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A Contrast between Christianity and Chinese Culture on the Concept of Conscience

Paulos Huang

(Professor, School of Humanities Study, Shanghai University)

Abstract: A deep dive into conscience's nature and its reliability is made through a contrast between Christianity and Chinese culture. Both Christianity and Chinese culture value the role of conscience in guiding moral behavior, they differ significantly in their views on its source, nature, reliability, and relationship to authority and redemption.

Key words: conscience, original sin, authority, source, reliability

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I am intending to make a deep dive into conscience's nature and its reliability based on a contrast between Christianity and Chinese culture. Life is full of strange and varied experiences, and these often provoke a wide array of responses from different people. One common sentiment is: "As long as one lives by their conscience and feels no guilt, there's no need to consider the opinions or feelings of others or society." This perspective suggests that following one's inner moral compass is enough for a meaningful existence. But, is this truly the right outlook on life?

I. Does Everyone Have a Conscience?

The question of whether everyone has a conscience delves into deep philosophical and theological considerations. According to Genesis 1:27, God created humans in His own image, which serves as the foundation for the belief that humans possess a conscience, a part of their spiritual essence. This divine imprint of the conscience is what distinguishes humans from other creatures. The Chinese Confucian philosopher Mencius once argued that the difference between humans and animals is subtle. While life itself sets humans apart from inanimate objects like dust and stones, the distinction between humans and animals is more complex. For Christians, what Mencius believed that truly makes humans human is the "breath of life" (Genesis 2:7)—the spirit that God breathed into man when He created him from dust. For Chinese, the concept of conscience doesn't align exactly with the Western idea of an internal moral compass or Christian understanding. Instead, it's linked

to virtues like ren (仁), or benevolence, which emphasizes compassion and empathy towards others, and li (礼), which refers to ritual and proper behavior. Confucianism stresses that **ren** is central to moral actions, guiding individuals to act with humanity and consideration in their relationships. **Li** promotes adherence to societal norms and rituals, creating harmony within society. Zhi (智), or wisdom, also plays a key role, helping individuals discern right from wrong. Daoism, with its focus on the Dao (道), suggests that aligning with the natural order leads to virtuous behavior. Thus, conscience in Chinese philosophy is tied to harmony, social duty, empathy, and wisdom, rather than a divine creation or solitary, internal sense of right and wrong.

Ecclesiastes 3:21 offers further insight into the nature of human existence. It suggests that while humans and animals face death, there is an important difference between them: the spirit of humans ascends to God, whereas the soul of animals returns to the earth. Those who are saved through Christ will have their spirits ascend to paradise, while those who remain unsaved will perish like animals. This reinforces the belief that humans, as beings created in God's image, are distinct from animals not only in life but also in the spiritual destiny after death.

For those still living, the "conscience" plays a significant role in moral decision-making. It is considered a gift from God, an innate aspect of the human spirit that guides people toward right and wrong. In principle, everyone possesses a conscience. Confucian Mencius described this conscience as being made up of the "Four Beginnings"—compassion, shame, humility, and a sense of right and wrong. These qualities serve as the foundation for key virtues such as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. In this way, conscience functions as the moral compass within each individual, guiding them toward virtuous behavior.

However, while everyone is born with a conscience, its reliability is not guaranteed. The classic Chinese novel *Water Margin* illustrates the complexities of conscience and its limits. In the story, Wu Dalang is betrayed by his wife, Pan Jinlian, who is having an affair with Ximen Qing. When Wu Dalang realizes the truth, he makes a desperate plea to Pan Jinlian, appealing to her conscience. He warns her that if his brother, Wu Song, were to learn of his death, he would seek vengeance. However, rather than being moved by this plea, Pan Jinlian and Ximen Qing fear that Wu Dalang might expose their affair. To protect themselves, they choose to murder him. Wu Dalang's attempt to manipulate his wife's conscience, hoping it would spare his life, ultimately leads to his demise. The story raises the question: had Wu Dalang not made his appeal, might he have survived? Perhaps, but his attempt to manipulate Pan Jinlian's conscience led to a tragic end.

This narrative highlights a critical point: although everyone is born with a conscience, not every conscience is reliable, and some may not be awakened at all. In some cases, a person's conscience may be clouded or weakened by self-interest, fear, or other factors. Additionally, some individuals may not be aware of the moral principles that should guide their actions, and therefore may not be sensitive to the moral implications of their decisions. This suggests that while the conscience is a universal gift, its function can vary significantly depending on an individual's life experiences, values, and spiritual state. In Christianity, the concept of original sin makes people despair to rely on people's conscience; but in Chinese Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism through a humanistic effort people are not so despair for consciences.

In conclusion, while the conscience is an inherent part of being human, it is not a foolproof guide to moral

decision-making. Its reliability depends on its alignment with divine truth and spiritual awakening. Therefore, while everyone may have a conscience, the way it functions can differ greatly from person to person.

II. Why Are People's Consciences Corrupted?

The concept of conscience becomes increasingly complex when considering the fall of humanity and the consequences of original sin, as detailed in Genesis 3:14-19. Original sin profoundly affected the human spirit, corrupting the conscience and rendering it unreliable.

Originally, the conscience was an integral part of God's holy image within humanity. When God created humans, He endowed them with a moral compass, enabling them to distinguish right from wrong. However, the fall of man in the Garden of Eden led to the corruption of this divine image. The consequences of sin tainted the conscience, causing it to no longer reflect God's holiness in its purest form. As a result, while the conscience still retains the ability to guide people toward relative acts of goodness in front of the world, other human beings and oneself (*coram mundo, hminibus, ipse coram*), it is now incapable of achieving the absolute goodness that meets God's divine standard (*coram Deo*).¹

Human nature, deeply affected by sin, was so thoroughly corrupted that, as Rom. 7:20 states, "There is no one righteous, not even one." This reflects the inherent flaw in human beings after the fall—their inability to consistently act in ways that align with God's perfect will. The conscience, originally created to guide humans toward holiness and righteousness, is now distorted and unreliable.

This fallen state of the conscience is evident in the paradoxical nature of human behavior. People may act with good intentions or even sincere belief, yet their actions can still be morally wrong or misguided.² A vivid example of this is seen in the crowds in Jerusalem during Jesus' final days. When Jesus entered the city, the people welcomed Him with great enthusiasm, shouting "Hosanna!" and laying down palm branches in His honor. Their actions seemed to be a sincere expression of praise and adoration. However, just days later, the same crowd, moved by external influences, demanded His crucifixion. This stark contrast between their praise and their subsequent rejection reveals the inconsistency of the human conscience. People are capable of sincere expressions of loyalty or goodness, but these emotions can quickly shift based on circumstances, leading to contradictory actions that expose the unreliability of the conscience.

The fall of humanity has left the conscience damaged, unable to be fully trusted. While the conscience still

¹ Martin Luther teaches that a person lives simultaneously in two realms and must adhere to the distinct principles that govern each. In the kingdom of God (*coram Deo*), a person is made righteous solely through faith, without the need for works. In contrast, in the kingdom of the world (*coram mundo*), righteousness is demonstrated through good works that benefit both oneself and others. In other words, before God (*coram Deo*), righteousness is received passively by faith; before the world (*coram mundo*), it is expressed actively through deeds. Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 55 vols., ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-1986), 45:79. (Hereafter cited as LW.) The texts of these six sermons may be found in WA 10III, 341- 352, 371-399.

² From St. Augustine to Martin Luther, the doctrine of original sin has becoming an official orthodoxy in both Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Cf. Article "Original Sin" in *Catholic Encyclopedia*. *The Book of Concord Archived 5 July 2008 at the Wayback Machine* *The Defense of the Augsburg Confession, Article II: Of Original Sin; from an early Protestant perspective, part of the Augsburg Confession. Original Sin According To St. Paul by John S. Romanides.*

plays a role in guiding people's moral decisions, its capacity to consistently discern true goodness has been severely diminished. The human conscience is now subject to distortion by sin, leading people to justify wrong actions or fail to see the truth. Martin Luther disagreed with Erasmus on the freedom of will, the former considers that the bondage of will, but the latter believed that human will has freedom to follow God.³ As far as the protestant theology is concerned, this does not mean that the conscience is entirely useless or devoid of value—it can still guide individuals toward some degree of moral behavior in this worldly life, but it cannot be relied upon as the sole measure of right and wrong.

In conclusion, the conscience, though originally created as a reflection of God's holiness, has been corrupted by original sin. This corruption makes it unreliable as a moral guide, capable only of pointing toward relative goodness social and ethically rather than soteriologically the absolute goodness that God requires. The fallen nature of humanity has left the conscience in a state of inconsistency and imperfection, making it crucial for individuals to seek a higher standard of moral guidance, one that comes from God's revelation and grace.

III. The Diversity of Consciences

The concept of conscience varies significantly among individuals, primarily because of the diversity in human experiences, values, and upbringing. As Proverbs 21:2 states, "A person may think their own ways are right, but the Lord weighs the heart." This verse underscores the subjective nature of conscience—what one person perceives as right may be viewed as morally questionable by someone else. Therefore, the way people experience and interpret their conscience is deeply personal and influenced by their individual beliefs, cultural background, and life experiences.

The above example of how consciences differ can be seen in the relationship between Wu Dalang and Pan Jinlian from the classic Chinese novel *Water Margin*. Wu Dalang, who is betrayed by his wife, Pan Jinlian, believes that she will feel remorse for her actions, assuming that her conscience will align with his moral perspective. Wu Dalang, deeply troubled by the betrayal, seeks to appeal to Pan Jinlian's sense of guilt, believing that she will be moved by his moral anguish. However, Pan Jinlian does not share his sense of guilt. She may not see her actions as wrong at all, instead justifying her affair and subsequent betrayal of her husband for personal reasons. This scenario illustrates how people often project their own moral understanding onto others, expecting

3 Erasmus, *De libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio* (literally *Of free will: Discourses or Comparisons*) is the Latin title of a polemical work written by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1524.

Luther, Martin; Cole, Henry 1823, *Martin Luther on the Bondage of the Will: Written in Answer to the Diatribe of Erasmus on Free-will*. London: Printed by T. Bensley for W. Simpkin and R. Marshall.

Luther, Martin. *The Bondage of the Will: A New Translation of De Servo Arbitrio* (1525), *Martin Luther's Reply to Erasmus of Rotterdam*. J.I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, trans. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1957.

Erasmus, Desiderius and Martin Luther. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*. The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus Edition. Rupp, E. Gordon; Marlow, A.N.; Watson, Philip S.; and Drewery, B. trans. and eds. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969. (This volume provides an English translation of both Erasmus' *De Libero Arbitrio* and Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*.) Luther, Martin; *Career of the Reformer III. Luther's Works*, Vol. 33 of 55. Watson, Philip S. and Benjamin Drewery, trans. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.

Ruokanen, Miikka: *Trinitarian Grace in Martin Luther's The Bondage of the Will*. OUP Oxford; 1st edition, 2021.

them to feel the same way about right and wrong, even when their consciences differ.

Consciences vary not only because of individual experiences but also because people hold different beliefs about what is right and wrong. For example, individuals who subscribe to a philosophy like "survival of the fittest" or "every man for himself" may develop a moral framework that prioritizes self-interest and competition.⁴ In contrast, those who follow teachings like those of Christ, which emphasize loving others as oneself, are likely to have a different set of moral values that emphasize compassion, selflessness, and care for others.

These differing worldviews shape how people interpret situations and make moral decisions. For instance, someone raised in a family or culture that values individualism may approach ethical dilemmas with a focus on personal freedom and autonomy. On the other hand, someone brought up in a more collectivist society may place a greater emphasis on the well-being of the group over individual desires. Similarly, a person who believes in the intrinsic value of honesty might view a small lie as a serious moral violation, while another, raised in an environment where "white lies" are tolerated for social harmony, might see the same lie as harmless.

The way each individual understands their conscience is influenced by their unique upbringing, education, and environment. People's values are shaped by the social, cultural, and religious contexts in which they grow up, making it difficult to create a universal standard for what is "right" or "wrong" based solely on personal conscience. What one person deems a moral duty, another might view as unnecessary or even wrong. As a result, consciences can vary widely, even within the same community or family.

In conclusion, the difference between consciences lies in the subjective nature of moral understanding. Personal beliefs, experiences, and cultural influences shape how individuals perceive and act according to their consciences. As the diversity of human experiences continues to grow, so too will the range of moral frameworks and consciences that guide people's decisions. Such a diversity may lead to a relativism (*i.e.*, The truth is relative) or nihilism (*i.e.*, The absolute truth does not exist at all). What can one's conscience do in face of relativism or nihilism?

IV. What Kind of Conscience is Correct?

Facing such a challenge to look for the correctness, we need to pay attention to the blinding nature of the corrupted conscience. A conscience corrupted by original sin can often mislead individuals, causing them to stray from truth and goodness. As 2 Corinthians 4:4 explains, "The god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers." In this context, the "god of this world" refers to the forces that influence and distort human understanding, turning people away from divine truth. While conscience remains present in every individual, it becomes distorted through sin, causing it to prioritize self-interest and rationalization over moral clarity and godly principles.

When the conscience is corrupted, it becomes increasingly self-centered. Individuals may begin to view the world and their actions through the lens of personal desires, rather than through a framework of moral righteousness. This distortion often leads people to justify their behavior, even when it contradicts fundamental

⁴ The social Darwinists are such examples.

ethical or spiritual truths. For instance, a person with a corrupted conscience might rebel against various forms of authority—not only secular or familial authority, but also spiritual authority. The corrupted conscience acts as a tool for self-justification, allowing the individual to rationalize decisions or actions that would otherwise be deemed immoral.

This misdirection of conscience can be particularly dangerous when it leads individuals to defy even divine authority. People may begin to believe that they are acting in accordance with God's will, even when their actions contradict the teachings of Scripture. In some cases, those who outwardly appear to be religious may use their corrupted conscience to justify harmful or immoral behavior. They might claim to be following God's commands, but in reality, they are distorting or ignoring the truth of Scripture to suit their own desires or agendas.

A prime example of this is seen when individuals manipulate religious teachings to support their personal actions. For instance, someone might commit acts of violence or discrimination, claiming that they are serving God's will, despite the clear message of love and forgiveness found in the teachings of Christ. In such cases, the conscience is no longer an objective guide but a tool of justification, allowing the person to feel morally justified even while engaging in actions that are, in reality, sinful.

As a result, a corrupted conscience becomes a barrier to spiritual truth. It leads individuals away from both divine and earthly authority, creating a disconnect between their actions and the moral principles that should guide them. People who are blinded by their corrupted consciences often live in opposition to both God's truth and the ethical norms that govern society. They may struggle to recognize their own wrongdoings, as their conscience no longer serves as a reliable guide.

In conclusion, the blindness of a corrupted conscience is a dangerous force that misleads individuals and distorts their sense of right and wrong. This distortion turns the conscience into a tool for self-justification, allowing people to rationalize sinful actions and rebel against both divine and earthly authority. Only through spiritual renewal and the guidance of truth can a corrupted conscience be restored, enabling individuals to live in alignment with both moral clarity and God's will.

V. The Chameleon Conscience

Some individuals appear to adapt their conscience to fit their desires, changing their moral compass to justify their actions in any given situation. These people often claim to be guided by the teachings of Scripture or by moral ideals, but their behavior frequently reveals a different story. They manipulate their conscience to excuse betrayal, hypocrisy, and rebellion against authority, using it as a convenient tool for rationalizing self-serving actions.

In many ways, these individuals resemble a "chameleon"—shifting their moral stance to match whatever suits their needs or desires at the time. Much like a chameleon changes its color to blend into its environment, these individuals alter their interpretation of their conscience based on circumstances, making it appear as though they are aligned with righteous principles when, in reality, they are driven by personal motives. They may present themselves as morally upright or devout, but their actions often expose a different truth.

One of the defining traits of such people is their resistance to correction. Even when confronted with the

consequences of their actions, they persist in insisting that they are in the right. They often fail to recognize the harm they cause to others and may refuse to acknowledge that their behavior contradicts the values they claim to uphold. For example, they might speak eloquently about love, truth, and kindness, but their actions betray these principles. As Galatians 5:22-23 outlines, the fruits of the Holy Spirit—love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control—should be evident in the lives of those who claim to follow Christ. If these qualities are absent in their actions, their claims to follow their conscience ring hollow.

These individuals ultimately replace God with their own desires. Instead of allowing their conscience to be shaped by the truth of Scripture and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, they distort it to align with their personal wants and needs. They confuse their own feelings, desires, and reasoning with the voice of God, mistaking their own rationalizations for divine guidance. This distortion of conscience can be especially dangerous because it allows individuals to justify behaviors that are clearly contrary to God's will. In doing so, they deceive themselves into thinking they are acting in alignment with divine principles when, in fact, they are operating in opposition to them.

The chameleon conscience is characterized by a lack of consistency and authenticity. Rather than being guided by absolute moral truths, individuals with this kind of conscience rely on subjective reasoning to rationalize their behavior. This flexibility in their moral stance makes them unreliable and dangerous, as they can easily shift between right and wrong depending on what serves their interests at any given moment.

In conclusion, the chameleon conscience is a distortion of moral clarity, where individuals adapt their moral beliefs to suit their desires. These people use their conscience as a tool of self-justification, claiming to follow Scripture or moral ideals while their actions reveal a different truth. Ultimately, they replace God's guidance with their own desires, leading them to misinterpret their conscience and justify sinful behavior.

VI. Summarizing the Vital Role of Conscience in both Christianity and Chinese Culture

In Christianity, the conscience is seen as a reflection of God's image within humanity, yet it is corrupted by original sin. In contrast, traditional Chinese philosophy, particularly Confucianism, views the conscience as inherently good and pure, requiring only cultivation. This divergence highlights the contrasting views on the nature, reliability, and role of conscience in shaping moral behavior.

As far as **source of conscience is concerned**, in Christianity, the conscience is understood as a part of God's divine image bestowed upon humanity. However, after the fall of man, it became marred by original sin. As a result, conscience is not inherently trustworthy in the absolute sense, although in ethical and social context it can produce certain relative goodness. It requires redemption and realignment with God's truth through the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the teachings of Scripture. Christianity teaches that the conscience must be transformed and purified through divine revelation, as it is not sufficient on its own to lead an individual toward righteousness. The Holy Spirit plays a crucial role in this transformation, helping believers discern God's will and guiding them toward moral clarity. In contrast, traditional Chinese philosophy, particularly the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, presents a much more optimistic view of the conscience. According to Mencius,

humans are born with an inherent sense of right and wrong. This conscience is composed of four innate moral impulses—compassion, shame, courtesy, and a sense of right and wrong—that can guide individuals toward virtuous behavior. In Chinese culture, conscience is seen as pure and untarnished by sin. Instead of needing redemption, conscience requires cultivation, which can be achieved through education, moral examples, and self-cultivation. This emphasis on moral development suggests that individuals are born with the tools to be virtuous, but they must nurture these impulses through proper guidance and effort.

As far as **nature and reliability of conscience** are concerned, Christianity teaches that the conscience, because of sin, is inherently unreliable. It can become seared, darkened, or corrupted, leading individuals to make moral decisions that are not in line with God's will. For this reason, conscience must always be tested and guided by Scripture, which provides the objective standard of moral truth. In Galatians 5:22-23, the fruits of the Holy Spirit serve as a measure by which Christians can assess the alignment of their conscience with God's will. In Christianity, the conscience is not an infallible guide; it requires continual renewal and sanctification. In contrast, Chinese Confucian philosophy assumes that following one's conscience is inherently virtuous, provided that one's actions align with societal norms and expectations. The focus is on personal cultivation, self-discipline, and learning. The conscience is seen as reliable if it has been properly nurtured through education, moral example, and practice. While Chinese culture values the development of moral character, it also emphasizes social harmony. The conscience is guided by an individual's duty to society, family, and collective good. As a result, the Chinese view of conscience tends to emphasize harmony and balance rather than personal moral transformation through divine revelation.

As far as **conscience and authority** are concerned, in Christianity, the conscience is always subordinate to the authority of God. Even the most sincere feelings or personal moral reasoning must ultimately submit to God's truth, as revealed in Scripture. The Christian conscience is not meant to act autonomously; it must be in harmony with divine authority. This perspective places God as the ultimate moral authority, and the conscience must align with His will, not personal desires or societal expectations. In Chinese culture, the concept of authority is often relational and horizontal, framed within the context of family and societal norms. The conscience is shaped by one's duty to others, especially to family and community, and the primary goal is to maintain harmony within these relationships. Authority in Chinese culture is often linked to fulfilling one's obligations, preserving societal order, and adhering to Confucian principles of propriety and respect. While there is respect for authority, it is not viewed as an absolute, vertical authority as in Christianity. Instead, authority in Chinese culture tends to be more fluid, shaped by the context of familial and social relationships.

As far as **the relationship between conscience and redemption** is concerned, Christianity teaches that redemption comes not through self-cultivation but through grace—specifically, through faith in Jesus Christ. According to Christian doctrine, the conscience is cleansed through Christ's sacrifice, and spiritual transformation is achieved through union with Him. Redemption is viewed as a gift from God, not something that can be earned through human effort or moral improvement. The Christian understanding of redemption involves a spiritual rebirth, in which the conscience is restored to its original purity through God's grace. In Chinese tradition, the concept of redemption is rooted in moral self-cultivation and the return to one's inherent

goodness. There is no belief in atonement for sin or the need for divine intervention to cleanse the conscience. Instead, perfection is pursued through education, virtuous living, and self-improvement. The Chinese view of moral development focuses on the individual's ability to cultivate virtue and fulfill their duties within society. Redemption, therefore, is a continuous process of self-cultivation and moral refinement, achieved through dedication to learning and following the example of virtuous role models.

In conclusion, while both Christianity and Chinese culture value the role of conscience in guiding moral behavior, they differ significantly in their views on its source, nature, reliability, and relationship to authority and redemption. Christianity emphasizes the need for divine guidance and transformation through grace, while Chinese culture focuses on the cultivation of an innate, pure conscience through education and moral example. These differing perspectives reflect the broader worldviews of each tradition and the ways in which they understand human nature, morality, and the pursuit of virtue. Ultimately, for Christians the human conscience is unreliable due to the corruption of original sin. People may act according to their conscience, but that does not guarantee righteousness. Only Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, can provide the clarity and redemption needed for a truly clear conscience. The Christian perspective places the conscience under divine authority, while the Chinese view emphasizes societal harmony. Both perspectives, however, recognize the profound role that conscience plays in moral decision-making.

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

In the column of **Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National Studies** we have published Jason Lam's "Resurrection: An Overcoming of Human Nature? An Interdisciplinary Study on the Body, Identity, and Person", and Dalong YANG's "The Internal Logic of the Cultural Identity of Confucianism and Judaism from the Perspective of Sinicization of Religion: A Discussion based on the three inscriptions of Kaifeng Judaism".

In the column of Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society we have published Yen-Yi Lee's "Mirrors of Human Nature: The Philosophical Anthropologies of Classical Confucianism and the Theology of Orthodox Christianity", and "Wu Li and his *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu*: A Model for the Chinese-Characterization of Catholic Anthems in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties" by FU Yugang and YIN Ming.

In the column of **Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible we have published** "A Comparative Study on Transcendence between Christianity and Confucianism" by ZHANG Hua and ZHOU Dandan, and HUA Wei's "Pauline Pneumatology and the Chinese Rites Controversy: On the Theological Failure of the Holy See's Mission in the Early *Qing* Dynasty".

In the column of **Church History in the West and in China, we have published** YANG Yuanmeng's "The Inter-Cultural Observation of American Missionaries: A Study of the *Hainan News Letter*" and SUN Sangyang's "Christians from Zeng Guofan's Confucian Clan".

In the column of **Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies, we have published** LIN Xiaobin's "Between the Subject and the Transcendent: The Value-Adding Interpretation of Confucianism in *The True Meaning of Confucianism*" and TIAN Wei's "A transcendent view from the perspective of the relationship between God and man or the relationship between heaven and man: Take Christianity and Confucianism as

examples”.

In the column of **Reviews and Academic Reports**, we have published SHANG Changbao’s “Defending the Hardness of Double Predestination - Centered on Burtner’s The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination”, “Transcendence, Internal Transcendence, Transcendence beyond Life and Death: A Review of *the Comparative Study of the Ethics of Life and Death between Mencius and Paul*” by Meng Yang and Paulos Huang, and John ZHU’s “A Brief Analyze on Characteristics of Marcion’s Theology: Also Refuting Adolf Harnack’s Research Paradigm”.

中文题目：基督教与中国文化在“良知”概念上的对比

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提要：通过对基督教与中国文化在良知概念上的对比，本文深入探讨了良知的本质及其可靠性。虽然基督教与中国文化都重视良知在道德行为指导中的作用，但它们在良知的来源、本质、可靠性以及与权威和救赎的关系等方面存在显著差异。

关键词：良知、原罪、权威、来源、可靠性

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

复活：对人性的克服？ ——身体、身分、身位的跨学科探索

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提要：本文与不同学科作出对话，从而厘清现代人对复活、身体和人性的一些困惑和误解，并从圣经神学和教义学指出，人性虽然有限制却不是枷锁，使人无法自由的毋宁说是罪性。身体、身分和身位虽然不同却互相关连，早期基督教有关身体复活的信仰不单只涉及物质身躯，而是跟整全的人性有关。它们或许是罪恶和死亡进入世界的渠道，可是道成肉身的基督也使它们转化为传递恩典的桥梁，故此拯救论也必须建立在一个合宜的基督教人观之上。与圣灵相对的不是身体或人性，反倒圣灵正是在其中发挥作用的关键，使人得享自由并进入上帝的新创造中。

关键词：复活，人性，身体，身分，身位

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1. 引言：身体复活作为信仰基础

「我真苦啊！谁能救我脱离这必死的身体呢？」（罗 7:24）

保罗这感叹大概是千百年来许多基督信徒身同感受着的，因为正如他在罗马书上文所说，人不是不懂得什么是美善，可是总是觉得身体上有个律，愿意行善时却总被恶所缠累，附从了肢体中罪的律，成为了其奴仆。如此看来，人活在身内就犹如给赋与了一个巨大的枷锁，唯有脱离了才能得着释放。

古希腊哲学家看来也有这种想法，萨摩沙的毕达哥拉斯（Pythagoras of Samos, c 570-495 BCE）相信灵魂不灭，在公元前六世纪就已认定身体是灵魂的坟墓（soma-sema）。这种看法大大影响了古希腊文化、¹早期基督教以至当今一些信徒的概念，认为身体（body）以至人性（humanity）本身就是使人无法实践美善的原因，必须脱去了这层枷锁才能得享自由。

¹ 这显然由柏拉图所拥抱并传承下来的概念，参 Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates*, trans. Hugh Tredennick (London: Penguin Books, 1969).

「基督若没有复活，你们的信就是徒然，你们仍活在罪里。就是在基督里睡了的人也灭亡了。」（林前 15:17-18）

但同一位保罗也指出，复活是众信徒得救的指望，那么它是指向一种对身体以至人性的克服吗？这一方面似乎应该是，但保罗的说法却也表明，这种「克服」不是要脱去身体，因为他在这里正跟哥林多信徒讨论「复活的身体」是如何的。当然，我们对复活的理解非常有限，因为保罗指出复活是从基督一人而来，众人仍在等待自己的次序（林前 15:23）。正因如此，即或在历代信徒之中，对于复活和人性存在着许多模糊不清以至错误的概念。

故此，本文欲与不同学科作出对话，从而厘清现代人对复活、身体和人性的一些困惑和误解，并从圣经神学和教义学来指出，为何「身体复活」是早期基督教的确信，并对今天的信徒仍然具有意义。我们将发现，身体、身分（identity）和身位（person）三者虽然不同却互相关连，身体复活的信仰故此便不单只涉及物质性的身躯，而是跟我们整全的人性有关，而一个适切的拯救论思考也必须建立在一个合宜的基督教人观之上。

2. 灵魂不朽抑或身体复活？

曾有信徒表示，教会中的一些科研人员，尤其跟医疗有关的会友对复活信仰深表怀疑，甚或明确否定，这有时更出于一些资深会友之中。然而保罗在上面提及有关复活的讨论中却明说：「基督若没有复活，你们的信就是徒然，你们仍活在罪里。」（林前 15:17）牧者很容易出现爱之深责之切的情况，断然否定他们的想法。可是他们既是专业人士，大概绝非一厢情愿地追逐某种主观想象，因此回应他们也是在回应科学时代里布道和护教上的一个重要课题。²

《基督教世纪》（The Christian Century）最近出刊了一篇短文〈耶稣复活了肠道菌群〉（Jesus Resurrected Gut Biome），作者科路娜—比斯娜（Melissa Florer-Bixler）提出了一个有趣的问题：约翰福音描述复活后的耶稣跟门徒在海边一起吃鱼，这是一个基督徒耳熟能详的故事。从现代科学的角度看，吃了鱼的耶稣应该需要消化，他的消化系统若跟常人一样——当中应存在千千万万的微生物（microbes）协助人体消化，包括把蛋白质转化成胺基酸（amino acids）输送到身体的不同组织。那么，耶稣的复活是否包括了他体内各式各样的微生物组（microbiome）？他们有些从马利亚的母腹中已伴随着耶稣成长，若没有了它们任何人也活不成。³

构成耶稣身体的各种微生物组也跟他一起复活吗？倘是的话他们便不待终末到来已抢先脱离死亡进入永恒中了。这的确是一个不易回应的问题，当然也不是圣经作者和早期教会所想象得到的，却是活在科学时代的人的合法提问。事实上，早期教父也有人提及生物学问题：有些殉道士的身体在斗兽场给狮子撕碎了并吞吃掉，这些猛兽死后可能也进入大自然的食物链中，甚或被吸收到其他动植物包括人类的体内，那么到复活时这些信徒的身体将会如何？⁴

2 事实上自启蒙时代以来对复活信仰的质疑并不罕见，对十七世纪英国启蒙思想家就此课题的一个概览可参 John Henry, "The General Resurrection and Early Modern Natural Philosophies: A Preliminary Survey," *Zygon* 58:4 (2023), 905-927.

3 Melissa Florer-Bixler, "Jesus Resurrected Gut Biome," *The Christian Century* April 2023, <https://www.christiancentury.org/article/voices/jesus-resurrected-gut-biome>, accessed on 5 June 2023.

4 Athenagoras of Athens, "On the Resurrection of the Dead," <https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/athenagoras-resurrection.html>, accessed on 22 June 2023; 一个中文的简述可参赖品超，〈两种对希腊文化的护教学式进路〉，载《传承与转化》（香港：基督教文艺，2006），98-100。

我们不清楚上述教会中科研人员心目中的具体问题，但可以想象类似题目有成千上万，对耶稣复活的现代想象必定会构成困扰。倒过来看，正是人类对一己的身体和世界愈来愈了解，以致我们愈难以理解和肯定身体复活的信仰。难怪从古至今，包括本文起始时提及的古希腊文化和基督教传统里，往往出现要把死后生命跟尘世生命相对以至割离的倾向。似乎不消说人性，即或仅是人的身体，已构成对生命可能性带来的枷锁。

然而我们也可以倒过来问：倘若死后仍有生命，那么这是一个跟当下具身躯的生命没有连续性的阶段吗？倘是这样，称之为「复活」确是不妥，倒不如用古希腊哲人宣称的「灵魂不灭」更贴切。⁵事实上，保罗也曾直认：「血肉之躯不能承受上帝的国。」（林前 15:50）可是被希腊文化围绕的早期教会，却宣称相信身体复活和永恒的生命（不论使徒信经或尼西亚信经皆如此宣认），究竟这种传统概念应如何理解？现代人又可如何承传或要否弃？⁶

上面提及的困惑多少跟一个前设相关：身体复活意即活在尘世生命里的身躯在死后得到复甦（resuscitation），⁷灵魂不朽则否弃了这种可能性，然而二者皆相信在个体中活着的生命在死亡以后仍然以某种形式延续着，⁸这也是带来混淆之因。基督教传统所理解的复活是否必须二择其一？事实上，圣经论到耶稣复活以后的事迹并不多，主要集中在福音书的结束部分，通常都是一些零散的故事。从叙事的角度，很多时候我们都把焦点集中在复活前后其身体的差异，如熟悉的人都认不出他来（约 20:14；路 24:15-16），他可以自由穿越关闭了的房间（约 20:19, 26），甚或升到天上（徒 1:9）。但即或如此，我们仍可肯定复活后的耶稣仍拥有跟一般人一样有骨有肉的身躯（路 24:39-40），他可以与人交谈以至吃饭（路 24:42-43），并且留有因钉十字架而造成的伤痕，这更是使门徒可以辨认出他来的记号（约 20:20, 27）。从学术角度，以上段落固然涉及了不同时代的作者和受众，以至针对着不同的背景，难以作一简单通盘的分析。⁹故此这里只从叙事角度作一概括，为针对上文提及教会中一般现代受众的理解。但如此看来，复活后的耶稣不单拥有身体，并且其在许多方面与一般人无异；复活不单不代表脱离身体而活，虽然这种身躯看来超越了一些以前的限制，却仍留有一些过往的（受伤）痕迹，表明了跟过往生命历程的延续而非完全断裂的两个部分。

从新约接连至神学的讨论，部分是因受到理性时代的影响，现代学者对于上述复活身体的理解也可分为几类。¹⁰第一种以为福音书所载的只能视为门徒的主观体会，为要指出耶稣引发的行动在他死后仍然在继续。倒过来，另一边厢固然是认为耶稣的被钉、埋葬与复活不能仅被化约为门徒的经验，空坟墓

5 当然，古希腊人也不全然反对身体复活，一些明确的例子可参 John Granger Cook, "Resurrection in Paganism and the Question of an Empty Tomb in 1 Corinthians 15," *New Testament Studies* 63 (2017), 62-74. 另外，新约作者使用「复活」而非「被提」、「升天」或「转化」等概念来描述基督事件也值得思考，这方面可参 James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 866-870.

6 这方面的教义学讨论可参莫尔特曼着，曾念粤译，《来临中的上帝：基督教的终末论》（香港：道风，2007），77-101。

7 这似乎是使用 ἐγείρω 作动词的最基本理解，参 James Ware, "The Resurrection of Jesus in the Pre-Pauline Formula of 1 Cor 15:3-5," *New Testament Studies* 60 (2014), 492-497；然而，这也不能排除复活后的身躯在本质上跟以前有所不同，详参下文讨论。

8 复活带不带有身躯皆可能构成认知上的困难，这是宗教哲学的传统话题之一，我们不可能在本文中讨论，这方面可参 P. W. Gooch, "On Disembodied Resurrected Persons: A Study in the Logic of Christian Eschatology," *Religious Studies* 17 (1981), 199-213. 新约作者也怀着其特定的考虑因素，参 Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 115-117, 127-129.

9 路加的其中一个角度可参 Alexander P. Thompson, "The Risen Christ and Ambiguous Afterlife Language: An Examination of πνεῦμα in Luke 24:36-43," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 38:4 (2019), 809-827.

10 以下概括参韦尔克，《复活与永生：复活之基督、其实在和其荣耀的正典记忆》，载波尔金霍恩、韦尔克编，王涛译，《世界的终结：从科学与神学看终末》（香港：道风，2010），437-453。

的记载就是重要的反驳，即或把耶稣送上十字架的犹太公会也没有否定其尸身不在的事实（太 28:11-15）。¹¹当然，即或是后一派，虽然强调了拿撒勒人耶稣和复活的基督之结连，也不能否定其身軀产跟以前的表现有所不同，因此这其中的延续性也存在着一些变化，而不仅仅只是旧有血肉之軀的复甦。¹²倘是如此，则由耶稣复活所引发对终末普遍复活的期盼，也不可能如是观之（腓 3:21 指复活的身体要改变至跟主相似），¹³这对于我们思考身体复活的信仰，以至其与科学时代的对话有重要提示。¹⁴

3. 群体中的身分与交往

身体跟人性当然有紧密的关系，但二者并不等同。倘若我们关注的只是后者，而又肯定复活的身体跟当下的不完全相同，那么即或基督徒信仰的是身体复活，仍可以说人的身軀并不重要吗？人的身分以至其本性（human nature）是否能与身体分割？或倒过来说，身体确实是人性的枷锁，没有了我们便可得到更开放的可能性？¹⁵

英国哲学家威廉斯（Bernard Williams, 1929-2003）在五十年前提出了一个思想实验，到了今天仍很值得思考：¹⁶如若甲、乙被安排进一部机器后，二人的记忆会被对调，并且随后甲的身体会受折磨而乙的身体会获赠十万元奖金，似乎甲理应很乐意走进这部机器中（乙则相反）。可是若我们从另一角度思考：甲被告知明天将会接受酷刑，这自然会带来巨大恐惧，然后更指在此之前他将被抹去所有记忆，并注入另一个人的思想在脑袋中，这会舒缓他的焦虑还是让情况变得更糟糕？（倒过来乙又会接受安排吗？）

提出这个思想实验固然不是要求我们为甲或乙作出选择，而旨在说明我们不可能把人化约为一个身軀承载着记忆（或灵魂）的组合而已。人的意识（consciousness）以至身分（identity）固然与记忆犹关，而记忆又是一个个生活历程组织起来的结果，它不可能跟身体的经验轻易割裂，甚至是塑造个人身位或个性（personality）的重要原素。患上思觉失调（Schizophrenia）和妄想性错认症候群（Delusional misidentification syndromes）者有些正是认为，自己或身边人的身体被外来者入侵了或被转移，以致无法肯定曾经验的一些生命历程。¹⁷从这角度，或许让我们更容易理解到身体复活的另一层意义所在。

11 空坟墓的典故在新约和早期教会当然是一巨大课题，也关联至许多背景，相关讨论可参 Cook, "Resurrection in Paganism and the Question of an Empty Tomb in 1 Corinthians 15".

12 James Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36-54," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133:4 (2014), 809-835 是近年较详尽分析的一篇文章，他虽然肯定了身体恢复的原文意涵，但也认定复活后的身体是因圣灵的大能带有本质上的不同。

13 Brian Schmidek, "The Body of His Glory: Resurrection Imagery in Philippians 3:20-21," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 43:1 (2013), 26-27.

14 参 Robert John Russell, "Bodily Resurrection, Eschatology, and Scientific Cosmology," in Ted Peters, Robert John Russell & Michael Welker eds., *Resurrection: Theological and Scientific Assessments*, (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 8-15; 神学家的相关反思例子可参 Rowan Williams, *Resurrection: Interpreting the Easter Gospel*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2002), 91-112.

15 参上注 8。

16 Bernard Williams, "The Self and the Future," in *Problems of the Self: Philosophical Papers 1956-73*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 46-63.

17 提出这思想实验并其关联讨论可参 Nancy Murphy, "The Resurrection Body and Personal Identity," in Peters, Russell & Welker eds., *Resurrection: Theological and Scientific Assessments*, 210-211; 这种现象也可引发对终末与复活的神学反思，参 Harvey Cawdron, "Divided Minds and Divine Judgement: Dissociative Identity Disorder, Heaven and Hell, and the Resurrection of the Body," *Theologica* 7:1 (2023), 168-193.

正如上文略及，耶稣复活后的身体似乎跟过往有别，以致人们辨认不出他来；可是他却仍留有因钉十字架而成的伤痕，甚至成为门徒确认他的记号（约 20:20, 27）。¹⁸从一方面看，这就如上面所说，过往的经历不可能跟参与者的身体经验分离，尤其目睹十字架事件的惨烈过程，正使门徒产生跟耶稣之间不能磨灭的回忆，这是所有福音书作者要重点记载的历程，也界定了上帝与这世界的新关系（一位道成肉身、主动参与人间苦难的上帝与受苦者结连）。¹⁹复活后的耶稣也是带着身躯回来的，与门徒一起上路到以马忤斯，在海边参与他们的打鱼活动，甚至跟他们一起吃喝。倘若复活的主没有身躯而只是一个灵魂，这一切行动是难以想象以至不可能实现的，至少福音书的记载肯定会十分不同。²⁰当然，我们不是说复活必须带有跟以前一模一样的血肉之躯（按保罗所说，这至少在本质上已转化为不朽坏的），而是要说明身体复活对于生命延续的重要意义。

我们甚或可以抽离地推想，上帝可为耶稣和所有人在复活时再造一个完全不同的身躯，但我们的意识和周围的人如何能确认「那个人」是我？²¹这不单是福音书中复活后叙事的一个焦点，也是许多现代电影和戏剧谈及灵魂出窍和角色互换的桥段。由此看来，身体不单关系到一己意识和经验的心理问题，也是在群体中的个人身分（personal identity）形塑的重要原素。倒过来说也是一样，身分或个性往往需要透过具体行动来展现，这是为何若我们肯认耶稣基督是道成肉身的上帝，而他又参与在人类历史当中，便等同说上帝的性情可透过其爱子的所说所行影响着我们。因此，复活后的耶稣不仅只是一个无形无体的灵，而是仍旧有血有肉的活跃在门徒中间，这不仅是要让门徒认得出他，而是继续对他们和后世的教会作出影响。这种影响必须是在群体中透过身位交往（personal communication）才是可能的，也是潘霍华（Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906-1945）之所以认为基督论最终不是一个如何（how? 二性合一）的问题，而是一个谁是（who? 基督）的问题，并且「基督论问题只有在教会之中提出来，才能提得有学术意义。」²²从一个角度来看，身位只能在一个社群中才能完全展现出来，故对基督的信仰也只有藉赖一个认信群体中才能产生影响。

从耶稣身体复活和其继后活动看来，上帝是肯定在群体中这种身位交往以至身分形塑的正面作用的。当然，我们不会忽略自奥古斯丁以来，拉丁基督教传统向来比较强调人性的幽暗面，更认为原罪在堕落后的人群中造成广泛的影响。²³可是保罗虽说「罪是从一人进入世界」（罗 5:12），但也「因一人的顺从，众人也成为义了。」（罗 5:19）天主教和新教徒或许惯常地以拉丁的代赎观（substitutionary atonement）来思考这称义或成义过程，²⁴但若把焦点置于耶稣复活的功用上，则哥林多前书十五章论到

18 Robert H. Smith, *Wounded Lord: Reading John Through the Eyes of Thomas*, (Eugene: Cascade, 2009) 提供了一个相关的神学与牧养反思。

19 这是二十世纪尤其二次大战以降神学界的巨大课题，我们不可能在此详细展开，可参如潘霍华（Dietrich Bonhoeffer）、莫特曼（Jürgen Moltmann）、沃夫（Miroslav Volf）等的讨论。不过这课题其实十分古老，由早期教父至圣多默（St. Thomas Aquinas）也多有讨论，可参一篇短文：Charles Pope, "Why Jesus' Resurrected Body still had Wounds," <https://blog.adw.org/2017/04/jesus-resurrected-body-still-wounds/>, accessed on 23 June 2023. 由新约接连至神学的讨论则可参 Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*; 赖特著，纪荣智、谭达峰、邱慕天译，《神儿子的复活》（新北：校园，2016）；Christian Stettler, "The Resurrection of the Body. Its Place in Biblical Theology and Its Meaning for Christian Life and Witness," *European Journal of Theology* 32:1 (2023), 26-59.

20 参 René A. López, "The Nature of the Resurrection Body of Jesus and Believers," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 170 (2013), 143-153; 另可留意路加福音在复活后的叙事所带来的意涵，参 Thompson, "The Risen Christ and Ambiguous Afterlife Language."

21 参上注 8。

22 朋霍费尔著，朱雁冰译，《第一亚当与第二亚当》（北京：华夏，2004），44。这种讨论对基督论的贡献可参 Rowan Williams, *Christ, the Heart of Creation*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 169-217.

23 一个综合性概述可参：周伟驰，《奥古斯丁的基督教思想》（北京：中国社会科学，2005），203-223。

24 这固然首先由安瑟伦（Anselm of Canterbury）所成熟建构，参安瑟伦著，涂世华译，《天主为何降生成人》，载《安瑟伦著作选》（北京：宗教

复活的话题可能更加适切这里的讨论。²⁵保罗把复活的基督这位「末后的亚当」跟「首先的人亚当」作对比（林前 15:45），²⁶他「成为睡了之人初熟的果子」（林前 15:20）。²⁷问题是这种功效是如何在新造的人当中产生作用的呢？上面提及潘霍华对基督与教会的看法值得我们参考，因他指出成为人身的基督彰显出上帝神圣的形像并与人亲近，要求人开放封闭了的自我，恢复真正的团契生活。教会既是基督的身体，便在这个信仰群体中展现他的实在，让人在此透过与跟他结连的信徒相遇，让追随基督者能参与到新创造中，恢复被罪扭曲了的人性。²⁸

4. 驱动身体背后的动力

综合以上所说，我们从科学、哲学以至群体心理的角度看来都能肯定身体复活的意义，因为它涉及群体中身分的形塑并其中与神与人的身位交往。但我们必须承认，对于复活的身体所知有限，除了福音书有关复活后的耶稣事迹以外，最重要的显然是哥林多前书十五章的相关记载。²⁹回到「首先的人亚当」和「末后的亚当」的身体上（林前 15:45），保罗的描述对现代人来说确是不易理解的：

死人复活也是这样……所种的是血肉的身体，复活的是灵性的身体。既有血肉的身体（σῶμα ψυχικόν），也就有灵性的身体（σῶμα πνευματικόν）。（林前 15:42-44）

现代人犹如古时沉浸在希腊二元论的人一样，常把灵魂与肉体相对，因此很容易把这里说的「灵性的身体」跟现实割裂。³⁰可是保罗这里不论血肉和灵性说的都指向「身体」，是具体和实在之物，也如上所说具有跟自己和他人的身体和身位结连的功能。³¹再者，即或希腊和现代人往往都采纳灵肉二元

文化出版社，2006），页 3-122；相关的讨论可参何威达，《耶稣顺服与救恩奥秘：从圣经和神学探究救恩论》（香港：德慧文化，2014），页 69-86。

25 本文不拟成为新约研究论文，虽然往下会稍为对这段经文作出分析，但学术的评注可参 Anthony C. Thiselton, *The New International Greek Testament Commentary: The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament*, (Ada: Baker Academic, 2003); Richard Hays, *First Corinthians*, (Interp; Louisville: John Knox, 1997); 至于这段经文跟本文课题相关的文章可参 Cook, "Resurrection in Paganism and the Question of an Empty Tomb in 1 Corinthians 15"; James D. G. Dunn, "How are the Dead Raised? With What Body do they Come? Reflections on 1 Corinthians 15," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 45:1 (2002), 4-18; Andrew Johnson, "Turning the World Upside Down in 1 Corinthians 15: Apocalyptic Epistemology, the Resurrected Body and the New Creation," *Evangelical Quarterly* 75:4 (2003), 291-309; Jerry L. Sumney, "Post-Mortem Existence and Resurrection of the Body in Paul," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 31 (2009), 13-21; Ware, "The Resurrection of Jesus in the Pre-Pauline Formula of 1 Cor 15:3-5"; Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36-54"; Joel White, "'He was Raised on the Third Day according to the Scriptures' (1 Corinthians 15:4) A Typological Interpretation based on the Cultic Calendar in Leviticus 23," *Tyndale Bulletin* 66:1 (2015), 103-119; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 405-464。

26 有关亚当基督论可参 James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, (London: SCM, 1980), 98-128; Brandon D. Crowe, *The Last Adam: A Theology of the Obedient Life of Jesus in the Gospels*, (Grand Rapids: Bakers, 2023).

27 相关讨论可参 White, "'He was Raised on the Third Day according to the Scriptures' (1 Corinthians 15:4)."

28 这是潘霍华在其博士论文《圣徒相通》（Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church* DBWE 1; trans. Reinhard Krauss & Nancy Lukens (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009)）的要旨，概述可参邓绍光，《界限与伦理：潘霍华的伦理神学》（香港：香港浸信会神学院，2006），33-41。

29 参上注 25, 26。

30 这或许跟笛卡尔（René Descartes）以降所造成的心物二元论有关，但半世纪以来重新崛起的德性伦理（virtue ethics）正打破了这种看法，并让人对身分、性情、交往等重视起来，参 Murphy, "The Resurrection Body and Personal Identity," 212-218。至于新约中这词汇的意涵可参 Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36-54"; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 369-374。

31 中译文在这里也造成了困惑，因为当保罗后面提及「血肉之躯（σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα）不能承受上帝的国」（林前 15:50）时，用的完全是另一组词汇。15:44 里的「血肉的身体（σῶμα ψυχικόν）」或可理解为「自然」的身体。在保罗思想，身体（σῶμα）和肉身（σὰρξ）是有不同指向和价值的，参洪晓纯，《被丢弃的「身体」：论约翰福音对保罗书信的接受》，载《圣经文学研究》第 24 辑（2022 春），77-79; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*

观，两者却有重大差别。现代人总倾向以为物质世界是实在的，关乎精神或灵性的事情是虚构的，故此才需要证明信仰中许多的项目（如上帝存在、死后生命等）。然而对于希腊文化来说，这个会流变、可朽坏的世界反倒是虚谎的，精神或灵性的事情却可存到永远，因此更加实在和有价值，前者甚或只是后者的暂时虚拟或模仿，为要实现其本质和潜能。当然，这不是说保罗全然接受了希腊文化的理解；反倒，一般认为他的概念仍是相当希伯来（法利赛）传统的。³²当我们如此阅读时，才能明白保罗在这里所说的是什么一回事，他要指出的不单是个体生命的变化，乃至至整个世界和世代的蜕变。³³

说完了血肉和灵性的身体对照后，保罗继续指出：「首先的亚当成了有生命的人（ψυχὴν ζῶσαν），末后的亚当成了赐生命的灵（πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν）。」（林前 15:45）人和灵在这里固然是相对的，但因上面已说明双方皆有身体，因此这里所说的并非灵性与身体的对比，而是血肉之躯中的动力源头乃「属灵的」还是「自然的」作对照。³⁴这样说来，岂不跟传统的灵肉相对观一样吗？不，正因两方面皆指向了身肉之躯，故此这里所要强调的乃是肉体中的动力所源——前者是自然中的人，后者则是（圣）灵，要强调的毋宁说是身体（复活前后）的本质差异，更是因圣灵的启示所导致。³⁵难怪保罗会认为使耶稣从死人中复活的乃是圣灵的大能（罗 1:4），³⁶甚至把圣灵与基督皆等同于主（林后 3:16-17），为早期教会认信奠定基础。³⁷肉体和人性的不单只不被厌弃，也不是枷锁，更与身分和身位的构成有关，好坏的关键只在乎是否被圣灵启悟。即或说堕落后的人性已被罪所捆绑，它能否得释放和超升也在于此。

如此看来，人的身体以至人性在堕落以后虽带有缺憾，正如许多早期教父认为其中上帝的形象已被扭曲，罪与死亡更是从此而来。³⁸可是末后的亚当竟也藉着同一渠道使人类得以出死入生，进入新创造的团契中，得享永恒的生命。³⁹信徒被差遣进入世界去正是为此，使人性透过跟末后的亚当结连而恢复失落的荣耀形象。因此，身体以至人性便不可能一面倒地被视为笼牢人的枷锁，更非是要被丢弃的器具，而是可以为主所用、传递救恩的渠道。身体和人性虽然有其限制却非缺憾（上帝创造其时被看为美好！），真正的枷锁应该是罪性而非人性。

the Apostle, 51-73; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 370-372。

32 Martin, *The Corinthian Body*; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 363-403。

33 Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 317-333; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 476-480。

34 跟上面一样，这几节中的人/有血肉的（ψυχὴν/ψυχικόν）也应理解作「自然的」，即有生命的自然人，跟赐生命的灵/有灵性的（πνεῦμα/πνευματικόν）相对照，这方面可参 Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 76-78; Johnson, "Turning the World Upside Down in 1 Corinthians 15," 292-296; 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 369-374。另外，James Ware 有力的指出，从希腊文法上上述提及的对照，皆指向于当下的血肉之躯成为形容词组，参 Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36-54," 821-825。

35 赖特，《神儿子的复活》，页 447-458; Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36-54," 827-835 对这段经文有精彩的分析；另外，Johnson, "Turning the World Upside Down in 1 Corinthians 15" 更把讨论关联至 2:6-16，把分别更清楚展示为是否经由圣灵启迪所导至。

36 如上所述，我们在这里也不应过度夸大灵与肉的对照，肉体在受造界中仍有其重要角色；有关这段经文的诠释可参 James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8 (Word Biblical Commentary 38A)*, (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 13-16。

37 这方面讨论可参林子淳，〈灵恩体验与传统信仰的复和：华人教会经验对普世基督教传统的可能贡献〉，载陈廷忠、池略峰编，《濡我以灵风：普世圣灵论的华人呈献》（香港：德慧文化，2022），页 182-185。

38 爱任纽（Irenaeus）和相关的同归于一论固然是代表性学说，参凯利着，康来昌译，《早期基督教教义》（台北：华神，1992），页 116-118。

39 这也同样是基于亚当基督论，新约的论述概览可参 James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 199-204。

5. 人性本身作为一种超越

二十多年前有一部名为《第六日》（*The 6th Day*）的电影，主角亚当给人非法地复制，但后来他本人和复制人合力救出自己家人。故事中复制人曾问亚当，他既是被复制出来，没有灵魂，算不算是人？亚当的回应是，他能不顾一己安危去拯救别人，怎可能不算是人？提出这个电影情节，当然不是要考究复制人有没有灵魂，而是想指出人之所以为人，不能仅从生物学和心理学的角度来衡量。古今中外的宗教文化传统，从来对人或人性的界定超越这些标准。⁴⁰接连刚才关于启动生命原动力的话题，倘若一般的人性我们已是如此思量，那么基督宗教对复活生命的起始点也不应仅从身体的改变来切入，而更应从使人复活的大能来考虑。⁴¹

若复活的启动在于圣灵的大能，生命本质的分野便不待身体和普遍复活才开始。除了把身体和灵魂分割外，信徒也常常把今生和来世隔离，按照这视角显然大有问题。⁴²保罗明说那使耶稣和众人复活的灵现今已活在信徒之中（罗 8:9-11:23），他的确可说是外在于自然人的；但若有人在基督里，他已进入了上帝的新创造中，一切皆可改换一新（林后 5:17）。⁴³如此说来，基督的复活固然出于圣灵的大能，身体的复活说到底也是属灵的范畴。保罗并不是说这是虚构的和未成就的，反倒它比我们所触碰到的物质世界更真实！⁴⁴这带来的是要用全新的视野来察看这世界——不是在物质以外添加上一个属灵的维度，并以后者贬抑前者；而是说属灵的世界包括了整全的人性和周遭的一切事物，因为它全然属于上帝所爱顾的范畴。

一些科学家，如发现 DNA 双螺旋模型、中心法则、三联体学说等的克力克（Francis Crick, 1916-2004），的确曾明言：「你、你的欢乐和你的悲哀、你的回忆和你的抱负、你对个人身分的意识和自由意志，事实上不多于一大组神经细胞及其相关分子的行为。…你无非是一组神经元（neurons）。」⁴⁵这种说法令人不安的地方，显然是试图把非物质性的东西如身分以至人性，化约为纯粹物质性的范畴。在现今生物科技和控制论（cybernetics）迅速发展的当下，我们不难想象有一天技术人员的确可以把人类身体内的生理信息完全复制至计算机组件中，威廉斯五十年前设想的实验和二十年前的《第六日》复制行动能轻易进行，甚或以科技来实现长生不老或不朽生命。⁴⁶

即或如此，我们仍可以反问克力克或任何人，你愿意跟人家的思想或身体对调又或备份起来试试看吗？反正这不过是把生物硬件中的资料，如同从计算机中复制起来和传输吧了！不管答案如何，大概任何人要考虑的不会是纯粹物质和技术层面的，而必须包括参与者的主观意愿——他本人和其周围人与事

40 在香港和台湾上影时分别译为《第六发现》和《魔鬼复制人》；想到这套电影和相关的讨论，主要引发自一篇文章：赖品超，〈人类的未来：从道德与人性到基因工程问题〉，载林子淳、超品超、苏远泰着，《是敌？是友？科学与宗教的多元关系》（香港：明风，2012），第八章，213-242。

41 James D. G. Dunn, "The Spirit and the Body of Christ," in *The Christ and the Spirit: Christology*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 329-342.

42 新约方面的分析可参 Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 461-472; 有关复活与有限人生关连的讨论，一个很精采的概括性论述可参 Ernst M. Conradie, "Resurrection, Finitude, and Ecology," in Peters, Russell & Welker eds., *Resurrection: Theological and Scientific Assessments*, 277-296.

43 中译本里「新造的人」一语无意地把人放大了，但直译应该是新的创造（*καὶνὴ κτίσις*），这跟我们下面的讨论大有关系，并且也跟复活有密切关联，神学的讨论可参 Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, trans. Magaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 83-98.

44 《基督教世纪》的另一篇短文很值得参考：Ross M. Allen, "Do We Need a Raised Body?," *The Christian Century* 6 April 2022, 28-31.

45 笔者自译，原著为："You, your joys and your sorrows, your memories and your ambitions, your sense of personal identity and free will, are in fact no more than the behaviour of a vast assembly of nerve cells and their associated molecules. ... You are nothing but a pack of neurons." Francis Crick, *The Astonishing Hypothesis: The Scientific Search for the Soul* (New York: Scribner's, 1994), 3.

46 不用多说，这种状况跟身体复活的概念大有分别，参 Noreen Herzfeld, "Cybernetic Immortality versus Christian Resurrection," in Peters, Russell & Welker eds., *Resurrection: Theological and Scientific Assessments*, 192-201.

的考量，以至是从情绪、文化、伦理、宗教等方向去思考。换句话说，即或某些运作从技术上能够成功，决定性的因素根本不在其内，克力克的约化论无法为此提供解决方案。人的意识以至本性固然有其限制，但其存在本身已是对物质身体的一种超越信号，更不应理解为一道枷锁；从信仰的角度来看，这更可说是由上帝所赐的礼物，让人能打破躯壳的笼牢，与人与神交往的渠道。

在讨论威廉斯的实验时我们已指出，人不可能仅被视为把记忆或意识载入躯壳里的组合，那么如克力克所说，把前者再贬缩为后者自然地产生出生物信息便更成问题。如此一来，我们发现的是，不能把灵魂、记忆、意识等跟身体割裂，倒过来以为它们仅是物质性躯壳的产物也是不可能。我们从来不容易为人性是什么下定义，它确实有其限制并幽暗面，但拯救也必与它关连，上帝也不耻于取其样式（腓 2:6-8），无怪乎基督教新、旧约圣经把「首先的人亚当」和「末后的亚当」都视为上帝的形象（创 1:26-27；西 1:15-16），并且二者也有结连。⁴⁷

6. 一个具生态意涵的结语

绕了一圈以后，让我们回到原来的问题：耶稣体内的微生物组也跟着他一同复活吗？他们已进入荣耀中吗？我们必须承认，从科学的角度，或说从自然人的肉体视野，难以有确定的答案。复活的耶稣所具有的乃是一副不朽坏的属灵身躯，跟我们现在在本质上有所不同，但却仍有一定的延续性，至少门徒跟复活后的耶稣一起吃喝过。从这角度推想，复活的身体里也应该有肠道菌群啊！⁴⁸只是这些微生物组是否就是他钉十字架时候的那些？我们当下没有答案，只知道那已经是属于属灵范畴的事情，然而这也可为现代人带来重要意涵。

上文我们把身体、身分和身位接连来讨论，很大程度上仍停留在人际的角度来了解。但若人的身体不单构成人际间性（interpersonality），而是物种间的联系，就如耶稣的消化道组织和殉道者进入食物链也如此指向。如此一来，道成肉身之主参与的也不只是人类世界，而是透过他所创造的整个有形与无形的万物。复活主的身体内若必包含其他生物群组，也代表着他要拯救的不单是人，乃是他所爱顾的万有。

这其实应该一点也不令人意外，新约所载的新天新地里不是有生命树与生命河吗（启 21:6；22:1-2，14，17）？以赛亚不早便说过，到那时「野狼必与小绵羊同住，豹子与小山羊同卧；少壮狮子、牛犊和肥畜同羣，孩童要牵引牠们」（赛 11:6）？当然，我们可以理解这些仅是一幅幅意象性描画；但若大动物已被包含在内，为何微生物组会被排拒？只是古人没有这方面的知识，故没有被描述出来罢了。但对于活在生态危机中的现代人来说，这却可能带来重要意涵，因为上帝从来没只把人类置于其拯救计划内，人跟其他被造物从一开始便结连在上帝宏大的美好创造蓝图之中。⁴⁹

⁴⁷ 参上注 26。

⁴⁸ 这也是 Florer-Bixler, "Jesus Resurrected Gut Biome" 的答案。

⁴⁹ 从这方面出发的神学反思其实已有不少，例如 Michael Kunnen & Clayton D. Carlson, "Deeply Connected to God's Good World, the Human Microbiome," *Christian Scholar's Review* 46:2 (2017), 113-126; Aaron M. Hill, "The Other Within: Rethinking Theological Anthropology in Light of the Microbiome," *Christian Scholar's Review* 50:1 (2020), 39-59.

倘若复活的耶稣体内仍有微生物组，这意味着上帝所爱顾的范围总比我们想象的多而又多，那人类又怎能轻忽创造主所眷爱的这一切？如此，身体复活的信仰更不是如许多人所认为的一种负面的跳避现实（*escapism*），而是要求我们积极地去参与和转化上主藉赖圣灵要更新的世界。

我们既有的身体和人性是令人与上帝隔绝的枷锁吗？从本文的讨论看来绝对不是，人性虽然有限制却不是枷锁，使人无法自由的无宁说是罪性。身体、身分和身位环环相扣，它们或许是罪恶和死亡进入世界的渠道，可是道成肉身的主也使它们变为他传递恩典的桥梁。与圣灵相对的不是身体或人性，反倒圣灵正是要在他们当中发挥作用，使人得享自由、进入上帝的新创造中。耶稣复后的活叙事正好给我们一些画像，让我们能管窥终末的美善和对当下的重要意义——被差派成为上帝复和的使者并爱护上帝所看顾的一切。

English Title: Resurrection: An Overcoming of Human Nature? An Interdisciplinary Study on the Body, Identity, and Person

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Abstract:

This essay produces a dialogue between different disciplines, clarifying some of the modern confusion and misunderstandings regarding resurrection, the body, and human nature. It points out from biblical theology and dogmatics that human nature, while limited, is not a bondage that prevents freedom. The problem is rather due to sinfulness. The body, identity, and person, though distinct, are interconnected. Early Christian beliefs about bodily resurrection not only involve material bodies but are related to the entirety of human nature. While they may be channels for sin and death entering the world, the incarnation of Christ transforms them into bridges for transmitting grace. Therefore, soteriology must be based on a proper Christian anthropology. The opposite of the Holy Spirit is not the body or human nature; rather, the Holy Spirit is actively working within them, bringing freedom and ushering people into God's new creation.

