilu* [Confessions],周士良 ZHOU Shiliang 译,(北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press],2009),188-189。

于托名狄奥尼修斯的《论圣名》之中。尽管这不是一部严格意义上的释经学著作,但其立意在讨论《圣经》中那些用以指称上帝的名词,因此必然涉及《创世记》中“光”的概念。作者将圣名按其内涵及重要程度分为若干组分别加以讨论,其中第一组包含六个名词:“善”、“光”、“美”、“爱”、“出神”和“热诚”(按后文应为“渴求”)。善是最重要的圣名,因为至善是神性的本质;至善流溢产生万物且与自身丝毫无损的特性与阳光形成类比关系,因此光被认为来自至善,是后者的可见形象。在讨论“光”的概念时,作者提到了圣经所载创世第四日的“大光”和“小光”,说它们都由至善产生;而首日之光被称为“无形之光”,其功用是“在时间的开端区分出最初的三天^[35]”。除了沿袭柏拉图以阳光类比神圣者,托名狄奥尼修斯也特别讨论了“光在用以至善时的概念”,即神圣至善本身被称为“心灵之光”,这光“照亮所有超天界存在者的心智,……将盘踞在灵魂中的无知和错误驱赶出去。”此即奥古斯丁所谓的“光照”。在讨论完“光照”之后,作者紧接着论述了“美”和“爱”何以也是圣名。“美”与“善”一样是神圣者的根本属性,万物从至善获得存在,从至美获得和谐、美好的存在,因而“至美者和至善者是同一的”。“善”、“光”和“美”由此构成基督教神学美学的第一组三一关系。与之密切相关的即是“爱”,因为按照柏拉图的观点,爱即是对美的渴求,或曰美必然产生爱。而爱即是“渴求”,它即指神圣至善出于爱而创造万物,也指万物对神圣者的热爱和回归的渴望。

在奥古斯丁身后不久,罗马帝国崩溃,西方世界进入“黑暗时代”。此后数个世纪,基督教东方世界发展出极其精微繁复的神学体系和第一种独具特色的基督教艺术风格——拜占庭艺术,而劫后重生的西方世界开始重新审视这些古代教父们的思想,并在新的时代氛围之下对之进行综合与创新。教父释经学发展出的上述三种光之美学路线在新的时代里得到了不同程度的传承、表现、融合与发展,从而为新的艺术形式的出现和新的美学原则的确立奠定了基础。如果说柏拉图主义传统的“象征论”光之美学在拜占庭艺术中得到了极致的体现,新柏拉图主义的光之“宇宙论”美学则在哥特式教堂艺术中获得了某种神奇的实践与表达的话,那么奥古斯丁“情感论”的光之美学似乎要等到文艺复兴以后,才会在那些充满人文主义色彩、用卓越的色彩与光影技法描绘人物内心情感的艺术作品中得到真正的展现。

[35] (托名)狄奥尼修斯 Pseudo-Dionysus,《神秘神学》*Shenmi shenxue* [Mystical Theology],包利民 Bao limin 译,(北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company],1998)托名),26.

English Title:

How can Light be Beautiful? On the Aesthetic Interpretations of Light in Genesis 1 by Patristic Exegetes

SONG Xuhong, female, Dr. Prof. Xuhong Song, faculty of School of Literature, Journalism & Communication, Minzu University of China. Academic fields: Christian aesthetics, comparative literature. Representative Works (in Chinese): *On the Theological Aesthetics of Hans Urs von Balthasar* (Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2008); *An Overview of Western Contemporary Theological Aesthetics* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012). Mail address: Institute of Literature and Communications at Minzu University of China, Zhongguancun nan dajie no. 27, 100081 Haidian District of Beijing, P. R. China. Email: songxuhong@muc.edu.cn, Tel: +86 134 3681 7118.

Abstract: The importance of light in the history of western arts is largely rooted in its particularity in Bible; Light is the first creature in the first day of Creation, and also the theme of the fourth day. There were three aesthetic ways by which patristic exegetes interpreted the light in Genesis: aesthetics of symbolism which was characteristic with Platonism and was put mainly forward by Alexandria School; aesthetics of cosmology which demonstrated the tradition of Neo-Platonism especially in works of St. Basil and Pseudo-Dionysus, etc.; and aesthetics of emotion which was originated by Augustine and led the Christian thought of light to the illumination of mysticism. They have all cast heavy influence respectively on western arts in the following times.

Key Words: Genesis; aesthetics of light; Patristic Exegetics

实践神学与
中西教会和社会
**Practical Theology and
Sino-Western Views on Church and Society**

明清之际随传教士入华的西文插图书籍及其在华影响

董丽慧

(北京大学艺术学院博士后)

提要:伴随着古登堡印刷工业的繁荣以及地理大发现和大航海时代的到来,16、17世纪,西方传教士携带着承载着基督教精神文明的西文书籍为中西方交流架起了桥梁,其中,尤以插图书籍备受传教士和中国人喜爱。一方面,于传教士而言,插图教义书是他们传教的好帮手,虽然难免存在误读和歧义,视觉图像的交流往往比语言文字的交流更为便捷;另一方面,于中国民众而言,尤其是在晚明“尚奇”的风潮影响下,西文插图书中的新奇视觉图像引起了各个阶层人群的好奇。笔者认为,这些已渐渐被历史长河淹没的西文插图书籍不应被淡忘,它们的重要性及其对中国视觉文化建构的影响应当引起我们充分的关注。

关键词:插图书;金尼阁;耶稣会;北堂图书馆;福音故事图像

作者:董丽慧,北京大学艺术学院博士后,中国北京市海淀区颐和园路5号,1000871,电子邮件:donglihui2015@qq.com

从15世纪中期开始,随着古登堡印刷术的发明,书籍制作成本大幅降低,出版印刷业在欧洲发展起来。到16世纪初,印刷厂已遍布整个欧洲,印刷物的大量出现和传播,挑战了教廷控制《圣经》的绝对权威,对欧洲的文艺复兴运动和宗教改革运动起到了强有力的推动作用,有学者称,“使中世纪的拉丁文《圣经》过时的不是新教而是印刷术,产生新的驱动力去开发大规模市场的不是新教而是印刷术^[1]”。新的传播媒介不仅为宗教改革运动中的新教徒所用,也成为反宗教改革的天主教徒的传教工具。在欧洲天主教传教士进入中国之初,就有重视书籍并随身携带的传统。利玛窦(Matteo Ricci)曾在其中文著作中道出书籍在传播信息方面的重要性:“一人言之,或万人听之,多则声不暨已;书者能令无量数人同闻之,其远也,且异方无疑也^[2]”。

比较早的记录见于1575年:明朝政府与驻守菲律宾的西班牙当局在共同搜捕海盗的行动中,一度达成和解,包括拉达(Martin de Rada)在内的两名西班牙奥古斯丁修士以使臣身份出使明朝,在福建停留约3个月的时间。在此期间,拉达不仅随身携带了书籍,还向中国官员展示了装饰有十字架、耶稣、圣母和使徒图像的书签^[3]。对于书籍的重视还体现在拉达从福建带回的大量中国书籍上,这

[1] 爱森斯坦 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein,《作为变革动因的印刷机:早期近代欧洲的传播与文化变革》*Zuowei biange dongyin de yinshuaiji: zaoqi jindai Ouzhou de chuanbo yu wenhua biange* [Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe],何道宽 HE Daokuan 译,(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [The Press of Peking University]),2010,218.

[2] 朱维铮 ZHU Weizheng 主编,《利玛窦中文著译集》*Limadou zhongwen zhuyi ji* [Matteo Ricci's Chinese Writings],(上海 Shanghai:复旦大学出版社 Fudan daxue chubanshe [The Press of Fudan University]),2001,268.

[3] 博克塞 Charles Ralph Boxer,《明末清初华人出洋考》*Mingmo Qingchu huaren chuyang kao* (Research on Oversea Chinese People during the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasty),朱杰勤 Zhu Jieqin 译,《中外关系史译丛(第一辑)》*Zhongwai guanxishi yicong (di yi ji)* [Collection of Translations on the History of Chinese and Foreign Relations(vol. 1)],(北京 Beijing:海洋出版社 haiyang chubanshe [The Press of Ocean]),1984,181.

些书籍涉及造船、宗教、历史、法律、中医、天文等各个领域。1579 年包括阿尔法罗(Pedro de Alfaro)在内的 4 名方济各会士悄悄潜入广州城,他们携带的行李中也有书籍和圣像的记载^[4]。

然而,彼时的西文书籍入华,还没能形成规模,这种情况直到耶稣会的金尼阁(Nicolas Trigault)那里才得到了彻底的改变。在谈及 16、17 世纪的东西方交通时,需要注意的一个历史语境是当时恶劣的交通条件:除了追求商业利益的商人外,大概也就只有满怀宗教热情的传教士,能够克服艰难险阻,以超人毅力,漂洋过海来到东方。然而,在这两类人中,商人以牟利为目的,不会愿意将有限的行李和交通空间献给如此多的精装插图书。在这样的情况下,只有传教士,接过了这一重任,大规模携带众多欧洲最新版书籍漂洋过海来到中国。要知道,17 世纪,从欧洲到澳门的耶稣会士多半死在船上,就金尼阁一行而言,启程时的 22 位耶稣会士,绝大多数都死于航程中的瘟疫、海上风暴和海盗的袭击^[5]。面对一段生死未卜的航程,传教士依然毅然决然地背上书囊,成为那个时代向东方传播西洋文化的拓荒者和领路人,这无疑是中外交通史和“西画东渐”历史上值得特写一笔的壮举。

1. 耶稣会重视插图的传统与金尼阁携“七千卷”入华

16 世纪新兴的耶稣会则更注重书籍装帧的精美和插图的丰富程度,在创始人罗耀拉(Ignatius Loyola)的带领下,耶稣会形成了重视教育、重视书籍出版、重视绘制圣像和印刷插图的传统。意大利耶稣会士罗明坚(Michael Ruggieri)等人在 1579—1582 年期间就曾多次进出广州城,随身携带的物品中就有装帧精美的插图本圣经故事书,“内中尽是圣母事迹及信德奥理的插图,琳琅满目,美不胜收^[6]”。罗明坚和利玛窦等人都曾多次在信中要求罗马教廷寄来插图书籍,因为“中国人是甚喜爱看绘画的”,“这样很容易解释介绍给他们^[7]”。在信中,他们反复强调寄来的书籍要“精印”,且“装订必须精美”,以便通过这些书籍,向中国人展示传教士也来自诗书礼仪之邦,从而与中国人印象中野蛮的西班牙商人划清界限^[8]。

早在 1583 年利玛窦和罗明坚抵达肇庆时,他们就携带了“几箱”包括宗教、天文、数学、地理、建筑在内的西文书籍,这些书籍“各种的尺寸都有,从两开本至最小的板本,无一不备,在白色而又坚韧的纸质上,印有大小适宜的文字;印刷的精美,镀金的书边,丝绒的封套,套上附有的银钩,这样样都引起学者好奇心^[9]”。在 1605 年 5 月 5 日的信中,利玛窦曾写道,“就几何、计时和星盘学而论,我有很多

[4] 裴化行 Henri Bernard,《天主教十六世纪在华传教志》*Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiaozhi*[Aux portes de le Chine les Missionnaires du X^{VI}e Siècle 1514—1588],萧浚华 Xiao Junhua 译,(上海 Shanghai:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]),1936,166.

[5] 江文汉 JIANG Wenhan,《明清间在华的基督教耶稣会士》*Mingqing jian zaihua de jidujiao yesui huishi*[The Jesuits in China during the Ming and Qing Dynasties],(上海 Shanghai:知识出版社 zhishi chubanshe[The Press of Knowledge],1987),105. Nicolas Standaert,“The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China,”*Renaissance Studies*,vol. 17,(2003),380.

[6] 裴化行 Henri Bernard,《天主教十六世纪在华传教志》*Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiaozhi*[Aux portes de le Chine les Missionnaires du X^{VI}e Siècle 1514—1588],萧浚华 Xiao Junhua 译,(上海 Shanghai:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]),1936,277.

[7] 利玛窦 Matteo Ricci,《利玛窦全集:利玛窦书信集》*Limadou quanji:Limadou shuxin ji*[Complete Works of Matteo Ricci: Collection of Letters].罗渔 Luo Yu 译,(台北 Taipei:光启出版社[The Press of Guangqi] 辅仁大学出版社[The Press of Fu Jen Catholic University],1986),456.

[8] 同上书,第 259,427,434 页.

[9] 裴化行 Henri Bernard,《天主教十六世纪在华传教志》*Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiaozhi*[Aux portes de le Chine les Missionnaires du X^{VI}e Siècle 1514—1588],萧浚华 Xiao Junhua 译,(上海 Shanghai:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press]),1936,277.

书,可以说应有尽有^[10],可见在利玛窦时代,后来建于北京的南堂图书馆就已初具规模,而其中更是不乏精美插图本。书籍中印有插图,这在欧洲被认为是对该书“神圣地位”的肯定^[11],那么,插图本应当是传教士从欧洲出发时,准备携带图书时的首选。

晚明文人顾起元在南京出版的《客座赘语》中,就有对其所见西文图书的描述:“(利玛窦)携其国所印书册甚多,皆以白纸一面反复印之,字皆旁行;纸如今云南绵纸,厚而坚韧,板墨精湛。间有图画,人物屋宇,细若丝发。其书装订如中国宋摺式,外以漆革周护之,而其际相函用金银或铜,为屈成钩络之;书上下涂以泥金,开之则叶叶如新,合之俨然一金涂版耳^[12]”。可见,传教士所携图书不仅纸质上乘、印刷精美、装帧华丽,而且,其中不乏“细若丝发”的描绘人物、建筑的插图,这些都给当时中国人留下了良好的印象。

利玛窦逝世后,耶稣会士金尼阁在欧洲为中国筹备图书馆藏书时,也倾向于选择装帧豪华的“大开本^[13]”,其中应当也不乏精致的铜板插图。然而,1616—1623年的“南京教难”期间,内地教堂被关闭、捣毁者无数,传教士被驱逐到澳门。当时身在南京的曾德昭神父说,“我们的房子、家具,尤其是所有的书籍,都被洗劫一空^[14]”,这里提供给我们两方面信息:首先,在教难之前,南京教堂就已经拥有了一批西文书籍了,很可能就是顾起元在南京所见之西文插图书;但是,这些书籍在17世纪初期的教难中遭到了毁坏,未能留存下来。

除传教士随身携带、或由教廷和教会不断向内地寄送的书籍外,明清之际有记载的西文书籍大规模入华当属1620年意大利耶稣会士金尼阁携来的“七千余部”图书。方豪、钟鸣旦(Nicolas Standaert)、惠泽霖(Hubert Germain Verhaeren)以及苏立文(Michael Sullivan)等学者,根据金尼阁与时人的通信,以及耶稣会内的相关拉丁文牒等珍贵史料,大致勾勒出了金尼阁携书入华的来龙去脉^[15]。

1613年,接替利玛窦担任耶稣会中国教区会长的龙华民,派金尼阁返回罗马,向教廷汇报耶稣会在华传教的进展,其主要目的是请求教廷准许耶稣会内部建制、将中文作为一种传教语言、增派传教士、寻求经济资助、收集送给中国皇帝的礼物,以及申请在中国建立“可与欧洲第一流图书馆相媲美的中央图书馆^[16]”,此外,还准备在南京等地建立规模较小的图书馆。经过长途跋涉,金尼阁于1614年底回到罗马。

[10] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library],李国庆 Li Guoqing 译,(北京 Beijing:北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission]),2009,17.

[11] 柯律格 Craig Clunas,《明代的图像与视觉性》*Mingdai de tuxiang yu shijuexing* [Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China],黄晓鹃 Huang Xiaopeng 译,(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [The Press of Peking University]),2011,38.

[12] 顾起元 Gu Qiyuan,《客座赘语》*Kezuo zuoyu* [Superfluous Words in the Parlour],续修四库全书编委会 *Xuxiu sikuquanshu bianweihui* 编,《续修四库全书》*Xuxiu sikuquanshu* (卷 1260) [The Continuation of the Catalogue of Complete Collection in Four Treasuries (Vol. 1260)],(上海 Shanghai:上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Classics Publishing House]),1995,192.

[13] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library],李国庆 Li Guoqing 译,(北京 Beijing:北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission]),2009,19.

[14] 同上书,第18页。

[15] 方豪 FANG Hao,《方豪六十自定稿》*Fanghao liushi zidinggao* [Papers Selected by Gang Hao in His 60-year-old],(台北 Taipei:台湾学生书局 Taiwan xuesheng shuju [Taiwan Students Publishing House]),1969,39-52. Michael Sullivan,“Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting”, in National Palace Museum (Republic of China), eds., Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970), 595-634. Hubert Germain Verhaeren, Catalogue of the Pei-T'ang Library, Peking: Lazarist Mission Press, 1949. Nicolas Standaert, “The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China,” *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 17, (2003), 367-391.

[16] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library],李国庆 Li Guoqing 译,(北京 Beijing:北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission]),2009,19.

实际上,在金尼阁从中国启程之前,龙华民就给他制定了一个详细的申请在中国设立图书馆的计划,其中第一步就是说服教皇同意设立并资助北京图书馆。为了达到这个目的,金尼阁将利玛窦遗著《基督教远征中国史》(即《利玛窦中国札记》)一书进呈教皇,并于 1615 年在德国奥格斯堡(Augsburg)出版。鉴于耶稣会在华传教取得的巨大成就,教皇很快就同意了在北京设立图书馆的建议,并捐赠了约 500 卷图书,此外,教皇和其他的耶稣会会长每人还捐赠了 1000 枚金币用于购书,显赫的美蒂奇(Medici)家族和哈布斯堡(Habsburg)家族的达官显贵们都纷纷献上送给中国皇帝的礼物[(Sullivan,1970)⁶⁰³,(Standaert,2003)³⁷⁸⁻³⁷⁹,(Standaert,2007)²⁰]。



图 1 鲁本斯绘金尼阁着儒服素描(左)和油画(右),现藏斯德哥尔摩博物馆

在这笔捐款的资助下,从 1616 年 5 月开始,金尼阁离开罗马,先后到达当时欧洲的图书出版中心里昂、法兰克福、慕尼黑、科隆等地,购置了大量图书,还由里昂出版商卡登(Horace Cardon)将教皇赠予的 500 卷图书加以“豪华装帧”,一律采用大红封面,加印教皇纹章和烫金书名^[17]。期间,金尼阁还收到了许多作家和出版商赠送的书籍。在里昂,金尼阁和后来一起到达中国的耶稣会士邓玉函(Johann Schreck)参加了法兰克福一年一度的图书展销会,然后经由科隆到达布鲁塞尔。此时,教廷终于批准传教士可用中文译写圣经,这为日后中文圣教图书的大量出版提供了合法依据。

1617 年 1 月 2 日,在布鲁塞尔,金尼阁曾给中国耶稣会写过一封信,信中说明他这次欧洲之行的最大成就就是收集了一批书籍,这些书籍和天文、数学仪器的总价值高达 1 万金币^[18]。鲁本斯(Peter Paul Rubens)的几幅穿中国服装的耶稣会士画像可能就是在金尼阁游历弗兰德斯(Flanders)期间,以金尼阁为模特创作的(图 1)。金尼阁的“购书之旅”止于布鲁塞尔,没有继续进入当时因宗教战争而贫困的低地国家,为了避免传教遭到当时已经兼并葡萄牙的西班牙腓力三世(Felipe III, 1578—1621)政权的干预,金尼阁也没有进入伊比利亚半岛^[19],因此,这批由耶稣会士后来带进中国的图书中,并没

[17] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library],李国庆 Li Guoqing 译,(北京 Beijing:北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission],2009),19.

[18] Nicolas Standaert,“The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China,”*Renaissance Studies*,vol. 17,(2003),378.

[19] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library],李国庆 Li Guoqing 译,(北京 Beijing:北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban[The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission],2009),19. Nicolas Standaert,“The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China,”*Renaissance Studies*,vol. 17,(2003),379.

有西班牙和葡萄牙出版的书籍。

1618年4月16日,金尼阁从里斯本出发,1620年7月22日到达澳门。但此时,正值“南京教难”期间,耶稣会北京住所已被关闭,包括大量书籍在内的耶稣会在南京的财产也被没收。直到1623年以后,耶稣会士才再次进入北京,这批书可能就在这之后运到了北京。

关于这批图书的数量,金尼阁并没有留下记录,一般采用与金尼阁同时代的李之藻、杨廷筠等中国学者、教友的记述,称其为“七千余部”。1623年,李之藻为耶稣会士艾儒略所著《职方外纪》一书作序,其中提到“金子者赉彼国书籍七千余部,欲贡之兰台麟室,参会东西圣贤之学术者也”,并对此举称赞道,“异国异书梯航九万里而来,盖旷古于今为烈^[20]”。在1628年刊行的亚里士多德《宇宙学》中译本《寰有诠》的序言中,李之藻再次提到,“我明天开景运……时则有利公玛窦浮槎,开九万之程;既有金公尼阁载书,逾万部之富……文明之盛,盖千古所未有者^[21]”。

对于李之藻前后所记金尼阁携来“七千余部”还是“万部之富”这一数量上的矛盾,杨廷筠早在成书于1621年的《代疑篇》中就给出了解答:“金尼阁远来修贡,除方外物,有装璜图书七千余部,重复者不入,纤细者不入,若然并国中所有即万部不啻矣,此非可饰说也。书籍顿顿香山澳,已经数年,为疑议未息,贡使难通,俾一朝得献明廷^[22]”。可见,杨廷筠也认为金尼阁携来“装潢图书”应为“七千余部”,如果再加上重复的和篇幅太小的版本,总数应当不下万部。此外,从杨廷筠的记载中,我们知道,1621年,金尼阁仍受到1616年由沈樵发起的“南京教案”之波及,只能携其书滞留澳门,虽则如此,内地教友如杨廷筠等人早已闻听此事,正翘首以盼朝廷为传教士翻案,以便将这批图书献于“明廷”。可见,即便是“禁教”和“教难”期间,内地和海外的信徒们仍保持着某种联系,互相传递着宗教和文化上的信息。

根据原北京北堂图书馆馆长惠泽霖神父的考证,到1949年,金尼阁携来图书仍有757种629册藏于北京北堂图书馆中^[23],考虑到这批图书经年的迁徙、出借和损毁,惠泽霖和钟鸣旦都认为,金尼阁所携图书应当比629卷要多一些。那么,如何解释中国学者对这批图书所谓“七千卷”的“夸张”描述呢?惠泽霖神父认为,这种描述可能基于中西文书籍的大小比例来估算的。金尼阁所携图书多为大开本,不仅每页文字印刷密度高,其页数也往往是中文图书的10倍以上^[24],因此,可能在中国人眼中,金尼阁所携来的一卷西文大部头图书,就相当于十卷中文图书。为了向不能亲眼见到这些图书的中国人更直观地介绍,金尼阁本来的近700册书籍就被描述成“七千卷”了。

[20] 李之藻 LI Zhizao,《刻〈职方外纪〉序》*Ke Zhifang waiji xu* [Preface of Chronicle of Foreign Lands], 徐宗泽 Xu Zongze,《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 241.

[21] 李之藻 LI Zhizao,《译〈寰有诠〉序》*Yi Huan you quan xu* [Preface of the Translation of Explication of Everything], 徐宗泽 XU Zongze,《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 148.

[22] 杨廷筠 YANG Tingyun,《代疑篇》*Dai yi pian* [Questions], 方豪 Fang Hao, 吴相湘 Wu Xiangxiang,《天主教东传文献》*Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* [Literatures of Catholicism in the East], (台北 Taipei: 台湾学生书局 Taiwan xuesheng shuju [Taiwan Students Publishing House], 1965), 544-545.

[23] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library], 李国庆 Li Guoqing 译, (北京 Beijing: 北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission], 2009), 22.

[24] 同上书 *Ibid.*, 20.

2. 西文插图书籍的用途及其在华传播与影响

钟鸣旦认为,金尼阁的“七千卷”图书“对 17 世纪文艺复兴文化在中国的传播具有深远影响^[25]”。那么,这些书籍中究竟有多少插图书籍呢?根据晚明学者、基督教徒王徽的记载,这七千卷图书中,仅“奇器之图之说者”就有“不下百余种……阅其图绘,精工无比,然有物有像,犹可览而想象之^[26]”,可见金尼阁携来的插图书籍不在少数,且绘制精美、写实,使人通过图像即可想象到描绘的器物 and 场景。中文出版物《奇器图说》就是根据金尼阁所携“奇器之图之说者”选译,由传教士邓玉函口授,王徽笔述并摹绘而成,1627 年发行。这本书被称为“我国第一部机械工程”著作,李约瑟(Joseph Needham)在《中国的科学与文明》(*Science and Civilization in China*)一书中,也给予这本书高度评价,称作者王徽为“中国第一个近代意义上的工程师,是类似文艺复兴时之第一人^[27]”。书中保留了西文原书中用“ABCD”作为标识的习惯,这种新奇的图示方法,“在当时诚一诧异”,《四库总目提要》对其批语为“荒诞恣肆不足究诘,然其制器之巧实为甲于古今^[28]”,时人称之为“见所未见,闻所未闻的奇事^[29]”,可见此书绘图之新奇和器物之精巧给时人带来的震惊。而在王徽看来,这本被后人誉为“中国第一部机械工程学”的著作,也不过是西儒携来图书之“千百之什一耳^[30]”。

1623 年以后,金尼阁所携图书终于辗转运到北京,存放在利玛窦创建的图书馆中。到 18 世纪初,南堂图书馆的“历史、圣经诠释、神学、数学等方面的书非常齐全”,已经是一座“完备的图书馆”了^[31]。后来,南堂藏书与其他存于北京的基督教藏书合并,构成了今天著名的北京“北堂藏书”的雏形。在这批藏书中,有许多西文建筑书籍,其中应当不乏各种精美的插图,比如,1615 年出版的斯卡莫奇(Vincenzo Scamozzi)的《建筑理念综述(L'idea della architettura universale)》(图 2)、1590 年在威尼斯刊行的著名的维特鲁威(Marcus Vitruvius Pollio)《建筑十书(De architectura)》、1590 年出版的乔万尼·鲁斯科尼(Giovanni Rusconi)的《论建筑(Della architettura)》、1570 年出版的帕拉迪奥(Andrea Palladio)的《建筑四书(I Quattro libri dell'architettura)》、1562 年出版的维尼奥拉(Vignola)的《建筑五大柱式的规则(Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura)》等。除了关于西方“奇器”的插图书和建筑图书外,介绍世界风光的图书也为数不少,这些书都极受中国人喜爱^[32]。其中,

[25] Nicolas Standaert, "The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China," *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 17, (2003), 367.

[26] 王徽 WANG Zhen, 《远西奇器图说录最》*Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* [Best Illustrations and Descriptions of Extraordinary Devices of the Far West], 徐宗泽 Xu Zongze, 《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 277.

[27] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 4, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 171.

[28] 徐宗泽 Xu Zongze, 《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 225-226.

[29] 裴化行 Henri Bernard, 《天主教十六世纪在华传教志》*Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiaozhi* [Aux portes de le Chine les Missionnaires du X^{VI}e Siècle 1514 - 1588], 萧浚华 Xiao Junhua 译, (上海 Shanghai: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1936, 284.

[30] 王徽 Wanlg Hui, 《远西奇器图说录最》*Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* [Best Illustrations and Descriptions of Extraordinary Devices of the Far West], 徐宗泽 Xu Zongze, 《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 226.

[31] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren, 《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library], 李国庆 Li Guoqing 译, (北京 Beijing: 北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chuban [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission], 2009), 22.

[32] 苏立文 Michael Sullivan, 《东西方美术的交流》*Dongxi fang meishu de jiaoliu* [The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art], 陈瑞林 Chen Ruilin 译, (南京 Nanjing: 江苏美术出版社 Jiangsu meishu chubanshe [Jiangsu Fine Arts Publishing House], 1998), 49.

布劳恩和霍根伯格(Braun and Hogemberg)六卷本《世界的都市(Civitates Orbis Terrarum)》一书中还有对开大小的铜版画插图,这部介绍世界各地城市和国家的多卷本丛书,于1572—1616年在德国科隆陆续出版。这部欧洲新出版的畅销世界风光图册,约于1608年开始,就已运达南京^[33](图3)。

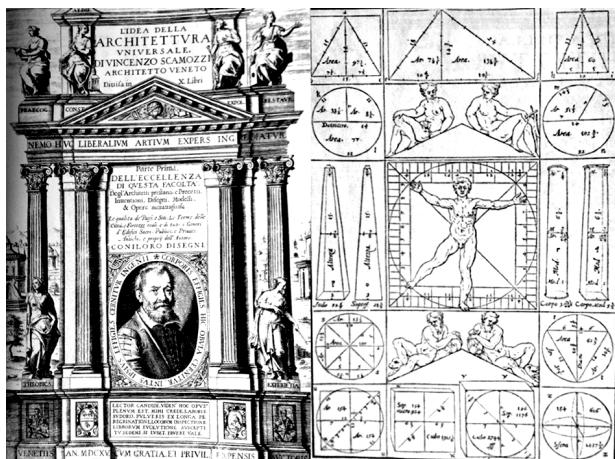


图2 斯卡莫奇著《建筑理念综述》(1615年)标题页(左)和插图“维特鲁威人”之像(右)(克鲁夫特,2005)^{53,52}

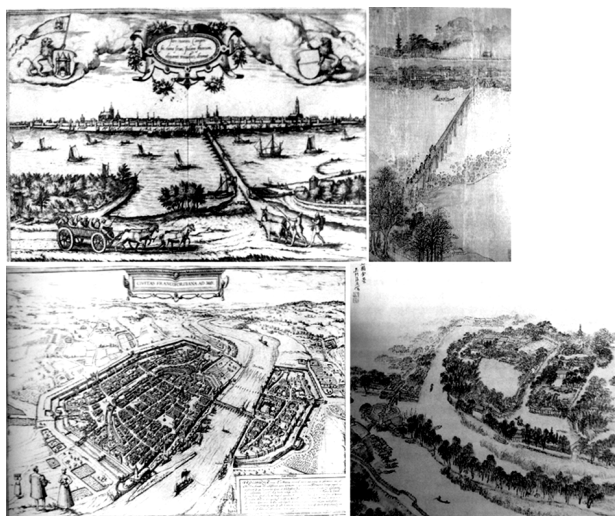


图3 铜版画插图本《世界的都市》之“堪本西西城景观”(上左)及“法兰克福景观”(下左)对张宏(1577—1652以后)《越中十景》册页(上右)及《止园全景》(下右)构图的可能影响(高居翰,2011)^{28 31}

这些装帧精美的西文插图书籍有助于传教士彰显其文化水平、赢得知识阶层的尊重、提高社会地位、建立与中国人的友谊,从而为基督教在中国的传播铺平道路^[34]。与托钵修会不同,耶稣会士在赴华前,大多受过良好的学术训练,具备深厚的人文科学素养,当这些耶稣会士对中国文化和政治制度有了一定了解之后,他们认识到,在中国,“无论大小事件无不由上司决定^[35]”,因此,他们比较注重与士绅贵族、皇亲国戚交好,

[33] Michael Sullivan, “Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting”, in National Palace Museum (Republic of China), eds., *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting*. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970), 606.

[34] 利玛窦 Matteo Ricci,《利玛窦全集:利玛窦书信集》*Limadou quanji: Limadou shuxin ji* [Complete Works of Matteo Ricci: Collection of Letters]. 罗渔 Luo Yu 译, (台北 Taipei: 光启出版社 [The Press of Guangqi] 辅仁大学出版社 [The Press of Fu Jen Catholic University], 1986, 522.

[35] 同上书 *Ibid.*, 第 432 页.

与其他入华修会相比,更倾向于走“上层路线^[36]”。耶稣会士与中国上层人士的“关系”也被认为是明清之际基督教在中国传播的一个保障,而书籍则成为耶稣会士打通上层“关系”的重要媒介。

一方面,书籍是文化身份的象征,有形的书籍所承载的无形文化吸引力,为传教士进入中国文化圈提供了敲门砖;另一方面,书籍作为有形的物质存在,又不像其他如宝石等“西洋方物”那样显得过于昂贵,因此,书籍和图画等纸质媒材往往是传递“友谊”的绝佳“礼品”,而不至于使接受方有被“贿赂”的压力^[37]。利玛窦 1595 年在南昌送给建安王朱多节的礼物中,最为建安王喜爱的就是两本书。这两本书“以欧洲样式装订、用日本纸张印刷……纸很薄,但极坚韧”,其中一本就是关于天文地理的西文插图书作,书中附有世界地图和九大行星图等“图画^[38]”。

17 世纪初“南京教难”期间,各地教堂也都遭到了冲击,但由于各地开始反教的时间不同,南京教堂及图书被毁的消息,可能很快传遍了其他教区,为此,各地也采取了相应的措施,在一定程度上减少了西文书籍等物品的损失。比如,北京传教士可能在教堂关闭之间就已经着手转移藏书,惠泽霖神父认为,有一部分书可能由看管利玛窦栅栏墓地的两名中国教徒藏匿起来,但这些书的具体数量和种类,都没有记录下来^[39]。17 世纪中期以后,法国耶稣会士纷纷进入中国,南京成为他们入华的“培训中心”,在这里,传教士们建立了一座很好的藏书馆。

实际上,早在书籍只能以稀有手抄本传世的中世纪,欧洲一些大的修道院和教堂图书馆就有向公众开放阅读的传统^[40]。希冀在中国社会产生影响并最终促使中国人改宗的传教士们,也将这一中世纪图书馆的传统带到了中国,书籍不仅成为赠予中国文人士大夫的“礼物”,不仅在传教士内部传阅,还向当时的中国知识阶层开放^[41],因此,其产生的影响就绝不仅限于宗教领域。

16 世纪末、17 世纪初,传教士就已经数次向中国人展示过西洋“建筑透视图”和“人体解剖图”。利玛窦等人初到肇庆之时,曾多次在“茶话会”上向中国官员和学者展示西文书籍,其中,西方建筑插图特别吸引中国人的注意,他们“觉得很危险,因为一所一所的都是层层的高楼”,但同时,也有人大大为称奇,表示“愿意学习西洋的远景画法”,因为“它是和中国的画法丝毫不相同的^[42]”。而中国学者、兵备佥事毕拱辰则记述了传教士邓玉函(Joannes Terentius)向其展示西洋解剖图的一次经过,“时先生出西洋人身图一帙相示,其形模精详、剖剔工绝,实中土得未曾有”,后来,在传教士的帮助下,毕拱辰将这部西洋解剖学著作译成中文《泰西人身说概》,与《人身图说》合订,是中国最早的西方解剖学译著。毕拱辰作序称,宋庆历年间,也曾有人解剖犯人,“使医与画人一一探索,绘以为图,事与泰西颇

[36] 当然,并非所有耶稣会士和所有教区都是如此,比如,1625—1647 年间,艾儒略在福建传教时,教义更易在普通百姓中传播。而耶稣会试图在普通民众中扩大影响的尝试,在他们积极推动基督教图像在民间的传播中可见一斑,比如,早在利玛窦入华之初,传教士们就耐心地向每一个好奇的中国人展示圣像画。

[37] 比如,肇庆知府王泮就曾将一幅圣母画像搬回家让家眷观看,但拒绝接受作为礼物的欧洲花边手帕,以示其清正廉洁。

[38] 为使建安王看得明白,利玛窦特意为本书标注了中文解释,这与后来汤若望向万历皇帝进呈有中文说明的羊皮卷画册如出一辙。利玛窦 Matteo Ricci, 金尼阁 Nicolas Trigault,《利玛窦中国札记》*Limadou Zhongguo Zhaji* [China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci], 何高济 He Gaoji 译, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [China Publishing house], 2010), 301。

[39] 惠泽霖 Hubert Germain Verhaeren,《北堂图书馆藏西文善本目录》*Beitang tushuguan cangshu xiwen shanben mulu* [Catalogue of The Pei-tang Library], 李国庆 Li Guoqing 译, (北京 Beijing: 北京遣使会出版 Beijing Qianshihui chubanshe [The Press of Peking Lazerist Mission], 2009), 20。

[40] 周绍明 Joseph P. McDermott,《书籍的社会史》*Shuji de shehuishi* [A Social History of the Chinese Book], 何朝晖 He Chaohui 译, (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Press of Peking University], 2009), 215。

[41] Michael Sullivan, “Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting”, in National Palace Museum (Republic of China), eds., *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting*. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970), 257。

[42] 裴化行 Henri Bernard,《天主教十六世纪在华传教志》*Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiaozhi* [Aux portes de le Chine les Missionnaires du X VI e Siècle 1514—1588], 萧浚华 Xiao Junhua 译, (上海 Shanghai: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1936), 282-283。

类”，然其“精思研究”不及西士^{〔1〕}，可见，此种解剖图不仅施用于医者，也为中国的“画人”所用。

展示“西国之画”往往成为传教士吸引中国人入教的一种有效方式，甚至关于西洋绘画的理论，最早也是由传教士向中国人讲述并形成专著的。1629年，耶稣会士毕方济(Francois Sambiasi)出版中文《画答》一书，被认为是“利玛窦以后讲西画道理的第一篇专论”。书中开篇就讲到，中国人对传教士的兴趣始于西方人物画：“中士问于西先生曰：西国之画人也，灵气烨然如生，先生必能言之，可得闻乎？”毕方济答道，画的作用乃抑恶扬善，“画恶鉴也，画善法也，师善省恶，画一得二，践形省貌，人可合道”，此外，在具体构图上，画要上宽下窄，“上宽者仰承，自天休美，下窄者于世间事仅存一点”，最终目的是向上通达至无形之灵，而向下摒弃肉欲俗世之贪念。实际上，《画答》通篇是借解释如何画好人物画之名，讲述基督教的宗教哲理。最后“闻者服先生之画之神”，被毕方济所讲宗教哲理吸引，“以为身律”，不再研究“西国之画”，而一心向教了。

3. 结语

苏立文认为，在中国，传教士从欧洲带来的版画和插图书，比油画和教堂壁画产生了更为重要、更为广泛的影响，“17世纪中国山水画明显地受到了这些欧洲版画的影响”，高居翰也赞同这一观点。正如利玛窦所说，“让中国人直观地看到事物，远比单纯的语言有说服力”，生动而丰富的插图，往往比单纯的文字更能吸引读者的眼球。这些西文图书中的插图，与中国传统视觉方式不甚相同，更能激起深受晚明“尚奇”风潮影响的中国读者的好奇心。

值得注意的是，这些历经千险万难到达中国的珍贵孤本插图书，只有被转印成能够较大规模复制的中文译本时，才有可能大范围影响当时的下层知识分子以及普通人的文化生活。毕竟，带入中国的西文原本不多，传播方式和范围都十分受限；另外，解说图片的西文往往不能有效引导中国人按照传教士希望的方式“正确”解读图片内涵。鉴于此，在接下来的大半个世纪中，经由中国艺人和工匠的刻印，多个版本的中文插图本《福音故事图像》(*Evangelicae historiae imagines*)在不同的时间、不同历史背景下被大量印制出来，成为晚明基督教图像出版物、尤其是基督教教义插图书的母本，在不同派别的中国信徒、文人学者及社会底层民众中传播。囿于篇幅，在此无法对这些中文转译图像进行展开分析，然其在东西方文化交流中发挥的重要视觉建构功能，无论是在受众的人数上，还是在对日后东西方文化艺术的交流和误读中，都是不容忽视的。

到17世纪末，仅耶稣会在中国就已有教徒30万人，即便宗教故事图册不像今天的《圣经》一样在教徒中人手一本，至少，在各地区的小型教会中应当都存有一本或几本这样的书籍，以供祷告、弥撒和默想之用。尤其对耶稣会成员而言，其创始人罗耀拉在类似于会规的指导手册《神操》中特别强调了“默想圣经”的修行方式，其中对圣像和插图的“观看”，是“默想”得以进行的一个重要途径。而在下层民众中，通过书中的插图理解教义，也往往比文字更为直观便捷。在这个意义上，经由中国画工的再创造，在西文插图本的基础上，中国出版的基督教插图书以其不同于传统的图像表达方式，参与着明末清初中国视觉现代性的进程，构成了中国文化艺术发展史中无法抹去、却往往被忽视的一个环节。

〔1〕 毕拱辰 Bi Gongchen,《〈泰西人身说概〉》序 *Taixi renshen shuo gai xu* [Preface of The Introduction to Western Anatomy] 徐宗泽 Xu Zongze,《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》*Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Translations of Selected Works by the Jesuits during Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubanshe [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House], 2010), 231-232.

English Title:

Influence and Diffusion of Illustrated Books Imported by Western Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Century China

DONG Lihui, post-doc, School of Arts, Peking University, Yiheyuanlu 5, Haidian District, Beijing 1000871, P. R. China.
Email: donglihui2015@qq.com

Abstract: During the 16th and 17th century, at the time of the great geographical discoveries and the booming of printing industries in Gutenberg, western missionaries travelled to China and carried with books, serving as a bridge between the eastern and western civilization. Among all the imported publications, illustrated books were usually not only the first choices picked by western missionaries but also welcomed by Chinese people. On the one hand, illustrations are good helpers in missionary works. After all, visual pictures are much more convenient than words to communicate between people with different languages. On the other hand, influenced by the “novelty seeking” trend of the late Ming dynasty, it is not strange that the seemingly novel visual images in western illustrated books draw attentions of Chinese people from diverse classes during the 16th and 17th century. In this paper, I propose that the diffusions and influences of the western illustrated books imported by missionaries play indispensable roles in the construction of modern Chinese visual culture.

Key Words: Illustrated books; Nicolas Trigault; the Jesuits; *bei-tang* library; *Evangelicae historiae imagines*

The Korean Poet Yoon Dong Ju's *Cross* and its Image of Martin Luther

Sung Sook KIM

(Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea)

Abstract: The Korean poet *Yoon, Dong Ju* was born in *Myongdong* village in 1917, and grew an intelligent student at *Yongjeong, Northern Gando* in China from 1931. His family set out to build a Christian community at the base of *Northern Gando* in China. At the time, *Northern Gando* had been integrated with the transmission of *Chosun* Nationalism and Christianity. There are two similarities that *Yoon, Dong Ju* and *Luthor, Martin*; the Korean poet who died at the prison of Japan for the rebellious ideas in 1945 and the German theologian who argued for the Reformation of the corrupted Catholic Church in 1517, have in common. First, they are both devout believers. They considered leading a life in accordance with the teachings of Jesus as their most important calling. As such, they did not deny their beliefs in the moments of unjust trials in which their lives were being threatened. Second, they were citizens of powerless countries, each devoted to uniting their nations and forming a common identity through their works written in their native language. Despite the 500-year difference of their time and spatial distance between them, they both pose the same contemporary question of “How do we live a good life as ethical believers (Ethos), as writers that communicate with readers (Pathos), and as intellectuals who strive for logical reasoning (Logos)?” By analyzing the concerns of the poetic narrator in ‘*The Cross*’, written by S. Korea’s major poet *Yoon, Dong Ju*, this study intends to reflect upon the common attitude of Christian intellectuals who stand against the unjustifiable execution forced by existing power structures, across all ages and countries.

Key Words: Yoon Dong JU; Martin Luther; Sinocentric; medieval age; worldview; yin yang; dialectic principle; ethical intellectuals; paradigmatic turning point; Christian faith

Author: Kim Sung Sook received bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees from the Department of Korean Language and Literature at Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea. She obtained the first doctoral degree of Academic Korean Writing in Korea. From 1993 to 2012, she had taught Korean language and had accomplished many projects at Korean Language Institute in Yonsei University. She had been a professor at Hanyang University and now is a professor at Korean Language Institute in Yonsei University. She had introduced the lecture materials related to ‘Lens essay’ for freshmen at 2013 and received an Excellence Prize at the 1st Excellent Content Contest for Basic General Education. She wrote *Theory and Practice of Korean Writing Education* and *Logical Writing in Korean*. She has co written over 10 books including *University Writing Research and Text Interpretation*, and has co translated *Genre-History, Theory, Research, Education* and *Writing evaluation*

1. The history of developing countries repeating the history of developed countries

The prospect of humankind's cognition began with the realization of the subjects relating to God and the others and spread as such ideas were conveyed through writing. In the West, the literate population increased with the Reformation (1517), vernacular translations of the Bible, and the understanding of the Christian gospel assisted by missionary work. Such literate class coincides with the modernization in the history of the world. The present research explains the universal process of the expansion of the ethical cognition of the literate class. This research follows the morphogenesis theory of Ernst Haeckel (1834—1919), who stated, "The occurrence of a species replicates the occurrence of phylogeny^[1]." The Western ethical cognition of the literate class increased in the process of pursuing universal human rights such as the abolition of the social class system by establishing nation-states based on unified religion and language following the Reformation. This research examines the strengthening of ethical cognition among the literate stratum as a similar process developed in East Asia following the acceptance of Christianity. Of course, Haeckel's theory greatly simplifies the evolutionary process of organisms, thus it is limited in that way. However, under the hypothesis that the process of modern nation formation is equivalent to the process of the formation of a species, this analysis, investing the rules in historical occurrence, which repeats in many nations throughout the world across generations, is meaningful.

In the Middle Age, only the privileged social class who knew Latin could read the Bible. However, through the Reformation and through the age of Romanticism, the Bible was translated and read in the vernacular languages of each nation, with more people of various social classes verifying the validity of the contents in the Bible. As a result, Christianity solidified its universal position as the number one religion in the world, with a firm doctrine and multiracial believers as its base. As such, relatively free from the absolute ecclesiastical authority of Catholicism in the medieval ages, intellectuals expanded their fields of interest such as the sciences, greatly increasing industrial productivity. Following this development, the rise of traffic communication led to the expansion of Christianity and capitalism in modernity throughout the world.

In many countries and nations, the first generation of modernized intellectuals fell into the dilemma of choosing between the progressive and conservative positions. For example, Martin Luther (1483—1546) wanted to adhere to the Catholic faith; however, he could not stay silent with his opinion of the selling of indulgences as being unjust. As such, he nailed the 95 Theses, an attack on various ecclesiastical abuses, on the church door and was excommunicated for it (1517)^[2]. In contrast to his initial intention of urging people only who knew Latin for the reformation of the Catholic religion, he became an agent who divided the Church into many sects. Furthermore, he translated the Bible into German, his mother tongue, where he thereby established the basis for world revolution in literature and print. However, when peasants revolted against the Church and feudal lords (1524), Luther also showed a duality by standing with the feudal lords saying, "The

[1] Stauffer, Robert C. "Haeckel, Darwin, and Ecology," *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, Vol. 32(2), (1957), p. 138.

[2] McGrath, Alister E. *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*, (Wiley-Blackwell 2011).

bloody rebellion of the peasants must be suppressed^[3].” The peasants believed that Luther was on the progressive side of history, but as he could not yet completely break from the medieval worldview, Luther wanted to protect the conservative benefits of the feudal lords. Regardless of his initial intent, the religious reformation that he ignited became the turning point that the history of the West transitioned to the modern era. In particular, by provoking intellectuals to deny the absolutism of all ideologies and to constantly question the status quo, this provocation increased the overall meta-cognition level of humankind. Should one conservatively settle with the existing system, or should one progressively lead innovation? How an individual should choose to act and based on what standards of the paradigmatic turning point? Such dilemmas of Luther became an archetypical concern for intellectuals across all ages and places living through a period of modern nation formation.

The Korean poet, Yoon Dong Ju (1917–1945), who was born in Northern *Gando* of China, also experienced a similar dilemma. He believed in Christianity, but he could not sympathize with the colonial expansion policies of the Western imperial nations where Christianity originated. As such, he participated in the aggressive movement for restoring national rights, which was led by his cousin. However, he was unable to break free from the fundamental limits of being an intellectual from a class of small landowners because he was a natural poet. After the authority of classical Chinese, which was his primary foreign language, was dismantled and a circumstance of being forced to use Japanese arising, as the official language; he wanted to write poetry in his mother tongue. In order to become better at literature of the Korean vernacular Hangul, he went to study abroad at a university in Japan and majored in English literature. Arising from this biographical background in which he had to have a good command of various languages, his poetry reflects the archetypical dilemma of the Korean intellectual youth of the early twentieth century.

Section 2 of the present research examines the historical process of the Korean peninsula breaking from the Sinocentric medieval worldview based on the dialectical principles of the four trigrams. It also analyzes how such history repeats world history after the Reformation, in other words, how the modern history of the Korean peninsula replicates the history of the world. Then, in section 3, this research attempts to consider the archetypical dilemma of Christian intellectuals at the time of a paradigmatic turning point of world history through the poem of Yoon Dong Ju, a poet of modern East Asia. Through an analysis of the agony of the poetic narrator in his poem ‘The Cross,’ the present research will analyze the universality of ethical anguish that was faced by Christian intellectuals across all ages and countries.

2. World history that follows the dialectical yin yang principle

The yin yang principle explains the movements of all things based on the force of circulation in which anything that fills up completely empties out and is then refilled^[4]. This philosophy is the result of wisdom gained from many years of observing natural phenomena, such as the moon and the

[3] Febvre, Lucien, *Martin Luther un destin*, (Presses Universitaires de France-PUF, 2008).

[4] Lee, Ki Dong, *Juyucgangsul*, (University of Sungkyunkwan Press, 2006), pp. 22-26.

seasons. In this eastern philosophy, humans are a part of nature; thus it was believed that the future of an individual or a society could be predicted through the observation of nature, and the universe can come together in harmony when humans follow the provision of nature. This ideology parallels the dialectic principle of materialism. From a dialectical worldview, history progresses when a society has a thesis and an antithesis, and the dynamic struggle of the two leads to the status of synthesis, in which the antithesis power is naturally produced shaking up the status of synthesis again^[5]. This section examines the similarities in the intellectual history of the modern paradigmatic turning point in both world history and in East Asian history based on such common principles that understands history as an effect of antagonism and integration. It also analyzes the commonalities and differences that appear in the dilemma of Christian intellectuals from the East and West.

2.1 The principle of *Taegeuk* that symbolizes the transition of world history

When the transition process of world history is examined through this principle of the *Taegeuk* symbol, developed nations belong in the red “yang” representing bright strong properties, while developing nations belong in the blue “yin” which represents dark soft properties. The left side of the central circle has an upper larger red region, but the lower blue region increases as the circle moves towards the right side. This symbolizes the universal transition process in which the properties of “yang” are

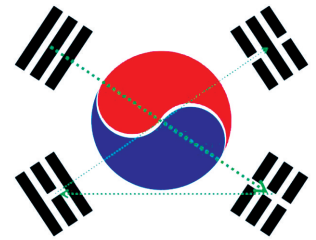


Figure 1 National flag of S. Korea

replaced with the properties of “yin”. Generally, developing countries emulate developed nations and struggle to become a powerful nation of technology and civilization. As such, when a developing country reaches a level that matches a developed nation in various aspects, including politics, economy, and culture—that time stage is symbolized by the curving point at the center of the *Taegeuk* circle—it temporarily enjoys prosperity until another less-developed country challenges its authority. However, after the fifteenth century, it has been difficult even for the strongest of countries to dominate the world for more than one hundred years (Spain was unified in 1492 but lost to the armada led by Drake of Great Britain in 1588; the British Empire underwent the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century but lost its status as the dominant world power after World War II in the nineteenth century). A reason for a careful prospect of the United States of America, which has been enjoying prosperity for the past two hundred years, will soon lose its status as the dominant nation in the world to China, which is a product of the repeated pattern of the rise and fall appearing in history^[6].

The United States of America, from its experience as a colony of Great Britain, successfully expanded the colonial capitalist market. It became the central nation of the financial industry with the circulation of the US dollar as a world currency. However, since the sub-prime mortgage incident in 2007, with the rise of the real estate crisis surfacing, the US is closely being chased by China, who is developing its economy focused on the manufacturing industry. Moreover, the results of the 2016 US

[5] Muelle, E. Gustav (1958), The Hegel Legend of “Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 19 (3), (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), pp. 411-414.

[6] Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States, *China’s Economic Future: Challenges to U. S. Policy*. (2016).

presidential election clearly exposed a sense of loss and insecurity among the white middle class. Although the economic productivity of humankind has greatly increased due to the global expansion of the imperial capitalism, the anxieties of cooperation which are dealt with by the entire world have also increased, such as environmental and ethical issues of science and technology. As such, if egoistic hegemony centered around one speech communities is not overcome, the shameful history of modernity in which imperial powers exploited and committed violence upon weaker nations, such as ethnic cleansing and experiments on the living may be repeated.

As examined above, world history developed from the rise and falls of stronger and weaker nations, with the increase in economic productivity of humankind towards the direction of expanding the literate population. Particularly, in the past 200 years, world history has rapidly progressed. The 1st industrial revolution was followed by Fordism which is the 2nd electric industrial revolution based on the mass production and then the 3rd knowledge information revolution based on the computer and the Internet; where we have now reached the 4th Industrial Revolution based on the Internet of Things. However, modern nation-states, which are based on exclusive borders and a sense of nationalism, have violated the fundamental right of weaker nations all in the name of their exclusive national prosperity. As the productivity of developed nations increased exponentially, the right to life for many, including the people of weaker third world nations, as well as animals and plants, are currently in danger. If the benefits of the 4th Industrial Revolution are concentrated in the wealthy privileged class, the future of the twenty-first century appears to be dark.

The present research began in an attempt to learn from the circular history, and to find an answer to the question of 'how should an intellectual act at such a paradigmatic turning point?' In the history of the West, the determination made by the German theologian Luther in the sixteenth century became the trigger for dismantling the dominative papal authority of the medieval period and settling the modern nation-states in Europe. This dialectical history in which an existing absolute worldview was replaced by ethnocentrism, in other words where the strong force of "yang" was replaced by the weak force of "yin," was reproduced in the history of nineteenth century East Asia, a time period in which the Korean peninsula transitioned into modernity. Of course, the histories of the two different time periods of the East and West did not repeat identically. The worldview that was overthrown in the sixteenth century was the Roman Catholicism centered on Latin, and the worldview that was overthrown in the nineteenth century Korean peninsula was Confucianism concentrated on classical Chinese. In such a similar circular process of history, it is interesting to observe that the common means to overthrow the hegemonic powers, although with a 500-year lag between the two areas, was the strength of the Bible that became popularized in each respective vernacular language.

This research intends to focus on the portrait of Christian intellectuals in the paradigmatic shift towards modernity. These intellectuals contemplated what types of actions would be ethical in the societies they found themselves in, as they had the pathos for sharing their realizations as ethical subjects. Furthermore, they reflected on their judgments, which they based on their Christian faith, to examine whether they were logically appropriate. They also wanted to enlighten the readers of their period by using their own language. Since the religion of Christianity came from elsewhere, Korean intellectuals especially had greater agonies, as they were in a situation in which they could not accept

Christianity from the West as an unconditional faith. In the process of overcoming such dilemmas, a virtuous poet named Yoon Dong Ju was born.

The plan to translate the Latin Bible into the vernacular served as the starting line for establishing modern nation-states in the West based on a speech community. Similarly, the translation of the Bible into Hangul was a monumental incident in *Joseon*, which confirmed that the Hangul had the qualification of a modern national language to replace the medieval ruling language^[7]. As such, 450 years after being created, Hangul was recognized as the public language of the modern nation of Korea. King *Sejong* created the Hangul alphabet in 1443, and Luther translated the Bible into the German vernacular in 1522; these events show that in both the East and West, the universal expansion of literacy became available from the fifteenth through sixteenth centuries. During the one thousand years of the Middle Ages, Western theologians examined whether the incidents of the New Testament such as the birth of Jesus, gospel proclamation, suffering, and resurrection coincided with the Old Testament's doctrine of salvation. After the Reformation, the literate stratum of each of the nations in the East and West also read the translated Bible and examined the validity of its contents. The Book of Proverbs and Psalms in the Old Testament and in the New Testament that Jesus used as metaphors have very high literary value even in the eyes of contemporary readers. As such, if Hangul was a language that could sufficiently translate the holy contents of the Bible, which is a trademark of a recorded cultural heritage for humankind, then it was acknowledged that it had sufficient qualifications to be a modern national language. In the East and West, across all ages and social statuses, the translations of the Bible enhanced the ethical cognition of humanity with its emphasis on the understanding of the universalized Bible and on altruistic love.

2.2 The principle of the four trigrams that symbolize the growth of intellectuals

The four trigrams refer to the assembly of three black segments drawn in the four corners of the South Korean flag (see Figure 1). The long segments represent yang, while the short segments represent yin. In the specific arrangement of the three lines, embodies the harmony of yin and yang. While the symbol of yin and yang divided into red and blue in the central circle simply signifies the principle of thesis-antithesis-synthesis, the 64 trigrams created from the combination of short and long black segments signify the dynamic changes of life and society. On the South Korean flag, the four chosen from the total 64 combinations symbolize the provision of nature, such as east, west, south, and north, etc. The four trigrams are unique in that the inner-most segments change pattern to match the pattern changes of the outer-most segments. This section explains the process of the formation of the modern Korean intellectual class, those who overcame the Sinocentric Confucian worldview and developed to become modern intellectuals with Christian faith, based on the dialectic transitional principle of the four trigrams^[8]. Another objective of the present research is to confirm that the transitional history of Korea into modernity replicated the history of Europe's transition to modernity following the Reformation. Through such discussions, the present research reveals that the historical transition of individual nations has the tendency to closely repeat the transition process

[7] Jung, Hoijung, "The Christian Missionary as Vernacular Agent: Adoption, Standardization and Propagation of the Korean Script, Han'gul, in Late Choson." (Graduate School of International Studies, A Published Dissertation, Yonsei University, 2016).

[8] Kim, Sung Sook, *Logical Writing in Korean*, (University of Yonsei Press, 2016), pp. 20-26.

of world history.

It can be hypothesized that in the trigrams of Geon (top left, spring), Gon (bottom right, summer), Li (bottom left, autumn), and Gam (top right, winter) of Figure 1, the outside segment is the hegemonic standard of the discursive community and the inside segment is the public language standard. The trigrams of the inside and the outside proceed equally as ‘yang-yin-yang-yin.’ Such uniformity correlates to the mediating characteristic of public language that must transparently deliver the hegemonic standards. On the other hand, in the center of each trigram, the changing segment pattern of ‘yang-yin-*yin-yang*’ symbolizes that the transition process of the suspended judgments. Ethical intellectuals remained in ‘yin’ for a long time during the period in which the hegemonic paradigm collapsed and a new order had yet to take hold. Intellectuals can be seen as cowardly if they do not step up for action and hesitates at a decisive moment in which a direct action is necessary. However, the ethical introspection that Yoon Dong Ju conducted as a Christian intellectual was to find a way to realize the commandment of Jesus, which states that one should love ‘all dying things’ no matter what the condition, beyond national boundaries and ideologies. In comparison to the others that quickly transition from ‘yang-yin-*yang-yin*,’ the ‘yin’ progression of the middle segment (see italics) that continues comparatively longer from the Gon to Li trigrams symbolizes the prudential progression that Christian intellectuals, such as Yoon Dong Ju, achieved through self-reflections.

Furthermore, unlike the outer segments, the center segments that transform autonomously also symbolize the diachronic progress of the intellectual class through ‘classical Chinese scholars—authorized vernacular Hangul literati—professional writers—collective intelligence’ in the history of the Korean peninsula that progressed through ‘medieval period—enlightenment period—colonial period—contemporary society.’ From a historical perspective, the Korean intellectuals formed an archetypical model accepting women and gradually increasing the number of members, and by also accepting the universal religion and awakening the ethical cognition as an ethical subject. The ethical and existential dilemmas of the Christian intellectuals in modern Korean history will be further examined in detail in section 3, in which the poem of Yoon Dong Ju is analyzed.

The introspection of an intellectual with Christian faith is more complex than that of a regular intellectual; this is due in part to the ethical duty as a believer to examine not only the realistic utility of a new knowledge, but the afterlife value as well. Intellectuals with a stronger self-reflective ego tend to strongly confess ‘shamefulness’ by convicting one’s snobbism based on the standard of altruistic action that Jesus showed. For example, Luther, who can be called the first protestant, was ashamed of the attention that he was getting from within and outside the religious order and was precautious about the formation of a group called ‘the Lutherans.’^[9] In the poems of Yoon, which this research intends to compare with the historical meaning of Luther’s 95 Theses, there are also many lines that confess his ashamed heart. The following explains the chronological developments of the ethical intellectuals, according to the changing principles of the four trigrams.

[9] Febvre, Lucien (2008), *ibid.*

Medieval period intellectual history symbolized by the *Geon* (☰) trigram: Classical Chinese scholars who adhered to the Sinocentric worldview

Due to the geographical peculiarity of the Korean peninsula, Korea was only able to receive products of developed civilizations through neighboring China, until the modern period when maritime trade evolved. As such, during the ancient and the medieval period, the nations on this peninsula gave preferential treatment to China as the center of civilization, and at the same time requested from Japan proper treatment for the role of the deliverers of developed civilization. Because of the conservative scholars, who were over-confident that they were always above Japan, Korea missed the proper opportunity to enter into the modern world order. Similar to world history, the residents of this peninsula lived in a feudal society in which they absolutely obeyed the ruling power along with the hereditary social status. The ethical system formulated by the king directly became the standard of the society, and a several literate transmitted prior knowledge in the way of apprenticeship as agents of politics, culture, and education. The three long segments in the Geon trigram represent the medieval yang society that was strongly stable and in which the ethical standard of the community, the learning purpose of scholars, and the public language did not have any conflicts.

Before the colonial experience under Japanese imperialism, the scholars of the Korean peninsula thoroughly followed the Confucian ethics of China. Intellectuals of the hereditary status expanded their knowledge by reading classical Chinese books and discriminated the population who did not know letters as an object of edification and control. They believed that it was the universal order for the weak to obey the authority of the powerful, and they considered the investigation of truth as an exclusive property of literate men. The greatest periodical limit of the medieval ages was that the number of intellectuals was very small. Because it took a very long time to learn classical Chinese, it was almost impossible for a productive population to become literate. King Sejong felt pity for those who could not communicate with writing. As such, he created the Korean vernacular Hangul, a scientific phonetic language, along with linguistic scholars. The alphabet was created based on the shapes of vocal organs, and the combination of consonants and vowels reflected the principle of the harmony of heaven-earth-man of Eastern philosophy. That ideology is a familiar concept for residents of the Korean peninsula, even becoming the symbol of Yonsei University, a prestigious university in South Korea. Yoon Dong Ju attended this university from 1938 to 1941, honing his fundamentals for the creation of Hangul literature.

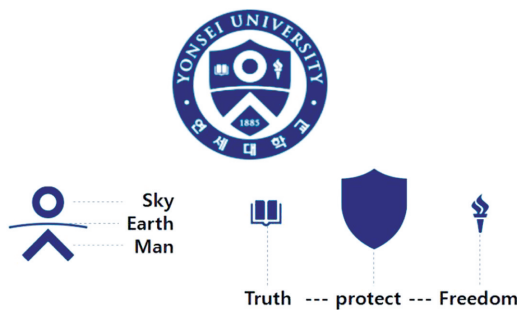


Figure 2 The symbol of Yonsei University

Hangul, which was created in 1443, was not recognized as its status as the public language until 1894. It was degraded as a language system used by children and women for the conveniences of everyday life. This was due to the medieval worldview of classical Chinese scholars, who believed that only the selected social

class should monopolize the territory of knowledge. For three years since the creation of Hangul, King Sejong published literature in Hangul, such as eulogies that praise the legitimacy of the dynasty foundation and Buddhist scriptures with teachings of Buddha. He encouraged his people to read such books, confirming that Hangul had sufficient qualification as the official language. However, he failed to convince conservative scholars and promulgate Hangul as the national language.

