前言

以宗教和文化为题,海内外学者已经做了不少文章。我们晚出的产儿《宗教文化》(2)还有什么可写的呢?还能说出点什么新名堂吗?

任何一门学科,其对象的外延是有限的,而内涵是无限的。以 哲学史为例,对象的外延就是迄今为止的哲学家、哲学派别和哲 学学说。能加以挖掘的只是尚未被人们注意到的哲学家,或是体 现在其他意识形态和生活领域中的哲学思想。可是, 随着社会的 发展,认识的提高,体验的加深,总有新的成果。人们只要转换 视角,从不同侧面去研究,新的领域、新的硕果就呈现在你的面 前。一门科学史,就是研究者不断揭示对象的内容的历史。同一 主题不断得到深化,未被注意的方面、领域不断被触及,在此基 础上又不断形成新的交叉学科,这就是学科发展的基本形式。自 在的研究者(或者说自蔽的探索者)对此熟视无睹。自为的研究 者(或者说解蔽的探索者)自觉置身于认识中固有的根本矛盾之 中,即研究对象的无限性与研究者本人身心的有限性,所处历史 条件的局限性之间的矛盾之中,因而各自的视野和心态全然两样。 费希特就是一个自觉的探索者。他说:"学者要忘记他刚刚做了什 么,要经常想到他还应当做些什么。谁要是不能随着他所走过的 每一步而开阔他的活动的视野,谁就止步不前了。"(《论学者的

使命》)

宗教与文化不同于宗教文化,它本身不是一门专门学科,然而它却是宗教、文化交叉研究的产物。它比任何一门专门学科,例如宗教社会学、宗教伦理学、宗教比较学、宗教心理学等范围更广阔,内容更丰富。面向过去,它要研究历史上任何宗教对民族文化、地区文化乃至世界文化的作用,同时研究某种形态的文化对某种宗教的影响,以及宗教传播中所包含的文化相撞问题。面向现实和未来,它要研究正在发展着的当今世界文化、各国各民族文化对宗教的影响,首先是当今哲学思潮对宗教的影响,宗教在今天与未来的社会与文化发展中的作用,等等。综观历史、现实与未来,它还要善于从中引发出若干发人深省的理论问题、神学问题和宗教传播问题等。

范围如此广泛,内容如此丰富,可是研究者(尤其是大陆的研究者)又如此之少,这就免不了留下些空白或初垦之地可供拾拣。例如希腊文化与基督教文化,欧洲文明与基督教,西学东新,当代文化与宗教等,至少国内学者尚未完全耕耘。本论集的编者和大部分作者主要从事中外哲学史的研究,特别是希腊哲学和现代哲学的研究,这就诱使我们主要从哲学的角度去研究上述领域中的宗教与文化问题。

我们坚信我们所涉及的对象不会像坦塔罗斯(Tantalus)眼前的湖水和水果。*我们是些凡夫俗子,只想以学者的姿态客观地研究体现在宗教中的文化现象。我们遵守政府关于宗教的政策和法律,尊重不同个人的宗教信仰,尊重迄今任何一种宗教或教派。对各种宗教组织和各级教职人员,我们予以同等的敬重。

地塔罗斯因得罪众神而被罚入冥界,囚禁于湖中,当他口渴难熬低头喝水时,水就自动退去;他头上硕果累累,可是刚一伸手,树枝就自动高举,永远喝不到水,摘不着果子。

前言就是 foreword,写在前面的话,无非就这么儿句:我们寻找自己的立足点,发现就在自己的脚底下;我们探索新的研究领域,得到的启示是靠自己去开拓。

但愿不会是西西佛斯 (Sisyphos)* 式的劳动!

杭州大学基督教研究中心 陈村富

^{*} 西西佛斯每天推巨石上山,巨石临到山顶就滚下来,天天如此,永无成果。

Preface

Much has been said on the topic of religion and culture by scholars of different countries. What, after so many books and essays on this topic, merits anybody's attention in this additional volume? Can we present anything significantly new to readers?