Keywords: Resurrection, human nature, body, identity, person

宗教中国化视野下儒犹文化认同的内在理路 ——基于开封犹太教三碑文的探讨

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摘要：宗教中国化是外来宗教融入中国本土文化并与中华文明和同共生的根本路径，主要包括文化认同，民族认同和社会认同三个层面的理论内涵，其中，“文化认同”是宗教中国化三重义理中最根本的原则。从宗教中国化的视野对出现在开封地区的犹太教三碑文进行研究，是对儒犹文化认同的伦理基础、现实路径和内在精神等问题的深层次讨论，是阐释儒犹文化认同之内在逻辑和时代精神的重要视角，符合当今时代宗教中国化研究的理论需要。犹太教在开封地区和谐发展的生存处境呈显了犹太文化与中国传统的儒家文化之间融合发展的历史进程。作为不同民族之间文化认同的典型实例，犹太教在开封地区长期而稳定的发展，反映了外来宗教在中国深厚而包容的文化土壤中和同共生的内在精神。

关键词：宗教中国化；文化认同；三碑文；内在逻辑

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序言

犹太教发源于现在中东的巴勒斯坦地区，以耶路撒冷为圣城。在历史上，犹太人曾遍及世界各地，其中有一支来到中国，并逐渐融入在以儒家文化为核心的中国传统社会当中。现藏于开封博物馆的犹太教三碑便是记载这一历史史实的直接史料。开封犹太教三碑原立于开封“一赐乐业清真寺”（现开封市第四人民医院），后因寺院被毁，现存于开封市博物馆。《重建清真寺记》（1489年，明弘治二年，以下简称“《弘治碑》”）、《尊崇道经寺记》（1512年，明正德七年，以下简称“《正德碑》”）、《重建清真寺记》（1663年，清康熙二年，以下简称“《康熙碑》”）。其中，《弘治碑》系明代开封犹太儒生金钟为纪念开封犹太社团弘治二年重修清真寺事所撰，主要记述了开封犹太人来华、清真寺修建、重建历史、当时社团的基本状况及具体的清真礼拜仪式等；《正德碑》系明代进士左唐为阐明开封犹太教尊崇道经的思想和情形所撰，主要阐述了开封犹太人道经的传承、保存历史及在开封犹太人宗教、社会生活中的重要作用等；《康熙碑》系清代太子太保、户部尚书、工部尚书刘昌为纪念开封犹太社团于清顺治十年重建清真寺事所撰，详细记述了开封犹太人存续历史、道经的维护修复

及作用、清真寺的修建、重建历史以及宗教仪式等。¹从中可以看出,对犹太教而言,清真寺和道经是犹太民族宗教生活中是神圣般的存在,关系到犹太民族的生死存亡。因为清真寺是教众进行宗教生活的神圣场所,是其宗教活动稳定开展的精神寄托,所以始建清真寺是犹太人开始融入本土居民生活、开展宗教活动的直接表征。而道经则是其延续道统传承的精神依托。关于犹太教在开封始建清真寺的时间三碑文有相同的记载,均追溯至宋孝隆兴元年²(金世宗大定三年,公元1163年)。

作为开封犹太人宗教文化的载体,三碑文中均明示了犹太教的传承统绪,并主要记述了稳定生活在开封之后,犹太人重建清真寺、维护修复道经的基本情况,反映了生活在开封地区犹太人的伦理生活状态和宗教文化特点,呈现了开封犹太教与中华民族之间文化认同的历史进程。所以,从宗教中国化的视野对开封犹太教三碑文进行探究,发掘其中犹太文化与中国传统文化相互交融的思想特点,对于丰富多元一体民族观的思想内容和推进宗教中国化的发展进程有积极的时代价值。

一、儒犹文化认同的研究视角

宗教中国化是外来宗教传入中国本土之后出现的一种观念,特别是佛教、基督教和伊斯兰教传入中国之后,这种观念就根植于中国传统文化的发展进程之中。自汉时期,佛教传入并依附于道教而发展传播;唐时期,基督教吸收儒家的礼仪规范,与儒家文化融合互鉴。宗教中国化这一课题历久弥新,成为外来宗教融入中华文化和中国社会的思想基础。张志刚把宗教中国化的理论内涵阐发为文化认同,民族认同和社会认同三个层面,并认为文化认同是宗教中国化所含摄义理中最根本的原则。毋庸讳言,这一观点是在中华民族多元一体的文化背景下阐发的。关于文化认同的界说,应当至少从三个层面展开,首先是外来宗教与中国文化之间要有相互认同的思想基础,其次是外来宗教对本土文化生活要积极融入、相互借鉴,最后则是不同文化主体之间要共同创造和同共生的生存处境。惟有如此,方可讨论宗教中国化的诸多课题。

犹太教作为一种外来文化,在中国文化的土壤中有悠久的发展历史,与世界各地的犹太人相比,在中国的犹太人应该是全世界犹太人中生活压力最小的一支。从《弘治碑》的记载“帝曰:‘归我中夏,遵守祖风,留遗汴梁’。”³可以看出,政治上为犹太教在古汴梁的生存和发展提供了一个宽松的环境。究其原因,这与中国自古以来“天朝大邦、万民来贺”的传统理念有关,同时也与中国文化自身“兼容并包”的文化品质有关。正是在这种宽松的生态环境下,生活在中国的犹太人也主动地认同了中国文化。在中国开封,一个具有深厚历史文化底蕴的城市,犹太民族的文化信仰和开封相对包容的本土文化

1 刘百陆 Liu Bailu,《开封犹太人碑文研究》kaifeng youtairen beiwen yanjiu [A Study on The Inscriptions of Kaifeng Jews], (开封 kaifeng: 河南大学硕士论文 Henan daxue shuoshi lunwen[Master's dissertation, in Henan University], 2006)5。

2 《弘治碑》载:“宋孝隆兴元年癸未,列微(利未)五思达领掌其教,俺都喇始建寺焉。元至元十六年己卯,五思达重建古刹清真寺。坐落十字街东南,四至三十五丈。”参考陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。《正德碑》记载:“宋孝隆兴元年癸未,建祠于汴。元至元十六年己卯重建。”参考陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。《康熙碑》亦载:“教起于天竺,周时始传于中州。建祠于大梁。历汉、唐、宋、明以来,数有变更,而教众尊奉靡斁……其寺俺都喇始创于宋孝隆兴元年。”参考陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 12。

3 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。

相互认同，较为融洽地结合起来，逐渐形成了适应本土文化发展的和谐状态。在开封建立的犹太教礼拜寺中所立碑文便是这种融合思想的具体体现，同时也是中国中原地区犹太人生活状态的真实写照。

犹太人在世界历史上是最为悲壮的民族之一。说其悲，在于其在灭国之后就在世界各地四处流亡；说其壮，在于其在这几十个世纪的流亡过程中，一直都能保持其自身特别的生活方式与文化传统，也正是因为这一点，更加剧了其在各国的悲惨生活。唯有在中国，他们不仅没有受到政治上的迫害，而且自宋孝隆兴元年始建清真寺以来就在中国安定地生活下来，以至于现在，国内有学者认为应该将五十六个民族增为五十七个民族，而增加的这个民族正是所谓的“犹太族”。犹太教在中国的发展历程由来已久，并一直保持着与中华民族大家庭中不同宗教团体之间和谐共存的状态。犹太教在中华文化土壤中的和谐发展状态，体现了“宗教中国化”的理论优势，是“宗教中国化”所含摄的“三重义理”中“民族认同”、“社会认同”以及“文化认同”的结果呈现。

所以，本文借鉴张志刚先生在《“宗教中国化”义理沉思》一文中关于“文化认同”是“宗教中国化”三重义理中最根本原则的观点⁴，将开封犹太教三碑文的研究置于宗教中国化的历史进程中，并从文化认同的视野探究其中所蕴含的道统观念、伦理互释以及文化同一性等问题。从伦理互释的层面对三碑文的内容进行解读，是探究儒犹文化相互认同的内在逻辑的有效路径，是对儒犹文化认同问题的深层次讨论，也是对宗教中国化进程的重点关注，符合现阶段宗教中国化研究课题的理论需要。

二、道承祖统和敬天尊祖：儒犹文化认同的伦理基础

在三碑文对中国古典文献的大量引用中，蕴含着丰富的儒家伦理思想，其中所阐发的犹太教“道承祖统”的道统思想和“敬天尊祖”的伦理观念与中国文化注重社会伦理秩序的传统具有内在的一致性，是儒犹文化认同的伦理基础。

（一）道承祖统

三篇碑文在开篇都提到了一个同样的问题，那就是犹太教的“道统”问题，即犹太教的一个基本传承关系。《弘治碑》说到：“夫一赐乐业（以色列）立教祖师阿无罗汉（亚伯拉罕），乃盘古阿耽（亚当）十九代孙也……一传而至正教祖师乜摄（摩西），考之在周朝六百十三载也……求经于昔那山（西乃山）顶，入斋四十昼夜……正经一部，五十三卷有自来矣……再传而至正教祖师藹子喇（以斯拉），系出祖师，道承祖统，敬天礼拜之道，足以阐祖道之蕴奥。”⁵《正德碑》说：“至于一赐乐业教始祖阿耽，本出天竺西域，稽之周朝，有经传焉……立是教者惟阿无罗汉，为之教祖。于是也摄传经，为之师法。”⁶又说：“道经相传，有自来矣。自开辟以来，祖师阿耽，传之女媧（挪亚）。女媧传之阿无罗汉，罗汉传之以思哈戈（以撒）。哈戈传之雅呵厥勿（雅各）。厥勿传之十二宗派。宗派传之乜摄，也摄传之阿呵联（亚伦）。呵联传之月束窝（约书亚）。束窝传之藹子喇。于是祖师之教，灿焉而复

4 张志刚在《“宗教中国化”义理沉思》一文中论述了宗教中国化的三重义理，即“文化认同”、“民族认同”和“社会认同”，并把文化认同作为三重义理中最根本的原则。（张志刚：《“宗教中国化”义理沉思》《世界宗教研究》2016年第3期，第21-29页。）

5 陈垣 Chen Yuan, 《开封一赐乐业教考》 kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 1-2。

6 陈垣 Chen Yuan, 《开封一赐乐业教考》 kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。

明。”⁷《康熙碑》也说：“夫一赐乐业之立教也，其由来远矣。始于阿耽，为盘古氏十九世孙⁸。继之女媧，继之阿无罗汉。……数传而后，圣祖默舍（弘治正德碑作乜摄）生焉。受经于西那山（《弘治碑》作昔那山）……圣祖斋戒尽诚，默通帝心。”^{[2]9-10}不难发现，碑文的作者基本认同这样一个一赐乐业（以色列）教的道统传承：初祖阿耽（即亚当，亦即伊斯兰教的人祖阿丹），传至阿无罗汉（即亚伯拉罕，亦即伊斯兰教的易卜拉辛），再传至乜摄（《康熙碑》作“默舍”，即摩西，亦即伊斯兰教的穆萨）。三碑文中，“女媧”一词在《弘治碑》并没有出现，而在后来的两篇碑文中，女媧却是一赐乐业教中一个重要的传教人物，位于“阿耽”与“阿无罗汉”之间，可见在开封犹太人内部对一赐乐业教道统观念的认识也是在深入了解中国传统文化的基础上，不断发展的。

由此可以看出，犹太教的道统传承是家族式的血脉相传。一赐乐业教的道统观念应该来自于《旧约》，他的传承是一个家族式的传承，也就是说，是父子相承的。特别是在《创世纪》，与其说是一个宗教的经典，还不如说是一个家族的族谱。大量的人物放在一起，其中的规律就是他们都是有一定的亲缘关系，特别是父子关系。所以在《弘治碑》中就提出了一种观点，归纳得十分到位，即：“道承祖统。”^{[2]2}译为现代汉语，便是所谓的“真道”、“至道”，是依托于宗族发展的传统而传承的。所以，早期的犹太教是一个家族式的宗教，其在传入中国之后与中国传统的宗族观念暗自契合。

（二）敬天尊祖

“敬天尊祖”的观念是犹太教文化和中国传统文化在伦理层面共通的部分，是两种文化相互交融、互为诠释的基础之所在。儒犹文化以“敬天尊祖”为基础而展开伦理互释的现象在“三碑文”中主要体现为以儒家伦理思想诠释犹太教中“清真”和“礼拜”的观念以及犹太教对儒家人伦关系的认同与借鉴。

犹太人“敬天尊祖”的观念在碑文中有直接记述，这种记述与儒家经典《礼记·中庸》中的观念不谋而合。在《弘治碑》中，原文载为：“仰焉敬道，道在上也。俯焉敬道，道在尔也。终焉而拜道，敬在拜也。噫，敬天而不尊祖，非所以祀先也。春秋祭其祖先，事死如事生，事亡如事存。维牛维羊，荐其时食。不以祖先之既往而不敬也。”⁹在《礼记·中庸》中的原文为，“践其位，行其礼，奏其乐，敬其所尊，爱其所亲，事死如事生，事亡如事存，孝之至也。”不难看出，碑文中“事死如事生，事亡如事存”一句是对《礼记·中庸》原文的直接引用，用以表达对祖先的尊崇和孝敬之心。与“尊祖”同样重要，犹太人“敬天”的观念则是通过对道的崇敬表达的，此中的“道”乃无形无象、俨然在上之天道，与儒家文化中的天道并无差别。与《弘治碑》不同，《康熙碑》以“敬天法祖”四字表达对天道和祖先的敬仰。原文记为：“教众日益蕃衍，亦惟敬天法祖，世奉宗旨，罔敢允坠而已。”¹⁰这里的敬天法祖被犹太教作为维护宗教伦理传统的秩序而世代传承。从中可以看出，“敬天尊祖”的观念是犹太教倡导“清真”和“礼拜”观念的内核之所在，贯通在“清真”“礼拜”仪式之中，而“清真”和“礼

7 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 8-9。

8 此处碑文原有“为盘古氏十九世孙”，陈垣和江文汉均认为应紧跟在下句“罗汉”之后。

9 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。

10 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 12-13。

拜”则是呈露“敬天尊祖”观念的伦理形式。关于“清真”和“礼拜”，《弘治碑》载：“然道必本于清真礼拜。清者，精一无二。真者，正而无邪。礼者，敬而已矣。拜，下礼也。人于日用之间，不可顷刻而忘乎天。惟寅、午、戌而三次礼拜，乃真实天道之理。祖贤一敬之修，何如必先沐浴更衣，清其天君，正其天官，而恭敬进于道经之前。道无形像，俨然天道之在上。姑述敬天礼拜纲领而陈之。”¹¹这里的清真主要是就身心的状态而言，清则纯洁其身，真则正定其心，清真则身心纯正、信念坚定；而礼拜之礼是指心中对天道的虔敬，拜则是指表达心敬的仪式，礼拜是在清真的前提下通过具体的宗教仪式以敬天下礼、达乎天道。《康熙碑》也有类似记载：“礼拜者，祛靡式真，克非礼以复于礼者也。礼拜之先，必斋戒沐浴，淡嗜欲，静天君，正衣冠，尊瞻视，然后朝天礼拜。”¹²接着引用儒家经典《礼》中关于“道”与“礼”的关系作进一步说明，“不交言，不回视。不以事物之私，乘其入道之念。《礼》曰：‘心不苟虑，必依于道。手足不苟动，必依于礼。’道之在礼拜者，如此也。”¹³由此可以看出，儒家关于“道”和“礼”的认识被犹太教所认同和接受，并融合在其宗教文化中。以天道为上，以礼拜为纲，三碑文中所阐发的犹太人在开封地区的宗教仪式和宗教生活深受本土文化的熏染，天然地契合儒家伦理传统的规范。

另外，关于“敬天尊祖”的阐释，《弘治碑》有进一步的说明：“其儒教与本教，虽大同小异，然其立心制行，亦不过敬天道，尊祖宗，重君臣，孝父母，和妻子，序尊卑，交朋友，而不外于五伦矣。噫嘻！人徒知清真寺礼拜敬道，殊不知之大原出于天……受君之恩，食君之禄，惟尽礼拜告天之诚，报国忠君之意。”¹⁴碑文中所体现的对君王的重，对父母的孝，与妻子的和，尊卑的有序以及朋友之间的相交与儒家把忠、孝、悌、忍、善作为君臣、父子、兄弟、夫妇、朋友五种人伦关系之间的准则相附和，呈现出犹太教在社会伦理生活中对儒家伦理思想中五种人伦关系和言行准则的认同和借鉴。从内容上看，三碑文中关于伦理观念的阐发与中国文化中的伦理传统在本质上没有什么不同，都是在体会“皇天大道”，都不离日用常行。

从三碑文的记载可以看出，犹太教在传入中国特别是处于中原地带的开封时，其宗教发展注重家族式传承的传统与中国古代种族生活以血缘关系为纽带的传统相暗合。这种天然的契合性，在两个不同民族的伦理生活中都表现为“道承祖统”和“敬天尊祖”的伦理特点，这也正是犹太教在开封地区能够与本土居民长期和谐共存、融通发展的前提之所在。因此，“道承祖统”和“敬天尊祖”的伦理观念便构成了儒犹文化对话交流、相互认同的伦理基础。

三、伦理互释：儒犹文化认同的现实路径

从犹太教创建碑文的内容可以看出，生活在开封地区的犹太人已经深受中国伦理传统的影响，以至于在其礼拜寺的碑文上写下儒家文献的内容，用以阐发并发展犹太教本族文化中的伦理观念。这种伦理

11 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 2。

12 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 10。

13 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 11。

14 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 5。

互释在三碑文中主要呈现为伦理观念的相互诠释，具体而言，就是碑文对儒家文化中伦理传统、天道和善恶观念的借鉴。

第一，字异理同的伦理条目互鉴。三碑文对儒家伦理传统的借鉴，主要表现为把中国文化中“女娲”的观念引入到犹太教的道统之中，作为其传承统绪中重要人物“挪亚”的身份象征。《正德碑》原文载为：“自开辟以来，祖师阿耽，传之女媧（挪亚）。女媧传之阿无罗汉，罗汉传之以思哈（以撒）。”¹⁵《康熙碑》中也有类似的记载：“始于阿耽，为盘古氏十九世孙。继之女媧，继之阿无罗汉。”¹⁶从中可以看出，这种借鉴超越了不同民族之间文字的差异而直指“常行之道”与“六经之理”的相通。对于字异理同，在另外的两篇碑文中均有直接论述。《正德碑》载：“然教是经文字，虽与儒书字异，而揆厥其理，亦有常行之道，以其同也。”¹⁷《康熙碑》也说：“其中文字，虽古篆音异，而于六经之理，未尝不相同也。”¹⁸

第二，三碑文借用儒家伦理观念对天道的诠释。《弘治碑》中“天道不言，四时行而万物生。”¹⁹一句出自《论语》，原文为“子曰：‘天何言哉？四时行焉，百物生焉，天何言哉？’”²⁰在《正德碑》中有“以道释经”的记载，碑文对于“道经”的解读则是从“道”与“经”的关系展开的。《正德碑》载：“尝谓经以载道，道者何？日用常行，古今人所共由之理也。故大而三纲五常，小而事物细微，无物不有，无时不然，莫匪道之所寓。”²¹从中可以看出，道是超越时空的，是恒常无间的，道之显现无分教别，无时不有，无处不在。碑文进一步指出，“是故道行于父子，父慈子孝。道行于君臣，君仁臣经。道行于兄弟，兄友弟恭。道行于夫妇，夫和妇顺。道行于朋友，友益有信。道莫大于仁义，行之自有惻隐羞恶之心。道莫大于礼智，行之自有恭敬是非之心。道行于斋戒，必严必敬。道行于祭祖，必孝必诚。道行于礼拜，祝赞上天。”²²这其中的儒家伦理韵味就相当浓厚了。道已经不是专属于某一个民族或者教派的语词，而是贯通于中华民族和犹太民族乃至世界其他各个民族的伦理生活之中，并作为其伦理规范的法度而统摄其中。另外，关于道与经的关系则是“经以载道”，具体言之，“道匪经无以存，经匪道无以行。使其无经，则道无载，人将贸贸焉莫知所之，卒至于狂谈而窃冥行矣。故圣贤之道，垂六经以昭后世，迄于今而及千万世矣……凡在天下，业是教者，靡不尊是经而崇是道也。”

15 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 8-9。

16 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 9-10。

17 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。

18 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 12。

19 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 1。

20 [宋]朱熹 [Song]Zhu Xi,《四书章句集注》sishu zhangju jizhu [Variorum on The Four Books Chapters], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 zhonghuashuju[Zhonghua Book Company], 2010) 180。

21 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 6-7。

22 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。

²³所以道经乃是犹太民族绵延长存的思想载体，是犹太文化与中华文明相互融通的文化枢纽，承载着犹太人的民族精神和宗教信仰。

第三，对于儒家思想中善恶观念的借鉴，三碑文中亦有记载，主要体现在与犹太教斋戒观念的相互诠释之中。《弘治碑》载：“斋乃入道之门，积善之基。今日积一善，明日积一善，善始积累。至斋，诸恶不作。众善奉行，七日善终，周而复始。”²⁴《康熙碑》亦言：“小者如斋。斋者，精明之志也。七日者，专致其精明之德也。斋之日，不火食。欲人静察动省，存诚去伪，以明善而复其初也。《易》曰：‘七日来复。’复其见天地之心乎？犹惧人杂于私欲，浅于理道，故于秋末闭户清修一日。饮食俱绝，以培养其天真。士辍诵读，农罢耕芸，商贾止于市，行旅止于涂，情忘识泯，存心养性，以修复于善。”²⁵此中之善乃善行之意，把《易》经中的善观念融合在犹太教的斋戒仪式之中，并无乖背之感，反而是如此自然而不违。《弘治碑》载：“是《易》有云，吉人为善，惟日不足之意也。四季之时七日戒。众祖苦难，祀先报本，亡绝饮食。一日大戒，敬以告天。悔前日之过失，迁今日之新善也。是《易》圣人于益之大象有曰，风雷益，君子以见善则迁，有过则改，其斯之谓欤？”²⁶此处引《易·益》中“见善则迁”之善于斋戒仪式之中，是为了进一步说明犹太人在保持原有宗教仪式的同时，对儒家文化中的善恶观念有积极地接受和施行。《正德碑》言：“故凡业是教者，其惟以善为师，以恶为戒。”²⁷《康熙碑》亦载：“教人为善，戒人为恶。孝弟忠信本之心，仁义礼智原于性。”²⁸

毋庸讳言，三碑文对儒家思想中所蕴含的诸如天道、伦理和善恶观念的借用，是为了丰富犹太民族自身文化中所包含的相关精神，并积极融入本土居民的文化生活之中，以谋求长期而稳定的生存处境。这种伦理层面的互释不仅仅是观念上的附和与亲近，更是两个不同民族之间文化认同的结果，体现了犹太文化在伦理层面所具有的“字异理同”的共通性。

四、和同共生：儒犹文化认同的内在精神

在犹太教吸收中国文化并积极融入当地居民社会生活的同时，犹太人为民族文化的发展创造了有利条件，得到了儒家文化的认同。儒犹文化之间的相互认同是以“道承祖统”和“敬天尊祖”为伦理基础，以儒犹文化之间的伦理互释为路径而呈现的，在犹太民族与中华民族的伦理生活中呈露为和同共生的内在精神。这种和同共生的精神主要通过犹太人的“儒化”而呈现，在三碑文的记载中主要体现为犹太人习儒入仕和改用汉姓的生活状态以及儒犹文化在伦理传统层面的相互契合。

23 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。

24 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。

25 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 11-12。

26 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。

27 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 9。

28 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 10。

首先，犹太知识分子通过学习儒家经典并参加科举而入仕的现象就是犹太人积极融入中国政治生活而被“儒化”的现实写照。《正德碑》载：“求观今日，若进取科目，而显亲扬名者有之。若布列中外，而致君泽民者有之。或折冲御侮，而尽忠报国者有之。”²⁹可见，犹太教中的知识分子在明时期已经开始接受儒家经典的学习和忠君报国的思想，并试图通过科举入仕参与儒家士大夫阶层的政治生活。通过科举而入仕为官的犹太知识分子，在《弘治碑》中也有明确记载：“高年由贡士任徽州歙县知县，艾俊由举人任德府长史，宁夏金瑄，先祖任光禄寺卿，伯祖胜任金吾前卫千兵。”³⁰

其次，改用汉姓也是犹太人“儒化”的一个重要标志。《弘治碑》载：“俺诚医士，永乐十九年奉周府定王传令，赐香，重修清真寺。寺中奉大明皇帝万万岁碑。永乐二十一年以奏闻有功，钦赐赵姓，授锦衣卫指挥，升浙江都指挥僉事。”³¹这是有关犹太人改汉姓的最早碑文记载。除了赵姓，犹太人使用李、艾、张、高、金、石等汉姓。《弘治碑》明确列出了“十七姓”：“李、俺、艾、高、穆、赵、金、周、张、石、黄、李、聂、金、张、左、白，七十姓等，进贡西洋布于宋。”³²根据陈垣的观点，其中的李姓在明初为最盛，“《弘治碑》之十七姓，《康熙碑》之七姓，均以李氏为魁首。前章谓李氏为一赐乐业列微支派所取之汉姓，岂不然与。”³³由此可见，只有与不同民族在文化层面上进行双向认同，在社会生活中相互融入，并适应“以人为本、和而不同”的中国传统文化，犹太教才能在新时代适应社会主义发展的需要，实现其在中国文化土壤中和同共生的生存处境。

最后，儒犹文化在伦理传统层面上的相互契合，主要体现为两种文化在对“道”和“理”认知的共通处，具有字异理同的特点。这种相通在碑文中有明确呈现。《正德碑》载：“然教是经文字，虽与儒书字异，而揆厥其理，亦有常行之道，以其同也。”³⁴《康熙碑》也说：“其中文字，虽古篆音异，而于六经之理，未尝不相同也。”³⁵并且，在《正德碑》中明确有把中国文化中“女娲”的观念引入到犹太教的道统之中，作为其传承统绪中重要人物“挪亚”的身份象征。《正德碑》原文载为：“自开辟以来，祖师阿耽，传之女媧（挪亚）。女媧传之阿无罗汉，罗汉传之以思哈（以撒）。”³⁶《康熙碑》中也有类似的记载：“始于阿耽，为盘古氏十九世孙。继之女媧，继之阿无罗汉。”³⁷从两篇碑文中可以

29 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 8。

30 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 4-5。

31 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 4。

32 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 3。

33 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 35。

34 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 7。

35 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 12。

36 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 8-9。

37 陈垣 Chen Yuan,《开封一赐乐业教考》kaifeng yicileye jiao kao [The Investigation on Yi-Ci-Le-Ye Religion of Kai feng], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 shangwu yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 1923) 9-10。

看出，生活在开封的犹太教与对中华文明的认同超越了不同民族之间文字的差异而直指“常行之道”与“六经之理”的相通。这种相通交融不仅仅是观念上的附和与亲近，更是两个不同民族之间文化认同的结果，是犹太文化与中国文化具有内在一性性的主要呈现。

儒犹文化相互认同的过程，其实是犹太人在中国文化的土壤中逐渐“儒化”的过程。在“儒化”的过程中，儒犹文化发生了良好的互动和交融。关于开封犹太人“儒化”的原因，张倩红认为，开封犹太人“儒化”的最根本原因来自犹太社团内部，即对犹太教信仰的彻底淡化和对儒教的深层次认同，犹太教的儒化过程正是开封犹太人的同化过程。³⁸可以看出，犹太人为适应中国传统文化的需要，做出了积极的调整和改变。犹太人“儒化”的结果则是留遗在开封地区的犹太教与中华民族之间和同共生并长期稳定发展，这也是儒犹文化认同的现实呈照，符合宗教中国化的历史进程和理论内涵。

结语

从中国文化的优良传统来看，犹太教作为一支具有鲜明民族特色的外来宗教，其在中国开封地区长期而又稳定的发展是有历史原因的。首先，中国是一个多宗教的国家，有不同宗教团体间相互包容的历史传统，这种多样性和包容性的历史底蕴为犹太教中国化提供了适宜的文化土壤，这是犹太教之所以可能中国化的外部条件。其次，佛教中国化、基督教中国化以及伊斯兰教中国化的现实状况为犹太教在中国本土的和谐发展提供了实践经验，这是犹太教之所以可能与中国文化相互融通的历史借鉴。最后，犹太教注重道统的宗教观念与中国传统文化中儒家伦理观念相互认同，并在思想内核上具有内在一致性，这是犹太教与中华民族之所以可能文化认同的理论前提。

关于“文化认同”，习近平总书记在全国宗教工作会议上倡导“五个认同”——国家认同、政治认同、文化认同、法律认同、目标认同——时有着重提及：文化认同，即积极践行社会主义核心价值观，弘扬中华文化，努力把宗教教义同中华文化相融合。³⁹这里提到的“文化认同”，是以社会主义核心价值观为理论前提，以弘扬中华文化为导向，并注重宗教教义与民族文化相融合的双向认同。文化认同作为宗教中国化“三重义理”中最根本的认同，是外来宗教适应中国社会生活、融入中华民族共同体的思想基础。正如张志刚所认为“若不从根本上落实‘文化认同’，便无从谈起‘民族认同’、‘国家认同’、‘社会认同’”⁴⁰。所以，就三碑文的内容而言，开封犹太教在中原地区的发展过程中，既保持了犹太教本民族的宗教仪式、宗教观念和宗教行为等民族特点，同时，又吸收儒家传统的伦理观念、生活方式积极融入到当地居民的社会生活之中，并逐步发展成为了中华文明多元一体的重要成分。从中可以看出，中华文明与犹太教文明的交融正是在文化认同的基础上发生的。

38 张倩红 Zhang Qianhong, 《从犹太教到儒教：开封犹太人同化的内在因素之研究》cong youtaijiao dao rujiao:kaifeng youtairen tonghua de neizai yinsu zhi yanjiu [From Judaism to Confucianism: A study on The Internal Factors of Jewish Assimilation in Kaifeng], 《世界宗教研究》shijiezongjiaoyanjiu [Studies of world religions], No.01, (北京 beijing: 中国社会科学院 zhongguo shehui kexueyuan [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 2007)110。

39 习近平 Xi Jinping, 《发展中国特色社会主义宗教理论》Fazhan zhongguoteshehuizhuyi zongjiaolilun [Developing The Socialist Theory of Religion with Chinese Characteristics to Comprehensively Improve The Level of Religious Work under The New Situation], 人民日报 renminribao [People's Daily] (2016年4月24日)第1版。

40 张志刚 Zhang Zhigang, 《宗教中国化义理沉思》zongjiaozhongguohua yili chensi [Meditation on The Meaning of "Sinicization of Religions"], 《世界宗教研究》shijiezongjiaoyanjiu [Studies of world religions], No. 03, (北京 beijing: 中国社会科学院 zhongguo shehui kexueyuan [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 2016) 22。

反观犹太教在开封地区的发展，三碑文是犹太教在中国文化土壤中与儒家文化相互认同、融合发展的思想结晶，是其宗教中国化的历史成果，是不同民族之间文化认同的具体呈现。犹太人作为世界上最优秀的民族之一，他们的聪明与才干为世人所公认，其民族文化具有鲜明的特点，是世界文明不可或缺的重要组成部分。回望历史，立足当下，在倡导中华民族多元一体民族观的今天，在各国文化交流并进的进程中，中华民族更应该在坚持新时期中国宗教与社会主义社会相适应的原则上，加强与包括以色列人民在内的全世界各国人民交流合作，进而和同共生，为世界和平与时代发展做出应有的贡献。

English Title:The Internal Logic of the Cultural Identity of Confucianism and Judaism from the Perspective of Sinicization of Religion -- A Discussion based on the three inscriptions of Kaifeng Judaism

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Abstract: Sinicization of religion is the fundamental way for foreign religions to integrate into local Chinese culture and coexist with Chinese civilization, mainly including the theoretical connotation of cultural identity, national identity and social identity. Among them, "cultural identity" is the most fundamental principle in the three connotations of sinicization of religion. From the perspective of cultural identity, the study of the three Jewish inscriptions in Kaifeng is a deep discussion of the ethical basis, reality emerges and inner spirit of the cultural identity of Confucian and Jewish, which is in line with the theoretical needs of the research on the sinicization of religion in today's era. The three Jewish tablets in Kaifeng (hereinafter referred to as the "Three Tablets") are the ideological results of cultural identity between the Chinese nation and the Jewish nation. The contents mainly include the inheritance and genealogy of the "Tao Inheriting Zu Tong" of Kaifeng Judaism, the ethical life of "Worship the God and the Patriarch", and the basic situation of the reconstruction of the mosque and the maintenance and repair of the Dao Jing, presenting the historical process of cultural identity and the development status of mutual learning and integration between Judaism and the Chinese nation in the development process of Kaifeng. As a typical example of cultural identity between different ethnic groups, the long-term and stable development of Judaism in Kaifeng reflects the inner spirit of symbiosis in the profound and inclusive cultural soil of Chinese civilization for foreign religions.

Keywords: Sinicization of Religion, Cultural Identity, Three Inscriptions, Internal Logic.

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

人性之镜——先秦儒家和东正教神学视野下的哲学人学*

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摘要：关于儒耶对话里的人性论议题的讨论，往往聚焦于从基督宗教里提出人是依据神的「形像」所造和孟子性善说而论人性本原或本体之善，以求其会通的可能性。笔者透过东正教关于神的「形像」和「样式」的区分与诠释，引入「样式」以及就着这两个概念展开的关于人性从不完美到完美或达致人格满全的探讨，对比先秦儒家的人性论，指出儒耶两个传统皆看到人有因其人性最初状态的不完美而违反某种既有秩序或造成其混乱的阶段，也看到人之自我超迈的可能性。此外，两个传统皆是就整全之人而论人性。儒耶两大传统在人性思索上实可彼此参照、相互发明。

关键词：人性论、东正教、神的形像和样式、道与德、儒家

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一、前言

「人性论」是儒家和基督宗教彼此交会之际会遭遇的重要议题之一，这可见诸历来关于儒耶对话的相关论争。¹明清之际利玛窦（Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610）在《天主实义》里的区辨可为一例。利玛窦当时或为了便于在以儒家性善说为主流的中国宣教，他以人性本善作为论述基调，在该书第七篇「论人性本善，而述天主门士正学」里提到天主所化生之性与情本然皆善，是因着人的运用才有善恶之分。在一般情况下，人性的发用应当如理故而能展现人之善性。不过，我们不能因此就说世上之人皆已是善人。尽管我们已有本性之善（「良善」），但可贵者在于后天累积学习所得之善（「习德」）。²

* 本文为笔者台湾国家科学及技术委员会（原科技部）专题研究计划「东西方哲学之宗教向度 III：义理、典范、象征——成神与成圣：儒耶对话新猷」（MOST 110-2410-H-008 -062 -MY3）部分研究成果。笔者曾于台湾中央研究院中国文哲研究所举办之「东西方哲学宗教向度」研讨会（2023 年 12 月 1 日）上宣读本文最初版本。笔者在此感谢中央研究院中国文哲研究所吕政倚 Lu Cheng-i 助理研究员于会中的评论与建议。本文若有任何疏漏、错误，皆为笔者所致。

1 请参考诸如：蔡仁厚 Tsai Ren-Hou、周联华 Chow Lien-hwa、梁燕城 Leung In-sing 合着之《会通与转化－基督教与新儒家的对话》[*Huitong yu zhuanhua- Jidujiao yu xinrujia de duihua*]（台北 Taipei：宇宙光 Yuzhouguang, 1985），页 79-83 & 247-248。秦家懿 Julia Ching（著），《儒与耶》[*Confucianism and Christianity*]，吴有能 Ng Yau-Nang、吴华 Wu Hua（译）（台北 Taipei：文史哲 The Liberal Arts Press, 2000），第三章。

2 「夫性也者非他，乃各物类之本体耳。曰各物类也，即同类同性，异类异性。」「若论厥性之体与情，均为天主所化生，而以理为主，则俱可爱欲，而本善无恶矣。」「至论其用，机又由乎我，我或有可爱，或有可恶，所行异，则用之善恶无定焉，所为情也。」「夫性之所发，若无疾病，必自听命于理，无有违节，即无不善……然本性自善，此亦无碍于称之为善。盖其能推论理，则良能常存；可以认本病，而复治疗之。」「人之性情虽本善，不可因而谓世人之悉善人也。惟有德之人乃惟善人。德加于善，其用也在本善性体之上焉。」「设谓善者惟复其初，则人皆生而圣人

尽管强调人性本善，但利玛窦在该书第八篇「总举大西俗尚，而论其传道之士所以不娶之意，并释天主降生西土来由」里则根据「原罪说」，指出世间灾难「皆由人以背理犯天主命。」³「世人之祖已败人类性根，则为其子孙者沿其遗累，不得承性之全，生而带疵；又多相率而习丑行，则有疑其性本不善，非关天主所出，亦不足为异也。……虽然，性体自善，不能因恶而灭，所以凡有发奋迁善，转念可成，天主亦必佑之。」⁴总的来说，我们可以从中看见一个世界因着人性败坏而从完美良善的境界堕落成恶，但同样可以因着人自身努力积习培养德行，成为善人，这是人自身之真正的功劳，从而能得到天主的护佑。

利玛窦人性本善的主张在基督宗教的《圣经》⁵有其理据，也为我们思索儒耶对话提供一个方向。

〈创世记〉第1章第26节：「神说：『我们要照着我们的形像（image），按着我们的样式（likeness）造人』」，同章第31节则说：「神看着一切所造的都甚好。」周联华并据以指出，若就《圣经·创世记》第1章而说，则《圣经》关于「人性」的教义应该是「人之初，性本善」，所谓「原罪」是由奥古斯丁（Augustine, 354-430）所造，后来在教会生根，于是有了「人性本恶」的说法。⁶梁燕城亦指出这段经文是在本体层次肯定了「原善」。⁷就此而言，儒家和基督宗教对于人性的理解，恐怕并不如本恶或本善等字面意义所显示般分歧。就两大传统都看到人性本然之善之处说，其中有着继续深入对话以求会通乃至帮助我们更丰富地掌握人性的可能。当代新儒家重要代表学者刘述先（1934-2016）曾为文指出，在基督宗教传统里，就人的形像之根植于神的形像而说，基督教也和儒家一样肯定人性本善。⁸另外一个重要脉络是由台湾当代新士林哲学沈清松先生等学者们展开的相关讨论，他们指出儒家性善说与天主教「神的形像」（“Imago Dei”）而展开的人之善性有其相通之处，进而有展开跨文化与宗教交谈的可能性。⁹我们从这两个学派的讨论交迭处来看，可窥见基督宗教对神的形像与人的形像之间的关联性的论述与儒家的性善说之间实有可会通性。那么，如果也考虑经文里的「样式」，会不会为我们开启更多的思考资源？

在希伯来文里，前引《圣经》经文中提到「形像」和「样式」分别是 *tselem* 和 *demūth*，论者根据其意义和在圣经其他经文的使用，认为两者基本上是可互换的同义词，但若仔细区别，前者源于一个带有「凿刻」（“to carve”）、「雕刻」（“to cut”）意味的字根，而在〈创世记〉里，这个词指的是人反映了神（man images God），代表 / 表现了神（a representation of God）。后者源于一个带有「要像」（“to be like”）意味的字根，从而我们可说〈创世记〉里的「形像」和「样式」之说是指「一个像我

也，则何谓有『生而知之』，有『学而知之』之别乎？」「则固须认二善之品矣：性之善，为良善；德之善，为习善。夫良善者，天主原化性命之德，而我无功焉；我所谓功，止在自习积德之善也。」引自：梅谦立 Thierry Meynard, 《天主实义今注》[*Tianzhushiyi jinzhu*]（北京 Beijing：商务印书馆 The Commercial Press, 2014），页 181-185。

3 前揭书，页 216。

4 前揭书，页 216-217。

5 本文《圣经》经文皆引自联合圣经公会之《圣经》新标点和合本（神版）（1996），并以 KJV 的英文作为对照依据。

6 蔡仁厚 Tsai Ren-hou 等人，《会通与转化》[*Huitong yu zhuanhua*]，页 79-80。

7 前揭书，页 227-230。

8 Shu-hsien Liu, “Some Reflections on What Contemporary Neo-Confucian Philosophy May Learn from Christianity,” in Peter K. H. Lee ed., *Confucian-Christian Encounters in Historical and Contemporary Perspective* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1991), pp.68-81.

9 沈清松 Vincent T. Shen, 《返本开新论儒学：沈清松学术论集》[*Renovate Confucianism by Returning to Its Roots: Academic Anthology of Vincent T. Shen*]（贵州 Guizhou：孔学堂 Confucian Academy, 2017），页 79-82。

们的形像」(“an image which is like us”), 意指作为神之代表或表现的人在某些部分像神。¹⁰后来的教父及东正教神学家们对这一对词(尽管有的神学家并不予以区分)多有发挥, 认为:「形像指我们与生俱来的理性性质, 而样式指我们在基督徒生活中获得的道德特质」。¹¹或说,「形像」和「样式」之别导致的是以「『本体论的』形像」(“‘ontological’ image”)) 和「『道德的』肖似」(“‘moral’ similitude”)) 之间的张力来理解人。¹²

也有学者留意到「形像」和「样式」的区分以及东正教里关于人性的相关探讨, 并尝试以此开启儒耶对话的其他向度。例如: 曹荣锦(Alexander Chow) 便特别聚焦于与成神密切相关的先祖罪(ancestral sin)、人的意志与神圣意志的协作(Synergy)和「有份于神圣能量」的合一(Union)等教义之上, 他并认为这些可对应儒家人性善恶之辨、中国儒家关于天命、道家关于道以及佛教关于业的讨论, 以及天人合一等思想。曹荣锦亦提及荀子「天生人成」之说与东正教「成神论」(theosis)之间的相似性,¹³不过, 他没有就此进一步开展论述。徐凤林则指出东正教神学不从自然生物的角度, 而是从与神的关系中来考虑人, 对人性的规定在于与「神性」密切关联的「人格」, 而非自然「本性」, 但这样的「人格」观不带有西方基督宗教的「原罪」, 因为人的罪来自其个人的自由意志, 而非本性决定。他进而论及孟子与荀子的人性论, 指出「孟子所理解的人性, 其本质是人『心』, 类似于希腊教父所说的『人格』。荀子所理解的人性, 则是作为认识对象的人的自然本性。如果按照东正教神学对人的理解, 这两者在根本上是不矛盾的, 或者说, 这两种状态上的矛盾是可以在动态生成过程中被克服的。」¹⁴尽管他们未在文中进一步区辨各种复杂人性论说, 但关联着既有讨论或可让我们反思两大传统对人性之善与性恶的界定, 以之作为重新探讨儒耶会通的共同支点之一, 丰富儒耶对话的学理基础。

二、基督宗教的人性论：来自东正教的理解

神的「形像」与「样式」问题构成了东正教神学人学(theological anthropology)的核心, 是人之成为人的要素。¹⁵除了前引〈创世记〉的经文之外, 我们还可于《圣经》其他章节里找到类似的说法。例如:〈创世记〉第3章第5节「因为 神知道, 你们吃的日子眼睛就明亮了, 你们便如 神能知道善恶」;〈马太福音〉第5章48节「所以, 你们要完全, 像你们的天父完全一样」;〈哥林多后书〉第3章第18节「我们众人既然敞着脸得以看见主的荣光, 好像从镜子里返照, 就变成主的形状, 荣上加荣, 如同从主的灵变成的」;〈彼得后书〉第1章第4节「叫我们既脱离世上从情欲来的败坏, 就得与

10 参考: Hoekema Anthony A., *Created in God's Image* (Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 12-13.

11 Norman Russell 著,《神的同工－希腊正教的 THEOSIS 思想》[*Fellow Workers with God: Orthodox Thinking on Theosis*], 王亚伯 Wang Yabo、周复初 Chou Fu-Chu (译) (台北 Taipei: 财团法人基督教以琳书房 Elim, 2014), 页 71。

12 Lars Thunberg, “The Human Person as Image of God. I: Eastern Christianity,” in Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff, and Jean Leclercq (eds.), *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 293.

13 Alexander Chow, *Theosis, Sino-Christian Theology and the Second Chinese Enlightenment: Heaven and Human in Unity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 121-136.

14 徐凤林 Xu Feng-lin, 〈本性与伦教化－论东正教与中国儒家人性论的共同特点〉[*Humanity and moralization—the Common Characteristics of Humanity in Orthodoxy and Confucianism*], 《暨南学报》(哲学与社会科学版) [*Jinan Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*], 36(9) (总号 188) (2014), 页 132-135。

15 参考: Andrew Louth, *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Theology* (Downer Grover: Inter Varsity Press, 2013), pp. 82-84.; Russell 著,《神的同工》[*Fellow Workers with God*], 页 67。

神的性情有分。」整体看来，这些经文已隐含了从人性的原初状态到背离并回到或迈向某种状态的过程。

克就「形像」和「样式」之别而说，除了前文提及的辨析之外，论者关联着希腊文的语境而阐述其中涵义。原来〈创世记〉经文并未指明「神的形像」究竟为何，但若根据《圣经》新约经文，「神的形像」是指神子基督，他在道成肉身中反映了神，¹⁶则神根据其自身「形像」造人隐含了在人与神和基督之间的一种关系。至于「样式」，在希腊文的翻译 *homoiosis* 里的字根「-osis」意味着它是一个历程（process），故「样式」意味着一个相像 / 同化（或接受、吸收）（“likening”，“assimilation”）的过程。那么，根据神的「形像」和「样式」受造，指的就是人被以使得自身得以相像或同化于神的向神性（affinity for God）创造。¹⁷

与前述讨论相关的是所谓的「替换原则」（“exchange formula”）。若用 St. Irenaeus 在《驳异端》（*Adversus Haereses*）第五册前言里的文字表示，即：「我们的主耶稣基督，透过祂无限的爱，成为我们所是，以使我们成为他自己所是」。¹⁸St. Athanasius 在他的《论道成肉身》（*De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*）第 54 节里重述了 St. Irenaeus 的话，他说：「神使自己成为人，为了使人成为神。」¹⁹进一步说，以神的形像被造之人，是能够在他的本性（nature）得以为神化恩典（deifying grace）所渗透的程度上显示神的位格（person）。²¹

然而，即如《圣经》经文所示，人似乎也受到一种不同于依据「形像」和「样式」而「像神」之途的引诱，即伊甸园里蛇或撒旦的诱惑。学者以为，此乃对人的自由的考验（the test of liberty），而神关于园中果子「只是分别善恶树上的果子，你不可吃，因为你吃的日子必定死！」（〈创〉2:17）的诫命则预设了人的自由。人因受到蛇或撒旦的诱惑而来的反叛或由此而生的自我神化（self-deification）渴望即是罪。²²值得一提的是，在一些希腊教父们的理解里，首先，「亚当」不仅仅是第一人或先祖，因为「亚当」这个词在希伯来语的原意指的是「人」，所以它是指「每一个人」（everyman），从而，〈创世记〉的故事说的是每一个人身上发生的事，即反叛神或厌恶抛弃了神。这导致的是一种和谐的破

16 如：〈腓立比书〉第 2 章第 5-8 节：「你们当以基督耶稣的心为心：他本有 神的形像，不以自己与 神同等围强夺的；反倒虚己，取了奴仆的形像，成为人的样式；既有人的样子，就自己卑微，存心顺服，以至于死，且死在十字架上。」

17 Louth, *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Theology*, p.84.

18 完整英译上下文为：「For it is thus that thou wilt both controvert them in a legitimate manner, and wilt be prepared to receive the proofs brought forward against them, casting away their doctrines as filth by means of the celestial faith; but following the only true and stedfast Teacher, the Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who did, through His transcendent love, become what we are, that He might bring us to be even what He is Himself.」引自：Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325, Vol. 1: The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus* (Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), p. 526. 又，St. Irenaeus 的其他相关讨论，亦可参考诸如此处征引 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 所收录之《驳异端》第 4 册第 38 章第 4 节。

19 完整英译上下文为：「For He was made man that we might be mad God; and He manifested Himself by a body that we might inherit immortality. For while He Himself was in no way injured, being impassible and incorruptible and very Word and God, men who were suffering, and for whose sakes He endured all this, He maintained and preserved in His own impassibility.」引自：Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 4: Athanasius: Select Works and Letters* (Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), p.65.

20 这段讨论，笔者参考：Aristotle Papanikolaou, “Theosis,” in Edward Howells & Mark A McIntosh (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp.570-571. 亦见诸：Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1974), p.97.

21 Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, p.139.

22 Vladimir Lossky, *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction*. Translated by Ian and Ithia Kesarcodi-Watson (New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1978), pp. 81-82

裂，为世界引入了罪、死亡和破坏，从而使得后来的人们都出生并生活在道德上堕败的世界里。不过，这样的「罪」却非源于亚当并传染全人类的「原罪」（“original sin,” *peccatum originale*），而是一种先祖罪（“ancestral sin,” “inherited sin,” *propaterikon amartema*）。我们每个人都因着自由而可能不服从或厌恶抛弃神，从而也共同因罪而影响这个世界。²³那么，〈罗马书〉第5章12节「这就如罪是从一人入了世界，死又是从罪来的，于是死就临到众人，因为众人都犯了罪。」的涵义，可能就成了人类从先祖继承的是死亡和腐败，而不是罪，也就不是所有人都因遗传而继承了亚当先祖之罪。论者更进而指出，正是因为死亡，让人难免于罪，我们会因为我们的死亡，而不断满足自己的种种需要。²⁴

那么，人们是否可能「敞着脸」、「脱离世上从情欲来的败坏」而使其所处道德处境能从被破坏的状态中得到修整或重建呢？根据前引「替换原则」，其间关键是「道成肉身」的神子耶稣基督，甚或，如〈罗马书〉第8章29节所说「因为他预先所知道的人，就预先定下效法他儿子的模样，使他儿子在许多弟兄中作长子」，让人们以基督的言行作为榜样。道成肉身的基督是神也是人，在人性中透显或反映完美的神性（即「神的形像」），他体现了人性与神性的合一，而人虽不是神，但可以效法神，从而可见己身「敞着脸」、「脱离世上从情欲来的败坏」。然而，尽管如此，问题仍在于，「神的形像」除了确指神子基督之外，但具体而言，它究竟指涉了哪些方面或哪些向度？

根据学者的归纳，从古代到中世纪，至少有从智思的（intellectual）、意志的（volitional）和位格际的（interpersonal）角度而论「神的形像」者。智思取径强调的是人的智思和理性及其与神的知思和理性之间的关系，凸显人的独特之处。意志取径强调人与动物之别在于运用意志的自由程度，而人乃根据神的意志使用其自由意志。位格际取径强调的是人之追寻自我超越之爱的能力，这能力映现了圣三的诸位格（the Persons of the Trinity），也就是彼此分享交流爱的能力。²⁵

若从当代较为系统性的观点来看，大约有四种关于神的形像的理解模型。一是结构性的（structural）模型，着重指出人类灵魂的各本质性的官能（essential faculties），它可包含前引智思的及意志的模型。二是功能性的（functional）模型，聚焦于人的活动，即人作为神在世间的代表而扮演的角色。三是关系性的（relational）模型，即透过关系性来理解人与神、人与其它受造物之间的关系，它并强调这种种关系的和谐性却因着人的堕落而被破坏，但也因着基督这个神的真正形像和祂与神之间的完美关系，以及我们和基督之间的关系而使得这个世界有重新构建的可能。四是多层次的（multifaceted）模型，主要结合了第二与第三模型的考虑。²⁶

兹以在关于东正教神学的讨论中经常被提到的神学家 St. Irenaeus（c. 130–c. 202）为例。St. Irenaeus 认为「形像」是让人有别于动物的理性能力，人类在堕落之后能持续予以使用，而「样式」是圣灵在人的位格中创造的「灵」（“spirit”），它将「圣袍」（“robe of sanctity”）加诸人的位格并使他得以与神交往（have fellowship with God），从而是在这个意义上具有神的「形像」。²⁷St. Irenaeus 并说：「如果你是神的作品，那么，等待在恰当的时间创造一切的你的创作者之手。就你而言，在恰当的时间，祂的创造正在进行（efficeris）。在温柔顺服的状态中向祂贡献你的心，并且保有创

23 Louth, *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Theology*, pp.68-73.

24 参考：Chow, *Theosis, Sino-Christian Theology and the Second Chinese Enlightenment*, pp.132-134;

25 这段讨论，参考 John Arblaster, “The Image and Likeness of God,” in Edward Howells & Mark A McIntosh (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp.269-271.

26 同上。

27 参考：Marc Cortez, *Theological Anthropology: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: T & T. Clark, 2010), p.142

造者用以塑造你的形式，不使你自身枯竭，以免因为变得刚硬而失去了祂的指印。但是透过保持着架构你可以提升到完满的状态……」²⁸同时期的 Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 - c. 215) 则说：「毕竟，应该为人所知的是，我们在天性上适于德性，但我们不是在出生时就拥有它，而是我们适于获得它。藉此，我们解决了异端向我们提出的问题：亚当被造时完美与否？。因为他们会从我这边听到他在他的创造中不是完满的，而是适于接受德性……」²⁹他并指出：「因为这难道不是我们部分作家所理解的吗？——人在他的创造当下接受『根据形像』之物，而在后来的完满中接受『基准样式』之物。」³⁰而论者认为，这两位神学家的讨论，意指「形像」并非意味人的完美 (human perfection)，它反而是指一项任务，这项任务的顶点 (culmination) 应该是像神 (to be likeness to God)，或说，人在持续反映其原型的过程中发展他们与神相似之处从而达到其位格的满全 (personal fulfillment)。³¹

至于能够达到像神或与神联合的具体方式，则因着神学家们对「形像」和「样式」的理解与诠释而异。或者主张静修，或者强调透过圣餐共融 (communion) 等。但考虑到本文论述主轴和篇幅，笔者于此不论。³²

三、儒家人性论：源自先秦儒学的思考

衡诸儒家的经典，尽管其中没有类似诸如基督宗教《圣经·创世记》关于神造天地万物的叙写以及人类及其处境之从一原初状态堕败后再得到救赎或重建的历程的论述，却也有关于人之思索其生命根源的概念与文句。例如《诗经·大雅·荡之什·烝民》「天生烝民、有物有则。民之秉彝、好是懿德。」³³孔子言「天生德于予」(《论语·述而》)，³⁴《左传·成公十三年》有「民受天地之中以生」，³⁵郭店楚简《性自命出》提出：「性自命出，命自天降」，³⁶《中庸》「天命之谓性」、³⁷《孟子·告子上》所载告子之言「生之谓性」，³⁸《荀子·礼论》「天地者，生之本也。」³⁹或《周易·系辞传上》所说「一阴一阳之谓道，继之者善，成之者性」。⁴⁰

28 转引自：John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 2nd edition (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p.214. 引文由笔者译为中文。

29 转引自：Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, p.216. 引文由笔者译为中文。

30 同上。

31 请参考：Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, pp.216-218; Thunberg, "The Human Person as Image of God. I: Eastern Christianity," pp.293 & 298.

32 可参考：Russell 著，《神的同工》[*Fellow Workers with God*]，第七章。

33 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 2 诗经》[*Shisanjin zhushu 2 Shijing*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆 Yee Wen Publishing Company, 2013)，页 674。

34 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 8 论语、孝经、尔雅、孟子》[*Shisanjin zhushu 8 Lunyu, Xiaojing, Erya, Mengzi*]，《十论语注疏》[*10 Lunyu zhushu*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆 Yee Wen Publishing Company, 2013)，页 63。

35 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 6 左传》[*Shisanjin zhushu 6 Zuozhuan*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆 Yee Wen Publishing Company, 2013)，页 460。

36 涂宗流、刘祖信，《郭店楚简先秦儒家佚书校释》(台北：万卷楼，2001)，页 144。

37 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 5 礼记》[*Shisanjin zhushu 5 Liji*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆 Yee Wen Publishing Company, 2013)，页 879。

38 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 8 论语、孝经、尔雅、孟子》[*Shisanjin zhushu 8 Lunyu, Xiaojing, Erya, Mengzi*]，《十三孟子注疏》[*13 Mengzi zhushu*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆，2013)，页 193。

39 王先谦 Wang Xianqian, 《荀子集解》[*Collected Annotations of the Xunzi*] (台北 Taipei: 华正 Hua Cheng Book Shop, 1993)，页 233。

40 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 1 周易、尚书》[*Shisanjin zhushu 1 Zhouyi, Shangshu*]，《一周易正义》[*1 Zhouyi zhengyi*] (台北 Taipei: 艺文印书馆 Yee Wen Publishing Company, 2013)，页 148。

以上各句表明人之性或人之德禀受于天，人之性或人之德乃天之流行而具体化于人身者，那么，人之性或人之德是否能恰切体现于天地之间，关键之处在于人是否能遵循此禀受于天之性或德。这点反映在诸如孔子所揭示之「志于道，据于德」（《论语·述而》）。⁴¹然而，孔子亦言「性相近也，习相远也」（《论语·阳货》），⁴²则其中「性相近」之「性」所指为何？又是甚么意义下的「习」使此原初相近之「性」有了不同的发展呢？孔子之后，皆自许／栩为绍述孔子之学的孟子和荀子便根据各自的时代背景和对人性的观察和理解上形成不同的论述。⁴³

进一步说，孟子主张「恻隐之心，仁也；羞恶之心，义也；恭敬之心，礼也；是非之心，智也。仁义礼智，非由外铄我也，我固有之也，弗思耳矣。」（《孟子·告子上》），⁴⁴并说「人性之善也，犹水之就下也。人无有不善，水无有不下」，且强调「乃若其情，则可以为善矣，乃所谓善也」（《孟子·告子上》）⁴⁵，同时以孺子将入于井而引发人的怵惕恻隐之心为例，⁴⁶说明人性之善。而从孟子在相关段落引《诗》「天生蒸民，有物有则。民之秉彝，好是懿德」⁴⁷作结，可知在孟子看来，此善性源自于天，而人面对天，尽心知性、存心养性，从而知天、事天。⁴⁸此外，感官嗜欲亦是人性，但它们会受外物影响而荡失（「耳目之官不思，而蔽于物，物交物，则引之而已矣」），唯有圣人才能予以恰当表现。⁴⁹孟子更说：「君子所性，仁义礼智根于心。其生色也，睟然见于面、盎于背。施于四体，四体不言而喻。」⁵⁰孟子思想中由人而圣的过程，显示的是一个工夫修养境界变化。而在孟子思想中，这一修养境界也是家国天下之基础。⁵¹

荀子在关于人性的讨论方面有两个令人困惑且看来不一致的表述，他既说「性者，本始才朴也」（《荀子·礼论》）⁵²，也说「人之性恶，其善者伪也。」（《荀子·性恶》）⁵³不过，荀子似乎也为人之性恶提出说明，即「今人之性，生而有好利焉，顺是，故争夺生而辞让亡焉；生而有疾恶焉，顺是，故残贼生而忠信亡焉；生而有耳目之欲，有好声色焉，顺是，故淫乱生而礼义文理亡焉。然则从人之

41 本段讨论，主要受益于林安梧 Lin An wu 先生和余纪元 Yu Jiyuan 对「道」与「德」的阐释。请分别参考：林安梧，〈「道」「德」释义：儒道同源互补的义理阐述——以《老子道德经》「道生之、德畜之」暨《论语》「志于道、据于德」为核心的展开〉[On Dao and Virtue: A Philosophical Interpretation of the Thesis That Confucianism and Daoism Develop from the Same Root and Are Complementary to Each Other: An Investigation on the Implications of "Dao Bears Myriad Things While Virtue Nourishes Them" of Laozi Daodejing and of "I Set My Heart on the Dao and Base Myself on Virtue" of Confucian Analects], 鹅湖[Legein Monthly]334期（2003年4月），页23-29; Jiyuan Yu, *The Ethics of Confucius and Aristotle: Mirrors of Virtue* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp.31-32.

42 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 8 论语、孝经、尔雅、孟子》[Shisanjin zhushu 8 Lunyu, Xiaojing, Erya, Mengzi], 《十 论语注疏》[10 Lunyu zhushu], 页154。

43 本文旨在反思关于从性善与性恶考虑儒耶会通问题，并不拟涉入关于孟子和荀子的人性论诠释论争之中，而且，这也恐将涉及具体拣择各传统里的思想家或相关论述并展开深入比较，属于和本文相关的延伸研究论题。

44 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 8 论语、孝经、尔雅、孟子》[Shisanjin zhushu 8 Lunyu, Xiaojing, Erya, Mengzi], 《十三孟子注疏》[13 Mengzi zhushu], 页195。

45 见前揭书，页192、195。

46 见前揭书，页65。

47 见前揭书，页195。

48 「尽其心者，知其性也，知其性则知天矣；存其心，养其性，所以事天也。」见前揭书，页228。

49 「形色，天性也。惟圣人，然后可以践形」（《孟子·尽心上》[Mencius 7A]）。见前揭书，页241。

50 见前揭书，页233。

51 「孟子曰：『人有恒言，皆曰『天下国家』。天下之本在国，国之本在家，家之本在身。』」（《孟子·离娄上》[Mencius 4A]）见前揭书，页127。

52 王先谦 Wang Xianqian, 《荀子集解》[Collected Annotations of the Xunzi], 页243。

53 见前揭书，页289。

性，顺人之情，必出于争夺，合于犯份乱理，而归于暴」。⁵⁴那么，这似乎意味着原有一种初始的人性状态，却由于某些因素（例如「顺是」）而使其失序从而影响人及其处境。这些虽可溯源于「天」之所赋予之性（《荀子·正名》「性者，天之就也」）⁵⁵，但在荀子看来，天能生物，却不能辨物，天所生的一切有待圣人而得以治理长养。⁵⁶然荀子视野下的圣人不求索于「不为而成，不求而得」之「天职」「列星随旋，日月递照，四时代御，阴阳大化，风雨博施，万物各得其和以生，各得其养以成」之类的「天功」，而是处理在人身上的天官、天情……等，在荀子看来，这是明于「天人之『分』」（此「分」义同「别」）也是明于「天人之『分』」（此「分」音义同「份」）的参赞天地的方式。⁵⁷一言以蔽之，即荀子所言「天地生之，圣人成之。」⁵⁸而此处得以「成之」的「圣人」，在荀子看来，也是「人之所积也」⁵⁹，其中涉及的是透过礼仪而「化性而起伪」，且由士到君子再到圣人的变化过程。⁶⁰而由此圣人施为，则天下治平。⁶¹

尽管孟荀两人对人性有不同的理解，但两者学说的最终目的都是教人为善，⁶²并以圣人——即在人性修养方面的体会与实践达到一个理想状态者——为目的，从而使得人的处境得以正理治平。而《中庸》「苟不至德，至道不凝焉」⁶³一句的义理或恰恰反映了此一由人而圣的人格和精神提升的动态历程。

四、性善或性恶？

如前所述，学者们已注意到，就人之本然善性的肯定而言，两个传统的立场是一致的。若再就「性善」和「性恶」的区分而说，学者如梁燕城指出，若从本体层次论孟子的性善说并从实然层次看荀子的性恶说，则基督宗教和儒家的人性论基本上并不冲突。⁶⁴若就东正教的神学资源而说，则学者如前提及徐凤林的观点，认为孟子所理解的人性类似希腊教父所说的「人格」，而荀子所理解的人性则属于人的自然本性。

从本体层次界定人性之善的理路，让人想起唐君毅在《生命存在与心灵境界》〈生命的灵觉之破空而出之创生义与天德流行〉一节里的一段话，兹摘录如下：

54 同上。

55 前揭书，页 284。

56 见前揭书，页 243。

57 见前揭书，页 204-207。

58 《荀子》[Xunzi]的〈富国〉[Enriching the State]篇和〈大略〉[The Grand Digest]篇皆提及此语，见前揭书，页 118、326。

59 例如：《荀子·儒效》[Xunzi, The Achievements of the Ru]:「涂之人百姓，积善而全尽，谓之圣人。彼求之而后得，为之而后成，积之而后高，尽之而后圣。故圣人也者，人之所积也。」《荀子·性恶》[Xunzi, Human Nature Is Bad]:「今使涂之人伏术为学，专心一志，思索孰察，加日县久，积善而不息，则通于神明，参于天地矣。故圣人者，人之所积而致矣。」见前揭书，页 91、296。

60 分别参见：《荀子·劝学》[Xunzi, An Exhortation to Learning]:「学恶乎始？恶乎终？曰：其数则始乎诵经，终乎读礼，其义则始乎为士，终乎为圣人。」《荀子·修身》[Xunzi, Cultivating Oneself]:「好法而行，士也；笃志而体，君子也；齐明而不竭，圣人也。」见前揭书，页 7、19。

61 例如：《荀子·天论》[Xunzi, Discourse on Heaven]:「圣人清其天君，正其天官，备其天养，顺其天政，养其天情，以全其天功，如是则知其所为，知其所不为矣；则天地官而万物役矣。」前揭书，页 207。

62 例如，清儒钱大昕 Qian Daxin (1728-1804) 在为谢塘《荀子笺释》[Xunzi jianzhi]所作之〈跋〉有言：「孟言性善，欲人之尽性而乐于善；荀言性恶，欲人之化性而勉于善，立言虽殊，其教人以善则一也。」转引自前揭书，[考证]页 10。

63 阮元 Ruan Yuan 校勘，《十三经注疏 5 礼记》[Shisanjin zhushu 5 Liji]，页 897。

64 详请参考：蔡仁厚 Tsai Ren-Hou 等人，《会通与转化》[Huitong yu zhuanhua]，页 223-241。

前所谓吾人生命之生于此世界，初为一破空而出之一赤裸裸之生命，乃表现一先天的空寂性、纯洁性，而为一善之流行，为第一义。亦即以自觉的超越忘去此生命之来处，以及其超越的根源，为第一义……此生命存在之自身或本性，只是一灵觉的生，或生的灵觉。……故谓人之生的灵觉中，夹带有父母祖先之遗传性质，前生之业报种子等，人之初生，皆不知之。此不知，不只是无知、无明，乃兼是此生命存在能超忘此一切之一表现，亦生命之有先天的空寂性、纯洁性而为一善之流行之一表现。对此生的灵觉，人固亦可说其自有一超越的形上根原。因若无此一超越的形上根原，此生的灵觉之生长发展与流行，即不能继续自己超越其自己，以成其生长发展与流行。……对此根原，可以天、上帝、如来藏心或法界性起心之名说之。但在此人的生命之生于此世间，以其有生的灵觉之时，此生的灵觉对此超越的形上根原之自身，亦有一超越而忘却之事。此超越而忘却之事，不能只说是一与其根原隔离，而堕落，遂不知其根原，而有一生命之原始的无明之事。此超越忘却其根原之事，亦当说其乃由此生的灵觉之「破空而出」之故……故此生的灵觉与其形上根原之隔离，亦即此生的灵觉之有破空而出之一创生之活动。而此隔离，亦初是由超越而忘却其根原，以使其生命具一先天的空寂性、纯洁性，而无所依傍，以为一赤裸裸之生命以降世。不能说全是隔离，全是堕落，全是无明，只可说一半是隔离、堕落、无明而已。⁶⁵

唐君毅是在他阐述的儒家「天德流行境」的脉络里讨论人之生的灵觉之自其生命之根源「破空而出」，旨在谈论人之生命之「达于自觉的天德流行之道」，⁶⁶我们从中也可窥见他对儒、释、耶论述的比较与反思。

笔者同意唐君毅所言，其中不仅是隔离、堕落、无明，同时也表现了一善的流行。就善的流行而说，或也可再关联着〈创世记〉第1章第25节所言「于是 神造出野兽，各从其类；牲畜，各从其类；地上一切昆虫，各从其类。 神看着是好的。」「善之流行」或「神看着是好的」是对原初状态的设想，我们或可就此而说在此状态的人处在一个本始材朴且其种种自然天性（例如情感、欲望）表现尚有待引导或贞定的状态。但是人顺着自己的欲求而使造成自己对于己身生命根原的隔离或无明，或说，自绝于其生命根原而生种种障蔽，无法保有或适切扩充其本然纯净无蔽之性，表现为行动，从而破坏了人类原初生存处境的秩序，儒家视之为「乱」，基督宗教视之为「堕落」。笔者认为，若顺着唐君毅「生之灵觉之破空而出」的思考，并关联着前文的讨论，可以帮助我们进一步考虑儒耶人性论问题。

我们可从以上梳理看到，无论如何看待人性，两大传统的相关思考隐含了一个关于从人的原初状态、远离该状态但能够予以转化、提升的思索理路。这在东正教的「形像」与「样式」之别的阐释架构中，是人从「不完美」到「完美」、使人的位格得以满全的历程。就儒家而说，是一因着人之充尽天所赋予己身之德或性（「至德」）而体现天道（至道凝焉）的历程。具体而言，在孟子性善论里，是一向外推拓、扩充，尽心知性、践形的历程。在荀子性恶论里，则是一个使人性因着礼义师法等而得到转化从而提升美化人性的历程（《荀子·不苟》：「济而材尽，长迁而不反其初，则化矣。」）进一步说，在东正教神学的脉络中，这是一个让人在道德上能与神相似的「神化」（*deifying*）历程，但这里的「神化」并非真的成为神，而是能够仿效神，神子耶稣基督的言行则是具体范式。而在儒家人性论的视野里，则是一个「学以成人」或「知天」的教化历程，而此「知天」既是透过推拓扩充人的善性而体察领

65 唐君毅 Tang Chün-i, 《生命存在与心灵境界》[*Life-Existence and Horizons of Mind*]，下册（台北 Taipei：台湾学生书局 Student Book，1986），页189-191。

66 前揭书，页189。

会的「知天」，也是明乎天人之分而能「清其天君，正其天官，备其天养，顺其天政，养其天情，以全其天功」的「知天」。两个传统都看到人会因其人性最初状态的不完美而违反某种既有秩序或造成其混乱的阶段，也同时看到人之自我超迈的可能性。若用唐君毅的话，都是「生之灵觉之破空而出」。再就东正教「形像」与「样式」的论述和儒家在「道」与「德」的论述而说，尽管两个传统都会强调人之为人的独特之处，但这样的独特之处仍是关联着整个人而思索者——在东正教神学视野中，人乃依神的形像所造但可仿效神的行为从而得以像神。而根据先秦儒家的理解，人禀受天所赋予之德并有充尽或提升此「德」从而体现天之「道」的可能性。就此而言，儒家与基督宗教对人性的思考有其合辙而可会通之处。

五、结语

关于儒耶对话里的人性论议题的讨论，往往聚焦于从本原或本体之善求其会通的可能性，即就着基督宗教里提出人是依据神的「形像」所造而说人性本善，并以求会通于孟子以降的性善说。笔者透过东正教关于神的「形像」和「样式」的区分与诠释，引入「样式」以及就着这两个概念展开的关于人性从不完美到完美或达致人格满全的探讨，并对比先秦儒家的人性论，指出两个传统皆看到人会因其人性最初状态的不完美而违反某种既有秩序或造成其混乱的阶段，同时看到人之自我超迈的可能性。此外，两个传统的人性论皆是就整全之人而展开思索。就此而说，儒耶两大传统在人性思索上彼此参照、相互发明的参考。

然而，人如何能从远离其人性原初状态之后又能够予以转化、提升，这在两大传统里涉及的是灵性修炼与修养工夫论，同时也涉及到两个传统对神人关系和天人关系的理解，而这些都是笔者在本文里未能涉及而待日后处理的议题。

English Title: Mirrors of Human Nature: The Philosophical Anthropologies of Classical Confucianism and the Theology of Orthodox Christianity

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Abstract: The discussions on Confucian and Christian visions of human nature for seeking the opportunities of the communication between Confucianism and Christianity have revolved around Christian doctrine of human was created in accordance with *Imago Dei* and the classical Confucian Mencius' teaching of the good disposition of human nature and their similarities. In this paper, by introducing the understanding of the distinction between the image and the likeness of God from the theology of the Orthodox Christianity and its related idea of the process of human nature from its imperfection/ immature to its perfection/ mature and comparing it with classical Confucian views of human nature, the author indicates that Confucianism and Christianity have seen not only the chaos and disorder that are caused by the imperfection/ immature of human nature at the initial stage of human existence but the possibilities of human self-transcendence. Furthermore, both traditions have considered the issue of human nature in terms of the conception of a whole person. The inquiries of Confucianism and Christianity into human nature are complementary to and can be taken as mirrors of each other.

Key words: theory of human nature, Orthodox Christianity, image and likeness of God, *Dao* and Virtue, Confucianism

吴历及其《天乐正音谱》： 明末清初天主教圣乐中国化的典范

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提要：吴历作为清初的艺术大家与文化精英，经历了明清易代的重大历史转折，在此背景下，他最终皈依天主教，并在宗教与文化的交汇点上创作了《天乐正音谱》。本文收录整理了《天乐正音谱》所有章节并予以分析，在创作中吴历采用了中国传统的南北曲形式，将西方天主教赞美诗与中国古典音乐、文学相结合，展现了他在中西文化交流中的探索。通过这种实践，吴历既实现了天主教音乐在中国的本土化，也为中国传统文化注入了新的活力。《天乐正音谱》不仅是吴历个人信仰历程的见证，更是明末清初中西文化交流史上天主教圣乐中国化的典范。

关键词：吴历，天乐正音谱，天主教圣乐，中国化

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一、前言

梁启超先生在《中国近三百年学术史》曾言“中国智识线和外国智识线相接触，晋唐间的佛学为第一次，明末的历算学便是第二次。”¹在中西文化的两次大规模交流历史中，宗教文化皆为先导，东汉以来的佛教，对中国文化影响至深且远。由晋唐而两宋，天竺而来的佛教文化，以三教融合的形式，汇进中华文明的主干。而明清之际的西风东渐，来华传教士成为中西文化交流的主要媒介，开启了四百余年西学东渐的历史进程。

发生在明清之际的西学东渐，正是处于新旧社会变革模式转型期的西方文明与处于传统社会周期性变革期的中国文明发生历史性接触的特殊历史时刻。²当二者在各自的特殊时期发生碰撞与交流，文明的

1 梁启超 Liang Qichao, 《中国近三百年学术史》 *Zhong guo jin san bai nian xueshushi* [History of Chinese Scholarship in the Last Three Centuries], (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shuangwu yinshu guan[Commercial Press], 2011), 10。

2 聂敏里 Nie Minli, “明清之际的西学东渐——两种社会变革模式的重叠与交织” *Mingqing zhiji de xixuedongjian--liangzhong shehui biange moshi de chongdie yu Jiaozhi* [The introduction of Western learning to the East during the Ming and Qing dynasties - The overlap and interweaving of two social transformation models], 《社会科学文摘》 *Shehui kexue wenzhai* [Digest of Social Sciences], Vol. 06, (2021), 91-93。

精神与性格在其中透过一系列自发乃至自觉的行动者展现出来。当明末来华传教士利用带来的西方科学产物进献给中国各级官员及皇帝来取得他们的信任和好感，并且利用解释各种西方事物和观念以寻求大力传播天主教的机会，中国的文化精英们也在观察着这些异域来客。利玛窦在《天主实义》中，用“西儒”、“西士”和“西哲”来称呼当时来华的传教士，代表着当时的传教士试图以一种西方文化精英的身份进入中华文明的语境，通由知识的传播，广布天主的福音。

以徐光启、李之藻、杨廷筠等为代表的士人阶层则更希望经由传教士学习西方科学技术，使国家振兴富强，“欲求超胜，必须会通；会通之前，必先翻译”³。从西学东渐到“中西会通”，传教士所追求的宗教传播似乎并未在作为文化精英的士人阶层得到认可。但在明清易代之际，历经甲申之难国家幻灭的吴历，却皈依了天主教，并创作出《天乐正音谱》，以独特的文化交融和转换范式谱出了中西文化交流的圣乐之章。

二、易代之人与易代之章

1、易代之人的独特追寻

吴历（1632—1718），字渔山，江苏常熟人，号墨井道人，又号桃溪居士，与王时敏、王鉴、恽寿平等并称画坛“清初六家”。其在诗词、曲乐、画艺等方面造诣极高，是当时的艺术大家与文化精英的代表，也是明末清初天主教文人中，人文素养最高者。亲历明清易代之痛后，从“隐世”、“亲禅”到“学道”，吴历的信念几经嬗变，历于儒佛，而归之天主。⁴

吴历的前半生，与同时代的士人阶层境遇相似，都在明清易代的大时代中几经浮沉。明朝灭亡后的士人群体，有人出仕新朝，工于谋身，如李永芳、洪承畴等贰臣群体；有人归隐山林，著书立说，如黄宗羲、顾炎武等遗民群体。而吴历由于其深度皈依天主教的人生经历，在后半生成为明清之际最为独特的士人之一。

康熙十三年（1674），吴历遇到自己的天学先师周铎，开始系统学习天主教教义。康熙十九年（1680），耶稣会中国副省的司库柏应理（Philippe Couplet, 1623-1693）在中国选中了四人作为未来耶稣教会司铎，计划一同前往罗马，此行的目的方面在请求教廷增派教士来华，并允许用华语举行弥撒，另外通过这些优秀而年青的中国信教徒的才能向罗马教廷证明，这些候选人能够胜任司铎的职位。吴历正是被选中的四人之一。⁵然而“由于‘礼仪之争’公开，耶稣会意识到，‘译名之争’将再次兴起，不可能再讨论和批准经典汉译，教会本土化将不可避免地推迟，因而吴历和陆希言的西行失去了意义。”⁶

3 张德让 Zhang Derang, “翻译会通研究：从徐光启到‘复夏’” Fanyi hui tong yanjiu: cong xu guangqi dao yan fu [A study on the integration of translation: From Xu Guangqi to Yan Fu], 《外语教学》 Waiyu jiaoxue [Foreign Language Teaching], Vol.32, (2011), 96-99.

4 陈妍君 Chen Yanjun, 《明清‘天学诗’初探》 Mingqing ‘tianxueshi’ chantan [A preliminary study of ‘Tianxueshi’ in the Ming and Qing dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海师范大学硕士学位论文 Shanghai shifan daxue shuoshi xuewei lunwen [Master's Thesis of Shanghai Normal University], 2020), 23.

5 陈垣 Chen Yuan “吴渔山与王石谷书跋” Wu yushan yu wang shigu shuba [Inscriptions by Wu Yushan and Wang Shigu], 《东方杂志》 Dongfang zazhi [Eastern Magazine], No.27, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shuangwu Yinshu Guan [Commercial Press], 1930), 12.

6 全国平 Quan Guoping, “吴历‘入澳不果’隐因探究” Wu Li‘ru ao Buguo’yinyin tanjiu [Exploration of the hidden reasons behind Wu Li’s ‘failure to enter Macao’], 金国平 Quan Guoping、吴志良 Wu Zhiliang, 《早期澳门史论》 Zaoqi aomen shilun [Early Macao History], (广州 Guangzhou: 广东人民出版社 Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe [Guangdong People's Publishing House], 2007), 594-595.