Enlightenment period of intellectual history symbolized by the Gon (☵) trigram: The collapse of classical Chinese and the expansion of the Hangul-literate stratum

Classical Chinese scholars could not properly manage the process of reconfiguration of the modern world order due to their stern Sinocentric worldview. On the other hand, Japan, after being forced to open up its ports to the United States, quickly formed the military power needed for the management of a modern imperialist nation, and with Joseon as its bridgehead, expanded its East Asian colonies. China, the only hope of the Joseon scholars, lost in the Sino-Japanese War and lost its influence in Joseon. It even lost its own nation's sovereignty, and was exploited as a colony just like Joseon by the Japanese empire as 'Manchukuo' under the puppet government of Japan. The Confucian culture that was revered like a religion throughout the 600 plus years of Joseon history collapsed, and the scholars lost their foothold of existence; as such, the Enlightenment period of Korea was a complete period of yin.

Paradoxically, Hangul was assigned the status of being the mother tongue of Korea in this period of political chaos in modernity. The emperor of Joseon decided to establish a modern constitutional monarchy with the support of the people rather than a feudal society led by Confucian scholars. In this process, Hangul received the status as being the national language, and was recognized for its utility in learning and communication. In 1900, the New Testament was translated into Hangul and in 1911; the translation of the Old Testament was completed. With this, Hangul came to be recognized as a holy language that could express the gospel. The achievement of this period is that it increased the number of people who were literate in Hangul, which could be easily learned by children and women who could not receive a formal education. They were capable of understanding information found in print media. However, after Joseon was forcibly annexed by Japan in 1910, the Japanese became the primary universal language; Hangul was relegated once again to the status of secondary language, and starting in the 1930s, the official use of it became completely prohibited. In such a turbulent era of modernity, the scholars of Joseon lost their status as the second highest group of classical Chinese citizens, and they were relegated to an inferior status of second-class citizens of Japan, who once used to accept developed civilization only through them.

The shape of the Gon trigram, fragmenting into six small segments, symbolizes the yin society, the colonial period followed by the stable yang society. The hegemonic standard that was to be forced publicly collapsed and yet to be established. Joseon intellectuals who lost the central culture of China and the sovereignty of their people at the same time fell into ideological chaos and thus began to search for logic that would replace the central ideology of Confucianism. Catholic books were examined under the name of Western Studies. Joseon is the only country in the world that approached Christianity as a study and adapted it before the arrival of missionaries. Romanticism, modernism, and Christian faith were all introduced and commentated in newspapers published in Hangul. Even the Communist Revolution in Russia (1917) was sought after as a method for the

liberation of the Korean people. In the end, the modern intellectuals of Korea, who were the leaders of the civilization movement during the Enlightenment period, had to choose between theism and atheism. The former went on to be activists for constructing a Christian community and the latter had to go on to be activists based on the communism. The present research focuses on the group of intellectuals on the boundary who could not easily make a decision at this point. These are the retrospective, ethical Christian intellectuals. At the paradigmatic turning point of history, they could not make a clear decision; they may thus seem to be indecisive. However, truth is not distinguished in a binary structure. The reason why Yoon Dong Ju is chosen as the favorite poet of contemporary Koreans is because the continuous skepticism and the retrospective attitude reflected in his poems awakening the universal ethical cognition of humankind.

Colonial period intellectual history symbolized by the Li (☲) trigram: Self-reflexive literate activity of the Christian-faith intellectuals

Japanese imperialism, which forced the end of cultural Chinese hegemony in Joseon, soon prohibited the ideological-seeking activities of the Hangul literate stratum. All publications in Hangul were prohibited. Additionally, militarism and totalitarianism were forced upon them as the uniform standard of society. Only religious activities focused on eradicating illiteracy and on medical matters were permitted. For the Koreans at this time, the altruistic image of white missionaries who came from civilized nations was something that they greatly revered; as such, repulsion towards the United States by South Korean intellectuals after the end of Japanese colonial rule was not great. The modern imperialistic colonial market policy of ‘first missionary, then open the market’ was thus also implemented on the Korean peninsula. The open policy of the West was completely different than the forced method that Japan implemented. The West opened the gates of the third world using the spiritual culture of the religion, and then they created the desires for consumption within the civilization through the capitalistic materialism that became familiar to the people along with the Christian culture. They increased the colonial market through the soft method of encouraging universal currency and language, which was more advantageous for the West. The religious faith had the function of fundamentally dismantling the arguments of critical intellectuals. As such, there was a tendency that the wrongdoings of the developed nation were accepted just because they had the same religion, even though there may have been problematic aspects of the colonial capitalistic policies.

The Christian missionary work had a positive effects on the third world included the establishment of the grammar systems following the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, as well as the abolition of the social class system. Missionaries translated the Bible into the vernacular languages of each of the countries they went to; by doing so, they greatly increased the literacy rate among the population and spread the endowed concept of abolishing discrimination based on gender or class. In the process of translating and supplying the Bible throughout the world, the print technology evolved and modern school education expanded. The outer-most long segment of the Li trigram symbolizes the Christian worldview that was permitted even under colonialism as the number one religion status in the world, and the inner-most long segment symbolizes the standardization of modern national languages with the grammatical systems.

At the time of the Enlightenment period, the symbolic power of Hangul that recovered its status as the national language was great. Unlike classical Chinese, Hangul was a language that did not have

the original sin of losing sovereignty and so it was even more passionately celebrated. The Korean people who lost their country equated the fate of Hangeul with their fate and considered the use of Hangeul itself as a form of resistance. The approachability of learning Hangeul, as well as the expansion of the awareness of resisting Japanese colonialism, led to an increase in the number of readers who could read the Hangeul script. This led to an increase in the number of people going into the publishing industry, such as newspaper journalists or writers. These new intellectuals concentrated their efforts on spreading the new civilized cultures and enlightening the population through the printed media in Hangeul. However, as much as Hangeul was being systematized and supplied, the imperial power's educational policies also strengthened. As such, the decision made by young intellectuals of the colonial period on which language to employ between the foreign language or their mother tongue became the watershed that led them towards the direction most advantageous for getting ahead in society or the more disadvantageous.

Yoon Dong Ju was the third generation of an Enlightenment period nationalist intellectual family who moved to China from *Hoeryong* in the North *Hamgyong* Province to build power to recover Korea's sovereignty based on Christian missionary work and educational projects^[10]. As such, he was familiar with the Christian culture since he was young. He was also greatly interested in activities of Hangeul literature, even publishing children's poetry in magazines. However, when he became a young adult, the writing of poetry using Hangeul became prohibited, even though the Christian faith was allowed to continue. Near the year that he graduated from university, the ideological oppression of imperial Japan became even more intensified, and he came to seriously deliberate his future. Should he participate in the armed struggle in order to recover the national sovereignty? Should he put his efforts into developing himself for building a nation for the afterlife? Or should he go into a professional field as an elite intellectual who studied new learning? He was ashamed of the fact that he even contemplated such matters, but in order to make a reasonable decision, he faithfully examined the spirit of Christianity. As an intellectual who believed in Christianity, the ethical standard that he applied to choosing his path appeared as the image of 'self-sacrifice' in his poetry, and such poetry provides an energy of 'self-reflection' to the readers reading his poetry^[11].

At that time, Japan was asserting the logic of the East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere in which Japan was the center, arguing that the problems caused by Western technology civilization would be solved using the culture of Eastern spirit. Some intellectuals of Joseon were convinced by this argument. However the other resistant intellectuals saw the logical fault in Japan's globalization logic which led Japan towards being an imperial nation. Many of the intellectuals who could not follow the sophistry of Japan were attracted to the Christian logic that promoted the constructing a nation of God that transcended the secular world. The salvation gospel of the Bible provides a fundamental energy to the group who are seeking to protect values that have been lost. However, depending on the identity of the interpreting subject, it can be distorted as the egoistic wish of an individual becoming the will for redemption of God. Such cases of distortion can be seen even in the side effect of affirming mammonism, which occurred with the expansion of Calvinism that sought to use the quantity of one's wealth as a measuring stick to see if one was predestined to be saved. Current

[10] A National Poet, Yun, Dong Ju, (NewsMaker, 2017. 6. 10). <http://www.newsmaker.or.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=3449>

[11] You, Sung-ho, The Universality and speciality of Yoon, Dongju's Poetry, Korean Language and Culture, (The Society of Korean Language and Culture, 2017), p. 79.

intellectuals with an upright faith must put in their efforts to choose the universal truth rather than personal gain by even more strictly examining oneself in a capitalistic society in which various desires clash. The two short segments in the middle of the Li trigram represent yin, and they symbolize the complex dilemma that the Christian intellectuals of Joseon contemplated over under the colonial rule of imperial Japan.

Contemporary intellectual history symbolized by the Gam (☵) trigram: Emergence of collective intelligence equipped with extended digital bodies

An individual came to think of oneself in an objectified manner due to the ironic trends in literary theory appearing in modern Romanticism. Recently the development of digital technology drew the post-ironic trends in literary theory and even in our daily life. As a result, the individual meta-cognition, the cognition of the mind by the thinking subject, is deepened more than ever. Furthermore, the prospect of cognition that was expanded by an individual is sent to an infinite number of individuals through cutting-edge digital devices. It is then reprocessed by these individuals, increasing in real-time the total capacity of collective intelligence. Initially, a writer writes with a pen, and thereby brings to the present one's subconscious of the past into letters forming into text, and concluding with an incomplete future. Now, the writer who writes using digital technology brings the past into the present through a visual image on the screen, and the text is sent out as a post-flesh mind. Thus, the contemporary writer gains eternal life in cyberspace^[12].

With the dissemination of digital devices, a second language became an essential subject of learning for the global intellectual. Through digital media, tremendous amount of the latest information on various professional fields are being shared at every moment. Considering the speed in which the functions of Google Translate is progressing, it seems that the day in which Homo Digitalian with an embedded physical capacity of websites or external harddrives will solve the inconvenience of communication that comes from using two different language systems. English communication, which has enjoyed the status as the world's number one universal language, will be the first to be automated. As such, the market for minority language education, which did not have a large demand, is predicted to have a bright future. In the twenty-first century, not only has the conflict between hegemonic ideologies, such as the Cold War in the East and West, disappeared, but the coercive force of language standards has also greatly weakened. With the normalization of internet chatting, the level of the destruction of national language standards is serious, and even the acquisition of a second language has been moving towards the trend of acknowledging the learners' insufficient inter-language level, as long as they are able to communicate. The expectation standards for mastering foreign languages have greatly decreased compared to the twentieth century. The outer-most and inner-most short segments in the Gam trigram symbolize the contemporary social aspect that acknowledges diversity rather than uniformity in ideology and language. From the perspectives of ideology and language standards, the disappearance of uniform values signifies an opportunity for new standards to form but at the same time a crisis, because all standards, both positive and negative, are considered and argued to be of equal value. In such a time, the ethical conviction of the intellectual subject is even more important.

[12] Kim, Sung Sook, "Acquisition Process of Special Authority in Digital Academic Discourse Community," Study on Modern Literature, (The Society of Korean Literary Studies, 2015), pp. 637-638.

In the past, due to the geographical peculiarity of the Korean peninsula, the learning of a second language was not uncommon. After the medieval period, China, Japan, US and Russia had a great influence on this peninsula. Recently, the influence of China has once again been increasing in both South and North Korea, due to the foreign policies of China that are trying to keep in check the influence that the US and Japan have on the Korean peninsula. The Korean people studied classical Chinese for over 600 years and then studied Japanese for over 30 years as the primary second language. After 1945, South Koreans have been studying English, and North Koreans are (perhaps) studying Chinese or Russian as the main foreign language. In each of these periods, the ethical resistance felt by intellectuals was different according to how their identity was perceived in the society as a speaker of two languages. In foreign language studies other than Japanese, the motivation to study foreign language was for the most part positively strengthened. The intellectuals residing in the Korean peninsula have always acknowledged the others as they learned foreign languages, where there were frequent chances for examining themselves in the reflection of the others.

The problem that arises here is that the residents' study of a foreign language emerges from the Sinocentric thought of toadyism (*sadaejui*, worshipping of the powerful). Those intellectuals tend to stratify the relevant level of a new foreign language in comparison to their national language. As developed countries have always done, the logic of 'Global Co-Prosperity,' which argues that the entire world should maintain order centered on powerful nations, has been engrained in the subconscious of Korean intellectuals. However, in a multicultural society of the twenty-first century, the attitude that the literate class needs to have is their volition to protect the right to life in equality of all lives in the world. With the development of digital technology, an 'age in which all people are writers' has arrived, an age in which anyone can express one's intentions. In a society in which the wide range of diversity in ideology and language standards is acknowledged as in contemporary society, there needs to be a strengthened education on authorship for the writing subjects. SNS passages written as a joke or without caution can kill someone, and public opinion that can threaten the life of the other for the convenience of a certain group can be violently disseminated. If Homo Digitalian intends to communicate by learning foreign languages, the ultimate goal must lie within the understanding of the others and the realization of altruistic love. The unconditional love for the others is the only message that Jesus left for humankind through his death at the cross. From a historical perspective, many intellectuals who were inspired by the altruistic love of Jesus investigated truth according to the teachings of the Bible and have been at the forefront of defending justice. Even without Jesus as inspiration, intellectuals who acknowledge the existence of God and who have faith must ceaselessly keep in check whether or not their action is coming from the egoistic nature of the human being and whether or not their action responds to God's intentions. Luther did so in 1517, and the Korean poet Yoon Dong Ju, born in China in 1917 did so as well. Section 3 intends to analyze the ethical agony of Christian intellectuals as appears in his poem 'The Cross.'

3. The Lutheran dilemma that appears in the poem 'The Cross'

There are two similarities between Yoon Dong Ju and Martin Luther; the Korean poet who died

in a prison of Japan for his rebellious ideas in 1945 and the German theologian who argued for the Reformation of a corrupted Catholic Church in 1517. First, they are both devout believers. They considered leading a life in accordance with the teachings of Jesus as their most important calling. As such, they did not deny their beliefs in the moments of unjust trials in which their lives were being threatened. Second, they were citizens of powerless countries, each devoted to uniting their nations and forming a common identity through their works written in their native language. Despite the 500-year difference of their time and spatial distance between them, they both pose the same contemporary question of “How do we live a good life as ethical believers (Ethos), as writers that communicate with readers (Pathos), and as intellectuals who strive for logical reasoning (Logos)?” By analyzing the concerns of the poetic narrator in ‘The Cross’, written by Yoon, this chapter reflects upon the common attitude of Christian intellectuals who stand against the unjustifiable execution by existing power structures, across all ages and countries.

The characteristic of his poetry is that it is difficult to distinguish between the poet and the poetic persona. His poems overall have a very high level of ethical self-reflection. When reading his poems, one could almost hear the voice of the “kind and devout young man,” people who knew him characterized^[13]. This poem, in particular, declares from its title that it is a confession of the poet’s faith. The following poem was written in his fourth year of university. Because he wanted to write good poems in Hangul, he went against his father’s wish for him to become a doctor and entered the College of Liberal Arts at Yonsei University. At the time, this university had many professors who emphasized the spirit of Hangul. Furthermore, Yonsei University is a Christian university, and there were many other universities and churches founded by Western missionaries around the campus; it seems that he would have been greatly influenced by the church as a university student. The following poem displays well the great influence that the Christian faith had on him while he was contemplating his future, during a time that was nearing his graduation.

The sunlight that was chasing
Is now hanging at the cross
On top of the chapel

Look how high the steeple is
How did the sunlight get up there

There is no sound of bell tolling
Whistling, and restlessly pacing around,

A distressed man

As

It had been to joyous Jesus Christ
If the cross is permitted

I will reveal my bare neck

And silently spill

the blood blooming like flowers
under the darkening sky.

—Yoon Dong Ju, ‘The Cross’ (March 31, 1941)

This poem begins with the image of yang, of the day where the ‘sunlight’ is shining, and it ends with the image of yin, around evening time of ‘the darkening sky.’ The background of the poem is

[13] Yun, Dong Ju, *Hanulgwa paramgua pulgua si* (The Sky, the Wind, the Star, and the Poems), (Classico, 2016), pp. 199-220.

set in front of a chapel, and the time setting is one afternoon. There is another parallel time flowing that portrays a man's past, where he led a distressed life, and the present, where he is pacing back and forth in front of the steeple, ending with the image of a happy time from the future of martyrdom. The spatial background of the chapel is also not singular; it is overlapped images from the experience of the poet. The churches at the time, from the church of Yoon's hometown in China, to the churches near his university, most churches followed the high gothic style. However, he could not hear 'sound of bell tolling' from any chapel where 'the steeple was high.' The young man paces around in front of the steeple and fiercely agonizes over whether or not he should die a martyr, but the church remains silent. When he cannot hear the 'sound of bell tolling,' a divine voice, the poetic persona actively makes the sound of 'whistling' waiting for a response, but the church does not respond to his action. The poetic language of 'look how high' expresses the poet's distant feeling towards the church as a piece of architecture that is removed from the poor colonial environment.

Who is the reader that listens to the whispered confession of faith in a tender voice and even whistling? The poet respects the readers continually using the polite ending form of Korean. Furthermore, he encourages the reader to stand in the same temporal space he is in and to look at the same thing, through poetic language such as 'now,' and 'look how high.' The reader looks at the sun that is 'now' hanging at the cross of the top of the church together with the poetic persona. The readers are blinded by the strength of the sunlight; and the perspective of the reader that followed down the steeple lands on the 'man' pacing through the chapel yard. At that moment, the reader realizes that that man is the man who had been speaking to the reader all along in a soft voice, the poetic persona and at the same time the poet himself. Following this, the reader imagines the death of the man, in other words the poetic persona, bleeding to death revealing his bare neck, like Jesus on the cross. The reader who knows how the poet died receives an even more tragic impression from the final stanza. He died on February 16, 1945 during a medical experiment on the living by the Japanese at the Fukuoka prison where they experimented on him to see how long a human can survive if blood was taken out from him and seawater was injected in to him.

In this poem, various sensory images were used. This poem has detailed visual imagery as if the reader was looking at a piece of sacred painting, but it also has auditory cues such as 'sound of bell tolling,' 'whistling,' and 'silently.' Images of 'pacing around' or 'revealing my bare neck' conveys the weight of a man in a weighty manner, and in the line 'blood blooming like flowers' the olfactory imagery become amassed, producing a grotesque atmosphere under the darkening sky. According to a biography of Yoon Dong Ju, his father used to call the children by the name of planets, such as '*Haewhan* (sun),' '*Dalhwan* (moon),' and '*Byulhwan* (star).' The reason why the natural environment such as 'sky, wind, star, sun, and moon' frequently appear in his poems seems to be due to the influence of nationalism and the Hangul spirit of his father, a second generation immigrant in China who studied abroad in Beijing and Tokyo and who went back to become a teacher in Myungdong of China.

The poet achieves an aesthetic effect, in which the poetic language can be dually interpreted by assuming that the poetic persona and the reader share the same context in the same temporal space, eliminating the subjects and particles in the syntax structure of Korean sentences. In the second stanza, the poetic persona asks, 'Look how high the steeple is, how did the sunlight get up there?'

This question is an admiration of the sunlight that has reached such a noble height that is out of reach, and at the same time, a moment of hesitancy of whether the poetic persona should climb up to free the sunlight that had been caught at the cross appears. The first line of the poem, ‘the sunlight that was chasing’ can be read as a symbol of his childhood nickname, ‘**Haehwan**(sun).’ When he was young, he was a very active child who enjoyed playing soccer. He was also talented in the crafts, even embroidering the name on his soccer uniform. His speaking skills were also superb, winning in speech competitions at elementary school. He was also good at math like geometry, and he was a proactive person, even writing mimeograph letters until late into the night in order to publish for the school magazine. From then on, whenever he wrote a poem, he marked the date that he wrote it and stored it, aspiring to become a poet in the future. His childhood years were economically well-off that he could subscribe to children’s magazines that were published in Seoul at the time. As his father wished, he would have been a shining and happy boy like the sun.

The childhood name that his father gave him, ‘**Haewhan**,’ holds his father’s wish that he would shine brightly like the sun. His father, an intellectual who had studied in Tokyo before his country was lost, firmly stood against his son when he announced that he would major in literature. As an intellectual of a people who lost their country, he considered the path of becoming a doctor to heal the sickly was a more realistic and less dangerous path. However, Yoon Dong Ju begged and begged and finally got his father’s approval. His family had to live on with a painful family history as a result, but humankind gained a great poet in Yoon Dong Ju, who sublimated universal humanity into Hangul poetry. As such, the ‘sunlight’ that hangs at the ‘top of the chapel’ that appears in the beginning of this poetry can be read as a sign that foreshadows the emergence of a great poet. In other words, this ‘sunlight’ functions as a signpost like the ‘star’ that came out in the Jerusalem sky in order to guide the three kings of the Orient to the birthplace of Jesus approximately 2000 years ago. If the star was the signifier of the birthplace in the life of Jesus, this ‘sunlight’ became the signifier that foreshadowed the place of death in Yoon Dong Ju’s life.

The answer to the question in the first line of the fourth stanza of who the ‘distressed man’ is can also be dually interpreted. Reading it as a whole, this poem is a confession of faith by the poetic narrator. As such, the phrase that says ‘distressed man’ in the fourth stanza can be read as a narration by the poetic narrator about himself. At the same time, it can be read as a paradoxical description about ‘joyous Jesus Christ’ in the third line of the fourth stanza. Based on the manuscripts written by himself, the word ‘As’ is placed on the other line by itself. By doing so, the poet increases the ambiguity of interpretation. Due to this ambiguity, the ‘distressed man’ can be the poetic narrator and at the same time the poet himself, and it can also be read as Jesus. This poem is separated into the first half and the second half with the fourth stanza as its climax. In other words, there is a clear distinction between the young colonial intellectual in deliberation in the first three stanzas and the acting Christian believer that appears in the fifth stanza.

In the fourth stanza, there is a resolution for the common attitude that Christian intellectuals have at a paradigmatic turning point, in other words, the resolution of a death as a martyr for one’s faith. Defending the truth by giving up one’s life is a ‘distressful’ decision as a human being, but if a divine voice ‘permits’ this, he can be ‘joyous’ in dying as a martyr. The first figure to make such a confession was Jesus. Jesus, who knew that he was destined to die on a cross, asked of Father in

heaven to 'take this cup from me.' However, in the end, he changes the contents of the prayer and prays, 'yet not my will, but yours be done.' According to the testimony of the prison guard who guarded him at the Fukuoka prison, he shouted something out loud before he died. However, since that prison guard did not know Korean, there is no way of knowing what Yoon's final words were. We can only assume that based on his will to die a martyr as appears in this poem and based on the fact that he was a devote Christian, he most likely pleaded something similar to Jesus's final prayer.

4. Yoon Dong Ju, the global beginning of altruistic intellectuals

Yoon Dong Ju, a modern Korean poet, was born and raised in Northern Gando of China, went to middle school in Pyongyang, now located in North Korea, and went to university in Seoul of South Korea. His grandfather lived in North Hamgyeong Province, located in the northern part of the Korean peninsula before moving to North Gando; as such, his life spans over the entire Korean peninsula, China, and Japan. After graduating from university, he went to Japan to study more and died in a prison in Japan as a criminal with a dangerous ideology. He was familiar with reading and writing classical Chinese, wrote poetry in Hangul, and did not have difficulties with communicating in Japanese and English. Then, what is his nationality?

Yoon Dong Ju was laid to rest in the cemetery of Yongjeong church, which is located in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of Jilin Province in China; with the Korean Chinese population commemorates him as their patriotic poet. Some remember him as part of a minority ethnic group in China. However, the first person to discover his grave in 1985, which had been neglected in Yanbian, was Professor Ōmura Masuo of Waseda University in Japan. This Japanese professor came to admire him after reading his poetry. He then applied for a visiting professorship at Yanbian University, and while there, he found the tombstone of Yoon Dong Ju under overgrown bushes based on records of him and of testimonies of people in the area. Since then, the poet was introduced even more widely in Japan, and various commemorative events such as 'Gathering for Reading Yoon Dong Ju's Poetry' organized by private organizations have been continuing even to this day. Since he died in a Japanese prison under the name Hiranuma Dōju when Japan had control over Joseon, he can be prescribed as being Japanese according to international law. In South Korea, various events are being planned or being executed at the moment to celebrate the 100th year of his birth, events such as academic conferences and writing contests. His poetry is being widely read with admiration in Japan which was the perpetrating nation during the time in which East Asia was turning towards modernity, and in Korea, which was the victimized nation, as well as in China, his hometown. Furthermore, his poetry has been translated into many languages, including English and French, and is being loved today by people around the world.

May I look towards the sky until the day I die,
And have not one bit of shame,
Even at the wind rustling the leaves,
I have suffered.

With a heart singing the stars,
I shall love all dying things;
And the path given to me,
That path I shall walk.

Tonight also, the stars are touched by the wind.

(Nov. 20, 1941)

This poem was written at the beginning point of his public life that would last about three years, which would continue on to his suffering and death. This poem was the prelude in the poetry collection that he made as he was graduating from university, "The Sky, the Wind, the Stars, and the Poem." Moreover, this poem is engraved in his stone monuments of Korea, China and Japan. Along with the poem 'The Cross,' which was analyzed in section 3 above, this poem is another piece of work that shows his resolute will about what kind of life the poet would live after graduating from university. The reason why his poetry is currently being read in the world is because his life and his poetry practice the attitude of a true Christian believer living as a disciple of Jesus. His devout Christian belief led him to resolve to love of all dying things, and in the boundary of 'all dying things' that he resolved to love included all forms of life that exist external to an individual human being. The poet, nearing his university graduation, realized that his path was to love all living being that were suffering under inhumane violence. As a human with finite existence, he resolved to give his life to all finite existences in this world, where he wrote and transferred such resolutions through poetry written in Hangul, his mother tongue. He exhibited how an intellectual with Christian faith should live in order to put into practice the divine voice from the Bible, 'Thou shalt love your neighbor as yourself,' with his short life of 27 years and one month.

It is ironic that the 500th year anniversary of Martin Luther's 95 Theses that started the Reformation coincides with the 100th year of Yoon Dong Ju's birth. The reason why we need to commemorate the 500th year of Martin Luther's Reformation and the 100th year of Yoon Dong Ju's birth is because they are ethical intellectuals with faith at a paradigmatic turning point from the medieval period to modernity. By reflecting about what kind of ethical decisions they made as Christian intellectuals, we can make our own resolutions to fulfill the roles which are required in our time. This research hopes to contribute to the universal growth of the altruistic ethical conscience of the collective intelligence in the twenty-first century through its comparison of the modern East Asian poet Yoon Dong Ju's historical position and the world of poetry with the historical significance of Martin Luther, the first protestant of the world.

中文题目：

尹东柱《十字架》诗中所体现的马丁路德形象考察

提要：1917年，尹东柱出生于吉林省和龙县明东村，1931年迁至龙井并在那里度过了青少年时期。其家人在以北间岛为中心创立的基督教共同体上做出了极大贡献。当时北间岛上遍布着朝鲜民族主义运动和基督教普及运动。1945年，尹东柱因思想立场不稳定之嫌疑而被逮捕，最终在日本的监狱中结束了自己的生命。尹东柱和1517年因反对天主教会腐败而掀起宗教改革运动的德国神学家马丁·路德有两点共同之处。第一，二者都是虔诚的基督教教徒。第二，二者都用各自的母语写作，为各自的民族，即团结德国和朝鲜，在国民认同感的统一上做出了重要贡献。500年后的今天，他们依旧各自存在于东西方世界。但是，他们始终向生活于当下的人们提出着一个共同的问题，即“一个人如何同时作为伦理性的信仰者、试图与读者产生共鸣的作家和追求理性的知识分子而存在？”本研究通过分析韩国代表性诗人尹东柱的诗《十字架》中所体现的诗人苦闷，来试图考察面对已存在的权利体制的不当行为，古往今来基督教信徒的共同特点及表现特征。

关键词：尹东柱；马丁·路德；中国中心；中世纪；世界观；阴阳；辩证原则；伦理知识分子；范式转折点；基督教信仰

作者：金性淑，毕业于韩国延世大学国语国文系，并从该系获得学士、硕士及博士学位，同时也是韩国首位学术写作(Academic Writing)博士。1993年至2012年，在延世大学韩国语学堂负责韩国语教学及相关项目，曾任汉阳大学教授，现任延世大学语言研究教育院教授。在2013年以大学新生为对象的“镜像短文”(lens essay)竞赛中，其公开讲义获得“第一届教养基础教育优秀项目竞赛”优秀奖。著有《韩国语书写教育理论与实践》、《韩国语写作逻辑：学术写作入门》等，合著有《大学写作研究与文章解析》等十部，译著有《体裁：历史、理论、研究与教育》、《写作评估》等。

中西经典与圣经
**Chinese and Western Classics
and the Bible**

命运与使命,诗歌神学与诗歌的神学

——《岛子诗选》研究

刘光耀

(湖北文理学院神学美学研究所荣休所长及教授,襄樊市,湖北省,中国)

提要:背负华夏大地与基督信仰的交集、张力,为华夏文明向基督拯救之路的转换殚心竭力,似即岛子在中国固有社会形态与基督教相遇之处境中为自己所“寻找”的命运和使命。中国社会古今无穷无尽的不义、暴行所激起的愤怒,对无辜同胞所遭之深重苦难与伤痛的哀恸悲伤,使诗人向上帝吁请,且吁请华夏大地走向上帝。岛子是位哀痛的歌者,他以诗歌分担无辜人的苦难,融入受难者的伤痛,因上帝与苦难哀痛者同在,上帝的拯救以其对苦难哀痛的担受完成。与众多诗人诗歌语言的“显白语词”不同,岛子诗歌堪为“隐晦语词”。这既由于岛子以华夏文化的转换为命,语言自然更富文化蕴涵,更由于其从上帝与魔鬼角力视角模仿世界之所需要。这使岛子诗中的物象发生了人所未有的“变像”,寻常世界在其诗中呈现为令人既感陌生奇异,又觉意蕴深奥的“灵异世界”,传统诗艺的“拟人”手法亦由之而变成为“拟灵”,人间的征战变成为灵界的征战。由于上帝乃永恒者、绝对者,是世界的始与终,岛子“以恒观时”,“以‘终局’观‘历程’”,承继并超越了中国文学艺术那种空间性的“以大观小”,以上帝超越时空而又将时空囊括其中的绝对之“大”,对华夏古今世像做出了宏阔大度的自由拼贴,创作了至伟至大的诗歌形象。

关键词:岛子;华夏;文化转换;拟灵;以恒观时

作者:刘光耀,湖北文理学院神学美学研究所荣休所长,教授。沙田世纪园,辽河路,漯河市,河南省。电子信箱:liuguangyao06@163.com

一 命运与使命

海德格尔在名为“诗歌”的著名文章中说:每个诗人都有自己的命运、“使命和天职”。他是引用赫尔德林《面包和美酒》的诗句这么说的:

“……让我们去寻找本己之物,不论它多么迢遥。//……所有的人都注定有自己的命运,/每个人走向和到达他能到达的地方。”

的确,哪位诗人不寻找其“本己之物”呢?哪怕他的本己之物甚至可能仅仅就是“寻找”?倘终生寻找即其“命运”?

显然,海德格尔认为命运与“寻找”有关。那几成谚语的“性格即命运”就敞明了这一点。“性格”或人的“在世性情”岂非天生?若是,性格其实也就是人的“命”了。命不同则“运”相异。不同的性格使人在即使同样的处境也会做出不同的选择,从而让自己担负不同的命运。性格上的“愿意”规定了人在所临到的环境中“能够”“看”或“寻找”到什么,它让同样的环境在人眼中呈现的图像相异。性格乃编织人的命运之网的手指,它使命运不是“落到”而是人“寻找”到自己头上。

不过,相当程度和意义上,命运仍系“天注定“,是人身临其中的处境给定的。因性格虽在相关处

境中有选择自由,但在遭遇何种处境上却丝毫无能为力。例如生在秦朝还是民国,遇不遇上大饥荒、反右、文革等,与人的性格何干?这些应是性格无法选择的命之“运”了。因此,更完整地说,命运可为在给定的历史境遇之经线,与人自由选择之纬线所编织的织体。

那么,何为岛子的命运?

这先要问:何为岛子被给定的历史境遇?

举其荦荦大者,岂非外在于基督教几千年的华夏历史、社会、文化,和自与之相遇两者便鲜明比照、至今仍充满张力的基督教信仰吗?奋力担负华夏大地与基督信仰的交集、角力、冲撞,似即岛子为自己所“寻找”之命运。

命运关乎使命。因它既然与人的选择相关,其中便自与其本己之物深相牵缠。在人如此这般的选择中,其使命已悄然潜含。“使命”一语之义岂不正是“指使”某“命”去如何做、如何决断?这意味着,在使命运成之为命运的选择中,使命暗中早已被给定,选择不过是使其显现。

那么,岛子的使命为何?

在《松·兽骨·冬日黄昏的墙》中诗人说:试图望着默然站立的松树,望着其根茎被分隔在墙内墙外却又将墙内外于不可见中连接起来的情景“玄思”,可以达至“松非树,墙无形”一类镜花水月般的玄境,获得某种不可言说却仿佛意味无穷的奥义,这类被奉为言语道断、奥妙无穷的境界,其实不过空无一物。这种玄思注定一无所获,因它“触摸到语言的边界”即尽头,正如松树的“根茎。触摸到一架兽骨”。“兽骨”象征着死亡,不是语言的尽头又会是何物?语言死处,思想何存?不仅仅对相信“不知生,焉知死”,对死亡一向盲目的华夏智慧,谁对死后的事情又能知之丝毫?死亡是智慧湮灭的标志,故“兽骨:只是众生的表情”。诗人让我们看到,指望此类玄思默观打破语言藩篱而使人进入超越语言的自在妙道,当是华夏文化的迷思,是使汉语思想长久固步自封,再无从前行的绝境,堪为汉语“概念的冬日”,为华夏文化日落的“黄昏”。所幸有坠落就有拯救,有迷失就有找寻,那找寻者乃牧羊人耶稣基督,那拯救者即其十字架。已在此几千年的华夏文明之“此在”,就像是平躺在大地上的“一横”,自身无力上腾,唯有仰赖向上的“一竖”莅临。而这“一竖”除了圣灵的“火焰”,除了基督的十字架,又会是何物呢?惟有十字架才是越过死亡继续行进的路标,是人跨越语言的边界达乎言说的澄明之境的桥梁。故该诗在“兽骨:只是众生的表情”后接着吟道:

有了黄昏,就有了空地。/牧人和羊,就足够聚拢。//一个概念的冬日,隐伏着/具体的根茎和火焰。//此在,一横;彼在,一竖/交叉成木头人形:骷髅地//一根骨笛兀自吹奏……

这可读为:华夏文明已到“黄昏”;此为基督信仰莅临腾出了“空地”;“牧人”耶稣基督的十字架作为唤醒华夏复活新生的笛声于是响起。

似可说,以肩负华夏向基督转身的担子为使命,即岛子在华夏数千年之大变局中的命运选择。当然,岛子深知华夏文化并未生意尽失,其精气神魂至今仍是活在人身上的。

在《魂车·秋日怀李贺》中,抒情人魂牵梦绕牵挂着的仍是李贺的牵挂:“采玉的老夫今夜露宿在何处”。而且,他今夜也实在就是与李贺同在的:“今夜的此世/来世的今夜/是同一个夜”。所以如此,乃因李贺的诗歌早已将两人粘为一体,“如鸟/飞进唐的月亮/寒鸦啼黄了老树/众鬼摘下面具/喷吐绿血,粘合你我的椎骨”。有理由说,在这里,诗的抒情人和作者乃为同一个人,因在诗的用词、造语、取象、构图等的奇崛上,岛子和李贺堪称颌首相望:“谁痛过一匹病马的痛/谁就痛成俑,就活出瘦死的佛/以致,炼出词语中的阴曹和舍利”(11页)。在风格上,岛子可为李贺再世,读到了岛子就读到了李贺。

《祭孔》所咏乃历代皇帝儒生奉为“天地君亲师”之“师”的孔子,华夏文化之骨干魂魄。孔子既有

为其道而不避“追兵的叱骂隐隐传来,四处充满敌意”的大勇,又深谙暮春“浴乎沂,风乎舞雩,咏而归”的生活诗意,对这样“多么近乎一个伟大的德性”的追慕,诗中灿然可见(13-15页)。在为诗人画像的《诗人》里,华夏古典诗歌的意象更俯拾皆是。华夏先祖之所作为,可采而岂不采焉,因它们既是“华夏的黄金”,也是诗人命中注定所要遭遇者!

不过,采为可采者采,这个文明却早步入歧路末路,整体已不可取。因即使同李贺“椎骨”“粘合”也难免不终成“一个迷途的导师”,向下“坠落”,而李贺的诗、泪“浇灌的山园已寸草不生”(11-12)。孔子则更早已成了面目全非的“一尊标本”,“连羽毛的影子也拔个干净”,盗墓贼的“铁铲”早将其墓毁尸抛。他的遗产纵“有何等的金子或谷糠”,也无人有力吹糠留金了。“逝者如斯夫”(14-15),孔子真真死了。《白洋淀晨歌》更是华夏文明途穷的缩影:那如绘满“水。鸟。荷。苇风。云”的“百里宋人绢本,百里随风”的白洋淀,早被毁坏殆尽,如今唯余如“隔着时光的薄膜”观看的幻影,“白茫茫冻进湖水,一张宣纸/白茫茫为乌有天地哭泣”。人能做的只有默然盼望“水影再来,再来/引得清风出巢:水影无染,莲子独有/你无染的宫血,被高举,被天生”(54)。也就是说,惟有将华夏大地带到上帝面前,其才能得新生,而此即岛子明白自觉之使命。

将这种使命意识表达得最清晰而完全的当数《道风》。该诗所咏香港道风山基督教文化研究所,其宗旨即为华夏文化向基督信仰的转换。莲花之上十字架悬浮、升腾的图案,乃该所象征图案:“峰巅之上,高高的/白十字架,铆定/大海直立的漩涡:莲花”。历史的变迁已使华夏文明衰败尽显,其典籍已然风化破碎,“云水,聚集经卷的残片”,将之交与基督教会的“牧者挑灯校勘云水/云水追随流星寻转”;“残片”、“云水”里可看到的却只是尚未凝固的血,是死亡那“无常”:“全盘白血珠,未凝。哦,无常”。那么,华夏文化活路何在?如何命其无常逃遁,让那死亡死去?“……哦,无常//向谁?再死去,不再寻转”?诗歌说,追随耶稣基督:“羊蹄踩平橄榄园/苦路,依然崎岖”。上帝之“风,随着意思吹”,如今风向早已变换,这“风,嚼龙肉。风,/煎人寿。风,交换着道路/——痛痒子,十重诫命”(58-59)。为此风吹转华夏大地向耶稣基督的转换,为华夏文明、文化的得救新生献奉,即诗人如此之“使用”其“命”吧。

二 诗歌神学之一:文化得救的逻辑

以华夏向耶稣基督的转向为使命,这赋予了岛子诗歌深厚的神学意涵。诗歌所透显出来的神学意蕴、祈向及思虑,应即诗歌神学吧。不难看出,以文化的基督教转换为旨趣,使岛子的诗歌神学异乎寻常。让我们试先梳理诗人所以会选择华夏文化的这种转换为使命的内在逻辑。

诗歌当然不是理论研究,其中的观念、判断并不取用理性概念的逻辑运演。在通常所谓人的三大心智功能知、情、意里,诗属情,并不遵从理性认知的法则。但正像人的在世性情以全然个性化的祈愿来决定其在所临处境中的选择那样,在对世界的理性认知上,人的情感意趣、性情质地、个性祈向等,也同样具有深刻有力的规定性功能。情感不讲逻辑而具有自己的逻辑,非逻辑的情感却既是理性逻辑运动的动力,也规约着理性逻辑运演的方向,其乃先在且内在于理性的逻辑。

若这么说不错,那么,何为连接岛子视基督信仰为华夏文明、文化新生之路的情感逻辑呢?

华夏社会从古至今无穷无尽的不义、暴行所激起的令人无法抑制的不平、愤怒,它所强施于人的令人无法承受的苦难与伤痛,与令人几近窒息的苦闷、几近疯狂的绝望。

(一)对不义、暴行的不平与愤怒。

不说交织着凶手的狞笑和枪声,混合着无辜者之叹息和哭泣,刻画春天里戕杀春天之暴行的悲剧性组诗,不说诗选开篇的《疯人院》可为所有那些罄竹难书的不义和暴行性的缩影,也不说《天马颂》、

《空椅子的谚语》、《津门大爆炸挽歌》等实为相应恶行的存照,一首《雾霾》更对从古到今华夏土地上的恐怖和苦难给出了一幅整体图绘。在这里,雾霾那“某物”在每个人的“血清里/抹黑,逆行”,无声咬噬吞杀着每个人的生命。不知道多少人因之而死且正在死去,但人却清楚看见“总会/从那里氤氲这里:乌云的驳船拖拽万吨肺叶”,看见雾霾令“秃鹫在上升的狼烟中辨认归途”,使“许多根茎逃向水泉,许多/没有死透的蝴蝶逃向烟树”。它是但又不仅仅是物质的“某物”,因混合在“上升的狼烟”里的还有“油炸的词语”,即那种反反复复不知重复了多少遍的洗脑的有毒的废话,还有“直把海市//熏成蜃楼”的“枪杆子吸烟,钱袋子装烟”的两“子”,因为和“没有死透的蝴蝶”逃命聚集的“烟树”比肩而立的还有多得难以“枚举”的“重名的黑名单,许多烟树”,因为伴随装满尘肺的驳船行驶的是比浓烟还要恐怖的“电视塔发射的滚滚鼻音”,因为“矿工的骨粉,许多石油/都是跨国的秃鹫争食断肠”也加入了雾霾大军,因为“焚尸炉内部,硫磺火舌在争吵”,点燃焚尸炉的却“不必为作恶的心怀不平”。而且,这雾霾并非起自今日,至少从秦汉相争之际阿房宫焚烧的烟火就已开始,其中还弥漫着历代至尊无上皇上的“‘天朝仁学广览’,朱批氤氲/细分到看不透的灰度、光韵、气数”。归根结底,诗歌说,雾霾乃“那自义的”“孽火,已然带来的自戕的废墟”。“自义”在基督教眼中这最大的不义,制造了这块土地上最大的灾难,将华夏推向末日,引得“白矮星的黑帆正缓缓登陆”(56-57)。

(二)对苦难与伤痛者的哀恸悲伤

在《乌有乡消息》里,诗人为大炼钢铁、大跃进、反右倾“改造”的风暴中食不果腹,“一律吃沙”,且还在“一条冰冻的长尾工地,蠕动”的同胞,为在“马嘶的纵横鞭痕”里“爬行”劳动的父亲泣涕无声。“我父亲是一辆遍插白旗的/推土车。/红旗在云头聚啸,他/含沙是灵魂推着一堆盐碱肺泡/弓腰/爬向大坝的瓷土斜坡/像萤火闪烁//……改造。改造。改造……//往上,再往上/沙丘踩着沙丘的秃顶”(44-45)。《弥撒:大饥荒悲悼》更为大饥荒里的无数饿殍悲哭。因那大饥荒竟荒唐地发生在“丰收的门楣”下,“丰收的大蜂箱,丰收的蜜”之旁。大饥荒的恐怖令人胆战心惊,因甚至“亡灵们需要雁粪,树皮,观音土;需要/半截苇席,裹走菜色华北、肝儿颤江南”;“亡灵如糠,坟丘连坟丘,没有年龄”;“丰收的草绳勒紧,半根墓草都不得偷生”。在大饥荒里死竟成了生命的享受,因人只能做任人驱进死亡的羔羊,“在死亡中享用死/死,瞪大明白的羊眼睛”(64-65)。而且,不止性命被夺,令人无限悲伤的还有,“布谷与草垛”、“大雁与苇河”也无可挽回消失了,人间淳朴甜美的温情也永远逝去:“焦炭中的红薯民族,灰窑般/含烟胖大;从前,那吸引萤火虫扑面的/睫毛,还在石楠路上/笑吗?”(《收割》;48-49)。这块土地上没有鲜花欢笑,只有“大雪”飘着“奔丧的风影”,土地上矗立的只有祖祖辈辈、前世今世的坟茔,在雪中堆成“穿寿衣的星座//我父亲的坟茔,更白了/我母亲的坟茔,更白了/我舅父的坟茔,更白了//看!我前世的坟茔,更高了”;华夏大地几乎被死亡覆盖,令人困惑、绝望到疯狂,“大雪:没有词,只有冰还在哭/大雪:没有冰,只有谜还在笑”(《雪夜三叹》;73-74)。

在此苦难绵绵无绝之世,岛子为悲痛哀伤而歌,实为哀恸的歌者,他对受苦的哀痛者的悲伤哀恸在当代中国无谁堪比。苦难太沉太重太多了,诗人知道唯有吁请上帝,方有望既安慰受难者,也安慰总要安慰别人的诗人。况且,在华夏土地上诗人自己的苦难又少了多少呢?不然,在总是“还会梦见”的“阿房一炬”一类的梦里,何故“总会有鬼哭”?可那却是“某物”付与“诗人火中取栗”的酬报啊!包括诗人在内的安慰者也需要安慰,这应为《安慰之歌》的命意之一。在那里,“巨石”和“把巨石滚上山的弟兄”都得到了安慰;“母亲……贞洁的宫血”得到了安慰,因为她“赋我以歌哭的权能”;“我”得到了安慰,因我用我的歌哭“安慰贫穷”;甚至贫穷也得了安慰,因为“贫穷洗劫了岸上的疾病”。同样的,连“疾病”、杀人的“断剑”、“燃烧的稻草人和羽毛”也得了安慰,因为这些灾凶、不幸之物“抚醒了天使的琴声”。天使安慰需要安慰的一切,而天使也得了安慰,因为注视着这一切的,是圣婴那“马槽里的眼睛”(37-38)——试想:谁的安慰能比得圣子耶稣的安慰呢?因他是以自己的撕裂、以他被人神共弃的孤独、悲苦和绝望来陪伴人间之苦难者的,他以自己的悲苦哀伤而安慰悲苦哀伤的世界以。《弥撒:大

饥荒悲悼》共六个单元,每三节一个单元,每单元的末节都是一句“——主啊,求你怜悯”,如是者五次。第六单元末节的祷告为“——主啊,惟愿你铭记,惟愿/……”(64-65)。古往今来抒写人世苦难的悲痛、哀伤的诗篇,试想,比得岛子《安慰之歌》更让人揪心的能举出几篇呢?

三 诗歌神学之二:哀痛连接拯救

这使我们看到,岛子诗歌神学中“悲伤哀恸”位置甚重。正是对无辜的苦难同胞的哀痛怜惜,使诗人向上帝吁请,且吁请华夏大地归向上帝。《挽歌》可为此之典例。

该诗共十节,前一、二节写世界的暴力,三、四节写它的荒谬,五、六节写它造成的苦难,后四节则写上帝的拯救,要人向上帝悔改重生,“向罪而死的人/就要在死后归来”。该诗也恰差不多居于《岛子诗选》连上续下的中间。不论作者有意还是无意为之,这都让人感觉意味深长。

岛子这种由悲痛哀恸而吁请救主拯救的诗歌神学,与圣经所记耶稣基督的故事、与他在十字架上的死与复活,可说是同质同构的。同质,是说上帝道成肉身正是出于对世人的爱、对世人苦难的怜悯;同构,是说和耶稣基督以自己令人悲悯哀痛的死亡胜过死亡,给人以重生、永生的盼望一样,岛子诗歌以对苦难的哀痛悲伤而吁请基督拯救,吁请人归信基督,走向新生。

这显露出来,在岛子的诗歌神学里,苦难占有的位置首先非同寻常。因为悲伤哀痛由苦难而起,对不义、暴力的拒绝抗议也同样由苦难而起。对其必须加以抗议,乃因正是它们制造了苦难。对于上帝公义和怜悯的吁请,亦皆首先缘于苦难的存在:若没苦难,上帝的拯救缘何而起呢?

苦难首先意味着,有苦难的制造者即暴力、不义。故岛子对种种不义、暴力的鞭挞毫不犹豫。不过,苦难并不直接导向上帝的拯救。导向上帝拯救的当是被加于受难者身上的悲痛哀伤。因为受难者自己承受不了他的哀痛,他需要上帝的陪伴,需要上帝的拯救。

这便显露出来:只有承负了悲痛哀伤的人,才在上帝的悲悯之中,才得有上帝的拯救,“哀恸的人有福了;因为他们必得安慰”。岛子诗歌充满对苦难的悲痛哀恸,一方面,这是由于上帝是以自己的苦难和悲痛哀伤陪伴苦难的悲痛哀伤者的,另一方面,与此相关,这也使得惟有愿意置身于悲痛哀伤,坚持不与苦难者分开的人,上帝的拯救方与之有份。而且,更深入地看,还因为只有苦难中的哀痛,才将受苦者与世界区分开来,才意味着他是像耶稣基督那样因不属于世界而遭其恨恶,被陷于苦难的。

因此,岛子诗的哀恸在神学上的意义不可低估。在古往今来汪洋大海般的苦难面前,在造成了如此苦难的暴力面前,惟人的哀伤怜悯方可表明其心还尚未石化,未与苦难者分离。因为其哀怜分担了人们的苦难,使其参与了他们的苦难,与受难者同在。这是种圣徒般的情怀,恰如圣徒般的思想家西蒙娜·薇依所做的那样。上帝的拯救呼吁人与他人的伤痛同痛同伤。

与此密切相关的,是对不义的鞭挞。这是岛子诗歌神学的另一重要向度,即将华夏大地看为上帝与魔鬼角力的战场,将数千年华夏文明、文化,看为这种角力的呈现。不难看出,就华夏历史言,所谓魔鬼是清晰的,即自以为大,自视为像上帝一样至高无上的专制王朝。专制即灾难。因上帝之外的任何物事都是有限的、相对的,都只仅拥有相对而有限的时空、质量和权能。将之置于绝对地位,赋予其无限权能,要求其外的一切向之臣服,这本身就是不义,因为悖逆了万物皆因相对、有限而相互之间皆平等独立,互不臣服的本然秩序与正义。对这种本然秩序、本然正义的破坏无疑是最粗鄙、最野蛮的暴力。本为寻常者要僭越至高之位,命万物臣服,无疑非魔鬼般的凶残血腥而不可。此为华夏数千年政治专制、暴力肆虐、苦难滔天的根源。

因此,在中国,任何对苦难、暴力、不义的谴责即对魔鬼的抵抗和征战,不论这种谴责是否出于上帝的名义或对上帝的认信。因谴责暴力、不义,无疑即谴责制造暴力、不义的恶者,即对那本然正义的

伸张,以及对苦难者的庇护。当然,这里绝对和相对、无限和有限之间的“正义”,不能与上帝的“公义”的等同。上帝的公义由上帝圣言所刻划,是出于神学立场的言述,而正义则是从超越了基督教的所谓公共性上看的,是哲学立场的言述。但意味深长的是,公共性的、哲学立场的言述逻辑,与基督教的、神学立场的言述在此恰若合符节,本然正义正可为基督教的公义所包容、容纳,后者恰是对前者的卫护和成全。岛子诗歌里突出的公义关切,也正是本然的正义关切。上世纪八十年代华夏大地所发生了对基督信仰的主动寻求、叩问,所以“主动”的原委之一,不正与人们痛切感到非归信上帝而多少年企盼之正义难彰吗? 岛子受洗归主是 1997 年,而他写于 1984 年的《〈大山·森林·我们(组诗)〉》中奔腾涌动的,不正是盼望正义得以昭彰的激情吗? 薇依深刻指出:虽然“知性永远无法识破秘密,但它却能、唯有它才能领悟到表达奥秘的用词的合适与否”;“希腊人曾认为,唯有真理才适合于神圣的事,而不是谬误或不精确的事物”;“理性的运用使事物对精神成为透明的。通过透明看到不透光之物,当透明的东西曾是不透明时,这不透光之物是被掩饰的”。也就是说,理性逻辑所彰显的自然的正义,恰是引导人认识上帝公义的必需铺垫,必由之途。因即使从上帝信仰的角度看,世界是上帝之言的造物,其中的“义”怎会与上帝之义相冲突呢?

这便显露出来:若说逻辑正义通向上帝公义,那么,即使未闻福音,对暴力、不义的谴责仍然是对魔鬼的征战。如果说基督教之前的希腊哲学家因追求真理的虔诚而堪称对抗魔鬼的某种“先知”,那么对于逻辑思维远逊的普通人来说,在未闻福音之前,他们可曾有对魔鬼的抵抗? 岂云无有? 若有为何? 试想,如果不是他们无辜的苦难、哀痛、求告无处的绝望又会是什么呢? 可以说,暴力、不义落在他们身上,这本身就意味着他们是与魔鬼相对立的,尽管这对立不是他们的自觉选择,且也许其恰唯恐避之不及。但他们担受了相应的苦难,便自然意味着对于相应正义和秩序的坚持和抵抗。

当然,更重要的还在于他们的哀痛。即使是全然被动、消极地不得被驱赶其中,但毕竟他们实际上就是伤痛的承受者,并以之而使自己与暴力、不义区分开来,从而走进了另外一个即与魔鬼对立的世界,他们的哀痛正是对魔鬼的抵抗。试想:如果哀痛与上帝并不接近、接壤,耶稣基督为什么会为众先知、为耶路撒冷哀哭呢? 他的哀伤中的爱不正是他要对之伸手拯救的原委又是什么? 更不可想象,如果上帝见人哀痛而无动于衷,其拯救又缘何而来? 保罗说:“我们知道一切受造之物,一同叹息劳苦,直到如今。不但如此,就是我们这有圣灵初结的果子的,也是心里叹息。等候得着儿子的名分,乃是我们的身体得赎。”基督是无辜受苦的悲痛哀伤者的救主,他自己也是在十字架上的悲痛哀伤者。试想:自己不曾经历悲痛哀伤的,如何能晓得悲痛哀伤者切切渴望拯救? 恰如自己不经历死亡,又如何能胜过死亡呢? 苦难如此分量之巨,以至于有说“若上帝并不曾化身成人,受苦难的、正在死亡的人在某种意义上就比上帝更伟大。”岛子的诗歌神学,实乃哀痛神学! 而写作这种神学也惟有诗歌!

四 诗歌的神学之一:“拟灵”语像与“变像”

中国当代基督徒诗人群星闪烁,但也许惟岛子在诗艺上最显得奇光夺目。每个诗人都与人不同,不过却可大胆言曰,与岛子比几乎每个诗人都是同一个诗人,因在诗歌语词取用的日常、口语、直白上人们彼此并无显著不同,似皆可曰“显白语词”,而岛子与众迥异,可为“隐晦语词”。岛子的诗歌词语的择取、组合突兀冷僻,出人意料,文化蕴涵丰富浓厚;其诗歌词语形貌奇崛怪异,惊悚莫名,而在含蕴、神貌上皆奇妙雅致而又显隐晦玄奥。从大处说,这与他以上帝与魔鬼角力之视角模仿世界的诗学范式,以及着眼点乃在于文化传统方面的道路转换相关,更深入和稍仔细些说,则是其诗歌的神学品质使然。

从以上所述可看出,在岛子诗中,制造苦难者实际上是被视为魔鬼,而苦难担受者实际上则被视

为魔鬼的抵抗者,并因之而为上帝救恩的受赐者,他们因其苦难的悲痛哀伤而被归于基督的阵营。在神学上,这似乎显得有些异样,有失“正统”。不难看出,首先,这是用基督教的眼光,对基督教尚未出现前的事物的观看。这样,一方面,即从前基督教世界的角度来看,世界是被人多地“变像”了的,因对苦难制造者和承受者双方,魔鬼与上帝的角力冲突并不是他们两造本身的本有之意,其双方皆无意于此。魔鬼之于苦难制造者,上帝之于哀痛的苦难承受者,都并不相关。这样一来,不论从苦难制造者的眼光去看魔鬼,还是从苦难承受者的目光去看上帝,更不论他们双方将自己置身于这样的位置去看对方,在其眼中呈现出来的图像对他们双方都会显得是变异、走样、奇形怪状的,仿佛对方都是来自陌地异域的另外一个国度的事物。这就是说,当他们被放置于基督教图式中去时,出现在他们自身目光中的形象是被变形了的。

另一方面,从基督教方面说,当其用自己的目光去看前基督教世界之际,那世界的图像同样也是发生了形变、畸变或变像的。现在,对于诗人来说,他的任务就是这两类变像的东西或变异的图像结合在一起。不言而喻,如此结合起来的图像怎会不显得奇怪而陌生冷僻呢?因当两个变异之物结合之后,那所形成之物岂不会异而又异吗?

需强调,这种“变像”之变,在诗艺上,诗人是通过将世上的人物、事物都“灵”化,即将其变为“灵异”之物而实现的。在通常诗歌中,类似的情形在诗艺上人们称之为“拟人”。但在岛子这里的诗艺却不再是拟人,而是“拟灵”,是将寻常世界变化成了与之全然相异的“灵异世界”。这样,人间的征战成了灵界的征战,成了魔鬼、邪灵同上帝、天使天军间的征战,世界变成了一个灵与魔或善灵与恶灵冲突、角力的世界。在其中人仍然是人,有人的身体,却又仿佛成了奇异的灵体;物仍然是物,却又仿佛成了没有人体的另类的人。

如《柏林:夏天的俳句》。

在这里,“窃听器 and 界墙”的灵异在于:它们竟会“嘎然一声”“消逝”!而仿佛为哀悼其之死去,“管风琴”则会“怀揣”起它们的“骨灰匣”,躲到阴气森然的“森林”里喘息或哭泣地“换气”!“烧焦的种子”岂会再发芽?但因着耶稣基督的“复活”之故吧,在“自由”的“吹拂”下,“烧焦的种子”竟然“花萼”重现!可是那重现的花萼却赫然是“身穿红字囚衣”的囚徒,在“穿过/电网朝东德”“慢跑”!这是何等的奇异啊!更奇异的还有:耶稣基督“五伤”里的四个“脚心和手心”竟然成了眼睛,且“一齐睁开眼,看”柏林的“焚书广场”,堆积在那里的当年被纳粹焚毁之书的“灰堆下”竟然还埋藏着词语的“词壳”,那词壳“噼啪爆出”的竟是咱“秦朝”“的黑豆粒”(52-53)!那词语竟然如被火烧过后的豆棵,豆萁成灰,而豆荚中的豆粒竟能够无恙进出!是因火的淫威有限,还是因着奇迹,因着耶稣基督五伤的“一起睁开眼,看”?时间的过去现在、空间的此地彼地、寻常的死亡和不寻常的复活、有生命和无生命的等等,都活灵活现地往来共处着!哪儿有这样的事呢?除非在各种各样的神话、童话,在《西游记》、《魔戒》……那种人神妖魔、精灵鬼怪、“兽人”、“半兽人”堆聚杂处之域?