While the extension of a discipline is limited, its intention is not. For instance, History of Philosophy covers the study of philosophers and their thoughts, and the number of truely great philosophers can be counted in a few minutes. However, its intention is unlimited. New discoveries emerge from time to time as society progresses; people know more when they deepen their experience and one gains new fruit when one changes his viewpoint or adopts a different perspective. A basic pattern of development for a discipline is; when returning to the same issue, people constantly touch unnoticed aspects, and form new interdisciplinary projects. The enquirer who is in himself (a closed-self enquirer) refuses to see this truth, whereas the enquirer who is for himself (a self-revealing enquirers) willingly steps into the fundamental contradiction of cognition which is that between the

infinity of the cognition and the finitude of the enquirers and their times. He thus has a totally different, and promising vision.

Unlike religious culture, "religion and culture" is not a special discipline. Nonetheless, as a result of a comparative study of religion and culture, it has a broader scope and richer content than any specialized discipline, such as sociology of religion, religious ethics, comparative study of religions, psychology of religion, etc. Looking back to the past, it includes the study of the impact of religion on local or world culture and vice versa., and the study of cultural conflict inherent in religious expansion. Facing today or tomorrow, it concerns itself with the influence of contemporary culture, both national and worldwide, on religion; especially that of modern philosophy on the development of religion. Finally, it attempts to draw general and illuminating conclusions about theological and religious development from a philosophical reflection upon all periods of history.

Since the field is so broad, and the content so rich, and so little study has been conducted in mainland China, we believe that there is much work to be done. Besides, since most contributors and the editor are interested mainly in the study of the history of philosophy, both of China and of other countries', they find it fascinating to deal with religion and culture from a philosophical point of view.

To conclude, I will add: we look for a footbold, only to find it underneath our feet; we ask for a new field of study, and the answer turns out to be. Seek and you will find.

Our object will not be like the lake and fruit in front of Tantalus. Our reward will be more than that of Sisyphos.

Chen Cunfu
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ABSTRACT

This article poses an acute problem: Does Christianity (includes Catholicism and Protestant) have root in China? Has it taken root in China at present? What are the remarks which we can find when we make judgement on whether Christianity have root or taken root?

The author thinks, since the Nestorian mission in Tang dynasty, the Christian missions to China were set back several times. Robert Morrison (1782—1834) had preached in China for twenty-six years, but he converted only three people. The main reason for it is that Christianity is a religion without root in China. At present, therefore, the number of Christians in China is near ten million. Does that mean Christianity has root or taken root in China now? The ratio of the early Christians in the Roman Empire to the whole population is not less than that in China now, but early Christianity was still in a rejected position. Only after early Christianity combined with Graeco-Roman philosophy, with its monotheism and religious ethic, the Christianity herself was reformed and completed by Christian fathers, inculturated and contexturelized, Greek and Latin Christian theol-

ogy were established. Christianity had a root in Europe.

The author thinks also. Christianity must face China when she marches toward modernisation and a market economy, and then Christianity can be thought as she has or taken a real root and grows up in China after solving four problems. They are as follows: the first, with three historical backgrounds in mind, to adjust the relationship between Christianity and the government, not to participate any international political struggle, to keep a safe distance to politics; the second, in a prospective future, China will be in a situation in which atheism and pluralistic religions co-exist, and atheism and the faith of Chinese folk religion occupy the main position, Christianity must watch closely this real situation, to determine her own position in the society; the third, both to put an emphasis on the influence of the traditional culture, and to watch clearly new cultural element and new condition which appear in the procedure of modernisation, complete the inculturation and contexturelization of Christianity, to establish a Chinese theology which is suitable to Chinese condition; the fourth, for fulfilling three tasks above, Christianity must work with great efforts to reform herself, because procedure of any religious spread to areas of alien culture is also a procedure of self-complement and self-reformation of Christianity. The two sides are actually undergoing in the same time.

When the author were revising the article, he read the recent copy of Tripod, that is No. 95, in which the issue of the relationship between Christianity and China is discussed. The au-

thor believe this article can be thought as a response to the words of the executive editor of Tripod, Betty Ann Maheu, M. M..