吴历和陆希言于是留在澳门，进入三巴静院修行，以五十岁高龄接受教会教育，学习艰涩的拉丁文和神学。陆希言在《澳门记》中记载了这一段时光“读书谈道，习格物、穷理而学超性”⁷。在这段学习的日子里，吴历创作了《三巴集》，成为中国天学诗的代表。⁸

清康熙二十七年（1688），吴历在南京被祝圣为司铎，是最早祝圣天主教神父的中国文人之一。祝圣之后，迎接吴历的是江南地区数十年的传道生活，直到康熙五十七年（1718）病逝上海。在这期间，吴历创作了《天乐正音谱》，成为中国人所写的唯一采用中国南北曲形式的天主教赞美诗歌集。

与明晚期接触传教士的徐光启、李之藻等人不同，吴历自幼生长在天主教氛围浓厚的江苏常熟，方豪认为“渔山自幼领洗。但吴历四十岁前多与僧人来往，而其天主教事迹不彰。”⁹因而吴历面对传教士与天主教，并未出现前辈“入教儒士”徐光启、李之藻等人所采取的“礼失求诸野”“中体西用”的态度，他们是“最具探究自然科学的素质，他们的皈依显然受到其自身之科学素养及热忱求取新知的驱动”¹⁰，在吴历独特的人生经历中，他逐渐接受并信奉天主教，成为了当时中国文化精英阶层中，不求科学技术，只求宗教解脱的真正的天主教徒。同样，对天主教的宗教精神与文化，与前人文化本位的排斥心理和取用心理不同，作为中华文化的精英，吴历在他的天学诗和《天乐正音谱》中，开始尝试将异质性的西方天主教文化，进行叙事与精神的本地化与再地化，以中华传统话语的深厚承载力对天主教的精义进行了阐扬。



（图1：吴历画像，清光绪四年（1878）《练川名人画像》程祖庆辑）

7 方豪 Fang Hao, 《中国天主教史人物传》 Zhongguo tianzhujiao renwu zhuan [Biographies of Chinese Catholic Figures], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社, Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe[Religious Culture Publishing House], 1997), 250。

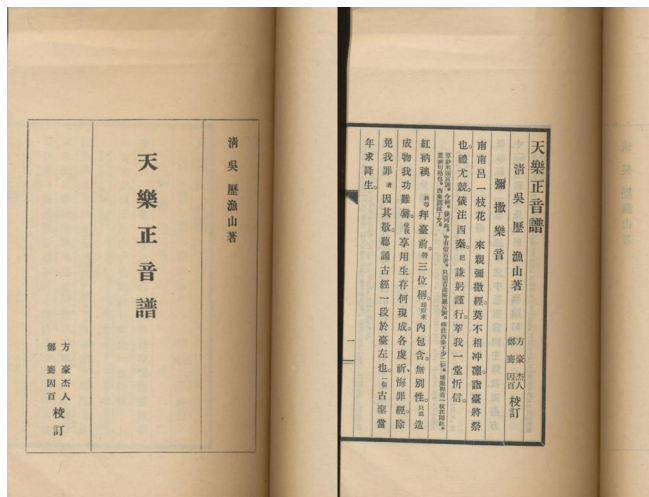
8 “天学诗”这一概念最初是由吴渔山提出的他晚年在上海地区传教时，曾对牧下教友赵仑说过“作天学诗最难，比不得他诗。”章文钦认为吴渔山“所指的天学诗大致以描写天主教教义为内容可称为狭义的天学诗”章文钦 Zhang Wenqin 《澳门历史文化》 Aomen lishi wenhua[Macau's History and Culture], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局, Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 1999), 336。

9 方豪 Fang Hao, 《中国天主教史人物传》 Zhongguo tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan [Biographies of Figures in Chinese Catholic History], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社, Zongjiao wenhua Chubanshe[Religious Culture Publishing House], 366-367 页。

10 刘耘华 Liu Yunhua 《诠释的圆环--明末清初传教士对儒家经典的解释及其本土回应》 Quanshi de yuanyuan-mingmo qingchu chuanjiaoshi dui rujia Jingdian de jieshi jiqi bentu huiying [The interpretive circle-Interpretations of Confucian classics by missionaries in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties and their local responses], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社, Beijing daxue chubanshe[Peking University Press], 2006), 310。

2、圣乐文本的独特表达。

作为画坛“清初六家”与江南文化大家，历代对吴历本身的研究大多集中在生平与诗画作品，在对吴历生平文字作品的研究中，“天学诗”被视为最具有其生命历程信息的作品，而对《天乐正音谱》的研究可以说付之阙如。大部分相关的研究主要出现在对基督宗教音乐入华情形的论述中。章文钦先生对《天乐正音谱》的文本详加考据收录在《吴渔山集笺注》一书之中，是目前关于《天乐正音谱》文字内容最可靠的现代版本。他也在专著《吴渔山及其华化天学》中从“天学散曲”的角度讨论了《天乐正音谱》的文学内容。¹¹



(图2:《天乐正音谱》首页书影(清)吴历着,方豪、郑寿校订,1950年版)

美国学者齐皎瀚(Jonathan Chaves)的专著《本源之咏-中国画家吴历诗作中的自然与神》(Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li)则从文学的角度对吴历的诗作进行系统性的研究,其中将《天乐正音谱》视为吴历“实验创作中文基督宗教文学的最高峰”,台湾的洪力行从《天乐正音谱》中的《称颂圣母乐章》中检视了吴历的歌咏圣母文本的创作思路,发现了歌咏这一贯通中西文化的桥接形式,张博则进一步在《〈天乐正音谱〉天主教音乐中国化的探索》一文中提出“表现了中国天主教徒从‘被动接受的角色’,向‘使自身成为主要的作用者’的一种转化。”¹²但这些研究都未将《天乐正音谱》单独作为中西文化碰撞、交融、汇合下的主体进行考察,也尚未厘清吴历在创作中是如何以一种东方话语来接纳、汇通、再造代表着西方文明的基督教内核思想。

与吴历“天学诗”创作模式不同,《天乐正音谱》的创作并非吴历自身生命体悟的发散与衍生,而是其有意识的作为“天主福音”的布道者的实践,以及文化精英阶层“文以载道”使命感的灌注,虽然天学诗中也有部分劝道相关的作品,但未如同《天乐正音谱》一般形成一类作品的集群。“天乐即天主教音乐,正音谱,是沿用了明代朱权《太和正音谱》的标题,意在为中国天主教赞美诗创作确立范本。”¹³因此吴历的创作,一开始就有意以布道劝道为宗旨,《天乐正音谱》采用当时流行的南北曲的

11 章文钦 Zhang Wenqin《吴渔山及其华化天学》Wu Yushan jiqi Huahua Tianxue [Wu Yushan and his Sinicized Christian learning], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局, Zhonghua Shuju [Zhong Hua Book Company], 2008), 102。

12 张博 Zhang Bo“《天乐正音谱》天主教音乐中国化的探索” Tianyue zhengyinpu tianzhujiao yinyue zhongguohua de tansuo [Exploration of the Sinicization of Catholic music in ‘Tianle Zhengyinpu’], 《中国宗教》Zhongguo zongjiao [China Religion], (2018), 60。

13 张博 Zhang Bo“《天乐正音谱》天主教音乐中国化的探索” Tianyue zhengyinpu tianzhujiao yinyue zhongguohua de tansuo [Exploration of the

形式，共包含《弥撒乐音》、《称颂圣母乐章》、《敬谢天主钧天乐》、《喻罪乐章》、《悲思世乐章》、《警傲乐章》、《戒心乐章》、《咏规程》以及《悲魔傲》九首套曲。《天乐正音谱》的套曲由套曲乐章名、各散曲的曲牌、曲文组成，乐章代表了每部分的意义所指，曲牌则是曲文的格式与音乐形式的标识，曲文中字体较小者为衬字，是不属于原本格律的增字，用于帮助语气与叙事完整。套曲之后则附有“拟古乐歌”《每瑟谕众乐章》二十章。¹⁴《天乐正音谱》在内容上全部取材于天主教的精神内核，其中《弥撒乐音》是对弥撒礼仪与教义规范的文学性描述。

弥撒乐音		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南南吕 一枝花	来亲弥撒经,莫不相冲凜。诣台将祭也,礼尤兢。仪注西秦。把谦恭谨行,萃我一堂忻信。
二	红衲袄	我等拜台前,将二位称。却原来内包含,无别性。只为造成物我功难罄,使我享用生存何现成。各虔祈、悔罪经,除免我罪者因其敬。听诵《古经》一段于台左也,一似古圣当年求降生。
三	绣太平	开天路、垂慈汲引。救我人、孽灵魂。听台中正读西音:基利厄勒依算。三声,连祈九遍为分形。把两手、分赦允、教自省。天神歌奖,世人称。
四	宜春乐	瞻台左,手按经。指经中、若翰圣人,预为开径。移经台右中诚谨,示堂中、敬服常同。主降我、灵台方寸。致邪魔畏遁,那时见我,圣迹昭明。
五	太师引	看开樽,酌葡萄酒者。元分品。献耶稣、经言训人。表十字架、血流垂尽。与今朝、弥撒洪深。悔从前负罪常逆命。我本待、报答慈恩。终无定。惟有规程永遵。使我就捐躯,才为致命。
六	东瓯令	重盥手,复转身,请偕同众罪人。干干洗滌无须剩,才不负、耶稣悯。元何十字划频频,圣死因他钉。
七	刘泼帽	举扬圣体明餐饮酒,并求为、炼处灵魂。抚心时响诵求慈允,天上人间,地狱三般幸。
八	尾声	依弥撒,归思省。虽残疾疲癯同是心,切不可阳奉阴违自失真。

《称颂圣母乐章》与《敬谢天主钧天乐》分别以“圣母”与“天主”为歌咏对象，《称颂圣母乐章》叙圣母玛利亚怀孕耶稣、“救援神魂”、耶稣蒙难日亦饱受痛苦，最终受召升天享受天国福泽等事迹，塑造了其“似海明星，立极中天定，怜悯那苍生命”的慈悲形象。

《敬谢天主钧天乐》则以耶稣马房出生、若尔当河受洗、带领信徒传扬福音、造成万物等圣迹彰显其三位一体、“全能遍天壤”“位尊无两”的尊贵与神圣。

Sinicization of Catholic music in 'Tianle Zhengyinp'u', 《中国宗教》 Zhongguo zongjiao [China Religion], (2018), 61。

14 (清) 吴历 Wu Li, 《吴渔山集笺注》 Wu yushan ji jianzhu [Annotation of Wu Yushan's Collection], 章文钦 Zhang Wenqin 笺注, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局, Zhonghua shuju [Zhong Hua Book Company], 2007) 529 - 582。

吴历及其《天乐正音谱》：明末清初天主教圣乐中国化的典范

称颂圣母乐章		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	端正好	皎团团，光无并。印照人，无既无生。似海星明，立极中天定，怜悯那苍生命。
二	滚绣球	他肇观摩德馨，仰灵光九品。远三仇、注名于永静。函费略保耶稣，似孕如娠。犹将心儿没尽藏的谦，意儿满也满载的尊。谁想他圣宠着，那童身之圣，一谜价，救援神魂，铁铮铮的威容纯美冠天神。到如今抚世途艰启凤兴，须信道日月长明。
三	叨叨令	合天神、天钦和地钦，为先知圣人宗徒敬。圣子的，在蒙难日真苦辛，惨模糊将心肠迸。复活后，看升了永宁，喜明明证了身言行。受教罢，天神聚迎，笑吟吟满将恩荣赠。你看他操存兀的不主保人也么哥，兀的不辅翼人也么哥。要我等，依归至尊，索与他诚诚恳恳的信。
四	脱布衫	好生的，高玄至仁。超美者，卒世童贞。大君前垂慈保领。救我等去邪魔，将主恩识认。
五	小梁州	可怜人忘救灵魂蹈永刑，全不想地狱幽沉。一任你一罪一重炼苦辛，无穷尽。早不解，早区分。
六	么篇	愿尽日从头至踵遵明训，一一的，再痛悔铭心。自从今不忘恩，皆感奋。瞻望慈云恩覆，心朗朗，远尘氛。

敬谢天主钧天乐		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	北黄钟醉花阴	吾主全能遍天壤，诚赫赫、今来古往。虽一体、圣三皇，于穆无疆，其位尊无两。我怀爱德，藉恩光，荡荡难名惟叩颡。
二	喜迁莺	自汉季、圣子来降。教吾人、向化明良，恩广。托圣母童贞产马房。若瑟同来献主堂。祝赞有、西默盎。道能救灵魂沦丧，扫魔鬼猖狂。
三	出队子	圣宠的先知若翰，比耶稣年略长。你道他先来开导在何方？领洗河名若尔当。把昔日径路崎岖成夷坦。
四	刮地风	主救我莽莽乾坤荣福返。命宗徒、率土传扬。得亚孟者常生王，永静天乡。其偕尔圣人同飨，尔旨承行于地上。过一州，到一邦，教规指掌。付神魂、爲裹粮，岂止惮九万梯航。生存百谷真生养，感慈恩、拜五伤。
五	四门子	看灵奇之升天敬仰，一心心、信爱望。把十戒来遵，把七克来动。奉规程、破除邪教网。念一回经，存一回想。炙热我心肠自挽。
六	水仙子	我我我自付量，看看看俗三仇狠似枪。将将将告解铭心，把把把恤哀矜慷慨。呀呀呀那些儿、能久享，休休休恋烟云、瞥眼炎凉。喜喜喜指明了教中超性朗，我我我爱天国、安熙攘。他他他怎知道世福不能长，休错认沸海当康庄。
七	尚绕梁煞	少不得审判将来罚与赏，论中都、非比遐荒。为什么不知天的世人拜魍魉。

其余五首内容则与天主教的劝世教义有关，包罗甚广。《喻罪乐章》中的五个比喻取自《圣经》：“喻黑云黑云障太虚”；“喻沸海欺世人，心易迷”；“喻负重须知罪大愆深”；“喻醉汉谁非是个醉汉狂且”；“喻苍蝇苍蝇技，逐臭避香飞”。

喻罪乐章		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南黄钟 赏宫花	喻黑云黑云障太虚，终凶暴可知。混迹三仇里，强自展愁眉。争似冬蛇常掩目，指南难与话东西。
二	狮子序	喻沸海欺世人，心易迷。离娘怀，早把情移性移。似舟行沸海，到岸无期。看你在、转眼的覆溺。虽亟信乘槎，望风帆，爱家乡，尚多愆罪。若道为尘缘未了，此愿终违。
三	降黄龙	喻负重须知罪大愆深，如负重临歧，不胜累赘。如此伛偻罄折，难仰云天。要息肩无地，休题。逐利趋名，宁免俛躬擎跪。岂止那，千钧盎背，压死难舒。
四	大胜乐	喻醉汉谁非是个醉汉狂且？啄如鸡，醉似泥，包身大胆迎刀锯。徒哺啜，昧修齐，无廉无耻无仁义。处己无情为甚的？未必狂魔诱惑，自欲昏昏人梦，向地狱争趋。
五	太平歌	喻苍蝇苍蝇技，逐臭避香飞。看举世人情酷似伊，还思附骥图千里。看你逢羶血便忘义，尘尾挥不去。
六	尾声	黑云沸海明明喻，负重诚愚醉汉痴，比到苍蝇品愈低。

《悲思世乐章》是对信众的恳切劝诫，揭露人世贫富不均、物欲横流的丑恶，以教导众人向善。

悲思世乐章		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南中吕尾犯序	莫谓地球宽，六水三山，一分为田。又且聚蜃如盆，万恶归焉，阴惨。非杀命、谁能养命？非敛怨、谁能无怨？那堪见，刀途血路，生死不安恬。
二	前腔	膏火自相煎，华貂同情，食色相连。你看朝士卑田，也一样争餐。未免，贫贱者、罗雀掘鼠，富贵者、长躯席卷。难惩劝，贪无底，谿壑不能填。
三	前腔	头上月轮天，怎比无形，永静长年。况我无定形，随日月推迁。转眼，百忙里、生老病死，眼措里、烟云翻变。还须念，如扁舟渡海，隔板是黄泉。
四	前腔	积成罪不悛，枉说虔斋，告解消愆。若稍忤雄心。就怒发冲冠，褊浅。这都是、器凌孽火，全不想、形骸制限，无更换。总赖蒙恩救赎，守诚要心坚。
五	尾声	人心各异如其面，荣辱崇卑天主权。莫把掩袭为能独自贤。

《警傲乐章》则提及耶稣降生、在泰西降恩、怜悯众生和请求圣母转告祈求天主加恩赦罪等内容。

警傲乐章		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南商调山坡羊	梦中人、不谦不恕。病中身、不医不治。性中天、从教废弛。降中灵、灭不知何处。幸主降生来，开恩在泰西。免除世罪、世罪从头洗。又把我等矜怜，灵魂救取。堪悲，奈苍生尤执迷。真痴，做魔奴还不自知。

吴历及其《天乐正音谱》：明末清初天主教圣乐中国化的典范

二	前腔	少年辰、与魔隐计,老将来、措身何地?急攘攘、如扑灯火蛾。沸腾腾、似聚窟寻羶蚁。又谁知,崇朝日易西。不独三仇诱我、诱我还连你。只为业火无形,当生莫避。须知,除死方休食与衣。还亏,入土方休诈与欺。
三	猫儿坠	我侬求主,主定把人悲。洗罪还愁悔罪迟,生平邪妄尚沉迷。须祈,圣水驱魔,须臾不离。
四	尾声	恳祈圣母求天主,赦我从前告解非。尤恐满腹泥沮罪未除。

《戒心乐章》是对信众以教义规劝,要认识世间原罪,醒悟回头,奉行教义,努力修行。

戒心乐章		
段落	曲牌	曲文
二	泣颜回	清浊自低回,怎不教人凌制。怪似仇同不共,何妨话不投机。只为昌扬自己,禁他人、不许鼾然睡。器还欵、欲正伊谁。喜把我、切磋攻砺。
三	前腔	口焰发从脾,欲避延烧,何必环桑穿鼻?自有身衣口食牵拘,饶你凌云插翅。为饥虚、不惜凭投界,任华夷、抵死争求,获大罪,逆天欺世。
四	催拍	此谁欺,欺天自欺。问谁知,你知我知。行短有亏,与日俱增,罪与身齐。一旦归泉,永狱无期。从今看,真个凄其。岂教外,不堪题
五	余文	假惺惺,全不取。惟凭隐德自修持,才是真诚不我欺。

《咏规程》与第一乐章《弥撒乐章》结合,《弥撒乐章》描述了弥撒过程的神圣,《咏规程》乐章运用和《弥撒乐章》同样的曲牌顺序格式,歌咏叙述了弥撒仪式对信仰的意义与升华,以此规劝信徒要按时参与弥撒并真诚奉行。

咏规程		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南南吕一枝花	谁能离世网?最苦人间况。欲求生免也,岂非罔。赖有梯航,是升天指掌,把译语随方敷讲。
二	红衲袄	既然悔愆尤,崇教皇,也须酬救灵魂。恩主降,好将戒规谨守休轻放,假饶你口里空谈何所望。你想六时中、日用粮,而免我债者天恩荡,如我亦免负我债者于今生也。才许你归根无永殃。
三	绣太平	依归后、扪心向往,尚从魔、落魄佯狂。应知面目堪憎,怕难随侪辈同行。深想,昌言铎世不寻常。比世俗、差同天壤。从教自反,三仇虽猛,自宜惩创。
四	宜春乐	闻天国,是故乡。始孽生、厄袪亚当,岂能无恙?违天获罪谁能挽,致群灵、造孽堪诛。感一主、慈悲难仗。故耶稣降诞,降来救赎,万国遐方。
五	太师引	欺愚氓,再没有酬恩想。便相闻、谁亲圣伤?若不将十字架、熟假疼傍,等闲抛、驹隙时光,赚终身被累随浊浪。直等待、病骨支床,冤魔障,教人饱偿。总使梦南柯,犹多惆怅。
六	东瓯令	休迷执,莫鹰扬。抑傲居谦拜五伤,勤勤告解无羁绊,存不得、丝毫妄。从今寸斂九回肠,实信常生王。

国学与西学

七	刘浚帽	全能全善尊无两,降生来、圣史端详。看他年审判诚非枉,赏罚升沉,再现生前样。
八	尾声	四行迅速流光返。切不可借口匆忙不到堂,何苦弃却灵魂赴永殃。

《悲魔傲》利用大篇幅的比喻,将未接受信仰而在人世遭受的苦楚描绘的淋漓尽致,再次称赞了天主信仰的高洁神圣,鼓励信众只要遵循教义,就能不惧人间险恶,迎来太平世界。

悲魔傲		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	南正宫瑞鹤仙	我主垂慈教,救灵魂大事,洪恩覆幬,回头须逞早。奈染成未化,胜心犹躁。几回西士树谦光,转眼吠声如豹。且速宜回避,物情强弱,付之一笑。
二	锦缠道	苦不觉,畏途中,凭陵火烧,世苦暂相遭。问谁能今辰,可卜来朝?从没有纤毫善,半分功,宠遭。恩可邀?又何须,共三仇,角胜相嘲?猛可里痛虚器,把灵魂儿从魔消耗。看时光转斗杓,才觉我、年难再少,悔从前不检罪应招。
三	好事近	威风乍离巢,枝头斥尽鹓鸪。视诸凡鸟,魑地里别类分曹。探讨,取舍依违颠倒。谁似你,另生成之玄妙。普天率土希少,但不能去食,水米无交。
四	古轮台	乍腾蛟,顿将行潦起起波涛,无人有我侔天高。无庸目睹,万般通晓。话英豪、岱岳曾交,昆仑踢倒。惊愚骇俗,管教独步上青霄。音从别调,晦其屑居奇。随人媚灶,隐德规条。须知遐融谁能绍,逢君崖异是同袍。
五	尾声	藏头隐面循规教,仇盗兵戈害自消。任尔床头伪捉刀。

最后的《每瑟谕众乐章》则是取材自《圣经·申命记》中的《梅瑟歌》,《梅瑟歌》包括《申命记》第32-34章。本乐章共二十章,取材于《申命记》第32章,第1-2段为《请以色列人歌颂上主》,第3-7段为《上主的照顾》,第8-20段为《以色列人辜恩负义》各节。每一段都将原文以类似汉代乐府诗的韵文形式重新改写。

每瑟谕众乐章 (每瑟遗命已毕,乃赓歌尔谕众乐曰)	
段落	内容
一	请天民,听我吟,透入人心。譬草木,雨露深,蓬蓬勃勃难禁。
二	我愿天主,丕显圣名。达寰宇,暨八纮。请众同声,齐赞尔光荣。允惟尔、至美浑成。允惟尔、至善充盈。无瑕无玷,无改无更,
三	至公天主,至义天主,实爲尔之大父。念伊生身勤育,换恩爱尔,深恩重重难数。尔忒亏子道、违规矩。从兹后、弃捐尔爲尔,领洪恩、如兹报补。
四	念尔谁生并谁养?须认识、古初前往,询尔祖父无欺罔。勤咨访,厥初生民,特一亚当无两。一是同根宗,厥后如何分土壤?万民惟凭天主掌,特一依赖,尔蒙恩奖,无偏党。选厥民,爲金镞,权子母,充内帑。
五	旷野路,两相遇,天主随行指尔步,天主随行教尔趋。勤训迪,无差误,如爱厥目垂永护。譬如风,教彼飞雏,譬翅而负,上入天衢。翻飞远逝,倏而分途,回翔审顾,弗离斯须,飞则负之而徂。
六	荒野地,厥民惟认一天主,无有二。天主乃特赐彼膏腴地,照护引治。

七	厥地裕丰难比偶,五谷滋生无稂莠。更饶益、羊膏美酒,乳蜜膏油多且有。天主爱尔如子,谁料饱沃如生口。施蹄啮,忘高厚。
八	年世湮,弗认真,错拜邪魔祭土神,激发天主生怒频。邪魔诱惑纷来陈,日日添来日日新。询尔祖父何曾识?一闻诳语便称神。弗酬上主洪恩厚,辜负恩德忝为人。
九	明明上主,鉴临下土。俯视斯人,弗类厥父。罪恶贯盈,则罹愆罟。赫然义怒,乃张钺斧。天主圣威,诞告于尔:汝实偕予,予实偕汝。惟尔弗子父,予弗尔爲子。予将隐圣荣、弗尔睹。用降多凶,无穷痛苦。尔拜邪神爲大主,里予部伍,予召义怒,违予规矩。予将弃尔如土,从兹后、弗人予版籍民谱。予乃举烈火,降凶祸,威怒无宁妥。予乃抽箭簇,行杀戮,弗零余。
十	人弑服,降饥荒,鸟啄兽啮蛇伤。在外者、刀兵惨殃。家居者、颤栗惊惶。
十一	无怜悯,弗悲伤,任老髦幼女童郎,尽罹灾殃,直待伊、姓查名忘。余乃询彼,兹在何方?予意允厥又回翔,寻敌手,蔑善良,则长傲德自夸张,贪天功,恃已长。予乃鉴观而徜徉,迟回至今,乃底灭亡。
十二	人实无良,顽执颠狂。弗思灾祸异日长,弗行迁改变善良。丧心溺志,直待临,后悔无及,惨澹凄惶。
十三	弗克料敌意多偏,弗克量己则自专。敌众来一千,尔惟一人往争先。敌众来十千,尔惟二人敢当前。
十四	有敌如虎,尔力谁能阻?一惟天主,尔救尔护。乃禁尔敌人牢笼,乃鬻尔敌如贷贾。倘非天主,尔将谁恃而谁怙?尔何德之能,而免于厥虏。
十五	予惟一大主钦崇,拜祭邪神允罔功。论能力,大弗同,嘉纳翰地五谷丰。则信妖异倚神通,追往事,雨飘风。直如卧莫辣、琐多玛、厥地成空。厥食苦胆人喉咙,厥酒苦味难入口,厥毒亚斯卑蟠泽藪。予有刑罚兮,多如钱镞。充予府库兮,蓄予内帑。探而出兮,一凭予掌。报怨复仇,无偏无党。
十六	有一定期,有一定时,予意允决永无违。一抵厥期,降罚无疑。问何年月并日时?速来,急如驰。
十七	日后看天主,赫临公审判。赏善仆,升星汉。罚恶人,莫能追。赏罚昭彰成定案,彼时询尔罪难逃。盍请邪神逞能干,生前拜伊如蒜。享馐馐,同称羨,至今一一难呼唤。
十八	设手段,当思想,惆怅生死,大权凭谁掌?惟吾一人无欺罔,凭吾灭,凭吾养,凭吾罚,吾赏。蔑有一人舍我医,蔑有一人脱吾网。惟吾一人,乃克举手伸向上,明明朗朗,自证无谎。惟吾一人尊,常生常王无两。
十九	予乃砺吾戈,如锋利。挥吾剑,如电闪。报仇无躲闪。
二十	审我仇,无私曲。判吾仇,威令肃。醉饮仇血酣吾簇,吾刀饱餐仇人肉。一惟庆贺予役仆,请万民,高声祝,享永福。为伊报仇行审鞠,爲伊罚恶显诛戮。从兹后,永和睦。一惟永永护吾良善之仆役,无反复。

内容文本上,由于吴历的年代天主教会重要的圣母歌经文都已经有了中译,累积了庞大的翻译语料库,¹⁵吴历在创作中不仅大量采用传统曲谱词汇与已有的翻译语料,还在文本中选取了不少西方典故,甚至自己创造了新的词汇,又使得《天乐正音谱》在文本上展现出与前人文本不同的中西交融文学风貌。

3、异质文化的独特发扬

《天乐正音谱》不仅内容上风貌独特,其形式也独树一帜。《天乐正音谱》虽有“谱”字,但并非乐谱,而是一种能入乐演唱的曲牌体的文字。它采用南北曲的曲牌形式创作,曲牌是一种中国传统文学

15 洪力行 Hong Lixing, “重读吴历《天乐正音谱》--以《称颂圣母乐章》为例” Chongdu wu Li‘Tianyue zhengyin pu’ - yi‘cheng song shengmu yuezhang’ wei li [Rereading Wu Li’s “Tianyue Zhengyin Pu” - Taking “Praising the Virgin Mary’s Movement” as an example], 《基督教文化学刊》Jidujiao wenhua xuekan [Journal of Christian Culture], (2013) 29。

体例，兴盛于元朝，明代中后期和昆曲结合，成为昆曲的演唱文本，清初南北曲便是昆曲的演唱文本。

“以当日昆曲之盛行，此等作品，如由晓昆曲之戏班或唱家，自可一见作品而即歌咏，当日亦不需订谱。”因此可见，吴历创作的这一类作品，在当时是可以经由熟练的昆曲演唱者，见字则唱。¹⁶“在18世纪前后，西方传统的弥撒曲都是复调风格的声乐套曲，对中国人来说，这是一种完全陌生的音乐形式。吴历的《天乐正音谱》，正是为了创作适合当时中国人审美习惯的弥撒乐曲。”吴历在创作中，将西方弥撒歌咏移植到中国已有的类似艺术形式上，既是中西文化交融的创新之举，也是中外文化交流史上包容、吸纳、自新的延续。在西风东渐的一千年前，佛教伴随着僧侣与商贾的脚步进入中国，同时，印度佛教徒在诵经中讲说和歌唱并用的方式也传到中国，北魏杨炫之的《洛阳伽蓝记》中记载：“景乐寺至十六斋，设女乐，歌声绕梁，舞袖徐转，丝管寥亮，谐妙入神。”¹⁷与中国传统的街头说书唱歌表演相结合，逐渐演变成“俗讲”这一艺术与文学相融合的表演形式。虽然在北宋时，由于政治的原因，与许多宗教一齐遭受禁止，但它的影响却极其广大，宋代以后的诸多艺术形式，包括诸宫调、南北曲、话本弹词等，都溯源于“俗讲”。而在一千年后的西风东渐，再一次出现了类似的文化交流转换形态，与其说是一种巧合，毋宁说是一种文化个体基因与文化交流共性，在前后相隔千年的时空流动中，映照出相似的文明范式。



（图3：吴历画像，1928《清代学者像传》，叶衍兰、叶恭绰绘）

16 天乐正音谱每一套曲均有曲牌，曲牌就代表着这类文本的字数、断句、演唱乐谱。

17 高曼 Gao Man, “略论北魏佛教寺院之功能--以《洛阳伽蓝记》为中心” Luolun beiwei fojiao siyuan zhi gongneng - Yi'luoyang qielanji'wei zhongxin [A Brief Discussion on the Functions of Buddhist Temples in the Northern Wei Dynasty - Centered on "Luoyang Qielanji"], 《法音》 Fayin [Dharma Voice], No.05, (2022), 37-41。

二、从中体西用到中西交融

1、中西话语的转换范式

明末开始的西学东渐中，远渡重洋的传教士与中国本土的精英知识分子，已将大量的西方典籍与术语进行了翻译，据《中国翻译简史》统计，明末清初，来华传教士著名者有 70 余人，他们翻译刊印了 300 多种书籍，其中涉及天文、历法、数学等自然科学的书籍就有 120 种。¹⁸传教士把《十诫》、《主的祈祷》、《圣母赞歌》和《教理问答书》等宗教相关书籍翻译成中文，并用中文撰写《天主实录》等书籍，解释天主教的教义。¹⁹但实际上，对当时的中国士大夫阶层而言，他们更感兴趣的是传教士所带来的科学知识。如传教士阳玛诺、利玛窦与中国的徐光启、李之藻等人合作，翻译撰写了一系列介绍西方科技知识的著作，如《天文略》、《几何原本》与《坤舆万国全图》等。“西学东渐并非仅是一种知识的单向输入，而且涉及对中国文化和思维方式的改造和冲击，故国人在汲取西学时往往会采取欲拒还迎的矛盾态度。”²⁰一方面，学者无法否认西方科学表现出来的逻辑化、精确化等长处，另一方面，他们又对天主教的教义心生疑虑与抗拒。这种拒斥与漠视，使得当时天主教相关典籍与用语一直主要由传教士来翻译。比如对《圣经》的翻译，大量与天主教相关的教义名、人名、地名以及物品名等传入中国，如上主、天主、天母、上帝、耶和華、神、雅威、圣神、圣灵、伯铎、彼得、保禄、保罗等术语的翻译，虽然使得当时的中国人耳目一新，但是又颇觉陌生。²¹

当固有的话语体系面临外来文化的传播进入，对于自身拥有久远且深厚的文化基底的文明而言，单向度的文化传播模式无法持续。在文化的惯习运动之下，外来文化的被动接受者会逐渐转变为主动作用者，将异质文化进行本地化的再现。《天乐正音谱》便是这样一种真正本地化的圣乐创作实践。其中对天主教宗教文化的话语转换主要有三类，一类是完全借用西方传教士的翻译文本进行写作。一类是将关键的人物与术语采用已有翻译，而将其置于中国本土语言的文化语境之中。最后一类则是将教义与中国已有的宗教语言结合，形成一类新的宗教话语，叙述天主教的故事与教义。

1.1 对前人文本的借用

在当时，关于天主教的故事与日常礼仪，已经有相对完整的系统翻译典籍，《弥撒乐音》的《绣太平》一段中，吴历直接采用了当时的《圣教日课》中的弥撒礼仪进行写作。

18 马祖毅 Ma Zuyi,《中国翻译简史》Zhongguo fanyi jian shi [A Brief History of Chinese Translation], (北京 Beijing: 中国对外翻译出版公司 Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe [China Translation and Publishing Corporation], 2004), 52。

19 石春让 Shi Chunrang、李琦薇 Li Qiwei,“明末清初西学东渐进程中的术语翻译及其历史贡献”Mingmo qingchu xixuedongjian jincheng zhong de shuyu fanyi jiqi lishi gongxian [Term Translation and Its Historical Contribution in the Process of the Introduction of Western Learning to the East in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties],《昌吉学院学报》Changji xueyuan xuebao [Journal of Changji University], (2020), 76-80。

20 杨念群 Yang Nianqun,“反思西学东渐史的若干议题--从‘单向文化传播论’到知识类型转变的现代性分析”Fansi xixuedongjian shi de ruogan yiti - cong‘danxiang wenhua chuanbolun’dao zhishi leixing zhuanbian de xiandaixing fenxi [Reflections on Several Issues in the History of the Introduction of Western Learning to the East - From the “One - way Cultural Transmission Theory” to the Modernity Analysis of the Transformation of Knowledge Types],《华东师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban) [Journal of East China Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)], Vol.51, No.03, (2019), 18-34。

21 许文胜 Xu Wensheng,“徐光启‘会通·超胜’翻译思想例说”Xu guangqi‘huitong - chaosheng’fanyi sixiang lishuo [Examples of Xu Guangqi's “Huitong - Chaosheng” Translation Thought],《同济大学学报(社会科学版)》Tongji daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban) [Journal of Tongji University (Social Sciences Edition)], Vol.27, No.04, (2016), 117-124。

乐章	曲牌	曲文
弥撒乐音	绣太平	开天路、垂慈汲引。救我人、孽灵魂。听台中正读西音：基利厄勒依算。三声，连祈九遍为分形。把两手、分赦允、教自省。天神歌奖，世人称。 ²²

文中所写“基利厄勒依算”，原文作 *kyrie eleison*。是对希腊文天主怜悯我等的音译。在《圣教日课·与弥撒规程》中要求，按此句须先念三遍，再念“基利斯督厄勒依算” *Christe eleison* 三遍，即基利斯督怜悯我等，然后再念“基利厄勒依算”三遍，故而吴历在文中写到“三声连祈九遍”。等到司铎念毕，祝福天主与教友同在，然后转身向教友分开两只手再念祝词，即文中“把两手、分赦允、教自省。天神歌奖，世人称。”一段所描述的情景。

《弥撒乐音》乐章一共七段，是按照当时《圣教日课·与弥撒规程》的时间顺序来叙述，并且在语言风格与行为描写上，基本借用原文改写成符合曲牌音乐声调的格式。完整展示了从弥撒开始前的心理准备，到弥撒过程中的仪式规程，再到最后感召祈求的全过程。

1.2 本土文化语境的纳入

在《天乐正音谱》中，有大量的曲文，将圣子、圣母、天主、约翰等天主教中的术语与中国自身的文化语境相结合，使得接受者能在一种熟稔的文化场中，明白所赞颂与描写的人物的故事与精神。

乐章	曲牌	曲文
敬谢天主 钧天乐	喜迁莺	自汉季、圣子来降。教吾人、向化明良，恩广。托圣母童贞产马房。若瑟同来献主堂。祝赞有、西默盎。道能救灵魂沦丧，扫魔鬼猖狂。 ²³

《敬谢天主钧天乐·喜迁莺》一段中，圣子、圣母、若瑟和西默盎，都是采用的前人翻译名词。若瑟，翻译自 *Joseph*，是耶稣养父的英译。西默盎，为 *Simeone*，是渴望见到救主的犹太人。整段曲文叙述了圣母与圣若瑟将耶稣献于圣殿，西默盎知道耶稣就是他渴望的救主，于是歌颂主的事迹。但在叙事中，吴历采用了翻译人名与中国传统叙事风格的结合，开头“自汉季”，在古汉语中的意思为“自汉朝末年”，而根据后文“圣子来降”，可知是用西汉末年（公元前1年至公元8年）的时间段，来指代耶稣降生的时间。而下一句“托圣母童贞产马房”则是借用了中国传统文学中的“托生”母题，“托生”在中国传统文学和民俗中具有很强烈的宗教命运的意味，灵魂在某种命运意志的驱动下，会转世来完成未完成的使命。²⁴这里将耶稣产于马房的圣经故事与中国“托生”转世的文学母题相结合，能够恰到好处地使得受众感悟耶稣降生的神圣。

又如在《称颂圣母乐章·滚绣球》一段中，“仰灵光九品”借用佛教术语，佛教中“灵光”代表人灵性光明，后常指代佛菩萨的神圣之光，九品是虚指，九为极数，九品灵光则是最为殊胜和神圣的光芒。吴历以此来称颂圣母。三仇者是当时教会对肉身、世俗、魔鬼的统称。费略为 *Filius*，是天主第二位圣子，“函费略”意为圣母容纳着耶稣，即天主第二位圣子的降生。吴历巧妙的用“函”字（意为匣子），与后文“似孕如娠”展现出圣母并非世俗意义上的怀孕，而是容纳了圣子。

22（清）吴历 *Wu Li*，《吴渔山集笺注》 *Wu yushan ji jianzhu* [Annotation of Wu Yushan's Collection]，章文钦 *Zhang Wenqin* 笺注，（北京 Beijing：中华书局，Zhonghua shuju [Zhong Hua Book Company]，2007），532。

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 543.

24 柳杨 *Liu Yang*，“略论《镜花缘》里的‘谪世’托生母题” *Luelun 'jinghuayuan' li de 'zheshi' tuosheng muti* [A Brief Discussion on the Theme of "Relegated World" and Mother - support in "Jing hua yuan"]，《辽宁行政学院学报》 *Liaoning xingzheng xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of Liaoning Administration College]，No.01，(2007)，181。

乐章	曲牌	曲文
称颂圣母乐章	滚绣球	他肇观摩德馨，仰灵光九品。远三仇、注名于永静。函费略保耶稣，似孕如娠。犹将心儿没尽藏的谦，意儿满也满载的尊。谁想他圣宠着，那童身之圣，一谜价，救援神魂，铁铮铮的威容纯美冠天神。到如今抚世途艰启凤兴，须信道日月长明。 ²⁵

在通过语言文字对事物的理解中，文化语境是极其重要的一环，它是在特定的时空中由特定的文化积累与文化现状构成的“文化场”²⁶。文化语境会使得不同文化背景下的话语接受者有着不同的文化接受框架。圣子、圣母、若瑟与西默盎这些对于中国百姓完全陌生的词语，被吴历融合进中国传统文学话语与母题的叙述中，使得接受者能与自身先在性的传统接受框架相吻合，从而迅速的明了故事的意义所指。

1.3 新宗教话语的尝试

在使用本土文化语境阐释外来文化内涵的过程中，文化的自新需要，以及语言的动态性和建构性会产生新的话语模式。在《天乐正音谱》中，也能窥见吴历结合天主教思想与教义，利用中国已有的汉字或词句，进行意义的重构，形成了一些具有宗教性的新型话语。

乐章	曲牌	曲文
敬谢天主 钧天乐	出队子	圣宠的先知若翰，比耶稣年略长。你道他先来开导在何方？领洗河名若尔当。把昔日径路崎岖成夷坦。 ²⁷

《敬谢天主钧天乐·出队子》一段中，是对《圣经·新约·马太福音》与《路加福音》的综合改写，《马太福音》中耶稣在若翰（约翰）手中受洗，《路加福音》中，约翰劝众人迎候耶稣，“预备主的道，修直他的路。一切山洼都要填满，大小山冈都要削平。弯弯曲曲的地方要改为正直，高高低低的道路要改为平坦”。吴历将其写为“径路崎岖成夷坦”，“夷坦”在中国古文本义为“平坦的道路”，在中国的文化语境中又常被引申为“平易安详，胸襟坦率”。“夷”不仅有“平坦宽敞”的引申含义，而在当时民间又常用以指代“海外”。吴历既采用了“夷坦”平坦道路的本义，又与“夷”字指代海外的含义结合，使得“夷坦”这个词汇在文中成为海外的平坦道路之义，与约翰在约旦河边劝众人的话语以及地点都结合在一起。

并且，吴历进一步将两段福音的记载相结合，他在曲文中叙述，信奉天主，悔改前非，将崎岖之路改为平坦，暗喻以这个过程来去除人的劣根性，而“夷坦”的引申义，正是“平易安详，胸襟坦率”，自然只有除去了劣根性的人，才能做到安详坦然。对这个词语的应用，吴历既没有脱离其在古代汉语中的意义，也没有扭曲《圣经》故事的精神，而是将二者巧妙结合在一起，使“夷坦”这个词在宗教话语中有了新的内涵。

25（清）吴历 Wu Li,《吴渔山集笺注》Wu yushan ji jianzhu [Annotation of Wu Yushan's Collection], 章文钦 Zhang Wenqin 笺注, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局, Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 2007), 537。

26 绍 昱 Yan Shaochang, “‘文化语境’与‘变异性’以及文学的发生学” ‘Wenhua yujing’yu‘bianyiti’yi ji wenxue de fashengxue [“Cultural Context”and“Variant” as well as the Genesis of Literature], 《中国比较文学》Zhongguo bijiao wenxue [Chinese Comparative Literature], No.03, (2000), 3-16。

27（清）吴历 Wu Li,《吴渔山集笺注》Wu yushan ji jianzhu [Annotation of Wu Yushan's Collection], 章文钦 Zhang Wenqin 笺注, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局, Zhonghua shuju[Zhong Hua Book Company], 2007), 543-544。

除了对已有词语的重新赋义,《天乐正音谱》中还根据传播福音的需要,重新建构了一些宗教词汇。

乐章	曲牌	曲文
警傲乐章	南商调 山坡羊	梦中人、不谦不恕。病中身、不医不治。性中天、从教废弛。降中灵、灭不知何处。幸主降生来,开恩在泰西。免除世罪、世罪从头洗。又把我等矜怜,灵魂救取。堪悲,奈苍生尤执迷。真痴,做魔奴还不自知。 ²⁸

《警傲乐章》意在劝导世人,须警惕自身原罪与世俗的邪恶,敬奉天主洗去罪恶,才能不堕落为魔鬼的奴仆。但在古代汉语中,并没有“魔奴”词语,而据《续口铎日钞》记载,康熙三十六年(1697),渔山(吴历)谓众曰:“尔等莫不有子,曷不效圣母献吾主耶?有子而不献吾主,易为魔鬼所惑,易为魔鬼之奴。既为奴,则将伐之如薪,烹之似餐,可不畏欤?”²⁹可见“魔奴”,是吴历在传教过程中对魔鬼的奴仆一词的缩写,可能也是第一次在汉语曲牌体文学作品中出现。

在《天乐正音谱》中,除《弥撒乐音》更多是对弥撒程序的描写,采用前人翻译词汇较多,《称颂圣母乐章》、《敬谢天主钧天乐》、《喻罪乐章》、《悲思世乐章》、《警傲乐章》、《戒心乐章》、《咏规程》以及《悲魔傲》等八个乐章,都大量将天主教的专有人名与术语同中国本土语境结合,乃至重造词汇。吴历通过这样的结合与再造,在乐曲的叙事中,流畅而又生动的将教义与福音在曲牌体文学作品中传播开来。

从采用前人翻译文字,到与本土文化语境结合叙事,再到融合中西重造语言,《天乐正音谱》展示了吴历作为祝圣司铎的神学水平以及融汇中西的造诣,更折射出中西文化相遇、相交、相融的智慧之光。

2. 作品承载形式

2.1 创作形式的传统结合

《天乐正音谱》采用了“曲牌”的创作形式,曲牌在明朝开始脱离知识分子的自娱自乐,与民间表演艺术大规模结合起来。“凡是在结构组织上相对标准化旋律进行上规范化,借‘依声填词’之法制曲、可以多次使用并允许在流传使用中变化的有文字标题的声乐曲和器乐曲都称为曲牌。”³⁰曲牌的创作、需要按照每一曲牌不同的旋律要求,在每一音乐小节填上符合规定字数的文字。在明代,南北曲的表演形式开始兴盛,正因为曲牌有“依声填词”的特点,《天乐正音谱》中的文字,都可以按照当时南北曲的曲牌韵律,直接演唱。吴历在《天乐正音谱》中采取的曲牌,多为当时“南北曲”演唱的热门曲牌,如《山坡羊》《好事近》《绣太平》等曲牌,不仅是当时广为传唱的韵律,在南北曲的后继形式——昆曲中,也能找到它们的声音,如今的昆曲中,我们仍然可以听到数百年前的旋律。

吴历在《天乐正音谱》采用具有音乐结构的“曲牌”创作,也是中国传统宗教歌咏与天主教传统中日课歌咏的巧妙桥接与融合。天主教日课歌咏以格列高利圣咏(Gregorian chant)来咏唱,是由拉丁文的读音发出,进而形成旋律。“它的旋律就是要尽量将文词中潜藏的音乐、节奏、轻重和语调忠实地扩

28 Ibid., pp. 555.

29 Ibid., pp. 583.

30 冯光钰 Feng Guangyu, “曲牌:中国传统音乐传播的载体和特有音乐创作思维” Qupai: zhongguo chuantong yinyue chuanbo de zaiti he teyou yinyue chuanguo siwei [Musical Tunes: The Carrier of Chinese Traditional Music Communication and the Unique Music Creation Thinking], 《星海音乐学院学报》 Xinghai yinyue xueyuan xuebao [Journal of Xinghai Conservatory of Music], No.01, (2004), 1-15.

展与发挥，而成为一种帮助人默观与祈祷的艺术作品”³¹。而中国宗教的歌咏传统可以追溯到唐代，唐代各类宗教开始繁荣发展，当时将很多外来音乐形式进行改编，与汉人音乐风格结合。这些乐曲中包含了佛教乐曲、道教乐曲，因此被称为“法曲”。法曲是唐代歌舞大曲中的重要组成部分，在当时的皇宫音乐中发挥着重要作用。³²宋代，“法曲”开始与当时流行的词牌、曲牌等文学音乐形式相结合，且形成了具有自身特点的独立宗教曲牌歌咏系统。在明代，永乐皇帝以钦赐钦颁的方式将世俗流行的三百多首曲牌赐予佛寺、道观礼赞使用，同时将这些曲牌拿来用在国家礼制仪式的场合，如此“俗曲礼用”，进一步加深了“曲牌”在中国本土宗教歌咏的重要性。³³如明代的《大明御制玄教乐章》不仅吸收了南北曲的曲牌，还对民歌等都有所吸收。这种宗教歌咏传统，一直延续到当代社会，更是在宗教内部形成了不同的地域特色流派，佛教有三宝腔、上腔、下腔，道教有全真韵、十方韵、广成韵等表现形式，几乎都继续以曲牌为歌咏演奏的最小单元。

中国本土宗教将仪式与歌咏音乐作为其宗教审美体验与信仰感召的重要手段。³⁴与天主教日课歌咏“帮助人默观与祈祷的艺术作品”的精神内核相通，吴历在前半生与佛教、道教人士来往密切，后半生皈依天主，对中西宗教体系的歌咏传统都有切身感受与实践，《天乐正音谱》以中国本土宗教歌咏的传统格式“曲牌”，来容纳与转换天主教歌咏传统内容与精神，形成一种基于传统又展现现代性的宗教歌咏实践，是吴历为中文世界的圣乐创作，做出的独特尝试与贡献。

2.2 艺术叙事的本地化

吴历以“曲牌”桥接了中西宗教歌咏传统的同时，在创作中还继承了中国民间宗教故事的演唱与传播模式，以老百姓乐于接受的方式来传播天主教教义与精神。在南北曲兴盛的明末，作为广大百姓最喜爱的演唱艺术，南北曲曲牌的演唱，一般以多首曲牌组成的套曲来演唱一段情节，将仙佛鬼怪、才子佳人、百姓生活的故事在一组组的套曲中展示出来。《天乐正音谱》除《每瑟谕众乐章》二十章以外，都是采取套曲组成曲牌，叙述情结和情感的形式。

如《敬谢天主钧天乐》采用了北曲的正宫调六首与南曲一首结尾，共有七首曲牌组成一套，并且全采用一个韵³⁵。

31 LAUChiming, *A Brief Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 2007), 57.

32 岳亚 Yue Ya, “道教曲牌音乐探析” *Daojiao qupai yinyue tanxi* [Analysis of Taoist Musical Tunes Music], 《中国宗教》 *Zhongguo zongjiao* [Religions in China], No.10, (2023), 84-85.

33 周志玲 Zhou Zhiling, 《曲牌的礼俗兼用问题》 *Qupai de lisu jianyong wenti* [The Problem of Ritual and Custom Co-use of Musical Tunes], (北京 Beijing: 中国艺术研究院硕士论文 *Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan shuoshi lunwen* [Master's thesis of China Academy of Art], 2021, 26.

34 傅利民 Fu Limin, “道教科仪音乐的宗教功能” *Daojiao keyi yinyue de zongjiao gongneng* [Religious Functions of Taoist Ritual Music], 《中国音乐》 *Zhongguo Yinyue* [Chinese Music], No.01, 2007, 93-98.

35 中文在韵文的创作中，在某些句子的最后一个字，都使用韵母相同或相近的字，使朗诵或咏唱时，产生铿锵和谐感。

敬谢天主钧天乐		
段落	曲牌	曲文
一	北黄钟 醉花阴	吾主全能遍天壤,诚赫赫、今来古往。虽一体、圣三皇,于穆无疆,其位尊无两。我怀爱德,藉恩光,荡荡难名惟叩颡。
二	喜迁莺	自汉季、圣子来降。教吾人、向化明良,恩广。托圣母童贞产马房。若瑟同来献主堂。祝赞有、西默盎。道能救灵魂沦丧,扫魔鬼猖狂。
三	出队子	圣宠的先知若翰,比耶稣年略长。你道他先来开导在何方? 领洗河名若尔当。把昔日径路崎岖成夷坦。
四	刮地风	主救我莽莽乾坤荣福返。命宗徒、率土传扬。得亚孟者常生王,永静天乡。其偕尔圣人同飨,尔旨承行于地上。过一州,到一邦,教规指掌。付神魂、为裹粮,岂止惮九万梯航。生存百谷真生养,感慈恩、拜五伤。
五	四门子	看灵奇之升天敬仰,一心心、信爱望。把十戒来遵,把七克来助。奉规程、破除邪教网。念一回经,存一回想。炙热我心肠自挽。
六	水仙子	我我我自付量,看看看俗三仇狠似枪。将将将告解铭心,把把把恤哀矜慷慨。呀呀呀那些儿、能久享,休休休恋烟云、瞥眼炎凉。喜喜喜指明了教中超性朗,我我我爱天国、安熙攘。他他他怎知道世福不能长,休错认沸海当康庄。
七	尚绕梁煞	少不得审判将来罚与赏,论中都、非比遐荒。为什么不知天的世人拜魍魉。

在七段曲文中,《敬谢天主钧天乐》第一段歌咏耶稣三位一体的神圣,第二段叙述耶稣马房出生,第三段描写若尔当河受洗,第四段则是带领信徒传扬福音、造成万物等圣迹,第二到第四段的事迹又彰显了第一段对耶稣“全能遍天壤”“位尊无两”的歌颂。第五段到第七段,则是在歌颂耶稣圣灵基础上,教诲信众,信仰天主与天国,远离世俗的邪恶和魔鬼。《敬谢天主钧天乐》继承了《圣经》中歌颂赞美天主和举行感恩祭的传统,用中国南北曲套曲的形式展示天主事迹、歌颂天主神圣、感恩天主信仰。又因为套曲中吴历对曲牌文字统一的韵律与节奏安排,使得演唱可以脱离乐器伴奏,直接在田间地头传唱,便兼具了民间艺术演奏与宗教仪式歌咏的功能。

此外,南北曲以俗为美的审美品格使吴历在创作时无须像写诗填词时为求典雅的压力,³⁶他在创作中大量使用民间口语和俗语俗字,如《敬谢天主钧天乐》中,“我我我”、“他他他”、“为什么”等口头俗语的运用,使曲文传唱更易于理解与接受。在吴历创作《天乐正音谱》之前,有诸如盲人用中国民间歌曲莲花落宣讲福音、鲁日满《圣教俚言歌》“令乡间信友歌唱,一来熟习圣信要理,二来取代乡间的淫歌小曲”的传教案例存在。³⁷说明在当时,以吴历为代表的第一代中国本土传教士,正在摸索和

36 任刚 Ren Gang, “吴历《天乐正音谱》与清初散曲的天主教传播” Wu Li'tianyue zhengyin Pu'yu qingchu sanqu de tianzhujiao chuanbo [Wu Li's "Tianle Zhengyin Pu" and the Catholic Propagation of Sanqu in the Early Qing Dynasty], 《励耘学刊》Liyun xuekan [Liyun Academic Journal], (2018), 12。

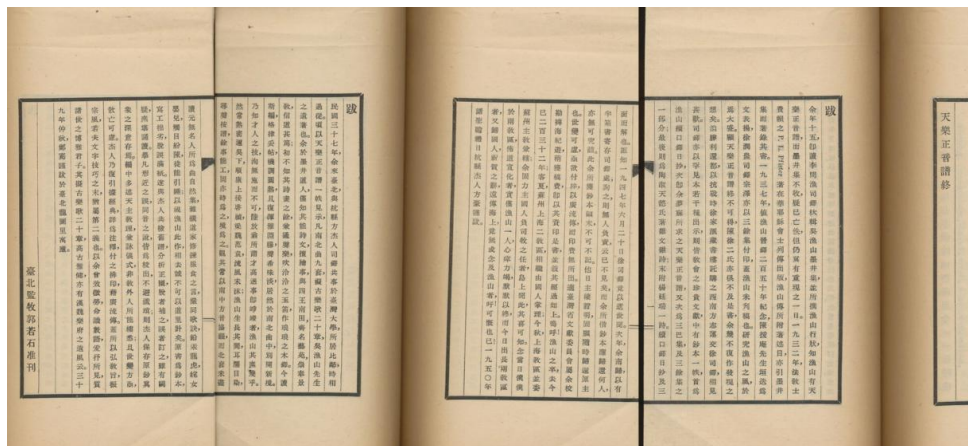
37 [比利时]柏应理 Couplet Philippe, 《一位中国奉教太太: 许母徐太夫人甘第大事略》 Yiwei zhongguo fengjiao taitai: xu mu xu taifuren gandi dashi lue [A Chinese Catholic Lady: A Brief Account of Mrs. Xu, Mother of Xu], 徐允希 Xu Yunxi 译注, [Translated and Annotated by Xu Yunxi], (上海 Shanghai: 天主教上海教区光启出版社 Tianzhujiao shanghai jiaqu guangqi chubanshe[Catholic Diocese of Shanghai Guangqi Publishing House], 2003), 275。

实践更契合中国自身文化语境的传教方式，《天乐正音谱》便是中国福音传播从单向度的被动接受转变为具有本土化特色传播方式的典型。

三、余论

“性理由来与道亲，拟向真原细问津”，吴历从澳门三巴学道，苦研天学，成为中国本土第一代祝圣司铎，到“初含西妙响，再奏道徂东”，他不仅有意识的在“天学诗”中使天主教精髓在东方文化语境中得以体现，更进一步的是，文化精英“士人”阶层的文化自觉与传教士的信仰使命，让他在《天乐正音谱》中开始了中西文化相融的探索。“一部西学东渐史就是一部中国现代化转型史”³⁸，宗教在文明的交流中是一把双刃剑。在人类历史上，宗教是文明间交流的桥梁，如果宗教政策合理，这座桥梁就会发挥很好的正面功能。³⁹明清之际的传教士自西方远渡重洋来到东方，为古老的东方文明带来了另一个文明世界的交流与震荡，在此过程中，天主信仰作为桥梁，使中西文明得以互学互鉴、融汇同行，也为中华文明在平等的交流与新生中，同西方文明一并走向现代提供了契机。《天乐正音谱》的出现揭示了中华文明现代性的萌发。这样的萌发是可喜的，它代表着文明发展的另一种可能。遗憾的是，在明清易代的社会转型期，只有一个吴历，也只是一本《天乐正音谱》。但来自彼岸“夷坦”的西风东渐，终究吹开了中华文明厚重衣袍的一角，吴历与《天乐正音谱》，正是其上的新鲜纹样。

百年后西学东渐式微的清末，有一批留美学生在美国皈依了基督教。与吴历不同，他们是带着落后标签的远东“土人”，是受到文化震撼的落魄之辈，他们并不是皈依了宗教的精神与文化，而是仰视与臣服现代性的强大力量。那时在教堂礼拜的他们，可能并未想到，三百年前的明末，有一位先辈，带着东方文化的自信与积淀，平视着接纳并信仰了天主，也带着中西文化交流的使命，为中国、为世界、为天主，奉献了文明的结晶。



(图4:《天乐正音谱》末页书影(清)吴历着,方豪、郑骞校订,1950年版)

38 聂敏里 Nie Minli, “明清之际的西学东渐—两种社会变革模式的重叠与交织” Mingqing zhiji de xixuedongjian-liangzhong shehui biange moshi de chongdie yu Jiaozhi [The introduction of Western learning to the East during the Ming and Qing dynasties - The overlap and interweaving of two social transformation models], 《社会科学文摘》 Shehui kexue wenzhai [Digest of Social Sciences], Vol. 06, (2021), 91-93.

39 张西平 Zhang Xiping, “明清之际西学东渐的历史反思” Mingqing zhiji xixuedongjian de lishi fansi [Historical Reflection on the Introduction of Western Learning to the East during the Ming and Qing Dynasties], 《中央社会主义学院学报》 Zhongyang shehuizhuyi xueyuan xuebao [Journal of the Central Institute of Socialism], No.03, (2021), 177-182.

English Title: Wu Li and his *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu*: A Model for the Chinese-Characterization of Catholic Anthems in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties

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Abstract: Wu Li, a prominent artist and cultural elite in the early Qing Dynasty, experienced the significant historical transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasties. Against this backdrop, he ultimately converted to Catholicism and created *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu* (*Compendium of Chinese Orthodox Anthems*) at the intersection of religion and culture. This paper compiles and analyzes all chapters of *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu*. In his creation, Wu Li explored to merge Western Catholic hymns with Chinese classical music and literature by employing Chinese traditional Nanqu and Beiqu (Chinese Sonnets of southern & northern style). Through his endeavor, Wu Li not only achieved the localization of Catholic anthems in China but also injected new vitality into Chinese traditional culture. *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu* is a testament to Wu Li's personal faith journey as well as a paradigm of the Sinicization of Catholic anthems in the history of Sino-Western cultural exchange.

Keywords: Wu Li, *Tianyue Zhengyin Pu*, Catholic anthems, Chinese-Characterization

中西经典与圣经

**Chinese and Western Classics
and the Bible**

A Comparative Study on Transcendence between Christianity and Confucianism

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Abstract: As a central doctrine of Christianity, redemption has been illustrated by almost all historic figures of Christian theology and thought. Redemption in Christian context is considered the theme of the whole Bible. Because of the original sin rooted in the Fall of Adam and Eve and inherited by all the offspring of the prime couple, man loses the paradise and sinks into the abyss of sin. From then on, the only meaning of human life is to follow God to get back the lost paradise. Therefore, if we penetrate this theological veil of the theme, it is evident that the story of redemption in Bible expresses exactly a way by which man transcend successfully and absolutely the limited world of his own and enter into the other unlimited one. As a contrast, Confucian morality, in spite of taking a very different look, is even more typically a system of transcendence. Then, it is clear that the essential topic of the comparative research between both redemption and moral cultivation is the transcendence of human being. At the same theme, there are still some differences between these two concepts or traditions. In this paper, the author argues that although Christianity and Confucianism have the same transcendental theme, but they still remain a lot of differences in motif, ways and effect.

Keywords: transcendence, redemption, moral-cultivation, Christianity, Confucianism

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Chinese traditional Confucianism started by Confucius (孔子) and Mencius (孟子) focuses on morality of this world and the ethical philosophy of life, which is quite different from Taoism founded by Lao Tzu (老子) and Chuang Tzu (庄子). Taoist philosophical thoughts can be effectively interpreted by western philosophical concepts, that is to say, the ontological, epistemological as well as systematic dialectic thoughts of Taoism can be understood in light of western philosophies. Taoism, amazingly, even provides a theoretical grounding for German philosopher Karl Jaspers' concept of "Axial Period". For another example, one of Lao Tzu's basic ideas that "Man follows the ways of earth; Earth follows the ways of

Heaven; Heaven follows the ways of Tao; Tao follows the ways of itself”（人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然）¹ shares much common connotation with Plato’s philosophy of “Idea”. Plato’s “Idea” and “Mimesis” went into good use in Christian theology in the middle ages. “The Absolute Idea” was concretized as the omnificent God. On the other hand, in Taoism, even though an image of God as the absolute concept didn’t come into shape, “Tao” and “God” can still be put onto a philosophical level for comparison or

at least a basic dialogue. Maybe we can put it in another way: this comparison pre-take Taoism into western philosophical system by western philosophical concepts.

However, it is more difficult to find a western philosophical footing to carry out an effective comparison between Confucianism and Christianity. And it is still problematic and even brings forth criticism to regard either Confucianism as a religion or Christianity as a culture. But according to Paul Tillich, “religion is the nature of culture; culture is the form of religion.”² Therefore, if we only treat Confucianism as a tradition, and bring it back to an ethical or moral level and meanwhile, concentrate on the ethical connotation of Christian doctrines, we find a wider range of comparability for the two “cultures” which are loudest speaker for respectively eastern and western civilizations. Extending from this comparability, we can move further onto the platform of philosophical discussion of ontological issues, which may result in a more countable and effective dialogue. In fact, no matter how recognize Confucianism and Christianity, religion or non-religion culture, there is no demoting of both as the essential foundation of Chinese and western cultural tradition. Moreover, in both Confucianism and Christianity, there is a deep concern and profound quest for the answers to the ultimate questions. Starting from this point of consideration, this article is going to work on the comparison between the core concepts of “redemption” in Christianity and “moral-cultivation” of Confucianism so as to have a discussion on one of the ultimate questions--transcendence--of Christianity and Confucianism as well as the different thoughts and notions derived from this concept.

I. Common Theme: Human’s Transcendence³

As a central doctrine of Christianity, redemption has been illustrated by almost all historic figures of

1 See the translation: Sources of Chinese Tradition Vol. 1, by Wing-Tsit Chan, Burton Watson compiled by WM. Theodore de Bary, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960.

2 Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, ed. Robert C. Kimball (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 42. See also Paul Tillich, *Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963)

3 The word “transcendence” has had two levels of meaning in the history of western thought. The first one is metaphysical meaning that refers to something absolutely beyond and regulating this world, such as Aristotle’s ten transcendental categories. After entering into Christian context, it obtained a narrower theological meaning that particularly refers to one of properties of God, that is, His absolute beyondness over this world. But in this paper, I will use it as a key word in the third meaning of it, that is, I will focus on its generally verbal meaning that emphasis an action or process by which human being-the very opposition of the transcendental-goes beyond himself and reach the transcendental. Of course, this meaning will be closely related to the first one when I talk about relevant doctrines in both Christianity and Confucianism and other Chinese classical philosophies. See the Scholastic Use of the Term ‘Transcendence’,

Christian theology and thought. Although their different personal understandings and emphasis render the doctrine to be so rich in denotation that it is impossible to me to elaborate it here in this paper, there is certainly still a general and foundational meaning of it. In one word, redemption in Christian context is considered the theme of the whole Bible. Because of the original sin rooted in the Fall of Adam and Eve and inherited by all the offspring of the prime couple, man loses the paradise and sinks into the abyss of sin. However, God, who is not only the holy justice which is manifested as the penalty to human beings but even more the incomparable love which urges Him to save them, made an inconceivably great plan of redemption, that is, sending His Only Son to the earth to suffer the crucifixion to death as the substitute of human beings in order to forgive them and reendow the Beatitude of the Kingdom of God to them. Therefore, the theme of redemption is the thread which strings many Christian doctrines, such as sin, Trinity, Incarnation, love, Christology, and so on, and the crucial role of it is Jesus Christ. If we penetrate this theological veil of the theme, it is evident that the story of redemption in Bible expresses exactly a way by which man transcend successfully and absolutely the limited world of his own and enter into the other unlimited one. In contrast, Confucian morality, in spite of taking a very different look, is even more typically a system of transcendence. In Confucianism, the ultimate level of moral cultivation is always identical with its ontological or metaphysical essence, such as “Ren” (仁) and “the Way or Principle of Heaven” (天道、天理). In other words, it is always full of transcendental sense (as an ascending from human’s reality to an upper and eternal world). Therefore, it is clear now that the essential topic of our following comparative research between both concepts is the transcendence of human beings.

In fact, as Hans Urs von Balthasar, the well-known Swiss theologian of our time pointed, the question of how human beings can transcend themselves is the very original, dynamical and ultimate wonder of almost all humanist thoughts, both in the West and the East. He revealed the essential motif of his thought as what follows: “He (a human being) exists as a limited being in a limited world, but his reason is open to the unlimited, to all of beings. The proof consists in the recognition of his finitude ... That division, the ‘real distinction’ of St. Thomas, is the source of all the religious and philosophical thoughts of humanity.”⁴ It can be deduced logically that there must have been some deep fear of the distinction and strong desire for overcoming it in our ancient ancestors’ hearts when they became aware enough of it because the limitation implied all kinds of bad things of their lives: ignorance, evil, suffering, and finally the worst, death. As a result, man began to take efforts of surpassing the dividing-line, that is, he was eager to “ascend” to the opposite world of his own, the unlimited, perfect one, because it was always assumed as located at a “higher” place, the Heaven or Heaven. But how could he do that? The biggest and primary question arose. Then, just as Dr. Julia Ching (秦家懿), a famous Chinese scholar has said: “Man has always been fascinated with himself, with his limitations as well as his potentiality for greatness.”⁵ From this question enormous ways of the transcendence has been coming, including that of Chinese and Christianity. Necessarily, owing to being rooted in different historical and

4 Hans Urs von Balthasar, *My Work: In Retrospect*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), p.112.

5 Julia Ching, *Confucianism and Christianity*, (Tokyo, New York & San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1977), p.70.

cultural atmospheres, the two ways of transcendence distinguish dramatically from each other. It is, however, this difference that really interests us, because by displaying and chewing it, some significant opinions are expected to appear, which may perhaps cast a light on our contemporary thinking about this topic, especially when our time is described as post-modern and transcendence seems so strange.

II. Differences

Taking account of the limited contain of this paper, I will browse the distinction between them just from several important aspects as follows:

i. The final destination of human's transcendence: God / Heaven

In order to transcend his own limitation, man must find a higher reference or opposition, which is eternal and perfect, as his destination. That is the task of every kind of metaphysics. On this presupposition, Christian and Chinese thought begin to distinguish from each other.

It is accepted widely that the basic difference between Christian and Chinese cultures lies in their different ontological entities: God of the former and Heaven the latter. As we know, in Christianity, which is a typical monotheist religion, God is characterized by His personification. In the both Testaments, God is described as the Ultimate One who possesses His own will and acts as a person (He can “see”, “listen”, “speak” and “be pleased” or “angry” etc.). However, there is an unsurpassable gap between God and man. God is the Creator, the Lord and the Savior who is absolutely transcendental. Only because of Incarnation as His ineffable grace and love can human being in this world recognize Him. Then, Christianity explains the descending of God towards the world as love (Agape), which is just like a merciful father's love to his children , and holds strictly the difference in essence between God and man as the very base of the whole Christian preaching.

According to many scholars ' opinion, there had also been some religious concept of personified gods before Confucius in China, which were revealed in such literatures as Books of Documents (《 尚书 》). However, when the foundation of Chinese culture came into birth at the “axial time”, something changed: the greatest figure of that time, Confucius, paid much more attention to human's morality than gods ' realm. As a result, the central category of his great thought system is “Ren” other than “God” . What is “Ren”? According to his Analects, the Master's definite and important answers are two: “to love others.” (Analects: XII: 12: 22: 爱人) and “to subdue one's self and return to ‘Li ’ (礼) ” (Analects: XII: 12: 1: 克己复礼). Obviously, it was considered at first the most important and universal principle of morality and kept in a close relation to human's heart, even though sometimes it looked like something beyond the reality. That is the very decisive change that forms Confucianism, and even the whole Chinese traditional culture, and endows Confucius the greatest honor of this culture. From then on, through the excellent inheritance and development of Confucius by generations of Confucians, the mainstream of Chinese thought has always had a basic tendency towards ethics and morality other than religion. Consequently, the metaphysical ultimate entity of it is much more impersonal and moralized. Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒), the most famous Confucian of Han dynasty, took a big credit for the formation of this metaphysical concept by lifting “Ren” up to the theological level (he named it by the ancient word “Tian” (天)) and then claimed it as the ontological

origin of whole cosmos and also the ultimate and outward moral principle. As a result, he proposed the thought of “the unity of Heaven and man” (天人合一), which was accepted and illustrated by Neo-Confucians of Song and Ming dynasties and even contemporary New Confucians as the ideal realm of Confucianism. So, as a transcendental being, “Heaven” is simultaneously inherent within human’s heart. Heaven, human nature and natural world are co-structural and communicable in essence with each other, which is the foundational character of Chinese classical thought and different drastically from Christian doctrine.

But why is there the difference between God and Heaven? The answer, in my opinion, lies in the next difference:

ii. The motif of human’s transcendence: eternity / this world

From the standpoint of anthropocentrism, every thought system reveals certain particular requirement of people, especially those who invented it. So do the different concepts of “God” and “Heaven”. In my opinion, the original cause of their differences maybe lies in the different “limitations” of human being they focus respectively on.

By and large, so-called human’s “limitations” can be divided into three levels: (a) epistemological level, which means: man can never know the whole cosmos completely and absolutely; (b) axiological level, which means: man can never reach the absolute goodness even when he knows clearly what good and evil are; and (c) ontological level, maybe the last and most essential one, which means that man can never escape from death. Corresponding to each limitation, the properties of the unlimited being are presumed: omniscience (omnipotence also), absolute goodness and eternity. The desire of man for transcending his own limitations and being sanctified aims at directly obtaining these properties finally. However, at the very beginning, Christianity and Confucianism tended to keep eyes tightly on different levels. In another word maybe we can say, Christianity pays much more attention to the last level while Confucianism the former two.

According to Genesis, God said to the first man Adam: “You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge on good and evil, for when you eat of it you will surely die.”