类似的篇什不胜枚举。当然,这篇吟咏的还是较具象的事相,但意蕴颇抽象的篇什亦然,亦同样可是人神万物变像式的奇异融合、叠合。如《向我的母语致敬》。

岛子的母语自是汉语,但诗中的“母语”却处处显得像有两个、多个,诗中指称母语的“你”既是上帝之言,也是华夏文化之言;是上帝那天上的父,也是地上的母亲。诗歌首节说:“你怀有我,游弋,一个词/你打开你,给我看:我变成水”;末节与之呼应:“你怀有我,游弋,一个词/你打开你,给我看:我变成墨”。首节的“我变成水”和末节的“我变成墨”,合起来显然即岛子作为水墨画家的艺术语言“水墨”。这也就是说,水墨这种中国独有的(艺术)语言是被视为“母语”的。但从“你怀有我,游弋,一个词”来看,这个母语却像是上帝圣言,因上帝正是以言创世的,并赋予人跟随上帝牙牙学语,且以言为万物命名的权柄和能力。也就是说,在起源上,上帝的圣言、圣“词”就是上帝养育我,让“我”在他“怀”中成长的本原性母语。这样来看“水墨”,水墨则既是华夏人的创造,更首先是上帝之言的自我“打开”,

是上帝之言自我开启而启示给我“的母语”，“母语”显得是上帝和华夏两种语言的融合物。很明显，水墨是人言，或人言对上帝之言之召唤的回应。虽然回应并不完全外在于召唤，它是召唤在人那里的耳某种回响，二者毕竟不可混淆。但注目于人神万物“变像”、穿行往来于“拟灵”世界的岛子却不觉这种混淆有何不妥，也许他以非常人所能的灵敏参与进了人神万物隐秘的互动，陶然忘情于灵异们乐此不疲的变像游戏。恰如别尔嘉耶夫所谓人要在上帝身上诞生，上帝也要在人身上诞生那样，在岛子这里，上帝要在人身上变像，人也要在上帝身上变像。赘言之，岛子是把大地万物和上帝的道成肉身、人对上帝的信心和上帝对人的恩典教诲，都一同看为上帝的自我“打开”、自我“掰开”之情状的：“你掰开你/掰开山海的好风水，唤我，赐我/神子、芥子和葡萄园”。还有，譬如“水”。在诗中，水既是水墨的水，也是母亲“怀有我”的“羊水”，而此“羊水”还又是汉语方块字的“羊水”，“你羊水的方块”。以往“我”是在汉语方块字的环绕浸润中被“怀有”的，所谓“你怀有我，我便守在/你羊水的方块上眺望”。“你黄泉锥沙/你碧落折钗/水袖搀扶竹马//流离——流离的茱萸遍插飞檐”这些华夏语言符号也都是包含在上帝之言当中的，都成了上帝生命的展现，成了上帝的如此这般的“命”了，成了“可太初有你，其命如你”。进一步的观察不难看到，在这里，人间的母亲，天上的母亲、与圣婴之母亲、华夏之水墨与上帝的恩慈……都是相叠合、相融汇的，所有这些则融合成了“水墨”这一中国绘画之母语，让我在上帝母亲和华夏大地母亲的水墨交融里书写、绘画(41-42)。上帝道成肉身岂非本原的变像？在道成肉身中上帝成了人，成为神人耶稣基督，追随耶稣基督的人岂不也要做他那样的神人？而这岂非一种人的“变像”、“灵化”？也许岛子诗歌诗艺之“拟灵”的深层渊源在此？但无论如何，“拟灵”为岛子诗歌平添了多少诗意啊！

五 诗歌的神学之二：宏大拼贴与以恒观时

紧随突兀冷峻的拟灵语象，岛子在人的阅读心绪中带出的，便是排山倒海般扑面而来的既陌生奇异，又宏伟硕大的物相事像的舞蹈，令人震撼而难免几分惊惧。读者眼前会形影不离、若隐若现着顶天立地的巨人，像扬斧执锤开天凿地的盘古般在鬼斧神工地重新劈凿着山河星空。其形象至伟至大，连《指环王》里云中格斗的山峰、迈向战场的古树老林也显得微乎其微了。

岛子诗歌形象的巨大，由取自古往今来巨量意象的蒙太奇式拼贴而成，其笔触之巨、视野之大令人叹为观止。有必要指出，岛子的“大”里，首先包含有对中国绘画“以大观小”、诗歌小说由道制艺的承继。对作为中国水墨画家和艺术批评家的岛子来说，这自不言自明。但中国有“以大观小”，却无古今事相的蒙太奇式拼贴。当然，古人未见西人电影及其后现代诗歌绘画等，未晓蒙太奇、拼贴为何物，但这却不能作为解释他们岛子那种诗艺缺如的充分理据。因任何诗艺上的东西都有诗之外的、关乎终极之道的东西做“元叙事”。不难看出，古人“以大观小”的“大”主要是空间上的高和阔，时间上的久远、久长虽不缺乏，但却也是空间性的，是发生在具体空间中的时间，与特定空间里的事情相联之、相系之的。不论是《三国演义》“话说天下大事，分久必合，合久必分”，还是《水浒传》、《红楼梦》那样由古久的天上之事说及今日人间，概莫例外。故“以大观小”，所观到的只是某个或虽数量众多但却分布在同一个空间里的东西，是观看中眼睛在一个或大或小、或多或少的空间上的移动的“散点透视”，将不属同一空间的东西随意剪裁拼贴，不会成为岛子那样普遍使用的诗艺。华夏艺术“以大观小”的元叙事依据的，怕只能说是空间性的终极观，即以某种空间性事物做终极实在。在空间终极观语境下，岛子那种不同时空之物象的拼贴实无可能的。

这就是说，岛子拼贴所缘身的“大”，是时间意义上的，是时间性的终极实在，。时间上的最大当然是无限之大、永恒之大、绝对之大。无限、永恒位于时间之外，而绝非时间的无限延续。同质时间的均

匀伸延不是无限,而是“恶无限”。因为在这种伸延中任何瞬间都是有限的,都转瞬即逝。无限在时间之外,时间的彼岸、尽头,它只能是永恒、绝对。永恒中当然包含有时间,故其既是时间的尽头、边界,也同时是时间的给出者,时间之源。若称其为时间,则只能说其为绝对时间。因此,岛子的大乃“绝对大”,其之“以大观小”确切说应为“以恒观时”,“以绝对观相对”。不言而喻,永恒、绝对不可知,除非其亲自向人自我开启。依基督教,上帝即那向人自我开启的永恒和绝对者。上帝道成肉身,就是从永恒、绝对之域突入时间,突入相对,时间终结、迈向“新天新地”的天路旅程便由之开始。应当说,这就是基督教终末论所论说的。因此,“以恒观时”、“以绝对观相对”更具体说也就是从终末论视角观察世界。由于终末论给出了整个世界如何终结的图景,故“以恒观时”也就是以己正在到来、尚未完全到来、即“既济未济”的末世眼光观照此世,也就是“以‘终’观‘始’”或“从‘结局’观‘过程’”。

这种建基于终末论视域上的以恒观时、以绝对观相对中的“大”,不言而喻自然会包括以大观小的空间上的大。因这种大以永恒、绝对统摄时间和空间,故其大无所不包。也正是由于这种目光的大,才有了岛子诗歌形象的伟岸硕大、宏伟崇高。不论是一首诗,还是整本《岛子诗选》皆然。也就是说,不仅每首诗、每组诗(如春天三部曲)的整体意象、形象崇高伟大,而且整本诗选里各个似不相干的篇什,也无形之中形成一个动态的波澜壮阔、至伟至大的图像。那种观看的无形的“大”目光,乃是种巨大的“完形”力量,在无形之中将每首(组)诗、整本诗形塑为一个无可比拟地大的有形图像。

这种“大”的完形力量,也许在《澄明之境》最见清晰。

该诗共十五节。首节曰:“自在之物/古卷/虫洞”。首句的“自在之物”当然是对“有终极实在”或“终极实在自在自为地存在着”的声明,而他就是基督教的上帝,这位上帝乃“自有永有”的上帝。地上的圣经“古卷”、天上的“虫洞”便是对这位“自在之物”确凿的见证。接下来第二节顺理成章地否定“空”说,因为若说“空”是实实在在的,那本身便成了对“空”的否定了。故第三节的三句说:“虚空的虚空/在空中,不在/在空中,不在”。第三节:“瓷之器/或在/词之精气”。也许可将“瓷之器”看为瓷器,看为器物、制度、典籍等文明的象征。也就是说,人类文明之器物如果是存在的,如果其有存在的价值(“或在”),则在于它获得有某种与上帝之言相关的“词之精气”,即那种“字句叫人死,精义叫人活”的“精义”。这从接下来的第四、第五节可得些佐证,这两节所说即耶稣基督之死,和上帝使以色列胜利逾越埃及人的奴役,而埃及人欢庆胜利的自由歌声,如今在某个黑夜笼罩之国度的深夜,“夤夜回归”。既然如此,怎么会没有与夤夜魔鬼搏斗的勇士呢?并且,怎么会没有魔鬼的“钩子挥舞/孽火”燃烧,没有基督与敌基督的征战?但上帝的“火柱”在荒野指引,他的“十架”在呼召,纵容有耶稣门徒客西马尼园昏昏欲睡的懒惰和彼得鸡叫前三次不认主的软弱,但征战不会停息,因为基督徒们,即“盐是你的传人”。因此,无论魔鬼如何猖狂,不论他们射杀姑娘如何残忍,上帝自有永有,他正与他的传人同在,被枪杀的那“一个姑娘/嫁给了永有”。这样,不论姑娘的牺牲“和我:晚年的泪水”再多,脱离奴役的过红海之歌终将再度响起,因为“钟楼与光年/在圣经身边/兀自耸立”(82-85)。由上帝之“大”观之,此不正是世界的“澄明之境”吗?因为华夏文明、文化得救之路的遮蔽终得祛除。

岛子以文化拯救作为其基督信仰所要求的使命,所加之于己身的负担,这种祈愿在神学上应是非同寻常的。因关于福音,通常人们似乎自然而然的印象是,基督的拯救是给予一个个的个人,而不是给予某种文化的。中国当代基督教文学大体可有三大关切,我称之为公义关切、重生关切、个性关切,并将岛子、王怡、殷龙等归为公义关切。但与王怡等显著不同的是,岛子的公义关切中文化、文明的正义问题占着主要位置和份量。那么,耶稣基督的拯救既给予人,也给予文明、文化吗?若回答是肯定的,那么其圣经依据和神学理据何在?显然,这是一个有待深耕、也亟待深耕的话题。限于篇幅,此恕不赘。

English Title:

Destiny and Mission, Poetic Theology and the Theology of Poetics——A Study of *Dao Zi Selected Poems*

LIU Guangyao

Emeritus Professor, Institute of Theological Aesthetics, Hubei University of Arts and Science. Mailing Address: No. 4 Building, Sha Tian Shi JiYuan, Liao He Road, Luo He City, He Nan Province. Email: liuguangyao06@163.com

Abstract: To take the burden of the intersection and tension between Hua Xia Culture and Christian faith, to greatly concern about the Hua Xia Culture's transformation towards Christian salvation——it seems that these are Dao Zi's destiny and mission in the Chinese society which is situated in the encounter with Christianity. The anger that is caused by countless unrighteousness and violence in the history of Chinese society and the grief for the deep suffering and pain of innocent people make the poet cry to God that the Hua Xia civilization could go towards God. Dao Zi is a grieving singer. He shares the sufferings of the innocents with his poems, melts into the pain of the sufferers, because God is with the suffers and mourners, and by taking the burdens of them, God's salvation is finished. Unlike the "plain words" showed in the poems of other poets, Dao Zi's poems can be called "vague verses". Dao Zi's language bears thick cultural implication, because he takes the mission of transforming Hua Xia Culture. What's more, this is also the requirement of imitating the world from the perspective of the wrestle between God and Devil. In this way, the images in Dao Zi's poems have become "transshape" that no one has ever had. Ordinary world has appeared to be a strange, astonishing and insightful "magical world". The "personification" in traditional poetry thus turned into "spiritualification", and the battle in the world has become the battle in the spiritual realm. God is eternal and absolute, the beginning and the end of the world. Dao Zi views time through eternity, process through the end, and sublates the traditional technique in Chinese literature and art that "views the small with grand sight". From the perspective of God's absolutely "grand sight" that both transcends and includes time and space, Dao Zi freely collages the social images in Hua Xia history, and creates great poetry images.

Key Words: Dao Zi, Hua Xia, culture transformation, "spiritualification", to view time through eternity

当代中国基督徒的诗歌创作^[1]

荣光启

(荣光启, 武汉大学文学院副教授, 邮编: 430073 武汉大学文学院)

摘要:当代中国信仰基督教的人口数量巨大, 而基督徒的文学创作也随之发达。有人将这一类文学称之为“灵性文学”, 旨在强调文学需表达人里面的神圣部分。不过, 对于基督徒诗人的创作, 人们通常以“宗教诗歌”轻视之。事实上对“基督徒文学”, 我们要仍以文学的标准来评价; 因为“宗教”, 在文学创作中常常只是素材; 因“宗教”而轻视以此为素材的文学, 这种眼光是非文学性的。从文学的标准看, 基督徒诗歌在经验和技艺上, 有些是相当深切、复杂的; 甚至, 当代许多基督徒诗人, 其创作其实呈现出更高的技艺。

关键词:基督徒文学; 灵性文学; 文学的标准; 基督徒诗歌; 宗教诗歌

作者:荣光启, 武汉大学文学院副教授, 邮编: 430073 中国湖北省武汉市武昌区珞珈山武汉大学文学院, 电话: 15802712321, 邮件: rongguangqi@163.com

约在 20 年前, 一位学者这样描述基督教的影响在国人精神和艺术中的变化: “自本世纪中叶以来, 基督教的合法传言活动在大陆实际中断, 无神论意识形态取得了实质性的社会法权, 以至于基督教的信仰和社会生活只会引起人们的政治警觉意识。然而, 近十年来, 社会层面对基督教的政治警觉意识至少在城市区域有明显减弱, 基督教的认信在已成为社会基础意识的无神论语境中自发漫生。尤为引人注目的是文化知识界中出现了宗教意向和对基督信仰的兴趣。这一精神意识之趋向在文学、艺术、哲学和人文科学领域中, 尽管实际上不仅丝毫不具普遍性, 而且显得脆弱孤单, 但确有增长的趋势……^[2]”

这种“增长的趋势”在接下来的历史中日益明显。刘小枫的《拯救与逍遥》(上海人民出版社 1988 年版)、《沉重的肉身》(上海人民出版社 1999 年版)、《走向十字架上的真》(上海三联书店 1995 年版) 等著作在人文领域, 影响深远; 先锋小说家北村认信基督之后的一系列小说和年轻的批评家谢有顺的小说批评, 也让人耳目一新。对于诗歌而言, 上世纪八九十年代无疑是悲怆的岁月, 海子自杀(1989 年)、骆一禾猝死(1989 年)、戈麦自杀(1991 年)、顾城杀妻后自杀(1993 年)、老诗人徐迟自杀(1995 年)……幸运的是, 在诸多诗人自杀或颓丧之后废墟般的中国文学图景中, 也浮现出一些“走向十字架”的写作者、许多有基督徒身份的诗人。在新世纪, “基督徒文学”——由基督徒作家创作的文学, 渐渐引人注目; 而在诗歌领域, 许多诗人并不隐藏自己的基督徒身份, 积极以诗歌来言说信仰经验中人与上帝的相遇, 这种具有新的美学形态的作品也在不断涌现。

[1] 本文[This paper]为 Wei [is] 国家社会科学基金项目 Guojia Shehuikexue Jijin Xiangmu [National Social Science Foundation Program]《当代中国的基督徒文学研究》Dangdai Zhongguo de Jidutu Wenxue Yanjiu [The Research On Christian Literature of Contemporary China]成果 Chengguo [Achievement], 批准号 Pizhunhao[Rectification number]: 14BZW145.

[2] 刘小枫 Liu Xiaofeng, 《“文化”基督徒现象的社会学评注》Wenhua Jidutu Xianxiang de Shehuixue Pingzhu [Sociology Commentary and Annotation on Cultural Christian Phenomenon], 《我们这一代人的怕和爱》Women Zheyidai Ren de Pa he Ai[Fear and Love of Our Generations], (北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian[Joint Publishing Company], 1996), 215.

一、“灵性文学”

在当代基督徒文学领域, 小说家、诗人施玮应该是影响较大的一位, 她不仅是作家, 还是理论家和文学潮流的推动者。施玮有一个提法, 就是基督徒文学应当是“灵性文学”。传统的性灵文学, “强调的是作家主体的精神走向, 对应的是言志文学”, 而灵性文学则是, 强调的是“人性中神的部分。”“不再是藉着人的特性来体悟‘灵’的存在与美善, (‘性中之灵’), 而是灵在人里面, 藉着人的言说(文字)、行动散发出来的气息与光芒(‘灵之性’)”〔3〕。“灵性文学”的“灵性”, 其实是肯定人里面神性的确实存在, 期求作家回应神性的呼声, 抒写符合圣经与上帝启示的话语。圣经说, 人是“有灵的活人”〔4〕(本文所引圣经经文, 一般采用中文和合本), 人里面的这个“灵”, 本来是上帝按自己的形象和样式创造的, 人也应当活出上帝的形象, 生命中有“真理的仁义与圣洁”〔5〕, “灵性文学”, 其实是人向上帝回归的文学。

作为一位女性作家, 施玮在成为基督徒之前写了许多关乎男女情爱、风格绮靡唯美的小说和诗歌, 但之后, 她对文学的美有了新的理解。“圣经的‘神的话’和圣灵的启示, 及圣灵所引导的信仰体验, 正好提供了确立新的, 与旧有文学(文化)相对立的‘审美’。如果我们反而媚俗、趋同于世俗文学的审美, 就是失去了藉着我们的文本, 让‘神性审美’冲击世俗文学、冲击人们心灵的机会。以属天的审美, 冲击、影响、改变世俗审美, 才是基督教文学作家的冲锋目标。〔6〕”这种“属天的审美”, 即在上帝的国度里得救的人能够认识的美与真, 这种美包含着人的尊严(人有上帝的形象)、上帝对人的慈爱与救赎、人回归上帝之后所能享受到的完全更新的生命; “这‘真’就是全方位地洞察人性、描述人生。……呈现出最真实的, 最被剖析到深处的生命, 所有的痛苦与喜乐、丑陋与美善。只有生命中真实、隐秘的冲突、挣扎、得胜, 才能传递生命的信仰。〔7〕”。圣经中常说“认识耶和华是智慧的开端”(比如《旧约》里《诗篇》的 111 章 10 节、《箴言》的 1 章 7 节、9 章 10 节等), 若真如此, 那么基督徒文学中的美与真, 其实是一种更“深处的生命”的言说。施玮也由此创作了一系列以圣经体裁、信仰体验为依据的长诗组诗, 如《另一种情歌——十字架上的耶稣》、《神迹的喻示》、《十架七言》、《天国》、《灵》、《安息》、《关于苦难》等, 另外还有诗剧《创世纪》、“与耶稣相遇的女人”等系列诗体小说。

对于当代中国基督徒文学的大力推荐, 施玮做了许多工作, 由她主编的“灵性文学”第一辑已出小说卷、诗歌卷和散文卷(中国广播电视出版社 2008 年版)。这套丛书使许多基督徒作家由此浮出水面, 比如小说卷《新城路 100 号》除了展示大家熟知的北村、施玮的作品外, 还有莫非、区曼玲、小约翰、融融、慕鸿、安然、何西、杨小娟、爱米、徐徐、尧雨、鹤子、陈卫珍、曹蔡文洁、山眼、戴宁、文屏、季芳、但理、羊君、叶子等 20 余位基督徒作家的小说。散文卷《此岸彼岸》除了展示著名作家张晓风(台)、杏林子(台)、王鼎钧(台)等人的作品外, 还有另外 50 余位人们不熟悉的基督徒作家的散文。诗歌卷《琴与炉》则展示了施玮、北村、樊松坪、鲁西西、齐宏伟、空夏、易翔、杨俊宇、谭延桐、于贞志、新生命、姜庆乙、匙河、雁子、王怡、楚耳、海上花下、雪女、仲彦、东郑溪波、梦月、徐徐、陈巨飞、黄莹、殷龙和刘光

〔3〕 施玮 Shi Wei, 《丛书总序》Congshu Zongxu[General Preface of the Series], 施玮 Shiwei 主编, 《灵性文学丛书小说卷第一辑·新城路 100 号》[Volume I of the Novels of the Series of the Spiritual Literature. No. 100 of the Xincheng Road], (北京 Beijing: 中国广播电视大学出版社 Zhongguo guangbo dianshi Chubanshe[China Radio and Television University Press], 2008)2.

〔4〕 《旧约·创世记》2 章 7 节. Genesis 2:7.

〔5〕 《新约·以弗所书》4 章 24 节. Ephesians 4:24.

〔6〕 施玮 Shiwei, 《扩大我们的帐幕》Kuoda Women de Zhangmo, [To Expand Our Tabernacle], “施玮文库”Shiwei Wenku, [Shiwei's Series,]http://www.shiwei.org/index_essay_ChineseChristianLiterature.htm.

〔7〕 *Ibid.*

耀等 26 位诗人的作品。在基督徒诗歌这一领域,诗人远远不止这些,即使在整个汉语诗歌界,都有一些曾经为人所熟悉的作者,比如 1960 年代出生的阿吾、鲁西西、宋晓贤、苏小和、桑克、马永波,比如 1970 年代出生的黄礼孩、李建春等,比如 1980 年代出生的李浩、黎衡、张慧君、孙苜蓿……如今,他们的名字,也属于基督徒这一信仰群体。最新的一套基督徒诗丛也在 2014 年由上海三联书店出版,丛书第一辑有五种,分别为刘平的《一字一国度》、刘光耀的《爱、死、忧郁,天使的迷狂》、宋晓贤的《日悔录》、李浩的《风暴》和荣光启的《噢恰当》。可以说,今天在当代中国的文学版图上,人们应当关注有一种文学叫基督徒文学;从其审美属性来说,也可以称之为“灵性文学”。

二、“文学的标准”

在当代中国的女性基督徒作家中,施玮和鲁西西的作品是比较突出的,这与她们的文学质量密切相关:虽然是基督徒文学,但其文学性没有降低。施玮创作了大量的小说,最新的著作则是长诗《辉煌的基督》,此著由香港汉语圣经协会 2014 年出版,更名为《以马内利》。这是一部精心结构的长诗,作者以耶稣生平中的重要事件为线索,以圣经记述为根据,对圣经的情境和思想展开想象,将写作者的情思与信仰经验融入在想象的圣经情境中,使人对圣经记述有更具体、更深切的感知。在基督徒的文学中追求文学性是必要的。基督徒若只是将圣经当中的话语换一种自我的形式重新叙述一遍,不能让人对圣经话语有任何新的感觉、想象和经验,我们何必读他们的作品,有这个时间我多阅读圣经岂不是更好?基督徒的文学首先应当是文学,而不是宣教文学,如果先是宣教文学,效果恐怕适得其反。

20 世纪伟大的文学家艾略特(Thomas Stearns Eliot, 1888—1965)是基督徒,但他的诗歌、戏剧和文学理论却不能以宣教文学冠之,而是人人称道的现代文学经典(如《荒原》、《四个四重奏》等),其作品(包括文学理论)的光芒在世界现代文学的序列中至今没有褪色,艾略特非常反对文学对宗教的“宣传”,而是要求“文学是一种不自觉地、无意识地表现基督教思想感情的文学,而不是一种故意地和挑战性地为基督教辩护的文学”〔8〕,他强调“一部作品是文学不是文学,只能用文学的标准来决定,但是文学的‘伟大性’却不能仅仅用文学的标准来决定。〔9〕”。据此,文学的标准是作品在感觉、想象和经验的层面上,让读者对作者的言说对象有具体的感知和深深的感动。

该著在“序言”之后,便是长诗第一篇《圣诞雪》,第一节即是:“圣诞,一场洁净的雪/从高天之外,降下/柔软厚实地覆盖尘世/掩去滚滚烟尘、人声,掩去/心灵和肉体的喧嚣//商人们竭力地喧哗缤纷/却仿佛屏幕上无声摇晃的虚影/圣洁,俯下身来/如一场雪。馨凉。丰厚/向虚弱,难以发芽的灵魂耳语”〔10〕。主耶稣诞生的情境中有一场雪,这是合理的想象,如果仅有这个想象,那也只是对圣经记述的合理延伸,没有给我们在圣经语句之外为我们增添什么。但这里令人感动的是:作者将她对救世主的理解与雪的想象很好地融合在一起:“圣洁,俯下身来/如一场雪……”圣洁无瑕的神子(本文中“神”,一般情况下,与“上帝”同义),他本是神,却降卑为人,生于世间,这是神对人的屈就(“俯下身来”),是神的大爱的表现,在圣诞之雪的想象中,融入了神的属性和救赎的要义。这样的文学写作,无论是在想象上还是在教义上,让人对神有多重的感知和理解,也许这才是合理的基督徒文学。

鲁西西是一位上世纪九十年代就成名的女诗人,在新世纪初,她正式宣告自己的基督徒身份,在作品上,也给我们带来了一种新风。相对于许多女诗人的颓废、绮靡与唯美,鲁西西的诗歌给人一种

〔8〕 T. S. Eliot, “Religion and Literature”, Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot, London: Faber and Faber, 1975, p. 100.

〔9〕 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

〔10〕 施玮 Shiwei, 《以马内利》*Yimaneili* [Emmanuel], 香港汉语圣经协会 Hongkong Hanyu Shengjing Xiehui [Hongkong Chinese Bible International Limited], 2014, 8.

清新、明朗的希望之色。她的那首《喜悦》常常为人称道：“喜悦漫过我的双肩，我的双肩就动了一下。//喜悦漫过我的颈项，我的腰，它们像两姐妹/将相向的目标变为舞步。//喜悦漫过我的手臂，它们动得如此轻盈。/喜悦漫过我的腿，我的膝，我这里有伤啊，但/是现在被医治。//喜悦漫过我的脚尖，脚背，脚后跟，它们克制/着，不蹦，也不跳，只是微微亲近了一下左边，/又亲近了一下右边。//这时，喜悦又回过头来，从头到脚，//喜悦像霓虹灯，把我变成蓝色，紫色，朱红色^[11]。”很多人将之读成了励志之作，但是，这里边那激励人的经验从何而来？人若不理解其基督信仰的背景，恐怕很难真正体会这里的“喜悦”。

鲁西西现今的许多诗，其实来自于《圣经·旧约》的《诗篇》和教会史上、当代中国许多著名的赞美诗。也许不能说鲁西西的诗是这些诗的“影子”，但欣赏鲁西西诗作的人，不去追根溯源，不去探寻那吸引鲁西西的“喜悦”之泉源，在理解上一定有偏差。鲁西西将自己的文学之路，描述为一次死而复活，如她《失而复得》一诗所写：“我最爱吃青春，爱情，和诗歌。/我就是靠吃这些东西长大的。/我每天吃，不管身边有没有陪伴。/我每天吃，但还是老了，孤独，口味败坏了。/但是今天，当我把这一切都挪开，/把吃进内里的全部淘出来，/这些我极度喜爱的东西，/我看我从此不吃，能不能活下去。/我活过来了，居然活得很好。/我活得很好就像我从来没有吃过它们。^[12]”这里的“青春，爱情，和诗歌”，指的是那些“肉体的情欲、眼目的情欲并今生的骄傲^[13]”，大多文学家是靠写这些生活的，像吃饭一样。但这样的“饭”，也是越“吃”越虚无，越“吃”越“苦”。鲁西西在人生的中途，进行了一次生命的跳跃，“我看我从此不吃，能不能活下去。”结果是“我活过来了，居然活得很好。/我活得很好就像我从来没有吃过它们。”其实不是鲁西西幸运，对于每个人都是这样，上帝已经预备这样的筵席，可惜，赴宴的人，很少。在别的文学家那里赖以活命的东西、作为创作源泉的东西，如今在鲁西西这里，成了要“挪开”的东西。“挪开”也意味着这种生活变化的重量与难度。鲁西西在这里，像使徒保罗对待所说：“只是我先前以为与我有益的，我现在因基督都当作有损的。^[14]”“把这一切都挪开”，也因为上帝的应许：“凡要救自己生命的（‘生命’或作‘灵魂’。下同），必丧掉生命；凡为我丧掉生命的，必得着生命。^[15]”她的《失而复得》，精义在这里。

鲁西西让人佩服的是，即使对宗教反感的人、将信仰视为不可说之物的人，都常常欣赏鲁西西的诗作。这就是鲁西西作为诗人的出众之处了。严格说来，文学素材无高下之分，“宗教诗”的说法是不成立的（宗教经典可能有文学性，但其目标绝不是文学；诗中有“宗教”，但其到底是不是诗，决定因素不是“宗教”，而是其中诗的艺术），诗也不可能因为宗教的题材、主旨就变得高尚、优秀。在文学中，经验的传达一定是文学性的，而不是宗教式的，虽然宗教中也有文学性的言辞。对于基督徒诗人来说，成为一名优秀的写作者就更困难，因为有圣经，圣经中除了杰出的《诗篇》外，以色列人的智慧书、先知书等书卷，许多都是诗歌体，读者读你从这些伟大的诗歌中衍生出来的作品，为什么不选择直接面对希伯来文学、面对圣经？鲁西西比许多基督徒诗人优秀之处在于，她的诗歌没有直译《诗篇》和转述赞美诗，她的诗歌中仍然有一个信仰者复杂的生存经验和生命体悟。

《序曲与怀念》是一首杰作：“我爱高山的同时也爱着它的倒影。/那美好的事物因此被我爱了两次：/洁净，湿润，岩石做成的手臂，/白昼的强壮体魄隐藏着夜晚的秘密和种子。/我是一个人，但也不仅仅是。/那流经深谷的长河停了下来，/我所呼吸的新鲜空气把我带进幻想，/和现实的这一刻。黑

[11] 《诗刊》Shikan [Poetry] 2001 年第 3 期 [No. 3, 2001], 收入《鲁西西诗歌选》Lu xixi Shigexuan [Selections of Lu Xixi's poetry], (北京 Beijing: 光明日报出版社 [Guangming Daily Press], 2005), 3.

[12] 《汉诗》Hanshi [Chinese Poetry] 2011 年第 3 期 [No. 3, 2011], (武汉 Wuhan: 武汉出版社 [Wuhan Press], 2011), 105.

[13] 《新约·约翰一书》2 章 16 节。1 John 2:26.

[14] 《新约·腓立比书》3 章 7 节。Philippians 3:7.

[15] 《新约·马太福音》16 章 25 节。Matthew 16:25.

夜像瑶池摆动着我的肉体，/窃窃私语的翕动的嘴唇忘了黑暗的另一世界。/就这样在归乡的夜路上我看见了果树，/与平原；河水的眼神渴望与山顶相呼应。/我是念缙文的信徒和献祭在一起，/好似一件重大的事情已发生，/可我是如此沉重，又迷醉。/我并不曾让信念持续得比痛苦更广阔，/除非给我两柄利斧，两个反面：/除非有一个更大的秩序，/维持着暗夜的空洞与节拍。^[16]”此诗中，有对至高者上帝的独特赞美；有自我的表白；有对新的生命状态的描述；有光明与黑暗的争战……人的信仰经验是复杂的，上帝是一个尺度，人的罪性亦是一个尺度，信仰会使一个人的痛苦更深，但也如同产难，其中孕育的是希望。艾略特在长诗《四个四重奏》里曾有这样的诗句：“我对我的灵魂说，别作声，让黑暗降临在你的身上/这准是上帝的黑暗。……”(I said to my soul, be still, and let the dark come upon you/ which shall be the darkness of God.)^[17]“上帝的黑暗(The Darkness of God)”，该是什么样的情形？它指的应该是人在困难甚至绝望当中对上帝坚忍的盼望，这里有文学家基督徒才能感受到的东西，而基督徒文学，其令人激动的地方也在这里：以更深切的言辞描述出一种普遍而难以言说的信仰经验。

三、“忍受”的美学

李建春是1970年代出生的诗人中在写作风格上较为成熟的，他应当属于“知识分子写作”的阵营，作品曾经刊发于“中国诗歌评论”丛书^[18]。不过，也因为信仰的原因，他渐渐离开“知识分子写作”的诗人群体，独立于自己的艰苦卓绝、追求技艺的长诗写作。中国的知识分子，在求知求真的历程中，接触、认信基督教的信仰体系对一些人自然是自然的事情，但对于作家、尤其是诗人而言，成为基督徒并没有降低其对文学作品的技艺的要求，相反，为着上帝的荣耀，他们在创作中，对技艺的要求更高。

当一个诗人从早期的感觉化的写作当中慢慢成熟，开始思虑这些感觉从何而来、这些感觉到底合理不合理、这些感觉有什么用等问题时，他的写作已从纯粹的审美领域过渡到伦理学的领域；从美神之子成长为要担当自我与人类命运的西西弗是一个进步，但在这个进步之后，其实有更深一步的问题：西西弗的壮举是在藐视神明的语境下成立的。而基督徒对此的回应是：上帝并未缺席，上帝的爱通过十字架上的耶稣、三日后复活的耶稣亲临每一个个体，随时随在。问题是：现在你继续依靠上帝给你的自由意志、拒绝上帝的救赎之恩，还是承认：比西西弗神话更荒谬的是，个体的人相信自己能救拔自己甚至担当人类的困苦。作为基督徒的李建春，其诗歌里的生存经验比以前更复杂了、同时在技艺上也更要求深切与节制。

“我怎能忍受，在仿佛被提高之后，/怎能再下去呢？怎能离开呢？/你说这是命令，‘你要学着我。’//世界之美在你身内闪耀，你是为此而来的。/我如此难堪，我的上帝躲起来，在平常的/街道，在超级市场的出入口。//人群中我忍受。他们冷漠地走向/各自的洞穴，如当年，当人子被钉上十字架后。/你教我说那词，对冷漠，对遗忘，说‘爱’。//爱能熔化水泥，钢铁，玻璃。我爱。/午后的云燃烧起来。贸易广场附近的转盘中央，/片刻的宁静。难得的开阔地，天空//下垂并且倾听。那云如乳房悬在干涸的/喷泉上方。人们离去，或步行或乘车回家，/我呆立在十字街口。我的嘴//如街头雕像的嘴，模糊的视线中/没有障碍之物。我的心大声地喊你，/求你不要离弃。我竭力地摇晃身体，//‘成了’，黑暗如漩涡卷入。求你不要离弃。/我的喊声里有愤怒和恐惧。我枯干如/谷壳，腐败如葡萄，在

[16] 《汉诗》Hanshi[Chinese Poetry]2011年第3期[No. 3, 2011], (武汉 Wuhan: 武汉出版社[Wuhan Press], 2011), 109.

[17] T. S. Eliot, "Four Quartets", The Complete Poems & Plays, London: Faber and Faber, 1969, p. 180.

[18] 李建春 Li Jianchun, 《百货大楼的语法》Baihuodalou de Yufa [Department Store's Grammar], 孙文波 Sun Wenbo, 臧棣 Zang Di, 肖开愚 Xiao Kaiyu 编, 《语言: 形式的命名》Yuyan: Xingshi de Mingming [Language: Formal Nomenclature], (北京 Bieijing: 人民文学出版社[Peoples Literature Publishing House], 1999), 129-137.

成熟的天空下。//午后的云散去。求你怜悯我狂乱的心。/我学着你,这几乎是不可能的。/我爱世界,就不能停下,/如你所命,我戴上了美的刺冠。^[19]”

在对自我进行了严厉的决断之后,李建春进入了一种从世界分别出来的生活,他在“街心公园”,在喧嚣之地的核心仰望神圣之物。在“街心花园”恒切祷告。“街心花园”是一个象征。信仰的生活不是远离尘嚣,而是在世界之中,但不效法这个世界。过去的生活,也许回忆起来还有点“美滋滋”,难以割舍,那是旧我的根性,需要一点点更新。已经被提,怎能再下去? 已经进入永生,怎能再回返? 这是命令,更是爱。李建春是一个不为时代精神所动的诗人,他的写作更多是在自我的罪污、世界的沉沦与上帝的圣洁、恩宠之间展开。他写的并不是人们想像中的“宗教诗歌”,他只是从上帝的启示那里领受了对待自我和世界的方式,并以之来更有效地展开心灵的辩白和对历史的沉思。在“美”与“荆冠”之间,新的生命与相应的代价、新的诗歌美学与相应的技艺之间,李建春的诗歌呈现了一种“忍受”的美学:他涌动的情感与经验在言说中非常冷峻、节制,其境界整体阔大、深远,但意象和言辞上又奇诡、独绝。

80 后诗人黎衡在诗艺上素来有着惊人的克制与成熟,其关于信仰经验的写作,在技艺上更是值得关注。“旷野早已无人/四十天的暴雨和四十天的沙石/宇宙蠕动着饥饿的胃/你要独自走向哪一个小小的星球的背面/穿过沉默的光环/开始说话,未来一直涌出鲜血/忍耐,使紧闭的门/从死亡的海底被喷泉顶开/你的梦盖满灰尘,你梦见你不停地/走向自己,你自己就是国家、/山巅、洁白的衣服/你在衰朽中成为流浪的琴弦^[20]”。这首诗处理的是耶稣在旷野受试探这一经典题材,但他却写出了新意,他没有将诗歌的言辞变成圣经话语的解释,没有无节制的抒发对耶稣的情感,而是“忍耐”,思想这件事的“未来”,短短的诗行中,他将耶稣流血牺牲、受难、死亡、所开拓的未来及成为今天许多流浪者的“琴弦”等等意思表达得非常充沛,让人深感诗歌简练而丰富的美。

“‘风随着意思吹,你听见风的响声,/却不晓得从哪里来,往哪里去。’//这天晚上,我们从莲花山公园/绕出来,越过一座人行天桥,想去/初见时的广场吹吹风。窸窣的雨/使街道卷曲,行人都是影子。//但我们走反了方向,在从未见过的/路牌之间兜圈,梅林的街区/“都像叶子渐渐枯干”,‘好像风把我们吹去。’迷路使我们更饥饿,//更无知。我忽然记起附近有一座教堂,/于是带你去寻找,‘风不住地旋转。’/经过斜坡、树丛,我们循着诗班练唱的/歌声,发现它,在风的无限安静中。^[21]”这首诗来自《新约·约翰福音》3 章 8 节,同样的经典题材,黎衡在处理时携带了个人的日常生活,他将迷途、饥饿和无知的日常生活景象引向信仰的漩涡中,在不住旋转的风中,“你”会发现教堂,它“在风的无限安静中”。诗作最后一句极有意味,那“安静”,犹如风暴中心的安静;这是迷途与知返的人生历程中的风暴与安静。黎衡的诗歌写作技艺的娴熟之风一如既往。

四、“宗教诗歌”?

事实上,当代汉语诗坛有许多像李建春、黎衡、鲁西西这样的写作者,尽管在此前他们的写作已经被广泛认可,但作为基督徒文学,人们在谈论时往往又陷入一种偏见:他们是“宗教诗人”、他们写的是“宗教诗歌”。这种先见至少有两种意味:一是“宗教”将会使诗歌写作的指向变得单一,将复杂的人生问题简单化,这样的诗人“排除了人们通常认为是人类特性的一些主要激情,因此也就承认了他对这

[19] 李建春 Li Jianchun,《街心花园祈祷》Jiexin Huayuan Qidao [Pray in the Street Garden],《出发遇雨:二十年诗选》Chufa Yuyu; Ershinian Shixuan [Encounter Rain on the Road; Selected Poems in the twenty years], (广州 Guangzhou: 花城出版社 [Huacheng Publishing House], 2012), 3.

[20] 黎衡 Liheng,《光荣》Guangrong [Glory],《今天》Jintian [Today], winter number (2010), 65.

[21] 黎衡 Liheng,《来自风》Laizifeng [From the Breeze],《诗林》Shilin [Poetry Forest], No. 5 (2014).

些激情的无知。”——就像 T. S. 艾略特曾经指出的：在大多数诗歌爱好者看来，“宗教诗歌”（religious poetry）只是一种“小诗歌”或“次要诗歌”（minor poetry）^[22]；二是因为宗教是可疑的，由此宗教诗也不应当拿到公共诗坛的层面来谈论。在当代中国知识分子的思想背景中，当然有些人是尊重宗教的存在及其价值，而有些人，则一直持天然的远离或否定的态度，在文学中亦然。

其实对于第一种观点，我们想说的，这种偏见是针对宗教本身的偏见，同时也殃及了以此为素材的文学。其实，文学好坏之标准并不在其素材本身。T. S. 艾略特说，但丁、莎士比亚如此伟大的诗人，他们之所以伟大并不在于言说了什么“时代”的思想精神（他们所处时代的伟大的宗教思想），对于他们而言，那些“流行于他们各自时代的思想，也就是强加在他们身上的材料，他们不得不用以作为表达他们感情的媒介，这种思想的相对价值是无要紧要的。”^[23]而文学的独特性在哪里？真正的诗人“所从事的工作只不过是把人类的行动转化成为诗歌。”^[24]“诗人制作诗歌”正如“蜜蜂制作蜂蜜”一样，“他只管制作。”这种诗人的优秀之处正在于他对时代精神、现实经验在语言、形式上的“转化”与高质量的文本“制作”。正是这种专心地“制作”，使他们才能够成为那个时代“诗人中的诗人”。艾略特说莎士比亚：“和他同时代作家当中的任何一位相比……在把素材转化为诗歌的过程中表现出更高超的本领”^[25]。莎士比亚平均每个剧本引用圣经 14 次，这并不代表他就真正信仰上帝，但是，作为文学写作，你要看的是，从素材到作品的最终呈现，作家的“制作”与“转化”之工在哪里。

对于第二种观点，其实，批评宗教之可疑的人与基督徒作家不同的是，后者把真正的宗教当作宗教，前者则是把诗歌、文学当作宗教。他们所秉承的人生态度其实是一种立足于人本身的“人道主义”或“人文主义”（当前中国文化中被普遍高举的“人性化”、“以人为本”等话语也与此有关）。

其实这些态度都没有错，问题在于如何才能实现真正的“人性化”、“以人为本”或达到生命内在的“自由”？人从自身的原点能否凭借自身飞跃至“自由”之境？美国新人文主义运动创始人之一欧文·白璧德（Irving Babbitt, 1866—1933）曾这样总结秉承“人道主义”的人们：“他们情愿生活在自然主义的水平上，却同时又想享受过去人们通过一些人文主义的或宗教的锻炼所获得的好处”^[26]。而 T. S. 艾略特把白璧德对“人道主义”者的批评仅仅改动了几个字眼，就解构了自诩高人一等的“人文主义”者的优越心态：“他们情愿生活在人文主义的水平上，却同时又想享受过去人们通过一些宗教的锻炼所获得的好处”，这也许也是我们的诗坛另一些高人雅士的矛盾心态：他们需要宗教般的体验或好处，却不愿接受宗教的“约束”。在 T. S. 艾略特看来，其实“人文主义”并不比“人道主义”好多少：“人道主义抑制了特有的人性，只剩下兽性；人文主义者抑制了神性，只剩下人性中一个成分，而这个成分，虽然他（人文主义者）力求使之升高，却有可能很快地下降到兽性的水平。”^[27]

当代中国的基督徒诗人的创作，即使不从宗教角度，你也能辨认其诗歌在技艺上的价值。当然，如果你懂得诗歌文本在题材上的来源，关于这种技艺、关于人本身，你会知道得更多。当代中国的基督徒诗歌，无论从作者来源还是从作品本身，都有许多值得探究的地方，这是一种有价值的文学形态。

[22] T. S. Eliot, "Religion and Literature", Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot, London: Faber and Faber, 1975, p. 99.

[23] T. S. Eliot, "Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca", Selected Essays, London: Faber and Faber, 1951, p. 136.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 138-139.

[26] T. S. Eliot, "The Humanism of Irving Babbitt", Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot, London: Faber and Faber, 1975, p. 278.

[27] *Ibid.*

English Title:

On Christian Poetry of Contemporary China

RONG Guangqi, Associate Professor, P. C. 430073, Chinese Language and Literature College, Wuhan University, LuoJiaShan, WuChang district, Wuhan city, Hubei Province, P. R. China, Tel: 15802712321, Email: rongguangqi@163.com.

Abstract: Contemporary Chinese Christian Literature has bloomed. Some classify these works as “Spiritual Literature”, aiming to stress the sacred part in human. Christian Poetry share some similarities in experiences and aesthetic with Non-Christian Poetry. Many Christian poets pursue “the standard of literature” in their poems. However, readers and critics tend to neglect them as “Religious Poetry”. In fact, “religion” only serves as writing resources. It is non-literary to distain the literature that just based on religion. In terms of the standard of literature, some Christian poems are highly profound and complex in light of experiences and techniques.

Key Words: Christian Literature; Spiritual Literature; the standard of literature; Christian Poetry; Religious Poetry

教会历史与中西社会
Church History in the West and in China

A History of Ideas in Pioneering Contemporary Chinese Art as a History of Devotion

ZHA Changping

(Center for the Study of Christianity, Sichuan University, Chengdu, P. R. China)

Abstract: After being the history of language, the history of time, the history of self, the history of the natural world, the history of society, the history of culture, this paper discusses the reason why the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art should also be treated as a sort of devotion and its characteristics. The origin of the naming of the history of devotion, its difference from the history of spirit, art being what kind of psychic mode of being, its representative works, all of these problems will become the field of questions which the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art as a sort of devotion try to treat with.

Key Words: the history of ideas; the history of devotion; devotional art

Author: Changping Zha, Ph. D., Renmin University of China in Peking, an art critic and biblical scholar. Born in 1966, male, Chief-editor of *RENWEN YISHU* 人文艺术 [Journal for Humanities and Art] and an associate professor of Center for the Study of Christianity, Sichuan University, Chengdu, China. Research areas: Logic-history, Biblical Theology and Art Critique. Email: 1748215111@qq.com.

The perspective of history of devotion is tied in with the forming factors of the world-picture logic and named according the same pattern as the previous histories—the history of language, the history of time, the history of self, the history of the natural world, the history of society. In this paper the author observes that the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art should also be treated as a sort of ‘history of God’.

To state such a thing however, may lead to some colossal misunderstandings. From a theistic perspective, the term ‘history of God’ implies the history of God’s revelation of Himself or the history of the faith of persons in God. From an atheistic standpoint, a ‘history of God’ may refer to the history of how persons made themselves God, or how people invoked the concept and name of God in order to insist on the absolute and unlimited primacy of their ideas and viewpoints. Clearly, in none of these respects is the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art a kind of ‘history of God’, rather, if we interpret the term ‘God’ as a form of ‘ultimate being’, we are completely justified in exploring such an angle. Our history of ideas as a ‘history of God’ will explore the process by which ‘ultimate being’ emerges through pioneering contemporary Chinese art.

This process in and of itself is an effort taken on as, what is referred to in theology as, an

ultimate concern. Theological discussions posit that God has a principle of hiddenness, and this God reveals Himself through ‘God’s Spirit’ or ‘the Holy Spirit’, or through connection with a person’s ‘devotional’ existence. This ‘devotional’ existence has been understood in Sinophone philosophical circles as a kind of ‘psychic’ mode of being. This has parallels with thinkers such as Kant, Hegel, Husserl or Heidegger from Modern Western Philosophical tradition. In the work of these thinkers can be found a shared subconscious grounding in the Christian doctrine of creation, where the devotional existence of persons is sooner or later interpreted in connection with psychic existence.

According to the Christian tradition, when humans were created they were endowed with a devotional existence by God. This original devotional existence, proceeding the fall and excommunication of humans from God, became humanity’s psychic existence. What this psychic existence refers to is not the Holy Spirit of God above them but the material world at their feet, which explains the emergence of the mental-physical dualism in modern philosophy. In spite of this, that original spirituality in humanity persists today in a vestigial form under the name of psychic activities, such as art, metaphysics and religion.

Only in this way can we discuss the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art as a kind of ‘history of psyche’. It is first and foremost a ‘history of devotion’. The implication of this then is that we must examine in this history of ideas how, as an object of ultimate concern, God acts upon a person’s spirituality. Put another way we can ask how does a person’s spirituality interact with God’s spirit and, consequently, how does this interaction come to surface in works of contemporary art.

According to the world-picture logic, in their social interactions and connections with others, persons come to form their psychic lives. The foundation of this psychic life, however, lies in having a cultural life informed by their readings of history, and a devotional life cultivated through their interactions with God, who transcends history. If this is not the case, then the person’s psychic life may well degenerate to the level of an animalistic flesh and blood organism.

Only once they have activated this devotional self through faith experiences, can persons in society have an authentic psychic life to speak of. So too in history, they will have cultural lives oriented towards the pursuit of truth, and above and beyond the texts of history they will have great works of art and writings to speak of. Of course, we are not suggesting that all an artist needs to create great work is a devotional life. The effective expression of this devotional life requires the artist’s patient and persistent experimentation with artistic language and a tireless consolidation of their technical ability.

All great works of art come from the activation of the artist’s personal devotional life. This primarily involves the artist’s continued efforts to convert his psychic life into a devotional life, and then unrelentingly converting this devotional life into an ultimately concerned life. Through this conversion the artist resolutely testifies to the richness of the devotional life.

Such works establish the project of art as something that transcends the many dimensions of the artist, their personal mental life, their interpersonal psychic life and even their cultural life, endowing art with its ‘trans-historical’ quality and classic works of art with eternal value. This is the standard with which we will delineate truly great works of art and excellent works of art. Great works of art must have the ability to transcend the historical context of their production, they have the potential

to be repeatedly reinterpreted and reappraised throughout the history of humanity.

Once the devotional life has come to constitute a person's very way of life, we can also refer to it as an ultimately concerned organism, even if at its root their life might not necessarily possess an absolute ultimate concern. In fact, only in the lives of those who truly have faith in the process of faith itself, can one see the object of their faith bestowed with ultimacy in their lives. This object of ultimacy then illuminates their lives and serves as an inexhaustible source of ultimacy for their work. Before the Financial Crisis of 2008, there was a whole wave of people involved in the art world of Mainland China, who had started out studying art, then had gone into interior design and then finally moved into production of contemporary art.

Today, most of these people are nowhere to be seen. Back then their faith in contemporary art was actually faith in the financial returns that art was capable of bringing in. They had no belief in the ultimate value that art alone could bring to their individual lives, at most they dabbled briefly in expressing the emotional or mental dimensions of their lives. Their work was absent of any devotional dimension.

After all it was not art but financial gain which constituted the object of their longings. Aside from this, another portion of those involved in the art world hold positions in art academies, which stipulate they must regularly produce work. This art production by demand is why the art works of the academies are always unremarkable, inadequate and superficial, failing to be effective on a devotional and psychic level. Such people are oriented not by art but by success in the mundane world.

As a matter of fact, in a country that denies authentic faith and an art world such as that in contemporary China where the rejection of authentic faith is also widespread, artists can only allude to humanity's original devotional existence under the aegis of the fallen psychic dimension of human existence. No, actually the artist doesn't even have the means to articulate humanity's essential authentic devotional state, unless they have received such a state through grace, that is, unless they believe in the theological premise that the object of their faith determines their ability to believe as a person of faith.

In light of this, we can only examine the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art from the perspective of a psychic history, not a devotional history, and scrutinize the emergence of contemporary art phenomena from the transcendental concept of art^[1]. What we refer to as a 'history of devotion' is a discussion of the way in which the personal devotional nature of artists interacts and communicates with God's spirit above through their artwork. As for our history of psyche, in that we will explore how in their work the artist's psyche transcends their conscious self to have dealings with others in society and others in history. Sometimes the artist is full of yearning for some divine presence. When these dealings inevitable touch on or are even completely transformed by the root of the devotional life of persons, that eternal ultimately concerned life, the psychic history which is expressed through their work becomes a devotional history.

[1] Zha Changping 查常平: *Renwenxue de wenhua luoji——xingshang yishu zongjiao meixue zhi bijiao* 人文学的文化逻辑——形上、艺术、宗教、美学之比较 [The Cultural Logic of the Humanitology——A Comparative Among Metaphysics, Art, Religion and Aesthetics] [The Cultural Logic of the Humanities——A Comparison of Metaphysics, Art, Religion and Aesthetics], (Chengdu: Bashu Press, 2007), 139-186.

The transcendental concept of art denotes: to deny the existence or validity of the human psyche, is to deny the possibility of artists' creating any authentic emotional work, rendering any reference to truth made by art critics completely invalid and any exhibition centred around academic appraisal of art completely pointless. Not only that, to deny the psyche removes the capacity for collectors to view works of art from a historical perspective, and results in it being highly unlikely that those working in the art world do so for any other purpose beside personal gain.

In our eyes, art is a venue for a person to access a psychic mode of being, on a par with metaphysics and religion. What we mean is that art serves as the symbolic form of our idealised emotional experience of living, while metaphysics is the conceptualised system with which we access our idealised intellectual experience of living, and religion is the guiding faith of our idealised intentional experience of living. These three operate between our self consciousness and super-self consciousness, active at the crossover of the devotional life and the ultimately concerned life, implicit in the human-divine relationship.

In relation to the mental life of a person, this idealisation suggests that the emotional, intellectual and intentional experiences of living that constitute our psychological structure are not some sort of ready made objects but are fostered in our mental life through formative education. In the course of such education persons seek ways to express themselves through symbolic form, conceptual thought patterns and guiding faith. This allows them to emerge from the restrictions of self consciousness and develop a super-self consciousness, forming a psychic life and allowing them to access a cultural life as part of humanity's universal self. They may even receive inspiration from a higher, ultimate existence, which will turn their previous conditioning on its head, compelling them to reconstruct anew their idea of self with this ultimate existence as the root of their life.

From this we can see that art, metaphysics and religion are the outcome and representations of the transcending of the self. Furthermore many connections become apparent: between art and the psychological structure which constitutes a person, between art and the psyche of an individual person, between art and the universal self of humanity, between art and ultimate existence itself. What mediates these connections is the unique artistic language of every single work of art. This implies that the history of art is really the history of how the human psyche discloses itself through form. As any art form must adhere to materials of physical matter, the history of art is then also a history of how physical matter has been deployed as material for the purposes of art, in other words, a history of how designated physical matter has come to be imbued with the psyche.

If one were to compare the psychic mode of being with the academic categories used to organise human culture (such as aesthetics, ethics, science), we could describe it in this way^[2]:

Aesthetics is an academic discipline. It is concerned with the intentional experience of living. It employs intuitive persuasive language to articulate the worldly self, allowing humanity to realise an original transcendence.

[2] Zha Changping 查常平: Renwenxue de wenhua luoji——xingshang yishu zongjiao meixue zhi bijiao 人文学的文化逻辑——形上、艺术、宗教、美学之比较 [The Cultural Logic of the Humanitology——A Comparative Among Metaphysics, Art, Religion and Aesthetics], (Chengdu: Bashu Press, 2007), 41.

Religion is a psychic mode of being. It is concerned with the intentional experience of living. It employs spontaneous or sudden, persuasive language to articulate an ideal or other world, giving rise in human life to an original faith.

Ethics is an academic discipline. It is concerned with the emotional experience of living. It employs a symbolic language of sensations to articulate worldly society, constructing for humanity an original set of principles.

Art is a psychic mode of being. It is concerned with the emotional experience of living. It uses a sensory symbolic language to articulate an ideal or other world, presenting to human life the original forms.

Science is an academic discipline. It is concerned with the intellectual experience of living. It uses perceptual sign-based language to articulate the natural world, uncovering for humanity the original concepts of the natural world.

Metaphysics is a psychic mode of being. It is concerned with the intellectual experience of living. It uses perceptual sign-based language to articulate an ideal or other world, eliciting from human life original concepts of existence.

The emotional experience of living in our cultural psychological structure takes a sensory symbolic form. The uniqueness of art as a psychic mode of being (as compared to religion and metaphysics) lies in how it alone can read this sensory symbolic form. The way we go about evaluating the intellectual dimension of a work of art involves investigating whether the work has recognisable traces of the creator's psychic condition and whether its content expresses universal human emotional experiences of living. We may also consider how unique the sensory and symbolic aspects of the art form actually are. In pioneering contemporary Chinese art, it is genuinely rare to come across a piece that manages to successfully combine and include all of these elements.

Any work that does accomplish this while also attending to expressing the devotional life on which the psychic and cultural dimensions of human life are interdependent, belongs among the ranks of the great masterpieces. As a conclusion we can say that in these first thirty years of contemporary Chinese art there have really only been very talented artists. Truly great artists, we are yet to see. As for the blossoming of artistic languages, the differences in individual artists' personal emotional experiences of living drive them to look for unique ways of expressing themselves technically in their work, it is only with such diversity of expressive technique that there can be works of a distinct nature produced. As a result of the influences of the soviet-style realist art education model and the trend of technologism from 1960s onward, art academies have placed excessive emphasis on the importance of technical ability. This is why such a large proportion of works being produced in contemporary Chinese art are so similar and repetitive. It signifies the widespread poverty of the cultural lives of Chinese citizens.

When we see the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art as a psychic history, we will also give our attention to works that use a negating or critical approach to explore both the progress of the human psyche and the devotional life that brings personal renewal. In such works we see that through art the artists resist, doubt or even denounce the fleshism, materialism and technologism (as it is deployed in art) in the Chinese intellectual tradition and the current cultural environment.

Chinese civilization has undergone a cultural shift. It has moved from prizing the psyche to stressing the primacy of the flesh body and the material, from harbouring yearnings for transcending the world it has shifted on to intervening in the world and has now ended up seeing the created world as the actual world itself. This process overall represents a downward spiral of worldliness (the term ‘worldliness’ used here differs somewhat from the term ‘secularisation’ which is commonly discussed in reference to the sacred) and is aptly epitomised in history of the art of Dunhuang’s Mogao caves.

“The art of Dunhuang was at its peak in the Tang dynasty. After the Tang fell, the splendour and atmosphere of yester year diminished and, as time went on, more and more was lost with each successive generation. The wall paintings of the Song are noticeably cruder and sloppier than their Tang predecessors. Not only has the structure of the images become less rigorous, but the brushwork too lacks competence and fluency. The images have grown formulaic and conceptualised, the faces are all the same. When you walk in there you can’t help but feel empty. Although to their credit, the big swathes of single colours are well laid-out, you can’t deny they have their own distinct style. As for the Yuan period, with the exception of the third cave, none of them have even a semblance of style. Depictions of skin flaying and tendon pulling (tantric elements) have made it into the imagery, it’s all pretty nasty. There are hardly any wall paintings from the Qing dynasty, just a small collection of gaudy colored works with nothing much to say about aesthetically. Looking at the entire one thousand six hundred years of history of Dunhuang art it is like some long river in a foreign land, flowing placidly and silently through all manner of magnificent scenery. This river flows backward though, all the way to the city well (which is our secularized world), while that desert spring has not sunk into the ground.^[3]” To continue Gao Ertai’s metaphor, this river has also flowed into the current art world that has since the 1990s been chiefly occupied by a gaudy aesthetic, busy and burning with restlessness, creating a cultural landscape dominated by the pursuit of stylized sensual pleasures of the flesh.

“This is comparable to the health fads that have circulated around the Chinese public over the years, in the 1960s there was drinking water on an empty stomach, in the 70s there was injecting chicken blood, in the 80s people were consuming river spirulina, while the 90s witnessed a rise in the popularity of qigong. All of these fads came and went, people couldn’t stand them for long without getting tired and moving on to something else.^[4]” What remained consistent throughout however was the desire to prolong the life of the flesh and blood body and the sensual, hedonistic set of values it entailed.

Logically speaking, this tendency of Chinese civilization to be repeatedly mired infleshism, materialism and worldliness which shows up in its art, originates in the denial or rejection of the psyche in the mindset of the Chinese intellectual tradition. The psyche of a person as an individual life is explained away as essential qualities such as qi/chi 气, li 理 or dao 道, as if it is an emergent property of the flesh and blood organism and not something brought about by an acceptance of an

[3] Gao Ertai 高尔泰, Xunzhao jiayuan 寻找家园 [In Search of my Homeland] (Taipei, Imprint Literature Life Magazine Publishing Company Ltd, 2009), 187.

[4] Peng De; Living History—Observations of Contemporary Art (1) Lu Fusheng Ed. Art Chiina, 10(2012), 34.

ultimately concerned life directed toward higher matters beyond this worldly plane.

As a matter of fact, if one rejects the notion that human existence has a dual nature of body and mind, if you do not hold that a person has such a thing as a mind or soul at all, then whatever is emergent of the flesh and blood body is mere flesh and blood, there is no spirit to discuss, let alone the thirst for a devotional or ultimately concerned life that is implied by the existence of such a psyche.

Another reason for such a mindset is that Chinese civilization has not undergone the same intellectual baptism of the age of Christianity as other places elsewhere have. In other words, if we were to say from the perspective of a history of humanity, our civilization is being restructured from an age of power politics to one of capital-based economy as a result of the psychic awakening of the populace, or if we were to say from the perspective of a history of society that our society is being restructured, transforming from a pre-modern state into a modern state, through this ‘mixed-modern aeon’, then psychologically speaking the Chinese civilization is undergoing a restructuring from a pre-Christian era to a Christian era.

This is greatest psychological event of all—the transformation of the human heart-mind^[5]. There are some obstacles to this occurring however. While the experiences of transformations of civilizations and societies can be transmitted through tradition, the transformation of the human heart-mind requires persons to start all over again acting as individuals. Without such a restructuring, Chinese civilization at the end of the day constitutes nothing more than a secular culture in the world and of the world, nothing more than a culture in which persons interact with six of the seven forming factors (thus it is has human-linguistic relationships, human-temporal relationships, human-self relationships, human-thing relationships, human-human relationships and human-history relationships) with no relationship to bridge humans and the divine, it is no more than a culture within these relationships with the six forming factors and bound to the rules of the flesh and blood body, and thus restricted to the lowest levels of such relationships, no more than a walled-off culture that has lost its most fundamental drive to rise above and transcend, a culture caught up in idolatory doomed to play out a vicious cycle of a repetitive historical narrative.

Regardless of whether this culture is produced in a local folk shrine or in the palaces of the officials it is unable to shake off the absolute shackles of the world itself, the flesh and blood body and the material. This is because they have neglected to establish a sacred dimension, an axis to which the sublime and the mundane, the above and below are hinged. They have only the two paths from which to choose: withdrawal from or participation in the world. These two paths function horizontally, as ‘skillful means’ or convenient ways of understanding interactions between persons in a secular world. It is a so-called ethical worldview, lacking a moral foundation.

Conversely, Western society has already successfully undergone the transition from a Christian era to a post-Christian era. This is evident in many facets of contemporary Western society and culture such as the presence of ethical frameworks in emotional interpersonal relationships, politics and economics, all of these were developed from the ethical foundations of Christian theology. The

[5] In Chinese 心 xin refers to both heart and mind together, we translate it as ‘heart-mind’ here to avoid over emphasizing the ‘emotional’ (heart) or ‘cognitive’ (mind) aspects of xin

so-called secularization of Western culture actually describes the expansion of the originally marked out sacred dimension to encompass the secular dimension, namely having recognized the creator and the domain of creation, the space in which created beings can subsist is expanded.

Naturally, since the enlightenment there have been many intellectual movements that have genuinely sought to distance themselves from or even outright deny the existence of the sacred. This form of secularized thinking is very different from the intellectual trend of worldliness currently being experienced by the majority of persons in China. If we look at it in terms of the human-divine relationship, secularization is the process of distancing humanity and the world in which we live from the holiness of God, 'worldliness', on the other hand, is the worldview that rejects the existence of the divine and the sacred. If we flip the relationship around, now looking at it from a divine-human relationship, we can see that secularization represents the concealment of the divine, the divine hides from humanity and the world, whereas worldliness denotes that the divine has forsaken humanity and the world.

The holiness of God and the humanity of persons are promised to us in the Christian belief in the trinity (one God in three persons), this predisposed Western culture to move towards secularization rather than worldliness, allowing the individual person to be bestowed with a sacred dignity throughout. Within this doctrine is the confirmation of the function of the Holy Spirit. In the doctrine of creation, humans are imparted with the condition of psychic existence; this is the spiritual source of artistic creation. The psychic sensations that audiences receive from contact with art work are all founded on this. This is our rationale for examining the history of ideas in pioneering contemporary Chinese art from the angle of ultimate concern. Of course, we will not apply this kind of terminology in a contrived and forced manner, rather we shall penetrate into the depths of the complicated phenomenon that pioneering contemporary Chinese art presents itself as and rigorously examine, evaluate, reflect on, speculate, summarise, appeal and even raise supposed criticisms of the superficiality of the works of a handful of Christian artists who see it as their mission to express through their work this search for spirituality.

In that case, among the works of pioneering contemporary Chinese art, exactly which pieces could be seen as representative of devotional art? WangWangwang's "Search for God" series (2008), Meng Yan's huge oil paintings, "The Last Supper" and "The Divine Comedy" (2013), Daozi's "saintism ink-water", Qian Zhusheng's woodcuts, Duofu's images composed of cross shaped brushstrokes (the "Genesis" and "the 12th lunar month" series, 2013), The Gao Brothers' installation "Crisis—A Big Cross" (1994—96), the blood red imagery of Wang Lu's work, Zhu Jiuyang's wave themed pictures, all of these works appeal to the devotional dimension of existence from four angles: denial, affirmation in denial, affirmation and denial in affirmation, they call for the sacredness of the contemporary to arise, they call forth a devotional outlook characterised by an eternal hope (Translation by Lance Pursey, checked by Zha Changping).

中文题目：

中国先锋艺术思想史——作为灵性史

查常平，中国人民大学博士，艺术批评家和圣经学者。1966年生，男，《人文艺术》主编。四川大学基督教研究中心副教授。主要研究领域是逻辑历史、圣经神学和艺术批评。电子邮件：1748215111@qq.com

提要：在继艺术语言史、时间史、自我史、自然史、社会史与文化史后，本文回答中国先锋艺术思想史为什么是灵性史及其特征。灵性史命名的由来、灵性史与精神史的区别、艺术是人的一种什么样的精神样式、哪些作品可以作为灵性艺术的代表，这就是中国先锋艺术思想史作为灵性史讨论的问题域。

关键词：思想史；灵性史；灵性艺术

民国时期基督教艺术的本土化

——以陆鸿年作品为例

张 怡

(西安宇下知文化传播有限公司,西安市,陕西省,中国)

提要:民国时期的美术运动是新文化运动的一部分。新文化运动以“科学”和“民主”为旗号,向西方先进文明借鉴现代化中国的形成之路。“新民”、“新青年”、“新文化”等在艺术讨论中频繁出现的目的性词汇,都表明艺术需要激发出民族新的精神生命力。民国时期的美术,为这一目标付出了真诚的努力,蔡元培所期望的“年轻学生通过对艺术知识的学习和研究,培育出新的人格和道德观念,以从根本上解决这个民族的精神问题^[1]”的愿望,在不同绘画主张的派别里都得到了不同程度的实现。但民国的主流艺术创作整体上对人的根本问题触及不深。倒是一向不被关注的基督教美术中,有了人性追慕的闪光。北京辅仁大学美术系的陆鸿年的作品,堪称传统国画画家重构国画精神的崭新案例:他巧妙地结合传统中国画和西画技法,在颇具生活气息的、由来已久的日常情境中,将一种“体验神圣”甚至“经历神圣”的态度引入画面,在这方面,他越出了其他基督教艺术家的眼光,而又将革新——接受、参与改变的意识引入作品。在国家救赎、民族独立意识空前高涨的时刻,这样的洞察力,是当时很多教内外知识分子对宗教的讨论中都忽略掉的。而这些讨论的深入程度,实际上与当时知识分子对西方文明的理解程度密切相关。他的创作,不仅为民国时期的基督教艺术,也为中国传统文化带入了灵性的维度,这是其它主流艺术所未曾触及的。

关键词:现代化;本土化;基督教内涵;灵性维度

作者:张怡,助理研究员,西安宇下知文化传播有限公司,陕西省西安市莲湖区桃园中路1号,电话:+ 8615829050681,电邮:zhangyi1214@gmail.com,微信:15829050681

一、民国时期的中国社会与美术发展简析

“为了有别于其前后更稳定的中央政府的时期,1912至1949年的37年被称为中华民国时期。这些年间的特征,在军事—政治方面是内战、革命和入侵,在经济、社会、知识和文化的领域是变革和发展^[2]。”美国中国史学者费正清在他的《剑桥中华民国史》开头就这样概括了民国的中国社会。民国诞生的划时代意义,在于它使“中国不再隶属于任何‘天子’、或任何王朝,而归属于全体民众^[3]。”而此起彼伏的内战和未停又起的外国入侵,引起了民众救亡图存的变革意志。这些变革主要由新型的知识分子发起并实施。他们虽仍接续了传统士大夫对政治干预的职责,但与士大夫“大多表现为‘以

[1] 吕澎 LÜ Peng 著:《20世纪中国艺术史》*Ershi shiji Zhongguo yishu shi* [The History of Chinese Art in the 20th Century], (北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2009), 第163页。

[2] [美]费正清 FEI Zhengqing [John King Fairbank] 主编:《剑桥中华民国史》*Jianqiao Zhonghua minguo shi* [The Cambridge History of Republic of China], 第一部I, (上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Press], 1992,), 第1页。

[3] 徐中约 XU Zhongyue:《中国近代史》*Zhongguo jindai shi* [The Late Modern History of China], (北京 Beijing: 世界图书出版公司 Shijie tushu chubanshe [The World's Books], 2008) 第478页。

道统批判政统’,而‘对道统本身之批判则凤毛麟角’^{〔4〕}”不同的是,新型知识分子自觉到儒家道统强有力的规范系统对人发展的限制,他们呼吁的文化变革,直接指向了以儒家为代表的传统文化。从“矢志于弘道”的文化角色与这个角色之良心的忧患意识,转换为对“道”的批判与幽暗意识的萌生,这是中国史上绝无仅有的突破,这种突破是要解除掉禁锢人们创造力的思想文化,主动现代化。

新文化运动就是知识分子推动的现代化运动,这是 20 世纪上半页最重要的文化变革运动。各行业的留洋归国人员,在积弱不振的民族局面和西方新异文明景观的落差感中,掀起了志在改革和建设新生活的西化浪潮。在借鉴西方的先进文明时,他们倾向于一步到位的现代化,对于从西方带来的各种名词,倾向于望文生义。作为西方文明的主要源头的基督教,在新文化运动“科学”和“民主”的旗号下,被大多数精英略去了它作为西方文化的根底的意义。

而“新民”、“新青年”、“新文化”等等在艺术讨论中频繁出现的目的性词汇,都表明艺术需要激发出民族新的精神生命力。民国时期的美术,为这一目标付出了真诚的努力,蔡元培所期望的“年轻学生通过对艺术知识的学习和研究,培育出新的人格和道德观念,以从根本上解决这个民族的精神问题”^{〔5〕}的愿望,在不同绘画主张的派别里都得到了不同程度的实现。但此时的创新,若细致考察分别代表写实主义、中西融合的现代派、恪守传统的保守派三种方向的徐悲鸿、刘海粟、黄宾虹的作品,就能看到均显得囫圇吞枣而着力不深:全盘西化的写实主义,是在拿西方艺术技法绘制中国传统情怀;中西合璧的形式、浪漫主义,在追求“新的时代精神”表现的时候,是顺应个人气质的趣味模仿;而坚持传统绘画价值的艺术作品,又苦于“意境”并不能应付已经相去甚远的现实。虽然写实主义由于其直观、准确、通俗、富有号召性的表现形式,被认为最能反传统,又能在任何时候有社会—政治关怀而通行无阻。但必须看到,所有的关怀在那个内忧外患、战乱频仍、非传统无信仰的时刻,作品的内在深度和外在形式,往往还被驱赶至政治的目的性中。

这让民国的艺术创作整体上对人的根本问题触及不深。在林风眠创作的《人道》、《痛苦》等作品,和庞薰栾的《地之子》、《时代的女儿》等作品中,我们尚能够看到艺术家对人之存在的省思与对人性的深度关切。但在主流美术中,这样的作品非常少。倒是一向不被关注的基督教美术中,有了人性追慕的闪光。

二、基督教传教策略推重“本土化”

基督教在民国因为宗教信仰自由的政策,加之教会学校的兴建,得到了空前的大发展,而传教士们在经历了一系列的挫折之后,无论是天主教还是新教,都积极调整了他们的传教策略。“如果说以往传教士们更注重个人信仰的转变的话,现在传教士们更加重视基督教对整个中国社会的影响。”^{〔6〕}但基督教在民国被讨论,是因为新文化运动的知识分子认识到思想启蒙的重要,和民族意识觉醒下的“非基督教运动”。新文化运动的领袖陈独秀当时提醒人们:“基督教的问题,是中国社会上应该研究的重大问题”,“中国的文化源泉里,缺少美的、宗教的纯情感,……这正是中国人堕落的根由”,他认为对于基督教问题,“要有甚深的觉悟,要把耶稣崇高的、伟大的人格,和热烈的、深厚的情感,培养在我

〔4〕 金耀基 JIN Yaoji:《中国现代化与知识分子》*Zhongguo xiandaihua yu zhishi fenzi* [Chinese Modernization and Intellectuals],(香港 Xianggang [Hong Kong]:时报文化出版事业有限公司 Shibao wenhua chuban shiye youxian gongsi [Times Culture and Publishing Ltd. Co.],1977),第 73 页。

〔5〕 吕澎 LÜ Peng 著:《20 世纪中国艺术史》*Ershi shiji Zhongguo yishu shi* [The History of Chinese Art in the 20th Century],(北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press],2009),第 163 页。

〔6〕 何光沪 HE Guanghu 主编:《基督教与中国当代社会》*Jidujiao yu Zhongguo dangdai shehui* [Christian Religion and the Contemporary China],(中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China],2006),第 247 页。

们的血里；将我们从堕落在冷酷、黑暗、污浊坑中救起。”补救中国文化〔7〕。而教会方面的努力，是北京天主教辅仁大学美术系的成立，其应天主教“本土化”传教的需要而建，在宗座代表刚恒毅的直接推动下，中国的基督教艺术得以从实质上产生。

民国时期的天主教已经从义和团运动的重创中恢复过来，并因为信仰自由的政策和传教策略的改变而迅速发展。天主教传教策略的变化表现在三个方面：一是不再走从官员到民众的从上到下传教路线，改为扩大慈善和救济事业；二是兴办教育和增加文化事业的投入，三是加紧本土教牧人员的陶养。所有努力都指向福音传播的当务之急——本地化。但仍有几大突出的问题：首先，十九世纪以来，外籍传教士与所属国政府在传教、商贸、殖民扩张等事务上的牵扯，使得教堂往往代表了外国势力，中国教徒被视为化外之民；其次，外籍神职人员与本地神职人员在职务待遇上一直不平等，本地神职很少，且基本上只是外籍传教士的助手而已；第三，中国正值民族主义和民主革命时期，帝国主义政治的压迫激起了知识分子强烈的民族主义热情，教内知识分子致力于天主教的爱国运动；第四，以“科学”和“民主”为口号的新文化运动，在排斥宗教的同时，抵制宗教上的文化侵略；最后也许还有一点，就是传教策略改变之后，没有文化的农民教友占大多数，中国先知先觉的知识分子教友，如马相伯、英敛之等致力于提升教友品质和中国籍神职人员品质，建立中国的天主教大学，后来的辅仁大学就是在英敛之专为天主教青年办的“辅仁社”的基础上建成的。

多种有待于建立一个正常的中国教会的因素，促成了罗马教廷在1919年11月颁布了旨在天主教本地化的《夫至大至圣通谕》，并任命意大利人刚恒毅(Archbishop Celso Costantini)为驻华宗座代表来华，重点贯彻和落实《夫至大》通谕(Maximum illud)的精神。

刚恒毅来华之前，没有任何外交经历，作为宗座代表，他将完成两个使命：一是否定当时法国的“保教权”以建立本地化的教会组织，并任命中国籍主教，促进中国圣统制的建立。二是在北京设立天主教大学，以期在中国文化中建立天主教信仰。

刚恒毅受过艺术训练，在雕刻和建筑领域都有艺术才华和专门研究，并以复兴公教艺术为职志。他早年写过《十字架与艺术》、《基督教美术讲义》和《神职人员对艺术的认识》等书册，也曾被派到阿奎来亚(Aquileia)负责堂区和大殿的修复工程，因此，具有相当好的理论和实践经验。在抵达北京的途中，他结合自己对传教事业的看法写到：“我们并不想把中国思想‘欧化’，只愿使它‘基督化’〔8〕。”抵达北京后，“他巡视了东北、华北、中南教区。同一时间里，他花了大量时间阅读了有关中国近代历史的著作。〔9〕”并仔细考察了中国天主教会发展史和基督宗教艺术在华发展的历史，勘察了从城市到乡村各个教区的教会建筑。这些研究不仅加深了他对中国天主教本地化必要性的认识，而且深深认识到文化和艺术对传教活动的帮助。来到中国一年以后，他开始鼓励并大力推进发展中国本土化的基督教艺术。辅仁大学美术系，即是刚恒毅主持下的推崇尊重传统艺术的基督教艺术研习机构。他非常睿智地指出两点：其一，“古老的中国，随着帝制的垮台，而由于国民的努力工作和痛苦挣扎，正在为一个新的中国铺路。……在此革命生长的变动时期，我认为在一个有着古代艺术及真正艺术价值的国度里，天主教艺术也应配合传教的革新倾向。”其二，他认为中国的宗教建筑和艺术创作要因时地之宜，尽可能采用中国样式，要考虑到中国人民的志趣、情感和所了解的东西。

刚恒毅聘请能用中国画法表现出宗教意味的陈路加为辅仁大学艺术系教授，并担任系主任。陈路加创

〔7〕 陈独秀 CHEN Duxiu: “基督教与中国人 Jidujiao yu Zhongguo ren [Christianity and Chinese People]”, 《新青年》Xinqingnian [The New Youth] 第7卷第3号, (1921年7月1日).

〔8〕 顾卫民 GU Weimin 著:《近代中国基督宗教艺术发展史》Jindai Zhongguo jidu zongjiao yishu fazhanshi [The Developing History of Chinese Christian Religious Art in the Late Modern Era], (香港道风山基督教丛林 Xianggang Daofengshan jidujiao conglin, 2006), 第95页.

〔9〕 同上 Ibid., 第87页.

办了“中国天主教‘艺人之家’”，致力于将中国传统绘画中的优秀特性融入天主教绘画艺术。除陈路加外，“艺人之家”有名的艺术家还有他的学生王肃达、陆鸿年、徐志华和刘河北。辅仁大学艺术系的师生都是天主教徒，他们创作了超过一百八十件基督教艺术作品，其中，以陆鸿年的艺术成就最高，其作品从形式到内容，乃至作为基督教艺术的内涵方面来说，都是当时中国基督教艺术家最有灵性的。

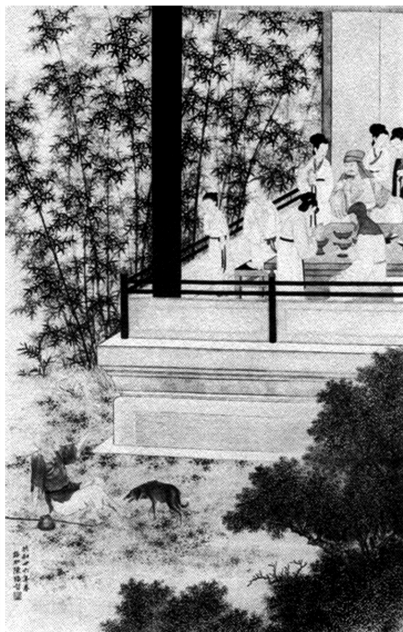
三、耶稣也降幅给中国——陆鸿年的基督教艺术

陆鸿年广为刊载的作品是《李自成进京》(1971 年)、《北京来的客人》(1951 年)和《深山探宝图轴》(1965 年)，几乎所有他的履历中都会提到他擅长国画工笔重彩人物，以仕女画见称，并精于壁画研究。而一句“毕业于私立辅仁大学美术系并留校任教，期间作品入选该校在美国、法国、印度等地举办的画展”，则笼统地带过了他在三、四十年代的一段重要岁月——他曾作为北平辅仁大学的基督教艺术家，创作过大量精美感人的基督教艺术作品。正是这几幅被略过的作品，成就了陆鸿年广为人知的作品中微妙的意趣；而陆鸿年这段时期内的努力，也是在那个中国美术现代化的年代里，传统国画家重构国画精神的一个崭新案例——从今天的艺术发展来看，陆鸿年早期的这些作品有令人钦佩之处。

对比弗莱明博士和顾卫民教授书中刊载的所有当时中国基督教艺术家的杰出作品，在令人赞叹的中国画表现技法和对传统人文情怀的把握背后，陆鸿年显然对基督教圣事的奥义和普世性有自己独到而深入的理解，这对于宗教艺术创作来说，是至为关键之处。“一幅优秀的宗教内涵的作品应当呈现普遍生活中视觉意义上的绝对的审美意识。自道成肉身，创造的语意以一种前所未有的方式进入了审美实践的范畴。这类作品不在于强调发生的情景而在于强调发生的内涵——基督教的精义是见证耶稣基督显示出的真实的神性和人性世界。……艺术的第一要素是认识和体验‘道成肉身’对于人类的寓意。^[10]”陆鸿年的艺术正是以这样的洞察力脱颖而出的。



《耶稣复活》徐志华



《耶稣和玛利亚》王素达



《耶稣受难像》王素达

[10] 丹尼尔·约翰森·弗莱明 DAN Ni-er Yuehansen Fulaimin [Daniel Johnson Fleming] 著, 王鲁 WANG Lu 译, 顾卫民 GU Weimin 校注:《不同的表现手法 不同的艺术风格》Butong de biao xian shou fa, butong de yishu feng ge [Different Expressings Methods, Different Artist Styles], (成言美术出版 Chengyan meishu chubanshe [Chengyan Art Press], 2005), 第 4 页。

辅仁的中国基督教艺术家的创作,都在努力实现对基督教故事的中国式转换,他们表现基督事件发生在中国的情形,并试图以传统绘画的意境和象征提示出基督教信仰的真谛。这几位知名的艺术家的作品都有其曼妙感人之处,但陆鸿年对基督教艺术的认识更深入一些。他对耶稣的生平事件和基督精神的把握,不是挪移到中国印象的场景中,而是在颇具生活气息的由来已久的日常情境中,将一种“体验神圣”甚至“经历神圣”的态度引入画面,在这方面,他越出了其他基督教艺术家的眼光,而又将革新——接受、参与改变的意识引入作品。在国家救赎、民族独立意识空前高涨的时刻,这样的洞察力,是当时很多教内外知识分子对宗教的讨论中都忽略掉的。

3.1 视觉传统中的微妙变化

陆鸿年在创作基督教艺术的这一段时间里,正是民国智性冲突最为活跃的时候。虽然处于相对安稳又宗教化的辅仁大学中,艺术创作看上去并没有为任何政治或文化运动所惊扰,但他作品中对解剖结构、斜对角线构图、透视和平面化的运用,说明他的创作和当时的艺术思潮是有联系的。这种联系,表现为写实的部分技法与现代的绘画精神融入中国传统艺术形式后,趣味上的神秘和清新。可以说,陆鸿年的基督教艺术,是在应对两个问题的过程中成熟起来的:一个是对天主教教义的理解,一个是“改良中国画浪潮”。



《圣家族冬日图》陆鸿年



《圣母子》陆鸿年



《圣诞》陆鸿年 1940年

综观陆鸿年的作品,斜对角线的构图非常明显。而在《圣诞》这幅画中,画面的构图带有结构性。地面和墙面的分割线,十字木架和马槽,把人物正在经历的事件推向前台。十字架木棍上有两只小鸽子,站在顶上的一只安静地望着前方,似乎知道此时正在发生着什么,右边的一只正在探头下望,和小婴儿的目光正好相接。这里的马槽失去了传统基督教绘画中的功用,它不是为小耶稣而设置,而是为了将小耶稣和圣母之间的关系、两只羔羊的温顺,以及地面和两堵墙的交接意味,都由玛利亚将右手按在马槽上的一瞬传递给后面从不可见处立起来的十字架。这个有受难意味的两根木棍绑扎的十字架,看上去与左边的墙壁因为空间不足而产生矛盾,又似乎把处于它怀抱中的事件的最终寓意,指向了窗外正在探望的小天使带来的讯息。窗外的小天使、约瑟、玛利亚、羔羊和鸽子都望着新生的婴孩,而婴孩举起的手,将观者的目光引向了十字奥秘。窗户运用了写实绘画的透视法,也有光影的表现,

墙壁上的裂纹非常真实,人物和动物的刻画细腻而传神,流畅优美的衣纹透露出人体的结构,约瑟的面部线条和明暗,表现出画家的人头骨结构知识。奇怪的是,看上去有空间,有结构,有透视,但又有一种空间的平面化矛盾。这也许是因为墙壁和窗户外背景的处理,借用了写实的手法,又留下了写意的痕迹。

意境的营造与写实的刻画相结合,做空间的安排又消解空间的意味,让神圣的生活发生在人的日常行为中,这是陆鸿年作品的三个特色。人物头顶的透明光圈,表明他们所具有的神性,但这些人物又显然是普通人,他们过着简单的生活,可见的只是母子之间的亲情。画家对约瑟的处理带有提示性:他是孩子的父亲,随身的器具表明他是个木匠,总是处于为母子俩服务的行为中。在《圣诞》中,他跪在母子二人的面前掌着灯,虽然一家人和乐融美,但在中国,是没有父亲会有如此举动的。



《天使报喜》陆鸿年1942年



《圣母与圣婴》陆鸿年1940年

陆鸿年画中依然显示出中国画线条的流畅和形象的优美,对服装、纹饰的描绘都是传统中国绘画或者壁画中的样式。画面中的景深被含糊表达或者索性就不见了,在壁龛等创作中,平涂的背景将人物直接托在画面上。他画的圣母有明清仕女的样貌,柔美而恭顺,头顶的披纱轻盈唯美,衣衫借鉴了传统壁画中的装饰元素。

陆鸿年在传统艺术的经典元素中,谨慎地融入新时代的艺术观念,又努力在画面中保留因信仰带来的新价值观所开启的深度。多年研究山水画的陆鸿年,显然不会不懂得传统山水画中的“三远”所营造的氛围,但他的画面中在回避这种氛围的事实,说明他在寻求另一种具有“平、高、深”的意境;遍临古代帝王像的陆鸿年,也显然不会不懂得本身区别于普通人的物象,描绘时所应该坚持的距离感,但他毕业之后画的圣母,是民间普通女子的形象,圣临于俗,尊降于卑。正是不脱于传统的形式因素和微妙而真实的新信息的浑然天成,陆鸿年的基督宗教艺术使人容易敞开心门,揣摩自己被唤起的情感力量。

3.2 换一种视域体验神圣——双向调和后的普世福音

在“基督教艺术本土化”这个概念中,“本土化”透露出了作为一个外来概念,由中国传统画家进行中国式转换,如何在转换中不丢掉基督教的精义,又能让中国大众了解到。艺术家的舍弃与改变,必须显得合理而温和,这种温和所产生的静谧中的神秘,又要正好适于在中国民众的心里引起惊异。

这一时期的基督教艺术家,普遍倾向于以中国传统绘画中的环境和象征性事物来置换《圣经》中的描述。但在陆鸿年所描绘的画面中,对环境和象征性的运用,加入了体验性的成分,使得普通的生

活事件有了不同的神性意义——圣经事件自古以来就发生在中国——只稍稍转念,便能够领会到。这种柔和的体验性证明:艺术家已然进入了圣经的启示中,因为他的眼光已经发生了变化,并且静静地领受着这变化所带来的新境界。

就内容而言,陆鸿年的作品有两个特征不同于其他艺术家:1、艺术的目的和意义在于表现基督教与中国人的直接关系;2、暗示出新的精神价值所需要的主动性和反思性,观者从熟悉的画面和生活细节中,必须能看到不同并引起惊异。陆鸿年的宗教绘画多描绘日常生活中的事件,他把自己对神圣教诲的领悟画出来,在并不新鲜的传统意趣中,显示出正在悄然而起的新变化。

《好撒玛利亚人》中,陆鸿年仍然用了他喜欢的斜对角线构图。在一道蜿蜒的山间小路上,一个衣不蔽体的人受伤在地,身后是高山,面前是河谷,一位好心的路人正要把他搀扶到自己骑的驴子上,驴子定睛看着这一幕。他们身后不远的地方,漫不经心、清静闲散地分别走着两个人,广袖舒甩表明他们事不关己的态度。这幅画与传统国画除了在构图上有区别外,明显的差异在于故事情节的寓意。撒玛利亚人的比喻,超越了人本主义善言善行的道德典范,显示出圣经真理“行”的深意,以及基督救赎的深刻性。陆鸿年这幅画中,画出了对祭司、利未人和撒玛利亚人面对苦难时态度的新判断。作为神职精英的祭司和效法精英的信众利未人的内心并无真的福音,而被视作异族的撒玛利亚人,因信和爱而行出律法来,是真正的“邻居”和门徒。人们根深蒂固、习以为常的善良观,在这里被更深层的因信而行的拯救观引向对永生的、真理的考虑。



弗莱明博士对陆鸿年《客舍无房》的解读别有深意:“玛利亚站在前景的雪地上,约瑟在叩门。中国服饰装扮的约瑟,肩头的木棍上挑着仅有的一些行李。狗在吠叫,侍童摇手示意,店主依然坐在桌前,一切都表明了这里对他们的到来缺少准备。^[11]”



不管怎样,这些作品都在努力地表达一种基于新视域的对惯常生活的沉思,这种沉思还往往以前景与背景的对比表现出来:前景往往是发生在角落里、少数人生命中的新的精神变化,而背景是沉淀在人群中、多数人生活中的惯常精神处境,对前景的强调和对背景的推离,把观者从与背景生活的远距离拉向对新信息的领悟。

3.3 对陆鸿年作品的评价

综观民国时期的基督教美术,看到陆鸿年的创作,印象是优美而奇特的。这些由灵性生发的精美图画,没有牵强附会的痕迹,也不是粗糙空洞的宗教情怀,而是以回味和叹息般的平静、接受,赋予了每个人都会经历的日常生活一种从未被注意到的默示。这种默示在他的画面里,因其自然而然地围绕在中国古人的音容笑貌、时间空间中,而提取了一种新精神的真实氛围。这种真实的提取非常值得重视,因为它将告诉我们陆鸿年的作品越出了当时“本土化”的号召,它是直接从圣言的奥义临在艺术家心中而来的中国基督教艺术作品。陆鸿年在每一幅基督教艺术作品的落款中都明确地表示“敬绘”,而这两个字却没有出现在其他的创作中,这些作品应该可以见证一种中国真正的新艺术的诞生,因为对现实敏感如艺术家的灵魂和对生命虔敬如使徒般的单纯,使这些仍然古香古色的传统形式中,有一种努力闪光的因子。

欣赏这微弱的因子,也许需要我们同样单纯、虔敬的心。任何一种精神上的影响能够发生,更深层次上,它必然与自身的倾向相吻合,或者恰好补充形成。西方文化浪潮一波又一波地涌向中国,也

[11] 同上 *Ibid.*,第 35 页.

许陆鸿年听到基督教的至公精神的时候,听到的是它的普世性和普遍性,以及它的整体性和完整性。基督的临在,不在于将西方的基督请到中国来,而是向基督诉说中国人的努力。陆鸿年作品中所肯定的基督教的普世性,展现中国人的生活与基督自在的关系,这种关系不仅把信仰发生还原为生活事件,而且用艺术语言表达了对特定时代的日常言论的思考,这难能可贵的一点超越,已经使他的作品具有重要的艺术价值。

因此,在民国的艺术无一例外地求新求异以更新民族精神时,那些试图跃出传统精神困境的艺术,努力表现更真实、更自然、更具有号召力、宣传性的作品,但都难以从民族性、现实性中跃向对于永恒性、普世性精神的追求。陆鸿年的作品未脱出传统的样式,却站在坚持国画传统更新可能的老艺术家一路,以唯一接收到迥然相异的基督教精神内涵的洞察力,在 20 世纪三四十年代,留下了呈现普遍生活中绝对的精神更新真义的见证。虽然他仍然没有突破传统绘画中现实性的缺乏,他所描绘的世俗生活,仍然是理想中的先验生活,与自身所处的实际生活有莫大的距离。但放在那个追求现代化的大背景中,也许我们更该看到他作品中的超越之处——他的创作,不仅为民国时期的基督教艺术,也为中国传统文化带入了灵性的维度,这是其它主流艺术所未曾触及的。

English Title:

The Localization of Christian Art in the Republic of China——Taking Lu Hongnian's Works as an Example

ZHANG Yi

Assistant Professor, Xi'an Yuxiazhi Culture Communication Co., Ltd. Address: No. 1, Taoyuan Middle Road, Lianhu District, Xi'an City, Shaanxi province. Phone Number: + 8615829050681, E-mail: zhangyi1214 @ gmail. com, Wechat:15829050681

Abstract: The Fine arts Movement during the Republic of China was a part of the New Culture Movement. The New Culture Movement, under the banner of "Science" and "Democracy," draws lessons from advanced civilizations of Western on the formation of modern China. The purposeful vocabulary that frequently appears in art discussions such as "New Citizen", "New Youth", and "New Culture" shows that art needs to inspire a new spiritual vitality of the nation. The fine arts of the Republic of China made a sincere effort for this goal. Cai Yuanpei hoped that young students will develop new personality and moral concepts through the study of artistic knowledge to fundamentally solve the spiritual problems of China, have been achieved in varying degrees in the factions of different painting claims. However, the mainstream artistic creation in the Republic of China as a whole has not touched people's fundamental problems. In the Christian art, which has never been noticed, there is a flash of humanity. Lu Hongnian's work in the Department of Fine Arts at Fu Jen Catholic University in Beijing is a new case of traditional Chinese painters reconstructing the spirit of traditional Chinese painting; he combines traditional Chinese painting and western painting techniques, and in a long-standing everyday situation with a lively atmosphere, he put the "experience sacred" or even "experienced sacred" attitude introduces the picture. In this respect, he has gone beyond the eyes of other Christian artists, and has introduced innovations—a sense of acceptance and participation in change—into the works. At a time when national salvation and awareness of national independence were unprecedentedly high, such insights were ignored by many intellectuals inside and outside the country during the discussions on religion. The depth of these discussions was actually closely related to the degree of intellectual understanding of Western civilization at that time. His creation not only brought a spiritual dimension to the Christian art of the Republic of China but also to the Chinese traditional culture. This is not touched by other mainstream art.

Key Words: Modernization; Localization; Christian connotation; Spiritual dimension

比较宗教文化研究

Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies

The Meaning of Christianity in the Film and Novel “*The Flowers of War*”

Youngmee HWANG

(Professor, Sookmyung Women’s University, South Korea)

Abstract: When thinking of the Christian spirit of Martin Luther’s practice of love for one’s neighbor as we face the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther’s Reformation, the author sought to reveal the theological ideas of Luther in Chinese literature. We demonstrated that the film and novel, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, written by the Chinese writer Yan Geling, effectively reflected the concept of sacrifice and love emphasized by Luther. “Jinling” is an old name for the city of Nanjing, ravaged by the Nanjing Massacre in 1937 during the Sino-Japanese war. The film *The Flowers of War* takes place in this very city and at that time, telling the tragic story of the school girls of Winchester Cathedral. Japanese soldiers demand that he turn the girls over to them. The story ends with the prostitutes sacrificing themselves for the girls, disguised as them. The novel has a similar plot, with the difference being the absence of the mortician. Luther’s ethic, that a Christian must be a Christ to his neighbor, is reflected in the sacrifice of the prostitutes. Depicted as disguised schoolgirls with gilt-edged bibles in their hands, the actions of the prostitutes can be interpreted as the practice of the Christian ideology of salvation. Their actions depict the image of the scapegoat, symbolizing the sacrifice of the Christ for our sins. Based on documents of a real event, Yan Geling intentionally changed the background from a college to a cathedral to add a religious scheme. “The Heroes of Nanking” effectively portrays the theology of Luther, revolving around the idea of salvation. This paper aims to prove that the writer of the novel, Yan Geling, successfully illustrates the idea of Christianity, and furthermore that the director, Zhang Yimou, intentionally diminished religious schemes to appeal to the Chinese majority, most of whom are non-Christians.

Key Words: The Flowers of War; Yan Geling; Zhang Yimou; the Nanjing Massacre; Martin Luther

Author: PH. D. , Film Critic, Professor of Sookmyung Women’s University, South Korea, Mail address: # 114, Suncheon bd. Cheongpa-ro 47-gil 100 (Cheongpa-dong 2ga), Yongsan-gu, Seoul Korea, 140-742, Email: hym4322@sm. ac. kr

I . Introduction

As we face the 500th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation of Martin Luther, there is a need to examine how Christianity is reflected in Chinese culture. Oh Sunbang^[1] states that Christianity actively began to be spread in China from the late 19th century, and in his thesis the works of Christian authors are analyzed to examine the thought of the Chinese people on Christian religious

[1] Oh Sunbang, *The Changes in 20th Century Chinese Novels and Christianity*, (Seoul; Soongsil University Press, 2005), 5.

life, Christianity, and Western civilization. This thesis also attempted to examine the meaning of Christianity that appears in Chinese novels and films. Roland H Bainton^[2] asserted that the core of the Christian principles of Martin Luther is that a Christian must be a Christ to his neighbor.

Therefore, the author aims to compare the novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* 金陵十三钗 (*The Flowers of War* by Yan Geling 严歌苓^[3]), a Chinese work that effectively encapsulates this idea of Luther and is a work that has not been examined much in Korea, with director Zhang Yimou's 张艺谋 film 金陵十三钗 *The Flowers of War*^[4] which was based on the novel, to determine the differences in the meaning of Christianity in the novel and when made into a film. That is, the author aims to examine how Christian ethics were expressed through the novel of Yan Geling and the film of Zhang Yimou, and to discover its meaning. The author will examine this in more detail in the next chapter, but here let us note that these works are based on the events that occurred at Jinling Women's College 金陵女子大学 during the Nanjing Massacre. Despite an abundance of research on Yan Geling in China due to the excellence of her literary works, not much research has been conducted in Korea. At an international seminar, the author, Hwang Youngmee^[5] presented a comparative study of the original novel *The Criminal Lu Yanshi* 陆犯焉识 by Yan Geling with the film remake *Coming Home* 归来 (2014) by Zhang Yimou. The original novel that *Coming Home* is based on takes the form of the life story of the main character, the intellectual Lu Yanshi, from 1921 to 1990 from a peripheral first-person point of view of his granddaughter. It depicts the tragedy of an individual and a family caused by the Cultural Revolution. The narration method used, a peripheral first-person narrator, is the same as that used in *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (*The Flowers of War*), which depicts the tragedy of the Nanjing Massacre.

Yan Geling's *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (*The Flowers of War*) was created based on the records of people who experienced the Nanjing Massacre first hand. She based her novel on four records, John Rabe's *John Rabe, Der gute Deutsche von Nanking*^[6], in which he wrote of his experience protecting 250 thousand Chinese as the chair of the International Council of the Nanjing Safety Zone during the Nanjing Massacre; *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing*^[7] by Minnie Vautrin, the Dean of Academic Affairs at Jinling Women's College who also worked in the Safety Zone; the Diary of Zheng Ruifang 程瑞芳^[8], an employee at the dormitory of Jinling Women's College; and *The Rape of Nanking* by Iris Chang^[9], which was based on these records.

Adapted from documents of a real event, Yan Geling intentionally changed the background from a college to a cathedral to add a religious scheme. Before writing this novel, Yan Geling wrote the screenplay for the film *Sanctuary* 避难 (directors Han Sanping & Zhou Li, 1988), which changed the

[2] Bainton, Roland H. , *Here I Stand*, (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1978), 230.

[3] Yan Geling, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai, The Flowers of War*, China People's Press, 2007, Shanxi Normal University Press 2011). Translated by Kim Yikyung, Korean edition of *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, Seoul: Woongjin Think Big, 2012. (严歌苓, 《金陵十三钗》, 中国工人出版社, 2007, 陕西师范大学出版社 2011.)

[4] Zhang Yimou 张艺谋, *The Flowers of War*, film, 2011.

[5] Hwang, Youngmee, *A Comparative Study of Yan Geling's The Criminal Lu Yanshi and Zhang Yimou's Coming Home*, (International Conference of Chinese Language and Literature Research & Chinese Language Education 2016(Macao), 2016), 142-145.

[6] Rabe, John. *John Rabe Der gute Deutsche von Nanking*, (München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, in der Verlagsgruppe Random House GmbH, 1997).

[7] Vautrin, Minnie, *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

[8] Zheng Ruifang 程瑞芳, *Zheng Rui fang's Diary*, Chinese National Archives, No. 4, 2004 (1937? 1938, Chinese National Archives, 2004).

[9] Chang, Iris, *The Rape of Nanking*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997).

background for the events from Jinling Women’s College to a cathedral, adding a Christian meaning. The novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (*The Flowers of War*) was written based on this screenplay with some changes in characters and events. The cathedral in the novel is the Wilson Gospel Cathedral 威尔逊教堂. This study aims to analyze the Christian meaning of this novel and film through the Christian ideals of Martin Luther. Yan Geling first published *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* as a medium-length novel in 2007, and expanded it to a full-length novel when director Zhang Yimou wanted to make the story into a film.

However, in the film, director Zhang Yimou changed the name of the cathedral from is the Wilson Gospel Cathedral 威尔逊教堂 in the novel to Winchester, portrayed the priest Engelmann as dead, and changed the main character to a mortician who had come for the priest’s funeral. That is, Zhang Yimou intentionally diminished the religious scheme to appeal to the Chinese majority, most of whom are non-Christians.

The plot of the film is as follows. “Jinling” an old name for the city of Nanjing, is ravaged by the Nanjing Massacre in 1937 during the Sino-Japanese war. The film *The Flowers of War* takes place in Nanjing at this time, telling the tragic story of the school girls of the Winchester Cathedral. The film involves John, a mortician for the priest, Father Engelmann, who becomes the guardian of the school girls. He faces an obstacle when the prostitutes of a nearby brothel take refuge in the cathedral, which was designated as a neutral ground by the Geneva Convention. To make matters worse, Japanese soldiers demand that he turn the girls over to them. The story ends with the prostitutes sacrificing themselves for the girls, disguised as them. The novel has a similar plot, though lacking the character of the mortician.

This study aims to approach the differences in the novel and film through the Christian perspective of Martin Luther. Not only has there been almost no research conducted on *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* in Korea, there is no in-depth research on this novel, which is based on various historic records. Academics in China have researched the basic historic material for this novel and film from various perspectives, which the author referred to in the process of this analysis. The original text of the Chinese references is included as an endnote. In this study, in order to prevent confusion between the novel and film, which have the same name, 金陵十三钗, the author will refer to the novel as *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (2007, 2011) and the film as *The Flowers of War* (2011). In addition, for Chinese names or Chinese references, the author will refer to them in English but will also include the original Chinese where necessary for the convenience of the reader.

In Korea, there is no research on the novel and only two studies of the film *The Flowers of War* have been published. Yu Kang Ha^[10] argued that the film, rather than emphasizing the Nanjing Massacre as a history of tragedy, concluded in the creation of a hero and the protection of pure China. Moon Hyoung Sun^[11] focused on how Winchester Cathedral, as a new home that represents Western modernization as seen through the eyes of Shujuan, changes from a vertical space to a horizontal space. To elaborate, the cathedral was at first divided vertically by class, with the prostitutes staying at the basement and the school girls living

[10] Yu Kang Ha, “Tragic history left as incomplete healing; Zhang Yimou (张艺谋)’s *The Flowers of War* 2011,” *Literary Criticism* 36, 2014: 21-42.

[11] Moon Hyoung Sun, “The landscape of war in personal memories of Nanking: An analysis of the ‘House’ images from *The Flowers of War*, the Chinese film directed by Zhang Yimou.” *Visual Culture* 20, (The Korean Association for Visual Culture, 2012): 39-68.

above. However, this concept is destroyed with the self-sacrifice of the prostitutes, bringing equality and thus making the cathedral horizontal in the sense of class division. She concluded that in the end, only the “nostalgic perspective” of a girl recollecting a scene of history as a memory was left. Other than these studies, the research of Kim Heongyueal^[12] focuses on neither the novel nor film, but on the records of the events of the Nanjing Massacre. Research with in-depth analysis of the novel or a comparison of the novel to the film are nonexistent in Korea. In contrast, research papers by Chinese academics of the film and novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* are too numerous to list, about 100 recorded. The topics of research are quite varied and include the transformation process from literature to film, analysis of the actual records of the event, and its Christian meaning, but mostly focused on the film than on a comparison of the novel and records.

Regarding the characteristics of the author Yan Geling, the master's thesis by Wang Longbo 王隆博^[13] emphasizes that Yan expresses emotions well and at the same time includes a strong female character, through an analysis of the effects the author's personal life had on her works and the characteristics of her literary world. Tian Shanshan's 田姗姗 master's thesis^[14] states that the unique life experiences of Yan Geling are reflected in her works, and analyzes her perspective on women. Yang Qing 杨青^[15] emphasized the visual shock with which the women in different positions; students and prostitutes, viewed each other, and the process by which despite having contradictory ideologies in life they come to be joined together amidst the cruelties of war.

Regarding the material of the novel, Wu Weihua 吴卫华^[16] claimed on grounds of the author's interviews that it was based on the events that appear in the Vautrin diaries, but emphasized the similarities with the screenplay of *Sanctuary* more than the Vautrin diaries. It is argued that while it is not likely that Yan Geling read the Vautrin diaries, she stated in interviews that the novel was based on the Vautrin diaries to emphasize the fact that it was based on actual events. The author of this paper refutes this claim based on the Korean translator's note that while Yan Geling may not have read the actual Vautrin diaries, she would have known about the diaries from having met Iris Chang at the Nanjing Massacre memorial rally. Shi Chang 施畅^[17] does not mention *Sanctuary*, but rather, based on various records of actual events, examines the change in background to a cathedral and the changes that were made when director Zhang Yimou remade Yan Geling's novel; it seems that the relationship with *Sanctuary* was omitted. However, Shi Chang's 施畅 study states that *Jin*

[12] Kim, Heongyueal, “Special Project: The devices of memory and storytelling, the Nanking Massacre, and the policy of memory, focusing on the passing down of the memories of massacre and management,” DAEGU SAHAK 106, 2012; 57-89.

[13] Wang Longbo, “Study into the characters created by Yan Geling,” Shaanxi Normal University, Chinese Modern and Contemporary Literature, master degree dissertation, 2010. (王隆博. 探究严歌苓创作的人性世界, 陕西师范大学, 中国现当代文学, 硕士论文 2010).

[14] Tian Shanshan, The women's world in the works of Yan Geling, Shaanxi Normal University, Chinese Modern and Contemporary Literature, master degree dissertation, 2015 (田姗姗, 严歌苓笔下的女性世界, 陕西师范大学, 中国现当代文学, 硕士论文 2015).

[15] Yang Qing, “Film Criticism: The formation of women's image in *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*,” Movie culture: Work Insight 24, 2013 (杨青, 论电影《金陵十三钗》中女性形象的塑造, 《电影文学》, 作品透视, 2013 年第 24 期)

[16] Wu Weihua, “*Jin Ling Shi San Chai*: Based on truth and ugliness in values,” Contemporary Literary Criticism, Sichuan Writers Association, Vol. 6, 2013; 76-79 (吴卫华, 《金陵十三钗》: 史实依据与价值观当议, 影视画外音·当代文坛, 2013. 6).

[17] Shi Chang, “The salvation legend of the prostitutes in *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*,” *Journal of School of Chinese Language and Culture Nanjing Normal University* 6(2), 2012; 144. (施畅, 《金陵十三钗》中风尘女子的救世神话, 南京师范大学文学院学报 June 2012 No. 2).

Ling Shi San Chai is meaningful in that it depicts a story similar to the event described not only in Vautrin and Rabe’s diaries, but also in the diary of Zheng Ruifang 程瑞芳. Yang Ran 杨兰^[18] argued that while the prostitutes led the way for ordinary women in the Safety Zone historically, the changes in the novel and film whereby the prostitutes are sacrificed instead of school girls was an acknowledgment of differences in class and was male-centric. However, as this setting was already included in the screenplay based on actual events, which in turn was inspired by a novel by a female author, Yan Geling, the author believes that it is difficult to assert that it is male-centric.

Regarding the Christian analysis, Wang Yingli 王英丽^[19] interpreted the conflict between the prostitutes and the students as the conflict between what is sacred and profane, and made the Christian interpretation that the sacrifice by the prostitutes changed their profane status into one that is holy. Zhao Ming 赵明^[20] analyzed the sacrifice by the prostitutes as not a nationalist sacrifice, that is, not that of a hero saving a country, but as an act of Christianity. In addition, the author saw the actions of priest Engelmann protecting wounded Chinese soldiers despite imposed dangers as a way of practicing salvation. An interesting note is that Zhang Yiwu 张颐武^[21] made a Christian interpretation of the number 13, the number of girls that the Japanese soldiers demanded. Gui Ren 桂人^[22] interpreted the sacrifice of the prostitutes in a religious perspective.

This study approached *The Flowers of War* from a Christian perspective based on the interpretations of specific texts by these Chinese scholars and the studies of Martin Luther by William Gilbert^[23] and Roland H. Bainton.

II. Comparison of the Novel and Film of *The Flowers of War*

1. The literary world of Yan Geling

There is extensive research on Yan Geling in China. Wang Longbo 王隆博 asserted as follows:

In the works of Yan Geling, in addition to memories of the Cultural Revolution, there are also a lot of works on women themselves. As a female writer, she is able to more easily and more sensitively observe women themselves directly. When she describes women, she peers deep into women’s minds. She easily grasps the most important emotional qualities of women. She easily grasps the greatest maternal qualities that women have. As this maternal quality is flexible yet strong, it is able to move people. Yan Geling also

[18] Yang Lan, “The suffering of equality and the inequality of means to Observe The Flowers of War from the Female Perspective”, *Film Literature* (theoretical edition) 4, 2012: 195-196. (杨兰, 平等的受难和受难的不平等——从女性视角看《金陵十三钗》, 影视文学, [文学界(理论版)] 4, 2012).

[19] Wang Yingli, “Jin Ling Shi San Chai: Spiritual Shock and Depuration” *Movie Literature: Popular Movie Cultural Criticism* 2, 2013: 79-80. (王英丽, 《金陵十三钗》: 荡涤心灵的震撼, “电影文学”, 热片劲评, 2013年第2期).

[20] Zhao Ming, “Jin Ling Shi San Chai: Animal nature (兽性), human nature (人性) and holy nature (神性)”, *Journal of North China University of Water Resources and Electric Power: Social Science Edition*. 28(3), 2012: 6. (赵明, 《金陵十三钗》: 兽性、人性与神性, 华北水利水电学院学报(社科版), 第28卷第3期, 2012).

[21] Zhang Yiwu, “General analysis of *The Flowers of War*,” *Film Art* 2, China Film Association, 2012: 29-30. (张颐武, “略解《金陵十三钗》”《电影批评》2, 中国电影协会, 2012).

[22] Gui Ren, “Jin Ling Shi San Chai: Memories of a type of salvation,” *Bishops Conference of the Catholic Church in China, Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, Catholic Church in China* 1, 2012: 50-52. (桂人, 《金陵十三钗》: 一种救赎的记忆 Catholic Church In China 2012).

[23] Gilbert, William, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Counter Reformation*, (Lawrence, KS: Carrie, 1998.).

focuses on the fateful tragedy of women. She not only focuses her most truthful and deep emotions on this subject, but also has complex and solemn emotions from the tragedy of women themselves. When she describes a woman, she aims whenever possible to express that woman's true desires. The characteristic of the women characters she creates is that they have a certain amount of independent will and ideology, as well as emotional desires. This changes the passive position of women in traditional patterns and expresses the independent and active form of women. And so, she turns the men's role in traditional patterns of always playing the role of the savior on its head^[24].

As such, Wang emphasizes that Yan Geling's literary world has significant emotional depth, which also appears in detail in her expressions. *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (2007, 2011) also clearly expresses the subtle mind games between women. There are not many authors who can express jealousy or psychological distance between women as well as Yan Geling, and as mentioned in the assertion of Wang above, Yan Geling's female characters seem quiet on the outside but show strength and initiative. Wang asserted again as follows:

When Yan Geling writes a novel on any subject, when she describes any character, it is characteristic of her to describe in detail the personality of the character. When she narrates each story she uses, she always understands the happiness and sadness deep within the personality of the character^[25].

As shown in the passage above, Yan Geling is skilled in expressing emotion. In addition, she has a special talent for shaping her experiences into novels. Yan Geling has had varied experiences, such as her unique experiences in China, studying abroad in America, having divorced, and her current marriage to a diplomat and life in Africa, and on this Tian Shanshan 田姗姗 asserted as follows:

Yan Geling from early on has stated she is a person who has written her "experiences" into novels. Yan Geling's unique course of life has given her unique life experiences and deep emotion, as well as providing a lot of material and inspiration for her work. Her life experiences were very rich. They are grand like her novels. From an early age, she was a woman warrior, dancing actress, cable repairperson, military writer, and poor exchange student. Later on, she became a famous new immigrant woman writer. Her life is very bumpy. She was born in the 60s of the last century. Her father was a playwright and her mother was a stage actress. When she was young she experienced the domestic misfortune of her parents divorcing. When she was 12, she became an Entertainment Soldier (文艺兵) and visited Tibet six times and Yunnan Province twice. At 20, she became a wartime journalist and saw the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of war with her own eyes when she followed the army to the front lines of the Vietnam War^[26].

As shown in the passage above, the unique experiences of Yan Geling are reflected in her

[24] Wang Longbo, op. cit, abstract.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Tian Shanshan, op. cit, 1.

novels, so that they simultaneously contain Chinese characteristics while expressing aspects of a global world. Tian follows by categorizing the literary world of Yan Geling into three stages that are analyzed as follows. Tian (2015:2) asserted as follows:

Stage 1, works that have the subject of military life or intellectual youths written before her departure from China in 1989.

Stage 2, works that have the subject of her immigrant life from 1989 (when she was an exchange student) to 2004 (when she went to Africa) and memories of the Cultural Revolution.

Stage 3, works after 2004. In this stage, many of Yan Geling’s novels have been written with the background of modern and Chinese history of the time^[27].

Of the three stages above, when considered from the perspective of when *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* was written, it falls under Stage 3; however, as it was based on the screenplay of 1988’s *Sanctuary*, it can be seen as having begun in Stage 2. As shown, Yan Geling is skilled in expressing the tragedies of modern Chinese history through private histories, and by her depiction of meaningful themes through detailed psychological description and expression of emotion, the author can say her work has outstanding literary value.

2. Relationship between Event Records and the Novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* 金陵十三钗 (2007, 2011)

As stated in the introduction, Yan Geling’s *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* (*The Flowers of War*) references *John Rabe, Der gute Deutsche von Nanking* (1997), *Terror in Minnie Vautrin’s Nanjing* (2007), *Zheng Rui fang’s Diary*, and Iris Chang’s *The Rape of Nanking* (1997), which is based on these records. As mentioned in the introduction, when Yan Geling wrote the screenplay for *Sanctuary* in 1988, she took the actual events that occurred during the Nanjing Massacre at the Jinling Women’s College and placed it in the background of a cathedral. She further changed the story into that of three prostitutes turning themselves over to the Japanese army in place of school girls of the cathedral in order to save them. This change in background adds a Christian meaning and will be examined in the next chapter. The story of *Sanctuary* is a little different. During the time of the Nanjing Massacre, the old priest Holden 霍尔登 and the young priest Peter Liu 刘彼得 protect the choir school girls in the cathedral. However, three prostitutes escape into the cathedral by climbing over a broken wall, and a few Chinese soldiers evacuate into the cathedral. Japanese soldiers who see the women enter the cathedral also find out that Chinese soldiers are there. At first, they find the Chinese soldiers and viciously kill them, then harass the priest to hand over the women, stating that they know the women are there. In the end, the three prostitutes are dragged away by the Japanese soldiers in the place of the choir school girls. Although the number of prostitutes and the name of the priest are different from in the novel, the overall plot is similar.

The relationship of the screenplay story of *Sanctuary* and the film *The Flowers of War*, as analyzed by Chinese scholar Wu Weihua 吴卫华 can be summarized by the following table^[28].

[27] Ibid, 2.

[28] Wu Weihua, op. cit, 77.

Comparison	<i>Sanctuary</i> (1988)	Film <i>The Flowers of War</i>	Similarities and Differences
Spatial Background	Cathedral (basement and attic)	Cathedral (basement and attic)	Same
Characters	American priest, 3 prostitutes (Yang Liufeng 杨柳风, Hu Zuihua 胡醉华, and Xiao Caiyue 小彩月), soldiers, schoolgirl leader Tingting 婷婷	American priest, prostitutes (12 to 16 prostitutes, including the prostitute leaders Yumo 玉墨, Hong Ling 红菱, and Dou Kou 豆蔻), soldiers (the lead soldier in the novel is Major Dai 戴, in the film Major Li), schoolgirl leader Shujuan 书娟	The members and character qualities are similar but the number of characters is different
Theme	Prostitutes save the school girls and sacrifice themselves	Prostitutes save the school girls and sacrifice themselves	It is similar
The <i>qipao</i> 旗袍 of the prostitutes	Colorful <i>qipao</i> of three colors	Fancy and beautiful <i>qipao</i> of prostitutes	It is similar
Relationships Small events	Hu Zuihua 胡醉华 was inhospitable and mocked the injured soldier who was in the underground storage room.	When Major Li 李教官 carried the fallen Pusheng 浦生 and first entered the underground storage room of the cathedral he was faced with inhospitality and mockery by the prostitutes, including Yumo 玉墨.	It is similar
	The scene where Tingting 婷婷 fights with the prostitutes	The prostitutes and the school girls fight	It is similar
	Yang Liufeng 杨柳风 hid a grenade in his bag.	The prostitutes hid broken glass in their clothes.	It is similar
Ending	It is revealed that the Japanese soldiers died in a car accident	It ends with the prostitutes and the school girls each following the paths of their own destinies	It is similar

Table 1 Similarities between *Sanctuary* and *The Flowers of War* (Summary of analysis by Wu Weihua 吴卫华)

Wu Weihua 吴卫华 followed by quoting Yan Geling in an interview, saying that the source of the novel was *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing* (2007). Vautrin appears at the end of the novel as a character who aids the school girls in escaping.

The original novel and film screenplay writer Yan Geling had special interviews with various media before and after the film was screened. She repeatedly stated that the idea for the work came from the diary of the American Minnie Vautrin. “…… I found a paragraph of record in the diary of Vautrin who was the Dean of Academic Affairs at Jinling Women’s College . After Nanjing was occupied, all the women were evacuated from Jinling Women’s College. The Japanese told them to send 100 women. If they did not, they would station the army at the school. At that time, 20 prostitutes led the way. Therefore, the school girls did not suffer misfortune. This is the seed of the story^[29]. ”

She stated in interviews that the events that occurred at Jinling Women’s College were the basis of the novel’s story. To this Wu added the following.

[29] Ibid, 76.

Of course, the story of *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* is based on the old film *Sanctuary*. When the story moved from the film *Sanctuary* to the novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, to be expanded and recreated as *The Flowers of War*, there were no large changes to the story structure or core. Even if there were records in the Vautrin’s diary of prostitutes saving students during the time Yan Geling wrote *Sanctuary*, this diary could not have been read. The emigrant Chinese writer Iris Chang 张纯如 found this diary in the Yale University Library in 1995. Before then, there had not been a person who had read the diary in 50 years^[30].

According to the quoted passage above, it is not likely that Yan Geling wrote the screenplay of evacuation in 1998 after reading the Vautrin’s diary. Wu (2013:78) asserted as follows:

Even when there is no historical basis for *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, why would Yan Geling emphasize repeatedly that the novel and film have a historical basis, and that it is related to the Vautrin’s diary? To be honest, to say that it has a historical basis not only can help avoid the suspicion of remaking old works; it makes a fictional story unable to be criticized. Therefore, in culture markets such as books and films, it is used to draw more attention and make greater profit. This is because the depiction of a historical time and expression follows the psychological expectation of the audience for authenticity^[31].

According to Wu, the Vautrin’s diary was known in China after the screenplay of *Sanctuary* (1998). He argues that Yan Geling, who rewrote the medium-length novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* into a full-length novel when she received the offer to make the film *The Flowers of War*, could avoid criticism that she merely rewrote *Sanctuary*, and utilize the authenticity of true events by stating that it was related to the Vautrin’s diary. However, the guess made by the translator of the Korean version of *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, Kim Yikyung (2012:324), is more reasonable in claiming that the reason Yan Geling stated that it was related to the Vautrin diary is because Yan met Iris Chang at a Nanjing Massacre memorial rally and discussed the book. This was before the publication of *The Rape of Nanking* (1997). The author of this paper also thinks that Yan Geling, who heard about the Vautrin’s diary at her meeting with Iris Chang before starting work on the screenplay for *Sanctuary* (1998), can rightly say that it is related to the Vautrin’s diary, with Wu’s argument slightly lacking support.

Related to this, the Chinese scholar Shi Chang 施畅 did not see that the novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* came into existence through the screenplay of *Sanctuary*, but viewed the novel as direct work from records of various events during the time and asserted the following.

The novel of Yan included large-scale insertions and revisions throughout the story. The complex Safety Zone was changed to a Catholic cathedral that was like an isolated island. Ordinary women were changed to Catholic school girls. The most important point of note is that the

[30] Ibid,78.

[31] Ibid.

prostitutes of Qin Huaihe 秦淮河 truly sacrificed themselves instead of the school girls who were in trouble. The women who had not already suffered misfortune or who had not yet been raped were changed into pure Catholic school girls. In such a way, the meaning of the self-sacrifice of the prostitutes was emphasized^[32].

In addition to this, Shi also revealed that “looking back on the historical site, both the Dean of Academic Affairs at the Jinling Women’s College, Vautrin, and the head of the Nanjing Safety Zone, Rabe, all record ‘an event where prostitutes led the procession’ in December 1937.”^[33]

It was the day before Christmas. I was called to the office about 10. I met with the head military advisor for a Japanese division. Luckily, he brought one translator along. This was the Chinese translator for the Japanese consulate. He demanded that we pick and deliver 100 prostitutes from the 10 thousand refugees. He said that if a legal location was made for Japanese soldiers, that he believed the soldiers would no longer harass innocent honest women. When they promised not to arrest honest women, we allowed them to go select for themselves. During this time, the advisor was in my office with me. After a long time had passed, they had found 21 women. The Japanese thought that when the women heard this news that they would hide. Other women asked me, “Is there a possibility that the Japanese would pick another 79 women among them?” I answered, “If I can stop this, no such thing will happen.” (December 24th, quoted from *Vautrin’s diary*, Minnie Vautrin, translated by Son Youngchun et al., Beijing: Oriental Press, 1998: 209)^[34]

In addition to this, Shi emphasized that the event on which Yan’s story was based was included as follows in Rabe’s diary, and demonstrates the relationship between this record and the novel by Yan Geling.

In addition, many young women were chosen and taken away. This is because they are making one large-scale soldier brothel. (December 25th, Rabe)

Right now, the Japanese have one strange idea. They wanted to make one soldier brothel. Minnie (Vautrin) was surprised and clenching both hands and watching when entering the lobby filled with women. Minnie will never let a woman go. She would rather die. However, when one admirable official that we know well from the Red Swastika Society (we had no idea that he was such as man) unexpectedly shouted a few times at the lobby, not a small number of young women refugees (well-known prostitutes) came out. They were not at all sad that they had to go to a new brothel. Minnie had nothing to say to this!!!

(December 26th, in John Rabe, *The Diary of Rabe* [M], translated by Yoo Haenyung et al., Nanjing: Jiangso People’s Press, 2006: 231)^[35]

[32] Shi Chang, *Op. cit.*, 145.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*, 144-145.

Besides this record, Shi Chang 施畅 revealed the following similar record in *Zheng Ruifang's Diary* (1937 – 1938, Chinese National Archives, 2004) by Zheng Ruifang 程瑞芳, who was an employee of the dormitory at Jinling Women's College .

Today some government advisor brought some Chinese to find prostitutes here. They said that if these prostitutes receive customers outside, soldiers would not come often to internment camps. Therefore, they said that decent girls would not be harmed. Those words seemed to be correct too. There are not a small number of prostitutes here. So we told them to find them for themselves. Of those some Chinese people could identify prostitutes. (December 24th, in *Zheng Ruifang's Diary*, Jang Hunmun, *Collection of historical materials on the Nanjing Massacre* [M], translated by Jang Wonwon, Nanjing: Jiangso People's Press, 2005; 22)^[36]

The research of Shi Chang 施畅 omitted the relationship with *Sanctuary*, but is meaningful as it proved the relationship with *Zheng Ruifang's Diary*.

Yang Lan 杨兰 asserted that:

The last conflict of the tragedy was that when “honest women” were met with disaster, “women with no shame” decided to face disaster in their stead, and to protect “honest women” a great sacrifice took place. Perhaps the director does not realize how unfair a choice it is to make the prostitutes be raped and killed instead of the school girls. The director expresses this dilemma through the words of the “priest”: “Are not people originally equal? What is the difference between these women and the school girls? Why must they choose?” But once again the film director borrows the words of “a woman who knows no shame” to inform us of the following reason for this sacrifice. Because Yumo says that they are originally in this profession and so why cannot they meet any man? If the school girls are sent, how will they live afterwards? While these words were spoken by a prostitute, the prostitute is merely the messenger and the real narrator is the male perspective of the director^[37].

From the quoted passage above, the analysis is that this text is significantly male-centric. However, as analyzed in the previous chapter, it is a scene that appears in the novel of Yan Geling, who has a significant amount of women's awareness. Following is a quote by father Engelmann from the translation by the Korean translator Kim Yikyung.

The words and deeds that he wants to do are too cruel. In order to save some lives, some other lives must be sacrificed. The reason that those lives are sacrificed is because they are not pure and because their lives are not more important than children, they do not have the value to be protected by his cathedral and God. They are forced to make this choice. By selecting and placing the second-most-important lives of those who are not so pure on the sacrificial altar, they are attempting to preserve the purer life with more value to protect. Is this how it goes? Will he have this decision

[36] Ibid, 145.

[37] Yang Ran, Op. cit, 196.

over life and death in front of God and make a choice based on superiority instead of God?^[38]

As if hinted at these thoughts by the priest Engelmann, Yumo speaks of the sacrifice first. When looking at this content, the author believes that Yang Lan's 杨兰 analysis of this plot as male-centric is not reasonable.

3. Comparison between the novel and film

YanGeling's 严歌苓 novel *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* 金陵十三钗 (*The Flowers of War*, 2006, 2011) and director Zhang Yimou's 张艺谋 film remake 金陵十三钗 *The Flowers of War* (2011) have some differences. There are many studies by Chinese academics on this subject.

Yang Qing 杨青 asserted as follows:

The biggest impression that this film makes on people is the visual shock with which the women in the different positions of students and prostitutes viewed each other and the process by which, despite having contradictory ideologies in life, they came to be joined together during the war. On one side are school girls who are as pure as angels and on the other side are prostitutes who have faced suffering in the real world. We must think about the conflict and merging of the image of women on both sides when watching this film^[39].

When looking at the passage quoted above, the author can understand why the conflicting images of the school girls and prostitutes were used in the novel and film. Although there are differences between the film and the novel, the themes presented above are common to them.

The Chinese academic Shi Chang 施畅 interprets the transformation process from records of the events during the Nanjing Massacre to the film by the director Zhang Yimou 张艺谋 as the following. “[It is] because elements like the experience and records of foreigners such as Vautrin and Rabe, the writing of the novel as an emigrant Chinese by Yan Geling, delivering an international film by the Chinese director Zhang Yimou, etc., all come together to make a richer, more complex story^[40],” and argued for a process of popularization and localization led by the writer.

Zhang Yimou attempts to overcome “the consensual grudge amongst nations” and narrates a slice of Chinese history for foreign viewers from an international perspective. This is a type of culture export which sends outward from within. When examining the position of the testifier, “foreigner-emigrant Chinese-mainland Chinese,” the position becomes more and more “localized.” As a method of propagation, through the transformation process from “diary-novel-film” the propagation effect becomes more and more “popularized.” There is another thing to note. How was the salvation legend of the prostitutes formed within the development from “historical record-literary imagination-move expression^[41]”?

In this study, Shi (2012: 146) mentions the transformation process from each character and

[38] Yan Geling, Op. cit., Kim Yikyung, Korean edition of *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, (Seoul: WoongjinThinkBig, 2012), 303.

[39] Yang Qing, Op. cit., 83.

[40] Shi Chang, Op. cit., 144.

[41] *Ibid.*

event during the process of remaking it into a film and makes the following analysis:

Unlike in the novel, in the film a scene was added where the unit led by Major Li 李教官 fights with the invaders. (……) The Major Li 李教官 that appears in the novel dropped his weapon and surrendered, and after that escaped from danger and ran away and later secretly entered the cathedral during the confusion. In the film, he sends his wounded and barely conscious fellow soldier Wang Pusheng 王浦生 to the cathedral, while he comes out of the cathedral to fight the Japanese …… This can be said to be the noble imagination of the director. (….) In the film, the scene where Zhao Yumo 赵玉墨 dances a charming dance to lure the soldiers was deleted. Instead, it shows a scene where the prostitutes in clean clothes sing in a well-conducted manner^[42].

As shown in the above-quoted passage, Shi Chang 施畅 explains in detail the differences between the novel and the film; in this study, the author aims to focus on the appearance of the mortician John Miller, who does not appear in the original novel. When John first comes to the cathedral for the funeral of the deceased priest Engelmann, he is a pathetic person only interested in women and money, but he changes dramatically in the film. This transformation process in the film begins when John wears the priest's clothes for fun. The author considers the reason for introducing the mortician, who does not appear in the novel, as being that director Zhang Yimou was worried that if a priest was the main character, it would lose popularity in China, where there are not many Christians. The fact that the great Hollywood star Christian Bale was set to appear, reflects the willingness to change the original novel to aim major popularity. On this point, Hou Keming 侯克明 asserted as follows:

In the novel, there are two priests in the cathedral. There is one old priest and one young priest …… In the film, instead of two priests, the mortician John played by Bale appears—that is, one fake priest.