(Gene: 2:15) It implies that death is, to man, a deeper and more terrible abyss than innocence. And then, after the Fall, God said: “He must not be allowed to reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever.” Then He “banished him from the Garden of Eden” (Gene: 2:21) in order to keep the most important difference between Himself and man: eternal and mortal. From this we find clearly that the fatal limitation of human being Christianity concerns about is death. So, the final aim of the following story of redemption in the whole Bible is nothing but human’s reentering into God’s eternity. At the same time, Christianity lacks an ambition of encouraging human being to reach omniscience and the ultimate goodness. Rather, it has always been warning human against the ambition and attribute completely the two transcendental qualities to God. The ideal of a Christian is “justification”, which is, according to Paul and Luther, wholly based on faith and considered the only premise of being redeemed. That is to say, in Christianity, human’s transcendence points eventually to the eternity.

Let's turn to the case of Confucianism. When Confucius shifted the concentration of ancient Chinese wisdom from Heaven to human's world, he also put the threat of death as well as the transcendental beyond this world aside and paid much more attention to the potentiality of human nature to reach sagehood, which really means, as his own ideal of life, a level of omniscience and absolute goodness. When asked about how to deal with the transcendental by Chi Lu (子路), one of his pupils, he answered: "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve the spirits?" and then about death: "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (Analects: XI:11: 季路问事鬼神, 子曰, 未能事人, 焉能事鬼。敢问死, 曰, 未知生, 焉知死。) It shows clearly that Confucius stressed on this world's life more than the eternal. Another saying of him approves it further: "If a man hears the right way of life in the morning, he will be without any regret even if die in the evening." (Analects: IV:8: 朝闻道, 夕死, 可矣。) But, do these teachings really show that Confucius thought of death as something indifferent at all? I do not think so. When he proposed the three ways to immortality (立德、立功、立言), Confucius was attempting to involve the transcendence of death into the former two levels of transcendences. By these words, Confucius gave the very foundation of the Chinese typical attitude, which has been highly praised as a precious spirit, "one should kill himself if it is required by 'Ren' (Analects: XV: 杀生成仁). Mencius summarized it as: "sacrifice himself in order to seeking for 'Yi' (义)" (Works of Mencius: VI: 舍生取义), and Wen Tianxiang (文天祥), a famous general of southern Song dynasty, said: "Who can escape from death since the beginning of human's history? I just hope to leave my spirit as a luminous model of the following world." (人生自古谁无死? 留取丹青照汗青) and so on. In other words, instead of the Christian way of jumping from death into eternity with the aids of God, Confucianism initiated another way, by which man can overcome the fear of death by heightening and extending his good influence on this world, or in Confucian term, by unitizing himself with the eternal Way of cosmos. Then, although his body will die, his spirit is expected to live with Heaven and Earth forever. As a result, the ontological limitation is dissolved in the epistemological and axiological ones. It is called "the continuity of Being" by Du Weiming (杜维明), a renowned contemporary New Confucian.

The next problem is: how can human being fulfill his dream of self-transcendence? Based on the two differences we discussed above, Christianity and Confucianism give different answers.

iii. The way of human's transcendence: Heteronomy / Autonomy

As has mentioned above, Christian God is absolutely beyond the world He created. As a creature, man is so humble and powerless that what he can and should do is only obey God's commands. And then, as far as our topic here is concerned, Christianity cannot afford any other way than a so-called heteronomy one, that is, a way by which the fulfillment of human's transcendence does not rely on himself but on the Other, the God.

In the Bible, the way was described as follows: At first there was the Fall and penalty, which was the original source of all world evil and sin, including death; Then, the unfathomable love of God manifested itself as Incarnation. The Son, Jesus Christ, descended into our world, was crucified for atoning all the sin of human beings, and finally resurrected and returned to the Father. Christians believe that through the Cross all humans' sin has been forgiven and their primary privilege of living with God in Paradise has been resumed. In other words, the Cross Event is a perfect plan of redemption by God, in which the only subject is the Redeemer,

the Trinity, while the redeemed human being can do nothing helpful except to believe. The whole process of human's transcendence, therefore, is characterized as a heteronomous one being based completely the "descending" of God.

Contrarily, in Confucianism, there is not a personal God who takes a role of conceiving and executive redeemer. The ultimate being, conversely, "its main denotation is nothing but the abstraction and objectification of feudalist moral propositions."⁶ For example, Zhu Xi (朱熹), the eminent Confucian of Song dynasty, claimed definitely: " 'Li' (理) is 'Ren', 'Yi', 'Li' and 'Zhi'." (Analects of Zhu-zhi: vol.82: 理即是仁、义、礼、智) Moreover, as has mentioned above, because the Being, human nature and the world outside are always considered to be co-structural and communicable with one another very well, Confucianism declares "the unity of Heaven and man". It implies logically that man can rise up to higher realities directly. In fact, the autonomous mode of human's self-transcendence has been highly praised. That is to say, Confucianism expects to reach the eternity by human's efforts, especially moral cultivation either inward (self-retrospection) or outward (social education). The typical process of it is described in The Doctrine of the Mean (《中庸》) as: "It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion."⁷ Obviously, this is a process of self-transcendence that directs itself from inward to outward, the first step of which is individual moral cultivation and the only subject of it is the moral subject himself. Compared to the prospect of Christian redemption, it takes a distinctive look of "extending" (from inward to outward, which means at the same time an "ascending" because the boundary of the "extending" is also the highest truth of the cosmos, which is the very result of the "inherent transcendence" of the Way of Heaven) and "autonomous". Mencius gave this mode a more concise expression: "He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven." (Works of Mencius: VII).⁸ This is the ideal life pursued by Confucians from generation to generation.

6 朱贻庭[Zhu Yiting]主编[Zhu Bian, ed.]: 《中国传统伦理思想史》[Zhongguo Chuantong Lunli Sixiangshi, History of Chinese traditional Ethical Thought],上海[Shanghai]:华东师范大学出版社[Huadong Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, East China Normal University Press],1989,p.384.

7 See: 《中庸》[Zhongyong]第22章[Di 22 Zhang, Chapter 22]: "唯天下至诚[Wei Tianxia Zhicheng],为能尽其性[Wei Neng Jin Qi Xing]; 能尽其性[Neng Jin Qi Xing],则能尽人之性[Ze Neng Jin Renzhixing]; 能尽人之性[Neng Jin Renzhixing],则能尽物之性[Ze Neng Jin Wuzhixing]; 能尽物之性[Neng Jin Wuzhixing],则可以赞天地之化育[Ze Keyi Zan Tiandi Zhi Huayu]; 可以赞天地之化育[Keyi Zan Tiandi Zhi Huayu],则可以与天地参矣[Ze Keyi Yu Tiandi Can Yi]".

8 See: 《孟子》[Mengzi]第7章[Di 7 Zhang, Chapter 7]: "尽其心者[Jin Qi Xin Zhe],知其性也[Zhi Qi Xing Ye]; 知其性也[Zhi Qi Xing Ye],则知天矣[Ze Zhi Tian Yi]".

Here we should never ignore the overlapped place when we recognize clearly the difference between the Christian heteronomy and Confucian autonomy. On one hand, there are many moral commandments in Bible, which rule Christians' life much. But different from Confucian moral teachings that are rooted in human's they are based on the relationship between God and man,⁹ and are subordinated to the heteronymous power, the grace of God, from the perspective of redemption.¹⁰ On the other hand, Confucianism also admits that it is the transcendental Heaven who endows the ultimate source of human's moral nature.¹¹ However, the self-fulfillment of human nature is not at all a gracious gift from outside but a reward to his efforts.

iv. The effect of human's transcendence: sagehood / justification

After all the themes above, the most crucial question is, perhaps, what on earth human being, the very object (even he is also the subject in Confucianism as we demonstrated just now) of transcending, of the process of redemption in Christianity and moral cultivation in Confucianism, is expected to become? Or to put it in another way, what is the anticipated result of the transcendence? Different roads usually lead to different places. So, there are also very different answers in both traditions.

In Christianity, as Dr. Edwin Hui (许志伟) indicates, "The redemption of the Cross has changed the identity of sinful men into that of justified-men, and then the right relationship between God and man has been resumed."¹² That is to say, the final effect of God's redemption on human being is justified person. What does "justified" mean? According to Dr. Hui, firstly, it implies that the justification of human being relies completely on the grace of God other than his own efforts. Pauline theology and Lutheran theology stress strongly the only premise of justification is nothing but faith, that is, believing in all of what Jesus Christ revealed, relying absolutely on it and responding to it by a willing commitment in seeking for the unity of himself with Jesus Christ. In this sense, Christianity emphasizes that the justification is a gift from God, in order to be endowed by which what a human person should do is to deepen his faith and waiting for.¹³ Secondly, justification opens the broad way of transcendence with the enlightenment of Holy Spirit for Christians, which means, according to Dr. Hui, following the model of Christ in order to restore human being as "the image of God" created by God primarily and "the growing of moral goodness and the maturation of

9 See: 朱贻庭[Zhu Yiting]主编[Zhu Bian, ed.]: 《中国传统伦理思想史》[Zhongguo Chuantong Lunli Sixiangshi, History of Chinese traditional Ethical Thought],上海[Shanghai]:华东师范大学出版社[Huadong Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, East China Normal University Press], 1989, pp.24-29.

10 "for we maintain that a man is justified by faith apart from observing the law." (Romans: 3:28); " 'You should love the LORD your GOD with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind.' This is the first and great commandment." (Matthew:22:37/38)

11 See: 《中庸》[Zhongyong]第1章[Di 22 Zhang, Chapter 22]: "天命之谓性[Tianming Zhi Wei Xing],率性之谓道[Shuaixing Zhi Wei Dao],修道之为教[Xiudao Zhi Wei Jiao]".

12 许志伟[Xu Zhiwei]《基督教神学思想导论》[Jidujiao Shenxue Sixiang Daolun, Introduction to Christian Theological Thought],北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, China Social Sciences Press], 2001, p.224.

13 See: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy He saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit." (TITUS: 3: 5)

spirituality” .¹⁴ But still, a justified man can in no way identify himself fully with Christ because of the unsurpassable gulf between the natures of God and man. Then, at the third place, as I mentioned above, justification aims directly and ultimately at salvation and eternity, or, if related to the second difference I have discussed, it aims at transcending the death. “For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but eternal life.” (John: 3: 16) And fourthly, since Martin Luther reemphasized Pauline doctrine of “justification by faith” at the very beginning of modern age which is characterized as individualism, justification has been regarded, to certain extent, as a relationship between an individual and God, which denied Roman Catholic Church as an authoritative tradition of faith. That is to say, being justified is on the one hand to be accepted and promised by God, and on the other to be renewed against oneself before. There is no any other reference, whether social or individual, that is necessary.

But once we shift to Confucianism, we will find everything is different. The summit of the autonomous and difficult process of moral cultivation is sagehood. Different from a justified person who is entitled by God with his faith, a sage, though is also said to be destined by Heaven,¹⁵ is brought up dominantly with his own moral practice which is described, as mentioned above, as an “ascending” journey from natural things up to the Way of Heaven. It was because of its autonomy that Mencius affirmed, “Everyone is able to be a Yao or Shun” (人人皆可为尧舜) . This affirmation implies that everyone can become the very model of the transcendental completely, which is unimaginable in Christian context because it is equal to say that every can be a Christ. In this sense, Confucianism seems to be more optimistic to human’s transcendence. Compared to the third quality of a justified person we listed in the previous paragraph, a sage is considered with more emphasis as a highest model not only of virtues but also of wisdom and achievements. He is anticipated “to be a sage inward as well as a king outward” (内圣外王) . It shows that sagehood aims at the transcendental level of omniscience, omnipotence and highest goodness more than that of eternity. Meanwhile, in addition to the two relationships of justification (man to God, man to himself before) , there is another important dimension in the ideal of sagehood: individual to society (a sage implies a “superman”) .

III. Historical Problems

All these differences resulted in arguments inescapably. As we know, the theme of transcendence has always been one of focuses of arguments between both since they met each other more than one thousand years ago, especially between Modern-Contemporary New Confucians, which were brought up in the clash of Confucianism and Western culture, and their opponents. For example, in order to rebut the argument that there is no transcendental dimension at all in Chinese philosophy, Mr. Mou Zongsan (牟宗三) , an eminent New Confucian of our time, initiated the term “inward transcendence” as a characteristic of Chinese

14 许志伟[Xu Zhiwei]《基督教神学思想导论》[Jidujiao Shenxue Sixiang Daolun, Introduction to Christian Theological Thought], 北京[Beijing]: 中国社会科学出版社[Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, China Social Sciences Press], 2001, p.224.

15 See:《中庸》[Zhongyong]第 17 章[Di 17Zhang, Chapter 17] “: 故大德者, 必受命[Gu Dade Zhe, Bi Shouming]”

thought and correspondingly “outward transcendence” as an opposition to it to summarize Christian God. However, as Dr. Hui has criticized, he misunderstood the nature of God.¹⁶ These arguments try to find an answer of the question: Which one is better, redemption or moral cultivation, heteronomy or autonomy? However, in my opinion, that is not the most important thing. With a belief that the final aim of a dialogue between two cultures should be in no way self-complacent or self-flaunting but the complement and prettification with each other, I am more interested in finding where either of them needs a help and whether the dialogue will be useful. Therefore, in the next few pages, I will try to do this.

i. Redemption: what can we do?

We have discovered that in Christianity, redemption is considered the grace of God, for which man can do nothing helpful essentially but faith. This doctrine has been highly stressed twice in the history of Christianity, as we have spoken of above, one is by Paul and another by Martin Luther, each of which changed the tradition drastically. In the Old Testaments, the crucial condition of justification is obeying the Laws. But in the New Testament, Pauline teaching released human from trivial commandments and opened Christianity to a wider evangelical world. But in the following Middle Ages, faith had been always objectified more or less as imitating Christ’s life (especially in monasteries); Moreover, it was not only Pauline tradition but also, and even much more important, Peterine tradition (Roman Catholic Church) that dominated Christians’ lives. That is to say, medieval Christian faith took, to some extent, a look of “outwardness”, which in the side-effect implied a declination of faith of being distorted as actions, or even only a submission to such outside authorities as Church and the Pope. “Atonement ticket”, for example, is notorious for its exchanging redemption with money. In order to fight back this declination, Reformation burst out. When Luther repeated Pauline doctrine of “justification by faith” under the background of this declination, he did declare the ending of autarchy as well as the birth of a new age characterized as individualism. He claimed: “Good behaviors can not make a good man, but only be done by him; as well, evils can not make an evil man, but only be done by him.”¹⁷ Then, he defied all outside authorities by returning the standard of faith to everyone’s inner will. But who can judge a person’s will as “good” or “evil”? Only God. With the collapse of traditional authority of Church, redemption is considered a direct relationship between God and individual person, which is called “the turn inward of faith” in the history of Christian theology. Once a person believes in the truth of Jesus Christ, relies his whole life on and responds with a complete commitment to it, his sin has been forgiven and he has been redeemed. But, as still a limited being, Luther admitted further that a justified person holds also the possibility of sin.

Lutheran theology is regarded as an activator of western modern capitalist civilization (a typical

16 See: 许志伟[Xu Zhiwei] 赵敦华[Zhao Dunhua] 编[Bian, ed.] 《冲突与互补：基督教哲学在中国》[Chongtu Yu Hubu: Jidujiao Zhexue Zai Zhongguo, Conflict and Complementarity: Christian Philosophy in China] 北京

[Beijing]: 社会科学文献出版社[Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, Social Sciences Academic Press], 2000, pp.81-86.

17 杨庆球[Yang Qingqiu] 《成圣与自由：王阳明与西方基督教思想的比较》[Chengsheng Yu Ziyou: Wang Yangming Yu Xifang Jidujiao Sixiang de Bijiao, Sanctification and Freedom: a Comparison between Wang Yangming and Western Christian Thoughts], 香港[HongKong]: 建道神学院[Jiandao Shenxueyuan, Jian Dao Theological Seminary], 1996, p.75.

argument comes from Max Weber). But that is only one side of the coin. On the other side, it implies, if not declaims definitely, an extra-individualism or even human-centralism. Yes, Luther himself held such a radical Christ-centralism as to deny any human's activity in the redemption. But if we examine its effect from a perspective of cultural history instead of theology itself, sometimes the humblest means the most self-indulged. Firstly, since sin is still reasonable with the promise of redemption, everything done in this world is also reasonable even though God does not please it. Secondly, since God is the ultimate judge of good and evil, there must be many judgments by humans but in name of God. Luther himself maybe gave an example of this kind of judgment by defining the German Peasant's Revolution of his time, which was highly encouraged by his own Reformation at the very beginning, as an "Satan's deed", and promised to the aristocrats that "those who die for beating down the revolt are martyrs, and will be blessed by God."¹⁸

Both of them, perhaps, are among the sources of the current crisis of western civilization. What can we do under the redemption? Christian answer of "we can do nothing" manifested itself in historical reality as "we can do anything", even as Nietzsche's boldest declaration of God's death. Challenged by a deep indulgency into materialism, consumerism and nihilism of postmodern age, Christianity calls for a rebuilding of man's duty as seriously as that of faith in the Absolute God.

ii. Moral cultivation: whatever else can we do?

When Martin Luther, together with other pioneers such as Calvin, struggled for his great Reformation by pulling the transcendental God into human's heart, in China, Wang Yangming (王阳明), an excellent Confucian of Ming dynasty, was climbing the peak of Confucian philosophy of human's heart and nature. In order to break through the restraint of Zhu Xi's doctrine, Wang asserted that 'man can reach the Way of Heaven through nothing else but only his own heart.' (求诸于心, 不假外物) and then strengthened extremely the inwardness of Confucian tradition. From both of them we can find a worldwide tide of humanism. But after them, western culture was revitalized largely into a new era while Chinese culture began to suffer a long and painful comedown.

There are of course many profound causes that lead to different results of the historic cultural turns appearing simultaneously in the west and China in sixteenth century, among which lie their different directions. As we know, Confucian system of human's transcendence as inner moral cultivation reached its summit in that century. Logically, it must extend outward into reality for the sake of a complete fulfillment, which is indeed the very direction of Confucianism after Ming dynasty. But unfortunately, history proves its failure. Why? One of the important reasons is, perhaps, what Dr. Yang Qingqiu (杨庆堃) concludes after his comparing about Wang Yangming's theory of moral subject with that of Kierkegaard: "Yangming's subjectivity is closed. ...There is no transcendental god, while the transcendental Way of Heaven is inherent of ineffable enlightenment of human's heart. Because it is still beyond the empirical world, Wang's system can not

18 杨庆堃[Yang Qingqiu]《成圣与自由：王阳明与西方基督教思想的比较》[Chengsheng Yu Ziyou: Wang Yangmin Yu Xifang Jidujiao Sixiang de Bijiao, Sanctification and Freedom: a Comparison between Wang Yangming and Western Christian Thoughts], 香港[HongKong]: 建道神学院[Jiandao Shenxueyuan, Jian Dao Theological Seminary], 1996, p.42.

reach the restraint of concrete behaviors.”¹⁹ Yangming’s philosophy of human’s heart revealed extremely the problem of Confucianism: Being always fascinated so deeply with the inner moral cultivation as to disdain everything for profit or for living in reality. In other words, when Confucians believes that they could do everything only if they completed the first step—individual moral cultivation, they would do nothing except for it in reality. It seemed to be easier to “be a sage inward” than to “be a king outward”. In addition to their overemphasis on the omnipotent function of human’s heart that prevents them to much extent from actual deeds, a deeper reason is, I think, that the ideal of Confucian transcendence is finally based on the inequality between human beings instead of on that of a transcendental God and man. That is to say, a sage or a king always means superior and sovereign over the mass, which is the source of Confucian doctrine of feudalist hierarchy that was thrown away in the modern age of the awaking up of humanism. All these should be, perhaps, indebted to the decline of Chinese civilization since Ming and Qing Dynasty when the world history entered modern ages.

IV. Conclusion: Possible Dialogue

It is undoubtedly impossible for me to make a final conclusion on our topic of Christian redemption and Confucian moral cultivation. However, according to what we have discussed above, I would like to give my personal opinion on the theme at the end of this paper.

As two great heritages of human thought, both Christianity and Confucianism made the human’s common ideal of self-transcendence as their central task. But, from the very beginning on, they developed two essentially different ways to respond the ideal: one is usually described as heteronomy and the other autonomy. Each of them has nourished their own culture deeply and efficiently, which makes them deserve our full respect. From this perspective, I do not think it is of most significance to us to argue which one is better, regardless of any ambition of assimilating the other one. However, we should be aware seriously of their differences and especially their own problems manifested historically, which will perhaps remind us of promoting a positive dialogue between both that is aimed at complementing each other and fulfilling the ideal more completely. For example, more and more thinkers have recognized the hazard of human’s self-arrogance since twentieth century (especially the two world wars). With retrospection, some of them call for a deeper and more complete commitment to God because they are confirmed that the tragedies of human beings came from their departure from God. But they ignore that the self-arrogance and then the departure have, perhaps, the same precondition of simplifying redemption. I mean, when redemption needs no human’s any subjective effort and is promised unconditionally, everything may happen in our world. In view of this, some others, furthermore, pay more attention to the duty of human themselves. From this perspective, ethical and

Moral requirements on individual are considered as necessary, which will, perhaps, open a field of dialogue with Confucianism. Global Ethics, proposed by Hans Küng and other scholars, may be showing a practical and efficient way to this dialogue.

19 杨庆堃[Yang Qingjun]《成圣与自由：王阳明与西方基督教思想的比较》[Chengsheng Yu Ziyou: Wang Yangmin Yu Xifang Jidujiao Sixiang de Bijiao, Sanctification and Freedom: a Comparison between Wang Yangming and Western Christian Thoughts], 香港[HongKong]: 建道神学院 [Jiandao Shenxueyuan, Jian Dao Theological Seminary], 1996, p.18

中文题目：基督宗教与儒家在超越观上的比较

提要：作为基督宗教的核心教义，救赎几乎被基督宗教神学和思想的所有历史人物所阐释。基督宗教语境中的救赎被认为是整部《圣经》的主题。因为原罪源于亚当和夏娃的堕落，并由其衍生的所有人类后代所继承，于是，人失去了天堂，陷入了罪恶的深渊。从此，人活着的唯一意义就是跟随上帝找回失去的天堂。因此，透过这个主题的神学面纱，《圣经》中的救赎故事所表达的正是一种人类成功地、绝对地超越自己的有限世界而进入另一个无限世界的方式。相比较而言，儒家道德却采取了非常不同的态度，即修身这样一个更典型的超越系统。显然，救赎与道德修养的比较研究的根本主题就是人的超越性。在同一主题上，这两种观念或传统依然存在一定的差异。本文认为，尽管基督宗教和儒家都有其自身的特点，都有相同的超越性观念，但在超越的母题、方式和效果上仍有许多不同之处。

关键词：超越、救赎、修身、基督宗教、儒家

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保罗圣灵论与中国礼仪之争： 论罗马教廷清初传教失利的神学成因¹

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提要：在保罗的圣灵论中，唯有领受圣灵才是成为基督徒的门径和记号，犹太人无须舍弃律法，外邦人也无需舍弃习俗，二者都将被圣灵所成全和更新。由此反观，在清初的中国礼仪之争中，罗马教廷未能严格遵循保罗圣灵论的教导，把祭祖祭孔简单地认定为偶像崇拜，并禁止中国信徒参与，从而直接导致了康熙禁教和其传教失利。在 20 世纪上半叶，罗马教廷将祭祖祭孔认定为习俗，并允许中国信徒参与，实际上回到了保罗圣灵论的立场，最终使得中国礼仪之争得到解决。

关键词：圣灵、中国礼仪之争、习俗、律法、罗马教廷、康熙皇帝

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作为“外邦人的使徒”（罗 11：13），²保罗先后三次旅行传教，在地中海周边的许多城市建立起教会，并以书信写作来论证，犹太人与外邦人不是依赖律法或事工，而是凭借圣灵的作工而相信福音，并成为基督徒。敏锐的文化意识和灵活的传教策略使得，外邦基督徒很快成为 1 世纪基督运动的主体，而基督教在随后迅速传播，最终“征服”了罗马帝国，成为帝国的国教。与此相对比，在基督教第三次来华中，³耶稣会士利玛窦（Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610 年）经过摸索和调整，提出“补儒易佛”的文化适应（cultural accomodation）策略，形成了所谓“利玛窦规矩”（the rules of Ricci），而后续耶稣会传教士也遵循之。这一策略允许中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，得到明、清朝廷和儒生阶层的认可，但随后遭到其他修会的激烈反对，由此引发中国礼仪之争。这场争论包括上帝译名之争和祭祖祭孔之争，但焦点集中于是否允许中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，其最终结果是，罗马教廷禁止中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，而康熙皇帝（1654-1722 年）则禁止天主教继续传教。原本合法且兴旺的传教事业遭遇致命失利，在此后百余年中陷入持续低迷。

1 本文是 2021 年度国家社科基金一般项目“奥古斯丁书信全集翻译与研究”（21BZJ009）的阶段性成果，也是本人在 2024 年 1 月至 2 月期间于汉语基督教文化研究所作访问学人时之研究成果，特此感谢！

2 本文《圣经》经文均使用和合本（上帝版）译文。

3 前两次分别是唐朝时“景教”和元朝时“也里可温教”的传入，明末清初传入的天主教也可统称为基督教，以与下文对早期基督教（early Christianity）的分析保持术语上的一致。

对于中国礼仪之争为何落到如此结局，研究界提出了许多解释，但普遍认为，罗马教廷应当为清廷禁教承担主要责任。⁴对于这场争论，正如耶稣会与其他差会所争论的，其核心理论要点是，中国的祭祖祭孔究竟是迷信或偶像崇拜，还是生活习俗。要回答这一问题，并深入理解罗马教廷的责任所在，我们完全可以将之与保罗向犹太人和外邦人传教的成功先例相对比。即面对盲目遵守律法条文的犹太人和信奉传统宗教的外邦人，保罗采取了怎样的传教策略，如何以“靠圣灵入门”（加 3: 3）作为开启基督徒身份的标志，又如何去除二者信仰内核中的错谬后将之接受为一种习俗。

有鉴于此，相较于当前汉语学界大多偏重于从历史学进路来研究中国礼仪之争，⁵我们尝试引入保罗圣灵论来探究这场传教失利在神学上的成因，并力图论证，罗马教廷在传教神学上没有充分重视圣灵在构建基督徒身份中的核心作用，以致于未能将祭祖祭孔看作中国的长久习俗，后续在 1939 年的正式解禁反而正是回到了保罗圣灵论的立场。在具体行文中，我们将首先简要描述中国礼仪之争的历史过程，展示争论的主题和各方观点；其次，以保罗圣灵论对圣灵、犹太律法和外邦习俗之关系的处理为参照，力图论证，唯有圣灵才能真正开启和构建基督徒的信仰身份，不仅会成全犹太人的律法，也会更新外邦人的习俗，而祭祖祭孔正是中国人的律法或习俗，完全可以被圣灵所成全和更新，由此不应当禁止中国信徒参与；最后，这场礼仪之争以罗马教廷的让步而告终，其解禁圣谕中不仅彰显了保罗圣灵论的印记，也表明了基督教中国化的必要性与可能性。

4 参见孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang、钟鸣旦 Nicolas Standaert, 《1840 年前的中国基督教》*1840 nianqiande zhongguo jidujiao* [Chinese Christianity before 1840], (北京 Beijing: 学苑出版社 Xueyuan chubanshe [Xueyuan Press], 2004), 422。

5 参见李天纲 Li Tiangang, 《中国礼仪之争：历史、文献和意义》*Zhongguo liyi zhizheng: lishi, wenxian he yiyi* [The Chinese Rites Controversy: History, Text and Meaning], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [Renmin University of China Press], 2019), 277-278。

一、中国礼仪之争⁶

在明朝末期，基督教第三次传入中国，而传教士大多是耶稣会士。在近三十年的传教过程中，利玛窦以西儒自居，与中国儒生阶层交游唱和，以中文著书宣讲，把基督教的 Theos/Deus/God 译成中国古籍中的“天”或“上帝”，不认为祭祖祭孔是偶像崇拜，允许中国信徒参与。⁷然而，基督教的至高者是否可以译为“天”或“上帝”，还是只能译为“天主”或音译为“陡斯”；祭祖祭孔是否是迷信或涉嫌偶像崇拜，是否应当禁止中国信徒参与。这两大问题引发的争论史称“中国礼仪之争”。在争论初期，术语问题很快让位于礼仪问题。⁸围绕着祭祖祭孔的性质，耶稣会士与其他修会的传教士、罗马教廷与康熙皇帝进行了往复激烈的争论。

在 1627 年底，龙华民（Nicolas Longobardi）召集其他耶稣会士召开嘉定会议，决定禁止使用“上帝”译名，改用原来的“天主”译名，但在祭祖祭孔问题上并未提出任何质疑。随着方济各会、多名我会和法国遣使会等其他修会陆续进入中国传教，发生在耶稣会内部的争论就迅速扩大，成为其他修会攻击耶稣会士的适应政策并争夺传教利益的突破口。在 1643 年，多明我会士黎玉范（Juan Bautista de Morales）将十七项上诉提交给罗马教廷，反对耶稣会士的适应政策。在 1645 年，教皇英诺森十世（Innocent X）签署谕令，首次就中国礼仪问题做出裁决，否定了耶稣会士的做法，禁止中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔。面对这项禁令，耶稣会总会决定差遣在华耶稣会士卫匡国（Martino Martini）返回罗马，于

6 17、18 世纪中国礼仪之争的历史过程已经得到非常详尽的研究，参见 George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: from Its Beginning to Modern Times*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 25-76; 林金水 Lin Jinshui, 《明清之际士大夫与中西礼仪之争》Mingqing zhiji shidafu yu zhongxi liyi zhizheng [Scholar-officials of the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties and the Rites Controversy between China and the West], 《历史研究》Lishi yanjiu [Historical Research], No. 2, 1993, 20-37; D. E. Mungello, ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning*, (London: Routledge, 1994); 朱静 Zhu Jing, 《罗马天主教会与中国礼仪之争》Luoma tianzhu jiaohui yu zhongguo liyi zhizheng [An Argument between the Roman Catholic Church and Chinese Rites], 《复旦学报》Fudan xuebao [Fudan University Journal], No. 3, 1997, 35-48; 张国刚 Zhang Guogang, 《从中西初识到礼仪之争：明清传教士与中西文化交流》Cong zhongxi chushi dao liyi zhizheng: mingqing chuanjiaoshi yu zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu [From the First Acquaintance between China and the West to the Rites Controversy: Missionaries in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties and the Cultural Exchange between China and the West], (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Remin chubanshe [People's Publishing House], 2003), 413-502; 崔维孝 Cui Weixiao, 《明清之际西班牙方济会在华传教研究（1579-1732）》Mingqing zhiji xibanya fangjihui zaihua chuanjiao yanjiu (1579-1732) [The Mission of Spanish Franciscan Order in China (1579-1732)], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 2005), 289-382; 孙尚扬、钟鸣旦, 《1840 年前的中国基督教》，338-342; 黄一农 Huang Yinong, 《两头蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒》Liangtoushe: mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhu jiaotu [Two-headed Snake: First Catholic Christians in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House], 2006), 387-401; 叶潇 Ye Xiao, 《自由中国：伏尔泰、艾田蒲论“中国礼仪之争”》Ziyou zhongguo: fuertai, aitianpu lun “zhongguo liyi zhizheng” [Free China: Voltaire, Etienne on “The Chinese Rites Controversy”], (北京 Beijing: 群言出版社 Qunyan chubanshe [Qunyan Press], 2007), 53-104; 吴莉苇 Wu Liwei: 《中国礼仪之争：文明的张力与权利的较量》Zhongguo liyi zhizheng: wenming de zhangli yu quanli de jiaoliang [The Chinese Rites Controversy: The Tension of Civilization and the Battle of Rights], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House], 2007); 张先清 Zhang Xianqing, 《多明我会士黎玉范与中国礼仪之争》Duomingwo huishi Liyufan yu zhongguo liyi zhizheng [St. Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales and the Chinese Rites Controversy], 《世界宗教研究》Shijie zongjiao yanjiu [Studies in World Religions], No. 3, 2008, 58-71; 李天纲, 《中国礼仪之争：历史、文献和意义》，10-84。

7 Yu Liu 认为，利玛窦在学习中国古代文献时，偏重于儒生阶层的解释，有意无意模糊了其中的神论（theism），将基督教的神直接对译成汉语的“上帝”，从而引发了中国礼仪之争中的译名争议。参见 Yu Liu, “Behind the Façade of the Rites Controversy: The Intriguing Contrast of Chinese and European Theism,” *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 44.1, (2020), 3-26.

8 在 19 世纪初，基督教新教传教士进入中国，术语问题再次成为争论的焦点，甚至圣经中译本最终被划分为“神”版和“上帝”版。参见王梓 Wang Zi, 《汉语语境中的基督教 God：一种跨文化的圣经解释学》Hanyu yujing zhong de jidujiao God: yizhong kuawenhua de shengjing jieshi xue [Christian God in the Chinese Context: A Type of Trans-Cultural Biblical Hermeneutics], 《基督宗教研究》Jidu zongjiao yanjiu [Study of Christianity], No. 16, 2014, 240-261。

1654 年向传信部呈交申诉报告。在 1656 年，教皇亚历山大七世（Alexander VII）签署谕令，允许中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔。

在 1667 年底，部分在华传教士召开“广州会议”，重申了 1656 年的教廷文件，但其中有人回到欧洲后攻击该解决方案，罗马教廷在 1669 年同时肯定了之前两份结论相反的谕令，将具体处置留给传教士去自行决断。在 1692 年，康熙皇帝颁布“容教敕令”，以朝廷公文的形式确认了耶稣会士在中国自由传教的合法性。在这种比较宽容的政治氛围中，传教士深入到除云贵川的各地，基督教会在直隶、江南和东南沿海地区发展迅速。

然而，到了 1693 年，出任宗座代牧、管理福建教务的阎当（Charles Maigrot）对福建教区发布禁令，认为 1656 年的谕令是建立在卫匡国的错误报告之上的，信徒不得依此参与祭祖祭孔。礼仪之争开始惊动康熙皇帝，转变为罗马教廷与中国皇帝之间的直接争论。在 1700 年，康熙皇帝批准耶稣会士在请愿书中对中国礼仪的理解，而这份文件被随即寄往罗马教廷。但事与愿违，在 1704 年，教皇克莱门十一世（Clement XI）签署支持阎当的谕令，派遣铎罗（Carlo Tommaso Maillard de Tournon）出使中国宣布。在 1706 年 6 月铎罗第二次觐见时，康熙皇帝向之解释中国礼仪的意义，认为其不与基督教义相违背，无需改动或禁止。但次年 2 月，铎罗擅自在南京发布谕令，禁止中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，而耶稣会士必须服从教廷，否则处以绝罚。康熙皇帝闻讯大怒，拘禁和驱逐了铎罗、阎当等传教士，并安抚其他传教士，只要他们遵守“利玛窦规矩”，领取印票且不再回欧洲，即可在华自由传教，并先后三次遣使携带诏书前往罗马教廷以期继续沟通。

在 1715 年，教皇克莱门十一世签署《自登基之日》（Ex illa die），重申之前的禁令，且立即寄往中国发布。在 1716 年，此禁令在未通知清廷的情况下被私自发布，康熙皇帝闻讯立即逮捕发布者并查禁谕令副本送回教皇。罗马教廷差派特使嘉乐（Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba）在 1720 年抵京，得蒙康熙皇帝多次召见，并与耶稣会士暗中谈判，在禁令之外拟定八项准许。同年，出使罗马的中国特使返京复命，康熙皇帝得知此前所发布的禁令确实出于罗马教廷。尽管对嘉乐的缓和做法有所认可，但他已经无可忍耐，在读过禁令的中译本后，于 1721 年 1 月下旨禁教。次月，康熙皇帝最后一次召见嘉乐，交予《嘉乐来朝日记》，非正式向罗马教廷表明禁教立场。在 1742 年，教皇本笃十四世（Benedict XIV）发布谕令《自上主圣意》（Ex quo singulari），重申 1715 年的禁令，否决嘉乐的八项准许，严禁中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，并严禁传教士继续辩论中国礼仪问题，试图以此来结束礼仪之争。

在这一持续百年的激烈争论中，耶稣会士细致考察中国祭祖祭孔的历史文献和现实操作，认为这些是中国人的“生活习俗”，可以与基督教会的“七件圣事”并行不悖。⁹与此同时，中国儒生信徒也积极撰述，更多支持耶稣会士的立场。¹⁰然而，这一正确的看法和策略并没有得到罗马教廷的接受，教廷禁令和康熙禁教的结局只能是，选择入教的中国儒生大为减少，教会与中国社会上下的关系也持续恶化。从此直到清末，天主教的传播受到极大限制，势力转为衰落，为 19 世纪才传入中国的新教所迅速超越。

9 参见李天纲，《中国礼仪之争：历史、文献和意义》，136。

10 参见钟鸣旦 Nicolas Standaert, 《礼仪之争中的中国声音》 *Liyi zhizheng zhongde zhongguo shengyin* [Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy], 陈妍蓉 Chen Yanrong 译, (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2021)。

二、保罗论圣灵、律法与习俗

中国礼仪之争的历史细节纷繁复杂，但诚如所认为的，“描述礼仪之争的历史并非难事，困难的是如何对其作出解释。”¹¹一般认为，这场争论及其结果发源于多个原因，包括耶稣会与其他差会在传教理念上的差异、不同修会在传教利益上的争夺、¹²祭祖祭孔仪式的双重内涵、中国儒生阶层与普通民众在祭祖祭孔上的差异、罗马教廷以教权为至上的傲慢或清朝皇帝以皇权为至上的无奈，¹³是“西方（基督教）中心主义”与“中国（华夏）中心主义”的角力，而罗马教廷在其中所犯的错误是“西方价值论”、“基督教中心观”或“宗教帝国主义”等。¹⁴

在研究耶稣会士在中国传教策略的转变时，维斯特（Jean-Paul Wiest）把罗马教廷主导的传教模式分为三种：16至18世纪是延承十字军东征式以武力为后盾进行传教，尤其在南、北美洲；1850至1965年是以西方化为精神武器进行传教；其后，特别是在梵二会议之后，是以适应所在地区的本土化、处境化进行传教。他还将前两种模式中的西方基督教中心主义和宗教帝国主义追溯到4世纪基督教成为罗马帝国国教时，与之前的早期教会时期形成鲜明对比。¹⁵要理解早期教会在传教策略上的适应性和有效性，我们就有必要深入考察作为向外邦人传教之代表的保罗的传教神学，特别是其圣灵论，以反观罗马教廷为何会在清初礼仪之争中遭遇失利。

从外在形式上，中国礼仪之争在争论，祭祖祭孔是否涉嫌偶像崇拜，从而应当禁止中国信徒参与；但我们会看到，从理论实质上，这一争论起源于，罗马教廷没有严格遵循保罗圣灵论对圣灵、律法与习俗之关系的处理，在领受圣灵之外，错误地把摒弃本民族的传统习俗作为维持基督徒信仰身份的必要条

11 参见孙尚扬、钟鸣旦，《1840年前的中国基督教》，第369页。

12 参见陈喆 Chen Zhe,《“礼仪之争”在法国：1700年巴黎外方传教会上教宗书背后的派系斗争》“Liyi zhizheng” zai faguo: 1700 nian bali waifang chuanjiaohui shang jiaozong shu beihoude paixi douzheng [The Chinese Rites Controversy in France-Factional Struggle behind the Letter to the Pope from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in 1700],《世界历史》Shijie lishi [World History], No. 3, 2016, 48-60; 纪建勋 Ji Jianxun,《明末清初“礼仪之争”难题》与“中国礼仪之争”第一人：兼论“礼仪之争”还是“利益之争”》Mingmo qingchu “liyi zhizheng nanti” yu “zhongguo liyi zhizheng” diyiren: jianlun “liyi zhizheng” haishi “liyi zhizheng” [“The Problem of Rites Controversy” in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties and the First Person of “The Chinese Rites Controversy”: “Controversy of Rites” or “Controversy of Interest”],《基督教学术》Jidujiao xueshu [Christian Scholarship], No. 2, 2018, 297-309。

13 参见李秋零 Li Qiuling,《清初“中国礼仪之争”的文化学再反思：兼与安希孟先生商榷》Qingchu “zhongguo liyi zhizheng” de wenhuaxue zaifansi [Cultural Reflection on the “Chinese Rites Controversy” in the Early Days of Qing Dynasty],《中国人民大学学报》Zhongguo renmin daxue xuebao [Journal of Renmin University of China], No. 4, 2003, 113-118; 欧阳哲生 Ouyang zhesheng,《文明的冲突与权力的博弈：以教廷多罗使华的中国“礼仪之争”为中心》Wenming de chongtu yu quanli de boyi: yi jiaoting duoluo shihua de zhongguo “liyi zhizheng” weizhongxin [The Clash of Civilizations and the Game of Power: The Chinese “Rites Controversy” Centred on Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon’s Visit to China],《北京行政学院学报》Beijing xingzheng xueyuan xuebo [Journal of Beijing Administration Institute], No. 6, 2015, 111-119。

14 参见李天纲 Li Tiangang,《“中国礼仪之争”：研究方法及其拓展》“Zhongguo liyi zhizheng”: yanjiu fangfa jiqi tuozhan [“The Chinese Rites Controversy”: Research Methodology and Its Expansion], 吴小新 Wu Xiaoxin 编：《远方叙事：中国基督宗教研究的视角、方法与趋势》Yuanfang xushi: zhongguo jidu zongjiao yanjiu de shijiao, fangfa yu qushi [Narratives from the Hinterland: Perspectives, Methodologies and Trends in the Study of Christianity in China], (桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2014), 208-213。

15 Jean-Paul Wiest, “Bring Christ to the Nations: Shifting Models of Mission among Jesuits in China,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 4, (1997), 655-658.

件。由此，要理解其中的是非曲直，我们就有必要先行考察，在1世纪的传教处境中，保罗如何论证圣灵在开启、构建和证成基督信仰中的作用，如何处理圣灵与犹太人的律法和外邦人的习俗之间的关系。¹⁶

（一）“靠圣灵入门”（*enarxamenoi Pneumati*，加3：3）

作为明显的对比，施洗约翰是用水施洗，在于悔改；而耶稣是用圣灵施洗，在于重生（太3：11；可1：8；路3：22；约1：33、3：5）。耶稣应许说，在自己升天之后不久，作为保惠师的圣灵将会降下，赐予门徒言语和心智，以把主的见证传到地极（可13：11；约7：39、14：26、15：26、16：13；徒1：5）。正如所应许的，门徒在五旬节领受了圣灵，说起方言（徒2：4）。而在以弗所时，保罗问当地的门徒，“你们信的时候受了圣灵没有”（徒19：2），在得知没有之后，他就奉耶稣的名给他们施洗，按手使之领受圣灵。

可见，无论是跟随过生前的耶稣，还是听闻福音才相信，他们都可以获得门徒的身份，但只有在领受圣灵之后，这一身份才能得到确认。¹⁷正因如此，保罗把领受圣灵看作基督信仰得以确认的记号，无论对于犹太基督徒，还是对于外邦基督徒。邓雅各（James D. G. Dunn）对此论证说，基督教传统通常认为，圣灵的恩赐是借由正确的忏悔或恰当施行的圣礼而自然生发的结果；但在保罗圣灵论中，“基督徒的定义”发端于领受圣灵，而非忏悔和圣礼，因为保罗明确说，“凡被上帝的灵引导的，都是上帝的儿子”（罗8：14），“圣灵与我们的灵同证我们是上帝的儿女”（罗8：16），否则“人若没有基督的灵，就不是属基督的”（罗8：9）。¹⁸在回应加拉太教会时，保罗也明确说，基督徒是“靠圣灵入门”（加3：3），在入门后就“当靠圣灵行事”（*Pneumati kai stoichōmen*，加5：25），这不仅能够结出各样的善果，也能够上帝与信徒之间建立起亲密关系。对于其间经文所构成的论证，费依（Gorden Fee）评论说，“对保罗来说，圣灵是基督徒生活的一切关键要素；因此，保罗论证的成败与否，关键在于，他们是否想起，自己一开始归信的经历与圣灵有关。……圣灵使他们成为上帝的儿女，证据就是圣灵呼叫上帝为阿爸，可见圣灵明显是他们实际归信经历的关键要素。”¹⁹

在领受所赐予的圣灵之后，犹太人与外邦人就被称为“基督徒”（徒11：26），建立起共同的信仰身份，一起成为上帝的子民，承受他应许给亚伯拉罕的产业。虽然共同的信仰身份并不取消基督徒在其他身份上的差异，例如民族、种族、文化和性别等，也不抹煞他们在罗马帝国中所承受的各种不平等，例如经济上、法律上和社会地位上等，但这些差异和不平等现在都被转换成基督徒的“团契”（*koinonia*），后者成为圣灵在不同群体中作工的记号。这一记号表征着，他们已经被从罪恶中释放出来，不再有奴役和歧视，反而得着永生的盼望。正如保罗所说，“并不分犹太人、希腊人、自主的、为奴的，或男或女，因为你们在基督耶稣里，都成为一了”（加3：28）。正如马丁（J. Louis Martyn）

16 需要注意的是，作为族群身份的记号，外邦人是犹太人（*Ioudaios*, *Iudaeus*）对其他民族或种族的一般称谓。在希伯来圣经中，单数的 *gôy* 专指犹太民族（*nation*），而复数的 *gôyim* 则指其他民族，译为列邦、列国、万国或万民（*nations*）。与此对应的希腊词是 *ethnos*，复数是 *ethnē*，意指生活在一起的一群人、民族、部落、种族等，受到犹太宗教信仰的影响，其复数的意思扩展为异教徒（*heathen/pagans*）和外邦人（*gentiles*）。

17 参见 David Coffey, “Did You Receive the Holy Spirit When You Believed”: *Some Basic Questions for Pneumatology*, (Marquette: Marquette University Press, 2005), 10-42.

18 相关经文分析，参见 James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 430-431.

19 戈登·费依 Gorden D. Fee, 《保罗神学：圣灵论》*Baoluo shenxue: shenglinglun [God's Empowering Presence]*, 思语 Si Yu 译, (South Pasadena: 美国麦种传道会 Meiguo maizhong chuandaoahui [A Kernel of Wheat Christian Ministries], 2017), 1132-1133.

所评论的，“宗教的、社会的和性别的二元对立并不被平等所取代，而是被新创造的合一所取代。”²⁰ 甚至不管各人之前有着怎样的道德缺陷（林前 6：9-10），“圣灵是洗净、成圣与称义的媒介”，以至于能够“将个别信徒分别为圣归给神。”²¹

即使圣灵的功用得到普遍认可，但早期教会仍然面临着迫切而棘手的问题，即犹太律法是否还适用于犹太基督徒和外邦基督徒。这不仅是如何应对“正确神学”（right theology）的问题，还是根植于当时传教处境中的教会论问题。²²在 1 世纪，部分犹太化基督徒（the Judaizers）认为，在领受圣灵之外，外邦基督徒还必须遵守犹太律法，尤其是割礼和洁净律法，才能够加入上帝原先与以色列先祖所立的神圣盟约（加 2：11-14）。这就是他们所认为的“正确神学”。然而，保罗却极力告诫加拉太教会的外邦基督徒，成为基督徒不是因为“行律法”或“律法的工”（*ergōn nomou*），即成为犹太人，而是因为上帝的恩典，领受圣灵的人将仍然保持其最初被造时的样子，即作为外邦人。“若被圣灵引导，就不在律法以下”（加 5：18）；听起来是释经学问题，但离开当时的传教处境，这句经文就失去其丰富内涵。因为对于犹太人来说，割礼和洁净律法是其文化记号，仍有宗教和种族意涵；但对于外邦基督徒来说，割礼却意味着，他们不再是外邦人，而成为了犹太人（*ioudaizein*，加 2：14）。²³

在种族（外邦人）和救赎（基督徒）的问题上，保罗教导说，肉体上的割礼已经被心里的割礼所取代（罗 2：29），不再暗含种族、性别或社会属性上的歧视；神圣的产业是上帝应许给亚伯拉罕的，远在摩西颁布律法之前，现在“因耶稣基督可以临到外邦人”（加 3：14），即比起在摩西那里的犹太特征，在亚伯拉罕那里的接纳外邦人为上帝的子民具有更大的优先性。由此，在领受圣灵之后，外邦人从信仰上说就成为“按着圣灵生的”（加 4：29），完全有资格去承受亚伯拉罕的产业，最终使得外邦人与犹太人可以结合成一个宗教-伦理的共同体。正如拉本斯（Volker Rabens）所评论的，“借着圣灵作工而成为上帝之家的后嗣，这是一种转换性和授权性的经历。‘阿爸！父’表现了与作为父的上帝的亲密关系，而这就塑造了信众的身份，并在个体上和群体上使他们能够‘治死身体的恶行’（罗 8：13）。”²⁴

20 参见 J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 377.

21 许宏度 Xu Hongdu, 《“启示的灵”与保罗的圣灵观》“Qishi de ling” yu baoluo de shenglingguan [“Revealed Spirit” and Paul’s Pneumatology], 曹明星 Cao Mingxing 译, 陈济民 Chen Jimin、赖建国 Lai Jianguo 等:《圣灵古今论: 从圣经、历史、神学看神的同在》*Shengling gujin lun: cong shengjing, lishi, shenxue kan shende tongzai* [Pneumatology in the Past and Present: The Presence of God in the Perspective of Bible, History and Theology], (台北 Taipei: 中华福音神学院出版社 Zhonghua fuyin shenxueyuan chubanshe [China Evangelical Seminary Press], 1999), 242.

22 参见陈红坚 Chen Hongjian, 《重估“因信称义”: “保罗新观”评述》Chonggu “yinxin chengyi”: “baoluo xinguan” pingshu [Reevaluation of “Justification by Faith”: Comment on “The New Perspective of Paul”], 《基督教思想评论》*Jidujiao sixiang pinglun* [Regent Review of Christian Thoughts], No. 4, 2006, 158.

23 对此，邓雅各评价说，“保罗对他那个时代的犹太教的恩约守法主义（covenantal nomism）的攻击，并不是攻击律法，也不是攻击圣约，而是对恩约守法主义的攻击——恩约守法主义坚持把律法作为区分以色列的界限，通过律法把以色列人与外邦人区分开来，把那些上帝所应许的亚伯拉罕的后裔与外邦人区分开来。简而言之，保罗反对的是被滥用的律法，并不是律法本身。”参见邓雅各 James D. G. Dunn, 《分道扬镳: 基督教与犹太教的分离及其对基督教特性的意义》*Fendao yangbiao: jidujiao yu youtaijiao de fenli jiqi dui jidujiao texing de yiyi* [The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity], 杨慧 Yang Hui 译, (香港 Hong Kong: 道风书社 Daofeng shushe [Logos and Pneuma Press], 2019), 266-267.

24 Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 242.

（二）犹太人的律法

对于犹太人来说，上帝借由摩西所赐予的律法是神圣的和不可废去的，肉身上的割礼甚至成为其文化、宗教和种族身份的记号。在传道过程中，耶稣不断“违背”律法条文，却宣称“就是天地都废去了，律法的一点一画也不能废去，都要成全”（太 5：18）。换言之，犹太律法的这种自我批判将真正实现其自身的目的，并为更多人带来益处；而“盲目的”遵守或将之强加给别人，则只会减损律法的目的。在被问及律法的基本原则时，耶稣解释说，全部律法可以被归纳为两条：爱上帝（申 6：4-6）和爱邻如己（利 19：18）。我们以下会看到，律法的宏大原则恰恰是圣灵作工的结果。对于耶稣来说，律法当然是神圣的，是使上帝的爱临到更多人的手段，但不是限制人类行为的规条。²⁵由此，耶稣才宣称，“安息日是为人设立的，人不是为安息日设立的”（可 2：27）。

在向外邦人宣讲福音时，保罗就准确把握到律法的两面性。一方面，颁布给犹太人的律法“是圣洁的，诫命也是圣洁、公义、良善的”（罗 7：12）；另一方面，律法的目的是向人类显明所犯的罪，“叫人知罪”（罗 3：20），但并不使他们不再犯罪或得以称义。换言之，作为一种神学手段，律法的目的是基督，因为“律法的总结就是基督”（罗 10：4）。²⁶在基督到来之后，保罗认为，犹太人就从律法那里得了自由，被上帝称为义，不是因为遵守律法，而是因为相信基督。律法已经被基督的信实所成全，但这一信实并不废掉律法。例如，作为犹太基督徒，保罗不仅严守其许过的愿，“在革哩剪了头发”（徒 18：18），让提摩太受割礼，还上到耶路撒冷圣殿献祭（徒 16：3、21：23-26）。可见，就像外邦人不应当被强迫成为犹太人，犹太人也不应当被强迫成为外邦人。

犹太基督徒可以继续遵守律法，但律法必须与基督的作工相互配合，其自身不足以成为救赎的记号。²⁷作为一种犹太“传统”和“习俗”，律法不能使犹太人称义或获得救赎，因为这些都被基督所传扬的福音和爱所成全（罗 13：10）。杨克勤（Khiok-Khng Yeo）对此评论说，针对加拉太教会的搅扰者，保罗批评他们的“文化和宗教帝国主义”，以基督被钉十字架来解构犹太种族中心主义，并重构律法中所蕴含的爱的精意。基督在十字架上所成全的已经显现为圣灵的降临；换言之，正是圣灵转换或扩展了上帝的救赎，才使犹太人从旧时代的律法中心主义进入新时代的圣灵引领。²⁸

割礼和洁净律法可以用以区分犹太人与外邦人，但不能用以区分基督徒与非基督徒，因为民族和种族身份需要不断被信仰身份所挑战和成全。外邦基督徒现在加入了神圣盟约，不是经由遵守律法，而是经由相信耶稣基督。如果仍然顽固坚持，遵守律法才是成为基督徒的必要条件，那么就恰恰犯了“民族主义傲慢和种族限制”的错误。²⁹

25 参见 Khiok-Khng Yeo, *Musing with Confucius and Paul: Toward a Chinese Christian Theology*, (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2008), 258-259.

26 参见 Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 634.

27 正如奥古斯丁后来所论证的，律法虽然没有救赎的神圣功用，但仍然具有世俗功用，已经在历史中沉淀为犹太民族的“古老的传统”（*paternarum traditionum*）和“长久的习俗”（*diuturnam consuetudinem*），犹太基督徒继续遵守律法并无害处，但也不能借此获得救赎。参见奥古斯丁，《论说谎》（*De mendacio*）5.8；《驳摩尼教徒福斯图斯》（*Contra Faustum Manicheum*）19.17。

28 参见 Khiok-Khng Yeo, *Musing with Confucius and Paul: Toward a Chinese Christian Theology*, 83-84, 310.

29 参见 John M. G. Barclay, “‘Neither Jew nor Greek’: Multiculturalism and the New Perspective on Paul,” in Mark G. Brett, ed., *Ethnicity and the Bible*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 202.

（三）外邦人的习俗

作为地中海世界日常生活的一部分，人们通常在地方节日期间向异教神祇祭献酒肉，被他人邀请去异教神庙一同喝酒吃肉甚至是友谊的象征。³⁰流散地的犹太基督徒有时为这些活动所搅扰，哥林多教会的外邦基督徒也为此类邀请所困惑。基督信仰把向异教神祇献祭看作偶像崇拜，参与这样的宴会自然也可能是。但问题是，外邦基督徒是否能够进入异教神庙，与他们信奉异教的亲朋好友一起吃喝呢？如果这样做了，他们是否在参与偶像崇拜？正如中国礼仪之争的祭祖祭孔，这些问题就在早期教会中引发了激烈的争论和冲突。

在哥林多教会中，部分信徒也分成两派：“软弱的”（*ho asthnōn*）认为，吃祭过偶像的肉是偶像崇拜；但“有知识的”（*ton echonta gnōsin*）认为，这种吃喝不是偶像崇拜（林前 8：4-13）。可以看到，这两种略带贬义的身份标签凸显了双方之间的严重分歧。³¹为解决这一问题，保罗设立了以下两条原则。第一，偶像并不真正存在，因为“偶像在世上算不得什么；也知道上帝只有一位，再没有别的上帝”（林前 8：4）。虽然“有知识的”参与宴会并不必然导致偶像崇拜，但保罗限制他们前往，因为这种宴会无疑是在荣耀异教神祇。就像他所论证的，异教献祭本质上是在祭鬼，而信徒“不能吃主的筵席，又吃鬼的筵席”（林前 10：21）。第二，为了照顾“软弱的”一派，在异教神庙中赴宴应当被禁止，因为这不能造就人的良心，还会在教会内部引发争端，影响教会合一。两相权衡，知识并不比对兄弟的爱更重要，因为“知识叫人自高自大，惟有爱心能造就人”（林前 8：1）。以保罗自己为例，个人的自由或权利必须让渡于造就和拯救他人。³²

虽然并非所有传统习俗都被禁止，但是否进行限制，取决于对教会群体中的其他人是否有益处。在以基督为头的新生活中，信徒“饮于一位圣灵”（林前 12：13）。圣灵赋予他们以相同的信仰身份，彼此之间不再夸口从民族、种族、文化或社会地位所得的荣耀，反而都不以福音为耻。朱伟特（Robert Jewett）对此认为，保罗的教导旨在颠覆地中海世界的传统荣辱价值观，从而要求每个基督徒都可以相互平等地结交，以共同成为上帝的儿女。³³在保罗圣灵论中，虽然相同的信仰身份并不取消其他方面的差异，但圣灵使他们从新的视角来看待这些差异，以克服自身的文化盲点。由此，成为基督徒不要求犹太人舍弃律法，也不要求外邦人变成犹太人，但要求二者都遵守律法的精意（林后 3：6）。

对于所谓的野蛮人、愚拙人、希腊人和“外邦的罪人”（加 2：15），保罗的传教并不舍弃、更不歧视他们，反而说“我都欠他们的债”（罗 1：14），这种以适应为主的传教策略所传的只是基督信仰，不仅不试图取消各个民族或地区的特定习俗，甚至还主动保留下这些习俗，使之不成为更多人听信福音的绊脚石。保罗主动坦陈说，“向犹太人，我就作犹太人，为要得犹太人；向律法以下的人，我虽不在律法以下，还是作律法以下的人，为要得律法以下的人；向没有律法的人，我就作没有律法的人，为要得没有律法的人。其实我在上帝面前，不是没有律法；在基督面前，正在律法之下。向软弱的人，我就作软弱的人，为要得软弱的人；向什么样的人，我就作什么样的人。无论如何总要救些人”（林前

30 参见 Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 188-192.

31 参见 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 330-332.

32 参见 Khiok-khng Yeo, *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10: A Formal Analysis with Preliminary Suggestions for a Chinese, Cross-Cultural Hermeneutic*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 142-154.

33 参见 Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, 137.

9: 20-22)。在这一方面，保罗并非是彼得在安提阿事件（加 2: 11-14）中的“装假”，反而是在坚持“福音的真理”（加 2: 14）的前提下可以从容接纳犹太人的律法和外邦人的习俗。³⁴

早期教会大致延承了保罗的传教策略，尊重帝国的统治秩序，祝福皇帝的世俗权威，吸纳和改造异教语言、崇拜仪式和节日习俗为己所用，甚至积极借助古希腊罗马的哲学、史学、诗学、论辩术和自然科学等知识养料，使得基督教教义得以迅速实现理论化和系统化。而对于之前以偶像崇拜为由而禁止参与的皇帝崇拜和异教神祇祭典，306 年召开的“艾尔维拉宗教会议”（council of Elvira）也决定，基督徒可以担任其中的主祭，“只要佩戴经认可的徽章、不献祭、不购买祭品，就可免除遭开除教籍的绝罚。”³⁵这种以圣灵为先导、灵活而注重实效的传教策略不仅使得，基督教迅速传遍罗马帝国，且在不同地区发展出各有特色的信仰形态，例如叙利亚基督教、科普特基督教和北非基督教等。³⁶

三、祭祖祭孔：中国人的习俗或律法

在中国礼仪之争中，以耶稣会士和绝大部分中国儒生信徒为一派，以其他修会的传教士为另一派，双方向罗马教廷提交报告，来辩驳祭祖祭孔的性质。礼仪之争所论及的祭祀有六种，即丧礼吊祭、祭祀祖先、祭祀孔子、祭祀生人、官员拜城隍和皇帝祭天。但真正引发争议的是祭祖和祭孔，参与祭祖的多是本族本家的后人，而参与祭孔的多是儒生。祭祖包括，在祖先画像或牌位前供奉酒肉水果等，在牌位或坟墓前焚香点蜡烧纸，在家宴中分食祭物。祭孔包括，每逢初一、十五到孔子牌位前叩头上香，春秋两季在孔庙举行大祭，供奉酒肉，之后也是分食祭物。³⁷

在中国传统社会中，这些礼仪包含着相互交织的多重意涵，包括社会的、政治的、文化的和宗教的。通过参与这些礼仪，诸如事父母以孝，事君以忠，交友以信，敬畏宇宙之道等，中国人就在家庭、家族和不同社会关系中形成牢固的纽带，构建起“礼俗生活世界”。³⁸当尝试去区分文化与宗教、世俗与神圣时，我们会发现，很难在其间划出清晰的界限。从外在形式上看，祭祖祭孔的礼仪与中国民间信仰的仪式多有重合之处，普通民众在祭祀中也会向祖先祈求保佑平安，向孔子祈求得中功名。毫不令人

34 对于保罗的这一传教策略是否包含某种“装假”，且如何解释安提阿事件中的使徒之争，早期教会进行了激烈而长久的释经争论，参见 Margaret M. Mitchell, “Peter’s ‘Hypocrisy’ and Paul’s: Two ‘Hypocrites’ at the Foundation of Earliest Christianity?” *New Testament Studies*, vol. 58.2, (2012), 213-234; 花威 Hua Wei, 《安提阿事件与早期基督教中的释经纷争》*Antia shijian yu zaoqi jidujiao zhongde shijing fenzheng* [The Incident of Antioch and the Exegetical Controversy in Early Christianity], 《基督教学术》*Jidujiao xueshu* [Christian Scholarship], No. 12, (2015), 15-31; 花威 Hua Wei, 《〈加拉太书〉二章 11-14 节与奥古斯丁与杰罗姆的释经辩论》*Jialataishu erzhang 11-14 jie yu aogusiding yu zheluomu de shijing bianlun* [Galatians 2:11-14 and the Exegetical Controversy between Augustine and Jerome], 《道风：基督教文化评论》*Daofeng: jidujiao wenhua pinglun* [Logos and Pneuma: Chinese Journal of Theology], No. 41, (2015), 25-46。

35 参见陈聪铭 Chen Tsung-ming, 《1930 年代罗马教廷结束“礼仪之争”之研究》*1930 niandai luoma jiaoting jieshu “liyi zhizheng” zhi yanjiu* [Notes on the Holy See’s Solution to the Chinese Rites Controversy in the 1930s], 《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》*Zhongguang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* [Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica], No. 70, (2010), 117-119。

36 对于早期教会时期中的这一情况，参见 Helen Rhee, *Early Christian Literature: Christ and Culture in the Second and Third Centuries*, (New York: Routledge, 2005); Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c. 600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 151-313。

37 参见吴莉苇, 《中国礼仪之争：文明的张力与权利的较量》，54-55、69-78。

38 参见顾红亮 Gu Hongliang, 《儒家生活世界》*Rujia shenghuo shijie* [Confucian Living World], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People’s Publishing House], 2008), 67-72。

惊讶，这两类礼仪会被清初其他修会的传教士怀疑为偶像崇拜，特别是当他们以实地调查法去询问普通民众的祭祀感受时。³⁹

不过，只要深入考察祭祖祭孔的内容与功用，我们就可以发现，它们不能被简单地划归为偶像崇拜，更不能一禁了之。其一，不同于罗马传统宗教或皇帝崇拜，祭祖祭孔的对象不是有神通异能的神祇，而是与自己关系密切的先人，即自己的祖先和被视为知识与道德模范的孔子；其二，不同于偶像崇拜，祭祖祭孔的核心目的不是寻求超自然的力量（worship），而是表达对祖先的感恩和对孔子的世俗性尊敬（veneration）。在解释丧祭礼时，荀子总结说，“祭者，志意思慕之情也。……圣人明知之，士君子安行之，官人以为守，百姓以成俗。其在君子，以为人道也；其在百姓，以为鬼事也”（《荀子·礼论》）。由此可见，在中国传统社会中，祭祖祭孔有着双重功用。对于普通民众来说，它是中国的民间习俗，类似于外邦人的习俗，是日常生活的组成部分；对于儒生阶层来说，它是中国的传统礼法，已经历时千百余年，类似于犹太人的律法，参与建构了中国宗法社会的政治秩序和道德体系，塑造了中国人的民族身份和文化身份。⁴⁰对此，以张星耀为代表的中国儒生信徒也积极撰述论证，祭祀、祭祠和祭祖起到“君父之道”的人文教化作用，并非迷信，而只有源于佛道“误导”的民间杂祀才算是应当被批判的迷信。⁴¹

作为儒家思想的创立者，孔子自己批判商、周时期的祭祀礼仪，力图去除其迷信成分，保留其教化功能。这就使得，儒家视域下的祭祀在本质上既不是宗教，也不是偶像崇拜。对于鬼神的存在，孔子不置可否，“子不语怪、力、乱、神”（《论语·述而》）；在参与祭祀时，“祭如在，祭神如神在”（《论语·八佾》），而“如在”恰恰表明，孔子并不相信神灵和祖先真正临在；对于人死之后，孔子也称之为“鬼”，但不再继续讨论，“未知生，焉知死”，“未能事人，焉能事鬼”（《论语·先进》），⁴²“敬鬼神而远之”（《论语·雍也》）；对于古代的占卜，孔子持批评态度，认为是愚蠢的做法（《论语·公冶长》）；在鬼神之外，孔子也不多谈论“性与天道”（《论语·公冶长》），对天象影响人事表示怀疑。

虽然不肯定鬼神，孔子却主张祭神和祭祖，看重祭祀对象和方式的正当性，不应当参与自己不认可的祭祀；在孝敬父母上，孔子坚持，“生，事之以礼；死，葬之以礼，祭之以礼”（《论语·为政》）；但人只能祭祀自己的祖先，“非其鬼而祭之，谗也”（《论语·为政》）。这种看似矛盾的做法在于，孔子旨在使祭祀发挥出教化功用。祭神可以使每个人在宇宙大化中找到自己所处的位置，效仿天道流行不息，而不断进德修业，以至“逝者如斯夫，不舍昼夜”（《论语·子罕》）；祭祖可以使每

39 参见李天纲，《“中国礼仪之争”：研究方法及其拓展》，217。

40 参见陈来 Chen Lai,《古代宗教与伦理》*Gudai zongjiao yu lunli* [Ancient Religions and Ethics], (北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Three Joint Publishing Company], 2009), 290-302。

41 参见李智 Li Zhi,《“礼仪之争”中的“中国声音”：清初中国儒家天主教徒张星耀“Liyi zhizheng” zhongde “zhongguo shengyin”: qingchu zhongguo rujia tianzhu jiaotu Zhang Xingyao [The “Voice of China” in the “Chinese rites controversy”: Chinese Confucian Catholic Xingyao Zhang in the Early Qing Dynasty],《基督宗教研究》*Jidu zongjiao yanjiu* [Study of Christianity], No. 1, 2021, 260-275; 肖清和 Xiao Qinghe、李竹磬 Li Zhuqing,《卫方济与礼仪之争中的“中国声音”》*Weifangji yu liyi zhizheng zhongde “zhongguo shengyin”* [François Noël and the Chinese Voices in Rite Controversy],《济南大学学报》*Jinan daxue xuebao* [Journal of University of Jinan], No. 6, 2018, 91-97。

42 对于这两段语录的含义，传统上有两种看法，一是认为，“鬼神与死事难明，语之无益”；二是认为，这是在说“事死如事生”的道理，孔子注重祭礼在政治、社会秩序中的规范功用。参见朱俊艺 Zhu Junyi,《从“未能事人，焉能事鬼”探析孔子的鬼神观》*Cong “weineng shiren, yanneng shigui” tanxi kongzi de guishenguan* [“How can you serve the ghosts if you fail to serve people?” Exploring Confucius’ View of Ghosts and Gods],《南京大学学报》*Nanjing daxue xuebao* [Journal of Nanjing University], No. 2, 2012, 104-112。其实，这两种看法可以相互融贯。

个人在社会关系中找到自己所处的位置，怀念父母祖先的德性和作为，而不断抱本感恩，以至“慎重遥远，民德归厚矣”（《论语·学而》）。⁴³从孩童时起，生事死祭就可以培养起孝悌忠信的道德自觉，使人逐渐体认到君臣父子等政治秩序，并进而成长为知礼守法的臣民。⁴⁴

由此，一方面，祭祖祭孔是中国传统社会的长久习俗，但不相信任何异教神祇，本质上不是偶像崇拜；另一方面，与犹太律法相比，祭祖祭孔是中国传统社会的神圣律法，不违背反而践行着圣经诫命的精意，孝即孝敬父母是十诫的核心教导（出 20：12），悌即友善兄弟是耶稣的要求（路 17：3-4），而不犯上作乱也符合耶稣和保罗对上帝与凯撒的划分（可 12：17；罗 13：1-7），其教化过程类似于圣灵的神圣作工。

四、礼仪之争回归保罗圣灵论

正如吴莉苇所见，在中国传统社会中，“礼仪不单纯是文化的象征，还具有社会控制职能，它因为是社会规范体系的一部分而含有权力意义。”⁴⁵在明末中国立定脚跟后，利玛窦就感受到，中国人不参与祭祖祭孔，就意味着违背孝悌忠信，背弃亲族和反对政府，而如果禁止其参与，他们就宁肯拒绝相信基督教。在这种情形下，利玛窦显然延承了保罗的适应策略，不仅允许中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔，还努力研究古代文献来展现中国礼仪的世俗性质。⁴⁶然而，其他修会的传教士对中国语言、文化和习俗的理解远不及耶稣会士，而轻易判定祭祖祭孔是偶像崇拜，并禁止中国信徒参与，就触动到了中国传统社会的根基。

可以看到，中国礼仪之争蕴含着三重争论：其一，罗马教廷与耶稣会士争论基督信仰的正统性与其在中国的处境化之间的关系。其关键点是，普世主义信仰是否应当在特定文明形态中实现本土化和本色化。其二，罗马教廷与中国皇帝争论教会与国家、教权与皇权的政教关系。其关键点是，教权是否应当尊重中国皇帝的政治权威，坚持上帝与凯撒的界限划分，听从“儒教不可违，且王制更不敢越”的告诫，⁴⁷不以神学的傲慢来干涉帝国的世俗统治。其三，罗马教廷与耶稣会士和中国信徒争论圣灵与习俗、律法之间的关系。其关键点是，领受圣灵是否必须舍弃中国传统的习俗或律法，还是可以成全和更新它们。