As a film that constitutes a large investment, this film was not able to violate things that everyone believes to be wrong, and especially in the language environment of anti-colonial invasion they can escape trouble when narrating history by using a fake priest, so it can be called a shrewd method for narrative. In addition, by using a fake priest to replace a real priest, this had important meaning as the birth of a hero image that appeared in the mundane world that is John.^[43]

In the passage quoted above, Hou emphasizes that the replacement of the priest by John Miller changed this story into one of a Hollywood hero. The author analyzes the differences that occurred when the novel was made into a film as follows.

[42] Ibid, 146.

[43] Hou Keming, *Op. cit.*, 15.

Comparison	novel <i>Jin Ling Shi San Chai</i>	film <i>The Flowers of War</i>	Similarities and Differences
Spatial Background	Cathedral (basement and attic)	Cathedral (basement and attic)	Same
Characters	American priest, prostitutes (12 to 16 prostitutes, including the prostitute leaders Yumo 玉墨, Hong Ling 红菱, and Dou Kou 豆蔻), soldiers (the lead soldier in the novel is major Dai 戴), schoolgirl leader Shujuan 书娟	American priest, prostitutes (12 to 16 prostitutes, including the prostitute leaders Yumo 玉墨, Hong Ling 红菱, and Dou Kou 豆蔻), soldiers (the lead soldier in the film is Major Li), schoolgirl leader Shujuan 书娟	Similar
Theme	Prostitutes save the school girls and sacrifice themselves	Prostitutes save the school girls and sacrifice themselves	It is the same
<i>Qipao</i> 旗袍 of the prostitutes	Fancy and beautiful <i>qipao</i> of prostitutes	Fancy and beautiful <i>qipao</i> of prostitutes	It is similar
Relationships Small events	There is a romance between Major Dai 戴 and Yumo 玉墨, Major Dai hides in the cathedral but is discovered and shot	There are many action scenes, Major Li 李教官 goes out to fight outside the cathedral and dies valiantly	It is a little different
	Yi's father takes Yi and two others out	Yi's father only gives a pass permit to John; after he dies, the girls successfully escape using the pass	It is a little different
	The prostitutes hid scissors in their clothes.	The prostitutes hid broken glass in their clothes.	It is similar
	The prostitutes wear the choir schoolgirl clothes	With the skill that John Miller gained by cutting the hair of dead bodies, he changes the hair of the prostitutes and George into that of school girls	It is a little different
Ending	The prostitutes disguised as school girls are taken by the Japanese army, and the girls are dressed as boys and disguised by Vautrin as plague patients and escape.	The prostitutes and George dressed as a woman are taken in Japanese military cars, the school girls leave by hiding under the wine box in the luggage compartment of John Miller's truck.	It is a little different

Table 2 Analysis of the differences between the novel and film

III. The Meaning of Christianity in *The Flowers of War*

In this chapter, the author reaches the core of this study, which is to find the elements of Luther's neighborly love and salvation in the film and novel of *The Flowers of War*. Before Martin Luther, only the church was allowed to expound the Bible and salvation was only possible through edification, but after his influence, individuals could encounter the Bible, and salvation could be achieved through the Bible and righteous acts. William Gilbert asserted that:

It was also affirmed that the Catholic church alone had the right to expound the Bible officially. The decree on justification asserted the necessity for both faith and good works in the process of salvation. The Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, the bondage of the will, man's utter

depravity and helplessness, and the doctrine of predestination were rejected^[44].

As stated by Gilbert in the passage quoted above, the Protestant doctrine allowed salvation through justification by faith after the Reformation of Luther.

Roland Bainton (1978:230) wrote, "This is the word which ought to be placarded as the epitome of Luther's ethic, that a Christian must be a Christ to his neighbor." He (1978:383) emphasized the following.

His sermons were read to the congregations, his liturgy was sung, his catechism was rehearsed by the father with the household, his Bible cheered the fainthearted and consoled the dying.

As can be drawn from this quote, Luther served as a role model for Christianity through his praises and poems filled with faith. This paper attempts to adapt the very ideals of Luther in *The Flowers of War*. Chinese scholars have already argued that *The Flowers of War* shows the Christian ideology of equality, and are continuing their research on the Christian factors in the novel and film.

The Chinese scholar Wu Weihua 吴卫华 quoted as follows:

This method of "secondary replacement (replacing bad or less good things with good things)" to realize self-salvation shows the typical Confucian tradition of class and an aristocrat/plebian concept. In fact, the disregard for the class of prostitutes does not change once. However, one of the pillars of Christian teachings and ethical ideology is that "all people are equal before God." Therefore, *The Flowers of War* has lost the path to human nature and values, is dislocated from the humanity that life is all equal, and has rather moved to the opposite of humanity and the duty of humankind. The more the audience acknowledges the logic of the film's story, the more they are touched by the sacrifice of the prostitutes, the greater the chance of them falling into a fallacy of values. As there is a difference in the conflict of values with Western culture, Western audience members could not accept at all the sacrifice of the prostitutes in place of the students^[45].

When looking at the quoted passage above, Wu Weihua 吴卫华 asserts that this text already has the premise of disregarding the prostitutes compared to the school girls, and therefore it is fundamentally dislocated from Christian ethical ideology. There is some validity to this criticism. However, in the Bible (John 8:7), Jesus said to the people throwing stones at a woman who committed adultery, "Whoever is without sin among you, let him be the first to cast a stone at her," and emphasized that all people are equal. This author believes that Wu's argument of dividing prostitutes and school girls so that prostitutes are sacrificed in place of the girls is class thinking that ignores human equality. While a scene of the school girls sacrificing themselves for the prostitutes was also possible, there is the historical fact of prostitutes sacrificing themselves, and the author

[44] Gilbert, William, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Counter Reformation*, (Lawrence, KS: Carrie, 1998).

[45] Wu Weihua, Op. cit., 76.

infers that the prostitutes were sacrificed to turn the stereotype that prostitutes are profane on its head to further emphasize equality.

In addition, the 13 characters in the novel, the age of the main character Meng Shujuan 孟书娟 (Shu in the film) being 13, the 13 school girls left in the cathedral at the end, and the 13 prostitutes all correspond to the title *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* 金陵十三钗 (The 13 Beautiful Women). However, the film, unlike the novel, changes the 13 women into 12 women and 1 man. To this Zhang Yiwu 张颐武 added a Christian interpretation, which is asserted as follows:

Miller, who is played by Christian Bale, together with the 12 school girls become the 13 that gain a chance at survival. “13 钗” *Shi San Chai* is similar to the “12 Chai” who appear in *红楼梦 A Dream of Red Mansions, Jin Ling 12 Chai*. However, the difference between “*Shi Er Chai*” and “*Shi San Chai*” is the hidden secret in this film. Clearly the 12 women in the end are divided into those to go to die and those who come to live anew. The 13th member is composed of George and Miller. The man who faces death is George and the man who actually lives is Miller, so that of 12 women and 1 man, one of each party shares the same fate^[46].

Looking at the quoted passage above, Zhang is adding Christian interpretation to numbers. The 12 women and 1 man adding up to a number of 13 people can refer to the mortician John Miller (Christian Bale), who took the role of the priest, succeeding in escaping with the 12 school girls. It can also refer to George Chen (Huang Tianyuan), who looked after the cathedral, disguising himself as a woman and being taken away with the 12 prostitutes by the Japanese army. The terms death and new life mean that when the prostitutes were taken away by the Japanese army instead of the school girls, the demand of the Japanese army was for exactly 13 women. In a situation with only 12 prostitutes there needed to be one more person to be sacrificed, and instead of one of the school girls George is disguised as a girl and taken. Zhang Yiwu viewed John and George as the Apostle Paul, and from this the author can understand that when interpreting this film, Zhang started from the idea that death and life are one. That is, it can be interpreted to mean resurrection, which is the new life after death. This is the Christian interpretation of the film.

Zhang also claimed that:

However, the most moving aspect of this film is the meaning of sublimation. There are many things that are sublimated here. This sublimation is the basis of salvation and new life. For example, the sublimation from mortician to priest by Miller happened because he witnessed the violence of the Japanese army. The sublimation of George appears in his brave death. The sublimation of Meng is when he gives the pass permit, which he received when only attempting to rescue his own daughter, to Miller, and it is reflected when after his death this pass permit saved the school girls. At first Miller harasses Yumo 玉墨 but comes to truly like her, which appears as a form of emotional sublimation. The most holy and majestic sublimation in this film is the sublimation of the prostitutes. They selected to self-sacrifice themselves instead of the school girls. Through a very

[46] Zhang Yiwu, Op. cit., 29-30.

solemn and holy disguise they gain a new identity. The disguise here is similar to baptism as a conversion to Christianity^[47].

What Zhang describes as a holy disguise at the end of the passage quoted above refers to the prostitutes’ disguising themselves in the form of school girls to sacrifice themselves in the place of the school girls. In the actual records of the event, the prostitutes in the Safety Zone surrendered themselves before any of the other women. In the opinion of this author, contrasting the school girls and the prostitutes in the original novel and in the film, gives the sublimation of the prostitutes a greater impact than the sublimation of the school girls and further emphasizes the Christian spirit. Gui Ren 桂人 wrote that:

The 12 women escaped from hardship, and finally realized holiness and eternal life.

.....

The New Testament’s Second Letter to the Corinthians, written by the Apostle Paul, states, “Therefore from now on we will not judge someone by their looks. Although we recognized Jesus through looks, from now on we will not identify people that way. If someone is with Jesus, that is a newly made man. As old events have already passed, all things are new^[48].”

Gui, as shown in the passage quoted above, is of the view that prejudices should be thrown away and people should be seen anew. Gui also argued, in relation to George, who became an additional 1 to the 12 women, that:

Although the Japanese army demanded thirteen school girls to go to the celebration performance, later on there were only twelve prostitutes who went in the place of the school girls. In the end, George Chen, who cleaned and managed the cathedral, disguised himself as a woman and went with them. From this people can be reminded of the thirteen disciples recorded in the Gospels. Jesus selected thirteen disciples, but there was one traitor among them. After Jesus left the human world and entered into Heaven, another disciple was selected^[49].

In the above quoted passage Gui does not specify directly that George is a metaphor for Paul, but analyzed him to correspond to the disciple that was selected after Jesus entered into Heaven. Gui Ren 桂人 stated again as follows:

Of course, the main character in the film was a prostitute like Yumo. These women “gave up their body” to the passions of men from early on for this or that reason. These people, due to their lives of poverty and emptiness, would want “salvation” and “redemption” more than anyone. They are like the prostitutes and the people living at the bottom of society that appear in the Bible. They

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Gui Ren, *Op. cit.*, 51.

[49] *Ibid.*

truly make the decision to sacrifice themselves instead of the school girls, and when faced with a frightful and unknown future they may have realized their “salvation” and “redemption” through the “salvation” and “redemption” of the school girls^[50].

Gui analyzed the prostitutes who became scapegoats as achieving redemption through salvation. Gui Ren 桂人 also asserted as follows:

Is Jesus Christ not the master of Heaven who sacrificed himself for mankind? Jesus Christ, who was born as a man, has left His main body and changed into a weak being that can experience pain, have pity for man, know sacrifice, and experience sadness like any man. Through His death on the cross He understood to helplessness and pain of man in death, willfully took on the injustice of the world, and showed the truth of “salvation” through self-sacrifice. Within sacrificing love is the power of death. Taking pain for others, and even their places of death clearly is “salvation.” According to the records of the Bible, before Jesus willfully went to His death, His disciple Peter said “it cannot be,” but Jesus stoutly refused, “What you understand is not of the master of Heaven but that of man.” (Refer to the Book of Matthew 15:21-23)^[51].

Just as Jesus resolutely accepted his death, so Gui saw the self-sacrifice of the prostitutes to be holy. Gui is comparing the prostitutes with Jesus in that they sacrifice themselves to save others. Zhao Ming 赵明 wrote in “The Flowers of War: Bestiality, Humanity, and Divinity” that:

Christianity actually occurred from the lifestyle of Christian events and on the road to salvation. The essence of Christianity is the road to salvation that opens through Christian events. Father Engelmann (英格曼) protecting these people is an expression of the spirit of the Bible. The Bible speaks of love and salvation. Christianity is a religion of love. The salvation of God had spontaneity and limitlessness (无机性). It is natural like the sun brightening the four directions by itself without external force. The salvation of humanity is reflected in the priest Engelmann protecting the wounded Chinese soldiers... Father Engelmann saving the flesh of the person while at the same time he saves humanity is at a high level of mind^[52].

Zhao believed that the priest Engelmann protecting the wounded soldier in difficult times shows that he had achieved a high level of mind. Zhao also claimed that:

When the thirteen prostitutes disguised themselves in the form of school girls and appeared like angels, they had already transformed from lowly “prostitutes” to bright angels. At this point the author had already raised them to God who saves people from suffering^[53].

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*, 52.

[52] Zhao Ming, *Op. cit.*, 98.

[53] *Ibid.*

Zhao compared the schoolgirl disguise of the prostitutes to angels and God. Zhao further asserted that:

While the reasons for the prostitutes to come out in the end to be sacrificed has nationalist reasons, it is more accurate to say that it is more due to religious influence and religious spirit. It is the function of religion to achieve order between one’s internal life and the environment one is faced with...The prostitutes coming into the cathedral to criticize already implies a choice between survival and salvation. When they heard the bells for the POWs that had been shot, they became quiet and did not quarrel or speak loudly...They may not have known it but they had received a mental calling. This influence and calling grew more and more in their unconscious^[54].

Zhao believed that it was more accurate to see the sacrifice of the prostitutes as a religious metaphor as opposed to many studies that saw them as heroes of the nation. Zhao also writes:

When they were disguised in the form of students and holding gilt-edged choir books, these thirteen women already became the Christian image of self-sacrifice and saving others...The number 13 has a special meaning within Western religion. The author solved a major issue with the sacrifice of the thirteen people and raised them to the height of God^[55].

As such, the sacrifice by the prostitutes for the school girls falls neatly in the Christian spirit of Luther that emphasizes sacrifice for one’s neighbor. Zhao goes so far as to elevate them to the level of God. Meanwhile, Wang Yingli 王英丽 asserted as follows:

The film shows a strong contrast between holiness and dirtiness. The most holy things and the most unclean and dirty things are mixed together. On one hand are the “dirty” prostitutes who come from a brothel, and on the other hand are the holy cathedral and pure school girls. One is a representative of debauchery and corruption, and the other is a representative of holiness and purity^[56].

Wang Yingli 王英丽 analyzes the characteristics of the two groups of women into the Christian codes of holiness and corruption and claims:

The solemn and holy makeup transformed them totally in body and mind. The makeup symbolized baptism and conversion. Not only was their appearance changed but the valuable heart of a girl that they had not touched in a long time emerged. When the permed hair style was changed to the naive student hair style, the modesty of a girl returned to the face of the prostitute Yumo. The prostitutes hid their “body” with the “student uniform” of the choir school girls^[57].

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Wang Yingli, *Op. cit.*, 79.

[57] *Ibid.*, 80.

Wang continued:

The choice of the “lowly” women when faced with survival and death gives us the courage to think again about “human nature.” The vast power of salvation is hidden within my lowliest body... The prostitutes that were ignored and not saved by the people of the world faced the various hurts and rejections that the human world inflicted on them in that cathedral and ultimately saved others and saved themselves. Therefore, it showed the broad mind and strong will of women.

The theme rising in this film moved people. The themes of salvation and rebirth became the basis for this rising^[58].

Wang analyzed the fact that the prostitutes were forced towards a place of death while the school girls survived to be the basis by which the theme was emphasized. They viewed the theme to be the Christian code of salvation.

Kim, Joo-Han asserted that “To Luther, faith is not justified unless it is formed from love. The core of Luther’s preaching is that the act of goodness is the fruit of righteousness, not a cause of or a means of developing righteousness^[59].” The prostitutes had sacrificed their bodies and lives to save the school girls for one cause; love and sympathy. Consequently, the act of goodness of the prostitutes can be seen as a fruit of righteousness in the perspective of Luther’s theology.

According to Lenker Luther, emphasized the following in his sermons:

We now come to consider good works. We receive Christ not only as a gift by faith, but also as an example of love toward our neighbor, whom we are to serve as Christ serves us. Faith brings and gives Christ to you with all his possessions. Love gives you to your neighbor with all your possessions. These two things constitute a true and complete Christian life; then follow suffering and persecution for such faith and love, and out of these grows hope in patience^[60].

As seen from his quotes, Luther highlighted the exercise of love towards one’s neighbors before all else. According to Lenker, “If you find a work in you by which you benefit God or his saints or yourself and not your neighbor, know that such a work is not good^[61].” It seems that from his viewpoint, the love and act of goodness towards neighbors were higher of a priority than acts of faith.

Furthermore, Luther drew no lines between act of goodness and salvation. Lenker wrote that “This he can understand who considers what it means that Christ bears our sin, and conquers death and hell and does everything for us, that is necessary to our salvation. He does not expect us to do

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Kim, Joo-han, “A Study of Martin Luther’s Theology of Preaching—Focusing on His Earlier Sermons (1513–1522)”, University and Mission 17, (The Korean Association of University and mission), 54.

[60] Lenker, John Nicholas, Ed., & trans. Sermons of Martin Luther; (The Church Postils vol. 1 and 2. Baker Books; Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), 37.

[61] *Ibid.*, 40.

anything for it, but to exercise it towards our neighbor, to know thereby whether we have such faith in Christ or not^[62]." Through the theological viewpoint of Luther presented above, the sacrifice of the prostitutes in *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* would be evaluated at an even greater value. The courage and faith to act out such sacrifice lies in the Christian doctrine. Yumo, the leader among the group of prostitutes, had studied in a convent school for 6 years as a little girl. Having this teachings of Christianity engraved in her enabled her to sacrifice herself for the schoolgirls and persuades others to help her protect them.

In the opinion of this author, contrasting the school girls and the prostitutes in the original novel and in the film, gives the sublimation of the prostitutes a greater impact than the sublimation of the school girls and further emphasizes the Christian spirit. In the Bible (John chapter 8; verse 7), Jesus said to the people throwing stones at a woman who committed adultery, "Whoever is without sin among you, let him be the first to cast a stone at her," and emphasized that all people are equal. This author believes that dividing prostitutes and schoolgirls so that prostitutes are sacrificed in place of the girls is class thinking that ignores human equality. Instead, this is an act of goodwill that arose from love. This sacrifice was compared by many Chinese scholars to Christian salvation rather than a simple sacrifice or the result of a nationalistic spirit to save their country. Some even go so far as to compare the sacrifice of the prostitutes to God or Jesus.

IV. Conclusion

When thinking of the Christian spirit of Martin Luther's practice of love for one's neighbor as we face the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's Reformation, we sought to reveal the theological ideas of Luther in Chinese literature. We demonstrated that the film and novel, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*, written by the Chinese writer Yan Geling, effectively reflected the concept of sacrifice and love emphasized by Luther. Above all, the sacrifice of the prostitutes who became scapegoats in *The Flowers of War* once again reminds us that salvation is not far off but is present in the sacrifice made for others. Luther (Lenker, 1995:37) asserted that there is no name for the good works that we are to do for our neighbors. Just as the good works Christ does for us has none. He stressed that our act of love towards neighbors should equate that of Christ for us. In this sense, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai* is a remarkable example of Luther's ideology. Historical artifacts indeed reveal that the prostitutes of the period sacrificed themselves to save other women from Japanese forces.

The records of various events that are used in this thesis are reflected in Yan Geling's screenplay *Sanctuary* and the novel based on it, *Jin Ling Shi San Chai*. The author examined the transformation process of the novel into the film *The Flowers of War*, as well as its Christian meaning. The author Yan Geling expertly describes detailed psychological states and the unique modern historical pain of the Chinese people. Yan Geling restructured the material recorded in the Vautrin's diary and other sources from a Christian perspective. The records show events that occurred in the Safety Zone or Jinling Women's College, but from the time she started writing the screenplay for *Sanctuary*, the background was changed to a cathedral. In addition, the events were

[62] Ibid, 47.

changed from the statement in the records where prostitutes stepped up before others when women were taken by Japanese soldiers, to prostitutes willingly going to their deaths in the spirit of sacrifice to save the school girls of the Catholic school. This was compared by many Chinese scholars to Christian salvation rather than a simple sacrifice or the result of a nationalistic spirit to save their country. Some even go so far as to compare the sacrifice of the prostitutes to God or Jesus.

This paper compares and organizes various Chinese works that view Yan Geling's novel and film, which depicts various historical characters and materials of the Nanjing Massacre in a Christian background. A distinction from existing papers is the application of Luther's theological perspective, which emphasizes sacrifice for one's neighbors, in interpreting the self-sacrifice of the prostitutes as a fruit of righteousness arising from love. What still lies to be studied is the comparison in the reflection of Christianity in other Yan Geling's novels and Zhang Yimou's films.

中文题目：

电影及小说《金陵十三钗》的基督教意义

黄荣美, 电影评论家, 文学博士, 淑明女子大学校 基础教养学部 教授; 住所 : Seoul 特别市 龙山区 青坡洞二街 47gil 100, 淑明女子大学校 纯献馆 #114, 韩国, 140-742; 电子邮箱: hym4322@sm.ac.kr

提要: 在马丁·路德改革 500 周年之际, 当想起他对爱我们的邻居之基督教义的实践, 作者试图揭示中国文学里的基督教理论思想, 向大家证明中国作家严歌苓创作的电影和小说《金陵十三钗》实际上反映了路德强调的牺牲和爱的观念。

‘金陵’是‘南京’的旧称。作品围绕血雨腥风的 1937 年‘南京大屠杀’当时, 金陵地区的温彻斯特大教堂修女院学校的少女们的悲剧事件展开了叙述。电影讲述了来收敛教堂神父遗体却不得已成为了少女们的保护者的入殓师约翰(克里斯蒂安·贝尔)与来依照日内瓦公约宣布中立的教堂避难的妓女们和少女们不期而遇。为了不让女学生们遭到残忍的日本军的迫害, 妓女们装扮成少女的模样替她们牺牲的故事。而在小说里没有出现入殓师。小说讲述的是在神父和女学生和妓女们经历这场灾难中, 妓女们通过戏剧性的牺牲挽救了女学生们的性命。

路德的道德原理是一个基督徒必须对自己周围的人履行基督教徒的义务, 这通过妓女们的牺牲反映出来了。照这个原理, 妓女们为救女学生性命, 扮成学生模样、手拿烫金皮面经书的模样可以被看作 13 位女人对牺牲自我来救赎他人的基督教精神的实现。她们是替罪羊, 是救赎形象的象征, 也可以被看作是替我们受罪牺牲的耶稣形象的象征。原本的事件中的大学被替换成了教堂, 增加了基督教色彩。被小说化的严歌苓作品《金陵十三钗》正是如此反映路德神学观的救赎核心的一部作品。这篇论文对西方环境中成长的原小说作者严歌苓的基督教意识在这部作品中的反映进行了发现和研究, 本研究认为张艺谋导演让英格曼神父死去, 把原作中的英格曼神父换成了入殓师是张艺谋导演根据基督教义的接受在中国难以大众化的情况作出判断的结果。

关键词: 金陵十三钗; 严歌苓; 张艺谋; 南京大屠杀; 马丁·路德

Three Comparative Studies by LI Yi, FANG Weilin and Leyli ALEKSANYAN

Part One

“To Have” or “to Be”: Way of meaning and being

—Fromm’s encounter with Lao Zi and Meister Eckhart

LI Yi

(Faculty of Literatures, Wuhan University, P. R. China)

Abstract: In *To have or to be*, Erich Fromm postulated the being mode as the true structure of existence, in contrast to the having mode as an psychological *ill-being*. In a perspective whose underlying orientation was Freudo-Marxism, he opted for an eclectic approach with religious sources, such as Meister Eckhart. This paper points out that this alternative between the two modes could be better understood upon a discussion about meaning and being. To the extent of *being as becoming* instead of traditional ontology as mainstream, Fromm abolished meaning of having mode based on the alienated humanity, even rejected meaning per se beyond being, thus meaning would be nothing but a human self-definition through *the unfolding of his powers, by living productively*. Fromm’s suggestion would be very meaningful when we are just trying to reconcile our being within some meanings (axiology, view of fact, etc.); however, his attempt to interpret the fear of dying as a mere illusion of losing possession, came to the end of death as meaningless, which could not restore the original meaning of being especially after its fragmentation in the disenchanting world nor escape from nihilism. It is pity that his wide vision of religious thoughts merely brought a reductionistic way for supporting his rational humanistic standpoint. Through a comparison centered on *obedience, detachment and oneness*, it can be clearly seen that there exists a huge divergency between Eckhart’s theocentrism and Fromm’s radical humanism; that means the latter benefitting from the former according to his own theoretical predilection erased the fundamental disparity of precondition; Lao Zi’s strategy of meaning could be another frame of reference different from the western ontology. Through a comparison with Eckhart and Lao Zi in their very way of meaning, this essay attempts to indicate their metaphysics (especially by negative way) have been solidly based upon Godhead or Dao offering an infinite ground of eternity for generating human meaning whereby the corrupted humanity could be wholly transcended through self-negation so that a new life within the new meaning can be.

Key Words: Having mode; being mode; meaning; ontology; eternity

Author: LI Yi, MA in Anthropology, Université de Lorraine, France, Ph. D. candidate, Faculty of Literatures, Wuhan University, Address: Luojia yayuan Building 10 (Jiechen meiyu), Shucheng Road, Hongshan District, Wuchang, Wuhan City, Hubei Province, P. R. China, 430072, Tel: +86 15102735217, Email: theologieli@163.com.

This essay intends to illustrate a theme on *having* and *being* proposed by Erich Fromm in his book *To Have or to Be*. He is not the first who proposed it but who linked up with many thinkers whose thoughts are far from one another, such as Buddha, the Hebrew prophets, Jesus, Master

Eckhart, Sigmund Freud, and Karl Marx^[1], seemingly being summoned to commit themselves to this great subject; a *New Science of Man* and the *New Society* with the *Being mode*—the hope of human being which only flashed in the history, for instance, the thirteenth century—“between the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance^[2]”; and in this corrupted capitalist society, the conversion from *Having mode* to *Being mode* would be the only future. Our task, certainly, could not necessarily manifest the panorama of this utopian assumption, which seems too optimistic about the humanity in today’s world. Instead, we will concentrate on an insight into his underlying orientation and clarify the limitation of his way of evoking religious sources, compared with the (negative) way in Meister Eckhart who is frequently quoted and in Lao Zi whose name appears only as one of the three precepts in the beginning. The latter put in our comparison, is not only because he is closely linked with the Zen—a fusion of Daoism and Buddhism, one of the Fromm’s favorites as well, but rather because his negative way (*Wu*) is aimed at *Having (You)*, not as the opposite of *Being* which concerns the ontology—a radical metaphysics in the tradition of western philosophy. As the greatest thinkers on *nothingness*, Lao Zi and Eckhart offer two pure perspectives, springing from Dao and God.

Lack of space forbids a comprehensive comparison about their thoughts, but we shall concentrate the discussion on their ways of meaning and being in a metaphysical and ontological horizon.

1. Fromm’s underlying orientation of the two *fundamental modes* and his blended but reduced way

Unlike the famous question of Hamlet “To be, or not to be; that is the question”, Erich Fromm postulated in this book published in 1976, his twilight years in Switzerland, a conception with the exclusive alternative in spite of the interrogative form of its title “To Have or to Be?”. Through his demonstrations and argumentations, Fromm embraced the latter without hesitation nor reservation. Therefore, for him, the question of Hamlet was converted as “To escape from having and always to be, there is no question”.

Just like what he said in foreword: “this book follows two trends of my previous writings”—*selfishness* and *altruism*^[3], by implementing this opposition, he elaborated two corresponding modes—*having* and *being*, which were based on his judgement of the “two basic character orientations^[4]” in humanity. The distinction between having and being had impressed him for many years, and his quest was focused on its “empirical basis in the concrete study of individuals and groups by the psychoanalytic method”, and along with the conception “love of life” and “love of the dead”, what he saw “represents the most crucial problem of existence^[5]”.

[1] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, 114-115; during this period in which Meister Eckhart lived, Fromm believed that “Indeed, had European history continued in the spirit of the thirteenth century, had it developed the spirit of scientific knowledge and individualism slowly and in an evolutionary way, we might now have been in a fortunate position.”

[3] *Ibid.*, xix.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 14.

He admitted that this distinction was his starting point, and carded briefly the origin of the terms^[6]. Then he compared the differences in terms of epistemology and experiencing between having and being, and respectively defined *what is* having or being mode by explaining why humankind rather rely on the former (psychoanalysis); for the purpose of refraining from radicalising the latter mode to the extent that human being could live without having anything, he differentiated *existential having* from *characterological having*^[7]. So he clarified it was having mode that formed the opposite of being, and one should not *have* (in mind) for one's living. Fromm continued to further his differentiation by enriching the content of being mode with religious sources (Jewish, Christian and Buddhist) until he would have reached the end of this book; a new man and a new society. So distinctively and eclectically, Fromm accomplished his conception of *being* since a long time. Although this author had "long been out of fashion^[8]", his point of view is very enlightening. Within this part, we are not about to discuss the reason why Fromm got cold reception during recent years; instead, we're highlighting how his eclectic but radical humanistic position blended but reduced the religious sources, which will provide a basis for comparing with the negative way in Lao Zi and Eckhart, cited also in this book of Fromm. Let us begin with exploring his underlying orientation.

Before Fromm's era came, Heraclitus and Hegel had overrun Parmenides and Plato and the scholastic "realists^[9]", along with the metaphysics concerning ontology—*being* as *becoming* overwhelmed by *being* as *permanence*, which made room for the empirical and scientific mode of view, until "a naturalistic materialism" prevails today^[10]: "empirical anthropological and psychoanalytic data demonstrate that *having and being are two fundamental modes of experience, the respective strengths of which determine the differences between the characters of individuals and various types of social character*^[11]." Then Fromm laid bare the back of his theory: "But when we start out with the reality of human beings existing, loving, hating, suffering, then there is no being that is not at the same time becoming and changing. Living structures can be only if they become; they can exist only if they change. Change and growth are inherent qualities of the life process^[12]." The way Fromm took for granted as human reality was based on becoming and changing in terms of being, whose original meaning as judgement had openly and legally been replaced by a certainty confirmed through scientific experiments and collective/individual experiences.

Then for Fromm, *to be or not to be*, this classic question of Hamlet, because of the *inexistence* of

[6] *Ibid.*, 13-23.

[7] *Ibid.*, 70.

[8] John Rickert, *The Fromm-Marcuse debate revisited*, in *Theory and Society* 15: 3 (May 1986), 351; & Kieran Durkin, *The Radical Humanism of Erich Fromm*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), introduction.

[9] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 21: "As George Simmel has pointed out, the idea that being implies change, i. e., that being is becoming, has its two greatest and most uncompromising representatives at the beginning and at the zenith of Western philosophy: in Heraclitus and in Hegel. The position that being is a permanent, timeless, and unchangeable substance and the opposite of becoming, as expressed by Parmenides, Plato, and the scholastic 'realists', makes sense only on the basis of the idealistic notion that a thought (idea) is the ultimate reality."

[10] Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 28: "But today, for instance, when a naturalistic materialism is not only on offer, but presents itself as the only view compatible with the most prestigious institution of the modern world, viz., science; (...)"

[11] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 14.

[12] *Ibid.*, 21.

God and the mortality of humanity, has been converted as *Only to be, becoming and changing for a better being*; life is worth living only if we opt for the right way (mode); *not to be* equivalent only to death, is nothing but the utmost limit, a *thorough* nothingness out of being nor meaning. The unique alternative—being mode—nothing more than living and experiencing really mattered, with caution against the corruption from the illusion of possession—having mode—leading to death. Different from those traditional ontologists, Fromm's concern of being revolved around *well-being* or *ill-being*, *normalcy* or *pathology*, instead of such an ontology in pure speculative way as beingness and nothingness. That means his notion of being, seemingly more concrete and practical, but without entire framework of meaning articulated with being, merely as the opposite of that of having—a mode of alienation, an illness, which relied upon the normalcy of well-being, such a broad topic.

Since the having mode was nothing than an ill-being to avoid—another term of no-being, withal, the theism was counted as another corrupted way related with (*irrational*) *authority*—authoritarian structure (having mode), the noetic opposition-oriented steered the *being mode* as nonauthoritarian structure^[13]—an exclusively meaningful atonement (oneness) against diversity as sin^[14]. In these opposite relationship through a linguistic way, the reconciliation between being and meaning obtained a profound interpretation: a meaningful being leads to the real life by a nontheistic way^[15] which seemingly made a substantiated response to this series: “For the nature of knowledge, whether scientific or ontological, consists in reconciling meaning and being. And being signifies nothing other than the actualization of potentiality, self-realization which keeps in tune with the transformation^[16].” This explanation could be counted as a proclamation for the real base of humanistic paradigm of (well-)being, or a self-definition (auto-affirmation) of humanity in today's prevailing opinion; but as for Fromm who concentrated on the revelation of the selfish and ideological alienation might painstakingly keep distance from sinking into this danger even by receiving, to the extent possible, a diversity of traditional thoughts, including those religious both western and eastern.

On consideration of Fromm's open mind good at borrowing ideas from religious sources, it would not be difficult for him to realise the great danger of the modern ideologies. We can see it clearly the sensibility within his mind against the slavery of all forms, visible or invisible; meanwhile, that moulded his eclecticism and his *peculiar mixed way*^[17]. His readers would encounter so many thinkers and their thoughts, although they were profoundly far apart from one another. The wide field of view brought him a comprehensive involvement in many domains and made it possible that a diversity of thoughts was seemingly under his command, certes, through a certain simplification within his perspective, which we could constate it from his thought and a broad range of quotations. This can be attributed to his transboundary academic backgrounds: rabbinical education (in early times as the only child of Orthodox Jewish parents), then double studies in sociological and

[13] Cf. *ibid.*, 101, 133, 166.

[14] *Ibid.*, 100-101.

[15] Cf. *ibid.*, 49, 126, 133, 164.

[16] *Ibid.*, xvi.

[17] Erich Fromm, *Fu Luomu Zhuzuo Jingxuan—Renxing, shehui, zhengjiu*, 《弗洛姆著作精选——人性、社会、拯救》, Huang Songjie 黄颂杰主编, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), (preface) 2.

psychoanalytic fields. Compared with those radical atheists, Fromm could still benefit from his *religious-philosophical* position, intentionally or unintentionally, to avoid being a severe unconscious ideologist. Like the most humanists, he did treat *Freedom* as the supreme value and how it was corrupted by the authoritarianism of those ideologies, in connection with his social psychology, especially in his early book *Escape from Freedom* whose acknowledgement mentioned his open inspirations from theology, with Calvin's *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*^[18]. Benefiting from the theological sources which rendered him the insight into those ideologies, he did have a wide range of assimilation of different thoughts, but he maintained also his “radical-humanistic psychoanalysis^[19]”. Amongst the great thinkers, Fromm valued most Marx and Freud^[20] as “one of those rare thinkers who are trying to link together Marx and Freud in the spirit of the European humanistic tradition^[21].” The book *To Have or to Be* which seems rather philosophical, though, whose title does not reflect directly the eclecticism of his interests just like his other three books—*Psychoanalysis and Religion* (1950), *Art and Loving* (1956) and *Psychoanalysis and Zen Buddhism* (1960)^[22], was still anchored deeply into his consistent predilection: “deals with an empirical psychological and social analysis of the two modes of existence^[23]”.

Fromm rejected the view “*that the economic base mechanically generates the ideological superstructure*”; meanwhile, “no one did more to circulate the views of Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts than Fromm, presenting a Marx who was clearly not a mechanical materialist^[24]”. He rejected to reduce Marxism to an *economic base-oriented* ideology, in the same way, he indicated that the social economic structure was just a condition of the development of human personality, which was totally different from the subjective economic motive. Besides, he admitted that pursuing fortunes is not the crucial motive of human conducts but just special need of some cultures. The different economic conditions could mold the character of hating or disregarding the material wealth^[25]. Fromm rejected to reduce all human phenomenons to an economical essence; whereas, he did carry out a double standard between what concerned Marx and the religious sources, because of the castration towards religious citations endorsed for his perspective of looking at the interfluvial between these two modes. For instance, those quotations about Buddha were nothing more than an abstract recapitulation, such as “the Buddha is the hero who leaves all possessions”, or “the Buddha teaches that in order to arrive at the highest stage of human development, we must not crave possessions^[26].” There were no buddhist words cited, just a highly principled summary which made a blend like a square tenon for a round mortise. Although Jesus was invoked with the citations from

[18] Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, (Guoji wenhua chubangongsi 国际文化出版公司, 2002), translated by Liu Linhai, (preface) 2.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*, 2.

[21] Maric, M., 1967; Review Fromm, E.: *The Heart of Man. Its Genius for Good and Evil* (1964a, English), In: *Praxis*, Vol. 4 (No. 4, 1967), 596.

[22] Rubén Gallo, *Freud's Mexico: Into the Wilds of Psychoanalysis*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: the MIT Press, 2010), 339.

[23] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), xix.

[24] Joan Braune, *Erich Fromm's Revolutionary Hope: Prophetic Messianism as a Critical Theory of the Future*, (Sense publishers, 2014), 7.

[25] Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, translated by Liu Linhai, (Guoji Wenhua Chubangongsi, 2002), 12.

[26] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 13.

the Bible, Fromm's interpretations simply consisted in conceptualizing these famous words for use of supporting his own point that the Christ was in favor of the being mode instead of the having mode: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?" (Luke 9:24-25). Fromm gave no further explanation. A half truth is not a truth. This would not be a hypercriticism because in this sentence Jesus mentions the relationship between possession (gain) and the life which are both intimately related with Fromm's theme here. Fromm slid over the key of Jesus's teaching—the eternal life from Christ that is wholly distinguishing from his *being mode* based on the mortality but decorated this instruction as an adage for his own use. Let us not to go into what Jesus veritably means in his Jewish background nor theological extension—Fromm should have been better qualified than us —, simply think about the different agents: Jesus declares He Is (Be) Life but human just temporarily *has* life, how it could be equal when some certain of the latters advocate everyone (including the other) for not having in the same way! Fromm's neglecting Christ as the Life per se (for His sake) did not realise that his *imitation* or *innovation* of religious sources regardless of personal relationship God-man would once more bring the human being into the circumstances of slavery in case of a practice: a group of people would brazenly deprive another of their possessions just in the name of a *great* ideal, which has unceasingly been occurring in human history.

It seemed that Fromm's religious citations merely consisted in drawing a universally convincing conclusion as mental prescription, so it is no wonder that he invoked them in a blended but reductionistic way. His radical secular standpoint impeded the formation of any holistic religious view of human being, neither the *God-man* relationship in Christianity nor the detachment from the emptiness as ultimate Reality in Buddhism. Instead, following Marx and Freud whose thoughts had been long influenced by those humanists before them, all problems of humanity (sin in Christian terms, bitterness in buddhist sense) were reduced to the alienation (of private possession) or to the mental domain (subconsciousness) or their blend, which consisted in circumventing the latters in order to build his ideal of *new society and new man*, through "*reduce the mode of having and to increase the mode of being*"^[27]. That reminds us of *religion of humanity* proposed by Auguste Comte. But different from Marx and Freud who depreciated religions, Fromm positively opted for a paradigmatic transformation: "Returning to our main thesis: Being refers to the real, in contrast to the falsified, illusionary picture. In this sense, any attempt to increase the sector of being means increased insight into the reality of one's self, of others, of the world around us."^[28] That would be decisive for him; however, it resembles a sort of *Esperanto* in psychosocial domain, an artificial blueprint.

"There is no meaning to life except the meaning man gives his life by the unfolding of his powers, by living productively." This quotation from *Man for Himself: An Inquiry Into the Psychology of Ethics* (1947) manifests Fromm's view of meaning of life: its self-definition by human being (living). The very purpose of Fromm is to free humanity from the alienated authoritarian

[27] *Ibid.*, 103.

[28] *Ibid.*, 81.

ideologies; however, that he alleged no meaning to life risked becoming another meaning to life. From Marx to Fromm, we can clearly see that after the abolition of *God* by materialism, how the latter opened wide to nihilism—one could define oneself. How to balance the self-definition against the underlying right meaning of *unfolding of his powers by living productively* which negates other meaning (at least of the having mode) as meaningless? If we further mention of the death of each living, similar to the meaninglessness of each meaning, Fromm said no meaning for any death and fear of dying is nothing but illusion of losing (possession)^[29]; but how to explain martyrs dying for their ultimate meaning within a diversity of faiths? Didn't Fromm himself eulogize it as “being, giving, sharing^[30]”? They commonly believe the meaning of their faith will survive their own life. Rather, explain that as some meaning is larger than being; nevertheless, how about meaning reduced to smaller than being? How could it be a good response to the desire of having possession or even eternal life? The death of being is not the worst, but is that of meaning. Meaning must cover being. Meaning for mind (soul) is equivalent to air for body; even the outer space human can give meaning, how could he refrain from interrogating that of death? For freedom of humanity by opposing against the irrational (alienated) authority of meaning, Fromm spared room for no-authority but human reason at all costs; whereas he didn't prefigure adequately a more and more disorder and irrational epoch after him.

Furthermore, according to Fromm's explanation, since all meanings are merely produced by mankind that consists in unceasingly becoming, there must be some unchanging principle out of humanity, as many philosophers have been trying, such as the above example. It is then overburdened for the human subjectivity itself that needs certainty to make everything its being as it is whereby there is no any fact (fixed meaning) guaranteed. The absence of the ultimate axiology left the reality gloomy, neither idealism nor materialism can bridge this gap. They categorize religious phenomena as if they could obtain insight into the *nature* of all religions; meanwhile, they themselves are nothing more than ideologies whose transcendence is based on the nature of humanity; in idealism, idealizing being in the perspective of meaning; in materialism, materializing those privileged meanings as (the true meaning of) being per se. But the question of the two is far from being fully answered.

The incoherence of integral meaning has been dissimulated by being diluted into specialization, while the threats of fragmentation have been always there; from a fact/value distinction (rupture), all remaining to humanity is nothing than values (gods)^[31] without supreme authority, then we witness a world of no meaning (nihilism). Since Fromm rejected the traditional ontological way—being as unchanging rather than changing, the tropism of his theoretical framework was articulated with the aspects empirical, physical, susceptible to being verified by means of experiments—a material orientation way. In compensation for the lacuna left by the absence of metaphysics^[32], he

[29] *Ibid.*, 102-103.

[30] *Ibid.*, 116: “The martyr's characteristics are being, giving, sharing; the hero's, having, exploiting, forcing.”

[31] Max Weber propose a theory of value spheres which outlines a project of institutional polytheism, each ordered around a ‘god’.

[32] The introduction of this series of books manifested also this tendency of inversion: “Energy and matter in whatever form they may manifest themselves are transtemporal and trans-spatial and are therefore metaphysical.” This term has been used for something which already transcends the full observation but susceptible to catering for the modern scientific taste. Cf. Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), xvi.

upheld those idealised principles such as *freedom* in a humanist way—his similarity to Marx; his dissimilarity to Marx; the *metaphysical domain*—the opposite of the *physical* was turned into the *mental* domain belonging to psychology, as well as a positive attitude towards the necessary (nontheistic) religion^[33]. No one would willingly be attached to the things that look unreal. Fromm did stake what he attributed to (the ultimate) *reality* for this denial of a *personal God* as seemingly *irrational authority*. Axiomatic is the *reality-oriented* intuition which is nothing but deep-seated faith, although the empirical sense plays a role in connection with the external world on surface layer. According to the synergy of underlying faith and empirical observations, a judgement could be so diversified that the fact a Buddhist believes, for instance, is quite different from a Marxist. However, nothing would hinder someone's proposing a *Buddhist communism*, in an idealistic mind, like Fromm who combined Buddha with Marx even Freud in some links which he believed exist. There would be reasonable when Fromm linked together the alienation of Marx and the mental pathology of Freud for conducing to the debouchment from the having mode (love of the death) into the being mode (love of life), whose combination appeared to be convincing; whereas, these three humanistic theories could never break through the framework of secular mortality; no matter which mode, man dies—each life is doomed to reach its end even more sorrowfully to someone if he had been a well-being granted by himself but still had to face death which must bring this meaning no meaning. Based on radical humanistic position (mortality), Fromm's eclectism between mental orientation and material determinism could not essentially solve the problem of *ill-being*. According to his description, having mode is undoubtedly a corrupted way of experiencing (being) mode; but what if the latter was incapable of satisfying a so-called *well-being* in vital termination either? The mortality seems bearable merely because its unexceptional equality within everybody, not because it itself is bearable, especially helpless for the meaningless living and dying. Although Fromm was not a nihilist, his being mode would come to a nihilistic ending. No one will reject a life with uncorrupted ideas (goodness, wealth, happiness, etc), which makes death unbearable, unhealingly painful for each termination of beautiful life in the survivors's eyes. Besides, for the issue of eternity, there would be also a rooted irreconcilability between Fromm's standpoint and Buddhism which consists in detaching from life and death^[34]. That means those buddhist notions extracted for those secular contexts would wither from their root. The (ultimate) reality these modern thinkers apprehended has been quite different from the ancient ones, which means, in such a world *disenchanted* but still fraught with *gods* (values seemingly individualistic but nihilistic in root), the relationship meaning/being has been unprecedentedly in tension; to begin with self-definition, to end with disillusion.

In *To have or to Be*, Fromm presented a mixed or reduced way in his paradigm; while opting for an eclectism on religion, he merely accepted a humanistic religion without *God* or *idols* as authority^[35], which left a huge divergence from those institutional religion within their traditional

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, 109-110: "This chapter deals with the thesis that social change interacts with a change in the social character; that 'religious' impulses contribute the energy necessary to move men and women to accomplish drastic social change, and hence, that a new society can be brought about only if a profound change occurs in the human heart—if a new object of devotion takes the place of the present one."

[34] 佛学在于“了脱生死” (Buddhism emphasizes in “getting off life and death”).

[35] Cf. Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 110-111.

features. In view of his theoretic predilection, he would not take account of the Christian ontology identifying God as Being, nor Christ as Verb (Intellect), like in Master Eckhart. It appeared to him that both metaphysics and ontology in the traditional sense, as well as those conventional religions labelled with *irrational authority* did not matter, sometimes as the opposites of what he asserted with a mantle of reason. Although his book is classified in category “ontology”, the whole book didn’t even refer to the term *ontology* for once, except the only mention of the introduction of the series of *World perspectives*^[36]; as for metaphysics, this word appeared only twice in his writing: in *skeptic* terms. His examples mentioned—Buddha, Eckhart, Marx and Schweitzer, were mixed for catering this reduced interpretation, a “remarkable kinship” of their ideas; their “radical demand for giving up the having orientation”, “insistence on complete independence”, “metaphysical skepticism” and “godless religiosity” as well as their “demand for social activity in the spirit of care and human solidarity^[37]”. Considering the absence of quotation, Fromm explained it as “these teachers are sometimes unconscious of these elements^[38]”. We won’t further every points mentioned, just their “metaphysical skepticism” in order to expose his mixed but reduced way. He did blend the (radical) negative way with (metaphysical) skeptic way, as well as ignore their own faith: Buddha’s negative way aimed at the formed and affectionate world, instead of doubting whether there was a real world—he had his undoubted belief upon *Tathātā*; the material dialectics of Marx consisted in rejecting a metaphysical worldview, he gave no doubt about the latter; the *love* conception of Schweitzer consisted in replacing a personal God with a universal principle, influenced by the humanitarian position which denied Jesus’s divinity; regarding Eckhart, in spite of his negative way and suspicion of heresy misunderstood as sceptical and antiauthoritarian, on the contrary, he frequently persuades those skeptics to have (deeper) faith in God, so it would be absurd to speak of his anthropology without mention of his solid ontology based upon the Christian faith and a theology of the Trinity, which will be discussed later.

For as much as *to have* or *to be* implies the question of meaning and being, in this perspective, we will see Lao Zi and Master Eckhart offer their insights into this theme.

2. The metaphysics of Wu (in connection with You) in *Dao De Jing*

“The way to do is to be.” This alleged Lao Zi’s maxim which appears as the first in dedication of the book *To Have or to Be* even puzzles the Chinese readers. Until we know the corresponding sentence^[39] in the Chinese version, it reminds us of a point of Martin Heidegger with regard to language as the *House of Being*: “the European people probably dwells in an entirely other house

[36] *Ibid.*, copyright page & xvi.

[37] *Ibid.*, 132-133.

[38] *Ibid.*, 133.

[39] Chapter 37 (Arthur Waley): “道常无为而无不为”; “Tao never does; yet through it all things are done.” <http://terebess.hu/english/tao/waley.html>.

from the East Asian people^[40]”. It’s not difficult to find how distinct the conception of being and having in Chinese is from that in western context; it is quite a noetic-linguistic question. However, Fromm was not much preoccupied with the contextual differences while blending religious sources quoted in which he found the similarities in the perspective of being mode, he was more likely to cite them as inspiring sayings. Fromm indicated that the “‘to have’ was a deceptively simple expression” which appeared later than “it is to me” in many languages, for instance, in Hebrew (*jesh li*)^[41]. In *Exodus* (3:14), *Ehyé asher ehyé*; then in the Christianity, God as Being and the foundation of all beings was identical to the ontology in the theology of the Church fathers.

However, in Chinese context, it would be difficult to find a consensus that there was a *Chinese ontology* in a noetic-linguistic sense. According to Western norm, *being* (*Shi*) appears never to be conjugated with all things (*Wanwu*); otherwise, we speak of having (*You*). Correspondingly, the opposition of being/no-being (nothingness) is expressed as that of *You/Wu* in Chinese, which could offer a different thread of thought.

As an isolating language, Chinese is a language which revolves around verbs rather than those inflexional languages. In this sense, Chinese could be an ideal language in Fromm’s horizon^[42], although he had known nothing about its very nature. That blocked or interrupted, to some extent, *Shi* used as a noun. In philosophical translation, we have to convert *Shi* (being) into *Cunzai/Cunyou* (existence) which already discounts a *You/Wu*-oriented metaphysics^[43]. Probably to Fromm’s surprise, such a verb-oriented language could still accentuate *You* instead of living (being), thus a paradigmatic element of language is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition. That doesn’t mean the linguistic element is not important. Inspiringly, Fromm linked together amongst economic, political, linguistic and religious elements, but it was fatal that he excluded the traditional metaphysics and ontology as well as the theological source in its adequate way because of his prejudice against any dogmatic way. Though it was reasonable for him to discover the undogmatic aspect of Jesus, the Church fathers or Eckhart, a simple opposition could not help either. We will discuss the latter point within the part of Eckhart. Now within Lao Zi, there will be a noetic-linguistic pathway of meaning compared with Fromm. The negative way to Dao or to God was probably out of Fromm’s horizon. His great theme on having and being was rather conditioned to his view formed by Marx and Freud, by whose theories he interpreted the religious phenomena and then deepened the theme or universalized his reasonableness through quoting the religious sources. Perhaps we could affirm a similarity between Fromm and Lao Zi in the depreciation of having; in most cases, *You* has a negative meaning in *Lao Zi*; but it is a superficial impression.

Without the Christian essential underpinning as the truth faith as well as the authentic foundation of reason, the framework of Fromm with regard to meaning and being would even not

[40] “Vor einiger Zeit nannte ich, unbeholfen genug, die Sprache das Haus des Seins. Wenn der Mensch durch seine Sprache im Anspruch des Seins wohnt, dann wohnen wir Europäer vermutlich in einem ganz anderen Haus als der ostasiatische Mensch.” Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe I. Absteilung: Veröffentlichte Schriften 1910 – 1976* Band 19 *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, (Vittorio Klostermann Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 85.

[41] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: Continuum, 1976), 19.

[42] Cf. *ibid.*, Part One I & II.

[43] Just like Yin and Yang or Yinyang, You and Wu or You/Wu are/is two words within one undifferentiated conception. Cf. “故有无相生 (For truly, Being and Not-being grow out of one another)” (§ 2) Waley’s translation.

transcend this Chinese thinker of 2500 years ago, because of the former's Daoist orientation and negative way aimed at humanity; Dao as basis of humanity is better than material as foundation, because the former is natural oneness exempt from the differentiation of subject-object dichotomy, the latter which regains *theoneness* only in practice is doomed to narrow the human existence articulated with meaning and being as a whole^[44]; otherwise, the latter who negated all theist religions (*God as irrational authority*) but affirmed *Freedom* as human nature as well as his outlook of becoming which consisted in making the futurity as exception—out of human nature as a consistent *Adam*, had been destined to view those subsequential changes as qualitative difference, which is the underlying reason that he believed through humanity himself, there would be a new man and a new society in future. We can see the underlying influence that Christ is the *Late Adam* over Fromm's even Marx's conception, but what they sought has sunk into the old man over and over again in the belief that “we can change humanity by ourselves”. In that sense, Lao Zi is so wisely meditating on Dao in a negative way in order to return to the Origin, which initiated the Chinese metaphysics in a natural way, in spite of his “refusal to be ‘foremost of all things under heaven’” (§ 67). In the non-linguistic orientation of Chinese, Lao Zi's negative way which consists in suspending the affinity between language and meaning declines the adhesion of meaning to words; meanwhile, the western way of telling *being* and *no-being*, such a question like “*Dao* exists or not” or “whether this or that makes sense or not” had long been out of Chinese horizon. Instead, for Lao Zi meaning and being are just intuitive, no need for differentiation. As a result, we have had an opposition between *You* and *Wu*; no idea could be exempt from opposite categories, but there had been still subtle distinctions rendering a huge noetic divergence between the spiritual Greek and Chinese descendants afterwards.

Some experts such as Xiao Yaman who indicates the phenomenon that primary *Shi* in ancient literature had been applied as a collocation only in divine sense^[45] which means there had probably been an ancient period when *Shi* in archaic Chinese religiously played a role of *ontology* as embryo, until in *Lao Zi*, the appearance of *Shi* (about 70 times in the popular versions) was used as the structures leading a sentence, which rendered *Shi* a function word. What *Lao Zi* offers is a rather negative way to access *Dao* as the *ultimate reality* or as the *absolute truth*—if we borrow the western terms; however, within a different way in a disparate noetic-linguistic context, that reminds us of the disadvantages of the so-called being structure; susceptible to sinking into (paradigmatic) finiteness which measures *being* as something or even an object. Compared with being, having is seemingly less limited in nature that is not the very concern of having. Nevertheless, having and being are not only opposites in this sense, but also in mutual transformation; from being into having as well as from having into being. For instance, the structure of *there be* brings the emphasis on being (existence), *having* on possession can also be applied for the non-living as subject. There is also the common opposite of being and having; nothing(ness). To emphasize the having expression deceptive could not remove humanity of the perspective that the life is in nature a gift directly given by parents

[44] The fragmentation of meanings, the diversity as sin mentioned by Origenes (101) also cited by Fromm, is a (partial) unconsciousness in modern society, less acceptable in traditional society whose meanings were more integral.

[45] Cf. Xiao Yaman (肖娅曼), *Chinese Primary shi (是) is a Pronoun of Rightness: A Study on shi (是) in Early Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions and Hymns in The Book of Songs*, (Research in Ancient Chinese Language, 2011, 1, no. 90), 47.

and then will be lost in some day. In other words, the appearance of having expression in languages shows, to some extent, the reality of life (being); an only expression of being could not help but inversely would not suffice, that's why the expressions of having have late appeared and been developed.

Fromm understood being in three different ways: *as a copula*; *as the passive, suffering form of a verb*; *as meaning to exist*^[46]. And he claimed the third, which shows his attempt of escaping from those non-favors. Nevertheless, what one endeavor to circumvent according to one's position (faith and orientation) result in a narrowing of sense, even leaving a back door for its returning; *fortiori*, one's circumvention is just the very meaning of judging right from wrong. Fromm didn't even realize that, as a result of his discard of metaphysics, he lost the very essence of ontology, which made his *being mode* unrooted, despite his seeming citation of linguistic and religious sources. That could not be a same mistake of Lao Zi; without resorting to an *ontology*, though, there is a basis deeply rooted in Dao by negative way.

The sentence cited by Fromm in his book is originally expressed within a negative way in Chinese, quite different from its English translation in an affirmative form. The litotes of this kind in *Dao De Jing* is just a regular one in view of the negative expression as the style of the whole book. The highly frequent use of negations is the peculiarity of this most famous Chinese metaphysical book, not only in the ancient Chinese literature^[47], but also amongst most philosophical books. The very purpose of this phrasing is designated by the author himself: "Straight words seem crooked" (§ 78); "In Tao the only motion is returning" (§ 40); "That can follow things back—All the way back to the Great Concordance" (§ 65); even at the very beginning in the order of those popular versions, the author points out the linguistic limitation: "The Way that can be told of is not an Unvarying Way" (§ 1). The most negations—litotes—consist in negating the human word whose capacity is insufficient of speaking of the Unvarying (Eternal) Way. François Jullien, expert of both Greek philosophy and Chinese thought, compares two accesses to the ultimate meaning in his book *Detour and Access, Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*. Our essay is confined to his treatise about Lao Zi: "The Great Image has no form or how to indicate the ineffable^[48]". In this part, we approach *You* through its opposite *Wu* in Chinese context.

François Jullien introduces the strategy of the undifferentiation of meaning as the major feature in *Lao Zi*: "Là où la stratégie de l'indirect est d'emblée requise, c'est face à l'absolu."^[49] Although the question of the *absolute* (meaning) seems not so close to the Fromm's concern, no analysis could lay its basis out of this, *a fortiori* to the theme having and being. To some extent, Jullien indicates the arcane truth in this strategy of meaning: *Wu*—harmonising undifferentiation (*Indifférenciation harmonisante*) and *You*—differentiating actualisation (*l'actualisation différenciante*^[50]). So *Wu* consists in evacuating from which is both particular and concrete, or even in keeping meaning as a

[46] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 20-21.

[47] Cf. CHENG Shi (程实), DING Yun (丁贇), *The reason that the high frequency in use of the negative word 不 and 无 in Lao Zi*, in *Journal of Liaoning University of Technology (Social Science Edition)*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Apr. 2013, 44-45.

[48] François Jullien, *Le détour et l'accès : Stratégies du sens en Chine, en Grèce*, (Grasset, 1995), 351-387.

[49] *Ibid.*, 351.

[50] *Ibid.*, 359.

process instead of a *reality* as reification. Through the negative way, Lao Zi escapes from being abstracted or concretized, universalized or individualized, which enables him to avoid sinking in the conceptual opposition to the maximum extent. That's because "it is within undifferentiated Fond (Chaos) that the slightest actualisation never ceases drawing its capacity^[51]".

In the second chapter of *Laozi*, there are six oppositions mentioned. The author doesn't painstakingly shift all negative categories with all positive elements, because he knows that the humanity itself is the part of problem: "It is because every one under Heaven recognizes beauty as beauty, that the idea of ugliness exists. And equally if every one recognized virtue as virtue, this would merely create fresh conceptions of wickedness." (§ 2) How could we escape from the problem if we ourselves are the core of the fatal problem? So the author's intention is nothing but keeping human from his acting on *his own initiative*, that is why Dao has long been seen as *natural law*—some objective rules to imitate. In this sense, a seeming objectivity that Fromm emphasized would be quite close to Lao Zi's tone; nevertheless, the understanding of Dao as *natural law* is merely a paradigmatic modern interpretation. For the author of *Dao De Jing*, the best way is keeping the spoken meaning from corrupting in the lost of opposition while actualizing senses attributed by humanity. He would not like to sink into all kinds of oppositions as a conceptual trap of meaning, but to point out the Sage's way, just like the second half of Chapter 2.

Certainly, in front of the ultimate meaning, the normal logical way doesn't work adequately. Each profound thinker will locate his *singularity* of meaning—the very one which could escape from all conceptual oppositions but as the underlying exception. It is no other preoccupation of the ultimate meaning that lays bare the veritable basis of one's conceptual system. To Fromm, it is the radical humanistic standpoint and man just for himself (human being itself^[52]). Lao Zi, certainly, would not be supposed to oppose this anthropocentric orientation, the related opposition would otherwise be his own trap; nevertheless, that doesn't mean Lao Zi would be a humanist who insists upon a humanistic standpoint in any active sense. To him, only Dao (Eternal Way) is the ultimate reality, not in an opposite manner against humanity but within a negative way in order to bring those who don't know actionless activity (*Wuwei*) into the Dao-oriented consciousness.

Lao Zi's predilection for *Wu* has nothing to do with the western nihilism which consisted in proclaiming "no meaning of this world and our life", but consists in returning to the Origin without meaning forced in which being could be glimpsed in its undifferentiated meaning. In Chapter 10, there is a series of questions asked, in synergy with the negative way: "Can you keep the unquiet physical-soul from straying, hold fast to the Unity, and never quit it? Can you, when concentrating your breath, make it soft like that of a little child? Can you wipe and cleanse your vision of the Mystery till all is without blur? Can you love the people and rule the land, yet remain unknown? Can you in

[51] Cf. *ibid.*, 359-360. Translated from French.

[52] Fromm's interpretation of love consisted in pointing out that self-love and other-love (loving neighbour) are not contradictory, which should be a mutual inclusion of each other. Whereupon, he accused Luther and Calvin (even Kant) of opposing the conception of these two. Based on his own taking-for-granted, Fromm reconciled the two into the humanity-oriented ground. However, since his eyereach excluded the God-man relationship for real, he could never understand how reliably and deeply Luther and Calvin found their anthropology upon christological theology, unlike man for himself such a hollow notion disowning the relationship with the Supreme Being. As the Image of God, the Christian Gospel endues human being with incomparable identity, even the human sin can not disqualify this status.

opening and shutting the heavenly gates play always the female part? Can your mind penetrate every corner of the land, but you yourself never interfere?" These questions calmly challenge the worldly normal humanity for non-opposability of life: about mind-physical state, self-cleansing, ruling, obedience before Divinity, real reflection of everything. The following suggestion mentions "Rear them, but do not lay claim to them. Control them, but never lean upon them". (§ 10) It seems to arrive at a consensus with Fromm whose insight into having is aware of alienation—claiming possession and leaning upon it. For Fromm, *to be* means to exist, live, to experience; *to have* means *staying in possession within mind*, he might not think this opposition would have another version in China: just living without having (in mind), which could be seen as a coincidence.

However, this intersection which passes by one point then continues to diverge considerably. In Chapter 33, "But only what stays in its place can endure. When one dies one is not lost, there is no other longevity." In the modern studies, the last sentence of *Lao Zi* has been interpreted as "a real longevity (long life) is no other than everlasting spirit (meaning)". Whereas, the first sentence mostly reveals this reductionistic explanation: only staying in its place (being) endures. A metaphor reveals its integral meaning without being divided into literal or figurative senses. In Lao Zi's era, there had not been so many abstract words but more resort to those concretes, which inversely rendered less limited when being is articulated with meaning. If the first sentence were linked with the *Psalms* 90: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations", we would know only those who will have never lost God (Dao for Lao Zi) live forever, therefore the veritable longevity is just for the one who is never lost even when one dies. Here, *lost* in Chinese is *Wang* whose meaning, in one way, the opposite of possession. That signifies death (no-being) is equivalent to lose one's life. Certainly, it is in a negative way^[53], but it consists in denying human common sense: because of Truth concealed by varying humanity, it should resort to a series of (moderate) negations.

The negative way within *Wu* in synergy with Dao-tropism brings Lao Zi with the insight into an original holistic view, different from that of Fromm who intended to do so but with only a pattern of conversion based on his essentially radical humanism, he went no further not only in having, but also in being. Fromm, though proclaiming freedom, was not as free as Lao Zi in conversion between meaning and being, because there were still adhesions of meaning to favorable words, such as *being*, *living*, *reason*, etc. Compared with Lao Zi, Eckhart arrives at an even much higher level in a more complicated context, an utmost perfection of detaching from artificial entanglement of reconciling meaning and being but into the very singularity of the oneness (unicity) of Godhead.

The key to this problem is not whether which orientation or conversion adopted in human level, but on a basis that humanity can completely lay upon in both meaning and being. Lao Zi's expression consists in stopping where we are to prevent sinking into deeper concealment; we will see in Master Eckhart who, though considered as a mystic, radicalize instead the revealment both in nothingness and in beingness.

[53] Chapter 33 in *Lao Zi* (Waley's translation): 不失其所者久。死而不亡者寿。

3. The ontology by way of nothingness in Master Eckhart

In Fromm's very book, Meister Eckhart was mentioned many times, almost as the representative of true Christian spirit susceptible to being quoted for the former's demonstration on being instead of having, as well as his *nontheistic position*. There are some extracts: "Master Eckhart—the concept of God tends to be that of the One, the 'Godhead' (the No-thing^[54])"; "Mysticism, culminating in Master Eckhart, played a decisive role in this antiauthoritarian humanistic movement... Ideas of a world religion or of a simple undogmatic Christianity were voiced by many Christian thinkers; even the idea of the God of the Bible became questionable^[55]."

There were supposed to be some evidences supporting Fromm's opinion; Eckhart's thought about oneness and his suspicion of heresy by papal bull *In agro dominico*. And Fromm valued Eckhart as "the greatest representative and deepest and most radical thinker of German mysticism" affected "those seeking authentic guidance to a nontheistic, rational, yet religious, philosophy of life^[56]". If we point that it was not from Eckhart's very motive, Fromm would go on to insist that he himself could have been even "unconscious of his nontheism^[57]" as a pioneer for human freedom against the ecclesiastic authorities. As an important spiritual source, Eckhart did inspire many great thinkers as well as influence the formation of some modern conceptions, subjectivity, dialectics, nihilism, atheism, etc. His readers, certes, can absorb within their own perspectives, so can Luther, Milton, Pascal, Schelling, Hegel, Nietzsche, Kandinsky, Heidegger, Jung, Balthasar, Lacan, Derrida^[58], as well as Fromm. However, there is such a great divergence within Eckhart's eternal Christian ontotheology and *becoming* as the modern presupposition identified by Fromm. It is noteworthy that Fromm believed the future would become better or at least in a carrefour of option, within the faith based on the evolutionistic view. This outlook posits there have always been something entire new from the old, which means everyone who has the similarities in some standard would be counted as the basis of the reality bespeaking the very future which has been envisioned. Different from a pure historical determinism, Fromm's view of futurity expressed by his *alternativism* about prophetic-messianic view^[59], manifests the influence from the vicissitudes of his epoch when, after great disillusion of humanity through the two World Wars, mankind didn't firmly believe the brighter tomorrow, compared with Marx's times. However, there could be still a belief, as we mentioned above, Fromm believed meaning only given by humanity, which is made a *fact* that there is always a qualitative difference between men—leading to a radical nationalism, or based upon structure of existence—an orientation of internationalism which consists in presupposing a changeable humanity but defined by a qualitative gap between good and evil, unalienated/

[54] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 36.

[55] *Ibid.*, 114.

[56] *Ibid.*, 49.

[57] *Ibid.*, 133.

[58] Cf. *Encyclopédie des mystiques rhénans d'Eckhart à Nicolas de Cues et leur réception*, (Édition française par Marie-ANNE VANNIER, Éd. Cerf, Paris, 2011)

[59] Joan Braune, *Erich Fromm's Revolutionary Hope: Prophetic Messianism as a Critical Theory of the Future*, (Sense publishers, 2014), 147-148.

nonalienated and alienated^[60], normal and morbid, so on and so forth, a series of oppositions of modern axiology.

Fromm did undervalue his essential difference with Eckhart. This great disparity lies in ontology rather than that of historical context. Mainly by three points——obedience, detachment and oneness, we will illustrate Eckhart's anthropology within negative way, so that Fromm's lost and failure would be better manifested.

Firstly, with regard to obedience whose opposite is authority, is Eckhart a real antiauthoritarian? In the very book of Fromm, this author discussed about *sin and forgiveness*^[61], of which the former was clearly identified “as disobedience” (caused by the authoritarian character)——the having structure^[62]; the concept of sin for Fromm, could almost be interpreted by the alienation of authority rooted in *having* mode. It is reasonable for Fromm to connect Eckhart's thought of detaching from everything with his being structure, despite this being mode quite different from Eckhart's ontology; however, it was totally mistaken to identify Eckhart as an antiauthoritarian. We don't indicate whether he obeyed the ecclesiastic authorities but his very thought of obedience.

In *Entretiens spirituels*, Master Eckhart postulates: “La vraie et parfaite obéissance est une vertu supérieure à toutes les vertues ; nulle oeuvre, si grande soit-elle, ne peut se réaliser ni se faire sans cette vertu ; et une oeuvre, si modeste, si insignifiante soit-elle, est plus profitable quand elle est accomplie dans la véritable obéissance. . . Prenons une occupation quelconque, aussi humble que nous voudrions ; la véritable obéissance nous la rendra plus noble et meilleure en tout... l'obéissance ne trompe jamais, elle ne commet point d'erreur, car elle ne néglige rien de bien. L'obéissance n'a jamais à s'inquiéter, aucun bien ne lui manque^[63].”

From this passage, Eckhart presents the supreme virtue——obeying God, which is by no means equivocal. The rare basis of Fromm is Godhead as “the *No-thing*” which, perhaps, left a *nontheistic* impression to his readers. In the view of his historical materialism, it could be explained as “Eckhart did not predict such a humanistic movement, but in his thought there had been the seed”. However, it was no doubt that this perspective neglected Eckhart's outlook as a whole.

At the beginning of *Living Without why: Meister Eckhart's Critique of the Medieval Concept of Will*, John M. Connolly says frankly: “Ironically, the most fascinating idea for me——Eckhart's advice to ‘live without why (or will)’——is itself intimately connected to his decidedly original notion of obedience^[64].” And his reference source is same as Fromm's——J. Quint's translation. His very monography on this theme presents the intimate link between obedience and *living* “*without a why and wherefore (sunder warumbe)*”^[65], which opposes almost entirely against Fromm's viewing Eckhart as antiauthoritarian.

Certes, that doesn't mean Eckhart rejects the reason itself; veritably, according his

[60] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 74.

[61] *Ibid.*, 97-101.

[62] Cf. *ibid.*, 99.

[63] *Traité et sermons*, traduction et présenté par Alain de LIBERA, (Éd. Flammarion, Paris, 1995), “Introduction”, 77.

[64] John M. Connolly, *Living Without why: Meister Eckhart's Critique of the Medieval Concept of Will*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), ix.

[65] Matthew Fox, *Meister Eckhart: A Mystic-Warrior for Our Times*, (New world library, Novato, California, 2014), 80.

understanding of identifying God as Word^[66], he does value the intellect even more than being in his sense. For him, there is no contradiction between obeying God and being rational; on the contrary, obeying God is rational, which renders proper everything in its order recognized by reason. His *no-why* consists in rendering unto obedience within reason toward God. His complete obedience means a thorough basis for will and reason deeply rooted in Godhead—the only original and ultimate Unicity of Authority and Reason. Eckhart inherits Augustin and develops his *intellectus fidei*, an intelligence of the Christian faith^[67].

Fromm opposed the human (mature) reason against the *God* (as a symbol of irrational authority). The human “reason” before forbidden fruit had merely been counted as “*prehuman* situation^[68]”. However, he ignored that before the Fall, man had been by no means ignorant of anything; quite the contrary, Adam named every animal, even in the very moment in which Eve judged the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, she “saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise” (*Genesis* 3:6), which does mean that her intelligence had been already given (had). Whereas, those rational humanists such as Fromm have otherwise thought that the very judgement and deed marked the birth of *real* human reason, which leads to conclude it was the forbidden fruit, or rather, the human’s independence from God that made human a real mature human being within a (seeming autonomous and neutral) reason as the very *luminous sign*. Certes, this could be the most favorable explanation for unbelievers; it is the truth for them and to a great extent it has been a consensus; but it is far from being incontrovertible.

To judge right or wrong is per se an authority. The opposite of reason is neither irrationality nor the (irrational) authority but another reason within its authority. All human conflicts are likely from lack of reason thus men have to obey an irrational authority; instead, they are from another reason preoccupied with its authority, compellingly or permissively. So, an effective disobedience has happened only within another superior or another authority (theodicy, justice, rationalism as authority), even the most insane revolt has to assert its righteousness. The reason has in nature its authority, the authority within its reason. Unlike the sensibility which consists in taking in anything as a whole instead of painstakingly seeking the difference, the reason consists in dividing and distinguishing this from that; but a sound reason is always conjugated with its basis—its very apodictic authority. Fromm had his own worldview of rational authority mainly enlightened by Marx and Freud; just because of this underlying foundation, while using the Jewish-Christian sources, he ignored that in the *Genesis* it is God who firstly divided the light from the darkness, good from evil (or just affirmed good), then the distinction admittedly belongs to human reason, which implies humanity as the image of God; necessary for humanity to hinge upon the its original, which forms both affirmation and negation of human reason; for obeying God, human reason is righteous and

[66] in principio erat ens et deus erat ens. Eckhart points out that John does not say, “in the beginning was a being, and God was a being.”

[67] “Le Thuringien trouve, en effet, chez saint Augustin un précurseur qui a développé un *intellectus fidei*, une intelligence de la foi, en mettant en perspective la culture de son temps au prisme de l’Écriture qu’il lit et relit, comme son prédécesseur, afin de faire ressortir la nouveauté du christianisme.” Cf. Théophylon-2016 XXI-Vol. 1, pp. 40.

[68] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 100.

powerful over all other beings; for disobeying God's authority, the rationality will be negated in many ways. What human could imagine or interpret is insufficient to rely on^[69], which is always limited and conditional; it is inspiring that Eckhart proposes the unconditional obedience without a why, which renders unto Godhead as absoluteness what is absolute.

The next point that Fromm quoted Eckhart is the latter's famous *detachment* (*Gelassenheit*). However, as the former's purpose, the perspective was put towards *no having*: "Master Eckhart taught that to have nothing and make oneself open and 'empty', not to let one's ego stand in one's way, is the condition for achieving spiritual wealth and strength^[70]." "The person who wants nothing is the person who is not greedy for anything; this is the essence of Eckhart's concept of nonattachment^[71]."

No having drawn from Eckhart's detachment, though reasonable, is less pertinent than in the terms of *no being*. However for Fromm, no being could nearly be equivalent to no existing, nothing but dying or death without any meaning. In theological illumination, the having mode based on mortality, was made the *scapegoat* for the human's failure of sin in both having and being mode. Fromm was unaware of his narrowing sense of humanity. He quoted Eckhart: "Thus we say that a man should be so poor that he is not and has not a place for God to act in. To reserve a place would be to maintain distinctions. *Therefore I pray God that he may quit me of god*". He explained that "Eckhart could not have expressed his concept of not having more radically^[72]". The Eckhart's mention of *poor* concerns both *he is not* and *he has not*, is in his (*me-*)*ontotheological* sense whose meaning is quite different from Fromm's terms. When Fromm quoted Eckhart as "People should not consider so much what they are to *do* as what they *are*...^[73]", he neglected what Eckhart means is an ethic position based on the Christian ontology, but interpreted as two meanings: psychological sense and being as life, activity ... productivity. He used them for supporting his opposition to the behavioristic views as well as being as the opposite of having, of ego boundness and egotism. He made Eckhart's "going out of oneself" a mentalistic interpretation^[74]. By eliminating the absoluteness and eternity of oneness of Being, Intellect and One, the relationship between soul and Verb, breakthrough of soul in Godhead, Fromm made Eckhart his spokesman by narrowing his metaphysics and ontology within the psychological meaning linked with being.

Herein, we can't unfold the Eckhartian originality *Esse est Deus*, which implies God as the (larger) ground of being by rendering God as predicate of being; but just clarify what Eckhart implies is that being is not the utmost norm of everything, but God is the measure of the being of everything as being per se. Furthermore, Eckhart also emphasizes *Deus est Intelligere* through his exegesis of Gospel according to John. Ian Alexander Moore indicates that "Eckhart is also willing to use the term 'being' for God here, so long as it is not taken in the sense of created being... We must,

[69] Tertullian proposes that "I believe because it is absurd" by which he sees the Cross of Christ can't be from human's imagination.

[70] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 13.

[71] *Ibid.*, 50.

[72] *Ibid.*, 52.

[73] *Ibid.*, 53.

[74] Cf. *Ibid.*, 53-54.

then, read *puritas essendi* as also referring to a higher sense of being... Note again that Eckhart speaks of the purity of being that is in God. He does not say: ‘God is pure of being’ or ‘God is without being.’^[75]” Briefly, we can perceive how sublime Intellect, God rather than *being* are in view of Eckhart; it is God’s Intellect that gives meaning to all beings including human, *no-being* of God is supposed to express that God is out of the category of any being, or as the *pure Being* of all beings—he doesn’t take the Thomistic way. So the detachment consists in letting God be (and have a place as well as act) in human’s soul and being; man has to give no-being (without mention of having) for himself, but uniquely for Godhead. Biblically, this is also imitating Christ’s kenosis. And for arriving at this end, we should get rid of everything, not only of what we have (in mind), but also of what we are, until we dwell in the *litte Castle* whereby Godhead and soul belong to each other. Man shall watch over the entryway of heart only for God.

It seems that Eckhart intentionally cuts off the common connection between men, with the nature, even with human ego. If we borrow a term of theatre, it could be counted as an *alienation/estrangement* effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) which, by analogy, seems a stage only for roles Godhead and His beloved soul; the audiences even stage sets are excluded as nothing. Whereas, alienation or estrangement is by no means a positive sense for Fromm who advocated living equally in connection with others so that we could, as altruist, give ourselves meanings by the unfolding of his powers and by living productively. Certes, there was no meaning for Fromm to obtain in Eckhart’s sense: *loving God and letting Him in* should only be understood and converted as *loving others* by a rational humanist who excluded apodictically God as being. From a humanistic reason, there’s no wonder that Eckhart was used for supporting a seemingly similar opinion from very different outlook and motive. “One might even go so far as to say that, with this move, Eckhart anticipates modern subjectivity and German idealism, if not, as Hermann Ley has claimed, atheist materialism^[76].” The God as *Nothingness* is totally different from nothing as nothing. Fromm misunderstood Eckhart’s *Gottheit* as *Nothingness* by thinking that Eckhart had a nontheistic and antiauthoritarian orientation which emphasized the humanity and his independence.

Finally, we discuss the oneness valued by both Eckhart and Fromm.

Although it consists in tending towards oneness as the only truth, in neotic-linguistic way profoundly rooted in humanity, man has to divide the unicity while thinking according to his seemingly presuppositionless standpoint. For Fromm, the ultimate Reality was nothing but the material being, meaning was uniquely given by human being. Then his division of the oneness as matter consisted in distinguishing those who conformed to the (preset) matter or not. In the perspective of ignoring God as meaning and being per se, the religious meanings had to be converted into the structure of existence in human nature. He believed that the success of humanity consisted in being insofar as it *reduces the mode of having and to increase the mode of being*^[77].

Nevertheless, based upon *being as becoming*, would those principles of negation posited be included in which had been doomed to be negated, firstly as meaningless then no being, insofar as

[75] Ian Alexander Moore, DEUS EST INTELLIGERE-ESSE EST DEUS; *Eckhart and the Problem of Ontotheology*, *Forthcoming in Epoché: A Journal for the History of Philosophy* 22, no. 1 (2017).

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 103.

they could be practised in Fromm's structure of existence as such, if yes, forget it, because the mode of being is just becoming what it is not—perhaps having mode, as it was before; if not, those principles become the opposite of themselves—not supposed to become what they were not, so they become unbecoming principles of becoming—the material dialectics halts while turning into its opposite as exception. Without mention of so many difficulties when this principle is put in practice, even Fromm had thought of society which “is not made up of heroes^[78]”, there would still be a great challenge to overcome for his ideal of new man and new society, granted that they were all *heroes*, a great man has his great danger.

It can be seen that the problem of Fromm doesn't consist of dialectic negation—every great thought facing the impasse of reason, but of its incomplete negation of humanity as well as his lack of self-negation. Compared with Marx, Fromm is more acceptable because of his eclecticism capable of syncretizing those different thoughts^[79]; however, the most decisive divergence between Fromm and Eckhart is whether the Intellect (the ability to reason) per se is *eternal* in sense of both meaning and being, whereby the oneness could only be reasonable and realisable.

For Fromm, since human being is mortal, the possession is just illusion, the word “be-long” is just an empty promise, we shall not possess anything in mind. But for most people, they who equally know the inevitable death prefer living in a way of possession, if not, who could make up for their lost after their death? For Eckhart as Christian, the *presupposition* is quite different; according to God's revelation, man who isn't made mortal will have given everlasting life (human being has no end with a beginning); or expressed within Life per se, man (soul) *has* eternal life. All his theological theses are in the meaning of eternity. Because of this, we can/shall not so care about possessing our own property, as well as we can enjoy with everything we have temporarily and eternally together with others for God's grace. We enjoy everything in God and see God's glory through everything. If it were not for real, Apostle Paul states then we can do anything we want, “for tomorrow we die^[80]”. Kantian deontological ethics that we could also perceive in Fromm, is a hard duty, a principle of morality, which partially upheld the human conscience, without caring about the very need for love and reward deeply-seated in humanity; besides, we have to admit that the motive in human mind is quite a dimension superior to other's judgement or control. That renders his being mode a kind of idealistic advice just for a few conscious people; if they compel others to obey, a new alienation will be forthcoming. Certes, in Fromm's eyes, an *eternal* life seems irrational, supernatural even superstitious. However, the eternity of being (life) guarantees having is a real possession, which does mean God and man possess each other^[81] rather than for things; referring to the mention of Boethius in *Consolation*, “So let us consider the nature of eternity, for this will make clear to us both the nature of God and his manner of knowing. Eternity, then, is the complete, simultaneous and perfect *possession* of everlasting life.^[82]” And this definition of eternity which links up together with possession, is the foundation stone of understanding of life for Thomas Aquinas and Meister Eckhart

[78] *Ibid.*, 98.

[79] *Ibid.*, 133: “For instance, Eckhart is usually unconscious of his nontheism; Marx, of his religiosity.”

[80] I Corinthians 15:32.

[81] *Psalms* 16:5: “The LORD is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup; thou maintainest my lot.”

[82] Cf. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/eternity/>.

in their era.

No one could make reappear the beginning of the cosmos and human life. Those who don't believe the eternal life, in consideration of the way they view the being and the origin as a mere historical *fact*, instead of as a *single-dual* divine and human dimension, do miss the very essence. An eternal life, out of a horizon of posteriority, is only offered within a vision of priority, then its secular identity will be regained: from present to forever. And the priority, which is supposed to come first in history, through Jesus Christ as coming late is presuppositionless by nature; what is transcendent is unforeseen from humanity. Life is not existing for purpose of its dying until death—not necessarily by reasoning but by intuition. Only by this faith, human can acknowledge that the Life (being) is resurrected by the Truth (meaning) identical with the Life as both per se and origin. Then how could it be possible that the human common reason, beyond its capacity of knowledge, denies the Meaning (Truth) in Its self-generating? Fromm's rational authority^[83] asserting the no-existence of its unknown is nothing but irrational and arrogant, though it could offer a few artificial interpretations, such as those of Fromm who explained the eternal life as “possession of property constitutes the fulfillment of the craving for immortality^[84]”. Then he could not really know Eckhart's ontotheology, it would be no wonder that he missed the opportunity to face then resolve his taking-for-granted *oneness* but in fact an incoherent disunion of meaning with respect of being.

Eckhart's meontological approach to God can be only understood in the eternal dimension for both meaning and being; “The Godhead hovers [*di gotheit die swebt*] in itself and is all things to itself. Therefore God [*got*] and his divinity [*gotheit*] are above everything that the creature as creature has comprehended or ever shall comprehend. (⋯) Now when the soul has gone out from her created being [*wesens*] and from the uncreated being in which she finds herself in the eternal image, and has entered the divine essence [*gotlichen natur*] where she cannot comprehend the kingdom of God and where she knows that no creature can enter the kingdom of God, then the soul discovers herself, goes her own way and never seeks God; and thus she dies her highest death⋯. [T]his spirit is dead and is buried in the Godhead, for the Godhead lives as no one other than itself. ^[85]”

This beautiful and mystic passage far apart from the modern taste of fact can perfectly answer to Fromm misunderstanding from Eckhart's perspective. Eckhart's *ground without ground* (*grunt ohne grunt*^[86]) is fully conjugated within the God of Trinity, the Creation, detachment, an anthropology profoundly based upon the Christian faith; the death in Godhead is the highest death of soul (humanity), in the deepest uncreated *ground without ground* shared with Godhead, the unicity of them is permanently in the very *singularity*, so there is no need for seeking God while Godhead and humanity are one. This oneness even beyond the union God-man could not be considered as a support for Fromm's antiauthoritarian standpoint, but within the absolute obedience (detachment) let

[83] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 31.

[84] *Ibid.*, 67.

[85] Jostes, Franz, ed., *Meister Eckhart und seine Jünger: Ungedruckte Texte zur deutschen Mystik* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1895), 95; Davies, Oliver, ed. and trans. *Meister Eckhart: Selected Writings* (London: Penguin, 1994), 247-248.

[86] All our perfection and all our blessedness depends upon our breaking through, passing beyond all createdness, all temporality and all being, and entering into the ground that is without ground. (Walshe, 2008, sermon 80).

Godhead be in soul. Such a death of humanity is the very Eternal Life of humanity along with all everlasting beings in God.

Eckhart, as the most scholastics, despite his subversive theology proposing that all beings (the created) are a total *nothing* perhaps against Aristotelian-Thomistic mainstream, would nonetheless have stood in his very medieval context. In a noetic linguistic way, we view it as a response for Fromm's concerning analyses, Eckhart identifies Christ as Verb, humanity as adverb, besides Being as God: "...à côté du Verbe, il doit être un adverbe. (...) Puisseons-nous être en tout temps, nous aussi, un adverbe de ce Verbe, avec l'aide de Dieu, de ce même Verbe et du Saint-Esprit ! Amen."^[87] Eckhart's comprehensive ontotheology transcends the limits of space and time, which is a treasure inspiring Fromm; but it's not easy for the present world to really understand this great theologian's thought, although in such a secular age, those believing in eternal life are probably underestimated, then a real oneness of the Life per se (relationship between God and man) has lost the focus in the academic view.

* * * * *

Through a comparison on the ways amongst Fromm, Lao Zi and Eckhart, we have understood whether it is concerning a paradigm which consists in the auto-affirmation based on a radical apprehension of *being* in humanistic sense, or rather in the negative way of human's self-denial toward the Divinity whose pure and double affirmation provides the ultimate foundation of the being of humanity^[88]. In the meaning of humanity, Fromm upheld his rational altruistic humanism that needs a thorough self-negation rather than just in the terms of structure of existence^[89]; but it is practical only when the human's ego is based upon another larger ground which can't be the material world given by human meaning. Through observing the material world, humanity could merely build a diversity of principles contradicting one another. Fromm and many other humanists have endeavored to reconcile the meaning and being, because they rejected Jesus as the incarnated God; otherwise, as Fromm did, the kenosis of Christ was explained as a *well-being* character.

No matter how Fromm insisted on the irreconcilable opposition between meaning and being as well as reason and authority, the fact emphasized as ground of argument——(fear of dying) death must be admitted, which means his being mode incapable of solving this fundamental reversal of life and death——life *dies* but death *lives* (*exists*). Compared with the proclamation of Jesus Christ identifying himself as "the way, the truth, and the life" (*John* 14:6), in Fromm's theory, meaning and being can not mutually convert in radical sense; all phenomena of being could not totally transformed into meaning——at least, death and having mode are meaningless; on the other hand, unlike the Biblical assertion from soul to body, those humanistic meanings are disabled from making being (new life), his theory was nothing more than interpretative reconciliation of the two, not their

[87] Traités et sermons, traduction et présenté par Alain de LIBERA, Éd. Flammarion, Paris, 1995 (1re éd. 1993), p. 280.

[88] In the sense of non-humanistic position, Lao Zi within his Dao-orientation could share with Eckhart.

[89] Although in *The Art of Loving* he mentioned the view that loving others is loving oneself, it is still an underestimation of the reality of human conflict; without the eternal life, his calling for being a martyr of the vacuous *human being*——an abstract notion is nothing but a nobody, too susceptible to being used for serving the ideologies.

original oneness, although he emphasized it as the nature of being structure time and again^[90]. His assuming quotation of Epicurus along with Buddha, Jesus, the Stoics and Eckhart^[91], was rather likely to establish with authority a law to stipulate *no need for fearing death* in a philosophical way—a *reasonable* consolation. The humanity was hopelessly reduced and its ineffable deepest helplessness was attributed to a seeming insight, but truly covered with a good-looking scholar's *wisdom*. Just like any other *rational* position which consists in replacing the faith, the fear that the formers attempt to suppress, transfer or transform by reasonable sound interpretations is nothing more than being concealed, sometimes likely to disappear; whereas, in case of any doubt or being overturned, the fear of death must lead to a deeper despair, especially while facing the meaninglessness of life—the ultimate death. To lose faith in authority is disillusion; to lose faith in reason (rational authority), same disillusion; the history since 19th century has seen the *God's* death (meaning as Truth) that precedes human death (from inside to outside). A being with the meaning only produced by this or that man is nothing more than a self-consolation; a meaning without promise of life nor integral vision of being is nothing but reduced to nihilism in radical terms.

In the Bible, we can see those seemingly paradoxical meanings; however, because God is the Truth per se, the supreme meaning which determines every meaning, so the human meaning, no matter that of being or of having, can be regenerated in God's revelation through a sound reason after the Fall. In Eckhart, such a reason can be clearly perceived. Anchored deeply in the Word of God, his dialectic thought completely takes in all those seemingly paradoxical meanings, even including the entire negation of humanity through obedience, detachment to reach the ground without ground of the divine oneness in the eternal sense. It has been provoking controversy because of this absolute tone. Abusing the name of the absolute causes many problems; nevertheless, lacking or denying the absolute is nothing but to lead toward all sorts of arrogations.

Because Fromm didn't believe in eternity, his underlying view of the absolute is *being as becoming* whereby a world of meaning was fraught with uncertainty, scepticism, even ridiculous for naming what is this but not that if we thoroughly carry out the principle of becoming in an unceasingly varying world, then would his insistence on the being mode make any sense? So Fromm has to reconcile this huge disparity. Probably unconsciously, he appreciated Eckhart in a way of the humanistic conversion, by leaching out the those seeming *ridiculous* meanings, those *irrational* dogmas and *delusion* of the miracles. If we put aside the decisive role of faith which consists in articulating being within meaning, Fromm's suggestion according to his view of *fact* is in nature an attempt to rebuild a *new* humanity based on a corrupted humanity in both senses of meaning and being. In this sense, Lao Zi is so sage that he opts for dwelling in Dao, instead of dreaming about a new man or new society. Eckhart believes profoundly in his God who has been making a new humanity and new world. After humankind has undergone those miseries caused by corrupted humanity through all kinds of social practices and experiments, this inside vision has been still inspiring and the faith sounds much more reasonable.

[90] As for Christianity, the disillusion of the faith and of the world has been occurring every day, unbelievers and believers alternating in different regions within all kinds of peoples; the eclectic theory of Fromm had been limited to academic circle.

[91] Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be*, (London & New York: continuum, 1976), 102.

Today, we can constate that to a certain extent, Fromm's ideal of being mode has been realised in some individuals, those living in the meanings they give themselves rather than following the common trends of having as well as the major authorities. Nevertheless, this world is still fraught with bouleversements, the vast majority of mass have been unaware of their blindness of possessing—the alienated structure of existence in Fromm's sense; meanwhile, their emptiness is full with all sorts of contingent meanings. He was not an optimist who just intended to embrace the bright future; between the two possibilities, he foresaw the worse one—the humankind would be sinking deeper and deeper into greed. The Christianity has long revealed the worst situation of humanity and the best Salvation for the world.

It is so precious that Fromm sought such a way of being for a bright human future; however, what he and we could do is just reconciling our life within meaning. As nobody is born aware of who he/she is just like the humanity unaware of his *Origin*, the Christianity envisions that a new man and a new kingdom entail being made in the similar way this existing world and we have been already created, whereby the meaning as Truth makes all beings be.

2017/7

中文题目：

“有”还是“是”：意义与存在之途——当弗洛姆径遇老子及埃克哈特大师

李宜，武汉大学外国语学院文学学院博士研究生，法国洛林大学哲学人类学硕士，地址：武汉市武昌洪山区书城路珞珈雅苑十栋(杰晨美寓)，邮编：430072，Telephone：+86 15102735217，Email：theologieli@163.com

提要：在《占有还是生存》一书中，埃里希·弗洛姆提出存在模式与占有模式：前者作为真正的生存结构，与作为一种心理意义上之不幸的后者两相对照。其视角以弗洛伊德—马克思主义为潜在导向，选取折衷进路，辅以宗教资源，比如埃克哈特大师。本文指出，探讨意义和存在可以更好地了解这两种非此即彼的模式。弗洛姆舍传统本体论之主流而取存在即变化为前提，因占有模式是基于人性之异化而将之摒弃，他甚至拒绝意义本身可以超越存在，因而意义就仅限于人的自我定义，唯有展开其自身的力量、高效地生活才谈得上意义。在我们试图以某些意义(价值论或事实观等)调和我们的生活的时候，弗洛姆的建议会很有意义；然而他企图通过把将亡之恐惧描述为一种纯粹的失去拥有之幻觉，简单地把死亡归结为无意义，这种解释无法重新恢复存在原先的意义，特别是在意义已经碎片化的祛魅世界中，也无法逃脱虚无主义的命运。弗洛姆具有广博的宗教思想的视野，而他却仅仅化约式地运用这些思想作为支持其理性人本主义者的立场，就足令人惋惜了。通过围绕顺服、超脱以及纯一性的比较，可以清晰地看出埃克哈特的神本主义与弗洛姆的极端人本主义的巨大分歧：这意味着后者仅根据其理论偏好从前者那里获取灵感，却抹去了前提的根本差异；而老子的意义策略则可作为另一不同于西方本体论的参照系。通过埃克哈特和老子自己的意义路径，本文试图指出他们的形而上学(尤其是通过否定路径)是坚实地建筑在神性或道所提供的无限深广的永恒的根基之上的，藉此亦是在此永恒根基之中，堕落的人性可以在自我否定中全然超越焕发新意，而人可在此新意义中重获新生。

关键词：占有模式；存在模式；意义；本体论；永恒性

Part Two

The Hidden Feminine Tradition of Trinity^[92]

FANG Weilin

(Department of Philosophy, Nanjing University)

Abstract: This article compares the Christian Trinity with the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity, announcing a newly discovered feminine tradition of Trinity. Probing into the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity this article tries to find the hidden signs of the feminine tradition in Egyptian and Indian mythologies. This article also states that there are hidden signs of feminine tradition in the Hebrew Bible. The Christian Trinity, which believes that there is only one God in Three Persons, reveals the absence of the female part, neglects the presence of the female part in our society. By rediscovering the hidden feminine tradition behind the doctrines of Trinity this article appeals to construct a thoroughly new symbolism system both for male and female.

Key Words: Feminism; Religion; Hebrew Bible; Trinity

Author: Weilin FANG received his PhD from the School of Liberal Arts at Renmin University, 1999. He lectures as a professor of liberal arts at Nanjing University. He has been a visiting professor of liberal arts at National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Greece, 2012 — 2013) and a visiting professor of the Erasmus Mundus program at the University of Goettingen (Germany, 2014). Weilin Fang is the Laureate Man of Letters bestowed by United Poets Laureate International (U. P. L. I.). He is a lifetime and board member of United Poets Laureate International (U. P. L. I.) and the delegate at large of the executive committee of the International Association for Aesthetics (I. A. A.). Phone Number: +8613002569818, Email: shuyevvv@sina.com.

The English word *Trinity* is derived from Latin *Trinitas*, meaning “the number three, a triad”. The corresponding word in Greek is *Τριάς*, meaning “a set of three” or “the number three”. The Trinity is a Christian doctrine which is commonly expressed as: “One God, three Persons” or “one God in Three Persons”. It is an idea which defines God as three Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit coexisting in unity as of one being. According to this doctrine, God exists as three Persons but is one God.

The Trinity is a core concept of Christian Theology which believes that God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit are Three Persons of God. Although there are different types of Nontrinitarian, which include Binitarianism (one deity/two persons) and Unitarianism (one deity/one person), Trinitarianism, the doctrine of the Trinity, has become the main doctrine, or “the central dogma^[93]”, of the Christian Theology.

I . Trinity: A Core Concept of Christian Theology

The Trinity is a core concept of Christian Theology, in which God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit of different times are identified with each other. But we come across a lot of problems if we examine the Holy Bible which Christians believe contains all the revelations of God.

There is no Trinity in the Hebrew Bible, although some scholars will say at least that the Doctrine of the Trinity is hinted at in the Bible. The word “Trinity” is not found in the New

[92] This essay is the initial results of “Studies on Feminine Tradition of Hebrew Bible” supported by the National Social Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 14BZJ026). Acknowledgement: This article is the initial results of “Studies on Feminine Tradition of Hebrew Bible” supported by the National Social Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 14BZJ026).

[93] “Trinity,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Testament, nor is the doctrine explicitly expressed within the New Testament^[94]. The doctrine of Trinity was developed from the combined use of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit expressed in Matthew 28:19, which writes:

Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,^{Matthew 28:19}

Also Paul the Apostle's blessing is assumed to be the expression of the Trinity, which writes:

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all,^{2 cor. 13:14}

There are several uses of combination of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Some scholars believe that the Trinity is expressed indirectly in the New Testament. However, there is only a usage of combination, but not explicit expression of syncretism of three Persons. Some scholars argue that the doctrine is the result of later theological integration of God, Christ, and other theological elements during the post-New Testament times.

The Christian Trinity is a doctrine that has been developed during the post-New Testament times. The concept of the Trinity was expressed in early writings from the beginning of the 2nd century onwards. The first recorded use of Greek word *Τριάς* in Christian theology was by Theophilus of Antioch (C. E. 168-183) in about 170. Theophilus wrote:

"In like manner also the three days which were before the luminaries, are types of the Trinity [*Τριάδος*], of God, and His Word, and His wisdom. And the fourth is the type of man, who needs light, that so there may be God, the Word, wisdom, man" (Theophilus 1994:100-101)^[95].

However, the use of Trinity [*Τριάδος*] by Theophilus of Antioch was not about the Divine Trinity but combination of God, His Word, and His wisdom.

The first notion of Christian Trinity of "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" is credited to Tertullian (c. 155-230), a Latin theologian who wrote his Christian idea of Trinity in about 213 C. E.. Tertullian coined the words "Trinity" and "person" to explain that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are "one in essence—not one in Person" (Tertullian 1994:621)^[96].

The doctrine of the Trinity was not clearly established until the First Council of Nicaea adopted the Nicene Creed, which explicitly described Jesus as "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Father" (Placher 1988:53)^[97].

Some scholars have drawn a rash conclusion that there is no Trinity neither in the Hebrew Bible nor the New Testament. Although the Trinity is arguably expressed indirectly in the New Testament, the Trinity is the construct of Christian Theology to solve the one-and-many problem. It is a result of controversies that arose by the end of the 4th century concerning the relationship between God and Jesus. The Christian Trinity, which believes that there is only one God in Three Persons, is a doctrine developed post-New Testament times to explain why Christians were worshipping Jesus as well as the Holy Spirit and divine God. From the perspective of the Christian

[94] "Trinity", *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011). <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/605512/Trinity> (accessed 24 June 2011).

[95] Theophilus. "To Autolytus." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 10(2). Edited by Alexander Roberts. (New York: Hendrickson Publisher, 1994).

[96] Tertullian. "Against Praxeas." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 10(3). Edited by Alexander Roberts. (New York: Hendrickson Publisher, 1994).

[97] William C. Placher. *Readings in the History of Christian Theology* 2(1). (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988).

Trinity, God is one and three, thus solving the one-and-many problem. There is no inclusion of the feminine within this Trinity.

II. Egyptian Triad with Syncretism: Egyptian Trinity?

Since the Trinity is the idea that God is one in three persons or three gods(or goddesses), we can find the notion of Trinity in other mythologies, for example, Egyptian and Indian mythologies. Egyptian mythical narratives were rarely written in full. Usually they are episodes from larger myths written in hymns, prayers, ritual texts, magical texts, and funerary texts. Regardless of different and conflicting versions of Egyptian myths, there were two kinds of triad in Egyptian mythology.

(1) Triad without Syncretism

The triad without Syncretism usually was family triad consisting of a father, mother, and child, who were worshipped together. The Ennead, which were worshipped at Heliopolis, was a famous family combination, assembling nine deities into a theological system—It consisted of the god Atum, his children Shu and Tefnut, their children Geb and Nut and their children Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys. The Egyptian people at Heliopolis worshiped a family triad consisted of the god Osiris, Isis, and Horus. This is an example of Triad without Syncretism—

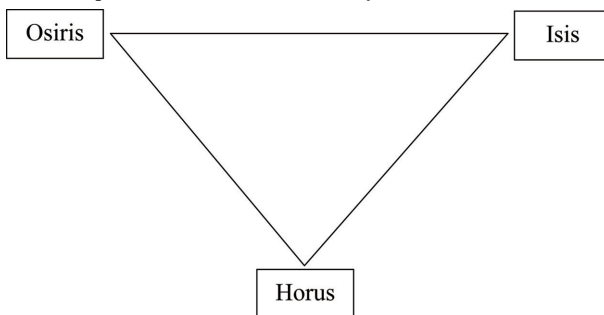


Fig. 1. An example of Triad without Syncretism.

Some suggest that there is another triad without Syncretism, a triad consisted of Hathor, Menkaure, and Bat during fourth dynasty.

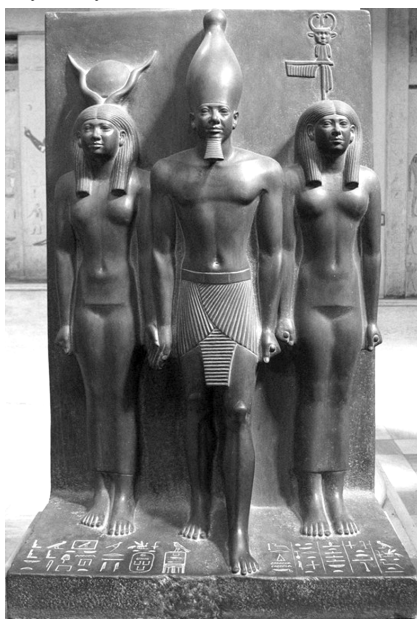


Fig. 2. The triad consisted of Hathor, Menkaure, and Bat during fourth dynasty. (Cairo Museum)

(2) Triad with Syncretism

The triad with Syncretism usually syncretizes the three forms of the supreme god as Christian Trinity does. One of the triad with Syncretism consisted of the god Atum, Ra, and Aten.

Atum is a creator deity and the setting sun god. In the early mythology of Memphis the priests of Ptah identified their deity with the primeval mound, the place on which Atum arose first. Atum is a creator deity in Heliopolitan mythology which is famous for Ennead. In the Heliopolitan creation myth established in the sixth dynasty, Atum was considered to be the first god. The creation started from the primeval waters represented by Nu, a mound appeared on which the self-begotten deity Atum sat. Atum created the god Shu and goddess Tefnut from spitting them out of his mouth according to the early myths. Some other versions of myths states that Atum produced Shu and Tefnut out of his own semen.

Ra is the sun god and also a creator deity. The cult center of Ra worship was based in Heliopolis. The cult of the sun god Ra, gained supreme ascendancy during the 5th dynasty and declined during the 6th dynasty. The worship of Ra identified with Atum after propagation of the Ennead established in the sixth dynasty. With the mergence of these two deities, Atum appeared also as a solar deity linked specifically with the evening sun, associated with the primary sun god Ra.

Aten (also Aton, Egyptian *jtn*) is the disk of the sun in ancient Egyptian mythology, and originally an aspect of Ra associated more with the morning sun.

As has stated before, the triad of the god Atum, Ra, and Aten is the triad with Syncretism.

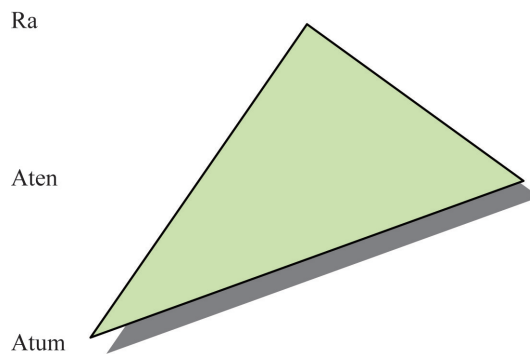


Fig. 3. An example of triad with Syncretism

As has been stated in the graph, we have—

Atum—a creator deity and the setting sun god.

Ra—the sun god and also a creator deity

Aten—the disk of the sun and originally an aspect of Ra associated more with the morning sun.

In this triad of the god Atum, Ra, and Aten, Atum is a creator deity and solar deity (the setting sun god) and Ra is the primary sun god and also a creator deity while Aten is originally an aspect of Ra associated more with the morning sun and manifested as the disk of the sun.

The triad of the god Atum, Ra, and Aten gave place for the triad of the god Horus, Ra, Aten during the period of Atenism in the eighteenth dynasty when Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) introduced monotheistic worship.

As has been discussed before, Aten is originally an aspect of solar deity Ra and was manifested as the disk of the sun. The god of Aten, the sun-disk, first appears in texts dating to the 12th dynasty, in The Story of Sinuhe. Akhenaten introduced monotheistic worship which worshipped Aten

the supreme god as the creator, and giver of life^[98], a synthesis of ancient gods. Ra-Horus, more usually referred to as Ra-Herakhty (Ra, who is Horus of the two horizons), is a synthesis of two other gods, both of which are attested from very early on. During the Amarna period, this synthesis was seen as the invisible source of energy of the sun god, of which the visible manifestation was the Aten, the solar disk. The full title of Akhenaten's god was The RaHorus who rejoices in the horizon, in his/her Name of the Light which is seen in the sun disc. This lengthy name was often shortened to Ra-Horus-Aten or just Aten in many texts. The worship of Ra-Horus-Aten is the development from the synthesis of ancient gods. The triad of the god Atum- Ra-Aten was replaced by Ra-Horus-Aten during the Akhenaten monotheistic revolution.

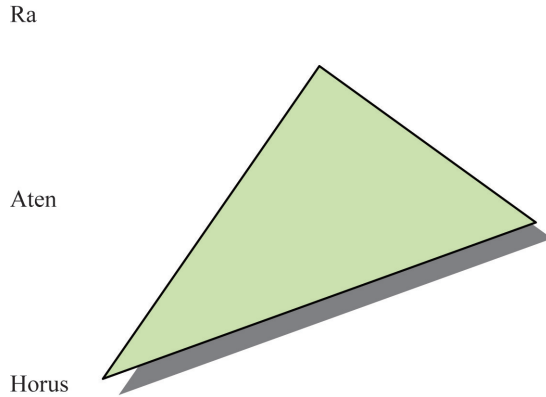


Fig. 4. The triad of Ra-Horus-Aten

The triad with Syncretism syncretizes different gods to form a composite deity. Sometimes syncretism combined deities with very similar characteristics. At other times it joined gods with very different natures, such as Amun, the god of hidden power, was linked with Ra, the god of the sun. The resulting god, the triad of Atum, Ra, and Aten, thus united the power with the visible force in nature.

The hidden feminine tradition of the Egyptian Trinity.

Atum was considered to be the first god. The creation started from the primeval waters represented by Nu, a mound appeared on which the self-begotten deity Atum sat. Atum created the god Shu and goddess Tefnut from spitting them out of his mouth according to the early myths. Some other versions of myths states that Atum produced Shu and Tefnut by masturbation from his own semen. As has been described, Atum is assumed to have the function of giving birth to new gods. As far as the triad with Syncretism of Atum, Ra, and Aten is concerned, both Ra and Horus characteristics are part of the supreme god, but the integrated god is considered to be both masculine and feminine simultaneously.

III. Hindu Trimurti: the Indian Trinity?

Some scholars have noticed the Trimurti in Hindu mythology. The Trimurti (Sanskrit: trimūrti), which means “three forms”, refers to three Hindu gods: Brahmā, Vishnu, and Shiva. It is a concept in Hinduism “in which the cosmic functions of creation, maintenance, and destruction are personified by the forms of Brahmā the creator, Vishnu the maintainer or preserver, and Śhiva the destroyer or transformer” (Zimmer 1972:124). The Trimurti of Brahmā (the creator), Vishnu (the protector), and Shiva (the destroyer) is often addressed as “Brahmā-Vishnu-Maheshwara” and has

[98] Some scholars have speculated that Psalm 104 may have been influenced by “Great Hymn to the Aten”.

been called “the Hindu triad” (Apte 1965:485)^[99] or the “Great Trinity” (Jansen 1993:83).^[100]

Brahmā (Sanskrit: IAST: Brahmā) is the Hindu god of creation and considered the ruler of the highest of the heavens (the world called *Sathya*). Brahmā is often identified with Prajapati, a Vedic deity. According to the Purāṇas, Brahmā is self-born in the lotus flower, or born from a golden egg which became from a seed in water according to another legend. According to the Brahma Purāṇa, Brahmā the creator is the father of Mānu, and from Mānu all human beings are descended. In the Ramayana and the Mahābhārata, Brahmā is often referred to as the progenitor or great grandsire of all human beings.

Vishnu (Sanskrit: *Viṣṇu*) is the Supreme god in the Vaishnavite tradition of Hinduism. In the Vishnu Sahasranama Vishnu was venerated as Paramatma (supreme soul) and Parameshwara (supreme god). Vishnu was described as the All-Pervading essence of all beings, the master of—and beyond—the past, present, and future. Vishnu was worshiped as one who supports, sustains and governs the Universe and originates and develops all elements within. Usually Vishnu is viewed as protector and is called ‘Preserver of the universe’.

Shiva (Sanskrit: *iva*) is a primary Hindu deity, and is the God of destroyer or transformer. Shiva looks like an eternal youth because of his authority over death, rebirth, and immortality, and is worshiped with his wild dance. Shiva is usually worshipped in the abstract form of Shiva linga. The Linga (also, *Ling*, *Shiv ling*, Sanskrit *gaṇ*) is considered a symbol of male creative energy or of the phallus.

Some scholars doubt that the Hindu Trimurti can be viewed as the Great Trinity. Maurice Winternitz notes that there are very few places in Indian literature where the Trimurti is mentioned (Winternitz 1972:452)^[101]. But Syncretism did happen in Hindu mythology. The Syncretism of the Trimurti: Brahmā (the creator), Vishnu (the protector), and Shiva (the destroyer) appeared in some Hinduism texts. The identification of Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahmā as one being is strongly emphasized in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, where in 1. 6 Brahman is worshipped as Trimurti; 1. 9 especially inculcates the unity of the three gods, and 1. 26 relates to the same theme (Winternitz 1972:573). The identification of Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahmā appeared in the sectarian lives. People in different times tended to favor one of the three and substituted one of Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahmā for another. Sectarian groups worshiped their own preferred deity as supreme. Vishnu “becomes” Shiva in his myths. The *Vishnu Purāṇa* (4th c. C. E.) shows Vishnu awakening and becoming both Brahmā to create the world and Shiva to destroy it (Flood 1996:111). Shiva also is viewed as a manifestation of Vishnu in the *Bhagavata Purāṇa*. There is one type of depiction for the Trimurti showing three heads on one neck, and even three faces on one head, each looking in a different direction.

[99] Vaman Shivram Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1965).

[100] Eva Rudy Jansen, *The Book of Hindu Imagery*. (Havelte: Binkey Kok Publications, 1993)

[101] Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* 2(1). (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972).



Fig. 5. The Trimurti of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Shiva.

Although the Hindu Trimurti is quite different from the Trinity of Christianity, The syncretism of three different aspects of different times is quite similar and thus some scholars call the Hindu Trimurti the “Great Trinity”.

The hidden feminine tradition of the Hindu Trimurti.

All the three gods of Trimurti: Brahmā (the creator), Vishnu (the protector), and Shiva (the destroyer) are male gods. Notably, they had their wives (goddesses in their own right). But there are still signs of feminine tradition could be found in the Hindu Trimurti.

First, let us see the creation legend of Brahmā. Unlike brahma (nominative singular form of neuter noun bráhmaṇ), Brahmā (nominative singular form of masculine noun brahmán) is masculine and used to refer to a person and as the proper name of a deity. Brahmā is not to be confused with the Supreme Cosmic Spirit in Hindu Vedānta philosophy known as Brahman, which is genderless. According to the Purāṇas, Brahmā is self-born in the lotus flower, or born from a golden egg which became from a seed in water according to another legend. Brahmā has gender of both male and female in some other allusions of creation. It is said that Brahmā created a goddess Gayatri (Sanskrit: gāyatrī), who is Brahmā’s wife, using half of his own body.

Let us see another creation story. The depiction below demonstrates the process of the creation.



Fig. 6. A creation myth depicting Brahmā emerged from a lotus rising from Vishnu’s navel.

In the image depiction Vishnu with Lakshmi, sat on the serpent Ananta Shesha, as Brahmā emerged from a lotus rising from Vishnu's navel^[102]. The depiction displays the connection by lotus between Brahmā and Vishnu. In these creation myths, the The primeval water, the lotus and the navel are the symbols of female qualities. The connection by lotus between Brahmā and Vishnu can be taken as a symbolism for the primordial fetus and primordial placenta. The primeval water, the lotus and navel are the symbols of female genital organ and the connection with the navel is a symbol of primordial reproduction.

In contrast, Shiva, the destroyer, is usually worshipped in the form of Shiva linga, which is considered a symbol of male genitalia. Vishnu is usually worshiped as one with a lotus rising out from the navel. Although Vishnu is a male god, he is usually depicted with Lotus and fish, suggesting certain femininity^[103].



Fig. 7. Shiva is usually worshipped in the form of Shiva linga.



Fig. 8. Vishnu is usually worshiped with Lotus and fish.

[102] Gavin Flood, *An Introduction to Hinduism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[103] Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

The unity of Trimurti seems another kind of feminine tradition in Hindu Mythology. Adi Parashakti, who is described as the owner of the universe, ultimate reality, Param-Brahman in Devi-Bhagwata Purāṇa, is represented as the Mother of Trimurti^[104]. Adi Parashakti is believed to be in non-dimensional form from which is beyond everything and all the powers of god/goddess are vested in her. The Trimurti of Brahmā^[105], Vishnu, and Shiva are looked as parts of Adi Parashakti and are in the unity of Adi Parashakti. Adi Parashakti is believed to be dynamic in feminine form and static in masculine form. Devi-Bhagwata Purāṇa describes also the Trimurti are masculine form while Adi Parashakti is Feminine form of ultimate reality.

Another feminine tradition in Indian mythology is Shaktism. Shaktism (Sanskrit: ākṣaṃ, lit. , ‘doctrine of the Goddess’) focuses worship upon the Hindu Divine Mother; Adi Parashakti or Shakti or Devi or Parvati. It worships the Hindu Divine Mother as the absolute, ultimate Godhead. The philosophy of Shaktism related to the Trinity is Tridevi. Shaktism regards Devi (lit. , ‘the Goddess’) as the Supreme Brahman itself. It believes that all other forms of divinity, female or male, are considered to be merely her diverse manifestations. Tridevi is the manifestation of Shaktism focusing on the Hindu Divine Mother and the Goddesses. There are quite a few depictions of Tridevi – the conjoined forms of Lakshmi, Parvati, and Saraswati in Hindu culture. The conjoined form of Lakshmi, Parvati, and Saraswati shows a feminine tradition of Tridevi which indicates a possible feminine Trinity in Hinduism.

IV. The Hidden Feminine Tradition in Trinities

While comparing the Christian Trinity with Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity we will find a hidden feminine tradition of Trinity. Probing into the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity we find hidden signs of the feminine tradition in Egyptian and Indian mythologies. While examining the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity we find that the structures of trinity, which are Three Persons or Three Gods in a form of One, have some hidden signs of the feminine tradition.

1) The first male god as the creator, or some other gods, has some symptom of both male god and female goddess. Brahmā has gender of both male and female in some other allusions of creation. It is said that Brahmā created his wife goddess Gayatri using half of his own body.

2) The first male god, or the chief male God, has the function of giving birth to new gods. For example, Atum created the new gods from spitting them out of his mouth or produced new gods from his own semen by masturbation according to different versions of myths.

3) Some roles in Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity, i. e. , Aten, are the functional resemblances of those in Christian Trinity, “Spirit”.

4) The primeval waters in the Egyptian and Indian theogonical mythologies have signs of feminine tradition.

5) The primeval lotus, golden egg, and navel in the Egyptian and Indian theogonical mythologies are symbols of the female genital organs.

While examining Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible of Judaism, we can also find the hidden feminine tradition in the Holy Scriptures.

There are quite a few hidden signs of the feminine tradition in the Hebrew Bible.

1) As far as the names of God, which are YHWH (יהוה), Elohim (אלהים), EL (אל), Eloah (אלוה), Elah (אלה) etc. , are concerned, some expressions of God show possibilities of being feminine. Although most of these expressions are masculine, Elohim (אלהים) is a grammatical plural form for a group of gods and for a group of gods and goddesses. Eloah (אלוה) which is assumed to be the feminine form of Elohim (אלהים) may be Semitic goddess.

[104] Eva Rudy Jansen, *The Book of Hindu Imagery*. (Havelte; Binkey Kok Publications, 1993).

[105] Brahmā is said also to be the son of the Supreme Being, Brahman, and the female energy known as Prakṛti or Maya.

2) Asherah (אֲשֵׁרָה), which is mentioned in *Exodus*, *Judges*, *Kings* and *Chronicles* of the Hebrew Bible, is the covered female goddess that is repelled in the Hebrew Bible. Asherah is the consort of YHWH in Ugaritic mythology and recent archaeological discoveries of the ancient Near East prove the existence of this consort of YHWH. Although written both in feminine plural form and masculine plural form, Asherah is the forbidden Goddess in the Biblical tradition.

Moreover, Ashtoret (עַשְׁתָּרֶת, Ἀστάρτη in Greek), which is Ashtarot in plural form, is considered to be the counterpart of Ishtar who is the daughter of Anu in Mesopotamia mythology. Ashtoret is the daughter of supreme god El and consort of Baal in Ugaritic mythology. Ashtoret, usually mentioned with Baal in the Hebrew Bible, is the lunar goddess.

3) The spirit, which is רוּחַ in Hebrew Bible, is feminine, while it is neutral in the Greek, πνεῦμα and masculine in the Latin, spiritus.

V. Is the Christian Trinity a Symbol of Phallicism?

The Christian Trinity, as the core concept of Christian Doctrine, is an idea that God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit are Three Persons of God. It offers a construct of three elements; God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit. This construct comes to form a part of our imagination and a symbol of human society. It becomes part of our lives and stands high above the masses. It becomes the power that manipulates our minds and behaviors.

Some scholars argued that the gender identity of God is uncertain in the Old Testament. But what happened to the Christian Trinity when we set our sights to Three Persons of God? Although God's gender identity can be arguably considered uncertain in the archaic texts of Bible, God went through a process of masculinization in a long period. God became the symbol of patriarchy in the main prayer of the New Testament. Based on the tradition of Latin Vulgate the Holy Spirit turned into masculine "spiritus" and was masculinized. As a result the idea of Three Persons of God, which are God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, turned into a symbolism of androcentrism in Christian Trinity. As has been shown in the early sculptures and portraits the Christian Trinity is depicted as three male Persons and turned to be the depiction of masculinism.



Fig. 9. The earliest known depiction of the Trinity. Dogmatic Sarcophagus. 350 C. E.

The Christian Trinity is the construct of Christian theology to solve the one-and-many problem. But the construct of the Trinity, which reveals the absence of female part, neglects the presence of

the female part in our society. As a result the Christian Trinity turn out to be a symbol of patriarchy and phallicism. R. N. Bellah states that religious beliefs construct a kind of symbolism which represents a set of social value (Bellah 1970:12). But when we turn our gaze at the Christian Trinity it seems to be a construct of phallus centrism and a dubious symbolism of gender inequalities between men and women.

As has been stated before the Christian Trinity is the construct of Christian theology. Arguably, the Christian Trinity does not mean all the truth of the Bible. Actually there are all kinds of controversies over the doctrine of the Trinity. Debate over the Trinity continued to rage for decades. Christian faiths which do not believe in the Trinity include Arianism (4th century); some radical reformers, such as Michael Servetus (16th century); religious sect of Jehovah's Witnesses; Mormonism; and Unitarianism. These debates reveal the fragileness of the Trinity indicating that we are not deprived of the rights of saying a word in front of the Trinity.

Since the Christian Trinity is the construct of Christian theology it is time for us to re-examine the concept of the Trinity from a new perspective, the perspective of feminism and the perspective of gender equity.

The Trinity is an abnormal family. Some will ask where the mother is and where the females are? The construct of Trinity, which may be the reflection of the male-centered society, reveals the neglect over the presence of the female part in our society.

Religions of monotheism usually do not have place for female goddess and thus, have no room for female symbolism. All goddesses would be sentenced to be pagan goddesses in the religions of monotheism which worship one male god. This article compares the Christian Trinity with the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity, announcing a newly discovered feminine tradition of Trinity at the risk of blasphemy.

VI. Conclusion

This article announces a newly discovered feminine tradition of Trinity by comparing the Christian Trinity with the Egyptian Trinity and Indian Trinity. By rediscovering the hidden feminine tradition of Trinity this article shows the necessity to deconstruct the male symbolism of the Trinity, particularly in some forms of Christianity, and to reconstruct a new symbolism both for male and female and, thus, would not neglect the presence of the female part in society.

中文题目：

三位一体结构中的阴性传统

方蔚林, 笔名 舒也, 男, 浙江余杭人, 文学博士, Bar-Ilan University 博士后, 曾任希腊雅典大学哲学院访问教授, 德国哥廷根大学伊拉斯谟访问教授, 现任南京大学哲学系宗教学系教授, 主要从事哲学、美学、宗教学、文化学研究。电话: +8613002569818, Email: shuyevvv@sina.com. 基金项目: 国家社科基金项目“希伯来圣经女性传统研究”(14BZJ026)

提要: 通过比较埃及、印度和基督教传统中不同形式的三位一体结构, 本文试图从三位一体观念中发现一个隐藏的阴性传统。埃及和印度神话和宗教信仰中出现的某种形式的三位一体观念以及与之相应的三位一体结构, 表现出了某种潜含着的阴性传统。基督教的三位一体观念, 即“圣父—圣子—圣灵”三位一体观念中, 它相信此三者为同一位神的三个不同的位格, 这一观念某种程度上表现了对女性的忽视和在神学信仰中对阴性传统的无视。文章探讨了在宗教信仰中重建阴性传统的可能性, 并希望能够在宗教象征体系中恢复女性的位置, 从而使之与男性象征符号平等地在场。

关键词: 女性主义; 宗教; 希伯来圣经; 三位一体

Part Three

The Names of God in the Hebrew Bible and the Absence of Names of God in the Armenian Bible^[106]

Leyli ALEKSANYAN

(Armenian Scholar, Department of Philosophy, Nanjing University)

Abstract: The names of God are always specific names, which signify the symbol of God and do not describe God or His essence. This essay is going to discuss the names of God—in Hebrew Bible mainly—and explain why it is fairly rare to find any names of God in the Armenian translation^[107] of the Holy Bible. Thus, this essay try to prove, that God or the Divine Essence cannot be described, because God's Essence exists beyond all description, which is circumscribed and limited.

Key Words: God, names of God, Hebrew Bible, Armenian Bible

Author: Leyli ALEKSANYAN is a Master student in Nanjing University, faculty of Philosophy. She graduated from Yerevan State University, Faculty of Theology in 2011. She obtained her first Master's degree in European Studies, from the Faculty of European Studies, Yerevan State University in 2015. Her major research interests are religion, politics and history. Phone Number: +8613062587786, Email: leylichina@gmail.com.

INTRODUCTION

The most fervent religious desire of humanity is to give a name to the divine being, to find a logical definition to it and try to demonstrate its existence. Although, it is impossible to find all the exact names given to the Creator in every translation of the Holy Bible. “The first point is that the Hebrew terms which can be found in the Old Testament are translated by God, or Deus, or Theos, these terms are actually proper names given in accordance to the wishes of the Talmud. The name of God is always said to be a proper name in the Scriptures. The word God would be absent from the Hebrew language!^[108]” The Bible often talks about God with a unique face, such as in the Exodus 20: 7, Psalms 8: 1. In all these occurrences, the Holy Bible does not mean any particular signs of God, the common name of God contains many unique names because God appeared to humanity through various titles. These names do not pertain to human creatures but are of Divine origin (although they are parts of human speech itself). However, we will limit ourselves with the discussion of God's unique names used in Hebrew Bible^[109].

YHWH

The most common name for God in a singular form in the Hebrew Bible is YHWH (יְהוָה)

[106] This essay is the initial results of “Studies on Feminine Tradition of Hebrew Bible” supported by the National Social Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 14BZJ026)

[107] Here I have used the Armenian Bible in Armenian, Eastern Armenian new translation, The Armenian Apostolic Church, Catholicosate of All Armenians and The Bible Society of Armenia, Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 1994.

[108] Emmanuel LEVINAS, “The Philosophical Meaning of the Names of God”, *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, mars 2006, p. 119.

[109] Weilin FANG, “Genealogical Studies on Hebrew Names of God in the Hebrew Bible”, *Studies in World Religions*, No. 4 (July 2013), pp. 86-97.

which is known as Tetragrammaton from Greek “four-letter (word)” translation. But why YHWH? What does it mean and where does it come from? YHWH is roughly the name of God, the most common name in the Old Testament, which is used nearly 7000 times (6828 times, to be accurate). This word has been translated into Greek as Lord, “Kurios”. This is different from the word “Adonai” (Lord), but these are equivalent words in Greek, as both are translated “Kurios” (Phil 2: 11).