其中，最为核心的是第三重争论。可以设想，除却传教利益上的纠葛，如果罗马教廷能够一直持守保罗圣灵论，认识到领受圣灵是信仰的开端，是基督徒身份的记号，而圣灵也将成全和更新作为习俗或律法的祭祖祭孔，并始终以谦卑的姿态来保持倾听和对话，那么在康熙皇帝当时的怀柔政策之下，中国礼仪之争就会得到妥善解决，而清初中国的传教事业也将会是另一番历史景象。

43 参见朱松美 Zhu Songmei,《孔子祭祀观诠释》Kongzi jisiguan quanshi [The Interpretation of Confucius' View of Sacrifice],《管子学刊》Guanzi xuekan [Journal of Guanzi], No. 3, 2012, 35-38。

44 有关孝在中国传统家庭、家族和社会构建中的功用展开过程，参见张祥龙 Zhang Xianglong,《孔子的现象学阐释九讲：礼乐人生与哲学》Kongzi de xianxiangxue chanshi jiujiang: liyue rensheng yu zheli [Nine Lectures on the Phenomenological Interpretation of Confucius: Life of Rites and Music and Its Philosophy], (上海 Shanghai: 华东师范大学出版社 Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe [Huadong Normal University Press], 2009), 225-237。

45 参见吴莉苇,《中国礼仪之争：文明的张力与权利的较量》，第 102 页。

46 参见朱维铮 Zhu Weizheng 主编,《利玛窦中文著译集》Limadou zhongwen zhuyiji [Chinese Writings and Translations of Matteo Ricci], (上海 Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University Press], 2012), 18-22。

47 参见吴莉苇,《中国礼仪之争：文明的张力与权利的较量》，第 81 页。

有幸的是，1656 年教皇亚历山大七世的许可谕令正确认识到圣灵与习俗的关系，肯定信仰不取消习俗，就实际地遵循了保罗圣灵论：中国信徒可以参与祭孔，“这种仪式看来纯粹是民俗性的和政治性的”；⁴⁸也可以参与祭祖，“中国人并不认为亡灵是鬼神，他们并不希望或要求从亡灵那里得到什么”，只要“不做任何迷信的事情”。⁴⁹传信部甚至在 1659 年附加命令说，“只要中国人不公开反对宗教和善良风俗，不要去尝试说服中国人改变他们的礼仪、习俗方式。……不要把这些东西，而是要把信仰输入中国。信仰并不是要反对或者摧毁任何民族的礼仪习俗，只要这些礼仪习俗并不是邪恶的。恰恰相反，信仰要把它们保持下去。”⁵⁰在圣灵、信仰与习俗的关系上，上述认识显然符合保罗圣灵论和中国的传教现实，也始终是中国礼仪之争得以解决的神学基础。

但不幸的是，这样建基于长久历史经验的卓识很快被其后的禁止谕令所推翻，罗马教廷傲慢地拒绝康熙皇帝的善意沟通，甚至不惜让中国信徒陷入教派分裂，明显背离了保罗“靠圣灵入门”（加 3：3）和“惟有爱心能造就人”（林前 8：1）的教导。与此同时，这些禁止谕令直接挑战中国传统宗族社会的道德体系和政治秩序，引发中国教区的组织混乱和信仰动摇，受到了耶稣会士、康熙皇帝和中国儒生信徒的一致反对，而后者也成为最大的受害者。在 1700 年前后，福建信徒激烈反对阎当的做法，不去参加其主持的礼拜，要求其教堂悬挂“敬天”牌匾，甚至还为此向官府告状。

不同于哥林多教会的情况，绝大部分中国信徒都主张，祭祖祭孔不涉嫌偶像崇拜，并撰文试图上书罗马教廷。对于普通信徒，参与祭祖祭孔不仅没有搅扰其信仰良心，反而使之与帝国和传统宗族社会达成相对和谐。与之相较，儒生阶层以科举入仕，通常主持家族事务，在外为官时也普遍纳妾，祭祖祭孔和添丁生子已然是其本职责任，而禁止谕令与教会诫命给他们造成了严重的身份认同危机，使得儒生信徒多有出教者，新加入者则日益减少。⁵¹失去了这些“双头蛇族”，基督教就失去了在汉语语境中进行理论建构的最佳契机，客观上也大大拖延了基督教中国化的历史进程。

然而，历史的发展最终让罗马教廷改正了错误，回到了 1656 年的立场和保罗圣灵论。在 20 世纪 30 年代，由于发现 1258 年的教廷谕令中允许基督徒参与非基督教仪式，针对日本的“上智大学事件”⁵²和伪满洲国的祭孔典礼，⁵³罗马教廷就解除了礼仪禁令，允许在少许条件下适当参与。⁵⁴在 1939 年，传信

48 苏尔 Donald F. Sure、诺尔 Ray R. Noll 编，《中国礼仪之争：西文文献一百篇（1645-1941）》*Zhongguo liyi zhizheng: xiwen wenxian yibaipian (1645-1941)* [100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645-1941)], 沈保义 Shen Baoyi、顾卫民 Gu Weimin、朱静 Zhu Jing 译，（上海 Shanghai：上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House], 2001），9。

49 苏尔、诺尔编，《中国礼仪之争：西文文献一百篇（1645-1941）》，11。这一评判恰恰符合利玛窦对祭祖的认识，虽然他也期待这些习俗可以被代替。参见利玛窦 Matteo Ricci、金尼阁 Nicolas Trigault，《利玛窦中国札记》*Limadou zhongguo zhaji* [Matteo Ricci's Notes on China]，何高济 He Gaoji 等译，（北京 Beijing：中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1983），103。

50 苏尔、诺尔编，《中国礼仪之争：西文文献一百篇（1645-1941）》，11-12。

51 参见黄一农，《两头蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒》，264-270。

52 上智大学（Sophia University）为耶稣会在东京创办，其中有不少信徒学生。在 1932 年 5 月 5 日，两名学生在行军操练中拒绝向学校附近的靖国神社行礼参拜，由此引发日本的礼仪之争。参见 George Minamiki, “The Yasukuni Shrine Incident and the Chinese Rites Controversy,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 2, (1980), 205-229。

53 伪满洲国成立于 1932 年 3 月，随后以“振兴孔教”为名将春秋祭孔定为法定祭日，强行推行祭孔礼仪。有鉴于此，罗马教廷被迫重新处理中国礼仪之争问题，同时处理与伪满洲国的政治关系问题。参见刘国鹏 Liu Guopeng：《刚恒毅与中国天主教的本地化》*Ganghengyi yu zhongguo tianzhujiao de bendihua* [Celso Constantini and the Indigenization of Catholic Church in Chia]，（北京 Beijing：社会科学文献出版社 Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2011），280-309。

54 有关这段历史的详细梳理，参见陈聪铭，《1930 年代罗马教廷结束“礼仪之争”之研究》，97-143；George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: from Its Beginning to Modern Times*, 183-203。

部发布教皇庇护十二世（Pius XII）的谕令《众所周知》（*Plan compertum est*），允许中国信徒参与祭祖祭孔。虽然不承认先前的谕令是错误的，但罗马教廷实际上最终认可，祭祖祭孔在本质上不是偶像崇拜，而是长久的习俗。在1941年，传信部发布训令，其中明显带有保罗圣灵论和爱的教导的印记，“绝对避免草拟什么是禁止或允许的清单，以免将旧的分歧冠以新的形式重新挑起争论”，“应该让司铎们与好的平信徒们在个别的情况下根据自己的良心来决定。”⁵⁵对照上文可见，这一训令明确把行为是否适宜诉诸每个人的“良心”（*hē syneidēsis*，林前8：10-13），如同保罗在哥林多信徒是否吃祭肉问题上的教导。也就是说，作为早期教会意义上的外邦人，中国人成为基督徒也在于领受圣灵，不在于是否参与祭祖祭孔。既然已经领受了圣灵，生发出了“无亏的良心”（*syneidēscōs agathēs*，提前1：5），那么他们就可以参与祭祖祭孔，而这并不会损害其基督信仰。

结语

在保罗看来，领受圣灵是成为基督徒的门径和记号，犹太人无须舍弃律法，外邦人也无需舍弃习俗，圣灵在爱的团契生活中将成全律法并更新习俗，使得犹太人与外邦人可以共同分有基督徒的信仰身份。与之相比，倘若能认清圣灵的成全和更新作用，罗马教廷在清初就不会纠缠于祭祖祭孔的性质，而中国信徒也可以继续参与，以之作为表达怀念和尊敬的世俗礼节。以此为镜鉴，历经三百余年的中国礼仪之争最终以罗马教廷的让步结束，正是回归到了保罗圣灵论的神学立场。

作为历史事件，中国礼仪之争已经结束。但其间曲折起伏的过程表明，只有摒弃“西方基督教中心主义”，坚持圣灵在开启和维持信仰身份中的核心作用，不是强制禁止，而是认可中国的传统习俗并吸纳中国的古老文明，基督教在中国的传播才会找到合宜的方式，其中国化才是可能的和可行的。⁵⁶而只要不断坚持这一方向，基督教也将与中国现代社会相适应，实现空间上的本土化、时间上的时代化和具体时空中的实践化，⁵⁷从而发展出具有中国特色的基督教思想体系，构建起中国更为丰富多彩的文明形态，以至于不是“基督教在中国”，而是成为“中国的基督教”。

55 苏尔、诺尔编，《中国礼仪之争：西文文献一百篇（1645-1941）》，178。

56 对此，张志刚教授以“过去、现在和未来”三个时间向度分析了基督教中国化的必要性、可能性和具体路径，深具启发意义。参见张志刚 Zhang Zhigang, “基督教中国化”研究的三重视野” *“Jidujiao zhongguohua” yanjiu de sanchong shiye* [Three Horizons for the Study of “Sinicization of Christianity”], 《世界宗教研究》 *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [Studies in World Religions], No. 2, 2013, 1-8。

57 参见花威 Hua Wei, 《宗教坚持中国化方向的三重内涵》 *Zongjiao jianchi zhongguohua fangxiang de sanchong neihan* [Three Aspects of the Sinicization of Religion], 《中国宗教》 *Zhongguo zongjiao* [China Religion], No. 1, 2017, 54-55。

English Title : Pauline Pneumatology and the Chinese Rites Controversy: On the Theological Failure of the Holy See's Mission in the Early Qing Dynasty

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Abstract: According to Pauline pneumatology, only the Holy Spirit can initiate and maintain one's identity as a Christian, thus Jews don't need to discard their laws, and Gentiles don't need to discard their customs either, both groups will be fulfilled and renewed by the Holy Spirit. By comparison, in the Chinese Rites Controversy, the Holy See didn't strictly abide by Paul's teachings on the Holy Spirit, but regarded the commemorating rites of ancestors and Confucius as idolatry and banned Chinese Christians to participate, which resulted in a fatal failure of its Oriental missionary project. In the first half of the 20th century, the Chinese Rites Controversy finally ended with the Holy See's concession, i.e., admitting the commemorating rites as Chinese secular customs and thus returning back to Pauline pneumatology.

Key words: Holy Spirit, Chinese Rites Controversy, Laws, Customs, the Holy See, K'ang Hsi the Emperor

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

The Inter-Cultural Observation of American Missionaries: A Study of the “Hainan News Letter”

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Abstract: The “Hainan News Letter” was an English-language magazine founded by American Presbyterian missionaries during the Republican era in China. The magazine served as an inter-cultural observation record of the American Presbyterian missionaries’ evangelistic activities on Hainan Island. It not only detailed the living conditions and progress of the missionary work of the American Presbyterians in the local area, but also deeply reflected their observations and thoughts on the unique customs, religious beliefs, and social changes in the Hainan region. The readership of the “Hainan News Letter” was both the other missionaries working in China and readers in the United States, making it an important bridge for information exchange between China and the United States. At the same time, this magazine also provided valuable primary source material for domestic and foreign scholars to study the cultural exchange between China and other countries during this specific historical period.

Key words: Hainan; Christianity; Mission; Presbyterian

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In recent years, the field of the history of Chinese Christianity has attempted to shift its paradigm and perspective from the “Western missionary movement in China” or “Christianity in China” to the study of “Chinese Christianity,”¹ particularly by exploring Chinese-language historical materials to uncover the participation and growth of Chinese Christians. However, it is undeniable that the spread of Christianity in most regions of China first originated from Western missionaries, and was later followed by the process of Chinese pastors and local believers seeking self-governance. Therefore, before emphasizing the inevitable trajectory of local Chinese believers gradually transitioning from supporting roles to leading roles in the Christian movement, it is necessary to discuss the missionaries who came to China and their missionary endeavors established in China.

The “Hainan News Letter” (1912-1949), as an English-language publication founded by American Presbyterian missionaries, was not as influential or widely circulated as “the Chinese Recorder”. However, the

¹ See Wu Ziming, Li Xiangping, Huang Jianbo and He Xinping, *The Communion of Margins: A Study of Urban Christianity in China from the Perspective of Global Regionalization*, Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 2009, p. 294.

missionary activities and experiences in Hainan recorded in this magazine hold special value for research on Hainan during the Republican era. Regrettably, this important English-language historical material related to modern Christianity in Hainan has long been overlooked and underutilized by the domestic and international academic community. In view of this, this paper relies on the microfilm of the “Hainan News Letter”² in the collection of the University of Hong Kong Library to make a preliminary compendium of this magazine.

I. Overview of the “Hainan News Letter”

The “Hainan News Letter” was founded by American Presbyterian missionaries in Hainan. As a local Christian publication, the editorial introduction of the magazine stated: “This attempt is made to issue a regular news letter, in the hope that it may be a link between us and the many friends in other lands who are already interested in bringing Hainan to Christ and that it may serve to help others to see the needs and the opportunities in this field.”³ This indicates that in addition to strengthening the connections and exchanges between the Hainan mission and missionaries in other regions, the magazine also aimed to attract more attention to the development and needs of the Hainan region by reporting and disseminating information about the area.

The existing copies of the “Hainan News Letter” total 63 issues, with an irregular publication frequency. Only the first 5 issues were numbered by volume and issue, while subsequent issues only indicated the month, season, or Christmas of the respective year of publication.

In addition, the “Hainan News Letter” was published from September 1912 to Christmas 1949. During this period, the magazine was not published continuously, and had two interruptions. The first interruption occurred after the publication of the Spring 1927 issue, with no issues released in 1928, and the magazine only resuming publication in the Winter of 1929. This interruption was due to the missionaries being forced to evacuate Hainan Island after the “Nanjing Incident” on March 24, 1927, and the gradual restoration of church work not occurring until 1929. The second interruption was due to the Japanese occupation of Hainan Island in 1939, causing the magazine to suspend publication until it resumed in 1947. After the resumption, only three more issues were published, with the final issue released at Christmas 1949, marking the official cessation of the publication.

In contrast to most English-language publications founded by missionaries in China, the editors of the “Hainan News Letter” were predominantly the wives of male missionaries or unmarried female missionaries. This can be attributed to a few factors: Firstly, women made up approximately half of the total missionary staff in the Hainan mission, and they wielded considerable influence within the mission. Secondly, the female

2 The microfilm of the “*Hainan News Letter*” is in the collections of the University of Hong Kong Library and the National Library of China, among other institutions. At the top of this microfilm used by the author, it is first explained that the microfilm was produced in cooperation with the Presbyterian Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, USA. According to the organizer of the microfilm, it is impossible to determine how many issues were published due to publishing irregularities, but all available information has been photographed. In addition, in 2021, Ms. Xu Haiyan of the National Library of China and Prof. Tao Feiya of Shanghai University photocopied and published the Hainan Correspondence as part of the *Compendium of Modern Christian Historical Materials* (all thirty volumes). See Xu Haiyan and Tao Feiya, *Modern Christianity: A Compendium of Historical Materials*, Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House, 2021.

3 *Hainan News Letter*, September 1912, p. 1.

missionaries who came to Hainan were basically highly educated (college educated). According to the American scholar Kathleen L. Lodwick, At a time when university graduation rates for American women were quite low - only 17.3% in 1890 and 41.3% in 1940 - the women of the Hainan mission belonged to this educated elite class.⁴ Beyond their own cultural qualifications, the Hainan mission's entrusting of editorial roles to female missionaries also reflected the mission's trust and support for the contributions of women in the missionary enterprise. This was related to the relatively liberal tendencies of the American Presbyterian Mission, which oversaw the Hainan mission.

The "Hainan News Letter" was printed by the following institutions over the years: initially, it was printed by the Baptist Press in Guangzhou, but the quality of the publication was poor, as reported by Mrs. Kelly, "The proof-reading was abominable, and the Baptist Press admitted that it was not good and that they would try to give better satisfaction in the future."⁵ Starting with the November 1920 issue, it was printed by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. The Summer 1922 issue was printed by the South China Morning Post Co., and the Fall 1922 issue was printed by the South China Christian Book Co. After the Spring 1923 issue, it was still printed by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. After the Spring 1923 issue, it continued to be printed by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. The Fall number 1937 issue was "printed at Truth Hall Press, Peiping while we were on vacation there in July. Students working their way through school were the printers and they did amazingly well considering they knew little more of English than the alphabet."⁶ The Summer, Autumn and Christmas 1938 issues were printed by Hongkong Daily Press Ltd. and the Christmas 1947, Christmas 1948 and Christmas 1949 issues were printed by Lee Hing Printing Co. at 583 Sichuan Road, Shanghai.

Regarding the source of funding for the publication of the magazine, the title page of the Christmas 1925 issue clearly stated that it was a quarterly publication funded by members of the American Presbyterian Mission, Hainan Island, Guangdong Province, South China.⁷ The title page of the Fall 1938 issue reiterated the source of funding, publication purpose, and distribution method of the magazine:

The Hainan Newsletter is published three times a year by the members of the American Presbyterian Mission of Hainan Island, South China and financed by individual assessment. Its purpose is to establish contact with the Home Church groups and with personal friends of the missionaries, to whom it is sent free of charge. For the convenience of persons or groups not on the regular mailing list who desire to use its material, the Mission has been asked to set a subscription rate. This appears on the title page as fifty cents gold for three copies. Note that all subscriptions will be received at the Treasurer's Office, Board of Foreign Missions, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Please do not send checks or money orders to the local address.⁸

Based on the information provided, the "Hainan News Letter" was distributed through a combination of complimentary distribution and subscription. The main recipients of the complimentary distribution included the

4 Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984, p. 543.

5 *Minutes 1916 of The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of The American Presbyterian Mission, Hainan*, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1916, p. 18.

6 *Minutes of The Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of The American Presbyterian Mission Hainan*, Hongkong: Hongkong Daily Press, 1938, p. 20.

7 *Hainan News Letter*, Christmas 1925, p. 1.

8 "Please Notice," *Hainan News Letter*, Autumn 1938, p. 1.

Board of Foreign Missions of the American Presbyterian Church, the China Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and certain religious publications. The magazine was also sold within the church community. Members of the Hainan mission could purchase whatever quantity they desired and send them to their friends. Additionally, the magazine was sold in the United States.

In the editorial of the second issue in December 1912, the editor noted that “the demand for copies of our first News Letter encourages us to go forward with the issue of No.2.”⁹, showing early reader interest. According to a report in the Spring 1934 issue, the average print run was 1,400 copies, and it was distributed to every state in the U.S., with California receiving the largest number, about 250. This was followed by Pennsylvania (149 copies) and Iowa (113 copies). The only eight states in the nation that did not receive the magazine were Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nevada and Vermont. In addition, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico received the magazine, and another 138 copies were sent outside the United States.¹⁰ These data points indicate that the “Hainan News Letter” maintained a relatively stable circulation and had a significant readership and reach, spanning across the United States as well as overseas territories and regions.

II. Missionary Activities of American Missionaries on Hainan Island as Seen in the “Hainan News Letter”

Regardless, the missionary activities in Hainan have always been the focus of attention of the “Hainan News Letter”. From the content and characteristics of this magazine, there are several aspects to note:

Firstly, the magazine presents a panoramic view of the modern American Presbyterian Mission movement in Hainan from the perspective of the missionaries themselves. While the “Hainan News Letter” existed during the Republican period, its content not only includes real-time records of the missionaries’ evangelistic activities, but also retrospective articles written by the pioneering missionaries who were the first to enter Hainan in the late Qing dynasty. Even before the launch of the “Hainan News Letter” in September 1912, three missionaries—John C. Melrose (1859-1897), Mrs. Frank P. Gilman (? -1899), and Carl C. Jeremiassen (1847-1901)—had passed away in 1897, 1899, and 1901, respectively. However, the magazine still featured contributions from early pioneers like Henry M. McCandliss (1859-1931), the first medical missionary sent by the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to Hainan, and Frank P. Gilman (1853-1918), the first evangelical missionary. As a result, the retrospective articles on the introduction and establishment of Christianity in late Qing Hainan were often written by them or their colleagues.

According to the author’s statistics, Henry M. McCandliss had 14 articles published in the “Hainan News Letter” under his name. The majority of his articles were used to introduce the latest developments of the Hoihow Hospital, which he oversaw. One of his articles in 1920 recalled the difficulties he had finding accommodation when he first arrived in Hainan in 1885, as well as the construction of modern church buildings

9 “Editorial,” *Hainan News Letter*, December 1912, p. 1.

10 “New Notes,” *Hainan News Letter*, Spring 1934, p. 2.

by the missionaries in Qiongzhou, Hoihow, Nodoo, and Kachek.¹¹ Frank P. Gilman, who passed away in 1918, contributed two articles, both published in the July 1918 issue of the "Hainan News Letter". The first article was Gilman's recollection of Carl C. Jeremiassen's establishment of the Nodoo preaching station.¹² The other article described the visit to the Leizhou Peninsula of three missionaries from the Hainan Mission, two evangelists, a local doctor, and three women preachers.¹³ It is worth noting that in addition to Hainan Island, the Leizhou Peninsula had always been part of the missionary territory of the American Presbyterian Mission, until the missionaries completely withdrew from Hainan.

Secondly, the "Hainan News Letter" primarily published news about the three main preaching stations established and long-held by the American Presbyterian missionaries on Hainan Island. For example, in the first issue of Volume 1 (September 1912) of the "Hainan News Letter", aside from the opening editorial, the four columns were dedicated to the Nodoo Station, the Kiungchow Station, the Kachek Station, and Personal News. The station columns reported not only on the progress of the churches, schools, and medical work in each station, but also local news from the station locations. The Personal News column was shorter, covering matters like missionaries' vacations and marriages. Although the sections in subsequent issues continued to evolve and change, the overall focus remained on the missionary activities of the three main preaching stations.

Each of the three main preaching stations established a church hospital, and the "Hainan News Letter" frequently listed the number of patients at these hospitals. For example, in 1913-1914, there were 10,996 outpatients and 721 inpatients at Hoihow Hospital, 6,200 outpatients and 212 inpatients at Kachek Hospital, and 3,621 outpatients and 105 inpatients at Nodoo Hospital.¹⁴ These statistics visually demonstrated the achievements of the medical missionaries' work to the readers. Additionally, the Kachek Hospital and Nodoo Hospital were named after their American donors, as the "Kilborn Hospital" and "Mary Henry Hospital" respectively, reflecting the missionaries' gratitude.

The last three issues of the "Hainan News Letter" were the Christmas 1947, Christmas 1948 and Christmas 1949 issues. These issues described how some missionaries who returned to Hainan after the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression were involved in refugee relief, cooperation with Chinese Christians, and revitalization of the church's ministries. At the end of each issue, there was a "Scope of our activities", which recorded the number of patients in the church hospital, the number of students in the church school, and the number of lepers visited by the missionaries, among other practical data.

Thirdly, the magazine recorded the diverse living conditions and various demands of the missionaries in Hainan. Unlike the formal annual mission meeting minutes, the "Hainan News Letter" contained not just serious work reports, but also direct expressions of the missionaries' personal sentiments. These expressions could include the missionaries' enthusiasm for their work, such as David H. Thomas' reflection in 1919 on living in Hainan for a year: "We have not always been able to keep away the blues nor the pangs of homesickness, but

11 Henry M. McCandliss, "Contrasts," *Hainan News Letter*, July 1920, pp. 26-28.

12 Frank P. Gilman, "The Opening of Nodoo Station," *Hainan News Letter*, July 1918, pp. 2-3.

13 Frank P. Gilman, "Luichow Evangelism," *Hainan News Letter*, July 1918, pp. 13-14.

14 "1913-1914, Hospital Statistics," *Hainan News Letter*, December 1914, p. 7.

still we have had no desire to trade places with our friends in other lands.”¹⁵ The magazine also reflected the missionaries’ contemplations when facing challenges, such as D. S. Tappan’s 1926 statement regarding the rising tide of Chinese nationalism in the 1920s: “Putting responsibility on the Chinese Christians gives them prestige in the eyes of their fellows and should bring the day nearer when the church will become truly, self propagating, self supporting and self governing. With this purpose we are determined to help make this plan succeed.”¹⁶ Through the diverse perspectives of different missionaries, readers could better understand the emotions and thoughts of the missionaries, enhancing the readers’ comprehension and empathy for the individual lives of the missionaries.

Given the differences in the missionaries’ educational backgrounds, personalities, lengths of residence, and work locations, these factors influenced their feelings and experiences, which were then reflected in their written accounts. This diversity made the “Hainan News Letter” a medium that captured the individual differences and multifarious experiences of the missionaries, providing invaluable primary source material for the study of the history of Christianity in China.

Fourthly, the articles the “Hainan News Letter” show that the missionaries were deeply concerned about the development of Chinese Christians in Hainan. The front page of the first issue of the magazine describes the ordination of the first Chinese pastor in Hainan, “Mr. Deng Tui Vang was ordained and installed pastor of the first Presbyterian church in Hainan on June 22nd. It was the first organized church and now is the first to call a pastor, at a salary of \$240 Mex. per year. It was a solemn occasion and people came many miles to see the ceremony. Eight foreign clergymen laid their hands on Mr. Vang’s head, thus welcoming him into the Presbytery.”¹⁷ It shows that the missionaries realized early on the important role that local preachers played in spreading Christianity and in the local churches, and viewed them as an important part of the promotion of the churches, and showcased and publicized their achievements through the “Hainan News Letter”.

It is worth mentioning that in the Autumn 1931 special edition commemorating the 50th anniversary of the mission in Hainan, six photographs of local pastors were specifically featured. These included Li Eng-Hoa from Nodoo Church, Tsiu Ti-Koang from Hoihow Church, Vang Deng-Tin from Nodoo Church, Fu Vun-Khai from Limko Church, Ngou Ngi-Tin from Kachek Church, and Bang Hoang-Tin, from Vangneng Church. These were among the first local pastors ordained by the missionaries, and represented the pioneering local church leaders in Hainan.

Fifthly, another feature of the magazine is that the “Hainan News Letter” published many articles on the missionaries’ work among the Loi and Miao ethnic minority areas of Hainan Island. Since Carl C. Jeremiassen set foot on Hainan Island in 1881, the focus of the American Presbyterian missionaries has not been limited to the Han Chinese; instead, they directed their attention to the Loi and Miao communities. Overall, the missionaries portrayed an impression of a Loi and Miao community that wished to convert to Christianity in a proactive manner. The main reason for this, they believed, was that the Loi and Miao populations were less

15 David H. Thomas, “In Retrospect,” *Hainan News Letter*, November 1919, p. 13.

16 David S. Tappan, “Chinese Church Given New Responsibility,” *Hainan News Letter*, Fall 1926, p. 34.

17 “Nodoo Station,” *Hainan News Letter*, September 1912, p. 1.

influenced by Confucianism and Taoism, and that there were great prospects for missionary work among them. Additionally, the missionaries expressed a strong emotional bias towards the Li and Miao peoples, as exemplified by D. S. Tappan’s 1918 praise of the Miao as “The Miaos are a very honest and industrious people, loving peace.”¹⁸

In summary, the above outlines the basic content and characteristics of the “Hainan News Letter”. Of course, in addition to the textual information, the magazine also published a large number of photographs, especially those image of missionaries with Chinese people, group photographs of missionaries, photographs of Christian hospitals, schools, and churches at various stages, photographs of daily life of Hainanese people, etc. These valuable photographic materials are to be further interpreted and explored.

III. Beyond Religion: The Historical Value of the “Hainan News Letter” for the Study of Hainan Local History

In the “Introduction” he wrote for the series “Collection of Modern Christian Historical Materials” published by the National Library of China Publishing House, Tao Feiya fully acknowledged the research value of the “Hainan News Letter” beyond its religious content. He said: “The magazine also describes the explosive political events of the 1920s and 1930s, the upsurge of nationalism, the impact of the revolution on Hainan and the Church, and the ebb and flow of nationalist and communist forces in the region. The magazine also recounts the explosive political events of the 1920s and 1930s, the upsurge of nationalism, the Hainan student resistance movement, the impact of the revolution on Hainan and the Church, and the growing power of the Communists and the Kuomintang in Hainan. The magazines lamented the brutality of the Nationalists in shooting the Communists. They also heartily praised Soong Mei-ling. The magazines also reported on the development of Hainan’s economy and the impact of Western technology on Hainan. This information is uniquely valuable for the study of Hainan during this period.”¹⁹ Undoubtedly, for the “Hainan News Letter”, which has a large variety of contents and has existed for a long time, in addition to documenting the missionary activities of the American Presbyterian Mission in Hainan, it is also an important source of corroboration and documentary supplement for the study of Hainan’s local history.

On the cover of the Christmas 1925 issue of the “Hainan News Letter”, the eight Chinese characters “来函照录，据事直书” appeared, indicating that the missionaries actively emphasized the truthfulness and objectivity of the articles published in the magazine. Taking this issue as an example, the articles covered various topics, including the political situation, the bandit problem, as well as changes in diplomacy and transportation. In his article “The Present Political Situation”, David S. Tappan mentioned the serious bandit problem in Hainan in 1925, stating that “The robbers are on the increase and every district is full of them. Soldiers mutiny and turn robbers or else robbers change their coats and become soldiers overnight. Soldiers are sent to protect villages

¹⁸ David S. Tappan, “A Trip to Several Miao Villages,” *Hainan News Letter*, April 1918, p. 11.

¹⁹ See Xu Haiyan and Tao Feiya, eds., *Compilation of Historical Materials on Modern Christianity*, Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House, 2021, “Introduction,” p. 2.

from robbers and return with pigs, chickens, clothing and put them up for sale.”²⁰ The issue also contained a letter written by Wilbur M. Campbell to the U.S. Secretary of State, gratitude for the U.S. Consul M.M. Hamilton’s successful negotiation with the Chinese government regarding the June 24, 1924 murder of George D. Byers in Kachek, Hainan. Additionally, Mrs. Cora B. Salsbury described the changes in transportation on Hainan Island over the past decade - from traditional sedan chairs, wheelbarrows and horseback riding, to the gradual prevalence of automobiles. She remarked, “The progress has been so rapid that we can hardly believe our eyes when we see people coming from Kachek in 5 hours over the same road that it took us 4 days to go eleven years ago.”²¹ It is evident that in addition to reporting on missionary activities, the missionaries also contributed many articles to the “Hainan News Letter” that introduced various aspects of Hainan society.

The personal interactions of the missionaries during their itinerant preaching, as well as their practice-based observations, allowed them to provide more detailed and concrete descriptions of Hainan society. For instance, in 1918, medical missionary Clarence G. Salsbury stated: “Perhaps the most effective way to teach hygiene is through slides and lectures, as well as by offering comprehensive courses on the subject for students in schools. These students come from many villages and towns, and the principles thoroughly instilled in them will eventually yield results.”²² The “Hainan News Letter” contains numerous other records of missionaries’ observations on sanitation issues in Hainan, particularly regarding the outbreaks of plague, cholera, smallpox, and leprosy. These records provide an alternative perspective for studying the development of modern medicine in Hainan.

Although missionary accounts of Hainan’s ethnic minorities were sporadic and focused too much on missionary activities, there were some records of the overall situation of the ethnic minorities, as well as of the interactions between the ethnic minorities and the Han Chinese. David S. Tappan’s account of the Miao people in Hainan is one example. According to David S. Tappan’s records:

The Miao people are not native to Hainan, but have migrated from the province of Kwang-sai. They inhabit the mountainous interior of the island, and build their villages far up on the mountains, above the Loi aborigines. They are true mountain people. They own no land, and their villages built of bamboo and palms are ever being abandoned for locations in virgin soil. The Miaos do not fertilize their fields, but select a tropical forest, cut down and burn off all vegetation and later plant their mountain rice among the charred tree trunks. After a few years these fields become unproductive and are forsaken for newer mountain sides. A village is never older than ten years, and most of them have been settled only five or six years. In addition to rice the Miaos eat the tlesh of the wild boar, deer and smaller animals of the forest, as well as papaya, sago palm, and other mountain tree products. They have no business or trade and do to a great extent live unto themselves. A few Chinese traders enter their villages, selling salt, caps, cloth, clothing, shoes, mirrors and knives, and buying dear skins, horns and bones.²³

20 David S. Tappan, “Present Political Situation,” *Hainan News Letter*, Christmas 1925, p. 3.

21 Clarence B. Salsbury, “A Backward Look Over Ten Years,” *Hainan News Letter*, Christmas 1925, pp. 24-25.

22 Clarence G. Salsbury, “Sanitation for Chinese,” *Hainan News Letter*, July 1918, p. 4.

23 David S. Tappan, “A Trip to Several Miao Villages,” *Hainan News Letter*, April 1918, p. 11.

The above text shows the traditional and primitive way of life, economic activities, and commercial interactions between the Miao people and the Han Chinese on Hainan Island at the time. The missionaries’ records can provide important reference materials for studying the history and culture of the Han and ethnic minority groups on Hainan Island.

In addition to descriptions of the local population, the missionaries also focused on visiting overseas Chinese and foreigners in Hainan. For example, the Spring 1935 issue of the “Hainan News Letter” published a photograph of Aw Boon Haw (Hu Wenhu), a Singaporean Chinese merchant, with missionary John F. Steiner and others, noting that Aw had donated \$20,000 to the Kiungchow Leper Hospital.²⁴ Furthermore, the Christmas 1948 issue featured a photograph of U.S. Ambassador to China John Leighton Stuart visiting the Kiungchow Church School (Qiongshan Private Pijin Middle School).²⁵ These photographs hold important reference value for the study of the history of cultural exchange between China and the West on Hainan Island in modern times.

Certainly, while acknowledging the value of the “Hainan News Letter”, it must be pointed out that the missionaries’ records of Hainan are inevitably subject to inaccuracies and cognitive limitations. Therefore, when using this English-language magazine as a source, a critical mindset is necessary, and one should avoid treating the missionaries’ perspectives as the sole accurate representation.

Conclusion

Compared to the English publication “the Chinese Recorder” founded by missionaries in China, the “Hainan News Letter” did not transcend the limitations of a local and denominational publication. As a regional magazine established by American Presbyterian missionaries in Hainan, the “Hainan News Letter” primarily reported on the development of the American Presbyterian missionary work in Hainan, and paid little attention to the situations in other regions and denominations. However, from another perspective, this “confinement to local facts” may actually be more beneficial for researchers to understand the local experiences of the spread of Christianity in Hainan from the viewpoint of local social and cultural history.

Furthermore, the history of the spread of modern Christianity in Hainan is primarily the history of the activities of the American Presbyterian missionaries and their local converts in Hainan. Therefore, the “Hainan News Letter”, as a magazine founded by the American Presbyterian missionaries, is undoubtedly an indispensable historical resource for studying the history of Christianity in Hainan and the regional history of Hainan. However, it should still be noted that the primary purpose of establishing this magazine was to seek financial and personnel support from American mission boards and fellow believers for the missionary work in Hainan. In order to achieve this goal, the missionaries may have “exaggerated their achievements” in their reporting, which should be a point of caution for all researchers using the “Hainan News Letter” as a source.

²⁴ *Hainan News Letter*, Spring 1935, p. 17.

²⁵ *Hainan News Letter*, Christmas 1948, p. 2.

中文题目：美国传教士的跨文化观察——以《海南通讯》（Hainan News Letter）为中心

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提要：《海南通讯》（Hainan News Letter）是民国时期一份由美国长老会传教士创办的英文杂志。该杂志作为美国传教士在海南岛进行传教活动期间的跨文化观察记录，不仅详尽记录了美国长老会传教士在当地的生活状态和传教工作的进展情况，而且深刻反映了他们对于海南地区独特的风俗习惯、宗教信仰和社会变革的观察与思考。《海南通讯》的读者群体既面向在华工作的其他传教士，也面向美国国内的读者，这使得该杂志成为连接中美两地信息交流的重要桥梁。同时，这一杂志也为国内外学者研究这一特定历史时期中外文化交流提供了珍贵的第一手资料。

关键词：海南 基督教 差会 长老会

Christians from Zeng Guofan's Confucian Clan

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Abstract: Hunan was renowned for its anti-Christian sentiment during the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China. Zeng Guofan, a notable figure from Xiangxiang, earned his reputation as a minister of revival for suppressing the Taiping Rebellion, which controversially used the banner of Christianity. However, his handling of the Tianjin Incident tarnished his reputation. Zeng's aversion to Christianity was not entirely passed down within his family, one of the most influential Confucian families at the time. After the Xinhai Revolution, several of his descendants converted to Christianity, taking it as a means for self-salvation and national redemption. They hoped to fulfill Zeng Guofan's dream of national rejuvenation by embracing and spreading Western learning and Christianity. This study of their religious choices may help clarify the perceived strengths and weaknesses of Confucianism in their minds.

Keywords: Zeng Guofan's clan, Conversion from Confucianism to Christianity, Self-salvation and national redemption, Strengths and weaknesses of Confucianism

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On the missionary map of modern China, Hunan was a province that filled the missionaries with both anxiety and contradictions. On one hand, the people of Hunan played a leading role¹ in the Westernization Movement and the Hundred Days' Reform (Wu Shu Reform), demonstrating their progressive and pragmatic revolutionary character. On the other hand, the Hunan gentry in the relatively isolated and backward environment were often considered by the missionaries as the most conservative and xenophobic group. Indeed, the intellectual elite of Hunan, deeply influenced by the teachings of Wang Fuzhi (王夫之) in ideology and culture, had a special and tenacious resistance to foreign invasive forces and were referred to by the missionaries as the "iron gate city."² From "Hunan Province's Joint Proclamation" published by the local gentry in Changsha,

1 According to the textual research, Zeng Guofan from Xiangxiang, Hunan, was the first to propose the idea of learning foreign science and technology and initiating modern military industry, which was called the Westernization Movement. 朱东安 Zhu Dongan 《曾国藩传》Zeng Guofan Zhuan [Zeng Guofan's Autobiography], (成都 Chengdu: 四川人民出版社 Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe [Sichuan People's Publishing House], 1985), 316.

2 刘洪洪 Liu Honghong, 《周汉反洋教案述论》[C]// Zhouhan fanyang jia'an shulun [C]// [Zhou Han's Anti-Foreign Religious Teaching Case] [C]//, (四川近代教案史研究会 Sichuan jindai jia'anshi yanjiuhui [Sichuan Contemporary Religious Teaching History Research Association], 四川省哲学社会科学联合会 Sichuansheng zhexue kexue lianhehui [Sichuan Provincial Philosophy and Social Sciences Federation], 近代中国教案研究 Jindai zhongguo jia'aoan

Hengzhou, and other places in the early 1860s, to "Exposing the Evil Reality" published later by Cui Jian (崔 暕), known as the "most heartbroken person in the world," and then to the anti-foreign teaching posters by Zhou Han (周汉) that triggered a storm across the Yangtze River basin and lasted for several years,³ all these made both the Christian Church and the Qing government, which sought to calm the situation, extremely uneasy. However, it was in such a "troublesome place" that the two famous families - the Xiangxiang Zeng (曾) family and the Hengshan Nie (聂) family, which had always been Confucians - produced a few "traitors to their ancestors" who chose to convert to Christianity amidst the rapidly changing historical trends.

Families played a pivotal role in traditional Chinese social structure and life⁴, a fact indisputable and widely acknowledged common knowledge. Setting that aside, focusing solely on aspects relevant to the topic of this paper, the attitude of an important figure within a family towards a certain religion often tends to pass down through generations. However, this norm during stable times can change when society undergoes significant upheaval due to the family, like the larger system of the nation, facing pressures of change when its functions atrophy or fall short, and the changes may include the symbolic elements that sustain its social prestige. This paper will primarily take the entanglement and interaction between Zeng Guofan's (曾国藩) clan and Christianity as an example (the relationship between the Nie family and Christianity will be discussed in a separate paper), to explore the following questions: What factors led to the younger generations of Zeng Guofan who was quite averse to Christianity, converting from Confucianism to Christianity? What functional roles and meanings did the Christians within the Zeng family attribute to Christianity?

I. Christianity and Zeng Guofan's Glory and Disgrace

Zeng Guofan (1811–1872) of late Qing Xiangxiang was both a prominent Neo-Confucian official and a leading figure in the revival during the Xianfeng and Tongzhi reigns. In his capacity as a Confucian scholar, he was not only deeply devoted to and meticulously studied Neo-Confucianism, but also endeavored to consistently practice it throughout his official career, especially during his prolonged military service. Moreover, he was dedicated to passing down the orthodox teachings through meticulous family instructions. As a revivalist, his reputation as a minister of revival was closely linked to his significant role in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion waged under the banner of Christianity. Thus, it seemed predestined that he could not have a favorable view towards Christianity. In his "Proclamation Against the Cantonese Bandits" (written in February 1854) composed for the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion who claimed to "crusade against the alien in Heaven's name," Zeng Guofan placed Christianity in an irreconcilable opposition to Confucian orthodoxy, calling for a defense of the orthodox teachings:

yanjiu [Research on Contemporary Chinese Religious Teaching Cases], (成都 Chengdu: 四川省社会科学院出版社 Sichuansheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe [Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences Press], 1987), 374.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 375; Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences* [M], (天津 Tianjin: 天津人民出版社 Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People's Publishing House], 2005), 346.

4 唐德刚 Tang Degang, 《晚清七十年》 *Wanqing qishinian* [Seventy Years of the Late Qing Dynasty], (长沙 Changsha: 岳麓书社 Yuelu Shushe [Yuelu Publishing House], 2006), 415-416.

"Since the times of Tang, Yu, and the Three Dynasties, successive sages have upheld the orthodox teachings and maintained the proper human relationships. The order of ruler and subject, father and son, superior and inferior, respected and humble, has been as orderly as the crown and the shoe, which cannot be inverted. The Cantonese bandits have stolen the ways of foreign barbarians and venerate the religion of the Lord of Heaven. They speak of something called Jesus and a book called the 'New Testament,' discarding thousands of years of Chinese rites, ethics, poetry, books, and canons in one fell swoop. This is not only a great change in our Great Qing but also an unprecedented strange change in the history of orthodox teachings since the beginning of time. Confucius and Mencius would weep bitterly in their graves. How could those who are literate just stand idly by, not thinking of doing something about it? If there are gentlemen who uphold our way and are pained by the rampant spread of the Lord of Heaven's religion in the Central Plains, and who rise in anger to defend our way, we welcome them to the high ranking offices, treating them as distinguished guests."⁵

Here, he referred to the Taiping Rebellion's worship of Catholicism, confusing Catholicism with Protestantism or the Jesus religion, which was a misunderstanding. Regardless of this, his defensive stance for the orthodox teachings and his call to arms indeed generated a broad cultural appeal. It not only mobilized a large number of scholars and peasants to participate in suppressing the rebellion but also instilled a sense of loyalty and righteous indignation in the suppressors, boosting their morale. The rise of the Xiang Army and the fall of the Taiping Rebellion provided a certain opportunity for the so-called revival dreamed of by Zeng Guofan and other literati.

Furthermore, Zeng Guofan's ignorance of Christianity, as mentioned earlier, was later improved through his unavoidable personal dealings with Christian forces. Yet, this increase in knowledge was obtained at the cost of the lives of common people and substantial compensation. According to the records of the renowned British missionary to China, Richard Timothy (李提摩太, 1845–1919), during the "Great Famine of 1877–1878" in Shanxi, Richard brought two thousand liang silver raised through donations and sought an audience with Zeng Guoquan (曾国荃), who was then the governor of Shanxi, hoping to participate in disaster relief efforts and distribute the charitable funds. However, the latter obstructed him in every way. When Richard asked him how to better distribute the relief funds, with a sly glint in his eyes, he said: "There is a Roman Catholic missionary in the city. A few days ago, he came to apply for food for the orphanage he was in charge of. You had better hand over to him the two thousand liang silver for handling." As a Baptist missionary, Richard naturally encountered a refusal when he followed the advice and sought cooperation from the Catholic bishop. Richard attributed Zeng Guoquan's almost provocative actions towards missionaries to the attitude towards Christianity from his elder brother Zeng Guofan, because the latter had once submitted to the court his views on Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, suggesting that these two factions were mutually hostile and would often undermine each other.

5 李瀚章, 编纂 Li Hanzhang, edit, 李鸿章, 校勘 Li Hongzhang, collate, 《足本曾文正公全集》 *Zuben zeng wenzhenggong quanji* [Complete Works of Zeng Wenzhenggong], 第三部卷三文集: 讨粤匪檄[C] *Disanbu juansan wenji: tao yuefei xi* [C] [Collections of Works, Vol. 3, Part 3: Proclamation Against the Cantonese Bandits] [C], (长春 Changchun: 吉林人民出版社 Jilin renmin chubanshe [Jilin People's Publishing House], 1995), 1579.

Therefore, the Chinese government could take advantage of their contradictions and not adopt an aggressive policy towards both.⁶

Zeng Guofan's ability to distinguish between Catholicism and Protestantism, and his knowledge of how to exploit their mutual animosity, stemmed from his personal experience in handling the Tianjin Church Incident. In May of the ninth year of the Tongzhi reign (June 1870), a local ruffian in Tianjin was accused of human trafficking, and the suspect confessed that the case involved a French church. Following an agreement between the Three Ports Trade Commissioner, Chong Hou, and the French Consul in Tianjin, Feng Daye (丰大业, Henri Victor Fontanier), on the twenty-third day of the fifth month (June 21 in the Gregorian calendar), Tianjin County Magistrate Liu Jie (刘杰) brought the criminal, Wu Lanzhen (武兰珍), to the church located at Wanghailou for confrontation. The result confirmed that Wu's confession was inaccurate and there was no evidence to support the claim. The church's Father Xie Fuyin (谢福音 Father Joseph-Marie Chevrier) had also negotiated with Chong Hou (崇厚) on the follow-up handling of the matter. However, at that time, thousands of people had already surrounded the church, and a quarrel and fight broke out between the church personnel and the onlookers. Feng Daye suddenly demanded that Chong Hou send troops to suppress the crowd. During the negotiation, Feng Daye was aggressive and rude, and in a fit of anger, he fired at Chong Hou but missed. Seeing the surging public sentiment outside, Chong Hou, fearing an escalation of the situation, advised Feng Daye not to go out, but Feng Daye rushed out. At this time, Liu Jie also tried to dissuade Feng Daye, who then fired at Liu Jie, injuring a member of Liu Jie's family. The on-looking crowd was enraged and killed Feng Daye and his secretary on the spot⁷. They also killed some nuns, priests and Chinese believers, and set fire to the French consulate, Wanghailou Catholic Church, Ren Ci Tang, as well as four Christian churches run by local British and American missionaries. This was the most deadly incident up to that time, with 20 foreigners killed. After the incident, warships from seven countries, including the UK, the US, France, Germany and Italy, gathered off the coast of Tianjin and Yantai to demonstrate military power. Zeng Guofan, who was the Governor of Zhili, was ordered to go to Tianjin to investigate although he was ill. Under the pressure of the foreign powers, in order to calm the situation, Zeng Guofan, who knew that "if the case was found to be false, the foreigners would be in the right; if the case was found to be true, the foreigners would be in the wrong,"⁸ had no choice but to compromise. In the end, he sentenced 20 ringleaders to death, 25 people to exile. He even sentenced Tianjin Prefecture Magistrate Liu Guangzao (刘光藻) and County Magistrate Liu Jie to be sent to Heilongjiang⁹. The Qing

6 *Ibid.*, Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences [M], 108.

7 “著直隶总督曾国藩迅赴天津与崇厚持平办理该处教案事上谕”Zhu zhili zongdu zeng guofan xunfu Tianjin yu chong hou chiping banli gaichu jiaoran shi shangyu [Imperial edict issued on the 25th day of the 5th lunar month in the 9th year of the Tongzhi reign (June 23, 1870), ordering Zeng Guofan, the Governor of Zhili, to promptly go to Tianjin and handle the religious case there in an impartial manner together with Chong Hou], 中国第一历史档案馆、福建师范大学历史系合编《中国近代史资料丛刊续编-清末教案》Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishixi hebian *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan xubian - qingmo jiaoran* [A continued Compilation of Historical Materials of Contemporary Chinese History - The Late Qing Dynasty Religious Cases], jointly compiled by the First Historical Archives of China and the History Department of Fujian Normal University, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1996), 778 - 779.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 784.

9 The judgment of the Tianjin Prefecture Magistrate and County magistrate was a compromise between the demands of the French and Zeng Guofan's own conscience. It was truly a last resort. Afterward, Zeng Guofan regretted it almost immediately. In his diary entry on the 22nd day of the 6th lunar month in the

government was also forced to pay 460,000 liang silver in compensation. In October, Chong Hou was sent to France to apologize. A weak country has no diplomacy. Zeng Guofan, who sought peace with humiliation, became the focus of public opinion in the country. His handling of the case caused nationwide indignation. His fellow townspeople in Beijing smashed and burned the plaques boasting of his achievements in the Huguang Guild Hall. All of this made the introspective Zeng Guofan feel "ashamed before the divine and embarrassed by public criticism."¹⁰ In March 1872, Zeng Guofan, transferred to be the Governor of Liangjiang after the later stage of handling the case, died in depression in Nanjing.

Upon reviewing the relevant archives, no memorial from Zeng Guofan advocating the use of the contradictions between Catholicism and Protestantism has been found. Instead, it was found that some high-ranking officials, such as Jiangsu Governor Ding Richang (丁日昌), felt that Protestantism was "law-abiding and uncontentious, posing no other threat," while Catholicism, due to "missionaries indiscriminately recruiting followers in large numbers wherever they went,"¹¹ often led to disputes between the people and the church. This is a matter for later discussion and will not be elaborated here. In any case, it seems that the greatest glory and disgrace of Zeng Guofan's life were both related to Christianity. The suppression of the Taiping Rebellion waged under the banner of Christianity earned him great honor, while his handling of the Tianjin Religious Case tarnished his reputation, leading to accusations of favoring foreigners¹² and even charges of selling out the country. Zeng thus endured tremendous pressure. As the saying goes, the Christian religion was both the making and the undoing of him. However, throughout his rise and fall, Christianity was basically the object of his struggle and an inescapable adversary. It seems that a negative attitude towards, or even hatred of, Christianity should have reasonably permeated the blood of the Zeng family through Zeng Guofan. However, the drastic social changes in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century greatly weakened the inheritance of this family attitude. Instead, it even developed in the opposite direction.

II. From Confucian Disciples to Christians: The Conversion of Zeng Guofan's Descendants

The first Christians in the Zeng family were Zeng Baosun(曾宝荪) and Zeng Jirong (曾季融). The former was the granddaughter of Zeng Guofan's youngest son, Zeng Jihong (曾纪鸿), and the latter was Zeng Jihong's fourth son, Guangzhong (广钟), making him Zeng Guofan's grandson.

9th year of the Tongzhi reign (1870), he wrote: "On this day, due to the foreigner's letter demanding that the Prefecture Magistrate and County Magistrate be executed, I memorialized to the throne, requesting that the Prefecture Magistrate and County Magistrate be handed over to the Ministry of Justice for punishment. This is heartless and against my principles, and I feel extremely ashamed and remorseful." 《曾国藩全集 - 日记三》 *Zeng Guofan quanji - riji san* [The Complete Works of Zeng Guofan: Diaries Vol. 3], (长沙 Changsha: 岳麓书社 Yuelu shushe [Yuelu Publishing House], 1989), 1760.

10 《曾胡会谈》 *Zeng hu huitan* [Collection of Talks by Zeng and Hu], 《国闻周报》第六卷 *Guowen zhoubao diliujuan* [Guowen Weekly, Vol. 6], 38.

Ibid., Zeng Guofan's Autobiography, 295.

11 *Ibid.*, A continued Compilation of Historical Materials of Contemporary Chinese History - The Late Qing Dynasty Religious Cases, 910-911.

12 *Ibid.*, Proclamation Against the Cantonese Bandits [C], 271.

Zeng Baosun (1893–1978) was open to Christianity due to the tolerant atmosphere created by her grandmother Guo, her progressive and open father, Zeng Guangjun (曾广钧), and her forward-thinking uncle, Zeng Jirong (also known as Guangzhong, 1875–1923), as well as the direct influence and guidance of Christian insiders.

Zeng Baosun's grandmother, Guo Yun (郭筠), was the first wife of Zeng Jihong. Guo's father, Guo Peilin (郭沛霖 1809–1859), was from Huangshui, Hubei, and became an imperial scholar in the same year as Zeng Guofan. In 1859, he died in a battle against the Taiping Rebellion. Guo Yun received a strict traditional education from a young age. After marrying into the Zeng family in 1865, she continued her studies under Zeng Guofan's guidance, reading books such as the "Thirteen Classics with Commentaries and Sub-commentaries" and the "Imperially Approved Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government."¹³ She was also a cultured poetess with a study named "Yifang Studio." Guo Yun was open-minded and placed great emphasis on the education of her grandchildren, treating boys and girls equally. Under her supervision, Zeng Baosun developed a habit of diligent study from the age of four.

In 1904, her uncle Zeng Jirong, who firmly believed that China needed new knowledge to avert the tragedy of national extinction and thus had great faith in the effectiveness of modern education, took Zeng Baosun to enter the Yanmuoshi Girls' School (a girls' school founded by the Baptist Church) in Shanghai¹⁴, thus ending her homeschooling. She then attended the Shanghai West Gate Wuben Girls' School and the Zhejiang Provincial Normal School for Girls. In the Normal School, Zeng Baosun made significant progress in all subjects. A teacher there, Mr. Chen Boyuan (陈伯原), who was unwilling to see such a "highly talented" student become a primary school teacher after graduation, persuaded Zeng Baosun to transfer to the Feng's Advanced Girls' School run by the Anglican Church in Hangzhou, where he was hired to teach mathematics and science. With the strong support of her uncle and the consent of her father and grandmother, Zeng Baosun entered this church school in early 1909. Due to her hard work and dedication, she was highly valued and respected at the school, serving as a dormitory leader and receiving scholarships. It was also at this school that Zeng Baosun experienced a turning point in her life: her baptism and the opportunity to study in England.

According to Zeng Baosun's later recollections, although she initially admired the spirit of Christianity in its endeavors, she found its missionary methods to be at odds with traditional Chinese thought and thus could not accept Christianity. Her conversion to Christianity was a gradual process, with some dramatic events and individuals playing a significant role in her journey. In the spring of 1910, during her second year at Feng's Advanced Girls' School, a classmate's English exercise book was torn by several pages. After the teacher's inquiry, no one took responsibility. The principal, Ms. Louise Barnes, was requested to announce that if no one confessed by lunchtime, all students would be punished. The school indeed punished each student with an hour of copying from 4pm. At 5pm, a British teacher entered the auditorium (where all students were gathered) and asked the students to line up and walk in the garden for another hour before entering the dining hall. Zeng

13 曾宝荪 Zeng Baosun, 《曾宝荪回忆录》 *Zeng Baosun huiyilu* [Memoirs of Zeng Baosun] [M], (长沙 Changsha: 岳麓书社 Yuelu shushe [Yuelu Publishing House], 1986), 2.

14 *Ibid.*, 19

Baosun, with her rebellious nature, stood up indignantly and refused to go out, and six or seven classmates followed her example. Zeng Baosun was then seen as a troublemaker. She called herself a leader of rebellion, and even published a small newspaper titled "Bamboo Ends and Wood Shavings," which reported on injustices at school and expressed revolutionary views on national affairs. The principal was greatly alarmed and discussed disciplinary measures with the teachers; some suggested expelling Zeng Baosun. Mr. Chen, who had introduced Zeng Baosun to the school, strongly opposed this and wrote to her uncle, Zeng Jirong, to consult. Zeng Jirong, a staunch believer in modern education, persuaded Zeng Baosun, who had left school and returned home, to go back. Zeng Baosun and the seven other students influenced by her returned to school. Principal Barnes kept Zeng Baosun alone in her room, tearfully saying to her, "I know you do not oppose the school; it is the devil in your heart that harms you." She then asked Zeng Baosun to kneel and pray with her. Touched by her sincere and blame-free words, Zeng Baosun agreed to change for good and stopped publishing the newspaper. This incident made Zeng Baosun experience the love of Christians and led her to publicly express her desire to become a catechumen. In addition, the contemplation of the meaning of life and the exploration of the reasons for the weak motherland made Zeng Baosun feel that China needed the spirit of Christian "practice".

If the spirit of Christian practice reflected in the love of Ms. Barnes opened Zeng Baosun's spirituality to Christianity, the behavior of another Christian had a profound impact on Zeng Baosun's decision to convert to Christianity, a spiritual experience similar to the sudden enlightenment in Zen Buddhism. This person was Miss Stuart, a temporary English substitute teacher at Feng's Advanced Girls' School. Her parents had been missionaries in Sichuan. During the Boxer Rebellion, they and her siblings were killed at home, leaving her injured and disabled, becoming a cripple. Originally, she harbored deep hatred for the Chinese due to this unforgivable grudge. However, it is said that she was moved by the Holy Spirit at a conference and let go of her resentment, choosing instead to serve the Chinese. It was after witnessing Miss Stuart's actions that Zeng Baosun decided to embrace Christianity.

Zeng Baosun's ultimate conversion to Christianity was not without internal struggle, with the main pressure coming from the family's Confucian tradition. When listing the difficulties of converting to Christianity, Zeng Baosun wrote:

"First, my family is a Confucian family with thousands of years of history, from Master Zongsheng(宗圣夫子) to the Wenzheng, my grandfather and my father's generation, all are followers of Confucius. Second, my grandmother's father, Guishui's Guo Peilin, died in the defense of Yangzhou against the Taiping Rebellion. My grandmother is a devoted believer in Confucianism, neither believing in Buddhism nor Taoism, no mentioning Christianity. Third, none of our relatives and friends are 'Christian believers'. The fact that a girl in the family believes in Jesus is simply a laughingstock in the village."¹⁵

Here, Zeng Baosun only remembers the family feud with Christianity due to death of her grandmother's father in the battle, seemingly forgetting the humiliation her great-grandfather Zeng Guofan suffered from handling the Tianjin Church Incident with compromise. However, from the three reasons she listed, it can be

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24-28.

seen that the family's Confucian faith tradition caused her a certain degree of identity crisis before her conversion to Christianity. If she had been in a conservative family that stubbornly adhered to traditional beliefs, her journey of faith might have ended there. Interestingly, when she wrote to seek permission from her grandmother and father, expressing her inner distress and arguing that the love and dedication of Christians showed that Christianity was not in conflict with Confucianism and that Christianity could revitalize the country's declining morals, she wanted to become a Christian to save herself and others. The response she received was that her grandmother was not very enthusiastic, while her father was quite willing to consider it. He even mentioned the significant contributions made by the late Ming Dynasty Christian Xu Guangqi in opening schools and benefiting the people. But Zeng Guangjun also asked Zeng Baosun to read Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics," Spencer's "The Study of Sociology," and several simple Buddhist books. Zeng Guangjun's intention in doing so was to present various possibilities for spiritual affiliation to Zeng Baosun, which was actually a test. After Zeng Baosun finished reading these books, she still resolutely chose to be baptized on Christmas Day in 1911 at the Anglican Church in Hangzhou.¹⁶

The following year after her baptism, Ms. Barnes was granted a one-year leave to return to her home country and hoped to take Zeng Baosun abroad for further studies. With the strong support of her uncle Zeng Jirong and her cousin Nie Yuntai (聂云台 named Qijie 其杰, the son of Zeng Guofan's youngest daughter, Zeng Jifen 曾纪芬), Zeng Baosun was able to go. In England, after nearly a year of studying and preparing for exams at two secondary schools, Zeng Baosun was admitted to Nishida College (西田书院) of the University of London in 1913. At that time, Zeng Baosun was not thinking more about her own future nor making a lot of money, but firmly believed in the idea of saving the country through science and hoped to serve her country with science in the future. Therefore, she chose biology as her major, mathematics as her minor. She also selected courses in chemistry and physiology. Due to her hard work and dedication, Zeng Baosun obtained her Bachelor of Science degree from the University of London in July 1916, becoming the first Chinese person to receive this honor at the time. As World War I was in full swing, Zeng Baosun found it difficult to return to China after graduation, so she continued her studies at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At that time, these two universities did not grant degrees to women, so she could only attend lectures and further her education there. She left England in October 1917.

During her studies in England, Zeng Baosun's identification with and knowledge of Christianity grew in tandem. While visiting friends and seeking wisdom, a British Christian said, "We act like Jesus in our daily lives, and that is what makes us Christians." This attitude, which did not emphasize strict adherence to doctrines but focused on the practice of the Christian spirit, greatly influenced Zeng Baosun's subsequent religious life.¹⁷ Ms. Barnes, in order to honor the agreement previously made with the Zeng family, gave up the pension she would have received had she stayed in Hangzhou for another five years. Instead, she decided to accompany Zeng Baosun throughout her studies abroad. This act made Zeng Baosun feel that "this is truly the greatest love and the best example of a Christian who sacrifices herself to save others," and thus she made up her mind to "do the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

Lord's work."¹⁸ She actively participated in religious activities, listened to lectures by Christian leaders, broadened her intellectual horizons, and became more concerned with the relationship between Christianity and social issues. She also deeply felt that social reform was impossible without the spirit of Christianity. She actively participated in the volunteer movement popular among student Christians at the time and preached Christianity in English, speaking about the work and contributions of Christianity in China; at the same time, she addressed current issues, advocating for cooperation among civilized nations of the world: as science advances, the tools of destruction become more sophisticated and deadly. If humanity does not embrace the love of Jesus and the spirit of "all under heaven are brothers" as spoken by Confucius, humanity will commit suicide, and the extinction of culture will inevitably occur. She also visited Timothy Richard several times, who had returned to England on leave from China, and she strongly agreed with his proposal to establish a League of Nations to resolve international disputes¹⁹.

During her studies abroad, Zeng Baosun began planning to establish a girls' school in her hometown of Changsha, Hunan, and received financial and faculty support from her British teachers and friends. In February 1918, after returning to Changsha via Shanghai and Xiangxiang, with the strong support of her father Zeng Guangjun and her uncle Zeng Guangzhong, Zeng Baosun began to prepare for the school. In September, the Yifang Girls' School, named after her grandmother's studio, officially opened in Xiyuan Dragon Residence (西园龙宅). Zeng Baosun served as the principal, her cousin Yuenong (曾约农, who had studied at the University of London and returned to China on the same ship as Zeng Baosun) as the dean of studies, Ms. Barnes as the English teacher, and there were five other teachers. The school was positioned as a university preparatory program and also offered specialized classes in English and mathematics. From 1918 to 1949, Zeng Baosun presided over the Yifang Girls' School. During these 32 years, China was in a state of turmoil and war, and the Yifang Girls' School experienced three closures and three re-openings. However, Zeng Baosun became more determined facing these difficulties and did not surrender to them, dedicating her youth (she remained unmarried), energy and wealth mostly to the cause of women's education in China, cultivating many talents. If it can be said that her personal struggle is a good interpretation of the spirit of Christian love and dedication, it may not be an exaggeration. Her endeavors also received high praise from society, the Republic of China government, and the church. She was elected as a representative to the National Assembly, attended the World Christian Student Federation meetings twice on behalf of Chinese churches, and was invited to give a series of lectures in 12 major cities in China on the relationship between cultural education and Christianity. Since attending these meetings is of great importance to scholars studying Chinese Christianity, it is worthwhile for a short elaboration. In the spring of 1928, during the Easter period, Zeng Baosun attended the World Missionary Conference held in Jerusalem. The Chinese delegation consisted of about 20 people, with Yu Rizhang (余日章) as the chairman and members including Zhao Zichen (赵紫宸), Cheng Jingyi (陈静谥), Wei Zhuomin (韦卓民) and others, all of whom were important leaders of the Chinese church at the time and well-known to scholars studying the history of modern Chinese Christianity. Participating in religious activities and conferences in the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

Holy City, hosted by the already famous Dr. Mott in China, made Zeng Baosun more profoundly realize the necessity of Jesus Christ's love. In December 1938, during the Christmas period, Zeng Baosun attended the World Christian Student Federation meeting at the Christian University in Madras, South India, with colleagues including Zhao Zichen, Liu Tingfang (刘廷芳), Cheng Jingyi and others. Through attending these two conferences, Zeng Baosun realized: first, material civilization cannot be separated from religious morality; and second, a trend in the development of religion is that while missionaries used to see other religions as enemies, they now recognize that extreme materialism is the real enemy of religion²⁰.

After 1949, Zeng Baosun temporarily stayed in Hong Kong and then moved to Taiwan in 1951. In addition to holding some honorary positions, she mainly devoted herself to the organization, protection and publication of the Zeng family's collection of manuscripts and copies, as these documents, which contain true records of modern Chinese history, are treasures of the nation. The arrangements made by Zeng Baosun and Zeng Yuenong for this purpose have received high praise from the academic community. Zeng Baosun passed away in Taiwan on July 27, 1978.

The year Zeng Baosun was baptized into Christianity was an important year in modern Chinese history, as the Double Tenth Revolution (Wuchang Uprising) occurred. At that time, Zhejiang province where she was located quickly responded to the revolution. Her uncle Zeng Jirong led the family members, including Zeng Baosun, to Shanghai for temporary refuge. This dramatic and significant change brought negative impacts on the political and economic status of the once very important Zeng family in late Qing history, which Zeng Baosun referred to as "the family situation has been greatly affected by the revolution."²¹ At this time, Zeng Jirong began to feel a sense of depression and started discussing religion, especially Christianity, with Zeng Baosun, and gradually gained faith. When Zeng Baosun returned to Hangzhou to resume her studies, around the tenth month of the lunar calendar that year, Zeng Jirong was baptized in Shanghai. If we follow this account, the first Christian in the Zeng family should be Zeng Jirong. Regarding the specific time of Zeng Jirong's baptism, Zeng Baosun's recollections offer two versions: one is the aforementioned version of the tenth month of the lunar calendar in the year of the Xinhai Revolution, and the other is the "Christmas Day of the revolutionary year".²² Checking the perpetual calendar, the Christmas Day of the Xinhai year was the sixth day of the eleventh month of the lunar calendar, and the last day of the tenth month of the lunar calendar (the 29th day) was December 19 in the Gregorian calendar. Therefore, there is a slight discrepancy in time between the lunar October version and the "Christmas Day of the revolutionary year" version. If we take the "Christmas Day of the revolutionary year" version as accurate - according to the church's traditional arrangement for baptism times, it is more likely that believers would be baptized on major festivals - Zeng Jirong and Zeng Baosun, uncle and niece, are the first batch of Christians in the Zeng family.

Zeng Jirong was the fifth son of Zeng Guofan's second son Jize (纪泽). He was somewhat of a spoiled child of a prominent family, accustomed to a life of luxury and indulgence. Thanks to the influence of his

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87-89.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 28, 181.

ancestors and father, he held the position of a first-class hereditary official with the special appointment of a junior magistrate. During the First Sino-Japanese War (also known as the Jiawu War), his elder brother Zeng Guangjun had gone to the front to aid Korea, while Zeng Guangzhong also led the Zhong and Shu camps to support him. After the peace negotiations between China and Japan, they were withdrawn. Soon after, Zeng Guangzhong was assigned as a waiting official with the rank of a circuit intendant (补侯道员) in Zhejiang, where he served in Hangzhou, Yuyao and other places for many years until the Xinhai Revolution broke out, forcing him to leave the political arena. According to Zeng Baosun's recollections, the retired Zeng Jirong became quite devout in his Christian faith, having resolutely given up opium before his baptism. After his baptism, he aspired to establish an independent Jesus Church. In 1918, after consulting with Zeng Baosun and Zeng Yuenong, he decided to purchase a piece of land outside the Changsha city gate Liuyangmen(浏阳门). Although the location was extremely inconvenient and was one of the poorest areas in Changsha County, Zeng Jirong insisted on working with the poor there. So he bought the land. With the joint donations from Zeng Jifen (曾纪芬) and other relatives and friends, the construction of the church began in 1921. But Zeng Jirong passed away before its completion. Zeng Baosun mentioned Zeng Jirong multiple times in her memoirs, affectionately referring to him as her uncle, as she admired him for being a pioneer in promoting new education within the Zeng family and for his transformation "from a playboy to an extremely devout Christian; from one who sought pleasure to one who could endure hard work."²³ If he had lived longer, the independent church Zeng Jirong intended to construct might have achieved something significant. There are currently not many other historical materials available regarding Zeng Jirong's religious experiences and activities. Interestingly, we can find traces of Zeng Jirong's religious activities in Timothy Richard's records.

In June 1914, Timothy Richard visited Changsha, which was suffering from severe flooding at the time. After giving a speech on education, "a grandson of Zeng Guofan, Mr. Nie's (referring to Nie Qijie) cousin, about thirty years old, entered the reception room. There were more than fifty people in the reception room. He chatted with everyone and elaborated on the points of my (Timothy Richard's) speech. He was an honest Christian and the head of an independent church."²⁴ Although Richard did not name him, the person he described should be Zeng Jirong. The only discrepancy is that at this time, Zeng Jirong was already in his forties, but in Richard's eyes, the privileged Zeng Jirong appeared younger than the average Chinese; of course, he was also a true Christian. In addition, according to the "Chinese Christian Directory" (Bates' List) by Miner Searle Bates, Zeng Jirong (Guangzhong) was proposed by Cheng Jingyi in 1916 and elected as the leader of the independent church in Changsha.²⁵ Furthermore, according to reports, Zeng Jirong attended a Christian church gathering in Shanghai on January 4, 1921, to welcome Nie Yuntai's return to the country and presided over the prayer.²⁶

²³ *Ibid.*, 181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences [M], 349.

²⁵ 章开沅 Zhang Kaiyuan, 《教会大学与社会转型》*Jiaohui daxue yu shehui zhuanxing* [Church Universities and Social Transformation] [M], (武汉 Wuhan: 湖北教育出版社 Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe [Hubei Education Publishing House], 1998), 472.

²⁶ 《基督教会欢迎聂云台纪》*Jidu jiaohui huanyin nie yuntai ji* [Record of the Christian Church's Welcome to Nie Yuntai]. 《申报》, 民国十年一月四日 *Shenbao*, minguo shinian yiyue siri [Shenbao, January 4, 1921 (the 10th year of the Republic of China)].