The God of the tribe of Judah was called Yahweh (Jehovah). The Old Testament’s scripture have been interpreted as “YaHWeH” (Yahweh) in the scientific sphere, which is also used in a distorted version of YeHoWaH (Jehovah). The third verse of the Ten Commandments is known to all: “You shall not call the name of your God in vain” (Exodus 20:7). This seems to be a worthless line behind the word of Jehovah. The first part of the Bible, the Old Testament, was written in ancient Hebrew, which, like Semitic, does not use vowels in writing. Consequently, the reader mentally interprets and restores the vowels by himself. There is a crucial connection between “YHWH” and “ADONAI”/“ELOHIM” (another proper name given to God which will be discussed later). Writers did not use vowels in Hebrew, thus how can we be sure that the Tetragrammaton should be pronounced “YeHoWah” and not “YaHoWah” or “JeHoWah”? Here is the connection between these three names. The connection between these three words was explained by researchers; the vowels from “Adonai” and “Elohim” were smoothly transferred into Tetragrammaton “YHWH” due to which we have this mystic name “YeHoWah”, “YahWeh”, “YaHoWah”, “JeHoWah”^[110].

The Jews followed the command of God to not pronounce the name of God, so they were not allowed to pronounce Tetragrammaton, but instead used another word, Adonai, which is translated as “master,” “ruler.” The original YHWH word correctly was only known by the high ranked priest of the temple in Jerusalem, but after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem (70 AD), the correct reading of the Tetragrammaton and the puzzling became a mystery. Over time, when the need arose to analyse and study the Old Testament’s scripture, the Tetragrammaton in the scientific world was read as “YaHWeH” (Yahweh) or YeHoWaH (Jehovah)^[111].

The Hebrew word “YHWH^[112]” literally means differently and judging, more precisely, the difference in which it is revealed (Ex. 3:12-14, 6:2-8), it means the “presence” of God is with the Israelites, He is close to His people, the Chorus, and also by the word “Promised-Emmanuel” (with God) (I am 7:14, Matthew 1:23). “Yahweh is present”, He is available and close to all those who are calling Him (Psalm 145:18) for Salvation (107:13), Forgiveness (Pr 2:25) and Teaching. It is also related to the covenant, for example (Exodus 6:6-8) “I will be your God and you my people.” In short, this word, apart from the use of ordinary letters, is used as a present, salvation, a liberator, a blessing, as well as a covenant, obedience and faithfulness.

By this name, God appeared to his people, showing His mercy and pointed out “I am what I am” (Exodus 3:14) and later, self-disclosure; “I am the Lord” (Exodus 6:2-8). The main meaning of this word is “Being”, “to be present”, and later, as some would accept to have received the following meaning; “I am (and not someone else)”. Also, the translation of the Greek phrase “Ego Emy” has the same meaning from the Greek Septuagint. And Moses gives the idea that there is a God, but he needs to understand it. And Jesus himself made this statement “I am” (Ego Emy) (Matthew 14:27), (John 8:24-28-58). Thus, the same words attributed to the God of Israel as “God,” “I was, am and will be” have been used by Jesus Christ himself.

YHWH emphasises God’s absolute being. He is the source of all being, of all reality and all existence. He exists in Himself. Everything else derives its existence from Him. YHWH expresses

[110] Hovhannes Yordanyan, *Who is God? Who is the holy Trinity*, Yerevan, 2001.

[111] http://www.sarkavagagirq.net/2012/02/blog-post_08.html

[112] IHWH in other research; Francis B. Denio, “On the Use of the Word Jehovah in Translating the Old Testament”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 46, No. 1/2 (1927), pp. 146—149

the absolute transcendence of God. He is above all His creation. He is without beginning and without end because He always is.

This is a special memorable name that God revealed to Moses at the burning bush. “God said to Moses,” I am who I am,” and he said: “Thus say to the sons of Israel: Jehovah sent me to you... This is My name forever, and the remembrance of Me from generation to generation” (Exodus 3:14-15). Although the name YHWH appears already in Genesis 2, God did not reveal Himself as YHWH until Exodus 3 in connection with the creation of Israel.

However, in the Armenian Holy Bible^[113], we read “...and God spoke to Moses, saying; “I am the Lord. And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. I am their God, my name is Lord, but I did not tell them” (Exodus 6:2-3), but in the Hebrew version it’s written, “I didn’t tell them that my name is YHWH (Yahweh) ...”. Thus, in the most important self-descriptive sentence of the Holy Bible, we won’t find the exact name for God in the Armenian translation, but He calls himself Lord. Here is the question; what is the name of God in the Armenian Holy Bible? Does He have any name? Why doesn’t He have names?

Armenia became the first Christian country in the world accepting it in 301 A. D.^[114]. The Armenian alphabet was created in 405 A. D.^[115] by St. Mesrop Mashtots. Here is the question; what was the language of liturgy in churches during one hundred years? How could the uneducated people learn the Holy Bible without writings and possibility to learn foreign languages (for that time Greek). According to Armenian sources, the word of the liturgy was either greek or orally translated version of the Holy Bible into Old Armenian^[116].

The “canonical” being of the Holy Bible has played a crucial role in keeping the original text of the book. This is the reason why during the Middle Ages, the Armenian writers have been carefully imitated by the sacred caution and carefulness. That is the reason why hundreds of Bible translations of the Bible do not differ from each other and coincide with the original Greek text of the Bible^[117]. In 387 A. D. Armenia was divided between the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires and according to many Armenian writers after the division, under the Persian force, only Assyrian language was used in Eastern Armenia. According to Khorenatsi^[118], before the division of Armenia, the ritual language of the Armenian Church was Greek and then Assyrian. However, it is not ruled out that the Assyrian language is equal to Greek, as the southern regions of Armenia have been in the Assyrian influence for a quite long time. However, these facts are coming to explain why the Armenian translation of the Holy Bible in its rout has the Greek version rather than the Hebrew Bible, thus similarly with the Greek Holy Bible we won’t find other names for God but Lord and others mentioned as follows.

In the Armenian translation of the Holy Book God has many titles: God is Արարիչ (ararich-Creator), he’s—Տէր (Ter-Lord) of all, Թագավոր (Tagavor-King), Դատավոր (Datavor-Judge) and Իշխան (Ishkhan-Prince). He is Ամենակալ (Amenakal-Omnipotent), Ամենակարող (Amenakarokh-Almighty), Բարձրյալ (Bardzryal-Most Highly), Բրուտ (Brut-Potter), Բավական (Bavakan-

[113] The first Bible was published by Voskan Yerevanci in 1666 in Amsterdam. The printing was started in 1666, March 11 and finished in 1668, October 13th. This Bible was first used in 1295. This text was edited by Voskhan Yerevantsi in the Latin translation of Vulgata. He has translated and added several books of the Old Testament, which are missing in the Armenian Bible. <http://armchurch.info>.

[114] The history of the Armenian People, H. G. Zhamkochyan, A. G. Abrahamyan, S. T. Meliq-Bashkhyan, S. P. Poxosyan, Yerevan 1975.

[115] *Ibid.*

[116] Abexyan M. 1968 pp 136-145, 545-548, 630-641, Mesrop Mashtots (articles) Yerevan 1962, Mesrop Mashtots (articles) Yerevan 1963, Akinyan H. N. ,St. Mashtots vardapet Vienna 1949.

[117] Parandzem Meytikhanyan, “The names and the titles given to God in the Holy Book (The Father)”, Yerevan 2006.

[118] Movses Khorenatsi was a prominent Armenian historian from the period of Late Antiquity and the author of the History of Armenia.

Enough), Երկնավոր (Erknavor-Heavenly), Հզոր (Hzor-Mighty), Կենարար (Kenarar-Life-giving^[119]). We analyze some of these names with reference to translation, semantic, linguistic and stylistic aspects. Exodus has a very significant and unique role in the onomastic system of the Bible, as in 3: 13–14 of this book, God, who has different names, reveals the interpretation of the names: “I am the Essence”. The comparison of the Armenian proper names and titles and their equivalents existing in other languages (Greek, Assyrian, Latin, German, Russian) shows that the texts in ancient and Eastern Armenian have a lot of similarities with the Greek Septuagint, yet they are quite different from the Assyrian one. The Proper Names in Eastern Armenian and Russian versions of the Bible with reference to translation are nearly identical. Besides, the translators of the Holy Bible were educated in Byzantium, thus they were the best specialists in the Greek language (Latin and Greek were being used in Byzantium^[120]).

Actually, one of the most important rabbinic laws about God’s name is a fundamental prohibition against saying the name of God aloud. In his book, *God, Death and Time*, Levinas^[121] suggests that the reason for this prohibition is to say nothing about God^[122] or to avoid saying anything about God. God’s response to Moses from the burning bush was Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh—“I will be that I will be” (Exodus 3:14). This name is a special name because it is not a real name. Man cannot call God by this name, and could learn nothing about God’s presence, character, or being. Rather, it resembles a description of a being with options: “I will be what I will be” and not what I will not be^[123]. Is there a possibility of describing what has no description? Here I would like to cite Rabb Hayyim Volozhiner’s differentiation between “from His side” and “from our side.” Man has nothing to say about God by Himself—“from His side.” All human language relating to God is from the human’s perspective^[124]. The Armenian interpretation for God’s names has the same explanation; we cannot describe what is indescribable only by giving Him names, names are used for God to make its nature closer to us humans, even though they do not refer to the God’s nature, but to His deeds.

ADONAI

During the years of Egyptian slavery, the Jews started to use YHWH (Yahweh) very rarely, due to superstition, and the word « Adonai” became more popular. In modern Hebrew, the word “adon” is used as “Mr.,” as “Adonai” is never used because this word is attributed to God and has plural meaning in Hebrew.

“ADONAI” is a rabbinical version of the replacement of Tetragrammaton. Literally this word can be translated as “gentlemen”. This is an expressive form of the word “Adon,” meaning “master” or “lord” (Isaiah 10:33), God is the Lord. He rules and gives orders. “Adonai” is usually translated as “Lord.” This word is used about 450 times. “I saw Adonai (the Lord) sitting on a high and exalted throne, and the edges of His robe filled the whole temple” (Isaiah 6:1)^[125]. In the Old Testament (Armenian translation) there are three people using this name; the fourth son of king David (2 Kings 4, 2 Kings 1:5, 7, 8…) and two Levites (1 Chronicles 3:2, 2 Chronicles 17:8).

[119] Parandzem Meytikhanyan, “The names and the titles given to God in the Holy Book (The Father)”, Yerevan, 2006.

[120] Hovhannes Yordanyan, *Who is God? Who is the holy Trinity*, Yerevan, 2001.

[121] Emmanuel Levinas was a French philosopher of Lithuanian Jewish ancestry who is known for his work related to Jewish philosophy, existentialism, ethics, phenomenology and ontology.

[122] Emmanuel Levinas, *God, Death and Time*, trans. B. Bergo, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2000, p. 234.

[123] Here we see an example of the limitations of language. We should not speak in terms of “be” when speaking of God, who is beyond being.

[124] See Emmanuel Levinas, “In the Image of God’ according to Rabbi Hayyim Volozhiner”, pp. 151-167.

[125] Russian Khazarzar, *The name of God*, Moscow, 2000.

The final syllable of Adonai uses the vowel kamatz, rather than patach which would be expected from the Hebrew for “my lord(s)”. Professor Yoel Elitzur explains this phenomenon as a normal transformation——Hebrew words become can become names, e. g: Nathan, Yitzchak, and Yigal^[126].

ELOHIM

God is the legitimate acting person of the Holy Bible from the very first sentence; in the Hebrew Bible, we find out that Elohim is the first name of God (Gen. 1:1; Elohim, Eli, Eloah (in Hebrew) have a common root). Elohim itself has plural meaning; it can be translated as “power, strength, mightiness^[127]”. When Elohim is used with other words, it is not related to a name anymore, but instead refers to the qualities and characteristics of the words describing God. El is coming from the name Eli and has the meaning of god in the Semitic language. In the book of Job and the psalms, there is a great section that has mentioned “El” 238 times by the meaning of power. The other meanings are related to different qualifications, such as truth (Numbers 23:19, Deuteronomy 32:4), envy (Deuteronomy 5:9) and mercy (Nehemiah 9:31, Psalm 86:15).

The word “Eloah” (60 times) is more commonly found in the book of Job, which literally means “power”. According to the origin, this term is attributed to the true God, however, “Eloah” can be used for any god in general. Elohim or God, unlike Eloah has plural meaning and is used about 2300 times in the Holy Bible. However, all of these three names are translated as God (Theos) in Septuagint and combine everything that is related to God and divinity. Despite the fact that the word “Elohim” itself has plural meaning, in the Holy Bible it is used with nouns in singular form. In brief, due to the word “Elohim”, God’s ability is revealed in various places, such as creation, when God created the world through His Word (Genesis 1:3-8), it characterizes the almighty power of God. His words describe His power when barren women have children (Genesis 18:10-14, 25:21), when the suffering people are freed from Egypt (Exodus 20:2), when the crucified Christ is raised from the dead (Romans 1:1-4); The apostle Peter writes: “And through your faith, God is protecting you by his power until you receive this salvation, which is ready to be revealed on the last day for all to see” (1 Pet 1:5). I would like to mention three quite significant parts of the Holy Bible. As it is written in Psalm 21 “Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?” that is, “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?”; the same sentence we find in the New Testament “...and about three o’clock Jesus cried with a loud voice, “Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?” that is, “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me ?” (Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34). According to Armenian interpretation, by calling Father God with the name “Eli” Jesus Christ uses the same meaning that has the word in general, such as “almighty”, “the powerful one”, which all are attributed to God Himself^[128].

CONCLUSION

Through Jesus Christ we have know God as “Father”; in the Prayer, Jesus says: “Hollowed by your name...” but never mentions name^[129].

As we can see there are names of God and various epithets for God, which refer to his actions and to his Creation. Thus, is there any differences between “God” as “profession” and “God” as a

[126] Yoel Elitzur, “Shemot HaEl VeTaarichei Ketivat Sifrei HaMiqra”, published in Be’einei Elohim Va Adam, Beit Morasha Jerusalem: 2017, p. 407.

[127] Hovhannes Yordanyan, *Who is God? Who is the holy Trinity*, Yerevan, 2001.

[128] Parandzem Meytikhanyan, “The names and the titles given to God in the Holy Book (The Father)”, Yerevan, 2006.

[129] “Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one”. Matthew 6:9-13, Luke 11:2-4.

name of the “almighty being”? In rabbinic literature, the term “Elohim” (“God”) is used to refer to God’s function as supreme judge (powerful God), YHWH emphasizes God’s absolute being and “Adonai” is a rabbinical version of the replacement of Tetragrammaton (YHWH). However, the common point in all of the names given to God is that none of them is trying to describe a relationship, and is rooted in bringing what is beyond the present into the present. In a philosophically profound manner, the names of God are an attempt to describe a paradox, the paradoxical nature of revelation. Tetragrammaton (YHWH) itself is the hypothetical version to pronounce God’s name, but it is still incorrect.

Moreover, we can conclude from this short essay that all of the names given to God are adjectives which attempt to make a statement about God and about the Divine Essence. It is not proved that the names mentioned in literature are the only ones given to God, it’s quite possible that there were many names given to God which were not even used in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, this essay brings me to the conclusion that the names of God (in the Hebrew Bible) are adjectives or seem to be descriptions of God but not names at all.

中文题目:
希伯来圣经中上帝的名字在亚美尼亚译本中的缺席

雷丽, 毕业于亚美尼亚叶立文州立大学神学院, 2011 年获得学士学位。2011 年至 2015 年, 在叶立文州立大学欧洲研究院学习并获得硕士学位。2015 年在南京大学哲学系宗教学系攻读哲学硕士学位。她的主要研究兴趣是宗教, 政治和历史。联系电话: +8613062587786, 电子邮箱: leylichina@gmail.com。基金项目: 国家社科基金项目“希伯来圣经女性传统研究”(14BZJ026)

提要: 上帝的名字, 它表征上帝的符号, 并不描述上帝本身或上帝的本质。本文探讨了上帝的名字的问题, 指出, 在希伯来圣经中出现的上帝的名字, 在亚美尼亚的圣经译本中, 未有被翻译体现, 因而造成了上帝名字在亚美尼亚圣经中的缺席。本文试图指出, 上帝的名字并不能体现上帝的本质, 上帝的本质是不可被表面化的指称来描述的。

关键词: 上帝; 上帝的名字; 希伯来圣经; 亚美尼亚圣经

书评与通讯

Reviews and Academic Reports

文学想象中的本色神学：墨面基督

——评姜原来《兰林复活节》

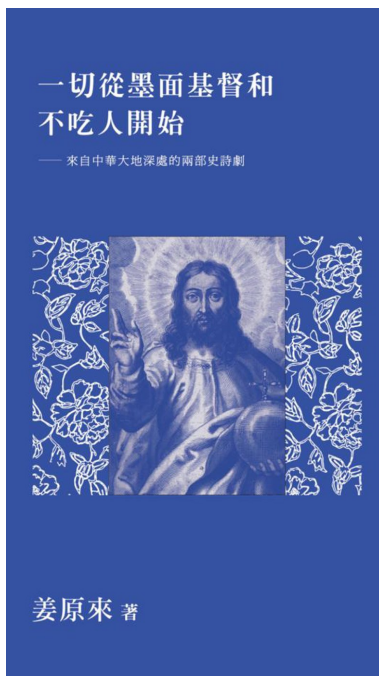
刘 平

（复旦大学哲学学院宗教学系教授，上海市邯郸路 220 号，上海 200433，中国）

提要：《兰林复活节》的全部叙事以整个中国基督教历史为宏阔的背景，特别置身于当代中国波澜壮阔的社会巨变场景中，尽可能以多宗派、多阶层、跨国界的维度揭示当代中国基督教的现实处境与未来趋向，富有创造性地以汉语文学语言表达出当代中国基督教的本色神学——“墨面神学”。《兰林复活节》通过描绘教会—世俗社会、三自教会—家庭教会、传统—现代、乡村—城市之间的张力较为细致入微地阐释了墨面神学内在的三个基本环节：大家庭神学、不吃人神学与牺牲神学。

关键词：墨面基督；墨面神学；《兰林复活节》；本色神学；不吃人；大家庭

作者：刘平博士，复旦大学哲学学院宗教学系教授，复旦大学宗教学系，上海市邯郸路 220 号，200433，Tel: +86 138 1861 8132. Email: liuhengxian@163.com。



姜原来：《一切从墨面基督和不吃人开始》，香港：手民出版社，2017年

在汉语基督教文学史上，以汉语书写以及文学想象力来表达汉语神学的作品并不多见。这并不是说至今所有的汉语基督教文学作品都在神学向度上缺乏探索与张扬，毋宁说如今至少有一部汉语

基督教文学作品已经自觉地将汉语神学思考作为创作的源动力与写作目标。这部作品就是上海自由作家、素有“打地铺的剧作家”之称的姜原来的原创话剧《兰林复活节》。与同一作者创作的已经颇具影响的话剧《贝多芬在中国》、《莎士比亚在嘉兴》、《雁荡平安夜》比较,《兰林复活节》的最大特色在于它具有宽广的历史视野与深厚的神学思辨,在于在汉语文学叙事中尝试建构本色神学。职是之故,《兰林复活节》在当代中国基督教文学史上会留下应有的一笔。

《兰林复活节》基本上以史实为素材,借助于丰富的文学想象力,以舞台剧为形式,主要通过对话、布景与音乐三合一的方式,呈现 21 世纪之初中国大陆基督教的信仰生态图景以及神学张力。作者在“导读”中直接交代了整部话剧所要讲述的是“江南山野之地,由新教、天主教和东正教十几户人组成兰林团契^{〔1〕}”之中所发生的事情。整部话剧的主角是“最底层十几万墨面渔民,岸上固定的家都没有,连农民都瞧不起他们,却是中国最早皈依基督群体”。整部话剧的主旨是“兰林的事不如芝麻大,却是世上最重要的事之一,吃人世界大战的终止只能从这样大家庭的重建开始”。因此,《兰林复活节》的全部叙事以整个中国基督教历史为宏阔的背景,特别置立于当代中国波澜壮阔的社会巨变场景中,尽可能以多宗派、多阶层、跨国界的维度揭示当代中国基督教的现实处境与未来趋向。就此而论,《兰林复活节》是一部不可多得的全面反映当代中国大陆基督教当下生存处境的文学作品。

不仅如此,《兰林复活节》从鲁迅(1881—1936 年)1934 年 5 月 30 日的《无题·万家墨面没蒿莱》中取典,以一幅对联“登高山林朝见墨面造物,行深深大地亲历宝血救主”与横批“永生之道十架路”富有创造性地以汉语文学语言表达出当代中国基督教的本色神学——“墨面神学”。所谓的“墨”即黑色。所谓的“墨面”即黑黢黢的脸面或“黝黑的面孔”。在原诗中,墨面用来形容凋零破败的模样。而《兰林复活节》则大胆借用来描绘耶稣基督及其信徒以及一切受造物:“道成肉身 在偏僻乡村的造物主,做过木匠的造物主,风尘仆仆奔走在渔民乡民中间的造物主,不愿有佳形美容的造物主,应该也是墨面的样子吧”;“墨面的渔民,墨面的山里人,黝黑树干墨绿树叶的广玉兰树”。概言之,墨面指称“墨面的地方,墨面的人,墨面的造物主”。《兰林复活节》以“墨面”意象重新诠释《以赛亚书》以“受苦仆人”对耶稣基督的预表:“他的面貌比别人憔悴;/他的形容比世人枯槁”(52:14);“他无佳形美容;/我们看见他的时候,也无美貌使我们羡慕他。/他被藐视,被人厌弃;/多受痛苦,常经忧患。/他被藐视,好像被人掩面不看的一样;/我们也不尊重他”(53:2-3)。但是,墨面基督、墨面基督徒与墨面受造物意象中的墨面所蕴涵的神学,并不是奇思异想,而是马丁·路德(Martin Luther, 1483—1546)意义上的十架神学——耶稣基督道成肉身,谦卑受苦,甘愿背负人世间的一切罪恶与苦难,正如《以赛亚书》中“受苦仆人”预表耶稣基督所刻画的:“他诚然担当我们的忧患,/背负我们的痛苦;/我们却以为他受责罚,/被神击打苦待了。/哪知他为我们过犯受害,/为我们的罪孽压伤。/因他受的刑罚,我们得平安;/因他受的鞭伤,我们得医治”(53:4-5)。

《兰林复活节》通过描绘教会—世俗社会、三自教会—家庭教会、传统—现代、乡村—城市之间的张力较为细致入微地阐释了墨面神学内在的三个基本环节:大家庭神学、不吃人神学与牺牲神学。大家庭神学与不吃人神学,实际上共同构成墨面神学的一体两面。在后伊甸园时代,人类因为自己的罪性而陷入战争状态,

这是一场每一个人同其他每一个人的战争,千人千面、万人万心,每个人都有自己

〔1〕 本文引文除另注之外,均引自《兰林复活节》,下同。

认为绝对正当的根本利益，归根结底每个人都是孤零零的原子孤魂。如今的生活却像一个搅拌机把全世界搅成了一团，先是魔鬼在地上走来走去，往返而来。然后是人类在地上走来走去，四处奔窜。人海汹涌，每个别人都是陌生人，偶然相遇——我还有补充——你永远是你，我永远是我。除了偶然撞面我不让你吃，我想办法吃你，下一秒钟起，我和你有何相干？。第二次世界大战中，军人有条座右铭：“对敌人的宽厚就是对战友的残酷”，在如今我们人人深陷其中的这种世界大战中，我的座右铭是：“对他人的怜悯就是对自己的残酷”！

这就是现实世界的逻辑钢铁的逻辑——钱、权、技术、实力的逻辑才是唯一的逻辑！金钱推动的技术能做到有钱有势者所需要的一切，只有你想不到的没有办不到的。人都有根本利益，你们把你们可怜地守在兰林当作根本利益，我的根本利益是，有尽可能多的钱、得到尽可能多的享受。就这么简单。除了我自个儿好好活下去，这世界上其他的一切全都和我半毛钱的关系都没有全都去他娘的滚一边喇去吧！

而现代世界及其现代性将这种战争状态推到极致：“正在发生的一切——其实是一场战争，一场每个人都被卷入的战争，一场几乎每一个人对每一个其他人的战争。整个世界早已变成了战场。比起这场世界大战，第一次第二次世界大战只是局部战争。按着神学，你会说，一切是因为罪，是的，罪的发生是这没完没了世界大战的总源头。”

正如创世记第三章所记述的，世界大战从家庭开始：“家，真正的家，真正家的撕裂破碎、难以重建，是这场世界大战的直接原因。”因此，重建家庭成为基督教救赎中的核心信息。《兰林复活节》通过城市基督徒知识分子戴明的具体论述了重建大家庭的紧迫性与必要性：“人靠什么活着，人首先得靠爱活着。家，就是爱的起码确定。没有了真正的家，也就没有了确定不疑的爱。家，会被战争、暴力、专制毁灭，也会被各种文明的谎言包括浪漫的谎言粉碎。于是，亲人成了客人，熟人成了陌生人，最终对于每个人，他人越来越不像人了越来越成了某种东西，他自己也会慢慢把自己生命的一部分最终是全部变成某种东西。没有了真正的家，人必然成为各种各样的东西，最后，人和人之间剩下的只有交易和欺诈、冷漠和仇恨。这就是这场战争的直接原因。”因为人类的罪性，第一个“甚好”（创世记 1:31）的家庭关系被破裂，后伊甸园时代的人类史就是一部由丛林法则掌控的战争史。这种战争就是上述的“吃人世界大战”。《兰林复活节》一语中的，揭示出这种世界大战的内在本相：“这个世界的隐秘之王就是骗子，谎言之子。没有谎言就没有战争，在这场上帝与魔鬼的属灵战争中，首要的就是与骗局谎言的战争。这的确是一场真正的世界大战。”而终止这种整体性、全球性危机的出路是重建家庭。为此《兰林复活节》的主要篇幅围绕由新教、天主教、东正教十二个户人家组成的大家庭“兰林团契”而展开。兰林团契也因此成为未来新天新地在现世的影子。以兰林团契为典范的大家庭就是地上的有形教会，在本质上是天上无形教会的预演。大家庭由圣爱（agape）连接而成。这种“真正的家，就是这样永远有人在等你的地方”；“是家不上锁”。

《兰林复活节》的宏观叙事背景以及大量的对话正是近三十年来中国大陆的整体性的危机——世俗战争：“地全脏透了不算，人心都脏透了，到处是骗人的、坑人的、讹人的、吃人的，但凡你吃喝拉杂睡，但凡你活着得遇上的所有事情，哪怕一个鸡蛋一块砖一个电话一条信息全不能轻信全靠不住了。都在烂，人不成人样了，家不成家样了，村子不像村子了，都像打仗剩下的。”《兰林复活节》中的墨面神学，一方面，通过三个具体伦理原则落实于当代世俗主义与物质主义甚嚣尘上的敌基督世界中，将大

家庭神学与不吃人神学、牺牲神学落实为具体可操作的行为,藉此来表达与体现内在的宗教信心:尽力不让人吃了;坚决不吃人;要纪念遭苦害的人。第一个原则如同摩西道德十诫中的反诫命,以消极的自保来抵制现代世界中来势凶猛的吃人战争;而第二个原则则类似于道德世界中的正诫命,以积极的改变自己来改变世界的吃人现状,虽然墨面基督徒在今生今世不可能彻底改变吃人世界大战的蔓延与毒害,但是,至少可以在自保的同时主动不参与吃人战争,从而在世俗一反神的浊流中显明存在一股来自天国的清流。另一方面,墨面神学是一种草根神学,一种墨面基督曾经真实生活的现实世界中的受苦受难者的神学。草根并不是一种身份标签或阶层属性,而是一种对社会不正义造成的苦难与道德冷漠表达抗议与反驳的价值立场与认同。与这种抵抗现代性痼疾的草根神学相反,中国大陆基督教内部也存在一种迎合世俗战争的神学——幸福神学。这种神学不过是当代版本的曾经被马丁·路德所严厉批判的荣耀神学:以今世的行为或世俗社会定义的成功来荣耀神。这种神学刻意歪曲墨面神学对现代世界的批判与抵抗,认为墨面神学的错误在于以极端的方式否定现代世界,为纠正这种自己定义的错误而走向另外一个极端错误:彻底迎合现代世界,以现代世界所标榜与奉为圭臬的成功/幸福为讨神喜悦的惟一准则。这种所谓的幸福神学以基督教传统的核心观念与思想为外包装,外表上看上去像基督教,但是在本质上是一种如假包换的伪基督教世俗主义:“上帝啊,请听你仆人的祷告。我受差派来到这里,这里有勤劳朴实的弟兄姐妹们,有乐意奉献牺牲的仆人。主啊,求你恩膏他们,每天的生活滴下油脂。他们既归向你,就是照着应许承受产业的人。我奉主名宣告,上帝对亚伯拉罕所应许的一切也全属于我们,无比繁荣和无限祝福属于我们,现在与未来只有得恩蒙福。我们出也蒙福,入也蒙福,睡也蒙福,行也蒙福,世界吃人的灾难任何的灾难困苦都与 we 无关,失败、疾病、贫穷、衰老、死亡,全与我们无关。因为基督已为我贫穷,使我成就富足;祂已为我戴上荆棘冠冕,使我戴上胜利冠冕,祂已替我受了鞭伤,使我永无伤病;祂已为我上十字架,使我脱离一起诅咒灾殃;祂已为我受死复活使我永不灭亡。今天是上帝所赐的日子,弟兄姐妹们告别挣扎拥抱产业,从此只有欢喜快乐,每步心想事成,一路福杯满溢。奉耶稣基督的名祷告,阿们!”幸福神学以世俗的成功/幸福作为衡量信心的标准:成功/幸福证明人有信心,所以神赐福;反之,失败/痛苦证明没有信心,所以神咒诅。幸福神学将申命记神学以及神主权思想简单化,并曲解约翰·卫斯理(John Wesley, 1703—1791 年)使用金钱三原则。约翰·卫斯理认为:“我们应该尽我们所能地去赚取,尽我们所能地去积攒,尽我们所能地去给予”(gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can^[2])。其基本立意是鼓励基督徒亲身投入与参与赚钱的过程,为的是通过善用金钱和施舍来体现财富的真正价值和基督徒置身现世但超越现世的人生观,而非相反。幸福神学的内在逻辑决定它必然彻底否定苦难以及牺牲在信仰中的意义,将耶稣道成肉身以及十架受难全盘否定,试图今世荣华富贵与来世新耶路撒冷兼顾,从而成为一种以超级幸福为旨归的微妙生活艺术:“我说的这最微妙的底线、恪守其实就是最简单的一条:‘两全其美’! 做一切事情都让上帝和我自己的根本利益两全其美,达到这种本来就存在的两全其美境界,这就是生活的艺术。幸运的是,我掌握了这种最微妙的艺术。只为自己做不为上帝做的人,再聪明还是低档聪明人,因为上帝虽然隐而未显仍然大而可畏。但是只为上帝做不充分考虑自己利益,这就讨上帝喜悦吗? 非也! 兰林就是明证。上帝是赐福并且喜欢人追求祂赐福的上帝,马太效应——多者益多嘛。裴牧师向来迂就迂在这里,他认为只要为上帝做就可以了,结果呢,两败俱伤,看看这里——既不荣主也不益人,贫穷、混乱、不幸和——死亡,整个被上帝抛弃的地方。”这种幸福神学归根结底是一种等级制的人类中心主义:将十架所破除的一切形式的中心—边缘、主流—末流、城市—乡村、现代—传统之间的对立再次对立起来,并将天平偏向于前者,使基督教成为现代世俗主义版本、颠

[2] John Wesley: The Use of Money, 载于网站 http://www.whatsaiththescripture.com/Voice/The_Use_of_Money.html。在这篇布道中约翰·卫斯理详细阐述了它的使用金钱三原则思想。

倒的灵知派。而墨面神学不仅在大家庭神学以及不吃人神学上与之有云泥之别，墨面神学的第三个环节“牺牲神学”则更加与之形成鲜明的比照。牺牲神学不仅效法耶稣基督在今世甘愿为了十架救恩而承受十架重担，也就是说，不仅要追随基督甘愿遭苦害，而且以一种特别的方式表现出来，即“要纪念遭苦害的人”（希伯来书 13:3）：

大地上的苦难太多了受难者太多了可是残酷的否定彻底的遗忘也太多了，我们基督徒不去纪念他们谁去纪念他们？即使他们不是基督徒。为了主的怜悯和公义，我们有不可推卸的责任纪念他们。这世界上至少得有一些人愿意人不顾一切地记着：有这么一个人、有那么一个人、有那么一个个人，曾经在世上活过！不忘记他们。

是啊，要为受难者祷告，为和家人失去联系的受难者、为被人遗忘的受难者祷告。这是悲悯的天主希望我们长期坚持做好的一件重要事情。

多少受难者离开时盼望至少有人记得世界上有过他这么一个人，而不是灰飞烟灭彻底枉然。这种生命最后的渴望里凝结了多么神圣庄严的奥秘啊，即使那个人连一条虫子都不如正在悲惨离开！不是在神学院的林荫道上，而是在穿过这样历史现场的十字架路上——这样的路上，需要简朴清贫的生活、需要担当苦难，有时候甚至要像广锁弟兄那样——在日常生活中为主殉道。因为，这样的十字架路纪念了遭苦害的人，也“忍受祂所受的凌辱”、“补满基督患难的缺欠”……

《兰林复活节》中的墨面神学以基督的身体“教会”即大家庭为标的，奉行彰显圣爱的不吃人原则为基本道德操守，效法基督甘愿受苦，并以基督再来的复活为盼望，从而将信望爱有机统一于一体：“咱们的大家庭，有主在一起，家里人生生死死相守相望就是有人死了也不是永别，而是再见等着复活永生和主在一起永远相聚，这三样合在一起就是咱们的命根子，有了这合一起的三样，再难再苦，咱们过的下去。”复活盼望不仅是人类吃人世界大战的最终解毒剂，而且是墨面基督的再来也必然带来墨面基督徒与一同叹息、劳苦的（罗马书 8:22）一切墨面受造物都得到自由与释放。

《兰林复活节》以及其中的墨面神学让我们读者对汉语基督教文学生发出新的期待。《兰林复活节》文学叙事中的神学深度使我们对汉语基督教文学创作不得不抱有更加热诚的信心。就这种神学深度而言，未来汉语基督教文学意义上的《卡拉马佐夫兄弟》、《沉默》等流传文学史的基督教文学作品并不是不可能出自汉语基督教文学家的笔下。如果说当代亚洲神学通过印度的种姓神学、中国台湾的水牛神学、韩国的民众神学在本色神学上有所创新，那么《兰林复活节》则另辟蹊径，通过文学创作而建构一种本色神学。这种本色神学上的探索不仅在形式上，而且在内涵上都值得我们关注。思辨的神学有可能借助于这种文学形式，会更加易于被人所理解与进一步思考。如果不久的将来，在汉语基督教文学中先于汉语神学而形成一种本色神学，它既表达了这个时代的神学思考，也让这种神学思考成为一种当下的现实与未来的期许，那么，这样的文学创作不仅可能，也是现实的，因为《兰林复活节》给我们读者提供了不可多得的对未来的展望。

English Title:

One Indigenous Theology of the Literary Imagination: Ink-faced Christ

——A Book Review of JiangYuanlai's *Easter in Lanlin*

LIU Ping

Ph. D. , Professor, Department of Religious Studies, School of Philosophy, Fudan University, Handan Road No. 220, Shanghai City, 20433, P. R. China. Tel: +86 138 1861 8132. Email: liuhengxian@163. com

Abstract: The epic-like narrative of *Easter in Lanlin* is set against a broad backdrop of the history of Christianity in China. As the story unfolds itself, a panorama of huge changes in the contemporary Chinese society emerges, in which the multi-dimensional realities lived daily by average Christian men and woman are depicted at great length, manifesting to the fullest extent clashes among different groups of people (the religious vs. the secular), denominations (patriotic churches vs. house churches) and classes (the urban vs. the rural), as well as intergenerational and intercultural conflicts. Written in a quintessentially Chinese literary language, the play expresses most eloquently the true qualities of Indigenous Theology in the present era——the “Ink-faced Theology”. This review aims at delineating the three basic constituents of the Ink-faced Theology, namely, big-family theology, non-man-eating theology, and sacrifice theology, through an in-depth analysis of the far-reaching spiritual significance of *Easter in Lanlin*.

Key Words: Ink-faced Christ; Ink-faced Theology; Easter in Lanlin; Indigenous Theology; non-man-eating; big family

1990—2017 年中国大陆基督教音乐研究综述

张迎迎

(中国社会科学院研究生院世界宗教研究所,北京,中国)

提要:艺术最突出的功能是提供审美体验,而宗教则使人获得精神上的归宿,基督教音乐更是以感性的音乐语言传达丰富的精神内涵。自 20 世纪 90 年代起,国内涌现出大量研究基督教音乐的学术成果,一改几十年前国内对基督教音乐隔膜的局面,近年来,基督教音乐研究的角度纷呈,深度不断加深,主要有以下四个方面:1. 西方基督教音乐史话;2. 基督教音乐体裁、作品的赏析、作曲家研究;3. 基督教音乐美学和与基督教神学的互动;4. 中国基督教音乐研究等。

关键词:基督教音乐;格里高利圣咏;音乐美学;基督教神学;中国化

作者:张迎迎,中国社会科学院研究生院世界宗教研究系博士生,上海立信会计金融学院外语学院,讲师,北京房山区良乡高教园区长于大街 11 号,102488,电话:+86-137-6452-1028。电子邮箱:vinessazy@163.com.

音乐是一种既抽象又感性的艺术,有着微妙的感染力和感性的语言,在不同的时代与当时的社会、文化交相辉映,构成独特的历史文化状态,从而影响着人类文明。音乐以音与音之间的联接或重叠,产生了高低、强弱、疏密、浓淡、明暗、刚柔、起伏、断连等音效,带给人愉悦感和丰富的想象力,与人的脉搏律动和感情起伏相呼应,在音乐表演过程中自然而然地与听众的个体生命体验产生同构,引发共鸣,触动听众对现实进行拷问,对人生产生思考,同时通过熏陶和感染,潜移默化地影响人的心灵,带给心灵丰富的滋养。

艺术最突出的功能是提供审美体验,而宗教则使人获得精神上的归宿,宗教音乐更是以感性的音乐语言传达丰富的精神内涵。与世界其他宗教相比,基督教^[1]更是一个音乐的宗教,歌唱的宗教,音乐作品最多,音乐水平发展很高^[2],几乎占据了西方音乐史的主体,对西方文化和文明发挥巨大影响。近三十年来,中国大陆对基督教音乐的关注越来越多,从专注西方音乐的音乐界到研究基督宗教思想文化的学界,从专家学者到博士生研究生,越来越多的人认识到基督教音乐不仅对西方音乐史的发展影响重大,而且是基督教文化不可分割的组成部分,与基督教神学、哲学、艺术、文化等紧密相关,同时在宗教仪式、信仰表达和固化信仰方面意义非凡。自 20 世纪 90 年代起,国内涌现出大量学术成果,一改几十年前国内对基督教音乐隔膜的局面,近年来,基督教音乐研究的角度纷呈,深度不断加深,主要有以下四个方面:1. 西方基督教音乐史话;2. 基督教音乐体裁、作品的赏析、作曲家研究;3. 基督教音乐美学和与基督教神学的互动;4. 中国基督教音乐研究等。

[1] 这里探讨的基督教,更准确地说是指基督宗教,包括罗马天主教、东正教和新教。在后面的讨论中,会进一步区分说明。

[2] 杨周怀 Yang Huaizhou 2001:《基督教音乐》*Jidujiao Yinyue* [Christian Music],北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],19.

一、西方基督教音乐史话

基督教音乐史的研究中最令人瞩目的当数陈小鲁的《基督宗教音乐史》^[3]和杨周怀的《基督教音乐》^[4]两部专著。陈小鲁按照时代顺序,以音乐的风格样式和人物流派为中心构建“音乐史观”,注重各种流派的源流、种类和沿革,并置于特定的历史文化背景中进行梳理,资料翔实,阐述细致,问世以来,受到学界的广泛关注。《基督宗教音乐史》依次阐述了早期基督教音乐、罗马礼仪与单声部圣咏、中世纪基督教音乐、文艺复兴时期的教会音乐、东正教音乐、宗教改革时期、巴洛克时期、古典乐派时期、浪漫派时期、以及二十世纪的基督宗教音乐,勾画出一幅完整、精细的基督宗教音乐的历史画卷。而杨周怀先生则以独到的眼光,精选出基督教音乐史中重要的音乐体裁、特点和问题,不以时代为经纬,而是就问题本身进行纵向和横向阐述,每一章都自成体系,这与陈小鲁的书写构成反差和互补。在《基督教音乐》一书中,杨周怀分别论述了基督教与西方文化、基督教音乐概论、赞美诗、基督教音乐与民族音乐关系问题、格里高利平咏、康塔塔、圣诞节与圣诞节音乐、管风琴、巴赫和基督教音乐的社会效应等问题,以精简细腻的笔触对基督教音乐史中的重要问题娓娓道来,把握住了基督教音乐的核心和主线。除了专著,也有不少关于基督教音乐对西方音乐史影响的论文发表,其中《基督教对西方音乐发展所起的作用和影响》^[5]比较详尽地从基督教的音乐经典、音乐理论、音乐形式以及音乐创作等几个方面分析了基督教对西方音乐发展所发挥的作用和影响,梳理出一条西方音乐发展的脉络。杨周怀在《基督教音乐》中,阐述了基督教音乐对西方音乐的推动作用,世界通用唱名法 DO RE MI 的发起、多声部和声、男女混声合唱的奠定、美声唱法的发展、管风琴的制作与演奏、五线谱的制定和发展,甚至数字谱的制定和在亚洲的应用发展,无不与基督教音乐有着深刻的渊源。陈小鲁在《心被感恩 歌颂上帝——早期基督教音乐史话》^[6]中,重点分析了早期基督教音乐与犹太音乐及希腊音乐的关系,认为早期教会时期,耶稣及其门徒使用的音乐是以犹太音乐为基础,并在与希腊化音乐的频繁交流中形成的。同时,早期教会对古代丰富的音乐遗产采取了认可并折中接受的态度,使基督教音乐得以传承。《世俗权威与宗教权威的关系及其对中世纪西方音乐文化的影响》^[7]认为从公元 4 世纪基督教圣咏的产生,到公元 8 世纪后格里高利圣咏成为西方教会唯一的仪式音乐,从 12 世纪起的复调音乐的兴起,到公元 14 世纪后世俗音乐创作的繁荣,无不与世俗权威对基督教的影响相关联,并作出了详尽的论证。马丁·路德不仅是赫赫有名的宗教改革家,而且音乐造诣颇深。在宗教改革中,路德利用音乐,简化宗教仪式,为改革奏响不同乐章。有不少论文对马丁·路德的音乐思想和改革进行论述,《马丁·路德的音乐价值观及其历史意义》^[8]对路德音乐价值观的神学基础,路德的音乐价值观及历史实践,路德音乐价值观的思想特征和历史意义进行论述,提出正是宗教改革领袖音乐价值观的

[3] 陈小鲁 Chen Xiaolu 2006:《基督宗教音乐史》*Jidujiao Yinyue Shi* [The History of Christian Music],北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],622.

[4] 杨周怀 Yang Huaizhou 2001:《基督教音乐》*Jidujiao Yinyue* [Christian Music],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],1.

[5] 甘霖 Gan Lin 2004:“基督教对西方音乐发展所起的作用和影响”*Jidujiao dui xifang yinyue fazan de zuoyong he yingxiang*,《音乐探索》*Yinyue Tansuo*, (2) 2004,29-35.

[6] 陈小鲁 Chen Xiaolu,“心被感恩 歌颂上帝——早期基督教音乐史话”*Xin bei gan'en gesong Shangdi——Zaoqi Jidujiao yinyue shihua* [Hearts are Thankful and Praised to God: The Early History of Christian Music],《天风》*Tian Feng* [Heavenly Wind], (2) 2002:48-49.

[7] 岳军 Yue Jun 2010:“世俗权威与宗教权威的关系及其对中世纪西方音乐文化的影响”*Shisu quanwei yu zongjiao quanwei de guanxi ji qi dui zhongshiji xifang yinyue wenhua de yingxiang* [The Relationship between Secular Authority and Religious Authority and Its Influence to the Medieval Western Music Culture],《艺术百家》*Yishu baijia* [Hundreds Schools of Art], (1) :223-227.

[8] 王新 Wang Xin 2009:“马丁·路德的音乐价值观及其历史意义”*Mading Lu'de de yinyue jiazhi guan ji qi lishi yiyi* [Martin Luther's Value of Music and Its Historical Significance],《音乐研究》*Yinyue Yanjiu* [A Study of Music], (5) 2009:74-83.

不同,造就了德国众赞歌与法国、瑞士格律诗篇在音乐风格和艺术性上的差异。同时,路德的音乐价值观也是其神学的组成部分,其音乐价值观指导下的教会音乐为会众提供了神学滋养和灵修的甘泉。值得一提的是徐凤林教授的《东正教音乐浅释》^[9],是为数不多介绍东正教的音乐成果,弥补了东正教音乐研究的不足。文章中从五个方面全面介绍了东正教音乐,包括东正教圣歌、拜占庭东正教圣乐的歌唱方法、俄罗斯东正教歌唱形式的演变和俄罗斯教堂钟声等。

二、基督教音乐体裁、作品的赏析和对个别作曲家的研究

对基督教音乐体裁的研究论文较多,其中又以格里高利圣咏研究的著述成果最丰。格里高利圣咏又称为素歌、平咏,是以拉丁文演唱的单声部歌曲,追求忠实地表达经文,纯粹是为宗教礼仪所创作,其旋律超脱、冷静,排除世俗欲念。格里高利圣咏形成后,逐步成为教会唯一的宗教礼仪音乐。在欧洲曾出现过影响比较大的米兰教会的安布罗斯圣咏、法兰克的高卢圣咏和西班牙的莫萨拉布圣咏,但除了安布罗斯圣咏以外的其他地方性圣咏或被吸纳入统一的罗马圣咏,或最终消亡;而格里高利圣咏不仅保存在中世纪作曲家的创作中,而且对后世许许多多作曲家的创作都有所启发。系统介绍其产生、旋律风格、调式、应用场合和发展的有《西方艺术音乐的渊源——格雷高利圣咏》^[10]、《罗马基督圣咏——格里高利素歌》^[11]、《中世纪的天籁——格里高利圣咏》^[12]等。《格里高利一世对西方早期基督教音乐的贡献》^[13]则详细阐述了西派教会第一任教皇格里高利一世对基督教早期音乐的突出贡献。

对基督教音乐风格的分析也成果颇丰,譬如:《基督教音乐的神圣之美》^[14]以威尔第的《安魂曲》为例,描述了音乐给听众带来的对生命存在、死亡,以及上帝恩典的思索;《拜占庭颂诗研究》^[15]则从拜占庭音乐中为西方音乐艺术寻根溯源,考察了康塔基昂和卡农这两种重要的拜占庭颂诗体裁;《基督教音乐中的受难曲》^[16]介绍了巴赫的宗教音乐思想,分析了其作品《马太受难曲》;《宗教音乐的丰碑——浅析巴赫〈b小调弥撒〉曲》介绍了马丁·路德改革思想对巴赫产生的影响,并分析了其晚年作

[9] 徐凤林 Xu Fenglin 2011:“东正教音乐浅释” Dongzhengjiao yinyue qianshi [An Preliminary Interpretation to Orthodox Music],《世界宗教文化》Shijie zongjiao wenhua [The World Religious Culture],(3) 2011:19-24.

[10] 谷文娴 Gu Wenxian 1990:“西方艺术音乐的渊源——格雷高利圣咏” Xifang yishu yinyue de yuanyuan——Geliegaoli shengyong [The Origin of Western Art Music: Gregorian Chant],《音乐学习与研究 Yinyue xuexi yu yanjiu [Music Study and Research],(2) 1990:41-49.

[11] 孔繁洲 Kong Fanzhou 1997:“罗马基督圣咏——格里高利素歌” Luoma jidu shengyong——geliegaoli suge [Roman's Christian Chant],《山西大学师范学院学报(哲学社会科学版)》Shan'xi daxue shifan xueyuan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban) [The Journal of Shanxi Normal College, the Version of Philosophy and Social Sciences],(3) 1997:58-59.

[12] 李明月 Li Mingyue,2016:“中世纪的天籁——格里高利圣咏” Zhongshiji de tianlai——geliegaoli shengyong [The Heavenly Voice of Medieval:Gregory CHant],《艺术科技》Yishu keji [Science and Technology of Art],(5) 2016:232.

[13] 张丽娜 Zhang Lina 2016:“格里高利一世对西方早期基督教音乐的贡献”Geliegaoli yishi dui xifang zaoqi jidujiao yinyue de gongxian [The Contribution of Gregory I to the Western Early Christian Music],《乐府新声(沈阳音乐学院学报)》Yuefu Xinsheng (Shenyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao) [The New Voice of Music House (The Journal of Shenyang Conservatory)],(2) 2016:205-208.

[14] 曲萌 Qu Meng 2013:《基督教音乐的神圣之美——以威尔第的〈安魂曲〉为例》Jidujiao yinyue de shengshen zhi mei [The Holy Beauty of Christian Music],《中国宗教》Zhongguo zongjiao [Chinese Music],(11) 2013:42-43.

[15] 王莹 Wang Ying 2009:“拜占庭颂诗研究” Baizhanting songshi yanjiu [A Study of Byzantine's Hymns],《美与时代(下半月)》Mei yu Shidai (xiabanyue) [Beauty and Era],(3) 2009:111-112.

[16] 侯柯 Hou Ke 2011:“基督教音乐中的受难曲——试分析巴赫以及他的〈马太受难乐〉” Jidujiao yinyue zhong de shounanqu [The Passions in Christian Music: An Analysis to Bach and His Mathew Passion],《大舞台》Da wutai [The Big Platform],(7) 2011:78-79.

品《b 小调弥撒》^[17]的作曲风格和音乐思想,认为它完美诠释了巴赫关于“音乐是赞颂上帝的和谐的声音”的创作宗旨。

三、基督教音乐美学和与基督教神学的互动

音乐界和学术界对基督教音乐的研究也经历了一个较为漫长的历程。早期研究对象只笼统地被称为“外国音乐”,到了 90 年代初期,杨燕迪对“西方音乐”进行了学术界定,“特指以基督教文明为基质发展起来的艺术音乐”^[18],引发了音乐界的关注和讨论。基督教神学与西方音乐关系的研究也逐渐进入学术视阈。中央音乐学院的李应华在《对“基督教与西方音乐文化问题”的重新思考》中提出基督教作为西方文明历史的一把钥匙,与音乐艺术之间存在某种内在的、心灵上的联系,并对多个不同时期、不同音乐流派作曲家的宗教背景和思想进行评述,提出今后的教学和研究中,要加强对各个时期基督教与西方音乐的关系的观察和分析^[19]。高士杰提出要深入基督教教义和神学,从苦难和救赎的主题解读西方音乐作品,寻找诸如巴赫和贝多芬等作曲家的文化心理根源。《基督教精神与西方艺术传统》^[20]分析了基督教基本教义“原罪”和“救赎”在音乐作品中的体现,认为基督教音乐是“神旨感召下”的西方音乐,而音乐史家应该回到音乐作品赖以生存的社会历史环境中重建“对象异己的内在生活”,从而更深刻地理解和体验西方作曲家们的内在精神世界。周小静在《从信仰和仪式角度研究基督教音乐》中提出:“不了解基督教信仰的核心思想,便不可能探究基督教音乐的真谛,所作的分析……仅仅停留在音乐形态层面,与分析其他的题材、体裁的作品没有原则上的区别。”^[21]周小静从近几年中国民族音乐学领域的“仪式音乐研究方法”中得到启发,以天主教的日常弥撒仪式为例提出一系列全新的研究视角,从信仰的层面寻求音乐各种各样“存在”背后的“应该”。朱苹也对基督教音乐仪式起源进行辨析,提出音乐是早期基督教为了区别犹太教、吸引教徒而设立的仪式,这显然不同于传统所认为的基督教的音乐仪式和教义是从犹太教传承而来的观点。^[22]可以说,基督教神学和音乐美学的互动越来越成为研究的热点和关注点,研究者逐渐超越音乐技巧和风格的技术评析,追寻宗教音乐作品散发出来的信仰和思想的光辉。

四、中国基督教音乐研究

基督教在中国的传播可谓源远流长,学术界普遍认为最早可以追溯到唐朝景教时期,之后经历了

[17] 欧小琪 Ou Xiaoqi 2011:“宗教音乐的丰碑——浅析巴赫《b 小调弥撒》曲” Zongjiao yinyue de fengbei——qian xi Bahe (b xiaodiao misa) [The Monument of Religious Music: An Preliminary Analysis to Bach's b Minor Mass],《成都大学学报(社会科学版)》Chengdu daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban) [The Journal of Chengdu University: The Version of Social Sciences],(5) 2011:41-44.

[18] 高士杰 Canjian Kao Shijie 1994:《基督教与西方音乐文化问题的若干思考》Jidujiao yu xifang yinyue wenhua wenti de ruogan sikao [A Reflection on Several Questions of Christian and Western Music Culture],《中国音乐学》Zhongguo yinyue xue [The Music Study of China],(3):77.

[19] 李应华 Li Yinghua 1991:“对‘基督教与西方音乐文化问题’的重新思考”“Dui ‘jidujiao yu xifang yinyue wenhua wenti’ de chongxin sikao” [A Rethinking on Christian and Western Music],《中国音乐学》Zhongguo yinyue xue [The Music Study of China],(3) 1991:89-94.

[20] 高士杰 Gao Shijie 1998:“基督教精神与西方艺术传统” Jidujiao jingshen yu xifang yishu chuantong [Christian Spirit and the Tradition of Western Art],《中国音乐学(季刊)》Zhongguo yinyue xue (jikan) [The Music Study of China],(3) 1998:79-92.

[21] 周小静 Zhou Xiaojing,《从信仰和仪式角度研究基督教音乐》Cong xinyang he yishi jiaodu yanjiu jidujiao yinyue,《天津音乐学院学报》Tianjin yinyue xueyuan xuebao,(2) 2011:62-70.

[22] 朱苹 Zhu Ping,《基督教音乐仪式起源辨析》Jidujiao yinyue yishi qiyan bianxi,《齐鲁艺苑》Qi Lu yiyuan,(3) 2014:25-28.

元代也里可温时期、明清之际天主教会的传教活动,以及1807年马礼逊带来的近代基督教的传播^[23]。基督教一经传入中国,不仅带来了信仰体系和与之相依存的思想文化,音乐艺术作为信仰传播和表达的媒介,也随之进入中国,并开始了本土化和中国化的进程。对中国基督教音乐的研究一直以来都是基督教音乐研究的关注点和热点。学者们对基督教音乐在中国的四次传播进行了详细的考证,比较有代表性的有中国社科院世界宗教所卓新平研究员写的《基督教音乐在中国的传播》^[24]、杨和平和王志芳的《基督教音乐在中国的传播》^[25]、王旋的《基督教赞美诗在近代中国的传播及影响》^[26]。卓新平对基督教音乐在中国的传播进行了详尽的阐述,对现有景教文献《大秦景教三威蒙度赞》和《大秦景教大圣通真归法赞》进行考证,认为前者为景教赞美诗歌词,即《荣归主颂》最早的中译本,后者为《马太福音》17章1至9节经文为依据的景教赞美诗。还提出景教音乐对道教经文和唐朝诗人也产生过影响。元朝时期,景教音乐对中国的影响随着也里可温教的传播得以再现。天主教主教孟高维诺不仅翻译《诗篇》和《圣歌》,还收养教习幼童,组成唱经班。明末清初时期,不仅引入古钢琴、管风琴等西洋乐器,而且传授西洋音乐和乐理,并翻译撰写了书籍和赞美诗集,比较著名的有利玛窦的《西琴曲意》、徐日升的《律吕纂要》、吴渔山的《天乐正音谱》等。1807年马礼逊东来,开启了基督教在中国传播的新篇章,他编译的中文赞美诗《养心神诗》开启了赞美诗汉译的先河。这一时期,五线谱和乐法也传入中国,传教士为了传教需要还使用方言和少数民族语言的编译赞美诗集。进入20世纪,赞美诗中国化的进程进一步加快,赵紫宸和范天祥合著了《民众圣歌集》,前者用中国传统古诗词进行歌词创作,后者收集中国民歌作为圣歌主旋律。之后中国基督教会还编辑出版了中国人通用的赞美诗集《普天颂赞》和《赞美诗(新编)》,使基督教音乐在中国的传播进入全新阶段。杨和平和王志芳除了对基督教音乐的历史进行简述外,还对基督教音乐在中国传播的途径、本土化的进程和传播影响进行了论述。王旋在论述基督教赞美诗在近代中国的传播和影响时,特别提出基督教音乐与中国民族音乐的融合,使赞美诗的曲调出现中国化和民族化的倾向,以赞美诗为载体的西方音乐在中国传播的同时,中国民族音乐也受其影响,更加多元化,赞美诗的中国化使近代传入的赞美诗更具生命力和活力。基督教音乐中国传播的历史研究中,景教音乐也是学者关注的热点,值得一提的是葛承雍教授所撰写的《唐元时代景教歌咏音乐考述》^[27]和杨民康教授撰写的《中国古代基督教(景教)音乐传入史纲》^[28]。葛承雍教授勾勒了唐元时期景教教会咏唱音乐传播的大致面貌,论证了基督教东方教会礼仪经文和音乐传统源于叙利亚的观点,并通过分析比较唐代景教、袄教、摩尼教的颂赞音乐,推断唐玄宗有可能汲取景教

[23] 参见唐晓峰 TANG Xiaofeng 2015:《元代基督教研究》*Yuandai jidujiao yanjiu* [A Study of Christianity in Chinese Yuan Dynasty],北京 Beijing:社会科学文献出版社 Shehui wenxian chubanshe [Social Sciences Academic Press],6。另见赖德烈 LAI Delie [Kenneth S Latourette],《基督教在华传教史》*Jidujiao zai hua chuanjiao shi* [A History of Christian Missions in China],雷立柏 LEI Libo [Leopold Leeb] et al 等译 2009:香港 Hongkong:道风书社 Daofeng shushe [Institute of Sino-Christian Studies]。

[24] 卓新平 ZHUO Xinping 2007:“基督教音乐在中国的传播”*Jidujiao yinyue zai zhongguo de chuanbo* [The Spreading of Christian Music in China],《中国宗教》*Zhongguo Zongjiao* [Chinese Religions],(8) 2007:32-34。

[25] 杨和平,王志芳 YANG Heping, WANG Zhifang 2010:“基督教音乐在中国的传播”*Jidujiao yinyue zai zhongguo de chuanbo* [The Spreading of Christian Music in China],《音乐探索》*Yinyue tansuo* [An Exploration of Music],(4) 2010:55-59。

[26] 王旋 WANG Xuan 2006:“基督教赞美诗在近代中国的传播及其影响”*Jidujiao Zanmeishi zai jindai Zhongguo de chuanbo ji qi yingxiang* [The Spreading of Christian Hymns in the Late Modern China and Its Influences],《黄钟(中国·武汉音乐学院学报)》*Huangzhong (Zhongguo Wuhan Yinyue xueyuan xuebao)* [The Yellow Bell (The Journal of Wuhan Conservatory)],(Supplementary Issue) 2006:63-68。

[27] 葛承雍 GE Chengyong 2007:“唐元时代景教歌咏音乐考述”*Tang Yuan shidai jingjiao geyong yinyue kaoshu* [A Research on the Hymns of Jingjiao in Tang and Yuan Dynasties],《中华文史论丛》*Zhonghua Wenshi lun cong* [extual Research on Chinese History],(3) 2007:157。

[28] 杨民康 Yang Minkang 2009:“中国古代基督教(景教)音乐传入史纲”*Zhongguo gudai jidujiao (jingjiao) yinyue chuanru shigang* [A Historic Outline of the Entering of Chinese Ancient Christian (Jingjiao's) Music],《大音》*Dayin* [The Great Voice],(1) 2009:14-44。

音乐纳入道教音乐仪制。杨民康教授则从仪式音乐的角度对景教仪式、程序和仪式音乐的内容进行详尽的描述。

近代以来,基督教音乐在中国传播经历了本地化、民族化和中国化的过程,这也成为研究的热点。对于基督教音乐本地化的研究有对北京、上海、温州、江苏常熟地区、哈尔滨、辽宁省、闽南地区等教会基督教音乐特点的评述^[29];基督教音乐民族化的研究有针对景颇族基督教音乐、云南少数民族基督教音乐文化、内蒙古少数民族基督教音乐的研究^[30];也有对民国前和当代基督教音乐中国化路径的研究^[31]。

黑格尔曾说过:“艺术到了最高阶段,是与宗教直接相联系的。”^[32]基督教音乐作为基督教的有机组成部分在人类文明史上留下浓墨重彩的印记,也对我们的心灵产生着震撼和冲击。纵观 30 年来中国大陆的基督教音乐研究,无论研究的广度还是深度,都取得了长足的进展,可谓精彩纷呈。但是,今天的基督教音乐研究更应该是跨学科的研究,不能局限于某一学科、或某一领域,只有吸收宗教学、音乐学、人类学、社会学、历史学、哲学、心理学等的最新研究成果,才能推进基督教音乐研究的深入化和体系化。

[29] 相关研究参见:诸炜 ZHU Wei 2011:“当今中国社会转型中基督教音乐文化的考察与思考——以江苏省常熟地区为例” Dangjin Zhongguo shehui zhuanxing zhong jidujiao yinyue wenhua de kaocha yu sikao——yi Jiangsusheng Changshu diqu weilì [An Observation and Reflection of Christian Music Culture in the Contemporary Transformation: Taking Jiangsu Changshu Area as an Example],《音乐探索》*Yinyue tansuo* [The Exploration of Music],(4) 2011:63-66;宫宏宇 GONG Hongyu 2014:“上海开埠后教会音乐活动研究” Shanghai Kaibu hou jiaohui yinyue huodong yanjiu [A Study on the Church Music in Shanghai since It Opens to the Foreign Countries],《音乐艺术(上海音乐学院学报)》*Yinyue yishu (Shanghai Yinyue xueyuan xuebao)* [Music Art (The Journal of Shanghai Conservatory)],(2) 2014:50-62;邵红缨 SHAO Hongying 2015:“试论〈闽南圣诗〉的音乐元素” Shilun Minnan Shengshi de yinyue yinsu [On the Music Elements in Minan (South Fujian Province) Hymns],《集美大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》*Jimei daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* [The Journal of Jimei University (The Version of Philosophy and Social Sciences)],(4) 2015:29-32;高光明 GAO Guangming 2012:“温州基督教音乐研究” Wenzhou jidujiao yinyue yanjiu [A Study on Wenzhou Christian Music],《科技信息》*Keji Xinxi* [The Information of Science and Technology],(36) 2012:64-65.