The second batch of Christians in the Zeng family should be Zeng Jifen and her son Nie Qijie (聂其杰). Zeng Jifen (1852–1935) was the youngest daughter of Zeng Guofan. She was dearly loved by her father, brothers and sisters from a young age. She followed her tutor Deng Yinjie (邓寅皆) to study and also learned to knit sweaters from her eldest sister-in-law (who had learned this fashionable skill in Europe), as per her father's instructions. At the age of 18 (in 1870), she was betrothed to Nie Jigui (聂缉槩), a person from Hengshan, Hunan, through the matchmaking of Zeng Guoquan. They got married in 1875. Zeng Jifen was well-versed in her father's family rules, was frugal in managing the household, accustomed to hard work, and maintained an open attitude towards new things. For example, she had her two sons, Nie Qichang (聂其昌) and Nie Qijie, learn English from the wife of the missionary John Fryer (傅兰雅). According to her own later recollections, she was baptized in 1915. "In the fourth year of the Republic of China, in the first month, she and her son Qijie and his wife were baptized together at the Methodist Episcopal Church (监理会) on Kunshan Road in Shanghai." Her conversion to Christianity was due to the aforementioned devout Christian, Zeng Jirong. "In March of the year of Gengxu (1910), I sent my daughter Qichun (其纯) to Shanghai to visit my son Qijie and his wife who were ill. My nephew Jirong invited me to Hangzhou, but I could not make it. He often came to enlighten me about the truth of Christianity, and I was deeply enlightened, thus having the intention to embrace it. After returning to Hunan, I often talked about it with my relatives and friends. When I came to Shanghai again in the year of Xinhai, I felt that the world was becoming more chaotic, which was actually due to the moral decay of people's hearts. I believed that to save the confused hearts of people, one should start with loving others as oneself, and thus I became more convinced and dedicated to this belief."²⁷ It should be noted that although her nephew Zeng Jirong's enthusiastic preaching was an important channel for Aunt Zeng Jifen to understand Christianity, the Xinhai Revolution once again became an important background for the members of the Zeng family to convert to Christianity. Of course, Zeng Jifen's understanding and belief in Christianity had its own characteristics, that is, emphasizing enlightenment and focusing on the moral edification of people's hearts and social customs to give Christianity meaning and function. Additionally, it is worth noting that Zeng Jifen had always been a Buddhist believer, and her belief in Christianity had a Buddhist characteristic. In the letter "The Old Lady's Reply to Her American Friend Mrs. Jia," which was dictated by Zeng Jifen herself and drafted by Nie Qijie, she explained the origin of this Buddhist characteristic: "My mother was a devout Buddhist believer, and I was also influenced by her since childhood. After I got married, due to the frequent illnesses of my children, I was also drawn to the Buddhist faith. Buddhism mainly talks about the principle of the connection between the mind and karma, and the suffering and obstacles caused by past karma can also be eliminated by the power of sincere and great kindness, such as abstaining from killing, releasing life, keeping vegetarian, worshipping Buddha, almsgiving, and relieving suffering, etc. I have been following these practices for almost forty years... In recent

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M], 49.

聂其杰 Nie Qijie, 《中国近代史料丛刊-第三辑: 崇德老人纪念册》[C] Zhongguo jindai shiliao congkan disanji: chongde laoren jiniance [C] [Contemporary Chinese Historical Materials Series, Vol. 3: Memorial Volume for the Elderly Who Cherish Virtue] [C]. (台北 Taipei: 文海出版社. Wenhai chubanshe [Wenhai Publishing House], 1967), 337.

years, although I have come to believe in the Creator, I still rely on the doctrine of cause and effect to lay the foundation."²⁸ From Zeng Jifen's own account, it can be seen that Buddhism did not become an obstacle for Chinese people to convert to Christianity as Christians might have imagined. On the contrary, the doctrine of Karma in Buddhism cultivated the foundation for her belief in Christianity (the belief in the Creator). Here, there are two important facts that need to be pointed out and deserve attention. First, when this letter was published (in the "Weekly Publications of Nie Family's Words," the fifth collection, which came out in the autumn of 1928), her son Nie Qijie had already abandoned Christianity for many years and turned to Buddhism. Through a weekly family Buddhist study group, he created a strong atmosphere of refuting Christianity and promoting Buddhism in the Nie family. In the records of the family Buddhist study group published in the "Selected Publications of Nie Family's Words," Zeng Jifen was always one of the attendees. Although she was the main target of her son's persuasion to convert back, she maintained her belief in Christianity in this strong Buddhist atmosphere. Of course, since her belief had a Buddhist characteristic, what she maintained might have a syncretic belief that was both Buddhist and Christian. However, perhaps it was precisely because her belief was a mix of Buddhism and Christianity that she did not feel any hindrance in her religious life in this strong Buddhist atmosphere, which is a unique case worthy of attention for comparative religion scholars and religious dialogue theorists. Second, as Zeng Baosun mentioned, the Zeng family was a Confucian family with thousands of years of history and did not believe in Buddhism or Taoism, but in Zeng Jifen's own account, her mother Lady Ouyang, was a devout Buddhist believer. Zeng Baosun also explained this: "Our family's ancestral instructions do not believe in monks and Taoist priests, but there are a few exceptions. Our family observes four days of vegetarian each year... On these days, everyone in the household abstains from meat, as it is a vow made by the wife of Wenzheng."²⁹ It can be seen that in traditional Chinese society, even within the most orthodox Confucian families, there was still room for other religions, especially Buddhism and Taoism. The reasons for this are the religious aspects of orthodox Confucianism, such as ancestor worship, were mainly used to enhance the interests of the family as a whole, while it pays less attention to individual ultimate concerns, such as the afterlife, personal misfortunes and sufferings, as well as individual anxieties or worries about uncertainties or impermanence, thus leaving ample space for Buddhism, Taoism and other religions.³⁰ Interestingly, upon reviewing Zeng Guofan's diary, we find that the head of this orthodox Confucian family, despite the absence of a Buddhist altar in his home, did have monks read scriptures for him. For example, on the seventh day of the tenth month in the ninth year of the Tongzhi reign (in the lunar calendar), his diary entry reads: "At night, Cao Jingchu(曹镜初) accompanied Shengxing (圣性) Monk for a chat. He gave me the "A Handy Commentary on Shurangama Sutra ". I casually

28 《聂氏家言选刊》第五辑，第181-182页，Nieshi jiayan xuankan [Selected Publications of the Nie Family's Words, Vol. 5, 181-182]. 《民国佛教期刊文献集成 - 补编》83, *Minguo fojiao qikan jicheng - bubian 83* [Supplementary Compilation of Buddhist Periodical Literatures in the Republic of China, Vol. 83], (北京 Beijing: 中国书店 Zhongguo shudian [China Bookstore], 2008), 341-342.

For all subsequent citations of this book, the issue number and page number of the original publication will no longer be indicated. Only the page number in Arabic numerals of *Supplementary Compilation of Buddhist Periodical Literatures in the Republic of China, Vol. 83* will be noted.

29 *Ibid.*, Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M].

30 C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1961), 301-302.

flipped through it but still could not understand it."³¹ It is worth noting that Zeng Guofan's engagement with Buddhism took place at night, instead of in broad daylight. Furthermore, his comprehension of Buddhist teachings seemed to be rather limited.

After Zeng Jifen's conversion to Christianity, her actions were marked by the implementation of Christian values. On New Year's Day in the seventh year of the Republic of China (1918), when Zeng Jifen was over sixty years old, she presided over the establishment of the Nie family's property distribution plan. One particularly notable item was: "Our ancestors have always been generous in giving. When Zhongcheng Gong (中丞公 referring to Nie Jigui – noted by the author) was alive, he donated a considerable amount to charitable causes every year. Since I have recently embraced Christianity and understood universal love, I propose to follow the biblical rule of tithing, setting aside one-tenth as a charity fund. This fund shall never be disposed of in the future. The annual interest shall be used for church and various public welfare donations for disasters such as floods, droughts and plagues. The principal fund shall only be used in extreme necessity, so that the virtuous legacy of our ancestors' kindness can be passed down for a long time."³² It is worth noting that Zeng Jifen integrated the Christian spirit of universal love with the Nie family's tradition of philanthropy without any hindrance. Zeng Jifen's claim that "Zhongcheng Gong donated a large sum to charitable causes every year" was not an exaggeration. According to Timothy Richard's records, in 1894, Zhang Zhidong (张之洞) donated one thousand liang silver to the The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (广学会), which was dedicated to spreading Western science and religion. "A certain Nie, a local official Intendant (道台) from Shandong, sent a donation, albeit a smaller amount... After a few years, when Nie, the local official Intendant, was promoted to the Zhejiang Governor in 1905, through his recommendation, local officials and gentry subscribed to books and periodicals from the The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese worth six hundred liang silver. In 1902, he also sent a donation of one thousand yuan. His wife was the famous daughter of Zeng Guofan."³³ The Intendant in question was undoubtedly Nie Jigui, who had served as the local official Intendant of Shanghai. His philanthropic actions indicate that he was not as distant from Western religion as his father-in-law, the Westernization advocate Zeng Guofan, but rather actively supported the endeavor of The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese. Earlier, Zeng Jifen also took the initiative to donate the Nie family's land on Peikaier Road in Shanghai to the Municipal Council (equivalent to the autonomous municipal government of the concession), which was named Nie Zhongcheng Public School following Western examples,³⁴ and later renamed Jigui Middle School. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, it was renamed Shanghai Shidong High School. According to reports, Zeng Jifen donated land in Shanghai in 1921 to build a church, "for the glory

31 *Ibid.*, Complete Works of Zeng Guofan: Diaries III, p.1790.

32 Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M], 50.

33 *Ibid.*, Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences [M], 203.

The amount of the donation with a relatively smaller quantity was 100 silver dollars. At that time, Nie Jigui served as the Chief Financial Commissioner of Shandong Province. 王立新 Wang Lixin, 美国传教士与晚清中国现代化 Meiguo chuanjiaoshi yu wanqing zhongguo xiandaihua [American Missionaries and the Modernization of Late Qing China], (天津 Tianjin: 天津人民出版社 Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People's Publishing House], 1997), 353.

34 *Ibid.*, Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M], 51.

of the Lord."³⁵ All of these actions demonstrate that the spirit of Christian universal love was fully embodied in Zeng Jifen's life. She, like her nephew Zeng Jirong, was a true Christian, albeit with a slightly different significance.

Nie Qijie, who was baptized at the same time as Zeng Jifen, was a person who later abandoned Christianity. Since he left behind numerous writings refuting Christianity and promoting Buddhism, and as he does not strictly belong to the Zeng family, his actions and words will be discussed in a separate paper.

In the same generation as Zeng Baosun (the Zhao 昭 generation), there were two more Christians: Zeng Yuenong (Zhaoshan 昭澐) and Zeng Zhaoquan (曾昭权). We can draw this conclusion first and foremost thanks to the records of their cousin, the apostate Nie Qijie (Yuntai). In his article "A Record of a Conversation with Zeng Baosun" (signed Yuntai), Nie Qijie wrote: "Baosun, my female cousin, Yuenong and Weimou, my male cousins, sacrificed their assets and gave up family happiness, dedicating all their energy to running schools. Their noble aspirations and pure character are rare in society. However, they are attached to Western religion and teach it to their students, which I deeply regret."³⁶ In this article, Nie Qijie also contrasted the Confucian tradition of Wenzheng (the ancestor's teachings) with Christianity, hoping that the younger generations of the Zeng family including Zeng Baosun, Zeng Yuenong and Zeng Zhaoquan would follow the teachings of Wenzheng to promote Confucianism,³⁷ while blaming these younger generations for forgetting their ancestors' ways.

Zeng Yuenong (1893–1986) was the grandson of Zeng Jihong and the eldest son of Zeng Guangquan (an adopted son of Zeng Jize). He was born in Beijing and soon after followed his parents to London, England (his father served as an attaché at the Chinese embassy in the UK), where he lived for six years. In 1909, he went to London again to attend secondary school. After graduation, he was admitted to the University of London, majoring in mining and metallurgy. He graduated in 1916 with a Bachelor of Science in Engineering from the University of London and returned to China at the end of the following year on the same ship as Zeng Baosun. In early 1918, Zeng Yuenong and Zeng Baosun returned to their hometown of Fuhou Tang in Hunan. According to Zeng Baosun's recollections, at that time Zeng Yuenong had not yet converted to Christianity, thus he participated in the ancestral worship as usual, while Zeng Baosun, adhering to her religious rules, stood by.³⁸ Since then, Zeng Yuenong always strongly supported Zeng Baosun in her educational endeavors, playing a crucial role in the difficult process of the Yifang Girls' School being closed and reopened three times. In fact, while studying in London, Zeng Baosun and Zeng Yuenong had "made a pact to dedicate themselves to the service of their country and the world, promising to help each other to achieve this goal."³⁹ Zeng Yuenong sincerely kept this promise, remaining unmarried and devoting all his energy to the cause of education in China. After settling in Taiwan in 1951, he was appointed as a professor in the Department of Foreign Languages at National Taiwan University. In 1955, Zeng Yuenong became the founding president of Tunghai University. This

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Record of the Christian Church's Welcome to Nie Yuntai.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Supplementary Compilation of Buddhist Periodical Literatures in the Republic of China, Vol. 83, p. 405.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.408.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M], 69.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

appointment was quite interesting. According to Zeng Baosun's records, when the founder of Time Magazine, Mr. H. Luce, had his sister, Mrs. Moore, donate funds to establish Tunghai University and was in need of an appropriate president, the board of trustees (of which Zeng Baosun was a member) invited several individuals associated with Chinese church schools and who were also Christians to meet with Mrs. Moore, intending for her to select a suitable candidate for the presidency. Each attendee expressed their views on Christian higher education, and although Zeng Yuenong had no affiliation with any church and Zeng Baosun did not recommend him, and despite Zeng Yuenong being an unbaptized Christian, his policy proposals were praised by Mrs. Moore. He was then invited to serve as the founding president of Tunghai University.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that Zeng Baosun mentioned again that Zeng Yuenong was unbaptized but still considered him a Christian. Some scholars, based on Zeng Baosun's statement that Zeng Yuenong was an "unbaptized Christian," have concluded that he was not a Christian,⁴¹ which is a misunderstanding. This is because there are people around the world who, although have not been baptized and have no church affiliation, are recognized as Christians due to their belief in and practice of the core doctrines of Christianity, and they also consider themselves as such. Furthermore, considering Nie Qijie's criticism that Zeng Yuenong and others were "attached to Western religion and taught it to their students," it is evident that his Christian identity was acknowledged not only by his close Christian friend Zeng Baosun but also by those who were against Christianity. The discussion on cultural Christians in the Chinese academic community in recent years may help us identify Zeng Yuenong's Christian identity.⁴² In addition, Zeng Yuenong is listed in the "Chinese Christian Directory" compiled by Bates,⁴³ which is credible as the result of multiple verifications. According to Lin Jingyuan's (林景渊) account, in his later years, Zeng Yuenong frequently attended church testimonial activities in Taiwan,⁴⁴ further demonstrating his sincere faith.

Nie Qijie mentioned another individual "attached to Western religion," Zeng Zhaoquan (1894–1976), styled Weimou (威谋), who was the eldest son of Zeng Guangzhong. He was among the first group of students sent to the United States with indemnity funds from the Boxer Protocol. After graduating from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he served as the chief engineer of the Western Hills New Plant of the Beijing Electric Light Company and later became a professor and head of the Electrical Engineering Department at Hunan University after the founding of the People's Republic of China.⁴⁵ Information on his religious life and working as a Christian is currently very limited. Here he is identified as a Christian based on Nie Qijie's records.

Many descendants of Zeng Guofan have followed the tradition of farming and reading, with a strong emphasis on education, and a significant number have studied abroad. The subsequent "Xian" (宪) generation has

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴¹ 成晓军 Cheng Xiaojun, 《曾国藩家族》[M], *Zeng Guofan jiazu* [M], [The Zeng Family] [M], (重庆 Chongqing: 重庆出版社 Chongqing chubanshe [Chongqing Publishing House], 2006), 210.

⁴² 汉语基督教文化研究所 Hanyu jidujiao wenhua yanjiusuo [Chinese Christian Culture Research Institute], 文化基督徒：现象与争论[C] *Wenhua jidutu: xianxiang yu zhenglun* [Cultural Christians: Phenomena and Controversies] [C], (香港 Hong Kong: 汉语基督教文化研究所 Hanyu jidujiao wenhua yanjiusuo [Chinese Christian Culture Research Institute], 1997).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Church Universities and Social Transformation] [M], 466.

⁴⁴ 林景渊 Lin Jingyuan, 《曾约农先生言论集》[C] *Zeng yuenong xiansheng yanlunji* [Collected Speeches of Mr. Zeng Yuenong] [C], (台北 Taipei: 台湾商务印书馆 Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan [Taiwan Commercial Press], 1970), 173.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, The Zeng Family, 238.

also produced many talented individuals. Whether there are more Christians among them will be a subject of my continued attention in the future. The discussion in this paper is limited to the "Zhao" generation, as they are closer in time to Zeng Guofan and have a more direct and profound understanding of the family's academic tradition. Therefore, they may offer more insights to contemporary researchers studying the process of conversion from Confucianism to Christianity among some Chinese Christians, as well as the characteristics and qualities of their religious life.

Conclusion

From the practice of vegetarianism by Zeng Guofan's wife, Lady Ouyang, to Zeng Guofan's own engagement with Buddhist monk in his later years, it is evident that even within a family that has upheld Confucianism for thousands of years, the lack of sufficient and profound attention to ultimate questions within the Confucianism itself necessitates a certain degree of openness to other religions outside of orthodox Confucianism. The ultimate religious affiliation chosen by the family members is often closely related to social changes and personal life experiences. We observe that Zeng Baosun, one of the first Christians in the Zeng family, when reflecting on her and her uncle Zeng Jirong's journey of conversion, consciously regarded the Xinhai Revolution as an important context for their transition from Confucian disciples to Christians. Indeed, the establishment of the Republic, the spread of republican ideas, and the principle of freedom of belief enshrined in the provisional constitution all led to the loss of Confucianism's status as the official national religion and the decline of the Zeng family's once prominent political and economic standing. We cannot simplistically conclude, with a vulgar compensatory perspective, that Zeng Baosun, Zeng Jirong and others converted to Christianity to seek protection and benefits like the "rice Christians" of the time. However, the Xinhai Revolution, as a monumental change, indeed made Zeng Baosun painfully aware of the significant impact on her family's situation and also made Zeng Jirong feel a sense of depression (or loss) amidst the transition from old to new. It further led the second batch of Christians, such as Zeng Jifen, deeply feel that "the world is becoming more chaotic." All of these factors created a sense of life crisis that many experience during their journey of conversion. A crisis is also an opportunity. When the door of faith for Christians opened to Zeng Baosun, the attitude of her fathers' generation, especially Zeng Guangjun's attitude, which is crucial in a traditional family dominated by patriarchy, provided a convenient gateway for such an opportunity. According to Zeng Baosun's recollections, Zeng Guangjun was extremely progressive, and his three major supports for her were something she was grateful for throughout her life: not allowing foot binding, not arranging a marriage for her in her childhood, and permitting her to embrace Christianity and study abroad.⁴⁶ As the eldest brother, Zeng Guangjun's open-mindedness likely played a facilitating role in his brother Zeng Jirong's conversion to Christianity. It should be noted that Zeng Guangjun "showed extraordinary talent from a young age and was known as a child prodigy."⁴⁷ He was likely a Buddhist in terms of his beliefs. His cousin Nie Qijie addressed him

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Memoirs of Zeng Baosun [M], 178, 13.

⁴⁷ 刘声木 Liu Shengmu, 苕楚斋随笔续笔三笔四笔五笔 *Changchuzhai suibi xubi sanbi sibi wubi* [M], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju

as Huantian(环天) Lay Buddhist (Zeng Guangjun wrote Poetry Collection of Huantian Studio), and they discussed the methods of Buddhist learning and cultivation.⁴⁸ However, he believed that Christianity "takes 'justification by faith' as its religious tenet, and it also seems to have its wonderful functions and advantages," which led to fierce criticism from Nie Qijie,⁴⁹ who had apostatized. It can be seen from this that Zeng Guangjun's open-minded attitude was by no means the kind of "anything goes" attitude of traditional Confucianism, but a healthy attitude with principles. The attitude of Zeng Guangjun, who was the head of a Confucian family, was an important factor in enabling Zeng Baosun did not stop at admiring the Tao (慕道). The active actions of missionaries and Christians such as Ms. Barnes and Ms. Stuart as well as their practice and dedication to the Christian spirit of universal love, although they might have been accidental events in Zeng Baosun's life, were the crucial impetus for her to take the final step in her conversion journey. Zeng Jirong, an elder influenced by Zeng Baosun, was enthusiastic about missionary work,⁵⁰ which further influenced Zeng Jifen. Thus, in an orthodox Confucian family, there emerged a bottom-up (from younger generations to elders) spreading of Christianity within the family. Obviously, this kind of effect definitely did not conform to Zeng Guofan's original vision for the spiritual tradition of his family.⁵¹

Nevertheless, Zeng Guofan's dream of self-strengthening through Westernization was infused into the blood of his descendants. We observe that many of Zeng Guofan's descendants who studied abroad focused on natural sciences. This was because they mostly hold the grand ambition of saving the country through science, which was essentially no different from their ancestor Zeng Guofan's dream of learning from the West to enrich and strengthen the nation. The difference was that the descendants of the Zeng family did not oppose Western learning and Western religion; on the contrary, they believed that Western religion could revitalize China's declining ethos (Zeng Baosun) or save the Chinese people from moral confusion (Zeng Jifen). In other words, in the minds of these converted Christians among the Zeng family, the combination of Western knowledge, science and religion could save China. This salvation plan's effectiveness may be questionable today, but it at least indicates that the main motive for the Zeng family's conversion to Christianity was probably not individual redemption but the redemption of the nation. Although some of them listed saving others and themselves as the goal of their conversion to Christianity, the traditional religious purpose of Christians, which is to be saved from the fires of hell or eternal punishment, was apparently not the fundamental motive for their conversion. Their aim was to integrate Western knowledge, science and religion to serve their own nation. Interestingly, when Zeng Guofan's grandson and apostate, Nie Qijie, explored the family's method of preserving wealth, by

[Zhonghua Book Company], 1998), 595.

48 *Ibid.*, Supplementary Compilation of Buddhist Periodical Literatures in the Republic of China, Vol. 83, p. 378.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 343.

50 Zeng Baosun explicitly stated that her influence led Zeng Jirong to delve into religious issues.

Ibid., Memoirs of Zeng Baosun, p. 181.

51 In April 1870, prior to his departure for Tianjin to deal with the church incident, Zeng Guofan was concerned that the situation might escalate into a major turmoil, potentially endangering his life. Consequently, he penned "A Letter to My Two Sons before Proceeding to Tianjin." In this letter, he exhorted his sons to be free from envy and avarice, to study assiduously, to self-motivate, and to uphold the values of filial piety and fraternal affection. All these teachings were firmly rooted in the core tenets of traditional Confucianism.

Ibid., The Complete Works of Zeng Wenzheng, Vol. 1, p. 38.

comparing several prominent families that rose during the Tongzhi and Guangxu reigns, he concluded that "the family with the least money had the most descendants who were capable of studying and serving society through academia. Among the great-grandchildren of Zeng Wenzheng, six or seven had graduated from universities at home and abroad, and three had become university professors."⁵² Nie Qijie's perspective on the issue was the method of preserving family wealth in a turbulent society. His views caused a sensation in Shanghai at the time, and were largely accurate. However, the "academia" in "academia serving the society", which the descendants of Zeng Guofan promoted, was an integration of Western learning and Western religion. This was perhaps a fact that the apostate Nie Qijie was unwilling to highlight.

Another point worth noting is that when summarizing his gains from his trip to Changsha in the summer of 1914, missionary Timothy Richard wrote with no small amount of pride: "The most extraordinary experience of my visit to Changsha this time was that the welcome speeches for my arrival were given by two grandsons of the most glorious Chinese person in nearly two hundred years. It was they who pointed out that what I have done in China is no different from what the apostles of Jesus Christ - their source of strength - have done. How wonderful and gratifying this change in Hunan is!"⁵³ According to the context, the most glorious Chinese person in the past two hundred years refers to Zeng Guofan, and the "two grandsons" refer to Zeng Jirong and Nie Qijie. Due to the fact that Westerners do not differentiate between maternal and paternal relatives in terms of kinship (for example, "uncle" can refer to both an uncle and a maternal uncle), Timothy Richard collectively referred to Zeng Jirong and Nie Qijie as Zeng Guofan's grandsons. Timothy Richard, who was shy of claiming to be an apostle, used the words of Zeng Guofan's grandsons here to praise his actions as apostolic. What did the apostles do? Nothing more than saving people's souls and guiding them to repent and believe in Christ. The once admonishing Zeng Guofan, who advised his children to "study diligently, encourage each other, and pursue filial piety and brotherly respect," might never have imagined that his grandchildren and great-grandchildren would follow in the footsteps of Christ's apostles. However, the world changes, and the family's Confucian tradition indeed faced a crisis of succession in the face of the challenging spread of Christianity. Interestingly, the apostate Nie Qijie did not ultimately return to orthodox Confucianism but to Buddhism, or at least a blend of Confucianism and Buddhism. Thus, studying the religious choices of Zeng Guofan's descendants can at least help us reflect rationally on the strengths and weaknesses of Confucianism.

52 聂云台 Nie Yuntai, 《保富法》 *Baofu fa* [The Method of Preserving Wealth] [M] (北京 Beijing: 中国城市出版社 Zhongguo chengshi chubanshe [China Urban Publishing House], 2007), 22.

53 *Ibid.*, Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences [M], 349-350.

中文题目：曾国藩家族的基督徒

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提要：湖南在清朝晚期和民国初期因反基督教情绪而闻名。曾国藩，作为湘乡的名将，以镇压太平天国起义而声名显赫，而太平天国以基督教旗帜为号引发争议。然而，他处理天津事件的方式却使他的声誉受损。曾国藩对基督教的反感并未完全传承至他的家族中，这个家族在当时是最具影响力的儒家家族之一。辛亥革命后，曾国藩的几个后代皈依基督教，将其视为自我救赎和国家振兴的途径。他们希望通过拥抱和传播西方学问和基督教，实现曾国藩的国家复兴梦想。这项关于他们宗教选择的研究有助于澄清他们心中儒学的优缺点。

关键词：曾国藩家族，儒学到基督教的转变，自我救赎与国家振兴，儒学的优缺点

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

在主体与超越之间： 《儒教实义》对儒教的增值性解读

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提要：诞生于 18 世纪初由法国耶稣会士马若瑟所著的《儒教实义》文本，以问答录形式从“天”的超越性维度、伦理主体性中宗教情感结构的置换和礼仪关系中主体宽容态度这三个方面呈现他的释“儒”旨向，最终以“儒教”界定“儒”之性质。如果视耶稣会士之“天”为超越性维度，儒士之“儒”为主体性维度的话，那么马若瑟的释“儒”旨向则处在超越与主体之间：以“天”为思想起点对“儒”作增值性的解读。而正是这种“增值性”塑造了这样一种生存状态：在“天-人”张力中的生存。马若瑟的解读，不仅无形中塑造了一种在“天-人”张力中生存的“儒教徒”，有别于儒家的“天人合一”思想主张，而且还拓深了肇始于利玛窦的“儒学是否宗教”的命题。这在一定程度上深掘了“以耶合儒”思想深度，并对“儒家基督徒”生存状态的呈现留下了一定的思想史意义。

关键词：《儒教实义》；主体性；超越性；马若瑟

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“儒学是否宗教”的争论肇始于利玛窦，从问题的实质上看，该争论实际涉及的是“儒”中究竟是否存在超越者？若有，则是怎样的超越者。很显然，儒学若非宗教，它就缺乏超越者意识，那么耶稣会士的“释儒”旨向便是向儒学引介这种超越者意识；如若儒学为宗教，则“释儒”重心倾向于证明儒-耶中超越者的同一性。可见，无论“儒学是否宗教”的答案如何，超越者问题始终是“释儒”的核心内容。基于此，如果说利玛窦的《天主实义》是在“补儒”意识中进行“释儒”的话，那么到了马若瑟¹的《儒教实义》则是在“增值性”解读中将儒学界定为“儒教”。那么，这种“增值性”解读，究竟落在哪些方面呢？如果这种“增值性”实际为“儒士”所接受，那么在思想和生存方面会产生怎样的影响呢？要回答这些问题，都需要我们重归语境，返回源始文本来分析呈现马若瑟所做的这种“增值性”解读工作。我们的分析认为，马若瑟的“增值性”解读主要表现在三方面：以“主宰性-创造性”释敬天、伦理主体性及宗教情感结构的置换、礼仪关系和主体宽容。

1 法国耶稣会士马若瑟（Joseph-Henry-Marie de Premare）字龙周，以笔名温古子进行写作。1698 年春与白晋（Joachim Bouvet, 1656-1730）和巴多明（Dominique Parrenin, 1665-1741）等人入华传教。本文题目之所以用“增值性”一词，主要考虑到在马若瑟这里，天主教内部对于“儒教”伦理的“置换”并未全面发生，而是部分的，更多的是以一种“增值性”的方式进行有限的解读，这是“释儒”的关键界定。

一、以“主宰性-创造性”释敬天：增值性解读后的“天人”关系

利玛窦是“释儒”的源始者之一。不过与利玛窦相比，马若瑟他“对待中国典籍的态度较利玛窦、白晋等更为温和，其观点较为理性，因此有人在罗马传信部（Propaganda Fide）多次举发他，称其赞成中国礼仪，所撰之书脱离西方教义之主张。致使马若瑟多部著作无一在其生前出版。”²1726年，因为“他在鼓励学习汉籍《易经》的时候，破坏了对《旧约》的崇拜”³，被教廷传信部召回。后来，他又来到中国，并于1736年死于澳门。《儒教实义》⁴是马若瑟所著却并未正式刻印的一本释儒著作。下面我们直接进入《儒教实义》的文本，首先从“敬-天”概念界定谈起。⁵

《儒教实义》（为论述方便，下文均以《实义》代指）是以界定“敬-天”开始的。⁶《实义》指出：

问儒教必有所敬。曰：儒教之所敬有二端焉。其一、通于幽者，上帝也，鬼神也，先人也，先师也。其一、致于明者，君也，亲也，师也，长也，友也。问天。曰：天字本义，从一从大，一大为天。至一而不貳，至大而无对者，天也。⁷

马若瑟指出儒教之“敬”存在二端，一是“幽者”，包括了上帝-鬼神-先人-先师这样一种非现实实存的有次序的对象，这种敬是发生在现实主体与超经验对象之间的；一是“明者”，即“君-亲-师-长-友”这类现实实存的有远近的对象，这种敬是发生在主体间的。可见，这里的“敬”是复合着现实主体与超经验对象及主体间的敬意识。我们知道，“敬”总是指向一种外在对象，且在“敬”中，外在对象对敬者的生存具有一定程度的现实有效性。就此而言，“幽者”（超经验对象）和“明者”（主体间）作为主体的外在对象在主体的“敬”中都对主体的生存具有现实有效性。这种现实有效性，在马若

2 王硕丰（Wang Shuofeng），张西平（Zhang Xiping）：《索隐派与〈儒家实义〉的‘以耶合儒’路线》（pinyin:.....）【原文.....】，《北京行政学院学报》2012年第5期第128页。

3 据荣振华，他把《易经》、《道德经》与基督教三位一体的奥义作了比较。马氏认为《老子》十四章中，“视之不见名曰夷(yi)，听之不闻名曰希(hsi)，搏之不得名曰微(wei)”，这夷希微(Yihsiwei)就是《旧约全书》中的上帝雅赫维(Yahweh)。引自“入华耶稣会士中的道教思想家”，载《明清简入华耶稣会士和中西文化交流》，巴蜀书社，1993，第150页。

4 《儒教实义》并未正式刻印，其抄本原存于梵蒂冈教会图书馆及巴黎国家图书馆，1966年被辑入《中国史学丛书》的《天主教东传文献续编》（第三册）。由于《儒教实义》是以问答的形式，共以108个问题写成。马若瑟假托远设问，醇儒作答，由温古子来记述完成。故使得马若瑟在相关问题的阐述和论证上并不以大致落的纯粹论证出现，而是将此论证置于“问答”之间。所以，需要我们从整个文本对相关问题予以勾连和解释。参阅：刘耘华：《诠释的圆环—明末清初传教士对儒家经典的解释及其本土回应》，北京：北京大学出版社，2005年，第281页。本文所引用的《儒教实义》文本主要出自周振鹤主编：《明清之际西方传教士汉籍丛刊》（第一辑）第3册，南京：凤凰出版社，2013年12月。

5 需要指出的是，本文对《儒教实义》的文本分析，有必要与国内学者刘耘华的研究进行区分。刘教授在其专著《诠释的圆环—明末清初传教士对儒家经典的解释及其本土回应》中辟有一小节对马若瑟的《儒教实义》进行分析，他主要从以下五方面依此展开阐述：（一）关于儒教之性质及其本原、大纲（二）关于“天”的诂释及其相关内涵（三）关于“天”之尊崇敬拜（四）关于儒家伦理与孔子之德（五）关于儒家经典。本文的分析在文本上会有所重复，但在分析进路和指向上却有本质的不同。这种不同，会在相关的文本分析中进一步指出。从根本上看，本文主要从马若瑟所引入的“天-人”张力角度来分析呈现他对“超越者”及“伦理礼仪”的“增值性”解读，这与刘教授纯粹从马若瑟对儒家文本的解读呈现他的基督教立场的分析侧重点有根本性分别。

6 阅读马若瑟的文本时，需要注意的是：马若瑟的治学方式承继自“索隐派”。所谓的索隐派指的是：扼要言之，历史上的“索隐法”（Figurism）肇始并脱胎于圣经研究中的类型学流派，该派主张新旧约间的文本互证，相互诠释，法国耶稣会士从中得以启发便将此法扩延至对中国古籍的诠释上，从而产生了“索隐派”，白晋为其奠基人，马若瑟亦是其中主要成员。这里需要区分索隐主义和索隐派：前者的创始人是白晋、傅圣泽、马若瑟和郭中传，该主义是一套理解和解释中国文化的思想体系。而后者则是对这几位的统称。白晋对索隐派的相关解释，请参考：张国刚等：《明清传教士与欧洲汉学》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，2001年，第192—193页。这一治学方式便成为马若瑟治中国典籍的主导思路。

7 周振鹤主编：《明清之际西方传教士汉籍丛刊》（第一辑）第3册，南京：凤凰出版社，2013年第641-642页。

瑟看来便是儒教“礼”的分殊程度的根据所在。这就有两种“礼序”：一是“祭礼”，主要是实化主体对超经验对象的情感投射；一是“德礼”，以此落实主体间的现实人伦秩序。但是通过马若瑟对“天”的增值性解读，他消抹了儒家这种“敬-礼”的区分性，而凸显了“天”的人格性意涵。在此观照下，天的“人格性”凸显导致“天”具有自行其是的情感结构和思想结构，“祭礼-德礼”不再只是主体单向度对其相应对象的现实实化，而必须恪守“人格性之天”对主体的命令与要求，即其经旨。对此，马若瑟从“苍天非上帝”和“理非上帝”这两面来论证“人格性之天”及其对主体的直接影响：

第一，天乃无所不能的“至大之天”而非苍苍之天。他说“天字本义，从一从大，一大为天。至一而不贰，至大而无对者，天也”。“至一”与“至大”是马若瑟对“天”的界定。他一面大量引用古经文本的文献来证实先圣的上帝信仰，如“考诸古经，《易》曰：‘殷荐之上帝。’《书》曰：‘皇天弗保。’《诗》曰：‘上帝是皇。’（皇字之义，从自，从王，自王为皇。）曰皇，曰天，曰上帝者，皆苍苍所不及也。”等；另一面，他又从“敬天”角度指出儒者在敬天上的一致性：“由宋至今，儒者师经，而上帝之实义存焉。”其论证方式主要对《易》与《书》两大原典中的“上帝”在主宰性、降祸赐福、独尊性作了“索隐式”的比较和理解，这里仅举一两处，在主宰性上，他指出“《易》曰：‘帝出乎震。’胡云峰解云：‘自出震，至成言乎艮，万物生成之序也。然孰生孰成之，必有为之主宰者，故谓之上帝。’”；在降祸赐福上，他认为祸福无常而不定，一切决于上帝，如《书》文曰：“作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃。”虞氏《品字笺》解云：“降祥降殃者谁，倘所谓皇皇上帝非乎？吾人日在监兹之下，不知时加惊惕，以畏天威，且敢以小知私心与帝天角，弗思甚矣。”；在独尊性上，他指出即使像圣人⁸如此道德崇高之人都不能与之相提并论。因为圣人无法超越“始终”的时空范围，但上帝却是无始无终，不受时空限制，同时上帝又是“独有独尊，能造万物，能灭所造”，故乃独一而创造者。故“名者，命也。上帝独尊，孰敢命之？巍巍荡荡，虽圣人犹莫能名焉。非是形而下渺茫无知之气耳。非是囿于气，空空无为之理耳。其神也，一而不二；其体也，纯而不杂；其生也，自实无始；其久也，自实无终；其有也，自圆满而穷矣。大哉皇天，万物资始。至哉上帝，万民资生其无名可名者也。”由此可见，经过马若瑟的解读认为，儒教之“天”非苍苍之天，而是主宰者，能降祸福的超越者，这样的超越者具有“唯一性”，单主体面对这样的超越者时除了绝对接受-聆听之外，容不下任何主体可以自由发挥的空间，近乎丧失绝大部分的主观能动性。主体这样的存在状态与传统儒家中主体在“敬天”中仍保持着较大的主动权的存在状态有着根本的不同。

第二，理非上帝，因为理不具有“创造”之能。但正因为上帝的人格性特点，在“物不能自成”的推理中，上帝的创造之能理所当然。这是对“人格性之天”的创造性之“敬”第二层内涵。马若瑟指出：

朱子曰：“天下之物，莫不有理。既有是物，则其所以为是物，莫不有当然之则，所谓理也。”又曰：“理只是个洁净底世界，无形迹，他不会造作。”观此，可知天地人物，虽各有当然之则所谓理，

8 值得注意的是马若瑟文本中出现“先圣后圣”的说法，与利玛窦、白晋等区分“先儒后儒”的作法有所异同。我们知道，利玛窦在其重要著作《天主实义》中严格区分了“先儒”与“后儒”，并以前者为推举对象，以后者为批评对象，引入回归古典和古儒言说。但马若瑟却是将先圣后圣视为一体，并不作区分和批判。关于“先儒”、“后儒”的区分，详细阐述请参阅：张晓林：《天主实义》与中国学统——文化互动与诠释，上海：学林出版社，2005年。此中的目录中就出现了以“容古儒”、“斥新儒”的标题；孙尚扬：《明末天主教与儒学的互动：一种思想史视角》，北京：宗教文化出版社，2013年；柯毅霖（Gianni Criveller）：《晚明基督论》也指出利玛窦“反对新儒家，支持回归儒家本原”的思想主张（《晚明基督论》，成都：四川人民出版社，1999年，第75页）。

而斯理必不能造之。惟皇上帝，万物之本，万理之原，为能造成之确矣。诸物犹巨室然，夫室者，必其材料，以成其形；又有定则，以为其理。苟无人以造之，则不可得而成。

显然，马若瑟以“造”为界定关键否定了儒家之“理”的本原性存在，而是以“物-理”关系来界定“理”的特性。由于这里的“造”指的是一种“无中生有”的创造性，这是超越者的根本性特征。在“造”之初，人根本不存在，那么，人又何以面对这样的超越者呢？马若瑟强调既要“敬天”，又要“事天”。他认为：诸儒之中，不虑天上永远之福者或有之，惟务瘳二氏，而不究古经故也。若明古经之旨，而不信之者，蔽莫大矣，吾不为是也。究竟或世福、或德福、或天福者，皆是上帝所赐，非祖宗所能致者也。天在这里显然具有“绝对者”的意义。对“绝对者”意义的强调常与宗教性密切相关。如美国著名宗教学者泰勒（Taylor）在其著作中就将儒家的“天”视为绝对者（an absolute）的意义，此时，人与绝对者（天）的关系，以及人朝向绝对者（天）的自我转化过程就构成了儒学宗教性的三个层面。⁹与此同时，他还反对那些将“无宗教性的人文主义”视为儒家之界定的相关解释，认为这种解释是忽视了儒家传统中一贯式的根本特征。”¹⁰以此观之，马若瑟这里所提倡的“敬天一事天”就是关涉到人朝向绝对者（天）的自我转化过程。只不过这里的“敬”乃是具体指向对天的创造性大能，这是马若瑟在天主视域下对“敬天”作的增值性解读。

以上的分析给我们看见，马若瑟通过这种“增值性”解读，消抹了儒家之“天”中的“苍苍之天”（自然天）和“理之天”（理义之天）的成分，而赋以“天”“创造性”和“主宰性”这两大特性，并且将原来的“敬天”的内涵作了增值性解读。在这种“增值性”解读后，“天-人”间的张力关系开始突显。我们知道，在儒家主流思想中，“敬天-敬德”是并存于儒者的生存意识之中，而实现“天-人”合一也是理想诉求所在。换言之，在儒家那里，对天的“敬”最终都要落实在人这一主体性的生存中，即通过主体自身对天的认识-理解和生存活动来实化“敬天-敬德”，最终走向天人合一。可以说这种“合一”的评判者隶属于主体自身。“天”只是作为认识-理解对象，而不参与评判活动，一切都由主体予以落实和判断。

但是马若瑟对“敬天”作了增值解读后，就使得主体面对的“天”乃是一“人格性”强烈之天，具有主宰性和创造性，在这样的“天”面前，主体的能力显得微乎其微，除了以绝对俯首和聆听的姿态面对之外，似乎不太需要主体发挥什么主动性，主体原有的那种“自主性”在这样的“敬天”中丧失其发挥的余地。这种“敬天”已然有了某种“信天”的意蕴。因为，在“信天”中，“信”是一种信任-接受，它要求主体放弃自己的选择判断权，而将其归之于“天”，接受“天”的主宰和带领。由于马若瑟对“天”作了“创造性”和“主宰性”的增值解读，很容易使得主体像处在“信天”状态中那样，将判断主权交给其信任对象“天”，而接受“天”的主宰性和创造性力量。此时，在这样的“敬天”中，“天”作为超越者对主体具有更多的主导性和规范性，而主体作为敬者，自身的主体性则被极大削弱。但问题在于，主体这种的存在状态只是一个作为以这样“人格之天”为信仰对象才可能存在的生存状态，而马若瑟并未在纯粹信仰的意义上给出“信”的界定。这就极容易在儒者的生存中造成这样的一种生存状态：原本崇尚主体性的儒者，在生存中不得不时刻面对另一个具有强大主体性的“天”在主宰性和创造性方面对主体自身的范导性作用。此时，“天”（具有主宰和创造性的主体性）与“人”（儒家

9 Taylor, Rodney L., *The Religious Dimension of Confucianism*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1990.

10 Taylor, Rodney L., *The Religious Dimension of Confucianism*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1990, p.1.

意义上的主体性）之间便是一种极具“张力”状态的生存关系。这一点恐怕是马若瑟在作增值性解读时未能预测到的。

二、伦理的主体性与宗教情感结构的增值性解读

马若瑟所言的“先圣”，他们所处的时代被认为是“轴心期突破期”¹¹，对这一时期的中国文化而言，学界普遍认为是“宗教性向人文性转换期”¹²，故有学者认为“在中国的这一过程里，更多的似乎是认识神与神性的局限性，而更多地趋向此世和‘人间性’，对于它来说，与其说是‘超越的’突破，毋宁说是‘人文’的转向。”¹³对作为开启中西文化交流的重要人物利玛窦而言，他则是从中西文化比较的角度“敏锐地察觉到儒家文化的这种伦理性和一神教的天主教的宗教性差别。”¹⁴就理论本身而言，“先圣”时期的中国文化确实存在着“殷周之变”所内含的“自然宗教信仰”到“人文伦理信仰”的转换，即从“敬天”到“敬德”。¹⁵只是仍保留着原始的天命信仰，还无法达到彻底性的人文伦理。但能够确定的是，这种转变所产生的历史及文化意义便是人的“主体性”地位和作用的上升和突显。那么，马若瑟是如何应对利玛窦所界定的儒家文化与天主教信仰具有宗教性“差别”的伦理性呢？我们看到马若瑟主要从两方面对这一问题作了有别于利玛窦的处理。

首先，对儒家之“仁”赋以“上帝的恩赐”这一增值性内涵。通过这种“增值”，赋予“仁、忠、孝、弟、义、慈、恭”等儒家情感以新的伦理含义。“仁”当然是极具主体性的字，无论是“为仁”还是“仁爱”都由主体性而出。儒家自有“为仁由己”、“我欲仁，斯仁至”等推举主体性等说法，并将此主体性之“仁”视为连接天人之际的关键。由此突显主体性在宇宙中的地位。而我们知道，利玛窦在《天主实义》中给出基督教的爱之界定：“爱上帝”与“爱人如己”，“爱”同样是出自主体的情感。基于此，利氏将此套用进儒家之仁学中，他说“爱天主，为天主无以尚；而为天在主者，爱人如己也。行斯二者，自行全备矣。”¹⁶不过这种套用却忽略了儒家之“仁”之对应性的区分和展开分析。而马若瑟则在问答中扼要的从“五伦关系”的目标、原因、和根源这三面将“上帝的恩赐”作为儒家之“仁”伦理思想的增值成分引入，以此强调基于上帝超越性维度上而有的主体性。¹⁷

他先从《易》中的：“父父子子、兄兄弟弟、夫夫妇妇而家道正，正家而天下定矣。”和《诗》的“妻子好合，兄弟既翕。”以及孔子的“父母其顺矣乎！”，这三大极具有权威性的言辞来指出正确合理的五伦关系是实现“天下定”（仁之目标）的关键。这个目标也正是上帝所喜悦看见的：“倘人人亲亲、长长，而天下平，则上帝大父母之心，其不大悦矣乎？由此而观五伦，其道大矣。”（658页）那么“仁”之能够实现的原因何在呢？马若瑟进一步指出这是“性使之”，他说“盖人之所以忠孝弟义慈

11 卡尔·雅思贝尔斯：《历史的起源与目标》，华夏出版社，1989年第15-16页。

12 黄玉顺：《绝地天通——天地人神的原始本真关系的蜕变》，《哲学动态》，2005年第5期，第8-11页。

13 陈来：《古代宗教与伦理》，北京：三联书店，1996年第4页。

14 张西平：《传教士汉学研究》，郑州：大象出版社，2005年第144页。

15 赵法生：《殷周之际的宗教革命与人文精神》，《文史哲》，2020年第3期第63-77页。

16 [意]利玛窦著，[法]梅谦立注，谭杰校勘：《天主实义》，北京：商务印书馆，2015年第193页。

17 需要注意的是，刘耘华教授在谈到这一方面时，主要从“淡化矛盾而凸显和谐”的角度解释马若瑟的释儒行为。但却忽略了马若瑟这种“增值性”解读实际上是呈现了一种有别于儒家“天人合一”关系的另一种“天人”关系，即“天人”间张力的生存状态。这是马若瑟出于释儒需要及其宗教信仰立场而伴生的无意识性的结果。参阅：刘耘华：《诠释的圆环——明末清初传教士对儒家经典的解释及其本土回应》，北京：北京大学出版社，2005年，第288页。

恭者，非以好好名，非以恶恶声，惟因固有斯理而然。《诗》曰：“民之秉畀，好是懿德。”既有此性，则不得不然。”

显然，概念之“仁”与情感之“仁”是迥然有别的。如果马若瑟这里侧重以情感之“仁”而非概念之“仁”指出说明人之为“仁”的原因在于人内在性的这种为仁情感动力，此动力是直接决定因，而非因名利为仁。那么，这种“情感之仁”又源自何处？马若瑟说：然此性也，果从何而来？《中庸》曰：“天命之谓性。”孟子曰：“知其性，则知天矣。”若然，则君臣而义，父子而恩，夫妇而别，昆弟而序，朋友而信者，乃所以尽性而事天者也。《诗》曰：“不识不知，顺帝之则。”噫！五伦之道大矣哉。在马若瑟看来，《中庸》的“天命”、孟子的“天”和《诗》中的“帝”指的就是天主上帝。即此“仁”乃上帝所恩赐，这种恩赐观与他在另一处所说的“究竟或世福、或德福、或天福者，皆是上帝所赐”是根本性的一致。

其次，马若瑟将基于敬天崇帝意义上的主体性增值进儒家在君臣伦理、孝道伦理中的主体性。我们知道，在马若瑟所处的清中期王朝而言，君臣伦理和孝道伦理乃是“家国”体系中的重要伦理面向，其背后的情感基础乃是“忠孝”情感结构。换言之，在“家国”伦理体系中，基于“忠孝”情感结构而有的主体性是儒家意义上的主体性。此中，该主体乃是在此情感结构中生成相应具体的“忠孝”观，从而进入“忠孝”的生存中。从观念的层级上看，是“忠孝”情感——“忠孝”观念——“忠孝生存”。但源自此观念层级中的主体性，始终需要面临“忠孝难两全”的生存困境。这一困境在历史上比比皆是。我们不知马若瑟是否对此有所觉察，但是他确实想要以“敬天崇帝”之情感结构增值进儒家的“忠孝情感”中，从而开展出另一种意义上与儒家相合君臣和孝道伦理。马若瑟意识到儒家的君臣孝道伦理乃为一体，并无本质区分，故他将此二者放在一起讨论到：

孝也者，修齐治之本者也。人之于天，臣之于君，子之于亲，其理一也。自下上达，三互相顾，顺而不违是也。盖子之所以为子者，孝也；臣之所以为臣者，忠也；人之所以为人者，敬也。子之于亲也，爱之则喜而弗忘，苦之则惧而不怨；臣之于君也，取之则进而不骄，遗之则退而不尤；人之于天也，富之则顺而忧，贫之则堪而乐。子赖其亲，臣凭其君，人信其天。

马若瑟认为“孝乃修齐治之本”是符合儒家的“孝乃仁之本”的思想的。所不同的是，他将君臣关系和孝道伦理纳入到“天人关系”的维度，认为三者内在原理一致。这意味着“天人关系”的原则也自然适用于它们。因此天人关系背后的“敬天-信天”的情感结构自然可以等价代换“君臣-孝道”背后的“忠-孝”情感结构。从而将儒家的“君臣-孝道”伦理的情感结构基础置换为“敬天-信天”情感结构，由此展开的新的“孝道-君臣”伦理表现是：“爱之则喜而弗忘，苦之则惧而不怨；臣之于君也，取之则进而不骄，遗之则退而不尤。”这种带有推升至形而上之意味的儒家新伦理，为原来儒家人文性意义上的主体性伦理打开了超越性的维度，使得原来主体性可能陷入的“忠孝难两全”的生存困境，得到在观念层级上的“照明”。

所谓的“忠孝难两全”首先是在观念上的，因为将君视为父，故对君亦忠亦孝，而当君-父出现矛盾和张力时，因权位的差异，主体必然倾向“君”而弱化“父”，从而带进生存上的“两难全”。这实际上是主体陷入判断选择的两难处境的生存投射。但在引入“天人”张力关系后，在敬天崇帝情感中，天在君-父之上，一切由天来调配，意味着由“天”来承担这个选择判断权。此时人作为主体性得以有了超越性维度的救助，自然就可能走出这种观念和生存上的“两难全”困境。同时，马若瑟还将儒家所谓的“不孝”之界定由“无后”转为“无德”，将儒家的孝道观引向了宗教道德层面。实际上“忠孝两

难”的生存困境中，“无后”便是其中一个十分重要的表现，当一个主体为了实现对君之忠孝时而无法延续子嗣时，此为大不孝。但如果以无德而代之以的话，那么前面所言的主体在事君中已经实现其德，那就自然尽孝了。

这种情感结构上的增值性“置换”实际上乃是马若瑟所引入“天人”张力关系在伦理生活中的投射和反应。因为在这种张力关系中，“天”在人的“信-敬”中实施其“恩赐”，而“人”作为主体，其“仁”的实施和外显本来主体自足，但却因着这种“恩赐”的进入，打开了“人”的“接受性”维度，使得此时的“人”作为主体，不再是在单纯的自足性中展示其主体生活，而是在“接受性-自足性”的张力中呈现其生存状态，这正是其“信-敬”情感结构的外化。而原来的“忠孝”两难困境，也是因为人的“自足性”无法承担此二者所致。走出这种困境的途径在于主体以“接受性-自足性”的维度共同承担其生存中的“忠孝”行为。

三、对“礼仪”的宽容理解：敬的主体与对象的区分

“礼仪”问题是最能体现马若瑟与利玛窦所开创的“合儒”路线之间的高度一致性之处。这里的“合”指的是“用西方的‘人文主义’、欧洲文化的宗教性、欧洲哲学的理性与孔子思想相融合。”¹⁸而我们知道，“礼仪”问题同样是“礼仪之争”的核心论争。如何能够在“一合一分”的争论中理解儒家的“祭祖祭孔”等“祭礼”及其背后的“鬼神”存在论，以及在敬天中的“祭天”行为，既是“合儒”路线的关键论域，也是深入理解“礼仪之争”¹⁹何以由天主教内部扩展为中西之争的关键。关于这场争论的主要内容，在那时代的启蒙思想家、德国民族文学传统的开创者赫尔德（Johann Gottfried Herder, 1714-1803）指出“耶稣会士们当初以艰苦卓绝的努力开创的宏伟事业，后来却断送于一场微不足道的风波。在汉语中，士天称作‘天’，该词亦指‘上帝’。然而（欧洲的）人们却禁止中国人使用‘天’和‘上帝’这两个词，要求他们遵循天主教的习惯，使用‘天主’。祭祀该民族最大的先师孔子和祖宗，原本是中国人和因成习的风俗，然而（欧洲人）人们却要求他们将祭祀的方式部分废止，部分改变。”²⁰而利玛窦、金尼阁则“否认中国礼仪（祭祖祭孔等活动）是一种宗教仪式，他们认为儒家祭祀是世俗性质的人文活动，而不是宗教性的异端活动。”²¹由此足见，论争的核心在于“祭孔祭祖”以及背后的鬼神崇拜问题。马若瑟对此问题的处理，主要表现在两面：

第一，对“敬”之含义作了道德之“敬”和信仰之“敬”的区分，且以后者作为“敬义”的增值性解读为主导界定。我们看到，反对祭孔祭祖之人的主要理据在于“祭祀”背后的对象问题。在他们看来“孔子与祖先”已然成为偶像敬拜，而不是单纯的出于缅怀。这种对偶像崇拜的极力反对，“实际上，

18 Paul A. Rule, *Kung-tzu or Confucius? The Juit interpretation of Confucianism*, Australia, 1986, p.52.

19 从源起上看，“礼仪之争”指的是，在1610年之后，也就是利玛窦逝世之后，某些传教士开始探讨利玛窦所留下来的对话方式的可靠性和纯洁性问题。龙华民神父是深切关注这一问题的主要传教士之一。于是一场以支持利玛窦的庞迪我（Pantoja）和王丰肃（Vagnone）神父和反对者龙华民和熊三拔（Sabatino de Ursis）之间就关于有关“上帝、天使和有理智灵魂”等在内的展开辩论。1618年这场辩论在省会长瓦伦廷·卡瓦略和巡按使弗朗西斯科·维埃拉（Francisco Vicira）的支持下深入展开，且以巡按使所作出的一项决议而告终：针对有关上帝、天使和有理智的灵魂等内容，而写了两部互相对立的著作。龙华民在此之后于1623年写成一部拉丁文著作《孔夫子及其教理》，该书主要是针对基督徒和异教徒文人展开调查的研究，意在反对利玛窦的工作方式。1701年在巴黎刊印，成为外方传教会耶稣会士们有力批判的思想利器。[该段事实主要参考谢和耐著，耿昇译，《中国与基督教——中西文化的首次撞击（增补本）》，上海古籍出版社，2003年，第17-18页的内容。]

20 赫尔德：《中华帝国的基督教化》，载于《德国思想家论中国》，江苏人民出版社，1989年第98页。

21 李天纲：《中国礼仪之争》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1998年12月。

它（指礼仪之争）是和欧洲反宗教改革运动中的反异端斗争以及美洲教会所推动的反对印第安人偶像崇拜回潮的‘清洗’运动遥相呼应的”。²²因此去掉“孔子及祖先”在信仰上的“神圣性”意义是关键所在。对此，马若瑟从“祭祀”的情感根源性上来解释这个问题。他区分了人们“祭祀”背后的“敬”情感在道德性和信仰性的不同意义。他指出：

“然所敬有不同，故其礼有隆杀。最重者莫如敬上帝，小心昭事，以为独尊，以为上主，以为父母是也。敬鬼神者次之，盖既所有所施，并受之于天，则敬之与敬天者远矣。敬先人、先师者，又是一礼，乃事死如事生而已。”

这里，信仰之“敬”与道德之“敬”有着本质意义上的区别和不同。前者对象是独尊的上帝、天主，统摄着所有的存在者，而后者的对象乃是鬼神与先人。先人之所以与上帝有绝对的分别，马若瑟引曹月川云上帝：“天者万物之祖，生物而不生于物者也。释氏亦人耳，故亦天之所生也。岂有天所生者，而能擅造化之柄耶？”马若瑟在回答“祭之义”时强调上帝是“至尊至一，万物所资始，万民所资生者也。”而引韩昌黎云“人”：“人其人，火其书，庐其居，明先王之道以导之，则以庶乎其可也。”足见人与上帝之绝对差别。而作为“先祖”，其无论在地位还是能力上都远不及上帝，因为人终归是人。

他说“虽先王在天之灵，亦不得而庇佑之耳。王可改过，以回天意。”观此可知有天命，而祖宗不能主张矣。”由此可知，道德之“敬”的对象始终是人，此“敬”表达的是人对逝去之人的感怀与感恩，这是为道德慎终追远。而信仰之“敬”的对象终归是上帝，这是人对绝对者上帝的崇敬和信仰，乃是一种有限者与无限者间的情感关系。二者分别当下立判。至于鬼神，马若瑟扼要指出：它乃“上帝所造，列神无数，以传其号令，以守护万方，皆谓之鬼神。《书》曰：‘望于山川，遍于群神。’由于‘祭祀礼仪’终归是人的情感和观念的互动和展开，因此，区分不同情感的指向对象对理解儒家祭祀祭礼具有重要澄清作用。人终究是在群体、文化传统中生存的，将一种生存图式作为标准粗暴地施压于另一种生存图式，其结果便遭致康熙年间的“禁教”令，中西间的交流从此再次中断。

第二，民之主体性在“天子-圣人”等级中上升。在儒家传统中，“祭祀”有着十分严格的“等级性”，像“民”这类的存在者是没有“祭天”权利的。故而“唯天子祭天”是惟一合法合理的。这意味着，在“天人关系”中，只有天子才有面对天的主体性地位。马若瑟说“天子者，天之子也。皇天所宠，莫大乎天子。《书》曰：‘惟其克相上帝，宠绥四方。’但他接下去则将这种“唯天子祭天”的思路转为“代万民而祭”。并强调指出“夫天下者一家也，万民皆兄弟也”。之所以仍然同意“天子祭天”，那是因为“蒸民与天子合其心，而一家同祭焉。又天子一人，天下至尊也，以天下至尊而敬上帝，至矣！”这样的解释，就消解了唯“天子”有主体性的地位，而将天子与众民同时置于上帝的绝对性力量面前，天子作为人的地位和性质与民并无二致，均无法逾越上帝。二者的区别仅仅是在权位上而已。

同时，从“家”的角度，将上帝视为大父母，天子与民均为众兄弟，这就勾销了民与天子间在“人格尊严”上的不平等性。这种说法与张载在《西铭》中“同胞论”有类似之处。这也是马若瑟基于其信仰上所奉行的“天主立场”密切相关。既然勾销了天子与民在上帝面前的主体性不平等的障碍，还需要解释何以圣人能够比民更为近天的问题。在儒家世界中，无论是人文意义上，还是宗教意义上，圣人的地位和作用都远比常人重要且突出。对此，马若瑟认为“吾先师之所以异乎常人者，惟在体天之意而

22 张颢：《庞迪我与中国—耶稣会‘适应’策略研究》，郑州：大象出版社，2009年第229页。

己。故：“可以仕则仕，可以止则止，可以久则久，可以速则速。无可，无不可。”“毋意，毋必，毋固，毋我”，意义协于克享上帝之心而已矣。”这里的关键在于“体天之意”，这种重要区别不是在人格平等意义上的，而是在主体性的能力意义上的。这就涉及到不同主体间在情感结构、知识结构上的差异问题了。相对于“民”而言，圣人在“情感结构”和“知识结构”上都远比常人丰富，敏锐，所以他在“体天”方面会更有效果。这是主体性在内在构成上的差距，并非主体性地位上的。马若瑟这种解释思路，也暗含着，只要作为常人的“民”能够在这两种结构上提升并趋近圣人，照样能够做圣人所能作的事，这种思路在儒家传统的心学传统中也可以找到照应。所以，常人如果沿着马若瑟所说的“凡明一善，欣然为之；知一不善，弗然遏之。视听言动，克复以治之。主敬以修己，行恕以爱人。改过不吝，迁善不倦。畏天之威，祈天之迪，顺天之命。此之谓敬天。”也就可以知天而事天。

四、一点思考：增值性解读的意义与问题

如何理解“儒学是否宗教”可谓是自利玛窦伊始所有入华之西教士始终无法回避的关键论域。历史上，利玛窦当为最早对“西方宗教形态”与“儒家学说”进行思想比较、考察、论证之人，不仅对儒家儒学作出了“古儒”与“近儒”的区分，认为春秋前之儒学乃为宗教，两汉之后儒学非宗教的论断，而且还奠定了“索隐派路径”、“合儒补儒策略”、“利玛窦规矩”等多种具有开创性意义的传教方略而影响深远。肇始于他的“儒家是否宗教”的争论不仅诱发了18世纪中西间的“礼仪之争”，而且在康梁等清末民初时代仍以时代性争论出现井喷式爆发，到了20世纪后半叶该争论变之以“儒家宗教性”形式备受港台新儒家瞩目，至今仍未有收场之势，足见利玛窦所开启的这一论域有着“中-西”与“古-今”的复杂性与丰富性。

诞生于18世纪的《儒教实义》并非完全复制前人利玛窦的“以耶合儒”的策略，而是以更为理性和分析的理解形态，对儒教的主体性维度和超越性维度作了深入全面的理解，在某些方面已经走得比利玛窦更远，也呈现出更为清晰的“儒教”观形态，这对我们理解那个时代的中西文化互镜、儒教理解多面性提供了十分有益的视角，也在“儒学是否宗教”这一争论中留下了其特有的思想史意义。同时，本文从“主体性”和“超越性”两重维度来契入讨论该文本在“儒学是否宗教”问题上的相关讨论，也彰显出该论域的的复杂性、丰富性和可能性，以此审视对该问题作简单性结论的局限性。

马若瑟在对儒学的相关概念上所做的“增值性”解读基础上将儒学界定为儒教。这种界定在一定程度上从三方面对儒学作了理解意义上的突破：

一是突破了儒学中“天人合一”的关系形态，而增值出一种“天人”间张力的生存状态，打开了主体生存中的“超越性”维度，逼使主体进入一种“接受性-自足性”的生存状态中。这样一种富有张力的生存状态是马若瑟始料未及的。

二是突破了儒学伦理中在敬天意识主导下无法规避的“忠孝两难全”的生存困境，而在对“敬天”作增值性解读中重新理解“忠孝”指向的对象问题，从而使得承载“忠孝”行为的主体由原来的自足性主体转化为处在“接受性-自足性”张力状态中的主体，改换了选择判断行为的主体决定者后，主体的“忠孝两难”困境得到有益的突破。

三是突破了在宗教本位主导下对“祭祀”礼仪的不宽容心态。“祭祀”礼仪本是主体基于敬天-敬祖情感引导下发展出的对非存在对象的敬-祭性的生存活动。但在宗教本位意识中，却被冠之以偶像崇

拜，容易导致无视主体自身情感秩序和需求，而直接导致的生存冲突。但在马若瑟的增值性解读之后，他以信仰之敬作为道德之敬的增值部分，从而有效解释了主体生存中的复杂性和多面性，拒绝以一种简单化和粗暴式方式对相关的祭祀礼仪作出武断性判断。但他也提出完善“民”的观念结构和情感结构对礼仪问题的重要性。

虽说以上三方面是马若瑟在《儒教实义》文本中对儒教所做的增值性解读，并有一定的突破性意义。但是他的信仰-宗教立场贯彻始终，因此，这种增值性解读仍然是一种以自我信仰立场为预设而展开的。仍然有意忽视儒家本来的思想与生存间的动态关系，故，从另一方面来说，这种增值性解读也是某种意义上“误读-错读”。但至于这种“误读-错读”能在怎样的意义上作用于双方间的对话与思想交流，这是另一个需要深入探析的主题了。

English Title : Between the Subject and the Transcendent: The Value-Adding Interpretation of Confucianism in "The True Meaning of Confucianism"

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Abstract: *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (Ru Jiao Shi Yi)*, written in the early 18th century by French Jesuit missionary Joseph de Prémare (Ma Ruose), presents his interpretation of “Ru” (Confucianism) through a question-and-answer format. It explores three key dimensions: the transcendental aspect of “Heaven” (Tian), the transformation of religious emotion within the ethical subject, and the tolerant attitude of the subject in ritual relationships. Ultimately, it defines “Ru” as a “religion” — *Ru Jiao* (Confucian religion). If we consider the Jesuits' concept of “Heaven” as representing transcendence, and the Confucian concept of “Ru” as representing subjectivity, then Prémare’s interpretation lies between transcendence and subjectivity: he uses “Heaven” as a starting point to reinterpret and add value to Confucian thought. This "value-added" approach creates a unique mode of existence — one situated in the tension between “Heaven” and “man.” Prémare's interpretation not only inadvertently shaped a kind of “Confucian believer” (different from the traditional Confucian ideal of harmony between Heaven and man), but also deepened the question — first raised by Matteo Ricci — of whether Confucianism can be considered a religion. In this way, Prémare’s work explores the depths of the idea of “integrating Christianity and Confucianism” and contributes to our understanding of the intellectual and existential condition of the “Christian Confucian.”