[30] 相关研究参见:杨民康 YANG Minkang 2006:“云南少数民族基督教赞美诗的五线谱和简谱记谱法研究” Yunnan shaoshuminzu jidujiao zanmeishi de wuxianpu he jianpu jipufa yanjiu [A Study on Tabs and Notation of Yunnan Minority Christian Hymns],《中国音乐》*Zhongguo yinyue* [Chinese Music],(1):46-51;杨民康 YANG Minkang,1990:“云南少数民族基督教音乐文化初探” Yunan shaoshuminzu jidujiao yinyue wenhua chutan [A Preliminary Exploration on Yunnan Minority Christian Music Culture],《中国音乐学》*Zhongguo yinyuexue*,(4):82-88;杨民康 YANG Minkang 1991:“云南怒江傈僳族地区的基督教音乐文化” Yunnan nujiang lisuzu diqu de jidujiao yinyue wenhua [The Music Culture of Lisu Christians in Yunnan],《中央音乐学院学报》*Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao* [The Journal of Central Conservatory of China],(4):32-35;杨民康 YANG Minkang 2011:“云南少数民族基督教仪式音乐的新变异” Yunnan shaoshuminzu jidujiao yishi yinyue de xinbianyi [The Development and Changes of the Religious Liturgical Music of Yunnan Minorities],《世界宗教文化》*Shijie zongjiao wenhua* [The World Religions and Cultures],(5):41-49;龚文娟 GONG Wenjuan 2016:“从历时性视角浅析景颇族基督教音乐” Cong lishixing shijiao qianxi jingpozu jidujiao yinyue [An Preliminary Interpretation on Jingpo Christian Music in the Historical Perspective],《北方音乐》*Beifang yinyue* [The North Music],(23):23;于涛 YU Tao 2016:“基督教音乐的民族元素” Jidujiao yinyue de minzu yinsu [The Ethnic Elements in Christian Music],《中国宗教》*Zhongguo zongjiao* [Chinese Religions],(11):74-75;和梦 HE Men 2014:“国家化进程中的傈僳族基督教音乐舞蹈文化” Guojiahua jincheng zhong de lisuzu jidujiao yinyue wudao wenhua [The Music, Dance and Culture of Lisu Christians in the Process of Statelization],《西南边疆民族研究》*Xinan bianjiang minzu yanjiu* [A Study on the Ethnicities of South-West],(1) 2014:52-60

[31] 相关研究有:彭静 PENG Jing 2010:“西方宗教音乐在中国的变异发展分析探讨” Xifang zongjiao yinyue zai zhongguo de bianyi fazhan fenxi tantao [An Analysis and Study on the Development and Changes of Western Religious Music in China],《当代教育论坛(综合研究)》*Dangdai jiaoyu luntan (zonghe yanjiu)* [The Forum of Contemporary Music Education],(6):119-120;许苑 XU Yuan 2017:“民国前基督教音乐‘华化’路径初探” Mingqian jidujiao yinyue Huahua lujing chutan [A Preliminary Exploration on the Sincicization Approaches before Republic of China],《艺研究》*Yi yanjiu* [A Study of Art],(2) 2017:170-171;刘筱 LIU Xiao 2017:“融合之美·中国化的基督教赞美诗” Ronghe zhi mei zhongguohua de jidujiao zanmeishi [The Beauty of Fusion: The Christian Hymns of Sincicization],《中国宗教》*Zhongguo Zongjiao* [Chinese Religions],(11):76-77.

[32] 黑格尔 Hegeer [Hegel] 1996:《美学(第一卷)》*Meixue* [Aesthetics] I,朱光潜 ZHU Guangqian 译,北京 Beijing:商务印书馆出版社 Shangwu yinshuguan chubanshe [The Commercial Press],105.

English Title:

A Review of Christian Music Studies in Mainland China from 1990 to 2017

ZHANG Yingying

Ph. D. Candidate, Department of World Religions, Graduate School, Chinese Academic of Social Sciences; Lecturer, School of Foreign Languages, Shanghai Lixin University of Accounting and Finance. Address: No. 11, Changyu Dajie, Fangshan Dist., Beijing 102488, P. R. China. Tel: +86-137-6452-1028. Email: vinessazy@163.com

Abstract: The most prominent function of art is to provide an aesthetic experience, while religion leads people to spiritual end, and Christian music conveys rich spiritual connotations in perceptual music language. Since the 1990s, a large number of academic achievements in the study of Christian music have emerged in the mainland China, changing the embarrassing situation of Christian music studies decades ago. In recent years, the perspectives of Christian music studies have been plentiful and the depth has been continuously deepened. There are mainly four research aspects as follows: 1. The study of the history of Western Christian music, 2. The Study of Christian music genre, music works, and composers, 3. The interaction between Christian music aesthetics and Christian theology, 4. Chinese Christian music studies.

Key Words: Christian music; Gregorian chant; Christian music aesthetics; Christian theology; sinicization

以基督信仰带领中国当代艺术

——宗教改革对艺术史的发问与呼召

郝青松

(天津美术学院美术史论系,天津市 300141,中国)

提要:宗教改革迄今已有五百年,但对艺术史的发展一直没有正面影响。在文艺复兴之后,艺术史深受人文主义的影响,而今深陷自由主义和国家主义的危机之中。文章梳理了现当代艺术史的思想危机,试图重新建立宗教改革和艺术史的紧密关系,以宗教改革精神激发艺术的反思和新生。文章特别关注了中国当代基督教艺术的发展,期盼宗教改革精神能够影响社会转型,带领中国当代艺术的新转向。

关键词:宗教改革;人文主义;基督教艺术;中国当代艺术

作者:郝青松,清华大学博士,天津美术学院美术史论系讲师,天津市河北区的海河北岸天纬路4号,天津市300141,中国。电子邮箱:qingsongart@qq.com

宗教改革五百周年之际,欧洲深陷于伊斯兰难民危机,其实质是欧洲左派自由主义的思想危机。在挽救这场以人文主义为根源的历史危机中,英美保守主义正在逐渐复苏,政教分离也在再阐释中被反思和修正。宗教改革的意义也正在被重新认识,并在当代社会问题的分析与介入中去加以纪念。

当代艺术也正在陷入同样的人权至上的思想危机,以及中国语境的国家主义威胁之中。曾经抛弃了宗教改革精神的艺术史,而今能否重新从宗教改革中获得启示,唤醒灵性,开启新路呢?对于中国当代艺术来说,眺望宗教改革也与盼望社会转型密不可分。

一、宗教改革对艺术史的发问

人文主义视界之下的现代艺术史,忽略了宗教改革的重要作用,而与康德美学、尼采哲学、摄影技术的发展有关。康德美学奠定了现代艺术本体自治的理论基础,尼采哲学明确了艺术本体的感性特质,摄影则以逼真的再现技术给写实艺术以前所未有的历史压力。面对摄影给绘画带来的历史危机,康德美学和尼采哲学给绘画开出了一条新路,从此不再摹仿现实而再现内心。摄影技术的出现确实是一个理性主义的技术压力,在方法论上几乎完全消解了古典写实绘画的存在基础。之后的现成品艺术如杜尚的《小便池》具有同样的消解力量,但现成品同时带来了观念形态的新方法论的生产,摄影却不具有同等的生产效力。事实上,在艺术危机的问题上也高估了摄影的作用。更为重要的因素,乃是宗教改革。

宗教改革乃是面对天主教会神权世俗化的异化现实而兴起的思想变革和社会运动。关键在于,针对天主教的“因行称义”新教提出“因信称义”,回到圣经的权威依据。1517年10月31日,路德发表著名的《九十五条论纲》,拉开了宗教改革的序幕,基督新教也由此生成。新教“因信称义”的观点出于

使徒保罗：“义人必因信得生^{〔1〕}”。路德由此得出“因信称义”的核心观念，认为人的得救全在乎对上帝的信仰，而与因行的善功无关，得到救赎完全是上帝的恩典。依据在于圣经本身，至高无上的圣经高于教皇和教会。继而加尔文新教的核心又强调了“预定论”，认为一个人的得救是上帝预先确定的，同时在“因信称义”的基础上认为善行是得救的标志^{〔2〕}，激励了信徒的世俗工作。作为天职的日常工作，谦逊、节俭、利他的人生态度，呈现为清教精神，进而推动了现代资本主义社会的建构。可以认为，没有宗教改革就没有今日的现代社会。事实上就概念而论，新教乃是原始的归正的基督教，天主教则是传统演化而成中古式的基督教。新教教义反而比旧教更为古老。但在对社会历史的推动上，新教解放了被世俗神权捆绑的政权和人权，建构了新的社会意义。“新”的根本在于复古，重新确立了神权的终极基础作用。但作用于艺术领域，宗教改革的复古精神却主要是负面的。

新教强调灵性与信心，排斥感官色相与功德形式，担心这些艺术的形式会干扰信仰的虔诚和敬拜的专一。偶像崇拜的问题被特别提出，摩西十诫第二诫这样说：“不可为自己雕刻偶像，也不可做什么形象仿佛上天、下地，和地底下、水中的百物。不可跪拜那些像，也不可事奉它，因为我耶和华一你的神是忌邪的神。^{〔3〕}”偶像是一种摹本的存在形态，可能是神的摹本，也可能是别的神或者人的摹本。摩西十诫的第一诫明确宣告：“除了我以外，你不可有别的神。”这别的神或人自义的神，在历史上极其广泛地存在着。或者是万物有灵论，或者人把自己当成神，如万民拥戴的神的代理人——教皇和极权国家的统治者。进而，即便是上帝的偶像——上千年基督教艺术中的写实图像也是新教所明确反对的。因此，从形式到内容、从教堂到图像、从绘画到雕塑，新教与天主教、东正教大有不同。一方面新教信仰观念着重于抽象灵感，具象写实被其反对并从教堂中驱除出去。另一方面，艺术、装饰不被提倡，新教教堂规模一般不如天主教教堂，造型和装饰也相对朴实和简单。在艺术题材上，因为新教独重耶稣的训示与早期教会的典范，故其能够接纳的艺术课题亦极为有限，如“最后的晚餐”一类的作品尚受青睐，但《旧约》典故或有关圣母之创作则不为所喜，更遑论教皇与圣徒之类的主题。而在天主教方面，因为抵制新教的原因，反而更为提倡传统的基督教艺术。1545—1563 年召开的特兰特会议（Council of Trent）为了振兴天主教的旧有权威，尤其支持主题明晰而说理有力的基督教艺术，17 世纪的巴洛克艺术某种程度上即是这项宗教政策下的产物。旧教基于传教策略而拥护艺术，新教则基于信仰观念而反对艺术^{〔4〕}。

当写实的艺术不被新教教堂所接纳，在欧美被新教精神深度影响的社会空间里，写实艺术也注定会被看作是艺术史的化石，被新的艺术趣味所代替。新教立场颇不利于艺术创作，不仅仅针对旧有的有着明确圣经典故和教会历史情节的基督教艺术，而且在于新教教义对圣经归正精神的理解抽象而复杂，不易入画。或者说，从抽象观念如何转化为艺术形式，是一个新的艺术课题。现代艺术因此以抽象的形式主义作为方向发展起来，但是其内在的抽象观念却远离了上帝的抽象观念，而只是以人为中心的抽象观念，如笛卡尔主张的“我思故我在”。

即是说，宗教改革之后因为反偶像崇拜的原因，促使艺术史转向了以抽象为主要形式的现代艺术，但是宗教改革只是制造了艺术史的危机，而并没有作为一种思想的力量直接促进为现代艺术重生

〔1〕《圣经》Shengjing[Bible]罗马书 Luoma shu[Romans]1:17.

〔2〕天主教认为，善行是得救的原因；在路德 Lude[Martin Luther]眼里，信仰是得救的确证；在加尔文 Jiaerwen[Calvin]看来，善行是得救的标志。参见马深 MA Shen 著 2013《英格兰精神与基督教文化》Yinggelan Jingshen Yu Jidujiao Wenhua [England Spirit and the Christian Culture Perspective of Chinese Civilization]，北京 Beijing：知识产权出版社 Zhishi Chanquan Chubanshe [Intellectual Property Publishing House]，75.

〔3〕《圣经》Shengjing[Bible]出埃及记 Chu Aiji ji[Exodus]20:4-5.

〔4〕王世宗 WANG Shizong 著 2007《历史与图像——文明发展轨迹的寻思》Lishi Yu Tuxiang——Wenming Fazhan Guiji de Xunsi [History and image: Reflection on the development of civilization]，台北 Taipei：三民书局 Sanmin Shuju[San Min Book Co.]，305-306.

所用。

二、现代艺术以审美代宗教的艺术自义

在“上帝死了”的观念之下，基督教观念基本上从现代艺术史中退隐。但它在世界关系结构中的超验身份还是找到了一个替代者——艺术。从奥古斯丁“上帝之城”到海德格尔“天地人神”都建构了一种对世界关系结构的完整理解，其中人与神的超验关系是这一结构中的基础，制约了其他的人与自然、人与心灵、人与社会的关系。康德在隐晦上帝之城的前提下为世俗之城立法，最重要的是在自然界—科学和社会界—道德之外独立出心灵界—艺术，以艺术代宗教。虽然上帝之城隐晦，但艺术代替了宗教的超验身份，因此似乎世界关系结构还是完整的。当艺术被理性地认为如上帝一样超验的存在，一方面艺术填补了世界超验部分的属性，另一方面艺术以真理之名成为偶像。

继而，尼采赤裸裸揭开了康德的遮羞布，宣称“上帝死了”的现实，真理唯有“酒神精神”，就是呈现在艺术上的浪漫主义，对应着人性中感性一面的张扬，以及对人性中灵性和理性的完全弃绝。

现代艺术由此走上一条艺术称义的形式主义的道路，以艺术为本体，在艺术内部极尽创造力，从抽象主义和表现主义两个方向上发展，直至合并为抽象表现主义，最终成为极简主义。极简主义抵达了形式主义的顶点，也是现代主义死亡与重生之地。而形式主义可以看作是人文主义在艺术本体中内在追求的结果。

以审美代宗教的现代世界关系结构完整注定是脆弱的，只是假象而已。人本主义的艺术超验只是心理学意义上的情感、直觉的碎片，在现代主义这个“灵光消逝”的年代，任何以替代者取代灵光的企图都将会以失败告终。走到极简主义的现代艺术只是单一然而错误地强调了艺术本体的真理性，自义为世界的全部，但它依然无法回应愈加深重的工具理性的世界危机。以至第二次世界大战之后阿多诺发出质问：后奥斯维辛写诗是野蛮的，艺术何为？

三、现代艺术的自然神学叙事

宗教改革带来的归正神学思考，对真理和世界的认识更为抽象复杂，因此作为残存神圣叙事的现代艺术首先要解决的就是如何将抽象意义转化为非偶像的形式。用罗斯金在《现代画家》中的著名说法“情感误置”(pathetic fallacy)^[5]，可以将这种转化称为“神性误置”。“情感误置”指的是，将人的情感投射在非人类形象和行为的自然对象之上，如山川、河流、建筑、静物等等能够引起情感生发的自然媒介。“神性误置”投射的则是高于人类情感的基督精神，神自有永有，而神性被理解、被转换的时候出现了误置。但要明确的是，误置并非否定，而是肯定之上的某种转化之中的偏离，由此形成现代艺术史的自然神学叙事。自然神学指的是不依赖于信仰或特殊启示，而仅仅凭藉理性与经验来建构关

[5] 罗斯金 Luosijin[John Ruskin]1904：“现代画家” Xiandai Huajia[Modern Painters], III, 12 章, 载《约翰·罗斯金的作品》 Yuehan Luosijin de Zuopin[John Ruskin's works], 库克 Kuke[Cook]、亚历山大·韦德伯恩 Yalishanda·Weideboen[Alexander·Wedderburn]编, 第 5 卷, 伦敦 London, 201-220。转载自罗伯特·罗森布鲁姆 Luobote·Luosenbulumu[Robert·Rosenbloom]著 2003:《现代绘画与北方浪漫主义传统》 Xiandai Huihua Yu Beifang Langmanzhuyi Chuantong[Modern painting and the tradition of Romanticism in the North], 刘云卿 Liu Yunqing 译, 桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe[Guangxi Normal University Press Group], 30。

于上帝的教义〔6〕。显然这与宗教改革之后以特殊启示为基础的新教教义不同,但在艺术领域凭借自然神学去探索的却是那些北方的新教艺术家。我们于其中感受到神的力量已经多少脱离了基督教艺术“血与肉”的戏剧叙事,而代之以风景的领地〔7〕。

卡斯帕·大卫·弗里德里希(Caspar David Friedrich)的《海边修道士》(Monk by the Sea)于 1810 年秋季首展于柏林学院时,其画面上显见的空寂曾让观众感到困惑;另一幅罗斯科(Mark Rothko)1950 年代的作品《蓝上之绿》,那几近空无的意象同样令人不知所措。两者可以看作是“神性误置”现代艺术的起讫点上的代表作。《海边修道士》中,艺术家似乎将其自身投射到一个孤独的修道士身上,以此探寻自己与伟大未知的关系。尽管与公认的宗教素材并不一致,根据前现代的标准,它绝不会被视作宗教绘画,但对许多现代的观察来说,弗里德里希甚至已经满足了宗教艺术的超验渴望。他希望在传统基督教圣像学的神圣范围之外,在世俗世界中重新激活神之体验。这不独是弗里德里希的个人困境,也为许多同时代人所共有,他们对 18 世纪针对传统基督教的反复攻诘作出了反应,并希望复活或取代陈腐的仪式及教会的形象,表达精神的、超验的体验,而无需求助于诸如赞颂、十字架上的受难、复活以及耶稣升天这类传统主题——在启蒙的时代,它们不断被削弱。以至几乎所有世俗绘画因为超自然象征意义的赋予都可以被转化为宗教绘画的新范畴。由传统基督教题材转换至自然现象以及虔诚信仰的标志的替代,弗里德里希对后来的艺术产生了不可估量的影响〔8〕。

不需要明确宗教主题,自然本身就可以揭示出超验的神秘。19 世纪末期,出自新教的北欧和美国艺术家们始终如一地拓展传统基督教艺术家之外的宗教经验。梵高、蒙克均以不同方式探寻风景中的神圣意识,借助太阳、月亮和星辰,无边无际的荒原和海洋,山巅望去的无垠虚空。他们发明全新的象征主题连接人与自然力共有的生命规律,试图创造更为独特的宗教艺术。

20 世纪的新教艺术家继续推进这种模糊风景与宗教绘画、自然与超自然界限的艺术能力。现代艺术一般被认为有两个方向:偏向情感的表现主义和偏向形式的抽象主义。表现主义艺术家马克和诺尔德在研究花卉、风景、动物时将自然世界转化为显明的宗教象征。抽象主义艺术家康定斯基和蒙德里安,将有神智学与唯灵论等秘密来源的秘传宗教圣像学和风景意象,视为彻底抽象的绘画语言的母体〔9〕。及至美国抽象表现主义群体,出现在第二次世界大战这个有着启示录般末世喻义的重大历史事件之后。二战之后,出现了两种历史反思,一种是针对极权主义的现实反思,另一种则是对人类原罪历史的超验反思。二战的发动者德国同时也是二战的受害者,德国人注定无法超脱奥斯维辛这样的现实悲剧,博伊斯和基弗都直面历史情境,因此引导了战后当代艺术的文化政治方向,影响至今不绝。远在北美的美国,本身就是一个二战时期的避战所,吸引了无数欧洲难民,包括很多艺术家。现代艺术高潮阶段的抽象表现主义,代表了回避现实的超验反思方式,这也是现代艺术以审美代宗教的艺术超验逻辑的延续。二战苦难的触痛远胜过现代艺术初始时面对的工具理性的压力,人类在原罪中的堕落几乎不可救药,悔改之路漫长遥远。更为强烈的对人类自身的不自信伴随了更为超越的精神需求,对原初神话和自然的这种寻求构成了许多抽象表现主义作品的特征。如波洛克作品中无处不在的自然奇观——对星系或核爆炸的惊鸿一瞥和创世想象,或对大地、空气、水、火等自然抽象元素的洪荒之力的直觉把握。纽曼在这一主题上特别关注了创世的意象,他的犹太人身份对于反偶像

〔6〕 安希孟 AA Ximeng 2001:“从自然神学到关于自然的神学” Cong Ziranshenxue Dao Guanyu Ziran De Shenxue[From Natural Theology to Theology of Nature],载《启示与哲学的政治冲突》Qishi Yu Zhexue de Zhengzhi Chongtu[Political Conflict of Revelation and Philosophy],(香港 Xianggang:道风书社 Daofeng Shushe[Logos and Pneuma Press],道风基督教文化评论 Daofeng Jidujiao Wenhua Pinglun[Logos & Pneuma Chinese Journal of Theology]第十四期[No. 14],2001 春 Chun[Spring]),213.

〔7〕 《现代绘画与北方浪漫主义传统》Xiandai Huihua Yu Beifang Langmanzhuyi Chuantong[Modern painting and the tradition of Romanticism in the North],9-11.

〔8〕 Ibid.,3-9,22.

〔9〕 Ibid.,204-205.

崇拜的思考,与宗教改革之后新教的归正立场趋同,而与天主教传统不同。享乐主义和形式主义都不能应对二战之后的精神需要。当一切都是废墟,唯有重新开始,那就是对创世记的回响。纽曼在超乎某个特定教派之上的多样的宗教来源中找寻宇宙的来源,他不仅探寻了原始部落及希腊人的神话制造问题,还探寻了从“犹太—基督教”传统、犹太神秘主义“喀巴拉”、旧约到“苦路祈祷”传统系列叙事中的受难故事。纽曼在其中寻找崇高与幻象,直面有关创造、神明、死亡与再生的终极神秘。

另一位被认为属于松散的抽象表现主义画派的犹太人罗斯科,代表了北方浪漫主义在现代艺术“神性误置”方向的顶峰。从弗里德里希的自然神性开始,到罗斯科的时候已经完全远离了现实的形象,他的画面不仅没有人物甚至也不再是风景或者任何可辨识的物象。如果一定要在弗里德里希开始的自然神性脉络中理解罗斯科,可以认为他的抽象绘画形成于神话或宇宙的风景意象,是神的观看。天际线的区分让人想起大地或海洋与云彩及天空最初的分离,稠密并且静静闪烁的色彩构成的明亮区域似乎正在产生自然之光的最初能量^[10]。看似平面实则立体的厚重而耀眼的色块和黑暗,深不可测,无边无际,人的眼睛只能被吸引进去,像黑洞一样,但其中有光。罗斯科抽象绘画的基本构型的渊源贯穿北方浪漫主义的历史,一直到新教美国的抽象表现主义。弗里德里希无疑是这个“神性误置”现代艺术方向的开端,而罗斯科是顶峰时结束的那一个。

可以认为,北方浪漫主义艺术家的努力,只是在艺术上回应了宗教改革对艺术的提问,一定意义上从上帝依然在场的视角重新书写了现代艺术史,但在真理上却并未持守宗教改革的保守精神,而是以普世宗教的名义强调了超越现实的一面。宗教精神固然有普世的一面,但真理、道路、生命只有唯一,只在耶稣基督。

泛神论的自然神学和宗教宽容似乎较好地解决了如何在世俗化的现代世界追求神圣性的问题,但是宗教改革所持守的上帝主权的绝对本体却在艺术的名义下有所失陷。“审美代宗教”的意图是以艺术的超验身份代替宗教角色,那是被公认的“作为人文主义的现代艺术”的部分,而这一部分泛神论的现代艺术也只是以另一种艺术象征代替了教会的世俗权力,依然稀释了上帝的唯一主权。

四、当代艺术的人权至上与真理虚无

当代艺术从形式主义出走,寻求形式的所指,成为一种观念的艺术。观念形态就是当代艺术的方法论,观念内容则指向了文化政治——人与社会领域关于政治哲学的当代艺术。现代艺术本质上是以审美现代性抵抗已经工具理性化的社会现代性,但是最终局限在艺术内部的形式主义。当代艺术依然要面对现代性的困境——未完成的现代性,这是现代艺术未竟的事业。当代艺术的文化政治主要体现在两个方向:其一消费文化,消费自由中的欲望狂欢,以沃霍尔为代表;其二人权艺术,民主自由中的人权抵抗,以博伊斯为代表。两者充分体现在晚期资本主义的文化逻辑中,当代艺术成为资本和权力的战场。后现代语境下,自由主义充当了当代艺术的思想基础,无论抵抗权力还是消费狂欢,都强调了人本主义价值观。如果说现代主义凸显了一个人的上帝,后现代主义则呈现了无数个人的上帝,在人本主义的层面两者没有本质区别。当代艺术所追求的文化多元主义必然沦为虚无主义,主体的意义在无数主体的政治正确中耗散,艺术的意义也随之飘散。

如果只从人权与政权的关系去理解,当代艺术的人权主张具有现实的正义性,这也是多元主义和解构主义的胜利。但问题在于,人权—政权的艺术思想结构缺失了更为根本的神权的基础环节。正确的秩序结构应该是:神权>人权>政权。神权指唯独上帝的掌权,而不是泛神论的崇拜。即便现代社会骄傲地遗弃神权,神权也会隐性地存在,被人权和政权替代,成为它们德不配位的秩序错乱问题。

[10] *Ibid.*, 223.

由此隐含了极权艺术和当代人权艺术共有的致命盲点——对神权绝对性的忽略以及各自对神权的篡夺。可以反向推论,如果重建艺术史的神圣叙事,以基督世界观重新观照艺术史,历史将从堕落回到拯救状态,如同圣经叙事预定的那样。

作为当代艺术思想基础的自由主义,很多概念来自于基督教,并非断裂而生,如自由、民主、平等、博爱等等。但自由主义的概念阐释与基督教相比已很不完整,生出很多歧义。如自由主义信奉天赋自由,却不去追问谁造天地;民主并非最好的却是最不坏的制度,但它绝不是出于工具和利益计算使然,而是因为人人都有原罪;平等不是财富上的均贫富,而是身份、尊严、权利上的平等和正义,出于上帝恩典。博爱至爱人如己,爱你的仇敌,但亦有公义作为原则,公义与爱不可偏废。若不从基督教的根源去探寻,自由主义对世界的理解和解释只在平面的世俗之城,至多符合政治哲学的逻辑,却没有政治神学的终极追问。因此,只是建立在自由主义、政治哲学之上的当代艺术,就其艺术方法本身而言也许可圈可点,但在价值和意义层面必然是不完整、有偏差的。

兹举例论之。中国当代艺术界最具国际声名的艺术家艾未未,他以一系列与人权事件相关的艺术作品引导了一个文化政治、人权艺术的方向,如《老妈蹄花》、“汶川地震公民调查活动”、《一亿颗葵花籽》等等,勇气与智慧兼具。在中国国内的语境,艾未未的艺术无疑具有强烈的现实针对性,意义不止于艺术,更与推进中国的社会转型联系在一起。可是在国际语境下,人权至上的政治正确却存在很大问题。在多元文化中心论者看来,各文明之间具有平等的地位,应该彼此尊重和平共处。但若以基督而论,唯有耶稣是道路、真理和生命,唯有圣经和耶稣道成肉身带来特殊启示,其他文化中的各类经典至多是普遍启示。历史已经显示,由上帝启示的犹太教—基督教文明的范式,指引了人类历史的方向,特别是宗教改革以来,加尔文引导的清教精神将人类社会带入到现代文明。相比之下,没有一种其他文明能够靠自己成功完成现代转型。历史见证了上帝对世界主权的掌管,都在祂的预定之中。神权>人权>政权,是为理性而和谐的世界秩序。但是,艾未未出国之后的近作,2017年3月17日在捷克布拉格国家美术馆展出的《难民船——旅行法则》(Law of the Journey)在欧洲难民的立场上引来诸多批评。艾未未以作品纪念逃亡欧洲遇难的伊斯兰难民,批评西方政府没有及时接收和救助。有批评者认为他远离了中国事务,更重要的问题则在于,大量伊斯兰难民滞留欧洲却并不认同现代文明价值观,而是对西方固有的基督教文明价值体系造成了很大冲击。艾未未回复称,“不存在孤立的人权,人权具有普遍性和绝对性,如果你只关心局部,你的价值观是狭隘的,也是绝望的”。人权是至上的吗?人权具有绝对性吗?人权不能超越上帝主权,博爱、宽容不能失去公义与原则。欧洲今日的难民危机就是活生生的现实教训,任其发展,难民将转化为恐袭中的欧洲原住民。如果不能在上帝的整全世界观中审视,任何正义的主张都可能成为不义。

再举一例。著名艺术家徐冰于“9·11”之后的2004年在英国威尔士国家博物馆的“Artes Mundi 艺术奖”项目上,将在“9·11”事件中收集到的尘埃吹到展厅中,经过24小时落定后,展厅的地面上由灰白色的粉尘显示出两行中国七世纪的禅语:“As there is nothing from the first, Where Does the Dust Itself Collect? (本来无一物,何处惹尘埃)。”“9·11”事件震惊世界,3000多个生命逝去,是人类历史上迄今最为严重的恐怖袭击,也被认为是冷战结束后对国际格局影响最大的事件之一,也许将被认为是新的世界历史转折点。徐冰说:“实际上这件作品并非谈9.11事件本身,而是在探讨精神空间与物质空间的关系。到底什么是更永恒,更强大的。今天的人类需要认真、平静地重新思考那些已经变得生疏但却是最基本且重要的问题——什么是需要崇尚和追求的?什么是真正的力量?宗教在哪?不同教义、族群共存和相互尊重的原点在哪?这,不是抽象的玄奥的学者式的命题,而是与每一个人活着相关联的、最基本的事情,否则人类就会出问题。”他的阐述像作品一样充满禅机,但始终没有回答更永恒和更强大的是什么。如果认为“9·11”只是一场文明之间的冲突,而禅宗具有化解冲突的东方智慧,就太高估了东方智慧的能量。东方智慧一直回避终极存在,回避生与死的重要时刻,因

此并不能直面和体会如此重大的生命悲剧的苦难意义。纵观圣经以及之后的历史,人类遇到了太多来自自然、道德、身体和精神的苦难,以及对苦难的困惑。基督教“神正论”将苦难问题联系到上帝的正义,认为“上帝是正义的,尽管罪恶依然存在”。神正论的问题最早由古罗马早期的基督教父奥古斯丁系统提出。奥古斯丁认为,苦难的出现和恶的产生是人类自由意志的结果,是人类滥用了上帝赋予的自由意志,因而也是人类应付的代价,事实上人才应该为苦难和恶的存在负责^[11]。一次又一次苦难的发生,是人类原罪的衍生,也是惩戒的提醒。如此深重的生命灾难,远不是一句“本来无一物”就可以消解的。多元主义与虚无主义是当代的痼疾,而绝不是药方。唯有回到神正论立场,以上帝的正义视之,方能看清世间这些原罪的衍生品。

世界观决定艺术观,无论是自由主义还是东方智慧,都悬置了终极追问,这是当代艺术的局限,更是中国当代艺术的问题。基督教来到中国,对固有的中国文化和艺术来说是一个霹雳事件,不是改良,不是补充,而是脱胎换骨地重生。此外还要反思,为什么基督教入华自唐代景教始至今一千五百余年,中国社会依然在黑格尔所称的“中国没有历史”的逻辑里。黑格尔在《历史哲学》中声称:“中国的历史从本质上看是没有历史的,它只是君主覆灭的一再重复而已。任何进步都不可能从中产生。”一个最重要的原因在于,宗教改革的新教精神未能真正影响中国。

从宗教改革的视角看,在“道成肉身”的整全意义上,“因信称义”不仅要重建人与上帝直接的超验关系,更要以现实世界的善行作为得救的标志,这是路德—加尔文的进路。由此澄明了自然神学的现代艺术和文化政治的当代艺术的局限和偏离所在,进而启示了政治神学的当代艺术的进路。

五、当代艺术与改革宗政治神学

上帝虚无意味着真理虚无,多元主义的价值判断只能带来莫衷一是的价值判断,艺术乃至社会历史发展的茫然失措。无论当代艺术中有过多么骇人的视觉奇观,即使已经被公认为艺术名作,也不能绝对肯定它的价值。艺术自由并非可以无所不为,价值裁判权只在于上帝的审判。

人文主义的现代艺术呈现为心灵界的形式主义,人文主义的当代艺术呈现为社会界的文化政治。重写的上帝视角的现代艺术局限在自然神学,上帝观照的当代艺术的希望则在政治神学——基督教政治神学——改革宗政治神学。

人是宗教性的,所以人活着不仅要有衣食住行,还要追问人生的本源、意义、目的和价值。人是政治性的,人一出生就生活在一定的政治、社会环境中。所以我们既与社会有着横向的关系,就是政治性;也与上帝有着纵向的关系,就是宗教性。基督教政治神学所阐明的,就是我们如何正确地处理这种纵向与横向的关系,尤其是根基圣经的启示来阐明上帝所喜悦的基督徒在公共领域中当有的使命和见证^[12]。

作为政治神学的当代艺术回应了关于现当代艺术史的两个不足:其一,经过自然神学重新阐释的现代艺术,偏重于普世宗教的超越性,但有泛神论的问题,又缺乏道成肉身式的现实关注;其二,作为文化政治的当代艺术,把人权至上当作价值依据,事实上在抵抗以自己为上帝的极权时,又把自己树立成了上帝,依然没有走出启蒙辩证法的困境。当代艺术有现实关注,却没有超越意识。由此,对现代艺术史的神性书写,维系了一条没有中断的艺术灵性脉络,即便有所偏离,进而能够推进到当代

[11] 周海金 Zhou Haijin 著 2014:《苦难及其神学问题研究》*Kunan Jiqi Shenxue Wenti Yanjiu*[Suffering and Its Theological Problem],杭州 Hangzhou:浙江人民出版社 Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe[Zhejiang People's Publishing House],79.

[12] 王志勇 WANG Zhiyong 著 2014:《公义与慈爱彼此相亲:写给华人教会的公共神学》*Gongyi yu Ciai Bici Xiangqin: Xiegei Huaren Jiaohui de Gonggong Shenxue*[Righteousness and Steadfast love will Kiss Each other:Public theology written to the Chinese Church],台北 Taipei:橄欖出版有限公司 Ganlan Chuban Youxian Gongs[Olive Publishing Ltd.],43-44.

艺术的神性之维, 拯救极权泥潭与人权政治正确中的当代艺术。

改革宗神学强调回归圣经, 也强调对社会公共领域的介入和影响, 本质上也是政治神学。改革宗政治神学强调上帝主权, 也强调人的自由和责任。所谓政教分离, 是在政教机制分离的宪政体制中对上帝之城和世俗之城两个国度之间关系的描述。政教分离并不是宗教不能影响政治, 事实上宪政精神本身就来自基督教, 两者无法切割。强调政教分离更重要的是, 信仰已经重要到必须拒绝政治强权的染指。所以政治领域也是上帝掌权的领域, 公义来自上帝。奥古斯丁憎恨不义的专制政权: “缺乏公义的国家, 不过是有组织的匪帮。”加尔文指出: “再没有任何行为比把自己的国家从专制的束缚下解救出来更为高贵了。”^[13]这也是人权艺术的意义, 但却是它完不成的使命, 如果没有把自己放在神权 > 人权 > 政权的整全秩序中的话。因为今天在中国面对的是处于晚期社会主义阶段的超极权政权, 20 世纪 90 年代以来的市场经济改革曾一度促进了思想自由和艺术自由, 但国家主义和强权资本最终控制了所有的艺术活力。无论是娱乐至上、文化产业还是暴力拆迁, 隔绝基督信仰的人权艺术只能行进在西西弗斯式的抵抗或苟合之路上。没有神权秩序, 人权以及人权艺术只是一个乌托邦。

当然, 艺术史有偏离思想史之处, 但失去真理的艺术能指的漂浮, 不是当代艺术的方法论。当代艺术是一种观念形态——思想史形态, 更重要的在于观念思想的具体内容是什么。作为文化政治的当代艺术的问题就在于, 人权艺术无论如何努力也无法在超极权政治中争得自由, 而唯有上帝的正义能高于世上的国, 并且为人权的尊严确立其高贵的地位, 这就是在当代艺术中以政治神学带动文化政治的必要性。现代艺术是以审美代宗教, 当代艺术应以信仰带艺术。

六、以基督信仰带领中国当代艺术

中国的处境是如此苦难, 如此复杂。中国需要人文主义, 更需要信仰——基督信仰——改革宗加尔文主义的清教精神。由此, 基督精神观照中的当代艺术, 方能够面对人性原罪, 能够大无畏地介入现实, 能够充满盼望。

如同二战之后德国艺术家对奥斯维辛的忏悔, 中国有太多需要忏悔的地方, 都是 20 世纪中国的现代性废墟——土改、反右、大饥荒、文革、六四。中国社会的转型, 需要先在这些废墟上认罪悔改, 中国当代艺术同样如此。“文革”之后有过伤痕美术, 但是未及深入就被匆匆叫停。八九后有过“后八九”艺术展览, 但只是时间上的后八九而已, 艺术观念则走向了与八九精神完全相反的玩世现实主义。未直面废墟的艺术只是艺术废墟, 在废墟上悔改重生的艺术是废墟艺术, 如同二战之后德国的博伊斯和基弗的艺术, 是道成肉身的艺术, 是复活的艺术。

“艺术介入现实”似乎正在成为一个流行的艺术口号, 但社会主义现实主义和玩世现实主义的伪现实主义教训不可忽视。在晚期社会主义的文化逻辑中, 超极权的力量之大几乎可以吞噬掉一切异见的声音, 甚至原生的库尔贝式的现实主义也会沦为风情采风。唯有“天上的父”的旨意能够行在地上, 如同行在天上, 唯有祂, 能让不义的极权胆怯。

面对重重苦难, 有苟合者如玩世现实主义, 有逍遥者如老庄禅宗, 有绝望自杀者如王国维, 也有抵抗者如鲁迅与黑暗同在, 以绝望抵抗绝望。鲁迅在《〈呐喊〉自序》中描述了一个中国历史的铁屋子: “假如一间铁屋子, 是绝无窗户而万难破毁的, 里面有许多熟睡的人们, 不久都要闷死了, 然而从昏

[13] 奥古斯丁 Aogusiding[Augustin]著:《上帝之城》Shangdi zhi Cheng[The city of God]4 卷 4 章 2 节, 加尔文 Jiaerwen[Calvin]著:《基督徒敬虔学》Jidutu Jingqianxue[Christian godly]3 卷 10 章 6 节。引自王志勇 WANG Zhiyong 著 2014:《公义与慈爱彼此相亲: 写给华人教会的公共神学》Gongyi yu Cai Bici Xiangqin: Xiegei Huaren Jiaohui de Gonggong Shenxue[Righteousness and Steadfast love will Kiss Each other; Public theology written to the Chinese Church], 台北 Taipei: 橄榄出版有限公司 Ganlan Chuban Youxian Gongs[Olive Publishing Ltd.], 58.

睡入死灭,并不感到就死的悲哀。现在你大嚷起来,惊起了较为清醒的几个人,使这不幸的少数者来受无可挽救的临终的苦楚,你倒以为对得起他们么?”但有一个希望是中国历史中没有过的,可惜“光照在黑暗里,黑暗却不接受光^[14]”,这才是黑屋子的真正原因。希望唯在基督。

目下的中国,有一些艺术家已经身在基督的恩典和启示之中,创作出充溢灵性的作品,惊心动魄。

清华大学美术学院岛子教授,是一位著名的艺术批评家、诗人,更是一位基督徒艺术家。他以水墨创作,曰“圣水墨”。岛子曾创作一幅丈二尺幅的《苦竹》,竹子居然长成了十字架。竹子在中国传统花鸟画中代表了一种刚正不阿的气节,但也成为一种陈腐不变的程式。岛子对竹子形态的划时代更新,不仅是从具象到抽象,更是对中国文化更新的盼望。岛子另一件作品《上帝·黄金》2014年获得德国米苏尔社会发展基金会2014—2015年度艺术创作基金,这是全球征稿的唯一入选者。《上帝·黄金》以基督精神观照和反思消费社会的肉身物欲,作品被印刷和制作成三千多件巨幅幕布,于2015年五旬大斋期悬挂于德语国家及欧洲三千多个教堂的祭坛,用以祷思冥想。这件作品在德国获得了巨大的反响和关注,产生了特别的社会和艺术意义。黄金乃为上帝恩典,但若为私欲所纵,它的降临就不是祝福而如陨石异动,惩戒不义。从天而降的黄金与横亘画布的黑色带构成庄严的十字架,黄金准确地呈现了当代社会的真实处境,黑色的威严则如上帝之城的异象,以祂的旨意观照世界。“没有异象,民就放肆^[15]”,人类世界的真正异象不是由人自己来决定,而是由创造世界的上帝来提供方向。人类世界最终应有的走向,与世界存在的本质相呼应。唯有认自己不是世界的统治者,而是谦卑的共生者时,理想与异象才能形成并显现。岛子的圣水墨在此彰显了上帝话语的绝对主体意识,而这正是时代处境的呼召。

高氏兄弟的雕塑《枪决基督》以超现实的方式再现了一个魔幻历史场景,六个毛泽东正向耶稣瞄准开枪。这必定是划时代意义的作品,正是其中呈现的“敌基督”造成今天中国的溃败现状。这种废墟的状态,一般认为有一个直接原因,如李泽厚所说:“中国的问题是救亡压倒了启蒙。”救亡与启蒙都很重要,我们赢得了救亡的胜利,却放弃了启蒙的责任,但最内在的原因与“敌基督”有关。我们应该突破“救亡”的话语障碍,更要突破固有的思维系统,进入到另外一个系统中去解读和认识历史事件的真正原因是什么。关于“敌基督”的分析研究,学术界的研究局限在民国期间。当时蔡元培、胡适、张东荪、陈独秀、李大钊等人都参与了敌基督运动,以致最后毁掉了中国的民主和自由。1949年之后的“敌基督”研究在中国大陆基本上是空白,对于1949年之后中国大陆地区“敌基督”的研究在大陆的体制内基本上也是空白,大多数研究在港台地区。我们在自身命运关键之处的研究,做得远远不够,而高氏兄弟的《枪决基督》就是关于1949年之后中国大陆敌基督问题的艺术关注。

导演胡杰曾以过人的胆识拍摄了32部纪录片,包括《寻找林昭的灵魂》、《我虽死去》、《粮食关纪念碑》等重要作品,被称为“中国的良心”。近年他又开始了黑白版画的创作,继续在绘画中重建20世纪后半叶中国苦难史的公共记忆。历史本质上是一种历史叙事,被任意涂抹,也被时间修正。关于历史事实的书写争战是真理之战、公义之战、血泪之战、生死之战。值得关注的是,林昭基督徒的身份被胡杰在绘画中特别关注,寄予了永生的祝福,和来自天国对地上罪恶的正义审判。这块土地上衰弱的人,承受了太多历史苦难和现实逼迫,在胡杰重建的公共记忆中,历史真相触目惊心。压迫者和被凌辱的人,都是非人的处境,前者没有人性,后者被剥夺了尊严。黑暗,罪恶,罪。只有“罪”能够解释这一切堕落的源头,只有悔改能拯救罪恶,只有光能带来盼望。“要有光”,正是胡杰一个展览的主题。

旺忘望的油画《擦肩而过》,意指当代社会的信仰缺失。在一个汽车的后视镜里,耶稣与路人擦肩而过。如此戏剧性的场面,其实是生活中最常见的情景。太多人忙于生意和权力,向前奔跑不止,却

[14] 《圣经》Shengjing[Bible]约翰福音 Yuehan Fuyin[The gospel of John]1:5.

[15] 《圣经》Shengjing[Bible]箴言 Zhenyan[Proverbs]29:18.

从未想过灵魂空虚的问题。耶稣曾于两千年前降生在巴勒斯坦, 开启了伟大的崭新的历史。在旺忘望眼中, 如果耶稣今天来到中国, 启示以至警示也会来到吗? 时空交错, 真理却永恒不变。

朱久洋的作品《等到和好的那一天》, 因药家鑫事件而作。药家鑫杀人、自首后被判死刑, 牵涉到法律、伦理问题的诸多社会争议。但是关于正义, 法律能够给予公正的实现吗? 朱久洋以基督精神给正义带来新的阐释希望, 以爱成全律法。爱人如己, 更要爱你的仇敌。朱久洋希望把事件双方父母约到一起, 劝其和好, 消弭罪恶。但最后只有一方的父亲到场, 另一张是个空椅子。等到和好的那一天, 也许在现实中遥遥无期, 但希望就在那里。艺术在这里成为推动社会进程的力量, 同时也展现了基督精神的伟大救赎。

余论

欧洲正陷入左派政治正确导致的难民危机, 英美保守主义的反思已经开始。中国则正在以民族主义的情怀意淫一个世界大国的雄起, 完全无视内在的虚空和恐慌。但字面意义相似的保守主义和民族主义的真实意义又何其不同? 保守主义保守的是上帝的恩典, 民族主义保守的是文化的虚荣和权贵的掠夺。事实上, 西方和中国都在面对同一个问题: 真正的西方究竟是什么? 由此, 西方可以保守自己的传统, 中国可以学习西方带来的真理。

上帝启示人类, 并在宗教改革中再次确认圣经的真理唯一, 又以加尔文主义引领的现代文明作为见证。西方的自由主义者需要追溯自身与基督教的内在渊源, 特别是明了宗教改革的真正意义在于归正而非断裂。神学、文化和政治的紧密推进关系如汉斯·昆在《基督教大思想家》中所言, 无疑通过将信仰与科学、神学与哲学结合起来, 古罗马教父奥利金已经达到了神学转折点, 这使文化转折点(结合基督教与文化)得以可能, 从而又使政治转折点(教会与国家的联合)成为可能。信仰—文化—政治, 这是中国唯一的希望所在。中国当下最重要的是传播基督福音, 突破民族主义、激进主义和虚无主义的障碍, 以基督世界观重新书写历史, 体察处境, 更要在古今之变中明晰宗教改革的意义, 以宗教改革精神引领中国社会转型。中国社会的转型, 自然也包括了当代艺术的转型, 都需要由虚无主义的“不是而是”转向上帝主权的“是其所是”。

身在现当代艺术的废墟, 上帝完全的恩典依然在这里。人类和艺术史遗弃了上帝, 上帝却一直没有离开, 并且发挥着持续的影响, 直至重写现代艺术史, 启示并拯救当代艺术。宗教改革距今五百周年, 但对艺术界真正的影响刚刚开始, 无论中西。

荷兰新教神学家凯波尔是加尔文主义的两位核心人物之一, 一百多年前他在论述“普遍恩典”时曾提及中国, 他这样说道, 中国是普遍恩典的领域未经历特殊恩典的任何影响的例子, “在那里, 普遍恩典运行、产生影响的规模并不小, 但特殊恩典并未影响到那个巨大的帝国那里变化着的中国人的生活的范围^[16]。”相比之下, 中国更为任重道远, 但上帝不会忘记中国。“道成肉身—十字架—基督教—宗教改革—改革宗—加尔文主义—政治神学—社会转型—转型正义”的信仰与公共观念成为艺术和社会通识之日, 就是艺术异象显现之时。

[16] Abraham Kuyper 1988: Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader, ed. James D. Bratt; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 199. 引自谢志斌 XIE Zhibing 2010: “从加尔文主义文化观看汉语基督教研究的发展” Cong Jiaerwen Zhuyi Wenhua guan Kan Hanyu Jidujiao Yanjiu De Fazhan [The Development of Sino-Christian Theology from the Perspective of Calvinist Culture], 载《加尔文与汉语神学》Jiaerwen Yu Hanyu Shenxue [John Calvin and Sino-Christian Theology], 陈佐人 Chen Zuoren [Stephen Chan]、孙毅 Sun Yi 编, (香港 Xianggang: 道风书社 Daofeng Shushe [Logos and Pneuma Press], 汉语基督教文化研究所 Hanyu Jidujiao Wenhua Yanjiusuo [Institute of Sino-Christian Studies] 丛刊 37, 199.

English Title:

Chinese Contemporary Art with the leading of Christian Religion: Religion Reform questions and calls on art history

HAO Qingsong

Ph. D. , Tsinghua University; Lecturer, Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts, 300141 Tianjin, P. R. China;
Email: qingsongart@qq. com.

Abstract: It has been five hundred years since the Religious Reform, but it has not had a positive influence on the development of art history. After the Renaissance, the art history was deeply influenced by humanism, and now it is in the crisis of liberalism and nationalism. This article analyzes the thought crisis of contemporary art history, tries to re-establish the close relationship between religion reform and art history, and to stimulate the rethinking and rebirth of art with the spirit of religious reformation. The article particularly focuses on the development of Chinese Contemporary art, hoping that the spirit of Christian art could influence the transformation of society, and leading the new direction of Chinese contemporary art.

Key Words: Religion Reform, humanism, Christian Art, Chinese Contemporary Art

《国学与西学：国际学刊》

（中英文双语半年刊）

投稿须知

《国学与西学国际学刊》(GUOXUE YU XIXUE Guoji Xuekan)创刊于 2011 年 12 月,由国学与西学北欧论坛(Nordic Forum of Sino-Western Studies)主办、赫尔辛基大学世界文化系宗教学中心、北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心、与吉林大学文学院国学与西学比较研究中心协办之中英文双语学术期刊,整合北欧四国(芬兰、瑞典、挪威、丹麦)学者之力,每年于芬兰出版两期(六月及十二月出版)。栏目有:

“人学、神学与国学”(人学乃启蒙运动以来强调理性的学术,神学乃关于上帝及研究基督教的学术,而国学则指中国精神体系之研究);

“实践神学与中西教会和社会”(实践神学乃现实中基督教实践之研究,中西教会/社会乃指中国与欧美等传统上以基督教为信仰和精神体系的基督教会与社会);

“中西经典与圣经”(中西经典乃中国及西方的宗教、人文经典,而圣经则指基督教的圣典);

“教会历史与中西文明变迁”(教会历史乃基督教会之历史,中西乃中国与欧美等传统上以基督教为信仰和精神体系的社会);

“比较宗教文化研究”(比较宗教文化研究乃中国、欧美等西方国家的宗教与文化之比较研究);

“书评与通讯”(书评乃对主题为国学与西学的新书之述评,而通讯则指同样主题的学术动态与新闻)。

1. 本刊欢迎下列类型的稿件:(1)研究性论文(Research Articles):国学、西学研究、及国学和西学比较的原创性学术论文。(2)书评(Book Reviews):对近来出版的相关学术专著的评介。(3)会议综述和报道(Conference Reports):对相关学术会议的深入报道。

2. 本刊全年公开征稿,凡与本刊内容相关的学术论文均欢迎各界人士投稿,但内容必须是首次(特例另加说明)发表的原创性学术研究成果。

3. 中英文文稿均被接受。以中文投稿的研究论文需附英文摘要和关键词;以英文投稿的稿件需附中文的摘要和关键词。原则上,论文含注释中文稿件为 8000 至 12000 字为宜,论文含注释英文稿件以不超过 12000 字为宜,书评及会议报道每篇一般以 3000 字为限,特殊情况另论。

4. 研究论文的撰写格式及顺序如下:

(1)首页:中英文题目、作者联系方式(中英文姓名、职务及职称、通讯地址、电话、电子邮件等联系方式)。

(2)中英文摘要(各以 200—700 字为宜)、关键词(以 5 个词为限)。

(3)正文含注释(正文及注释撰写请勿透露作者的相关信息,引用作者本人的文献时请不要使用第一人称,中文稿件的注释请遵照《国学与西学：国际学刊》的《注释体例及要求》撰写)。

5. 来稿请寄打印清晰的稿件两份,并以电子邮件或其他方式寄交原稿件的 Word 文档的电子版一份。

6. 本刊在收到寄交的论文后,本刊编辑委员会先进行匿名初审,初审后再请两位同领域的学

者专家复审,复审者意见不同时将邀请第三位学者评审;并于稿件收到后三个月内回复作者。逾期未接到通知者,可自行处理稿件。本刊概不退稿,作者请自留底稿。稿件随收随审,一经审稿通过即寄发同意刊出函告知作者。经决定采用的文稿,须依本刊体例修改论文格式,编辑部有权对稿件酌情删改(不愿者请投稿时说明),且需作者亲校最后文稿,修改过后始由本刊编辑委员会另行决定与何期刊出。

7. 著作人投稿本刊,经收录刊登后,同意授权本刊再授权其他本刊接受之资料库进行重制,通过网络提供服务,授权用户下载、打印等行为,并可酌情修改格式。

8. 本刊所刊登的文稿,作者文责自负,一切立论不代表本刊观点,版权则归本刊所有。

9. 稿件已经刊登,本刊将于出版后赠送电子版作为酬谢,不另付稿酬。

10. 本刊的征稿、评审、编辑与发行等事宜,皆依照《国学与西学:国际学刊》的“刊行及编审办法”办理。

11. 来稿或意见,请寄:

《国学与西学:国际学刊》编辑部 收

Vellikellontie 3 A 4,00410 Helsinki,Finland.

电子文档请寄至:ijofswws@gmail.fi

Tel. + 358-40-836-0793

www.SinoWesternStudies.com

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies

Notes for Contributors

1. *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* (IJS) is published semi-annually every June and December by the Nordic Forum of Sino-Western Studies (members from Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) and sponsored by the University of Helsinki, Peking University, and Jilin University. It covers areas in Humanities, Theology, and Chinese *guoxue* (National Studies), Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society, Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible, History of the Church and State in the West and in China, Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies, Reviews and Reports on Academic Conferences.

2. The types of work we prefer to publish:

a. Research Articles: Original articles related to the topics mentioned above.

b. Book Reviews: Reviews on books or articles that are related to our themes.

c. Academic News: In-depth reports on conferences or other academic news related to our themes.

3. IJS welcomes the submission of texts throughout the year; it is required that the text is original and has not been previously published.

4. The text can be written in Chinese or in English. An English article should have a Chinese abstract, and vice versa. The length of a Chinese article should be between 8,000 and 12,000 Chinese characters, including footnotes. An English article should have no more than 12,000 words, including footnotes. A book review or a report on academic news is usually limited to 3,000 words. Exceptions will be decided separately.

5. Articles should follow the following format:

a. Both a Chinese and an English title, the author's occupation, position, and contact information; see the Article Submission Cover Page.

b. A 200-700-word abstract and the maximum of 5 keywords in English and Chinese should be included.

c. Full information on publications should be included in the footnotes.

Footnotes must follow the style stated in our Footnote Format and Requirements. For the purpose of an anonymous review, please refrain from revealing the author's identity in the article; when citing the author's own work, please refrain from using the first person pronoun.

6. Please submit two paper copies of the article by mail and one in an electronic form through email. The electronic file should take the Microsoft Word format.

7. Article submitted to IJS will be peer-reviewed first by the editorial committee, then by two

scholars of a relevant field, and if necessary a third scholar will be invited to review. The author will receive the decision within three months after submitting the article. The editorial committee has the right to ask for a revision of an article and will thereafter decide whether the article will be published.

8. The author shall agree to authorize IJS the right to the reproduction of the article either electronically or in print.

9. The author is solely responsible for the content of the article, and any viewpoint expressed therein does not necessarily reflect the opinion of IJS. After publication, IJS reserves the copyright of the article.

10. The author will receive electronic version of the IJS in which the article is published, no fees or royalties are paid to the author.

Please send your article or suggestion to:

Editorial Committee
International Journal of Sino-Western Studies,
Vellikellontie3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland
Email with attachment to: ijofsws@gmail.fi
Tel. + 358-40-836-0793
www.SinoWesternStudies.com

注释体例及要求

Footnote Format and Requirements

一、总则 General Principles

1、采用页下注(脚注),从文首至尾依次加注。

Use continuous footnotes from the start to the end of your article.

2、一般情况下,引用外文文献的注释仍从原文,无须另行译出。

Use original literature when the reference is in a language other than the article, a translation of the citation is not required.

3、文章正文后不另开列“参考文献”。

Independent bibliography is not required.

4、所引资料及其注释务求真实、准确、规范。

Please use authentic, accurate, and standard literature references.

5、非汉语语言以英文为例。

We use English as an example of all the non-Chinese languages.

二、分则 Detailed Rules

1、专著 Monograph:

黄保罗 Huang Baoluo,《汉语学术神学》Hanyu xueshu shenxue [Sino-Christian Academic Theology],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],2008),155-159。

Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 88-89.

2、编著 Compiled works:

罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia、黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 主编,《基督宗教与中国文化》*Jiduzongjiao yu zhongguo wenhua* [Christianity and Chinese Culture],(北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press],2004),155。

Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 3.

3、译著 Translated literature:

麦克·阿盖尔 Maike Agaier,《宗教心理学》*Zongjiao xinlixue* [Religious Psychology],陈彪 Chen Biao 译,(北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China]),2005,30。

Fung Yulan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. by Derk Bodde, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 150.

4、外文稿件引用中文资料 Chinese literature in non-Chinese articles:

Liang Qichao, *Gushu zhenwei jiqi niandai* [The Genuinity of Chinese Ancient Books and their Dates], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1923), 20.

5、文集集中的文章 Articles in collections:

张敏 Zhang Min,《基督徒身份认同——浙江温州案例》*Jidutu shenfen renting——Zhejiang Wenzhou anli* [The Personal Identity of Christians], 张静 Zhang Jing 主编:《身份认同研究:观念、态度、理据》*Shenfen renting yanjiu: guannian, taidu, liju* [A Study on Personal Identity], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2006), 101-105.

Zhuo Xinping, "Comprehensive Theology: An Attempt to Combine Christianity with Chinese Culture," in Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 185-192.

6、报纸中的文章 Articles in newspapers:

曹曙红 Cao Shuhong,《信仰之旅 慈善之行——上海玉佛寺禅寺觉群慈爱功德会参访团西藏行纪实》*Xinyang zhi lu, Cishan zhi xing——Shanghai Fochansi Juequn ciai gongdehui canfangtuan Xizang xing jishi* [The Trip of Faith and the Travel of Charity],《中国民族报》*Zhongguo minzubao* [The Newspaper of Chinese Ethnic Minorities](2011年8月23日),第5版。

David E. Sanger, "U. S. and Seoul Try to Ease Rift on Talks with the North," *New York Times*, (11 June, 2005).

7、期刊中的文章 Articles in journals:

李炽昌 Li Chichang,《跨文本阅读策略:明末中国基督徒著作研究》*Kuawenben yuedu celue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* [The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings],《基督教文化学刊》*Jidujiao wenhua xuekan* [Journal of Christian Culture], No. 10, (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2003), 168.

J. R. Carrette, "Religion and Mestrovic's Postemotional Society: The Manufacturing of Religious Emotion," *Religion*, vol. 34, (2004), 271.

8、会议论文 Conference papers:

田海华 Tian Haihua,《汉语语境中的“十诫”:以十九世纪基督新教的诠释为例》*Hanyu yujing zhong de 'Shijie': Yi shijiu shiji jiduxinjiao de quanshi wei li* [The Ten Commandments in the Chinese Context],“第四届‘基督教与中国社会文化’国际年青学者研讨会”*Disijie 'Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui wenhua' guoji qingnian xuezhe yantaohui* [The Fourth International Young Scholar Conference on Christianity and Chinese Social Culture], (香港 Xianggang, 香港中文大学 Xianggang zhongwen daxue [Chinese University of Hong Kong], 2008年12月5-9日), 3。

John Barwick, "Liu Tingfang, Chinese Protestant Elites, and the Quest for Modernity in Repu Xinping Republican China", presented in "The 4th International Young Scholars' Symposium on 'Christianity and Chinese Society and Culture'," (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 5-9 December, 2008).

9、学位论文 Dissertations:

刘家峰 Liu Jiafeng,《中国基督教乡村建设运动研究(1907—1950)》*Zhongguo jidujiao xiangcun jianshe yundong yanjiu* [A Study on the Movement of Chinese Christian Countryside Construction],(武汉 Wuhan:华中师范大学博士论文 Huazhong shifan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph. D. dissertation in Central China Normal University],2001),55。

Nathan C. Faries, *The Narratives of Contemporary Chinese Christianity*, (The Pennsylvania State University, PhD dissertation, 2005), 22.

10、互联网资料 Internet source:

<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/wilson03.doc>, 2005-03-27.

11、重复引用 Consecutively repeated citations:

同上书,第19页。

Ibid., pp. 73-75.

12、转引 Quotation from a secondary source:

新疆档案馆档案政 Xinjiang dang'anguan dang'an zheng 2—5 —140 [Xinjiang Archives . Politics], 转引自木拉提·黑尼亚提 Mulati Heiniyati:《喀什噶尔瑞典传教团建堂历史考》Kashigeer Ruidian chuanjiaotuan jiantang lishikao [A Study on the History of Church Establishment in Kashgar by Sweden Missionaries],《新疆社会科学》*Xinjiang shehui kexue* [Social Sciences in Xinjiang],(乌鲁木齐 Wumumuqi:2002年第3期),64-65。

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.

13、华人姓名写法 Writing of Chinese personal names:

如果华人拥有外文名字,则按西文方式名前姓后,如:Paulos Huang;若只有中文名字,则按中国方式姓前名后,如:Zhuo Xiping 等。If a Chinese person uses the Westernized first name, his name can be written in this way: Paulos Huang; but if he ONLY uses the Chinese name, it must be written in the Chinese way, for instance: Zhuo Xiping, etc.

14、其他 Others:

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzhuang weiyuanhui [The Editorial Committee of Hebei Provincial Chorography] 编:《河北省志·宗教志》Hebei sheng zhi . Zongjiaozhi [Hebei Provincial Chorography . Religions],(北京 Beijing:中国书籍出版社 Zhongguo shuji chubanshe [Chinese Books Publishing House],1995),224。

U. S. Agency for International Development, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, (Washington, D. C., 2002), 1.

International Journal of Sino-Western Studies 国学与西学 国际学刊

Sanovan Press, Vellikellontie 3 A 4, 00410 Helsinki, Finland.
Email: ijofsws@gmail.com. www. SinoWesternStudies.com/

Order Form 订购单 (From Issue No. ____ to No. ____, 由第 ____ 期至第 ____ 期)
(Please tick your choice 请勾选) (Tax and postage included 含税及邮费)

Printed Version 纸质版

Region 地区	Asia (euro € or RMB ¥) 亚洲 (欧元 € 或人民币 ¥)		Europe 欧洲		Other Area 其他地区	
	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空	Surface 水陆	Airmail 航空
Price for individuals (per year/2 issues) 个人(每年 2 期)	35 € (350 €)	40 € (400 €)	50 €	60 €	40 €	50 €
Price for individuals (2 year/4 issues) 个人(两年四期)	60 € (600 €)	70 € (700 €)	90 €	100 €	90 €	100 €
Price for institutions (per year/2 issues) 团体/机构(每年 2 期)	80 € (800 €)	90 € (900 €)	90 €	100 €	80 €	90 €
Price for institutions (2 year/4 issues) 团体/机构(两年四期)	150 € (1500 €)	170 € (1700 €)	150 €	170 €	110 €	130 €

PDF electronic version 电子版订购单

Please pay the fee (in US dollars) to the Account below. Then please fill in this form and the webmaster will send you the full texts soon.

One Paper: 1 US \$

Five Papers: 3 US \$

All Papers of One Issue: 8 US \$

Method of Payment 付款方法

网上付款 [www. SinoWesternStudies.com/](http://www.SinoWesternStudies.com/) 全文购买 full-texts/

人民币账户: 中国建设银行长春市分行吉新支行 6227 0009 4256 0079 382 (账户名: Huang Paulos Zhan Zhu). International payment outside China: Bank Account: Nordea Bank, Helsinki, Finland, Account number FI44 1378 5000 1315 41. Paulos Huang, Sanovan Press Company.

Please send my journal to 期刊请寄至

Name 姓名 _____

Tel. 电话 _____ Fax. 传真 _____

Email 电子邮件: _____

Address 地址: _____