Keywords: *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, subjectivity, transcendence, Joseph de Prémare

神人关系或天人关系视域中的超越观 ——以基督教和儒家为鉴

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提要: 超越是一个基于神人关系或天人关系的宗教哲学问题, 从超越性力量的源泉来自他者(神或天)还是人自身而言, 可以区分为自上而下的他力型超越和自下而上的自力型超越。基督教源于上帝创造、逆神负罪和基督救赎的超越观可归之于他力型, 儒家基于天地化生、天命谓性、存性事天的超越观可归之于自力型。这种区分并非绝对, 而是在神人或天人之间的双向作用中某一方被视为更具主动性和主导性。儒家可以基督教为镜进行自我反观和重建。

关键词: 神人关系; 天人关系; 他力型超越; 自力型超越; 基督教; 儒家

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超越问题是一个源自西方思想传统的宗教哲学问题, 近些年也开始受到大陆儒学界的自觉关注。本文将立足于神人关系或天人关系的视域, 兼以中西参照的方式, 首先对超越的含义和类型做一个简要的学理分析, 然后据此对基督教和儒家两个范例进行一些解读和讨论。

一、“超越”的含义和类型

一般从哲学上来讲, “超越”(transzend)意味着跳出某种经验或逻辑的限度或界域, 比如康德论“先验理念”存在的“超验性”问题。¹从存在论的角度而言, 超越意味着某种存在方式。我们可以区分两类存在方式: 一是具有绝对超越性意义的存在方式, 二是具有相对超越性意义的存在方式。按照海德格尔的说法, 存在总是“存在者的存在”, ²相应地也就有两类存在者, 一是具有绝对超越性的存在者, 可简称为“绝对者”; 二是具有相对超越性的存在者, 可简称为“相对者”。绝对者的超越存在方

1 参见康德 Kant De[Kant]:《纯粹理性批判》*Chuncui lixing Pipan* [Kritik der reinen Vernunft] (第2版[The second edition]), 李秋零译 Li Qiuling, trans. 李秋零主编 Li Qiuling zhubian, edit.《康德著作全集》*Kangde Zhuzuo Quanji* [Kants Werke]第3卷[Volume 3], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [China Renmin University Press], 2004), 245-252。

2 按照海德格尔的思路, 存在是存在者的存在, 因此, 必须先就存在者的存在规定存在者, 再从存在者(此在)提出和探讨存在(方式), 本文便采用存在者(天-人或神-人)与存在(超越性存在方式)互释的观念。参见海德格尔 Haidegeer [Heidegger]:《存在与时间》*Cunzai yu Shijian* [Sein und Zeit], 载《海德格尔选集》上 *Haidegeer xuanji* [selected words of Martin Heidegger], 孙周兴 Sun Zhouxing 选编 edit. (上海 Shanghai: 上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian [Shanghai Joint Publishing Company], 1996), 31-36。

式具有纯粹的自身性-自在性意义，而相对者的超越存在方式意味着立身某种相关性又能打破这种相关性，呈现出跳出当下在、朝向将来在的生存姿态。无论哪种，都共同具有自由存在的本性。

从宗教哲学的角度来讲，如果我们将超越问题放在天人之间或者神人之间的关系来审视，那么，超越是指能够突破、不受制于暂时和有限的此世-此在之界，或者是“存在”于永恒和无限的神圣之境，这可谓天之超越和神之超越的存在状态；或者是“朝向”那永恒和无限的神圣之境，这可谓人之超越的存在方式。前者（天或神）意味着某种神圣实在性，标志着绝对性的源头和终极性的根据；后者（人）则将超越而神圣、绝对而终极的存在当做自身超越性存在的根据，当做自身超越性行为所取向的目标和归宿。同理，无论天或神，还是人，其存在的超越性方式都意味着自由的存在方式。没有自由，不可能有超越；没有超越，也无所谓自由，超越与自由具有内在同一性。

就人的存在来讲，超越是他异于万物也高于万物的根本生存方式。他立身物质性自然又能超拔于自然之上，既需要各种现实性的生存基础，也能突破种种条件的束缚而开启超越的精神向度。这种超越的精神向度使人能够立身现在而开启未来又回归源头，这是一种自由存在和自由行为。这种自由的超越性行为就是要打破有限性和暂时性境遇，取向天命或神意所昭示的无限性和终极性境界，以便获得自身存在的意义根基和本源所在。我将这种取向天人之际、神人之境的终极而超越的精神取向称之为人的“存在的宗教性”。³这一宗教性的精神取向在哲学上可称之为先天形而上学倾向，用舍勒的话来讲叫做朝向“绝对域”（Absolutsphäre）的意向，⁴它植根于人类特有的精神生存本性，源自个体存在的有限性意识并试图超越之。这意味着，天人关系也好，神人关系也罢，都是终极而超越的宗教性关系的最高表达。

在此需要指出，无论是谈论人的存在，还是天或神的存在，都是立足于天人关系或神人关系而言的。我们不可能立身在天代天发言，也不可能立身为神代神发令。就此言之，天之在或神之在相对于人之在，必然具有某种“之外”或“之上”的意义，不可能完全存在于人的此在“之内”，否则无所谓对人的存在的超越性意义。然而尽管如此，却又必然和必须和人发生关系，只有和人发生关系，才能彰显其超越性的存在和作用。就此而言，在之外或之上存在的前提下，也必然和必须具有某种“之内”的存在意义，无论是内在于人性人心，还是人间世界。否则也无从经历、无从言说天命和神意。因此，只有处在天人关系或神人关系中，并且也正是在对这一关系的理解和体会中，我们才得以发现，天命或神意并不能被人的意志所左右和掌控，才得以了悟它们具有超越人的存在限度的意义，并因此将它们视为绝对至上者和神圣存在者。也正是在对这一关系的理解和体会中，此在之人发现了自身存在的限度，于是试图打破有限性而投入无限性，打破暂时性而走向永恒性，由此展开超越的生存方式。

以此观之，我们可以说，人的超越性生存方式其实是对终极而超越的存在本源（天命或神意）的“回应”，从而也是对自身之本然何是、究竟何是的回应。而这一切发生的可能性在于，一方面，人是

3 关于“宗教性”的深入探讨，参见田薇 Tian Wei:《“宗教性”的问题缘起与意义阐释——以宗教疑义为语境、以舍勒信仰现象学和施莱尔马赫宗教情感论为视镜》“Zongjiaoxing”de wenti yuanqi yu yiyi chanshi [The origin and meaning of the question of “religiousness”],《宗教与哲学》Zongjiao yu Zhexue [Religion and Philosophy], No. 8, 赵广明 Zhao Guangming 主编, (北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 Shehuikexue wenxian chubanshe [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2019), 101-116。

4 舍勒的信仰现象学揭示了个体朝向绝对域的意向是宗教之所以可能的先验基础，也称先天的信仰定向。参见舍勒 Shele[Max Scheler]:《绝对域与上帝理念的实在设定》Jueduiyu yu Shangdi linian de shizai sheding [Absolutsphäre und Realsetzung der Gottesidee], 孙周兴 Sun Zhouxing 译 trans. 载刘小枫 Liu Xiaofeng 选编 edit.《舍勒选集》下 Shele xuanji [selected words of Max Scheler], (上海 Shanghai: 上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian [Shanghai Joint Publishing Company], 1999), 891-892、900-903、951-960。

有自我意识的自由存在者，因此他能领悟自身的限度并超越之；另一方面，人又是源自天地化生的天命在身者，或者是上帝创造的神的肖像者，因此他也能领悟超越在自身之外或之上的天命或神意并回应之。这说明天人之间或神人之间具有内在贯通的可能性根据。

那么，如何超越、如何回应呢？天人之间或神人之间又如何贯通呢？这便关系到超越的路径或方式问题。如果从超越性力量的源泉是来自人自身还是来自他者而言，我们可以区分出两种基本的类型：自力型超越和他力型超越。所谓自力型就是坚持超越行为的主体即主宰是人自身，通过自身的力量从下而上地回归超越的本源之域，以便实现自我救赎；所谓他力型就是坚持超越性行为虽然由人来承担，但是超越的力量却是源自作为他者的本源而非人自身，依靠本源之力将自己从上而下地实施救赎。前者突出地呈现为自力修养主导的救赎之路，后者突出地呈现为信靠他力决定的救赎之路，二者在根本上都是以宗教性信念为支撑的超越性生存。

自力型超越和他力型超越的区分之所以可能的根据，依然植根于对本源之他者和人之自身者两个方面及其关系的不同理解。首先，从本源来看。本源作为一种终极实在或最高本体，如果在理解和感受中被当做一个活生生的人格存在者，有意志，有情感，能够发号施令，似乎一切都是由它创造而来，那么，这一终极实在就成为一种神秘而伟大的力量，具有支配和掌控宇宙世界生存法则的绝对威权。在这种威权力量面前作为主体的人实际上不过是被掌控的对象，或者说是实现最高本体的工具，并不能够真正自己主宰自己。因此，超越自身存在的有限性及其困境以便与终极实在契合的力量，在根本上不是来自人本身，而是来自终极实在本身，只有从上而来的力量才能把人“提升”或者“救赎”上去，也可以理解为让自己“献身”于终极本源的过程，这种献身是对绝对力量的信仰和服从。这就是依靠他力实现超越的可能。然而，能否得到、何时得到终极本源的提升或救赎，却是无法确知，也不由自己决定，完全听凭那个绝对者的意志。因此，作为信徒之人在内心充满紧张和不安。

但是，如果终极实在在人的理解和感受中被当做如“月印万川”一般存在于一切事物当中，万有就像一个个“容器”都能够在自身承载和呈现它，似乎最高的终极实在者就化身在所有的存在者之中，那么，人自身也就成为终极实在者的“容器”一般。在这种情况下，个体自我需要的是静心修养，放空和虚静自己，以便使自身容纳最高本体从而与之契合。在此，克服自身有限性而与终极实在契合的力量不是来源于对方而是来源于自身，只有通过自身的修炼功夫才能使得最高本体“降临”或“贯注”在自身之内，也可以理解为让终极实在“充实”自我的过程。这就是依靠自力实现超越的可能。由于这种超越行为通过自力把握而实现，如养气和德行，所以在修养者的内心充满放松和宁静。⁵

其次，从人自身来看。一如前述，人是一种具有超越精神的存在者，具有试图打破有限追寻无限的先天形而上学倾向，这种先天倾向意味着，在有限之人和无限本源之间存在着先天的联系。对于这种先天联系的具体理解不同，人之存在的超越性方式和路径也就不同。如果人的存在和终极本源之间的联系被理解为具有本质上的贯通性，如天命之谓性，那么，依靠自身的存心养性就能使得先天潜存的天命之性获得完善化开显，也就意味着回归自身所出的天命本源。这也就是自力型超越的可能性。如果人的存在和终极本源之间的联系被理解为本质上的断裂性，如忤逆创造者导致被赋予的自我更新能力遭到破

⁵有学者分析指出，人之所以能够领悟和洞见终极实在，源自一种潜意识层面活动的精神能力，通过分析该能力为自力型超越和他力型超越的可能性提供理论解释。参见胡伟希 Hu Weixi:《中观哲学导论》Zhongguan zhexue daolun [Introduction of Philosophy of Middle Way], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2016), 178-194。

坏，那么，就必须通过信仰的方式再度与创造者取得和解，以便依靠创造者的救赎力量而重获新生。这就是他力型超越的可能性。无论哪种类型都属于以信念为根基的宗教性超越方式。

必须明确的是，所谓自力型和他力型的宗教性超越方式，并不是绝对的和纯粹的区分，而是也只能是某种相对性和主导性的意义区分，在二者之间并不存在一刀两断的界限。事实上，在自力型的宗教超越中并非不包含他力因素，在他力型的宗教超越中也不可能没有自力成分。实存的人性世界是欠缺的甚至堕落的，与自身所出的绝对之源、天命之性和神圣之序之间总是存在着各种各样的疏离或断裂，这是人的有限性存在必然带来的生存困境。如何超越困境以回归天人之际的圆融或神人之间的和谐，本身并不是一个纯粹单向度的运作，而是一个天人之间或神人之间的双向作用，只是在这个作用过程中某一方会被视之为更具主动性和主导性、决定性和支配性的特征而已。

依据上述理论分析，我们下面再来具体讨论一下基督教和儒家的超越观。

二、他力与自力：基督教和儒家的超越观

在基督教的传统中，超越的根本意义首先在于神人关系中的那位“神”是一位作为创造者和拯救者的上帝。祂既是一切从无到有的绝对源头，一切存在都是祂的造物；也是善恶救赎和存在救赎的终极力量，所有的沉沦和生命的死亡都由祂重启新生。其次在于神人关系中的人一方面是上帝造物中的最高作品，具有神的形象，是肉身和灵魂的统一者，超出万物之上具有精神自由；另一方面又坚持认为，正是人的自由的最初滥用使人违背神意、背负原罪，不仅导致生命存在丧失了永生的国度，而且导致先天自由向善的本性和能力遭到败坏，因此，走出存在的困境，若离开上帝的神圣救恩，人是无法仅仅依靠自身的力量实现的，神圣的救赎才是决定性的力量。就其基本的思路和取向而言，可以将基督教的超越方式归入他力型超越。

不过，在这一前提下我们需要进一步深入地辨析两个问题：一是基督教的上帝与人之间是创造和被造的关系，二者具有不可逾越的界限或鸿沟，神人之间何以能够发生救赎关系？二是立足于人自身来看，如果说人在根本上无力自救，只有通过信仰才能获得上帝救赎，那么，又当如何理解信仰这一行为的意义？

我们先来讨论第一个问题。就创造和被造的神人关系来说，上帝存在无疑具有鲜明的“外在超越性”特征，二者之间不具有本体论意义上的全然同质性，这也是通常最易为人注意到和普遍认同的，尤其是将之视为与儒家天人关系中的“天之在”所不同的。然而，在创造论的前提下我们还须注意而不容忽视的是，基督教的神不同于旧约犹太教中的一位一体神，而是三位一体神，圣父、圣子、圣灵三个位格一体存在。不仅如此，而且尤其通过“道成肉身”的教义而彰显出基督教最为独特、最具突破性的思想，也就是圣子耶稣基督是上帝之道化身为入而“临在”世间。耶稣基督既是神也是人，是神人合一的存在者。作为神（基督上帝）他是全然超越的位格存在者，具有创造和拯救的绝对性力量；作为人（道成肉身的耶稣）他是一个完全的人格存在者，具有完备的人性及其基本特征（知情意信），但没有逆神的罪性，体现着神和人、创造和受造之间的原初和谐。

正因耶稣基督具有神人二性，他才成为神人之间的中介，构成上帝救人、使人回返与创造本源同在的关键。如他所言：“我就是道路、真理、生命，如果不是藉着我，没有人能到父那里去。如果你们认识我，就必认识我的父”。（约翰福音，14：6-7）。这是耶稣基督的“自证”之言，它意味着神人之

间已经不存在无法跳跃的鸿沟，耶稣基督就是神人相通的桥梁，就是从神到人和从人到神之路。它还意味着，上帝对人的“外在超越性”由于耶稣基督的“临在”，由于“道成了肉身，住在我们中间，满有恩典和真理”（约翰福音，1:1），也兼备了“内在超越性”的意义。上帝既外在又内在，正因如此，神人之间的救赎关系通过耶稣基督得有发生的可能。因此，当我们强调基督教的神人关系是创造和被创造、二者具有本体论上的非同质性的时候，不能忽视道成肉身对于打通神人之间的关键性意义，创造论和基督论的统一构成他力型的超越救赎之所以可能的神学根据和源始理由。

不过，尽管如此，无论是上帝的创造还是上帝的临在又都表明，上帝的“内在”是从上而下的突入，神人关系在根本上是竖向的垂直关系，不是横向的水平关系。因此，神人之间的界限本身是无法消弭的，上帝存在的内在性是以超越的外在性为前提的。神就是神，人就是人；即使东正教有“成神”的追求，只是意味着以“神”为目标，或者在某种神秘体验的状态中进入神人合一之境，但人终究不是神，也不可能成为神。只有一个神，一个三位一体的神；也只有耶稣基督是唯一的神人合一者，只有通过耶稣基督才是唯一通往神圣的救赎之路。这是基督教独一无二的本质特征。

我们再来讨论第二个问题。既然耶稣基督是通往神的唯一救赎之路，那么只有追随耶稣基督，别无它途。问题是，除了耶稣的自证之言，谁还能证明耶稣就是那位“从天上来的”，他的路就具有唯一有效性呢？面对质疑耶稣的回应是：“我为自己作证，差我来的父也为我作证。”（约翰福音，8:18）当继续被问：“‘你的父在哪里？’”耶稣回答：“你们不认识我，也不认识我的父；如果你们认识我，也就认识我的父了。”（约翰福音，8:19）“除了父，没有人知道子是谁；除了子和子所愿意指示的，没有人知道父是谁。”（路加福音，10:23）既然只有通过耶稣，才能认识天上的父；只有通过天上的父，才能认识耶稣，那么如此看来，无论如何，作为人自身都不可能确认耶稣就是神，不可能确认耶稣之路就是通往神圣的救赎之路。耶稣的自我见证是无可证，父为子证的见证更是无可证。父证子证、父子互证都是同一见证，除了相信耶稣的话之外，别无其他出路。于是，“信仰”必然构成基督教的基石，只有通过信仰的方式才能领受耶稣基督传扬的罪与罚、爱与救恩、死亡与永生的福音真理。

需要细究的是，固然通过耶稣基督的神圣力量才能获得救赎的信仰之路属于他力型超越，但是信仰本身从何而来，又该如何理解信仰？从一方面来讲，由于所信者具有超理性的特质，因而信仰也可被视为某种神启的产物；但从另一方面来讲，信仰离不开人的自由意志，因为即使有神启，人可以领受也可以不领受，否则世间就不会有基督徒和非基督徒。所以，信仰也是神人之间双向作用的产物，不可能仅仅归之于单纯的他力之神恩。由此可以理解，对于克尔凯郭尔来说，信心的一跃乃是一种“生存的冒险”，因为朝向未来（永福或上帝）意味着离弃固定之点，纵身而入的恰恰是不确定性；⁶而蒂利希则视之为“存在的勇气”，关系到生命还是虚无、存在还是非存在的问题，而不顾非存在的事实，对存在进行自我肯定，正是信仰下的生存勇气。⁷这说明，意志抉择的自力性是信仰本身必定包含的内在因素，个体在超越的救赎之路上绝非仅仅是被动的角色。

6 参见克尔凯郭尔 Keerkaiguor [Søren Kierkegaard]: 《最后的、非科学性的附言》 *Zuihou de feikexuexing de fuyan* [Afsluttende uvidenskabelig Efterskrift], 王齐 Wang Qi 译 trans. 《克尔凯郭尔文集》5 Keerkaiguor Wenji 5 [Collected Works of Kierkegaard, vol.5], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 2017), 333, 353。

7 参见蒂利希 Dilixi [Paul Tillich]: 《存在的勇气》 *Cunzai de yongqi* [The courage to be], 载《蒂利希选集》上 Dilixi xuanji [selected words of Paul Tillich], 何光沪 He Guanghu 选编 edit. (上海 Shanghai: 上海三联书店 Shanghai sanlian shudian [Shanghai Joint Publishing Company], 1999), 263-290。

不过，在基督教思想史上一直存在着一个争议性问题：人的道德努力对于救赎是否有效？甚至于人自身有没有自由行善的能力？对此基督教内部的看法并不完全一致。东正教关于成神的追求，天主教关于善功的肯定，都在神圣救赎的信仰前提下，对于人自身的努力及其作用给予了承认。只有新教主张唯信仰、唯恩典，否认道德努力对于救赎的意义，甚至坚持背负原罪的人性自身已经没有行善的自由，只有行恶的自由。比如，从奥古斯丁到路德都继承发挥了保罗的观点：“立志行善由得我，行出来却由不得我”。（罗马书，7:18）人有向善之心，却无行善之力，以至于根本丧失了行善的自由，而只有行恶的自由。

无论如何，从总体上来讲，基督教的传统坚持“信仰”是致善和得救的前提，实现超越的决定性力量在于神圣救恩一方，这一点是无疑的和一致的。也正是因此，我们才将基督教的超越观视之为他力型超越。

相比之下，在儒家的传统中，超越的基本意义首先在于天人关系中“人”是主动性和主导性的一方，通过开启内在心性以觉悟天命，通过行诸道德践履以参天赞地，只要自己立志求仁，存心养性，就能求仁得仁，由性达天。其次，天人关系中的“天”一方面创生万物，“巍巍乎，唯天为大”。（《论语·泰伯》）另一方面天命何为，天道何是，只能依赖人自己去主动地领会和体悟，不是上天发号施令，俯身召人，而是下学上达、以人应天。就此而言，我们将儒家归于自力型超越。

同样需要进一步追问的是，自力型超越何以可能？为什么凭依自力就能进抵天人之际的超越境界？从根本上来讲，儒家的天人关系不同于基督教的神人关系。对于基督教而言，不仅创造和被造之间在本体论上不具有存在的同质性，而且作为被造者和神之间还因发生最初的断裂而导致原罪困境，因此神人合一的基督救赎成为不可避免。可是对于儒家来讲，天人之间的关系不仅在本体论上具有同质性意义，而且也没有发生什么断裂，其超越论的前提预设与基督教迥然有别。这意味着儒家无论是对天还是对人都有着自身的独特理解，关于天人之际的天观和人论为儒家自力型超越提供了可能性根据。

首先，从天人关系中的“天”来看，它的含义极其丰富，例如冯友兰概括为物质之天、命运之天、自然之天、道德之天（义理之天）、主宰之天（意志之天），具有自然性、人文性和宗教性杂糅的性质。⁸其中道德性和宗教性意义的天和天命高高在上，既是宇宙万物运行的玄机，也是人间伦理秩序的根据，还是社会历史命运的奥秘，构成人所理解的终极而超越之域，具有某种神圣性和至上性。就此而言，不能否认，儒家的天相对人的存在也具有某种外在性-纵向性的超越意义，这在周孔思想中尤为明显。孔子曰：“获罪于天，无所祷也。”（《论语·八佾》）“知我者其天乎！”（《论语·宪问》）“颜渊死。子曰：‘噫！天丧予！天丧予！’”（《论语·先进》）“天生德于予。桓魋其如予何？”（《论语·述而》）“天将以夫子为木铎”。（《论语·八佾》）等等。这是一方面。

但另一方面，同样不能否认，儒家的天并不像基督教的上帝或上帝国那样，具有此岸和彼岸、世俗与神圣的截然两分性，天人之间也不似神人之间那种创造和被造的全然异质性，更不是一个如道成肉身、临在人间的神那样的、全然全备的、实体化的人格存在者，其意义重在展开为一种天命和人性、天道和人道、天理和人心之天人之际、天人相与的存在之境，以至有天地人三才并称，有天命之谓性、天意在民意的说法，有诚者天之道、性即理也的解释，这都表明天、天命、天意、天道、天理这些观念兼

8 参见冯友兰 Feng Youlan: 《中国哲学史新编》 Zhongguo zhexueshi xinbian [A new edition of the History of Chinese Philosophy], (北京 Beijing: 人民出版社 Renmin chubanshe [People's Publishing House], 1980), 第一册第一章第一节。

具天上人间、亦神圣亦世俗的意味，而非完全超绝于自然和人世之外。正如牟宗三所言：“天道高高在上，有超越的意义。天道贯注于人身之时，又内在于人而为人性的性，这时天道又是内在的。”天道既超越（Transzendent）又内在（Immanent），兼具宗教与道德的意味。⁹

其次，从天人关系中的“人”来看，人非由天造，而由天生，天命之谓性，在人与天、人性与天命之间不存在基督教原罪论般的断裂。相反，天人具有内在联系，借助人道可以开显天道，透过人心可以领会天意。因此超越是一种尽心知性知天、存心养性事天的功夫，它既是内证，向内寻求、正心诚意、回归天命之善性的努力，也是外王，向外开显、修齐治平、参赞天地的活动，走的是一条从人到天、从下而上、由内而外、自力修养、因德成圣的双向超越之路。孔子的“与命与仁”（《论语·子罕》）可谓这一超越之路的典型呈现。从一方面来看，孔子将周人以王者的政治实践承载天命与敬德之间的联系，转化为践仁以知天事天的个人道德实践，在天命观的前提下开辟了普遍的仁学精神之道；¹⁰ 从另一方面来看，人与天交会、仁道与天命贯通，构成孔子最高的存在旨趣和最深生命情怀，“与命与仁”既是对孔子个人形象的刻画，代表着儒家追求的“天人”境界，也是孔子开辟的天人相与、下学上达、以仁抵天的道路。

对此，孔子充满信心，与基督教意志无能的保罗经验形成鲜明对比。他说：“仁远乎哉？我欲仁，斯仁至矣。”（《论语·述而》）“为仁由己，而由人乎哉？”（《论语·颜渊》）孟子也说：“求则得之，舍则失之，是求有益于得也，求在我者也”（《孟子·尽心上》）。对于孔孟而言，求仁得仁。问题是，儒家何以如此自信呢？为什么求仁由内不由外、由己不由人？自力超越而成圣何以可能呢？一言概之，根据就在“天命之谓性”的逻辑中先天人性是善的，无论现实中的人是善是恶，其天命之性都是善性。孔子言：“君子所性，仁义礼智根于心”。（《论语·子罕》）孟子更是在先验心性论的层次上提出，恻隐之心、羞恶之心、辞让之心、是非之心，人皆具有四心。这就是“良知”。良知既是对天命的直接觉识，也是对我之“本真所是”的直接觉认，因而也是对我之“应该如是”的直接觉悟。本是与应该内在合一。于是，性初本善，仁在性内，良知固有，只要反省内求，就能回归原初善性；又由于这种善性是天命之性，因此，回归原初的善性也就是进抵在上的天命。这意味着，每个人都内禀善性又内受天命，都因存命立性而成为一个潜在的天人之际的存在者。因此，做反省内求、开显善性的内在功夫，也就是在做恭天顺命、下学上达的超越功夫，然后由内推外、由己及人、由人抵天，这正是自力超越之所以可能的内在逻辑。《中庸》所谓“天命之谓性，率性之谓道，修道之谓教”，可以看做是对自力超越何以可能与如何可能的高度概括。

最后，从天人之间的交会和相与的发生和展开来看，由于天不是一个道成肉身的神，不像耶稣基督那样直接对人讲话，而是如孔子云：“天何言哉？四时行焉，百物生焉。天何言哉？”（《论语·阳货》）天命无言，天道无声。既然如此，如何知道天意所在，如何能够依循天命而行，只能取决于人自身的主体性自觉以及体认和担当的能力。所以在天人相与的关系中，主动的一方在人不在天。每个人都需要用心体会天意，恭敬领受天命。问题是，如何才能正确地体认和领受天命呢？那就是孔子开启的仁道。

9 牟宗三 Mu Zongsan: 《中国哲学的特质》 *Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi* [Characteristics of Chinese philosophy], (台北 Taipei: 台湾学生书局 Taiwan xuesheng shuju [Taiwan student bookstore], 2005), 65。

10 牟宗三 Mu Zongsan: 《心体与性体》 *Xinti yu xingti* [Heart Noumenon and Nature Noumenon], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House], 1999), 190。

从根本上来讲，“仁”是在终极存在面前的立身姿态，这种姿态就是相与天命、赞许天命、尊奉天命，而与仁守仁、依仁抱仁就是和天命之间的“相与之道”，也就是“仁道”。仁道既是人和天得以相谐相通的路径和方式，也是天和天相交相会而展开在人身上的天命所是；既是人在回应天命而进行的一种道德实践，也是恭天顺命、应天知命之人的本真所是。因此，仁是体用内外不二分，上有生生之德，下有仁义之心。仁与天一体，仁心与天命相通。知天就是守仁，依仁就是顺命。天人合其德而共其在。由此可见，孔子之所以具备引天为知音的高超境界和自负天命在身的精神情怀，“与命与仁”可谓最佳答案。正是因为与仁相与，才得以与天相与；正是由于立身为仁，才能够与天相会；正是由于守持仁道，才可以体认天命。相反，若离仁对天，弃仁待命，则势将遮天蔽命，丧失人之为人的根本。在此，与命与仁，奉行仁道，要求具备一种存在论的品质和态度，这就是“诚”，因为“诚者天之道，诚之者人之道”（《中庸》）。

总之，儒家将对天的敬畏转化为内在的精神信念，且落实为自主自强的道德践履，坚持一条从人到天、内求自身而非外求于他的自力超越之路，并将此视为君子和小人之别。一如孔子所说：“君子求诸己，小人求诸人”。（《论语·卫灵公》）表现出道德操持在我、卓然挺立自身的人格尊严，与康德自由自律的道德精神颇有共鸣之处。不过，需要指出的是，儒家的自力超越不意味着否定他力的作用。谋事在人，成事在天。天意或天命，天机或天时，都会产生某种人力之外或之上的作用和力量，在自力修养的过程中必然包含着天命或天机自身的开启作用。以现象学观念言之，就是在人的修养活动中天道开显之“自诚”与人道“反身而诚之”是同时发生、一体两面的。¹¹

结论

第一，立足于天人关系或神人关系的视域，就天或神一方来看，其超越性存在相对于人总是既具外在性也具内在性，只是在不同的文化传统中有不同的意义侧重。基督教的上帝作为创造者而彰显绝对的外在超越性，又通过道成肉身临在人间，通过信仰进入基督徒内心而具有内在性。只有这样，在上帝存在和人的存在之间才能构成生存论的关联。儒家的天命下贯人性而彰显其超越存在的内在性，但终究天不能等同于人，天命和天道总有溢出人性和人道之外或之上的意义。只有这样，人的活动才能获得某种终极根据。就人一方来看，无论哪种类型的超越都包含着自力和他力两种力量，只是哪种力量被视为主导者和决定者而已。基督教坚持他力救赎，但需要落实为积极的信仰生活；儒家坚持自力修养，却也肯定天命或天机自身的作为对于人的活动的制约作用。

第二，站在儒家思想自身的反思和建设立场上，自力修养强调人的善性良知以及求仁得仁的道德努力，充分彰显出人格尊严和圣贤气象，但对人性的乐观自信难免忽视和掩盖人性的幽暗，在求内不求外的精神追求下，对于上天作为他者的威力和制度作为外在约束的意义也缺乏足够关注。在此，基督教他力救赎的思想对于人的罪性及其道德软弱的洞察不失为另一只目光独到之眼；对于神圣他者的超越信仰提供了一种高于人类自身的绝对尺度，任何个人、民族和国家都不可能拥有神一样的无上权威和终极真理，这对于儒家天命在身的道德自信，尤其是在落实为精英的圣贤追求和王者的政道实践时，不失为一

11 对基督教和儒家的超越观更为全面深入的探讨，参见田薇 Tian Wei：《基督教与儒家——宗教性生存伦理的两种范型》Jidujiao yu Rujia — Zongjiaoxing Shengcun Lunli de Liangzhong Fanxing [Christianity and Confucianism: Two Paradigm of Religious Existential Ethics]，（北京 Beijing：清华大学出版社 Qinghua daxue Chubanshe [Tsinghua University Press]，2022），102-131。

种警示和启迪，使人保持自我审视的高度理性，永远意识到自身存在的限度。事实上，只有始终保持对他者的敬畏和对自身有限性的意识，才能开辟人类光明的前景。在此，古代奥古斯丁¹²和现代尼布尔¹³的理论均为思想史上的范例，可资借鉴。

12 奥古斯丁指出，一切政治国家作为“地上之城”是一个基于罪性之人的自爱自私的共同体，过着一种有待救赎的律法生活，本质上是恶的。“上帝之城”是一个基于神爱的共同体，是克服世俗社会之恶、检审判判政治国家的超越力量。同时也肯定国家在法律建构限度内维护人类社会外部和平的作用，人们有义务服从它。这从一个侧面说明为什么基督教传统下的世界会有神圣信仰和世俗制度并重的局面，不难发现，奥古斯丁对于国家政治力量的实质和限度有着冷峻的分析和深度的警惕。见奥古斯丁 Aogusiding [Augustine]: 《上帝之城》*Shangdi zhicheng* [The City of God], 王晓朝 Wang Xiaochao 译, (香港 Hong Kong: 道风书社 Daofeng shu she [Logos and Pneuma Press], 2004), 卷十四, 章 1、章 28。

13 尼布尔深度分析了在个体人性中存在的四种骄傲之罪，即权力的骄傲、知识的骄傲、德性的骄傲和灵性的骄傲，在此基础上进一步将批判的矛头指向了集体之罪。他指出，集体一旦发展到有组织的意志如国家，对个人拥有无上要求，成为道德生活的独立中心，获得凌驾个人之上的权威，则不仅比个人的妄见和虚伪还要大，而且凭借威严堂皇的权力，诱使和胁迫人们把国家当做崇拜的偶像，殊不知其虚构的国家尊严包含着宗教性的僭妄，从历代帝国到近代法西斯主义都可以从中发现国家的偶像崇拜及其无条件要求，必须通过超越一切人的尊严之上的上帝之声，来穿透这种集体骄傲之罪的隐秘性和欺骗性，保持神圣尺度对世俗人间的警示和审判。见尼布尔 Nibuer[Reinhord Nibur]: 《人的本性和命运》*Ren de benxing he mingyun* [The Nature and Destiny of Man], 谢稟德 Xie Bingde 译, (香港 Hong Kong: 基督教文艺出版社 Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe [Chinese Christian Literature Council], 1998), 186-194、206-212。

English Title: A transcendent view from the perspective of the relationship between God and man or the relationship between heaven and man: Take Christianity and Confucianism as examples

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Abstract: Transcendence is a question of philosophy of religion based on the relationship between God and man or between Heaven and man. Depending on whether the source of transcendent power comes from the other (God or Heaven) or from man himself, transcendence can be distinguished into top-down other-force transcendence and bottom-up self-reliance transcendence. The Christian transcendence view which comes from God's creation, anti-God's sin, and Christ's redemption can be attributed to the other-force type. While the Confucian transcendent view based on the incarnation of Heaven and Earth, the view of “what Heaven confers is called “nature”, and the view of “preserve the nature and serve the Heaven”, it can be attributed to the self-reliance type. This distinction is not absolute, but rather that one side is seen as more active and dominant in the two-way interaction between God and man or between Heaven and man. Confucianism can use Christianity as a mirror for self-reflection and reconstruction.

Keywords: Relationship between God and man, Relationship between Heaven and man, other-force transcendence, self-reliance transcendence, Christianity, Confucianism

书评与通讯
Reviews and Academic Reports

维护双重预定论的硬伤—— 以伯特纳《基督教预定论》为中心

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提要: 加尔文的双重预定论影响和争议都非常巨大, 作为改革宗神学家的伯特纳曾为捍卫这一教义而著有《基督教预定论》, 但是无论这个辩护著作还是双重预定论本身, 都具体明显的硬伤, 包括逻辑推论的不适当运用和作为证据的经文引用错误等问题。因此不但没有起到辩护的目的, 反而进一步走向维护宗派主义的歧途。

关键词: 双重预定论; 加尔文; 伯特纳

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尽管 9 世纪时 Gottschalk of Orbais 和 Ratramnus 已经倡导过双重预定论, 并与 Hrabanus Maurus、Hincmar 等发生巨大争论, Gottschalk 还在 848 年的美因茨会议和 849 年的奎尔兹会议上被定为异端和“肉体上的实际异教徒”¹, 但是现今基督教内产生的巨大分歧和争议的双重预定论, 却来自 16 世纪中叶改教家加尔文的 *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 及其追随者们 (比如西奥多·贝扎) 在 1618-1619 年的多特会议和 1646 年完成的《西敏斯特信仰信条》。同时, 因为要捍卫教义并应对批评, 很多护教神学家和神学研究著作应运而生, 例如 Loraine Boettner 和他具有影响力的 *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination* 就是其中一个典型案例。不过, 作为一本强力为预定论辩护的神学著作, 其中存在的一些硬伤需要引起重视。具体来看:

作为改革宗著名的神学家, 理论上来说, 首先就应该具备学者的严谨素养, 但 Boettner 先生似乎有些不一样。比如在第八章“各种信仰体系应以圣经为最高评断权威”中, 作者先是预设命题并提出:

“预定论显然是一个博大精深的教义, 是真是假只能靠神的启示决定。没有人能只凭自己的观察与判断就知道神做事的基本原则。”²可是下一段, 他就不由分说地下结论说: “本书讨论的每一项教义, 我们都提出许多圣经证据, 有些是直接证据, 有些是间接证据, 但都是难以驳倒, 也不能含混带过, 更不能淡化处理的。这些证据比我们的对手提出的证据更为有力, 范围更广, 也更清楚。圣经从头到末了所阐

1 Matthew Gillis, *Heresy in the flesh: Gottschalk of Orbais and the predestination controversy in the archdiocese of Rheims*, in Stone and West (eds.), *Hincmar of Rheims, Life and Work*, P250.

2 *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination*. 以下引文出自电子书, 所以仅标注章节, 不再标注页码, 下同。

明的救赎方法，就是加尔文主义所说的救赎方法。这些教义已经讲得非常清楚了，任何人只要相信圣经是神的话，都会认为这问题已经定案了。”

两段话显然是自己的矛在戳自己的盾，即如果“没有人能只凭自己的观察和判断就知道神做事的基本原则”，“只能靠神的启示决定”，那么双重预定论和以“五要义”为标志的加尔文主义，凭什么就可以说是“不容争辩”的“定案”呢？凭什么说“圣经从头到末了所阐明的救赎方法”，就必须是“加尔文主义所说的救赎方法”呢？尤其是在第七章“各信仰体系的纲要”中，作者已经提前宣称“圣经并没有在什么地方有系统地论述加尔文主义或其它的基督教教义，顶多只是零星提到其中几点”，接着却又说：“神不是给我们一套发展完备的生物学、天文学、政治学，我们只在自然界中，或在个人经验中看到零星的事实，我们也只能根据所观察的现象尽最大的努力发展出一套体系而已”。既然圣经没有明确的经文支持双重预定论，又说只是“我们也只能根据所观察的现象尽最大的努力发展出一套体系”，那么怎么还会说是“不容争辩”的“定案”呢？

作为重要的神学家，应该懂得论证教义和回应批评，但 Boettner 先生好像在这方面的学术训练同样不令人满意³，比如作者在第二章“概述”中特别强化预定论的圣经依据时，一口气列举了使徒行传 4:27-28、2:23、13:48，以弗所书 1:5、1:11、2:10，罗马书 8:29、9:23，哥林多前书 2:7，诗篇 139:16 等经文。不能说这些证据不充分，但它们只是论证了单向预定论，而没有或回避了双重预定论中的“预定永死”。即使后面辩护的内容对此有所补充，但是相比单向预定论给出的圣经依据，则要逊色得多。或者说，作者更多的是在引用赞同双重预定论的一些研究结论，而缺少圣经相关经文的支撑。尤其是，作为二十世纪的神学家，作者在回应批评时太“偏爱”阿米念派，且有意挑选其中比较极端或明显薄弱或错误的观点，而几乎无视更具挑战性的、更有质量的其他反对派的批评。这种选择低位而不选择高位的做法，无疑拉低了此书的学术质量。

当然，如果问题仅仅停留在表达的不周延、不严谨等技术层面，倒也不构成多么严重的硬伤，但若直接涉及书中的主题——双重预定论的论证，那就另当别论了。比如在第八章中，Boettner 先生说：“我们应该先把哲学思考及一切的抽象推论放在一边，等我们听了圣经的见证之后再作决定，而我们听了圣经的见证之后，就应该谦卑顺服”；然而他此前在“导论”中却引用新加尔文主义者 Abraham Kuyper 博士的话作为证据：“在加尔文主义的体系里，‘预定论’或‘圣经权威’都是推论的结果，而不是推论的基础；它们好比一棵树的枝叶，枝叶茂盛可以证明这棵树长得好，但枝叶并不是根，而是从根而来。”既然前面强调了预定论是“推论的结果”，后来又说需要“先把哲学思考及一切的抽象推论放在一边”，如此相互排斥与自我拆台式的表达，作为读者到底该何去何从呢？该怎么分辨“枝叶茂盛”是来自树根，还是“金山悖论”（Alexius Meinong）式的树根呢？

3 著作中其他有问题的表达如：第一章“导论”中，他先是列举“历史上伟大的神学家如奥古斯丁、威克里夫、路德、加尔文、慈运理……”，接着赞美“加尔文的教导有个特质，就是高举圣经，认为是圣灵默示了圣经，使它有独特的权威”，“他使保罗的教导重见天日，将它的意义说得更清楚完整”。在第二章“简述”中又说：“加尔文主张一贯而明确的有神论，这使他对神无限的威严有敏锐的感受，深知他是全能的神。”“这样看来，改革宗信仰让我们知道神是一位伟大的神，他真的是宇宙至高的主宰。”如此集优点于一人式的表达令人困惑，因为既然作者承认奥古斯丁、威克里夫、路德都是“历史上伟大的神学家”，那么他们难道就不是有神论、不知道神是全能的宇宙的主宰？他们的教导就没有“高举圣经”，不承认“圣灵默示了圣经”，甚至不让保罗的教导见天日了吗？作为改革宗的神学家，可以高举加尔文，也可以刻意强调他的一些特点和优点，无可厚非，但不能将一些共识性、常识性的认知，偏执性地硬当成加尔文及其主义的“特质”，否则有侵吞他人“财富”和为自己脸上贴金之嫌，尤其是对于那些非专业的人士来说，会据此以为奥古斯丁、威克里夫、路德等神学家即便很伟大，但涉及圣经和信仰的缺点和错误太多，而只有加尔文才是最正确的。

还不仅如此，作者在“导论”中，一边掩饰不住地赞美加尔文“总是以圣经为自己立论的依据，圣经有提示的，他就加以发展；圣经没有线索的，他就不去论述”；一边又刻意强调加尔文“总是以斩钉截铁的口气发表其论点”，“观察敏锐，又善于推理”，“有一流的推理能力”，“分析问题也能深入核心”。这两个被赞美的优点，明显存在内在的冲突，即如果强调“以圣经为自己立论的依据”，就不能同时强调另一点——“善于推理”。这是圣经学界的基本共识。

那么，作为加尔文“善于推理”的结果，双重预定论是否符合圣经教导呢？

一般来说，逻辑性的推理或推论（deductive logic），是人在确定命题或前提的情形下，进行内容和形式上的推论，主要包括演绎推理与归纳推理，其原理来自古希腊哲学家柏拉图、亚里士多德及其著名的三段论（syllogism）——深度影响了欧洲人的认知，包括 Gottschalk⁴、大阿尔伯特、托马斯·阿奎那等神学家都是其大力实践者，也包括加尔文，只是他自己缺乏这方面的反思。比如他说：“我们称预定论为神自己决定各人一生将如何的永恒谕旨，因神不是以同样的目的创造万人，他预定一些人得永生，且预定其他的人永远灭亡。因此，既然每一个人都是为了这两种目的的其中之一被创造，所以我们说他被预定得生命或受死。”（加尔文二十二、二十三、二十四章中加以论证。）

为了方便，这里不妨把加尔文的这段话做一下拆分，即大前提是神决定每个人的命运，或神不以同样的目的创造人；小前提是一部分人被神预定得永生；结论是：另一部人被预定受永死。

在这一命题的推理中，即使大、小前提都是正确的，推理过程也有效，但结论未必一定是对的，因为命题首先就涉及莱布尼茨早已区分的事实真理和逻辑真理，即逻辑真理纯粹基于逻辑规则和语言结构，也就是只要前提为真，推理过程符合逻辑，那么结论就为真，而这个真，仅仅是逻辑上的真，并不一定符合事实上的真。其次，命题的大前提并不周全，或者本身就存在加尔文可能没有意识到的“歧义”，比如神的决定，在能力来说是一定的，因为神是全知全能的，但在不强迫的情形下，也会允许人选择的自由意志存在；小前提也一样，比如神创造万人的目的是不同的，但未必一定指向祂要创造一些人不得救。而且结论项并不符合三段论，所以不能直接推论出那样的结论。

即使就是一个标准的三段论，也并非无懈可击，比如罗素曾指出的：“作为形式逻辑的结局而不是作为形式逻辑的开端”，三段论会面对三种批评：“（1）这一体系本身之内的形式的缺点；（2）比起演绎论证的其他形式来，对于三段论式估价过高；（3）作为演绎法之作为一种论证的形式估价过高。”⁵笛卡尔在谈方法的主要规则时所指出的：“在逻辑学方面，三段论式与大部分其他法则只能用来向别人说明已知的东西，……并不能求知未知的东西。这门学问虽然确实含有很多非常正确、非常出色的法则，其中也混杂着不少有害或者多余的东西。”⁶他还在《指导心灵的规则》中指出：“在我们追求真理的直接道路上，不应将力气用在无法达到与算术几何证明同样确实的对象上。”⁷

包括形式逻辑的推理本身，也早就有人指出其中的问题，比如哥德尔和维特根斯坦都曾在批判罗素的《数学原理》时指出“哥德尔不完备定理”，也就是逻辑推理是有边界的，一旦超过边界，逻辑本身就成了问题。涉及上帝的意志的问题，就是一个明显越界例证。

4 其双重预定论也是借助三段论推导而出。

5 Luo Su (Bertrand Arthur William Russell): 《西方哲学史》(Xifang zhexueshi) 【History of Western Philosophy】(上), 何兆武 (He Zhaowu) 等译, 商务印书馆 (Shangwu yinshuguan) 【Commerical Press】1963 年, 第 254 页。

6 Di Ka'er (Descartes, R.): 《谈谈方法》(Tantan Fangfa) 【Discourse on the Method】, 王太庆译, 商务印书馆 2000 年, 第 15 页。

7 The Philosophical Works of Descartes, volume I, P.5.

也就是说，在方法论上，包括三段论在内的逻辑推理，并非是完美的，而且存在弊端。因此，神学界的共识是，解读圣经和建立教义时，如果没有明确的经文支持，应该谨慎或尽量避免使用逻辑推理。奥古斯丁在《论基督教教义》中也曾指出：“逻辑学在探究和解答《圣经》里出现的各种难题上具有十分重大的作用，只是在使用的时候必须小心，不可沉溺到好辩和诱使对手陷入圈套这种幼稚的虚妄之中。因为有许多所谓的‘sophisms’，即错误的推论，但与真理非常相近，不但愚人容易上当，聪明人若是不保持警惕，也会被蒙骗。”⁸加尔文自己在《基督教要义》中也警醒地说：“所有的神学家都承认：人的理智深受罪的影响。”⁹

既然加尔文先生也认同人的理智和逻辑推理有限，那么就可以借此检验一下他的学说：“我们称预定论为神自己决定各人一生将如何的永恒谕旨，因神不是以同样的目的创造万人，他预定一些人得永生，且预定其他的人永远灭亡。因此，既然每一个人都是为了这两种目的的其中之一被创造，所以我们说他被预定得生命或受死。”（加尔文二十二、二十三、二十四章中加以论证。）

为了方便，这里不妨把加尔文的这段话做一下拆分，即大前提是神决定每个人的命运，或神不以同样的目的创造人；小前提是一部分人被神预定得永生；结论是：另一部人被预定受永死。

尽管这样的拆分不具备三段论的充分特性，但其中的逻辑相关性也是明显的。那么，在这一命题和逻辑推理中，即使大、小前提都是正确的，推理过程也是有效的，但结论未必一定是对的。再比如很多人都例举的案例：大前提：玛利亚是耶稣的母亲。小前提：耶稣是神。结论：因此，玛利亚是母神。这一三段论，恐怕只有天主教会认同，而加尔文本人一定反对。对此，英国 Birkbeck College 的哲学教授 D.W. Hamlyn 曾警告说：“所有有效的前提结合起来，不一定产生正确的三段论法。亚里士多德的理论是要指出哪些是正确的三段论法，并要提供其有效性的证据。”¹⁰不幸的是，正如神学家 Alister McGrath 所指出的：“亚里士多德对十六世纪后期的改革派神学的影响尤为显著：三段论法的痕迹随处可见……”并“成了日内瓦神学院 (Genevan Academy) 课程重要的内容”。¹¹

接下来我们结合圣经，具体分析和检验一下加尔文的双重预定论，看看对其批评是否如加尔文在著作中说的是“仇敌”的“吹毛求疵的异议”¹²，还是根本上就是错误的教义？

首先，圣经中并没有直接的经文支持预定永死这样的结论，加尔文在二十三章中举证最有力的经文是马太福音 15:13 和罗马书 9: 13（玛拉基书 1:2-3）、18、20-21。

先来看马太福音 15:13 的经文“耶稣回答说：‘凡栽种的物，若不是我天父栽种的，必要拔出来。’”这句经文中耶稣说的“必要拔出来”，针对的是前一句经文中的门徒提及的“法利赛人听见这话不服”，也就是耶稣批评法利赛人和文士的错误教导，就像瞎子领错路掉进坑里（马太福音 15:14），日后审判时会被“拔出来”，而不是加尔文所解读的“一切为天父所不喜悦在自己田里栽种作为圣洁的树，都是祂预定灭亡的树”，更不能证明“弃绝的教义”¹³。

再来看加尔文仰仗的玛拉基书中的经文“爱雅各，恨以扫”。这一句经文的上下文语境是：以色列人先质疑上帝：“你在何事上爱我们呢？”上帝回答说：“以扫不是雅各的哥哥吗？我却爱雅各。”经

8 《论灵魂及其起源》，石敏敏译，中国社会科学出版社 2017 年，第 76 页。

9 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*，上册二卷 2:4，钱曜诚等译，三联书店出版 2010 年，第 235 页。

10 *The Penguin History of Western Philosophy* (Penguin UK, 1990), P60.

11 *A Life of John Calvin: A Study in the Shaping of Western Culture* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1993), P168, 216.

12 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*，中册三卷 21:5，钱曜诚等译，三联书店出版 2010 年，第 930 页。

13 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*，中册三卷 23:1，钱曜诚等译，三联书店出版 2010 年，第 955 页。

文的意思是，雅各虽然不是长子，而且与以扫一样是罪人，但却得到上帝的拣选和偏爱，这难道不是上帝爱以色列人的体现和证明吗？

被加尔文看重的所谓“恨”（*שנא*），其实是拒绝和未拣选的意思，而并非是真的“恨”和弃绝。这是一种希伯来文的对比式表达，跨文化背景下的加尔文在理解上出现了文化休克，所以不但误解了这句经文，而且还无视保罗在罗马书 11:1a、2a 中所说的：“我且说，神弃绝了他的百姓吗？断乎没有！”“神并没有弃绝他预先所知道的百姓。”

关于“恨”，还可以参照路加福音 14:26 中“*hate his father and mother*”（NIV）。耶稣在这里说的“恨”（*hate*），只是告诉门徒们要爱他胜过一切，甚至超过最亲近的父母，就像创世纪 29:30 中的经文“爱拉结胜似爱利亚”一样，而并非真要门徒们去“恨”他们的父母。再比如路加福音 16:13 中的“恶这个爱那个”。经文的意思就是后半句的“重这个轻那个”的一种平行表达，也就是存在偏心，但并非矛盾对立的关系。类似的犹太人的表达，还有哥林多前书 1:17a：“基督差遣我，原不是为施洗，乃是传福音。”这里的意思，并不是说保罗真的不施洗，而只是说他的使命是以传讲福音为主。

至于保罗在罗马书 9:13 中引用玛拉基书这句经文，目的是针对犹太人指责他说“因信称义”和救恩适用于外邦而对犹太人来说是让“神的话落了空”（罗马书 9: 6a）和神有“什么不公平”（罗马书 9:14b）做出回应，所以他说：“双子还没有生下来，善恶还没有作出来，只因要显明神拣选人的旨意，不在乎人的行为，乃在乎召人的主”。（罗马书 9:11-12）最后的半句话，才是保罗的关注点，意思就是说，人得救是神的旨意和恩典，“只在乎发怜悯的神”（罗马书 9:16b），跟人的好坏行为和是否是犹太人无关，拣选是在出生前就已经确定的事情，只有属亚伯拉罕、以撒的信徒才能得救。所以保罗的意思，根本就不是为了说“恨以扫”并弃绝他。

或者即便是按照“恨”的意思去理解——因为经文随即就体现了这方面的意思，但经文也并非说是神事先预定了“恨”以扫，而是因为以扫、以东人的邪恶，比如拒绝摩西等人从他们的地界经过（民数记 19:17-21），比如以东人，对以色列人落井下石、趁火打劫（以西结书 35:2-15），比如俄巴底书全书所写，所以才遭受“山岭荒凉”、“地业交给旷野的野狗”，“任他们建造，我必拆毁。人必称他们的地位罪恶之境，称他们的民为耶和华永远恼怒之民”等惩罚结果。（玛拉基书 1:2-4）包括耶利米书 32:37b 中所说的“弃绝（*reject*）他们”，也是因为“以色列人后裔一切所行的”。如果忽视了这其中的因果逻辑，就不能正确地解释经文。

作为加尔文立论的最重要的几处证据，竟然是忽视上下文而误解经文的结果，而作为追随者的 Boettner 先生，竟然没有发现并予以指出和辨析，还在那里爱屋及乌地强作辩护，足见宗派立场和个人崇拜实在是害人不浅。

其次，推理与结论之间，没有考虑到被造者的主观因素——并非伯拉纠、阿米念主义所认为的那种自由意志，而是奥古斯丁、马丁·路德、加尔文都强调过的“不自由”的自由意志问题。¹⁴也就是说，作为亚当堕落后的人，丧失了行义的自由意志——等于不自由，却可以有不能行义的自由意志——等于作恶的自由，即拒绝恩典和福音的负面的自由意志。那么，这样的人遭遇不得救的结果，是因为这人作为“那可怒、预备遭毁灭的器皿”（罗马书 9:22b）和“顽梗不化的”（罗马书 11:7b）自取灭亡，即如以西结书 33:4 的经文所说：“凡听见角声不受警戒的，刀剑若来除灭了他，他的罪就必归到

14 参见奥古斯丁的《论自由意志》、马丁·路德的《论意志的捆绑》和加尔文的 *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 的上册二卷 2:4-9。

自己的头上”；或如约翰福音 3:19 所说的：“光来到世间，世人因自己的行为是恶的，不爱光倒爱黑暗，定他们的罪就是在此。”神在这个过程中，就如加尔文自己所承认的：“祂之后因他们的忘恩负义就公义地离弃他们”¹⁵，所以保罗才在罗马书 11: 8 和 9 中引用以赛亚书 29:10 和诗篇 69:23 说：“神给他们昏迷的心，眼睛不能看见，耳朵不能听见”；“愿他们的眼睛昏瞶，不得看见”。在这其中，神是因为人的顽梗、拒不悔改后采取了对付法老那样的律法惩治，不能将其理解和推论为神预定这样的人受永死。这是其一。

其二，因为神预定了耶稣作为救恩，所以在主观上希望跟人类沟通和交流，而在客观上，人类也可以借助基督与神进行对话和回应。这个过程中，作为主宰一切的神的拣选和预定，“并不是抽象的拣选。祂抓住具体的人，计划使他们从罪人转变为神的义人”；而作为被创造和被拯救的人，“对于神所托付给他们的事情”，如果拒绝，就“负有完全的责任”。¹⁶

这一违背希腊哲学认识论的《圣经》教导，的确让人类陷入理性和逻辑的理解障碍中，于是“聪明的神学家”，要么像伯拉纠主义那样强调“唯人的意志论”，要么就像 Gottschalk、加尔文主义那样强调“唯神决定论”或“（罪责）非个人决定论”，双方看上去矛盾冲突，但不过是一个平面问题的两端，即不自觉、也不得不地进入希腊哲学式的“二元选择”——另外的案例是“唯心主义”和“唯物主义”。但是《圣经》超越理性范畴（简称超理性），真正有智慧的神学家应该建基于这一人类选择的难题（A. W. Pink 称其为：the Gordian knot of theology¹⁷）上，进行不同维度的神学思辨式的解经和教义阐释，否则难免误入歧途。

其三，如果双重预定论成立，甚至无懈可击，那么同样也必须回应圣经中一些具体案例。比如出埃及记 32 章中的“金牛犊事件”，若基于“十诫”（出埃及记 20:3-5、22:20）和上帝与选民的西奈之约（24 章），以亚伦为首的以色列人将为违约而全体遭受死亡的惩罚。但是，上帝却宽恕了其中的绝大多数，仅惩罚了那三千拒绝悔改并继续“放肆”的以色列人。这时，该怎么应用双重预定论呢？如果三千受惩罚的以色列人可以解释为被预定永死，而不是因为他们拒绝悔改，那其他应该被惩罚而未被惩罚的以色列人该如何解释他们悔改的行为呢？再比如，约拿书中，上帝让先知约拿通告“再等四十日，尼尼微必倾覆了”（3:4）。这时是否意味着上帝起初就已经预定尼尼微人永死的结局呢？还是上帝不过是说他们若不悔改四十日后将被“倾覆”？从后来尼尼微人认罪悔改并没有被“倾覆”的结局来说，显然上帝并没有预定他们永死，而是给了他们这次悔改的机会，正如约拿在祷告中说上帝是“有丰盛的慈爱，并且后悔不降所说的灾”（4:2），上帝自己也说：“这尼尼微大城，其中不能分辨左手右手的有十二万多人，并有许多牲畜，我岂能不爱惜呢？”（4:11）

经过上述论辩，再来看帖撒罗尼迦前书 5:9 中的经文：“因为神不是预订我们受刑，乃是预定我们藉着我们主耶稣基督得救。”可以说，预定论的问题应该画上句号了，上帝的旨意很清楚。如果再向前推理，就如亚当犯罪是出于上帝一样的问题了，而这个问题，奥古斯丁等神学家早已经解释得非常清楚，即恶从人来，只是神允许它发生而已。加尔文在 *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 的上册第二卷第一、第二、第三章中也都曾予以赞同和附和，他还说“罪不是人受造时的本性，而是堕落后的本性”，

15 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 中册三卷 24: 8, 钱曜诚等译, 三联书店出版 2010 年, 第 982 页。

16 *Confessing the Gospel A Lutheran Approach to Systematic Theology*, Volume 2(Concordia Publishing House, 2017), P1221-1222.

17 *The Sovereignty of God*(Grand Rapids: Baker, 1930), P178.

“我们不要忘记我们的败坏是因自己本性的堕落，免得我们指控那创造我们本性的神”。¹⁸Boettner 先生在第十七章中也承认：“罪绝对不能用逻辑或理性来解释，因为罪的本质就是不合逻辑，不合理性。”那么，“不得救”或“永死”的结果，显然是罪的本质的体现，而不是加尔文、Boettner 先生等人看似合理的逻辑推论——神预定其永死。或者，如果加尔文、Boettner 认为人的永死是神预定的，即如加尔文所说的“神不只允许，也预定亚当的堕落和他所弃绝的人”¹⁹，那么据此就要承认，亚当犯罪的原因在神，二者必居其一，否则就是同一性质的问题的分裂看法或双重标准了。

如果上述辨析在一定意义上成立，这时再回头看奥古斯丁一千多年前的警告，不得不惊叹他的预言：“有效的推理过程可以引出错误的结论，合乎逻辑的推论得出对方的错误观点。这些结论常常是由某个良善而博学的人引出的。”²⁰这样的预言也在后世神学家那里得到呼应，比如 Merrill Unger 就在《传道学的原则》中不无担忧地指出：“推论式分析的错谬明显可见，所得出来的结论并不比前提更确定。许多在科学和哲学上出现的错误，就是因为忘记了这情况。当我们论到神学的范畴，情况更为可怕。经文中不能用归纳法来带出的概论，往往被用作前提来作推理。在典型的三段论法中所得出的结论是由前提机械地产生的，症结的问题是怎样证实前提是可靠的。”²¹因此说，在双重预定论这个问题上，加尔文绝非像他自己所说的那样是在追随奥古斯丁。这时再看 Boettner 先生在“导论”中所说的“从古到今，许多支持预定论的人都是品格高尚、绝顶聪明的”，似乎就是一句禁不住推敲的反讽话了。

加尔文在 *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 中引述了奥古斯丁的一句话：“当一位雄辩家被问及，演讲的要诀是什么时”，连续得到的三个答复都是“表达的技巧”。²²奥古斯丁是罗马帝国时期著名的修辞学家，说出这番话自然有一定的权威性，而相比生活于 20 世纪的 Boettner 先生，在这方面无疑缺少基本训练，因此也大大影响了他为预定论做强势辩护的初衷。

18 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 上册二卷 1:10, 钱曜诚等译, 三联书店出版 2010 年, 第 228-229 页。

19 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 中册三卷 23: 8, 钱曜诚等译, 三联书店出版 2010 年, 第 963 页。

20 《论灵魂及其起源》，石敏敏译，中国社会科学出版社 2017 年，第 76 页。

21 *Principles of Expository Preaching*(Zondervan Publishing Company,1973), P113.

22 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 上册二卷 2:11, 钱曜诚等译, 三联书店出版 2010 年, 第 244-245 页。

English Title: Defending the Hardness of Double Predestination - Centered on Burtner's The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination

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Abstract: Calvin's doctrine of double predestination was so influential and controversial that Bertner, a Reformed theologian, wrote The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination in defense of this doctrine, but both this defense work and the doctrine of double predestination itself have specific and obvious flaws, including problems such as the improper use of logical inferences and incorrect citations of Scripture as evidence. Thus, instead of serving the purpose of defense, it went further astray in defending sectarianism.

Key words: Double predestination, Calvin, Burtner

超越、内在超越与超越生死 ——《孟子与保罗生死伦理比较研究》评议

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提要：随着当下全球地缘政治以及逆全球化浪潮的加剧，文明的冲突在今天有愈演愈烈的趋势，因而文明之间的对话和沟通也就显得愈发迫切和重要。基于这一背景，《孟子与保罗生死伦理比较研究》一书就显得尤为重要。本书从前提与基础，方式与途径，目标与极限，境界与体验等多个角度对孟子及保罗的生死伦理进行了系统性的比较研究。然而美中不足的是，本书并未对超越、内在超越以及超越生死等概念做深入的分析，因而在理论层面稍显不足。实际上，“超越”概念作为一个舶来品，在其传译过程中存在不少误解和误用。本文在作者的基础上进一步区分了这一概念的名词性涵义和动词性涵义。同时，本文还认为“内在而超越”并不是儒家的专属特征，也是许多基督教学者对上帝的定义。因而在具体使用“内外在超越”来区分儒基的基本特征时，学者应持审慎的态度，谨慎使用这对范畴。最后，本文认为，生死超越是儒基共同关注的基本问题，二者分别从精神与属灵的层面追求和实现对死亡的超越。但是在具体的超越方法上，二者又都以入世精神为主，即，强调此生、伦理以及社会责任的重要性。

关键词：超越、内在超越、外在超越、超越生死

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截至 2023 年，全球基督徒约有 24 亿，超过世界总人口的三分之一。基督教无疑仍是世界第一宗教。与此同时，随着中国对世界政治、经济、文化等多方面的参与，儒家的地位也水涨船高，逐渐受到全世界的关注。孔孟也因此被视为中华民族的精神与文化象征而走向世界¹。在此背景下，儒耶的相遇乃至冲突都是无可避免的。这对当代学者来说，既是一个巨大挑战，也是一种幸运。

挑战是因为，儒基的深入比较和对话在当前仍是一项艰难的工作。学者不仅要深刻理解二家的精髓，掌握儒基各自的背景和发展历程，还要避免因自身的前见而带来的种种学术偏见，避免因个人的主观信仰或政治立场来影响学术判断。幸运则是，儒基对话是一个内容丰富，前途无限的领域，是一项值得学者奉献一生的事业。从衣、食、住、行等日用平常，到尽心、知命、天人合一、人性论、救赎与恩典、超越及死亡等核心命题与基本概念，都可以成为儒基对话的主题，并通过对话来贡献于当今世界的

¹ Bell, D. A., & Hahm, C., *Confucianism for the modern world*, (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2-5.

和平发展。本书正是这方面的一个典范。通过对孟子与保罗的生死伦理比较，本书为构建当代具有普世价值的生死哲学做出了突出贡献。

如海德格尔所说，死亡问题是此在“最本己的”，同时也是“不确定的、不可逾越的可能性”。²面对死亡的不可抗拒性，以及其随时随地都可能发生的偶然性与神秘性，世界各大宗教和文明都对死、死后世界以及永生进行了无限遐想。这些遐想中有非理性的尝试，也有理性的探索，但究其根本，各大宗教与文明的本意无非是希望为现实人生提供指引，以超越死亡的局限，至少是助人克服对死亡的恐惧。孟子和保罗显然是这方面的大师。前者有舍生取义之教，后者则使人凭“信心”生活，其言曰：“行事为人，是凭着信心，不是凭着眼见。我们坦然无惧，是更愿意离开身体与主同住”（哥后 5:6-7）。自这一角度来说，本书的重心也就体现在第五章，即，孟子与保罗的生死超越论。准确地理解孟子与保罗的生死伦理，并由此引申来发掘儒基在生死超越问题上的异同则并非易事。本书的可贵之处便在于，作者通过对孟子及保罗各自时代和人生经历的考察，系统地讨论了孟子和保罗在关于超越生死的前提与基础，方式与途径，目标与极限，超越的境界与体验上的异同，从而为后续研究提供了一种有意义的参考和指引。然而有些遗憾的是，本书未能就“超越”、“生死超越”以及“内外在超越”等做概念上的深入辨析，这在一定程度上影响了读者对于这些问题的准确理解。

“超越”一词在汉语中早已有之，其本义为胜过或超出。但该词受到中国学术界的特别重视则是相当晚近的事情，尤其是与近代康德哲学的引入有关。康德哲学区分了“transcendental”与“transcend”。其中，前者被译为超验或先验，用以指经验的前提和基础，而后者则通常被译为“超越”，意指超出一切知识之外（包括先验的和经验的），属于不可知的³。而在康德之前，这两个词实际上指的都是上帝对此方世界的超出，也就是，上帝外在于其所创造的人与世界中。因为基督教认为，上帝从无中造了有（ex nihilo），所以在造物之先，必定有一个上帝外在于万物的阶段。这是基督教中“超越”概念的基础，也是中文“超越”概念中所缺少的涵义。

在当代的儒基比较中，中国学者常常将“超越”与“内在”和“外在”连在一起使用，而有“内在超越”和“外在超越”的说法，并以它们来表示儒基在超越问题上的不同取向。但是这对儿概念在具体应用中存在许多问题。直到目前，学界关于它们的争议还有很多。一些支持这对范畴的学者认为，“内在超越”是为应对西方宗教的挑战而出现，这一概念为中西比较研究提供了一个准确而具体的切入点，使得中西对话能够摆脱一般的泛泛而论，而真正深入到两者的核心问题上⁴。并且，以内在超越来概括儒家，不仅肯定了中国文化中存在的超越性因素，而且也特别地凸显出中国文化在调处人与天、内与外之关系上的优越性。但也有学者提出反对意见，认为，“内外在超越”的说法既不符合逻辑，也不符合事实。其反对的理由主要来自三个方面：首先，如郝大维、安乐哲等西方学者认为，儒家的天是“自然发生的现象世界的一般表征”，因而是“完全内在的”，不具有任何超越意义⁵；其次，也有学者认为，在

2 Martin Heidegger, 《存在与时间》*Cun zai yu shi jian*[Being and Time], 陈嘉映 Chen Jiaying, 王庆节 Wang Qingjie 译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu Yinshuguan[The Commercial Press], 2016), 357.

3 参见 Norman Kemp Smith, 《康德“纯粹理性批判”解义》*Kang De "Chun Cui Li Xing Pi Pan" Jie Yi*, 韦卓民 Wei Zhuomin 译, (武汉 Wuhan: 华中师范大学 Huazhong Shifan Daxue, 2000), 114-116.

4 许志伟、赵敦华主编 Xu Zhiwei, Zhao Dunhua, 《冲突与互补:基督教哲学在中国》*Chongtu yu Hubiao: Jidujiao Zhexue zai Zhongguo*, (北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 Shehui Kexue Chubanshe [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2000), 79.

5 郝大维 Hao Dawei, 安乐哲 An Lezhe, 《孔子哲学思微》*Kongzi Zhexue Siwei*, 蒋弋为 Jiang Yiwei, 李志林 Li Zhilin 译, (南京 Nanjing: 江苏人民出版社 Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe [Jiangsu People's Publishing House]), 155-158.

基督教的语境中，transcend 本就与内在相对，而具有外在的涵义。因此“外在超越”相当于是说“外在的外在”，既无意义也不符合逻辑。⁶最后，有学者指出，超越一词具有多个位面的涵义，当它用来指人的超越行为时，无论是内在还是外在超越都势必是一个从主体内部开始而及于外在的过程。即使是基督徒的超越行为也必然要从上帝入驻其内心开始。因而，本质上并不存在“内外在超越”两种不同的超越方式⁷。

在笔者看来，造成上述争执和乱象的原因，部分是在于“超越”一词本身的复杂性，部分则是与学者于中西对话、宗教与哲学对话中的特殊立场和需求有关。这点在部分新儒家身上体现的尤为明显。

起初，唐君毅与牟宗三可以说都是在名词意义上使用“超越”一词，也即，将超越理解为“超越者”自身所含有的一种特殊属性，或是将超越作为“超越者”的缩略语使用。如，唐君毅在其 1953 年出版的《中国文化之精神价值》一书中指出：“在中国思想中……天一方不失其超越性 在人与万物之上；一方亦内在人与万物之中。”⁸而牟宗三在其关于“天道内在而超越”的一段著名论述中，则这样说：“天道高高在上，有超越的含义。天道贯注于人身之时，又内在于人而为人的人性，这时天道又是内在的（Immanent）。因此，我们可以康德喜用的字眼，说天道一方面是超越的（Transcendent），另一方面又是内在的（Immanent 与 Transcendent 是相反字）。天道既超越又内在，此时可谓兼具宗教与道德的意味，宗教重超越义，而道德重内在义。”⁹

可见，唐、牟在此都是就“超越者”而言，而将“内在超越”视为超越者的一种属性。“内在超越”在这里的准确涵义应该是“超越者既是内在的又是超越的”，或者说，“天道是内在于人和世界的超越者”。这一表述明显是以“超越者”为论述的中心，而与主体自身的“超越”行为无关。但在牟宗三后来的论述中，“超越”概念则明显超出了其原初的名词意，而着重指人向上超拔的自我超越（self-transcendent）行为。如他在《现象与物自身》中说，“性理是就能起道德创造（即德行之纯亦不已）之超越的根据言，此即是性体，扩大而为‘于穆不已’之道体，成为存有论的实有性，即是万物之体性，万物底存在之超越的所以然。凡此，皆是客观地言之也。而性理不离道德的本心，乃即于道德的本心而见。此本心之自由自律、自定方向、自立法则，就是理，亦可以说就是性之所以焉性，性理之所以为理。此本心，依阳明，即曰‘知体明觉’。”¹⁰显然，在这段论述中，人已经取代“天”而成为“超越”的论述中心。“内在超越”也就不再专指天的属性，而是指人凭借其内在的本心、性理，通过明觉与敬等方式实现自我超越的努力。

6 邓定 Deng Ding, 《宗教性生存伦理视域下的超越与有限—基于关系本身视角与形式显示方法》Zong jiao xing sheng cun lun li shi yu xia de chao yue yu you xian—ji yu guan xi ben shen shi jiao yu xing shi xian shi fang fa, (清华西方哲学研究 Qinghua Xifang Zhexue Yanjiu[Tsinghua Studies in Western Philosophy], (01), 2024), 312-324.

7 任剑涛 Ren Jiantao, 内在超越与外在超越:宗教信仰、道德信念与秩序问题 Neizai chaoyue yu waizai chaoyue: zongjiao xinyang, daode xinnian yu zhixu wenti, (中国社会科学(7), 21, 2012).

8 唐君毅 Tang Junyi, 《中国文化之精神价值》Zhongguo Wenhua zhi Jingshen Jiazhi, (桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2005), 336.

9 牟宗三 Mou Zongsan, 《中国哲学的特质》Zhongguo Zhexue de Tezhi, (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai Guji Chubanshe[Shanghai Classics Publishing House], 1997), 21.

10 牟宗三 Mou Zongsan, 《牟宗三先生全集卷 21<现象与物自身>》Mou Zongsan Xiansheng Quanjizhuan 21: Xianxiang yu Wuzhishen, pp. 16-17.

在这种由名词到动词的转向中，体现出牟氏在康德哲学的基础上试图为儒家寻找出路¹¹。牟氏最终的贡献也就在于，他于动词意的内在超越中，将儒家“以德润身”的修养功夫和“万物一体”的超越价值整合，使儒家成为兼具道德与宗教二重特性的独特思想体系¹²。

但是问题在于，在牟氏等新儒家的讨论中，他们并未注意到，“内在超越”并非儒家“天道”所特有的专长。首先，就“内在超越”的名词涵义来说，唐、牟二人关于天道“既超越又内在”的说法，也是许多基督教学者对上帝的定义。如托马斯·阿奎纳就认为，作为万物的第一成因，上帝是绝对超越的，他是区别于万物的第一存在（the First Being, primum ens），是自立的存在本身¹³。但同时，因为上帝决定了万物的本性，“他对每一物而言都是最内在者，他立于万物的最深处”，因而他也是内在的。¹⁴此外，如牛津英文词典，在以上帝来说明 immanent 时，这样定义，“存在于或活动于其中……特别是指（上帝）永久地渗透并维持宇宙。”¹⁵而同时定义 transcendence 为，“特指上帝：超越并独立于宇宙的属性；与内在性相区别。”¹⁶故而，就字面意思来看，牟宗三关于天道超越的名词性表述着实也可用于上帝。

其次，就内在超越的动词意来说，“内在”这一概念因论述对象的变化而发生变化。此时，所谓的“内外在”是以道德主体而非现实世界为划分的标准，即，“内在”是指主体内部的心灵或理性，而外在则指主体之外的“客观”世界。于是，“内在超越”指的是主体“通过心来求索超越的道。”¹⁷而“外在超越”则指，“依赖信奉外在的至上神或者某种形而上实体，克服人自身先天的罪业和有限性，将自身提升到绝对圆满的永恒境界。”¹⁸但事实上，无论是儒家的德性修养还是基督教的恩典救赎，都是一个主客相融，内外和合的过程。就主体之超越行为的形式结构而言，儒基之间并无区别。¹⁹我们当然不是要据此来否定德性修养与启示救赎之间的差异性，只是笔者认为，我们在区别儒基的自我超越道路时，或许要寻找比内外在超越更具解释力的概念来进行区分。在这一方面，张世英的纵向超越和横向超越²⁰，田薇的自力和他力救赎等都可以说是一种有意义的尝试。²¹尽管这些概念也未能完全避免争

11 关于牟宗三的这种转向，可以进一步参见郑家栋 Zheng Jiadong, “超越”与“内在超越”-牟宗三与康德之间 “Chao Yue” yu “Neizai Chao Yue”: Mou Zongsan yu Kangde zhijian, (中国社会科学 Zhongguo Shehui Kexue (4), 43-53, 2001).

12 李明辉 Li Minghui, 《儒家人文主义与宗教》Rujia Renwen Zhuyi yu Zongjiao, (宗教与哲学 Zongjiao yu Zhexue[Religion and Philosophy], (1), 2014), 13.

13 Thomas Aquinas, 《神学大全》Shenxue Daquan, 高旭东 Gao Xudong, 陈家华 Chen Jiahua 译, (中华道明会/碧岳学社联合出版 Zhonghua Daominghui/Biyue Xueshe Lianhe Chubanshe, 2008), 55. 关于阿奎那的超越与内在，另见，Hampton, A. J. Transcendence and Immanence: Deciphering Their Relation through the Transcendentals in Aquinas and Kant, (Toronto journal of theology, 34(2), 2018), 187-198.

14 Thomas Aquinas. 《神学大全》Shenxue Daquan, 高旭东 Gao Xudong, 陈家华 Chen Jiahua 译, (中华道明会/碧岳学社联合出版 Zhonghua Daominghui/Biyue Xueshe Lianhe Chubanshe, 2008), 92. 此外，如奥弗涅的威廉，埃克哈特大师等也都有类似上帝内在的观点。请见 Dupre, L. Transcendence and Immanence as Theological Categories, (Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America, 2012), 31.

15 见牛津英文辞典网络版 Niu jin yingwen cidian wangluoban [Oxford English Dictionary Online], 2025, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/immanent_adj

16 见牛津英文辞典网络版 Niu jin yingwen cidian wangluoban [Oxford English Dictionary Online], 2025, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/transcendence_n

17 张汝伦 Zhang Rulun, 《论“内在超越”》Lun “nei zai chao yue”, (哲学研究 Zhexue Yanjiu [Philosophical Research], 000(003), 2018), 81-89.

18 赵法生 Zhao Fasheng, 《论孔子中的道超越》Lun Kongzi de Zhongdao Chao Yue, (哲学研究 Zhexue Yanjiu [Philosophical Research], (4), 2020), 11.

19 任剑涛 Ren Jiantao, 内在超越与外在超越: 宗教信仰、道德信念与秩序问题 Neizai chaoyue yu waizai chaoyue: zongjiao xinyang, daode xinnian yu zhixu wenti, (中国社会科学(7), 21, 2012).

20 张世英 Zhang Shiyong, 《中西哲学对话: 不同而相通》Zhongxi Zhexue Duihua: Butong er Xiangtong, (上海 Shanghai: 东方出版中心 Dongfang Chuban Zhongxin [Orient Publishing Center], 2020), 38-47. 此外，亦有西方学者使用了纵向和横向超越的说法，但用法与张氏不同。请见 Lars Sandbeck, God as immanent transcendence in Mark C. Taylor and John D. Caputo, (Studia Theologica, 65:1, 2011), 18-38. Lars 认为纵向超越是超越者内在化人/物的过程，是上帝自上而下的自我启示活动；横向超越是内在的人/物超越自身的过程，是人类的自我超越与创造。但这两种超越都被认

议，但它们至少可以避免由“内外在超越”所引起的语意混乱，以及其在逻辑上的明显错谬。

总体而言，笔者认为，超越（transcendence）与内在（immanence）无论是在宗教还是在哲学领域，无论是名词还是动词，都是一对儿颇为复杂的概念，很难用三言两语概括清楚。但无论如何，上帝内在而超越对基督教而言都绝非离经叛道，不可接纳的概念²²。此外，如果我们要保留“内外在超越”的说法，并使其成为刻画儒家与基督教基本属性的一对儿范畴，我们就必须严格限定它们的使用范围。简言之，我们最好是将“内外在超越”中的“超越”限定为名词性的超越者，或者形容词性的“超越的”。并将“内在”与“外在”限定为对“超越者”与现实世界之关系的描述。²³同时，在使用这一概念的过程中，我们还应注意与基督教的原始语境保持距离，尤其是淡化英文“transcendence”一词中所含有的“界限之外”的涵义²⁴。只有这样，我们才能保证是在同一个位面上谈论“超越”，并将“外在”与“内在”相对而又不至于造成语意上的重复和逻辑上的混乱。

基于上述讨论，我们便可以清楚，本书所讨论的孟子与保罗对生死的“超越”，整体上是主体为出发点，而使用“超越”的动词意，意指，孟子与保罗对生死局限的超出和克服。因此，此“超越”不能与“超越（者）”的概念混淆，因为不存在超越者的生死问题；也不能以内在或外在来进行笼统地概括，因为对孟子与保罗来说，生死超越都是一条内外兼具的道路。

谈及动词性的“超越”，就不得不讲被超越的对象。而要理解生死超越的问题，我们必须要以人的有限性作为讨论的基础。在一般的儒基对话中，人作为有限性的存在至少体现在三个层面：首先，肉体层面的有限性，表现为人的有死性；其次，精神层面的有限性，表现为人在道德伦理，以及社会、文化、制度层面的不完美；最后，属灵层面的有限性，表现为人对上帝的背离²⁵。其中，前两者属于个体

为是“内在超越”。

21 田薇 Tian Wei, 《基督教与儒家—宗教性生存伦理的两种范型》*Jidu jiao yu Rujia—Zongjiao xing shengcun lunli de liang zhong fanxing*, (北京 Beijing: 清华大学出版社 Qinghua Daxue Chubanshe [Tsinghua University Press], 2022).

22 在这一问题上，许多中国学者的结论失于草率和片面。他们往往过于强调儒基间的对立以及上帝的超越性而忽视了上帝的内在性。比如李泽厚就认为，“超越(transcendence)或超验、先验(transcendent、transcendental)一般是基督教流行的概念。‘内在超越’(immanent transcendence)被基督教正宗视为异端邪教。超越者是上帝，不能是人，也不能是人的心灵。上帝可以在你心中，但你的心仍非上帝，上帝仍然是‘全然异者’(The Wholly Other)。人心只能依归上帝、从属上帝、服从上帝，而不能成为上帝或与上帝合一，所以只能是‘外在超越’，而不可能‘内在超越’。”李泽厚 Li Zehou, 《由巫到礼，释礼归仁》*You Wu Dao Li, Shi Li Gui Ren*, (上海 Shanghai: 生活·读书·新知三联书店 Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company], 2015), 125. 显然这一说法只强调了上帝的超越性而未能体会，人作为瓦器、神殿而与上帝和合为一的一面。同时也忽略了基督教本身的复杂性，即使是正统基督教也存在上帝内在的陈述。

23 刘述先 Liu Shuxian, 《论宗教的超越与内在》*Lun Zongjiao de Chao Yue yu Nei Zai*, (二十一世纪网络版 Ershiyi Shiji Wangluo Ban [Twenty-First Century], 2003), 12.

24 实际上，中文语境中的“超越”概念本就在于强调主体 S 对客体 O 的超出，而不强调 S 本身外在于 O。黄玉顺认为，在一般的语义结构：某人超越某物（someone transcends something）中，某物即作为一种被超出的界限。但是这一论述存在一定问题。通常，在中文语境下，主体 S 和客体 O 是同一性质的事物。也就是，我们通常说，某人超越了某人，或是某物超越了某物，表达的是同一性质的事物之间的上下或先后关系。而说某人超越某物时，实际上已经预设了主体 S 和客体 O 之间的异质性，因而这已经是基督教意义下的“超越”概念。见黄玉顺 Huang Yushun, “超验”还是“超凡”——儒家超越观念省思 “Chao Yan” haishi “Chao Fan” — Rujia Chao Yue Guanlian Shen Si, (探索与争鸣 *Tansuo yu Zhengming* (5), 10, 2021). 在这一问题上，郑家栋指出，汉语中的“超越”基本上不具有“界限”的涵义。此处的“界限”，是一个神学的，以及康德哲学意义上的概念。见郑家栋 Zheng Jiadong, “超越”与“内在超越”-牟宗三与康德之间 “Chao Yue” yu “Neizai Chao Yue”: Mou Zongsan yu Kangde zhijian, (中国社会科学 *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* (4), 43-53, 2001).

25 关于人的本质的三分结构，请参见 Paulos Huang, “A Theology of Soul and Body as an Approach for Sinicization of Christianity”, in *Yearbook of Chinese Theology II*, ed. by Paulos Z. Huang (Brill: Leiden and Boston 2016), vii-xix.

之实际生存的实存论层面，为儒基所共有，而属灵层面则为基督教所特有²⁶。因此，在生死超越的问题上，儒基之间的相同与相通就主要体现在前两个层面，而相异则主要体现在最后的属灵层面。

首先，儒家并不追求以肉身超越生死。虽然儒家在死亡的基础上构建了丧祭之礼以及“慎终追远”的制度与文化精神，但肉体的死亡与死后世界并不是儒家，尤其孔孟重点关注的议题。其次，儒家以精神上的超拔为超越死亡的手段，并以精神层面的圆满为人生目标。孔子被匡人围困时，认为自己的命在天而不在人，孟子则有舍生取义之说，子路在死前要先整理好帽子。可见，死亡对于追求成圣成贤的先秦儒者来说并不是最可怕的事情。相比于肉体的死，他们更重视自己的行为和精神是否符合天道、义以及礼的要求。换言之，只要人能在精神与行为上与这些超越性价值契合，生死就能在精神层面被人超越。

在孟子的超越方式上，本书指出，孟子以天道与人道相贯通，将人道五伦视为天道在人间的具体体现。因而孟子超越生死的方式便是在人伦日用中做诚身明善的工夫。通过这种修行，主体就能从下往上，一步步走向超脱，最终达到天人合德的超越境界。可以说，以孟子为代表的儒家之精神超越方式是就现象界而谈现象界。他们并没有另造一个超越界来解释说明为何会存在人的有限性，为何会存在死亡，而只是在既定的现实条件下，给出了一条向上超越的道路²⁷。显然，这一过程中人为的努力被强调。

作为基督徒的保罗则有不同的理解。首先，保罗也不追求肉体层面上的超越死亡。他认为，人的身体本就是软弱、卑下、可朽坏的。他说，“我告诉你们说，血肉之体，不能承受神的国。必朽坏的，不能承受不朽坏的”（哥前 15:50）。其次，保罗追求的是属灵意义上的超越生死。保罗认为，人的肉体仿佛一个“瓦器”，在它里面既承装了罪和死亡，也盛放了“宝贝”和“信心”。前者是在实现属灵超越之前，此时，人由罪主宰。“我也知道，在我里头，就是我肉体之中，没有良善。因为立志为善由得我，只是行出来由不得我。……若我去作所不愿意作的，就不是我作的，乃是住在我里头的罪作的”

（罗 7:18-21）。后者则要在人实现属灵的改变之后，保罗说，“我们所领受的，并不是世上的灵，乃是从神来的灵，叫我们能知道神开恩赐给我们的事”（哥前 2:12）。“因号筒要响，死人要复活成为不朽坏的，我们也要改变”（哥前 15:52）。“岂不知你们是神的殿，神的灵住在你们里头吗？”（哥前 3:16）而完成这一转变的关键在于上帝的恩典，保罗说，“因为罪的工价乃是死；惟有神的恩赐，在我们的主基督耶稣里乃是永生”（罗 6:23）。“他死是向罪死了，只有一次。他活是向神活着”（罗 6:10）。借助超越界，基督教向人解释了主体的有限性以及死亡存在的原因，一言以蔽之，是人与上帝的疏离导致了这些恶果。因此，在保罗看来，实现属灵超越就是要与上帝和好（reconciliation），而超越死亡也就意味着超越罪。只是在这个过程中，人无法凭借自身的力量实现超越²⁸，因而上帝的恩典被强调。只有通过恩典，主体才能越过生而为人的局限，看到并信仰上帝。“属血气的人不领会神圣灵的事，反倒以为愚拙。并且不能知道，因为这些事惟有属灵的人才能看透”（哥前 2:14）。

²⁶ 如黄保罗指出，儒家谈的是肉体与精神之分，而基督教则强调人有灵、魂、肉体之三分。

黄保罗 Huang Baoluo,《儒耶对话在真理观上真的不可沟通吗?——与杜保瑞先生对话》Ru Ye Duihua zai Zhenli Guan shang Zhen de Bu ke Tonggou ma?——yu Du Baorui Xiansheng Duihua,《吉林师范大学学报:人文社会科学版》Jilin Shifan Daxue Xuebao: Renwen Shehui Kexue Ban, 46(4), 2018), 10.

²⁷ 李泽厚 Li Zehou,《由巫到礼,释礼归仁》You Wu Dao Li, Shi Li Gui Ren, (上海 Shanghai: 生活·读书·新知三联书店 Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian[SDX Joint Publishing Company], 2015), 125.

²⁸ 罪是从一人入了世界，死又是从罪来的，于是死就临到众人，因为众人都犯了罪。没有律法之先，罪已经在世上……然而从亚当到摩西，死就作了王，连那些不与亚当犯一样罪过的，也在他的权下。（罗 5:12-14）

就实现生死超越的具体方法而言，本书的一大贡献是强调了儒基的入世特性。因为儒基所追求的不是肉身飞升或是灵魂的轮回业报，而是追求于此生，于当下发生精神或属灵层面的彻底转化，从而破除主体对死的恐惧和生的执着。在这一过程中，生死超越不仅与个人相关，也与其家庭、社会责任紧密相连。孟子这一点上自不必多说。保罗也是一样。虽然保罗区分了人与上帝和人与世界的关系，并强调前者的优先性，但他并没有因此舍弃人在世界和他人面前（*Coram mundo/Coram hominibus/in front of the world/in front of human beings*）的责任。²⁹他甚至强调，只有在妥善地应对人与世界和人与他人的关系中，才能彰显人对上帝的“信”，与上帝的真正和好。如他说，“好好管理自己的家，使儿女凡事端庄顺服。人若不知道管理自己的家，焉能照管神的教会呢？”（提前 3: 4-3: 5）“若有人不肯做工，就不可吃饭”，“要安静做工，吃自己的饭”（帖后 3:10—11）。故而总结来说，在超越方式上，保罗的观点是，在上帝面前（*Coram Deo/in front of God*），不要贪恋此世，而要在“信”中静候上帝的救赎。而在世界和他者面前，则要行善去恶。他因此警告提摩太说，“要嘱咐那些今世富足的人，不要自高，也不要倚靠无定的钱财；只要倚靠那厚赐百物给我们享受的神。又要嘱咐他们行善，在好事上富足，甘心施舍，乐意供给人，为自己积成美好的根基，预备将来，叫他们持定那真正的生命”（提前 6:17—19）。保罗的这一思想也为改革家马丁·路德所继承和发扬，如后者说：“除了每个人都在自己的岗位上完成他的职责外，此世的义（*the righteousness of the world*）还能有什么呢？这意味着每一个职位的权利都需要被尊重——包括家里的男人、女人、孩子、男仆和女仆，地上之城里的公民……那些负责监督和管理其他人的人，也应该勤勉、谨慎和忠实地履行他的岗位职责，而其他入也应该忠实和欣然地给予他们应有的服务和顺从。”³⁰以及，“我作为‘基督徒’的身份不应该担心金钱或者存钱，而应该只关心上帝。但是，从外部来看，我可以并且应该为我的身体及他人的需要而使用世间的财货。”³¹

最后，总体而言，本书可以说较好地遵循了比较宗教学的研究方法，以扎实稳健的学术精神对孟子与保罗的生死伦理进行了理性层面的对话。这在今天这个极右势力抬头，种族和文化间冲突与矛盾不断加剧的时代，显得尤为可贵。

29 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, 《“天人合一”乃国学所独有的吗?——西学视野中的分析》“Tian Ren He Yi” Nai Guoxue Suo Duyou de ma?——Xi Xue Shiyu Zhong de Fenxi, (华夏文化论坛 *Huaxia Wenhua Luntan*(1), 2018), 13.

30 LW 21. 26.

31 LW 21. 171.

The English Title: Transcendence, Internal Transcendence, Transcendence beyond Life and Death: A Review of the Comparative Study of the Ethics of Life and Death between Mencius and Paul

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Abstract: As the current global geopolitical landscape and the wave of de-globalization intensify, the clash of civilizations is becoming increasingly prominent today. Therefore, dialogue and communication between civilizations are becoming more urgent and important. Against this backdrop, the book “A Comparative Study of the Life and Death Ethics of Mencius and Paul” is particularly significant. This book systematically compares the life and death ethics of Mencius and Paul from multiple perspectives, including premises and foundations, methods and approaches, goals and limits, states and experiences. However, a shortcoming of the book is that it does not provide an in-depth analysis of concepts such as transcendence, internal transcendence, and transcending life and death, which makes it somewhat lacking at the theoretical level. In fact, the concept of “transcendence,” as an imported term, has been subject to various misunderstandings and misapplications during its translation process. Based on the author’s work, this paper further distinguishes between the nominal and verbal meanings of this concept. Specifically, this paper argues that “immanence and transcendence” is not exclusive to Confucianism but is also a definition used by many Christian scholars regarding God. Thus, when specifically employing “the internal and external transcendent” to differentiate the fundamental characteristics of Confucianism and Christianity, scholars should adopt a cautious attitude and use these categories judiciously. Finally, this paper posits that transcendence beyond life and death is a fundamental concern shared by both Confucianism and Christianity, with each pursuing transcendence over death from mental and spiritual dimensions, respectively. However, in terms of specific methods of transcendence, both emphasize a worldly spirit, highlighting the importance of this life, ethics, and social responsibility.

Key words: Transcendence, Internal Transcendence, External Transcendence

试论锡诺普的马吉安之神学特点 ——兼驳阿道夫·哈纳克的研究范式

朱约翰

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提要: 锡诺普的马吉安 (Marcion of Sinope) 是活跃于二世纪早期基督教会中的异端, 他的思想和行为都对仍处于初步发展阶段的基督教会造成了巨大的威胁。马吉安的思想是初期基督教在发展过程中与其他思想流派激烈碰撞的特例, 两个在教父们那里看来水火不容的概念却被马吉安融合为一体: 诺斯替主义 (Gnosticism) 与唯独强调《圣经》的至高权威。研究者对是否将马吉安定义为诺斯替主义者始终莫衷一是, 其原因就是马吉安的思想中仍有一部分鲜明地属于《圣经》正典的教义, 因此不能对这一位特殊的人物做出简单的分类。

本文将简介马吉安的研究概论, 其中上世纪初德国教会史神学家阿道夫·哈纳克 (Adolf von Harnack) 是该人物研究的泰斗, 并提出了马吉安二元思想的根本在于“善义”对立而非“善恶”的范式。本文认为哈纳克的研究范式是由其本人所处时代背景以及研究旨趣而形成的误解, 马吉安二元思想的源头还是由于“罪恶”问题难以解决。

本文的观点是马吉安神学中有两个最为重要的主题: 上帝与救恩, 前者构成了马吉安独特的神学, 后者则是马吉安思想与行为的终极目的。马吉安的神学中显露出的相互矛盾以及对于物质世界的极度厌恶都是因为他难以解决“罪从何来”的问题, 因此他将盼望建基于陌生的上帝和这位异乡神的代表——耶稣之上。因此马吉安的神学特点是建立在一个诺斯替式的二元上帝论之上, 坚持耶稣基督宣讲的福音为唯一救恩, 而此救赎必须与物质世界完全异在, 才可保证它的真实有效。

关键词: 马吉安; 诺斯替主义; 救赎观; 阿道夫·冯·哈纳克

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一、导论

(一) 马吉安生平介绍

锡诺普的马吉安 (Marcion of Sinope, 约 85 – 160) 是活跃于二世纪叙利亚地区早期基督教会的特殊人物, 他惊世骇俗的思想和一系列行为对早期教会造成了巨大的冲击。马吉安出生于黑海南岸最重要的希腊商业城市本都的锡诺普 (Sinope of Pontus), 这是一座“既属于西方文明地区, 也是这一地区的东方边界”的城市。¹ 大约在马吉安的时代前一个多世纪, 大量的犹太人到这座城市定居, 有证据表明锡诺

¹ David Anderson: *Sinope*. <http://www.gnosis.org/library/marcion/Sinope.htm>, 2024-02-10. 安德森 (David Anderson) 认为马吉安家乡的特殊地理位置对其思想有一定影响。

普的犹太人相较于安提阿和亚历山大的而言更加的希腊化，并且受到亚洲宗教的影响。²此外，锡诺普的犹太人更加偏好字义解经，这座城市的基督徒承袭使徒保罗的教导传统，并且城市文化因各宗教融合而显示出二元论的明显特征……³这座城市复杂交融的文化背景不可能和马吉安思想的形成无关。

对于马吉安来到罗马前的经历，现代学者和教父们有着截然不同的描述。根据教父们的记载，马吉安的父是锡诺普的主教，但是因为马吉安极端的二元对立宗教思想，他的父亲将他逐出了教会。⁴而福斯特则认为给马吉安的父冠以主教的名号只是古教父们抨击马吉安的一种手段，为的是说明马吉安没有理由偏离正统信仰。⁵同样，对于马吉安被逐的原因，撒拉米的主教伊皮法纽（Epiphanius of Salamis）也有着不同的记载：马吉安被逐出教会是因为他和一名处女犯了奸淫，福斯特则认为这是对于马吉安玷污正统教会的比喻描写。⁶

之后马吉安来到小亚细亚，根据爱任纽（Irenaeus）的记载，在那里马吉安向士每拿的主教波利卡普（Polycarp）寻求接纳，并且向长老们陈述了自己对于福音的见解，这当然遭到了拒绝。不过马吉安并不灰心，他认为前往没有受到过多犹太教影响的罗马是接下来的最佳选择，到达罗马的时间约为140年前后。⁷不象是小亚细亚的教会做出了即刻地、严正地拒绝，罗马教会给予了马吉安一定余地以进一步考察他对基督信仰的认识，这也可能是因为这位家境殷实的“富裕的船主”⁸在加入罗马教会时捐献了一大笔钱。在罗马停留的时间对马吉安形成自己的思想体系意义非凡，因为教父们都记载了马吉安在罗马遇到了诺斯替主义的创始人之一——塞尔多（Cerdo），并且成为了他的学生，⁹学习诺斯替式二元论让马吉安对于物质世界的厌恶有了新的解释。

144年是马吉安人生中的重大转折点，因为在这一年他与罗马教会公开的决裂了。原因除了他一贯坚持的极端思想外，他精心编纂的《反题（*Antithesis*）》¹⁰成为了此事直接的导火索。¹¹马吉安在罗马的

2 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, (Houston: American Academy of Religion, 1984), Foreword, xv.

3 *Ibid.*, pp.13-15.

4 哈纳克 Adolf von Harnack, 《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》*Lun makean: mosheng shangdide fuyin* [On Marcion], 朱雁冰 zhuyanbing 译, (上海 Shanghai: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company]), 2007, 30.

这个说法来自于教父希坡律图（Hippolytus）的记载，哈纳克赞同了这种说法，同时提出了他的假设：马吉安一家是本都的犹太教徒，之后归信了基督教。哈纳克认为这能够解释马吉安对于希伯来经典与犹太教信仰，尤其是弥赛亚盼望的熟悉，以及与保罗类似的，对于律法与福音的态度。此外哈纳克还认为由于家庭的原因，马吉安身上没有很浓厚的希腊文化精神，而对于《旧约》最终的放弃则是出于“报复”的心态。

5 Paul Foster, “Marcion: His life, works, beliefs, and impact”, *Expository Times*, vol.121, (2010), 271-272. 福斯特甚至质疑马吉安的故乡究竟是否为锡诺普。

6 *Ibid.*, pp.270.

7 哈纳克, 《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，35-36.但是冈萨雷斯认为马吉安于144年到达罗马，在那里得到一批追随者后就被逐出教会。见：胡斯托·冈萨雷斯 Justo L. Gonzalez, 《基督教史（上卷）》*Jidujiao shi* [The Story of Christianity], 赵城艺 Zhao Chengyi 译, (上海 Shanghai: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company]), 2016, 71. 但是哈纳克认为根据马吉安离开小亚细亚以及在144年与罗马教会公然决裂，他到达罗马的时间不会迟于140年，详见注16。

8 这是德尔图良在他的《反马吉安》中经常提到的马吉安的职名称，以此来对他进行讥讽。福斯特也认为这是教父们对于马吉安的攻讦，见 Paul Foster, “Marcion: His life, works, beliefs, and impact”, 272.

9 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, (The University of Edinburgh, PhD dissertation, 2009), 63-65. 马吉安与塞尔多是师生关系的记载被现代研究者所质疑，甚至怀疑“塞尔多”此人是否真实存在。不过本文沿袭教会的传统解释。

10 哈纳克, 《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，89. 尽管哈纳克收集了足够的资料来还原这一著作，但他认为这仍不足以勾勒此书的框架。

11 韩雪吟在她的文章中认为马吉安是先与教会分裂，后再自立门户编辑他的著作，这也是冈萨雷斯《基督教史》中的看法。但哈纳克不同意这种说法，他认为马吉安在罗马受到了较为宽松的对待，若不是《反题》这样一本“重磅炸弹”就不会让马吉安与罗马教会的矛盾瞬间爆发，此外马吉安在离开罗马教会后所进行的传讲活动都是基于《反题》，所以这本书的编辑时间应当在144年马吉安被逐出教会之前就完成了。在哈纳克看来，马吉安用了大约五年左右的时间来完成编辑，所以可以反推马吉安到达罗马的时间最迟不会超过140年。

这几年来没有得到教会的认可，但这并没有让他丧失坚持的勇气，而是决定将自己的学说建立在坚实的基础之上。“新酒不能装在旧皮袋里”（《路加福音》5:37-39）¹²是马吉安思想的出发点，《反题》一书来说明了他的核心理论：《旧约》的上帝与福音书中宣扬的上帝不是同一位。¹³“马吉安苦心经营的《反题》就是为了区分开旧约和新约，以便将他的基督与造物主分开，前者属于另一个神，异于律法和先知。还可以确定的是，凡与他观点相悖的他都予以删除，而与他相一致的观点都予以保留。”¹⁴

在这部著作完成后，马吉安开始了他新一轮的游说，这下他因有了手里的“证据”而显得更加有底气，第一次罗马宗教会议上马吉安在众长老面前陈述自己的信仰。¹⁵这样骇人听闻的学说让当时的教会无比震惊，这场会议以马吉安被开除作为结束，马吉安成了第一个被基督教会驱逐的教徒，但是他的影响却远没有止于此。¹⁶在此事件之后，有关马吉安生平的记载就戛然而止了，之后的信息皆为推测。马吉安活跃的时间应该不超过被罗马教会驱逐后的十五年，因为没有文本记载他于马可·奥勒留（Marc Aurelius）¹⁷执政时代仍然在世，他的死亡信息无从得知。¹⁸在马吉安死后其思想仍然在多地引起余波，三世纪后马吉安主义在罗马帝国西部快速消失，¹⁹但这之前确实是早期教会极大的挑战。

（二）马吉安思想之特殊性 & 本文任务

马吉安本人的作品没有流传下来，关于他生平及思想资料大都来自于他的批评者。²⁰马吉安之所以有如此极端的思想却又不同于其他同时期的异端，是因为两个在早期基督教神学家那里视作相反的原则，马吉安却吊诡地将它们结合在一起：诺斯替式二元论以及独尊《圣经》的权威。

马吉安神学的根本点是创世神（熟悉的律法神）与救赎神（异在的异乡神）之间的绝对反题。²¹他认为前者是恶意、狭隘和低劣的惩罚性正义，而后者则是良善、开放和高尚的无偿性救恩。哈纳克（Adolf von Harnack）认为马吉安既把握了整个诺斯替主义对于“未知上帝”的概念，又以保罗的思想

详见：胡斯托·L·冈萨雷斯，《基督教史（上卷）》，第71页。

哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，第35-36页。

韩雪吟 Han Xueyin, 《马克安神学思想研究》*Makean shenxue sixiang yanjiu* [A Study on Marcion's Theological Thought], (武汉 Wuhan: 武汉大学博士论文 Wuhan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph.D. dissertation in Wuhan University], 2014), 23。

12 本文所引用的《圣经》版本皆是和合本。

13 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, pp.159.

14 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book IV. Chap 6, in Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson, eds., *Ante-Nicene Fathers: the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, Vol.3, (Mass: Hendrickson, 1994), 351. 文中译文为笔者自行译出，下文若无特殊标注，皆同。

15 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，第36页。

16 哈纳克和韩雪吟都不认同是大教会一方主动驱逐马吉安，认为也有可能是马吉安的理想得不到实现主动离开教会自行创建组织在先，大教会表明与其决裂的态度在后。但是根据教父们的说法和教会传统而言，是早期教会主动逐出了马吉安。详见：韩雪吟，《马克安神学思想研究》，第23页。

17 罗马皇帝奥勒留（121-180），在位时间为161-180年，

18 Paul Foster, "Marcion: His life, works, beliefs, and impact", 272.

19 *Ibid.*, pp.279. 直至五世纪中叶，马吉安主义者仍在叙利亚和亚美尼亚地区有一定势力。

20 例如早期教父德尔图良的五卷本《反马吉安（*Anti-Marcion*）》和爱任纽的《反异端（*Against Heresies*）》就是勾勒马吉安思想的充足来源，当然其中夹杂着教父们对马吉安深恶痛绝的批判。

21 张新樟 Zhang Xinzhang, 《“诺斯”与拯救：古代诺斯替主义的神话哲学与精神修炼》*Nuosi yu zhengjiu: gudai nuositi zhuyide shenhua zhexue yu jingshen xiulian* [Gnosis and Salvation: Mythological Philosophy and Spiritual Cultivation of Ancient Gnosticism], (上海 Shanghai: 三联书店 Sanlian shuku [SDX Joint Publishing Company], 2005), 136。

为出发点，确信耶稣所传讲的那位父神就是诺斯替思想中的未知上帝，是良善的拯救者，是与这个世界的创世神完全不同的。²²这正好对应了诺斯替主义的根本性观念——对物质宇宙的否定。²³然而马吉安的思想也有着与诺斯替主义截然相反之处，例如马吉安坚持维护使徒（或者说只有保罗一人）的权威，并将使徒著作视作唯一正典，拒绝一切其他诸如诺斯替主义“密传”的文本。²⁴

在马吉安被定为异端之后，关于他的讨论沉寂了近千年。宗教改革之后由于《圣经》考据法的发展，“《新约》正典形成史”成为了重新审视马吉安及其影响的引子。近代研究马吉安的权威人物非著名德国的教会史学家哈纳克莫属，他致力于追溯希腊哲学对于早期基督教会的影响以及推崇使用“历史考据法”解读《圣经》，因此他更关注真实历史中的马吉安而非记载于基督教会史中的。哈纳克不仅以历史学家的身份极尽所能的还原了马吉安的《反题》，还对其思想做出了系统性的归纳，这一切都被纳入哈纳克的代表作——《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》中，此巨著是“关于马吉安研究无可匹敌的纲要之作”。²⁵哈纳克的研究范式影响了之后百年中的马吉安研究，然而本文将对这一的范式提出质疑并做出合理的论证。

有关马吉安思想的研究多是围绕二元论展开，其中上帝论是了解马吉安思想的重中之重，因为二元对立的上帝观是马吉安思想的起点。在此之后，又有哪个主题是还原马吉安思想的重要拼图呢？大多数研究者跟随早期教父们的传统，认为马吉安对于耶稣位格的“幻影论（Docetism）”式论述是他思想的又一关键。不过正如上文所论述的，马吉安与诺斯替主义的不同之处就在于他唯独强调《圣经》的权威。因此马吉安真的会在意如此思辨的主题吗？抑或幻影论只是马吉安思想中的一个次要主题呢？

本文认为，在马吉安的思想框架中有两个主题同时处于他思想的中心又相辅相成：上帝与救赎，而“异在”又是二者最大的互通之处。²⁶马吉安能够始终贯彻善恶二元对立的思想，是因为将异乡神的“异在”看得比其他一切都要重要，这保证了异乡神的本性纯善且从未被世界玷污，故此由他而来的救赎才是真实有效的。本文通过对马吉安上帝观与救赎观的简要分析，以及将二者与《圣经》和诺斯替主义进行对比，证明“异在”位于马吉安思想的核心地位。

二、“异乡神”与“创世神”的对立——马吉安的上帝观

由于马吉安研究的泰斗级人物哈纳克的影响，提及马吉安二元思想的特殊之处，人们就会认为尽管二元对立的思想在马吉安那里比比皆是，但根本基础不在于“恶与善”，而是“公义与良善”。²⁷哈纳克的理论是根据德尔图良（Tertullian）对马吉安的批判，不过德尔图良实际所申辩的，是马吉安关于

22 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，12。

23 汉斯·约纳斯 Hans Jonas，《诺斯替宗教——异乡神的信息与基督教的开端》Nuositongjiao: yixiangshende xinxi yu jidujiaode kaiduan [The Gnostic Religion], 张新樟 Zhang xinzhang 译, (上海 Shanghai: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [SDX Joint Publishing Company], 2006), 第 122 页。

24 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，第 178 页。

25 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, Foreword, xv.

26 “异在”：是区别于自身、并与自身相对立的存在。冯契 Feng qi 主编，《哲学大辞典》Zhexue da cidian [Dictionary of philosophy], (上海 Shanghai: 上海辞书出版社 Shanghai cishu chubanshe [Shanghai Dictionary Press], 1992), 702。

27 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，122 页受他影响，众多基督教作家都采用了这个说法，如胡斯托·L·冈察雷斯 Justo L. Gonzalez,《基督教思想史（第一卷）》Jidujiao sixiangshi [A history of Christian thought], 陈泽民 Chen Zenub, 孙汉书 Sun Hanshu 等译, 译林出版社, 2008 年, 第 131-132 页。

“上帝是一个残酷法官”的描述，而非强调马吉安认为的创世神是公义的。²⁸在马吉安的思想中，《旧约》记载的雅威（Yahweh）就是创世神以及律法神。被创造的人因创世神的本性低劣而无力遵守律法，但同时铁面无私的雅威将按照律法严格地审判。²⁹不顾受审者的处境，只会造成惩罚和毁灭的审判怎么可以称得上公义呢？因此“即使马吉安确实把旧约中的上帝指定为‘审判者’，但也只是一个严厉而残忍的法官，一个心胸狭隘而自相矛盾的立法者。”³⁰

此外，马吉安深信耶稣讲论中“两株树（《路加福音》6:43-45）”的比喻已经诠释了创世神与异乡神的关系：栽种世界这株树的雅威是低劣的，因此结出了世界中的种种罪恶；而福音中表现出来的良善果子足以探明亲自培育救赎之树的上帝是善的。³¹二者对立的根本还是“善与恶”。因此，哈纳克提出的马吉安思想中“义与善”的对立并不能令人信服，有充足的证据表明哈纳克“新教徒式”的解读是对关于马吉安思想的最大误解之一。³²马吉安只是区分了“恶与善”的上帝，没有证据表明他本人试图将“公义与良善”作为最大的区分。³³

笔者认为马吉安二元论的起点是出自“神义论”的困境，即罪恶从何而来的问题，他的二元对立仍是“恶与善”，而非由哈纳克所提出的“义与善”。能够佐证本文观点的一个关键，是马吉安的思想体系中必须有一个超越的形象是绝对邪恶的，以此为罪恶的出现负责。³⁴下文将对马吉安的上帝观与《圣经》及诺斯替主义的关系进行简要的比较分析，并论证马吉安的二元对立之根本是“善恶”。

（一）马吉安的上帝观与《圣经》的异同

马吉安的二元思想并不是源于形而上学的本体论，而更多的是根据对《圣经》中字义的直接解释，发现其中的冲突，从而推断出一定存在两位对立的神。³⁵他认为《旧约》和《新约》分别是对创世神和异乡神的真实记录。

1. 《旧约》中记载的邪恶神

马吉安并不因对创世神的厌恶就贬低《旧约》的地位，这是他对创世神认识的唯一来源。马吉安与同时代的犹太教站在了一起，拒绝基督教神学家们以《旧约》来对耶稣和异乡神进行解释。³⁶马吉安认

28 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book II. Chap 11, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 306-307.

29 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 91. 本文中出现的“律法”并非人类社会的法律法规，而是特指《旧约》中雅威提出的诫命。

30 *Ibid.*, pp.85.

31 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，第41-43页。

32 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 70-71. 作为上世纪初著名教会史神学家，哈纳克受当时欧洲排犹主义以及自由主义神学思潮影响，主张基督教应主动放弃《旧约》为正典，哈纳克写道：“新教自19世纪以来保存旧约作为正典文件是宗教和教会瘫痪的结果（for Protestantism to preserve the Old Testament since the nineteenth century as a canonical document is the result of a religious and ecclesiastical paralysis）”，见 Adolf Von Harnack: *Marcion. History of Dogma, Vol. I*, translated by N. Buchanan, Published by Boson, Little, 1901. <http://www.gnosis.org/library/marcion/Harnack.html>, 2024-02-11.

33 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, 185.

34 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 81-82.

35 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, 188.

36 Stephen G. Wilson, “Marcion and the Jews”, in Peter Richardson & David Granskou, eds, *Anti-Judaism in early Christianity*, (Waterloo, Ont.: Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 54.

为雅威在历史中的作为如实记载于《旧约》：变幻莫测，一开始拣选人类之后又抛弃了他们；他会感到懊悔，这说明他不是全知的，否则不会因自己的行为而悔恨；他的命令前后矛盾。³⁷

马吉安最注重《旧约》中创世神的两个角色。首先是“创造者”，这既是雅威最重要的身份之一，同时也是马吉安最憎恶他的原因——因为创世神需要为罪恶负责。³⁸马吉安与同时期犹太教及基督教都不同的是，他认为正是造物主“那吹进人的气”，要为人罪恶行为买单。³⁹马吉安把创世神描述为把可怜的、心胸狭窄的、极具报复性的和偏袒的，这显然说明了创世神低劣的本性，进而整个世界都是可憎的。⁴⁰马吉安对于物质的厌恶不仅体现在他的思想当中，也体现在他所创立教派的日常生活中。在他与大公教会分裂之后，马吉安建立的教会⁴¹施行严格的禁欲主义：拒绝饮酒，拒绝婚姻，拒绝生命的延续等等，以此来切断与物质世界的一切联系。⁴²如此极端思想的起因我们无从得知，但能以此去理解马吉安的逻辑：创世神创造了世界——世界充满了罪恶——人类需要竭力脱离——严格禁欲以表抗拒，这一系统的根本还是有关“罪”的难题。

其次是创世神的“审判者”身份，这与他所颁布的律法有关。马吉安认同律法的重要性，因为在耶稣尚未拯救之前人们都会活在律法之下。⁴³将极为严酷的律法强加在因受造本性的罪恶而无力遵守的人类，并在人犯罪后毫不留情地审判以体现自己的公义——这就是马吉安眼中的审判者。之所以这一理念显得十分矛盾，是因为他将“审判”与“救赎”从基督教神学家们所认为的独一上帝中分离出来。前者属于这个世界的创造者，他要为这个世界的一切恶行负责；而马吉安为了保证福音的纯洁性则将“救赎”的工作只归给异乡神，并且认为真正的上帝应该只有救赎者一个身份，其他任何角色都会影响异乡神的完全异在，继而影响到救赎的真实。

2. 《新约》中记载的良善神

如果说《旧约》是马吉安上帝观的负面基础的话，尽管他将保罗的书信按照自己的想法删改得面目全非，但使徒保罗的确是马吉安上帝观的正向来源。马吉安对于《新约》的编辑表现出了他对福音的认识：唯有保罗继承和发扬了基督教真正的内涵。⁴⁴

马吉安认为《新约》记载的异乡神也有两个至关重要的身份：异乡者与救赎者。首先，强调基督的突然出现对马吉安来说是最重要的，为的是证明耶稣不是旧约先知所宣告的弥赛亚。异乡神的能力远大

37 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 91.

38 *Ibid.*, 86.

39 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book II. Chap 9, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 305. 因此从某种意义上来说马吉安是基督教历史上第一位以“人义论（anthropodicy）”的角度解释罪恶起源的人。另见：Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 87.

40 Stephen G. Wilson, *Marcion and the Jews*, 54.

41 马吉安并非建立了一个哲学学派，而是一个教会。其中会宣讲“福音”（马吉安自行编纂的），会按立圣职，会施行圣礼，信徒会共同生活等等，几乎所有正统教会中的元素都会在马吉安的教会中出现。相比于他的异端思想而言，他所建立的教会或许对大公教会造成了更大的威胁。

Paul Foster, “Marcion: His life, works, beliefs, and impact”, 279-280; Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 173.

42 张立可 Zhang Like, 《二世纪基督教教义的独立与教派分化》*Ershiji jidujiao jiaoyide duli yu jiaopai fenhua* [Independence of Christian Doctrine and Sectarian Differentiation in the Second Century], (长春 Changchun: 东北师范大学博士论 Dongbei shifan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph.D. dissertation in Northeast Normal University], 2015), 135.

43 哈纳克, 《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，122。

44 哈纳克在他的著作中十分详细的考察了马吉安对于每一卷所收录的《新约》经卷的编辑，马吉安的“新约”由他自行删节过的《路加福音》与十封“保罗书信”组成。

详见哈纳克, 《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，第四章，45-88。

于创世神，即便是创世神也不知道这位陌生异乡神的存在。⁴⁵马吉安的异乡神与创世神的悲惨世界没有任何联系，善良的异乡神决定在耶稣基督里显现自己之前，这个世界上的任何人都不会知道他。⁴⁶因此马吉安认为“基督在提比略（Tiberius）十五年时，作为被赐下的救赎的灵从天而降”⁴⁷，进而将《路加福音》关于耶稣出生和成长的记载删去。⁴⁸马吉安删除有关耶稣“人性”的记载是为要保证有关异乡神属性中，“异在”处于绝对核心的地位。为了维护异乡神的纯洁不被污染，马吉安拒绝除了耶稣以外一切可以认识异乡神的手段，德尔图良明确指出：“马吉安的神，本性上是未知的，除了在福音以外，从未启示出来。”⁴⁹

第二就是“救赎者”的身份，救恩记录在耶稣带来的福音当中，其中体现了异乡神对人类与创世神截然不同的态度——慈爱以及无条件的包容。福音书中“新酒和旧皮袋”的比喻说明了福音与律法互不兼容，福音的目的就是为了消解律法对人类的束缚。⁵⁰然而如果异乡神与这个世界毫无关系的话，那么耶稣为何一定要以犹太人的身份示人呢？同样的问题曾由教父向马吉安发难，马吉安的答案是异乡神在带来救恩的同时也会打击作为万恶之源的创世神。犹太人与创世神的关系最为紧密，耶稣就象是一名“战士”一样，从创世神最关切的族群发起对其的抗争。⁵¹

不难看出，“异乡者”和“救赎者”与上文讨论的“创造者”和“审判者”相对。马吉安认为《新约》记载的异乡神与《旧约》记录的创世神完全对立，这位异乡神远高于创世神，而良善上帝的唯一工作就是救赎。为了保证由他而来的救恩真实有效，马吉安认为必须要将这位救赎者与世界的关系完全隔绝，因为创造者的本性是邪恶的，不能让异乡神受到沾染。在对马吉安从《圣经》得出的上帝观有了一个大致认识之后，其二元对立的思想很难让人不联想到与他同时期的诺斯替主义，然而真的能将马吉安称为诺斯替主义者吗？

（二）马吉安的上帝观与诺斯替主义的异同

诺斯替主义来源于希腊语“诺斯（Gnosis）”⁵²，这并不是某个特定的学派名称，而是学者们用来笼统的描述某些具有共同特质的宗教思潮。教父们都强调诺斯替主义作为柏拉图以及被误解的希腊哲学从总体上对尚未牢固的基督教思想的影响。⁵³诺斯替主义的一大特点就是其思想依赖于神话性叙事，用一句话来总结他们的创世神话：创世者德缪歌（Demiurge）是一个低等、卑劣、暴躁、无知又自大的掌

45 Adolf Von Harnack, *Marcion. History of Dogma, Vol. I*, translated by N. Buchanan, Published by Boson, Little, 1901. <http://www.gnosis.org/library/marcion/Harnack.html>, 2024-02-10.

46 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 93.

47 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 19, Ante-Nicene Fathers, 284.

48 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，63-64。“（马吉安）斩断了耶稣与拿撒勒这座城市的一切联系……在多处重大的删节中——连耶稣受洗也没能幸免——最引人瞩目的是删略受试探的故事；这段故事在马吉安看来肯定是太‘人性’了，他的基督是超越于这类试验阶段的。”

49 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 19, Ante-Nicene Fathers, 282-283.

50 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，41-43。

51 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 101-102.

52 又译“灵知”，顾名思义就是“关于灵性的知识”。但是诺斯替主义中的 Gnosis，不止有知识一个含义而已，还有如救恩、超自然的体验等，故本文不使用意译“灵知”而采取音译“诺斯”。

53 汉斯·约纳斯，《诺斯替宗教——异乡神的信息与基督教的开端》，27-28。现代学者陆续提出希腊、巴比伦、埃及与伊朗起源论，以及这些因素相互之间以及与犹太、基督教因素之间的每一种可能的结合，诺斯替主义确实是混合主义的产物。

权者，他无力完成独自完成创造，所以他盗取了不属于他的普累若麻(Pleroma)⁵⁴才使人有了生命，人有着不同于德缪歌的神圣火花，是旅居他乡的“异乡客”。⁵⁵

马吉安与诺斯替主义最大的相同点就是二元对立的思想，他们都有着一个完全超凡脱俗的、遥远的、至高无上的上帝的体验。⁵⁶并且，他们二者对于物质世界都有着相同的厌恶态度。然而在接下来的发展中，二者的上帝观分别在启示来源以及人类本质的问题上截然相反。

有学者认为马吉安将保罗的思想与“中期柏拉图主义”结合了起来，⁵⁷但根据上文对马吉安的分析，笔者认为这是不合理的。马吉安拒绝使用任何除使徒著作以外的文本，因为他独尊使徒保罗的权威并且苛刻地遵守着字义解经法。因此马吉安严正拒绝了任何诺斯替式的“密传”，耶稣是异乡神启示的唯一来源。马吉安认为除了耶稣基督宣讲的福音之外，人类没有任何方法可以主动认识异乡神。⁵⁸即便马吉安思想中出现了同时期哲学元素，但这绝非有意为之，因为他厌弃世界上一切的知识。

此外，虽然有着相似的二元对立思想，但是马吉安与诺斯替主义最为根本的分歧在于他认为异乡神对这个世界完全陌生，人是这个世界本有的产物；完成救赎的上帝是“异乡神”，等待救赎的人则是“原住民”。诺斯替主义对人的看法根植于上文提到的创世神话：物质出自创世神，是邪恶的，而人因为有来自于上帝的神圣火花则是要与整个世界对抗的“灵肉混合体”，是这个世界的“异乡客”。诺斯替主义者认为至高的神并不是陌生的，人分有上帝神圣的本性，通过诺斯可以主动认识到并且回到他那里。⁵⁹而马吉安完全反对诺斯替主义关于人拥有来自异乡神的“火花”的观念。在他的思想中，人类对于带来救赎的异乡神完全的陌生，因为异乡神彻底异在于这个世界。⁶⁰

这一独特思想归根结底还是因为“罪恶”的问题，如果人类拥有来自异乡神的本质，那么马吉安便无法解释这一难题。他并不是一个哲学家，“如何获得救恩”才是他的终极关切。马吉安比起诺斯替主义者更加的激进，救赎必须彻底异在于这个世界才能保证真实有效。因此马吉安不认为通过任何这个世界的知识可以得到救恩，救赎必须是由异在的异乡神无偿地赐下。

总结而言，马吉安的上帝观是以善恶二元对立为出发点，将《旧约》作为与异乡神对立的创世神的历史证明，通过证明后者的公义与低劣，推论出记载于《新约》中异乡神的良善与完美。在马吉安看来，这位未知的异乡神的最大特点应当是“异在”，由此观点可以将马吉安所有的思想串联起来——二元论、放弃《旧约》、基督幻影论、严格的禁欲……并且与下文要讨论的“救赎观”紧紧相连。同时代的基督教神学家们尝试将希腊哲学与《圣经》结合起来，以“独一”、“全能”等关于终极实体的属性来证明创造天地的上帝就是耶稣的父，是唯一真上帝。马吉安的重点与他们迥然不同，救恩似乎是他唯一关注的重点。相较于其他属性而言，“异乡神”的“异在”保证了他与这个世界的分离，保证了福音的真实，更确保了出于他良善本性的救恩之有效。马吉安的思想错综复杂，他在解读文本时表现出字句

54 普累若麻希腊文音译，意为“完满(fullness)”，是移涌(Aeon)的神圣范畴，亦是超越于被造世界之上的物质世界，它充满了从终极上帝那里流溢出来的存在。

55 同上，第42-44页。

56 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 1, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 271-272. 另见：Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 102.

57 张立可，“二世纪基督教教义的独立与教派分化”，110。

58 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 105.

59 张新樟，《“诺斯”与拯救：古代诺斯替主义的神话哲学与精神修炼》，151。

60 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, 159-162.

主义，实践当中体现出禁欲主义，保罗主义又是他思想的唯一标杆，而诺斯替主义也以二元论的主要方式显明出来。因此与其说马吉安是一名诺斯替主义者，更为合理的定义是其思想是诺斯替式的。⁶¹

三、异乡神的完全恩典——马吉安的救赎观

用最简略的话来总结马吉安所认为的福音：“关于一位异乡的善的神，即耶稣基督的父，他把受苦的人类从深重的束缚中拯救到永生，然而对他而言，人类是完全的陌生人。”⁶²正因上文所论述的马吉安的上帝观中重要观念——“异在”，他所认为的救赎与《圣经》中的理念迥然而异，同时也和诺斯替主义格格不入。马吉安观念中的救赎与世界一切的知识与体验对立了起来，也要高于上帝一切其他的作为。

（一）马吉安的救赎观与《圣经》的异同

马吉安对救赎的认识完全来自于《新约》，但其矛盾点在于他认同《旧约》中弥赛亚的信仰。对马吉安来说，有两个弥赛亚和两个王国，犹太人的弥赛亚还没有到来，当他到来时将带来一个包含犹太人和改宗犹太教者的世俗王国。⁶³马吉安与《新约》救赎观的相同之处可能只有“救恩只来自于对基督的信仰”这一点了。除此之外，马吉安将《新约》关于救赎的论述篡改得面目全非。本文将从以下三点：基督的工作、圣礼的意义以及伦理的教导，讨论马吉安的救赎观与《新约》的不同。

1. 基督的工作

“从异乡降临的基督藉着真正上帝的良善展开救赎”⁶⁴，这是马吉安在拒绝《旧约》并仔细阅读福音书和保罗书信后得出的他所认为的福音，但是马吉安对基督工作的认识却与保罗大相径庭。马吉安二元对立的思想让基督救赎工作中的两个重要观念：“赎罪”与“复活”在他那里变了质。

哈纳克认为马吉安的救赎观是完全掌握了保罗关于福音与律法的根本性区分，并以此为他的神学出发点。⁶⁵但这显然不能令人信服，因为单从“罪”这一个主题出发，就能够看出保罗与马吉安的明显不同。保罗多次强调基督是“为我们的罪死了”（《哥林多前书》15:3），但是马吉安在编辑他的“正典”时不出意料的将这句话删去⁶⁶，因他认为耶稣不会对这个世界的罪负责。马吉安认为基督之死是为了“赎回（redeem）”（《加拉太书》3:13），以此方式从创世神那里获得了本不属于自己的人类。基督赦罪的工作不被马吉安所承认，因为这意味着对罪的审判与赦免来自于同一位神——对保罗来说就是《旧约》当中的雅威。马吉安有如此极端的思想，是因为他无法理解保罗在书信中提及的“审判与救赎”的关系，因二者是辩证的而非二元的，保罗认为这两个行为的主体属于同一个上帝。⁶⁷马吉安出于

61 Stephen G. Wilson, *Marcion and the Jews*, 50. "(Marcion is) a *gnostic* but not as one of the *gnostics*."

62 张新樟，《“诺斯”与拯救：古代诺斯替主义的神话哲学与精神修炼》，152。

63 Stephen G. Wilson, *Marcion and the Jews*, 54.

64 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book III. Chap 5, Ante-Nicene Fathers, 324.

65 韩雪吟认为这是哈纳克对于马吉安思想的主观重构，笔者同样认为马吉安的对立思想出于对物质世界的厌恶，是难以解决“罪”的问题。详见：韩雪吟，《马克安神学思想研究》，55。

66 哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，57。

67 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 101.

对罪恶问题的偏激理解，固执地认为带来救赎的异乡神怎么能够沾染这个世界的罪孽呢？故此马吉安斩断了耶稣与这个世界的关系：耶稣没有人性，基督不会处理人类的罪恶，这与他毫不相干。

同样，属于物质世界的肉体也被马吉安所厌恶，基督教神学家们最为看重的“身体复活”概念在马吉安那里南辕北辙。德尔图良一针见血地指出：“马吉安无论从哪种方式都不承认肉体的复活，只相信所应许的灵魂的救恩。”⁶⁸这又显示出马吉安的另一个矛盾之处：既然人完全是造物主的产物，那么为何肉体遭到了遗弃而灵魂受到了青睐呢？德尔图良也发出了同样的诘问，马吉安的回答模棱两可：肉体就象是一粒种子，死亡时将它埋下，“溶解于土地后（*dissolving thereof in the ground*）”会长出全新的身体，尽管埋下时为“自然的身体（*natural body*）”但却会长出“属灵的身体（*spiritual body*）”。⁶⁹

他的复活观念是混乱的，因为马吉安无法权衡同样被他定为本质恶劣的肉体和灵魂。如果真如他所说人类完全属于创世神，那么肉体 and 灵魂在异乡神面前应当是平等的。但在承受救赎的主体上，马吉安却认为灵魂要高贵于肉体，将要得享救恩。马吉安灵肉对立的思想与同时期的诺斯替主义十分相近，这与强调“身体复活”的《新约》信仰完全不同。

2. 圣礼的意义

马吉安的异端思想不仅停留在理论层面，同样也充斥着他所建立的教会。早期教会中最为看重的两个圣礼：洗礼和圣餐礼都同样出现在马吉安的教会中，然而它们的意义却完全变了质。

首先是洗礼，大公教会将此圣礼作为加入教会的标志。洗礼最大的作用就是通过使用“水”这一元素，来表明受洗者的罪得赦免以及与基督同死同复活。这当然被马吉安篡改了，因为他的坚信基督不会为人的罪行买单。洗礼对于马吉安而言更多的象是一种净化，受洗加入他的教会就要拒绝一切的世俗关系。⁷⁰马吉安的洗礼只对那些没有婚姻关系的人施予，而已婚者则被要求在洗礼前分开。⁷¹这还是由于马吉安对罪恶的极端理解导致的，由于人在世界上的处境反映了创世神的残酷和恣意，世界本身必须被拒绝。洗礼有效地分离了人和创世神，洗净了人与这个世界的污秽关系，因此这一礼仪是马吉安及其追随者的信仰开端，同时也是顶点。

圣餐在马吉安创立的教会中也同样失去了它原本的含义。圣餐对于大公教会而言是为了纪念基督的受难与期待他的再来，并且将圣餐中使用的酒称为“基督的血”（《哥林多前书》10:16），目的是“使罪得赦”（《马太福音》26:28）。这或许是马吉安拒绝在圣餐中使用葡萄酒的一个原因，他所施行的圣餐用混合了蜂蜜的牛奶取代了葡萄酒。⁷²这还是因为马吉安要保证基督不会关心人类的罪恶。抵制葡萄酒只是一个特例，马吉安要求追随者们在日常生活中遵循严格的饮食规定，这并不是因为伦理的缘故，而是以此来表达对创世神的抗争。⁷³

68 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book V. Chap 10, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 450.

69 *Ibid.*

70 R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, 22.

71 Paul Foster, “Marcion: His life, works, beliefs, and impact”, 279.

72 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 174-175.

73 *Ibid.*, pp.186.

3. 伦理的教导

马吉安在他的教会中有两件明令禁止的：肉与性，前者或许是因为这是向创世神献祭的礼物，而后者则表明了马吉安对人类处境绝对悲观的态度。⁷⁴马吉安对于食物的严格要求是因为他相信通过拒绝某些特定的物质就可以激怒创世神，并且以此来将自己与世界的联系降到最低的程度。⁷⁵关于禁欲的教导，不论马吉安是否有清楚的认识，严酷地拒绝性行为的本质目的是为了让人类灭绝，这一教导背后原因还是善恶对立的思想。马吉安的伦理学是纯粹消极的，表达了他对现实世界的强烈厌恶。⁷⁶

因拒绝耶稣就是弥赛亚，马吉安认为救恩与今世无关，而只会在保罗所经历的“三重天”（《哥林多后书》12:2）才能实现。⁷⁷相信异乡神的人类在今世无可作为，生活在世界的意义只剩下了等待。

《新约》中要求的“爱邻舍”、“努力工作”等积极的伦理教训在马吉安这里都荡然无存。这是马吉安又一个十分矛盾的思想：尽管这位异乡神的能力要远高于创世神，但是他的救赎工作却只能在来世完成。德尔图良就此再次发出拷问：“如果善神是全善的，而人类也信仰他，他为什么不能马上帮助人脱离残忍的神？……如果你所说的拯救是完满的，为什么它只能发生在将来而不是现在？”⁷⁸这一切的质疑都让马吉安哑口无言。

马吉安与《圣经》关于救赎观唯一的相同就是恩典的无偿性，但是二者的起点却完全不同：《圣经》是出于创造者与救赎者乃是同一位并且本性慈爱，而马吉安则是为了以“无偿”保证异乡神与世界的隔绝。异乡神必须是异在的，他对这个罪恶的世界完全陌生。拯救人类只是由于异乡神良善的本性，以此确保救赎的真实有效。马吉安的救赎观与《圣经》在基督的工作、圣礼的意义以及伦理的教导有着本质上的区别，这符合本文所提出的观点：马吉安的上帝观与救赎观相辅相成，都是围绕“异在”这一核心概念展开的。马吉安在这三点上表现出的特殊性是因为他思想中根深蒂固的善恶二元对立，必须为罪恶寻找一个源头，那就是《旧约》中记载的创世神。而想要摆脱物质世界和律法的束缚只有依靠从异乡神而来的恩典和福音，异乡神将要击溃这个由创世神创造的邪恶世界。然而异乡神不会为这个世界的罪恶负责，也不会染指这个世界——这会破坏异乡神的完全异在。由异乡神而来的救赎只有在来世才能实现，信靠他的人在此世只剩下了等待以及通过严苛的伦理规范向创世神表示抗议。

（二）马吉安的救赎观与诺斯替主义的异同

笔者认为马吉安的二元对立上帝观是为了保证来自异乡神的救赎真实有效，单从这一点出发，马吉安就与诺斯替主义的救赎观有着完全不同的理解。接下来主要以救赎的方式、缘故以及基督的受难为切入点，分析二者的异同。

1. 拒绝神话的方式，只能通过异乡神的恩典

有了神话中关于人拥有神圣“火花”的记载，诺斯替主义认为借助过禁欲的生活和追求超自然的知识就能够认识自己的本原——上帝。⁷⁹而马吉安严格地持守字义解经，他反对一切哲学，认为只有借助

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.187-188.

⁷⁵ R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity*, 22-23.

⁷⁶ Adolf Von Harnack: *Marcion. History of Dogma*. <http://www.gnosis.org/library/marcion/Harnack.html>. 2024-02-10.

⁷⁷ Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 15, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 281-2. 马吉安拒绝承认耶稣是弥赛亚在意料之中，所以在他编辑《罗马书》时删除了第九章“神拣选以色列人”等整章的经文。详见：哈纳克，《论马克安：陌生上帝的福音》，60。

⁷⁸ Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 24, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 290.

⁷⁹ 汉斯·约纳斯，《诺斯替宗教——异乡神的信息与基督教的开端》，40-41。

耶稣才能够认识异乡神。⁸⁰马吉安坚持信仰而非知识才是救恩的模式，也是对在耶稣里显示出的启示唯一的回应。⁸¹这发展自马吉安善恶二元对立的上帝观，即异乡神与这世界上的一切都无关，二者严格的对立。

2. 救赎不是“回家”，而是异乡神无条件的施舍

如本文“上帝观”部分所论述的，诺斯替主义认为人与良善的上帝有着本质上的关联。救赎不是无缘无故的，而是如一位慈爱的父亲寻回失散多年的子女，诺斯替主义认为救赎是基于人享有神圣的本质。而马吉安则认为救赎只是单方面的来自陌生的异乡神，人是地地道道的这个世界的产物。人通过耶稣得救不是重返父母老屋，而是一个美妙的异域向他们敞开大门，成为他们的新家园。⁸²人类之所以能够认识到异乡神，获得从他而来的救赎，完全是因为异乡神良善的本性。这是他无条件赐予人类的，只有毫无原因的施舍才能保证异乡神本性的纯全以及救赎的真实。⁸³而人在面对这一份无偿的救赎时只有有信心去回应。⁸⁴

3. 耶稣的受难“赎回”了不属于他的人类

诺斯替主义对于耶稣所持的幻影论使他们不看重耶稣的受难，因为耶稣只不过是上帝在世界的一个幻影，肉体是要被脱去的，上帝怎么能拥有肉体呢？⁸⁵而马吉安却格外强调耶稣的受死，因为马吉安放弃《旧约》的目的就是为了强调“无偿之爱”与异乡神的“异在”，二者通过耶稣的受难与人类产生了联系。马吉安的思想在此处表现出严重的割裂感：他既不相信耶稣会有属于这个罪恶世界的真实肉体，又格外强调耶稣真实地在十字架上受难。这与上文讨论的“基督的工作”有关，马吉安认为耶稣用他的受难“赎回”了不属于他的人类。“赎回”在马吉安的救赎观中颇具重量，且并非某种修辞性的用法，而是以此强调基督用他的死从创世神那里购买了本不属于他的人类。⁸⁶

这一思想无疑是混乱的，既然耶稣没有肉体，那么如何证明他的受难是真实的呢？马吉安本人也没有在此做出更详细的解释。同样让人费解的是，既然异乡神的能力远大于创世神，为何没有瞬间战胜创世神，反而基督竟然因创世神的反击真实地死在了十字架上。德尔图良就此嘲讽马吉安到：“（异乡神）为了人的缘故不辞劳苦的从三重天来到极度赤贫的元素中，并且因相同的原因在创世神的陋室中钉于十架。”⁸⁷

单从以上三点来说，哈纳克认为马吉安不属于同时期的诺斯替主义，却与改教家有相似之处是合乎情理的。马吉安的做法与思想的确让人联想到宗教改革时期的三个首要原则——唯独圣经（*sola scriptura*）、唯独信心（*sola fide*）与唯独恩典（*sola gratia*）。然而马吉安思想中对人的二元论处境的强烈体验以及从这种处境中解脱出来的强烈愿望，正是这个时代诺斯替主义的精神。陌生的异乡神、从他而来摆脱世界的力量，这都是马吉安思想中善恶二元对立的思想基础。所以马吉安认为的救赎虽然不

80 哈纳克.《论马吉安：陌生上帝的福音》，178。

81 韩雪吟，《马克安神学思想研究》，87。

82 张新樟，《“诺斯”与拯救：古代诺斯替主义的神话哲学与精神修炼》，152。

83 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 101.

84 *Ibid.*, pp.107.

85 汉斯·约纳斯，《诺斯替宗教——异乡神的信息与基督教的开端》，39-40。

86 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 101-102.

87 Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, Book I. Chap 14, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 284.

是以“诺斯”命名，但其实也是一种广义上的超越自然的诺斯。⁸⁸这种人被自然力量所压制而无能自救，唯独依靠超自然的力量和体验才能得到拯救的观念正是诺斯替主义的核心理念。虽然马吉安从未自称为“诺斯替主义者”，但通过以上分析仍可得出本文在上帝观分析中相同的结论：尽管他不是一名诺斯主义者，但马吉安的思想却是诺斯替式的。

马吉安的救赎观缺乏伦理的深度，无法产生积极的社会价值取向，他的救赎观中人类只有早日消亡才是最符合“善”的。他的救赎建立在一个异在的异乡神那里，人无需对自己的行为负责，因为他们被造如此：人无需努力做这世界上被视为“义”的工作，因为这毫无意义（在马吉安看来遵守律法甚至无法得到救恩）；⁸⁹人也不必思考世界是否还有真善美，因为一切被造的都是低劣的，这导致了马吉安的教会中施行严格的禁欲主义；对物质的鄙夷源于马吉安对罪的态度，比起内心的原因他更关注外在环境的肮脏，因为他将一切的起因归咎于世界的创造者。尽管马吉安强调只有福音才是唯一的救恩，但这背后的原因还是出自他极端的善恶二元对立。马吉安为了保证救赎的有效性而过于强调异乡神的异在，这使得保罗强调的上帝创造与救赎的一致、基督的赎罪以及基督徒在世界上的新生活等重要思想，在马吉安的救赎观中都销声匿迹。

四、结论

通过对马吉安上帝观和救赎观的分析，我们可以对马吉安的思想有一个大致的描绘：由于对物质世界的极度厌恶，马吉安认为必须有一个超越的形象来为罪恶担责。在对《旧约》进行了死板地字句解读后，他认为是创世神造成了邪恶。人类因被造而本性低劣，但却要时刻生活在创世神的暴虐和律法的恐吓之下。一位完全异在于世界的异乡神因其本性的纯良而向人类施以援手，通过耶稣基督的形象启示自己。异乡神对这个世界而言是绝对陌生的，他与邪恶的世界势不两立，因此他要击溃创世神的一切权势，这便是福音对律法的消解作用。完全异在的异乡神将在“三重天”完成他的救赎，那是人类完全陌生的新乐园，摆脱了肉体之后的人类灵魂将承受这一无偿的恩典。但这一切都需要仍在世上生活的人耐心等待，他们需要断绝与世界的联系，以严苛的伦理来与创世神斗争。

笔者对哈纳克关于马吉安二元对立之根基是“善义”而非“善恶”的研究范式提出了质疑，并分别在上帝观和救赎观的讨论中做出了说明。如果真如哈纳克所言，马吉安的反题之基础乃是“公义与良善”，那么马吉安思想中最为关切的主题——罪便被忽略了。马吉安提出“上帝是审判者”的论述只是为了给“律法”找到一位执行者，创世神的公义是通过明正典刑彰显的。而在创世神将如此重典加于因本性低劣而无力守法的人类时，他就失去了公义的属性，这一行径只能被称为残暴。因此哈纳克将马吉安与使徒保罗置于同一处境下的“新教徒式”做法是错误的，因为审判和救赎的主体对保罗而言只有一位，那就是记录在《旧约》中的雅威。而马吉安无法理解如此辩证的关系，认定二元论的他只有将拯救的职能赋予一位完全异在的异乡神。

88 张新樟，《“诺斯”与拯救：古代诺斯替主义的神话哲学与精神修炼》，151。以及：汉斯·约纳斯，《诺斯替宗教——异乡神的信息与基督教的开端》，69-80。

89 有一处值得注意的特殊记载侧面反映了这一事实。马吉安认为耶稣下到阴间去宣布救恩时，所有在《旧约》中记载的族长们诸如亚伯拉罕都没有获得救恩，而是《旧约》中记载的所多玛人、异教徒和一切被创世神定罪的人得到了无偿的救赎。见 Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion*, 88.

“异在”占据了马吉安上帝中观绝对核心地位，这既出于他思想中诺斯替主义的二元对立之理念，也因为刻板地按照字面意思解读并随从己意删改《圣经》。本是水火不容的思想在马吉安这里却融为一体，产生了诺斯替主义与基督教都不能接受的架构体系。马吉安拒绝承认《新约》与《旧约》记录的乃是同一位上帝，这导致他被初期教会定为异端。同时马吉安比起诺斯替主义在二元论上更加的极端，他拒绝异乡神与这个世界有任何的联系。人本来就是低劣的，这个世界也没有丝毫可取的，除了异乡神主动在耶稣基督里面启示自己之外，人绝无认识他的可能。这体现在马吉安对带来救赎的上帝的称呼中：“陌生神”、“良善神”以及“异乡神”，这足以表现出马吉安善恶对立的思想。

马吉安在上帝观上做出了绝对的区分，并不是出于形而上学抑或是伦理学的目的，而是为了维护他心中完美无瑕的概念——救赎。马吉安的救赎观是其上帝观的目标，“异在”也成为了马吉安救赎观的根本。但这一概念却使得他的观念前后不一：马吉安相信耶稣真实地死在十架上并且三天后复活，却不相信耶稣具有肉体，那么作为纯灵体的耶稣又如何经历这一切呢？耶稣通过自己真实的受难从创世神那里赎买了本不属于自己的人类，救赎却只能在来世完成；人类只能仍然苟活于此世，马吉安在教会中施行的圣礼主要表达了与世俗关系一刀两断；人类的生命除了毫无意义的等待之外，只有刻板地拒绝物质世界以表达对创世神的抗争，而非活出“新生的样式”（《罗马书》6:4）。

本文将马吉安的思想与《圣经》和诺斯替主义做了简要的对比。通过分析可以发现虽然马吉安只强调《圣经》的权威，但这只不过是用来证明异乡神异在于世界的证据。马吉安思想中有着鲜明的诺斯替式特征，他的上帝观从根本上来说就是出于善恶对立的原因，相信一位绝对超越、良善的上帝。尽管为了保证救恩的异在，马吉安否认人类拥有诺斯替主义所说的神圣火花。但是“诺斯”的概念中人类被物质世界压制而无力自救、唯有依靠绝对超越上帝的无偿恩典以及在精神世界中获得救恩，这正是马吉安的救赎观的本质。因此笔者认为马吉安思想拥有其特殊性，他与《圣经》和诺斯替主义都既相似，又排斥。《圣经》中诸多核心概念都被马吉安有意忽视或肆意篡改，因此他并非一位“改革者”，而的确是一名异端。尽管不能称马吉安为诺斯替主义者，但他思想的根基是彻底“诺斯替式”的。

马吉安由于善恶对立的思想形成了自己独特的上帝观，这是其救赎观的根基。上帝观与救赎观处于马吉安神学的中心地位，二者互为表里，而“异在”的概念又将二者联系了起来。“异在异乡神的无偿救赎”，是对马吉安神学的最佳总结。

English Title : A Brief Analyze on Characteristics of Marcion's Theology: Also Refuting Adolf Harnack's Research Paradigm

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Abstract : Marcion of Sinope is a heresy active in the Christian church in the 2nd century, and his thoughts and actions pose a great threat to the early Christian church. Marcion's thought is a special case in which Christianity collided violently with other schools of thought in the early development process. Two concepts that seemed incompatible to the godfathers were merged by Marcion: Gnosticism and the sole emphasis on the supreme authority of the Bible. Researchers have never been able to decide whether to define Marcian as a Gnostic. The reason is that there are still some distinctive teachings in Marcion's thoughts that belong to the Bible, so it is impossible to make a simple classification of this special figure.

This paper will give a brief introduction to Marcion's research, in which Adolf von Harnack, a German theologian of church history, was a leading figure in the study. Harnack put forward that the root of Marcion's dualistic thought lies in the opposition of "goodness and righteousness" rather than the paradigm of "good and evil". This paper holds that Harnack's research paradigm is a misunderstanding formed by his own background and research purport, and the source of Marcion's dualism is still due to the "evil" problem.

The viewpoint of this paper is that there are two most important themes in Marcion's theology: God and Salvation. The former constitutes Marcian's unique theology, while the latter is the ultimate goal of Marcion's thoughts and acts. The contradiction in Marcion's theology and his extreme aversion to the material world are all due to his difficulty in solving the problem of "where does sin come from", so he will look forward to building on a strange god and the representative of this foreign god: Jesus. Therefore, the characteristics of Marcion's theology is based on a Gnostic dualism, insisting that the gospel preached by Jesus Christ is the only salvation, and this salvation must be completely different from the material world to ensure its truthfulness and effectiveness.

Key words: Marcion of Sinope, Gnosticism, Soteriology, Adolf von Harnack

《国学与西学：国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

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- c. Academic News: In-depth reports on conferences or other academic news related to our themes.

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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.

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注释体例及要求

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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 Maiké 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 daxue 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 rentong ---- 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 rentong 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 Xiping, “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 Hisotry 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 Wulumuqi: 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 Xinping 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 Xinping, etc.

14、其他 Others :

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzhuan 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.

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