1

困惑•探求•出路

一一论基督教回应当代中国的四大难题

陈村富 著

基督教在华传播的历史、现况与趋势,是当今世界宗教研究 的重大课题。各人的关注点和研究的切入点殊异。人们可以用不 同的分类根据做不同的划分。若以关注和研究的终极目的作依据, 可以分为两类,学术型,以超教派的研究为旨趣;传信型,以传 播福音为宗旨。传信型中有专门从事传教活动的,也有以研究为 手段为传教服务的,一身兼二任者大有人在。明末清初以利玛窦、 艾儒略、卫国国为代表的耶稣会士都是很有学问的学者。当代海 外许多从属于某一教派的神学院和研究机构,其直接的使命不一 定是传教,但是它们的研究总是同自己所处的教派相联,有其自 身固有的优点,同时也有某种超稳定的思维框架或思维定式(思 维模式)。这是总体而言,就个人而论,不乏在研究生涯中不由自 主地超越某种定式而发挥学者功能的卓越人物,他们同学术型的 超教派的研究具有更多的可沟通之处,更易进入对话角色。我国 的特殊历史条件形成了一批学术型的学者,即他们将宗教作为文 化现象,或者作为史学分支来研究,或者当作学科门类来探讨。他 们的研究成果,不同旨趣和目标的人可以加以利用,但他们自身 不以传教为目的,不为某一教派服务。刘小枫博士称其人其事为 "纯粹是人文学的旨趣","基督教学术的学者","一种非教会性的文化理论型的基督教学术"。^[2]可以说这个说法相当准确地把握了其旨趣和学术的特点。本人主持的"杭州大学基督教研究中心",已有六年的历史。在晚期希腊与早期基督教,当代基督教神学,基督教与中国等方面完成了一批论文、著作、翻译与调查报告,大体上也就是一种"非教会性的文化理论型的基督教学术"。这里,我们想以"基督教学术的学者"的身份,就基督教对当代中国的回应讨论下列四个问题:

- 1、从中国的历史和现状出发调整教会与政府的关系;
- 2、在中国走向现代化和市场经济的过程中基督教同其他宗教的关系;
 - 3、基督教本土化与汉语神学;
 - 4、基督教自身的改革。

为简便起见,后两个问题合在一起讨论。这组讨论的目的是提出一个尖锐的问题:基督教在中国有没有根?当前是否已经生根?有根与无根、生根与未生根的标志是什么?

教会与世俗政权的矛盾和冲突贯穿整个欧洲中世纪。近代社会也存在这个问题。这对矛盾在当前的中国,对外方面主要表现为:天主教方面政教合一的梵蒂冈与中国政府的矛盾,新教各教派在对待中国教务时与中国政府的矛盾。对内方面主要是政府承认的"三自会"、"爱国会"及其教徒与政府(主要是主管部门)的矛盾。此外还有地下传教(又称"自由传教")与政府的矛盾。地下传教与"三自会"、"爱国会"的矛盾也受政教矛盾的制约。因为"自由传教"人士反"三自会"、"爱国会",除了他们之间在传

道释经或彼此地位的矛盾之外,主要是反对两会同政府的正常关系。本文不谈国内、国外具体的矛盾和关系,仅从理论上探讨基督教与中国政治的关系问题。

研究这个问题应考虑三个历史背景特点及一个现实状况,这样才可能冷静地、客观地作出切合时宜的、远见卓识的判断。这三个历史背景状况是:

一、中国历来是皇权高于教权,中国本土宗教及隋唐以来中 国化了的佛教都是依附于朝廷的。皇室推崇、信奉某种教,某种 教的地位可能就高一些,如唐朝初期的佛教,明朝万历、嘉靖时 期的道教。但是中国历史上从来未有过超越世俗政权的教权,也。 未出现过古埃及、古巴比伦曾经发生过的祭司和僧侣操纵王室、左 右王权的情况。相反在中国,一旦朝廷对某种教反感或抵制,一 道圣旨就可以加以禁止或取缔。本土宗教、外来宗教概莫能外。前 者如唐武宗于公元 845 年下令灭佛,景教、祆教同遭厄运;后者 如康熙禁止天主教。民间宗教同秘密结社有关联,历来不受统治 者欢迎。这个历史现象背后蕴含着中西两种不同的社会政治思想 和宗教观念。殷商以来尘世的国王就是苍天(天帝)的代表,"普 天之下, 莫非王上"。皇帝赐你死, 你还要谢恩。中国没有肉体归 属世俗政权,灵魂归属教会,灵魂高于肉体,教会高于国家的观 念。皇帝统摄一切,地方官是朝廷的派出官员,统领一方,对朝 廷负责。台湾学生书局出版的《天主教东传文献》续编《康熙与 罗 马使节关系文书・乾隆英使觐见记》(中国史学丛书第二十三 辑),影印发表了罗马教皇关于中国天主教徒的禁约及康熙的批 示,此外还有奏章的批示,告谕的亲笔修定等。今日重读,觉得 好笑。一方不顾中国国情,给中国天主教徒和入教的举人进士发 布命令;一方批示:"西洋人等小人,如何言得中国之大理? …… 今见来臣告示,竟是和尚道士(实际是有身份的教徒使臣——引者

注), 异端小教相同……以后不必西洋人在中国行教, 禁止可也, 免得多事。"[5]教皇说中国的祭祖、祭孔和祭天是"异端", 康熙说 你那个才是不识大礼的"异端小教"。在皇帝眼中,和尚道士是低 微的,教皇使者如同和尚道士,怎配得上使臣身份?如今,中国 和世界都发生了很大变化。但是在中国,宗教及宗教人士的地位 不像西方,这个传统和观念是有影响的。超乎政权之上的教权,不 仅在中国,就是在当今世界各国也行不通。流离于政制管辖之外。 的宗教组织或宗教活动是不允许的,这不仅仅是当今中国的规定, 至少亚洲一些国家和地区都一样。地下传教或者说"自由传教"之 所以禁止,不是因为限制信仰自由,而是因为它流离于政府管辖 之外。这并不是对宗教的特殊限制。在中国,组织一个学会,研 究会或民间机构,要经过民政部门批准,要履行一定手续。设立 一个基金会或机构接受赠款,还要到所在地区物价局和民政部门 办理批准手续。只要了解这些情况,那么对地下传教的限定也就 不难理解了。可以说这也是历史给予的启示。脱离历史背景,提 出些过分的要求,作出些不合时宜的决策,肯定要碰壁,而且不 利于调整政教之间的关系。

二、基督教(主要是新教)在近代中国的传播是在特殊的历史条件下靠西方列强的武力为之开道的。各个差会所到的地区往往也是该国势力范围所及之地。教会建立堂点时因风水或地基问题同当地居民、佛道寺庙的争端乃至事端,一般都有本国政府人士介入。西方列强官员不懂汉语,也不了解中国,往往是教会人士提供翻译,草拟文书和条约,甚至有的还出谋划策。西方神职人员歧视中国神职人员,甚至出言不逊,为数不少。在发展教徒时,吸收了相当一批当地民众反感的无业流民、懒汉、地痞、歹徒等等,这就产生了中国人民对基督教的特殊情感和戒备心理。这种情感和心态是难以消除的,任何时候,遇有损害中国民族感情

的事情,中国人必然作出强烈反应。倘若宗教方面的机构或人员 参与,必然损害该教机构或人员的声誉。

基督教乃至任何宗教,自身不是什么"侵略工具"。宗教的传 播不是"文化侵略"。历史上文化交流往往以贸易和传教为媒介。 佛教传入中国,又由中国再传日本和朝鲜,同时就以佛教为载体 将印度文化传入中国、日本和朝鲜,谁也不会说这是什么"文化 侵略"。同理,伊斯兰教、基督教传入中国,也不是什么"文化侵 略"。对中国的侵略是近代资本主义、帝国主义的本性所带来的。 侵略者为达到侵略与奴役的目的不惜一切手段,当然也就可能利 用宗教, 使之从属于它的目的。有的著者和文章说, 东正教是沙 俄的侵略工具,基督教是西方近代的侵略工具,这种提法不确切, 任何时候宗教本身不是什么工具,只能说列强利用它作为侵略工 具,因此也就只能是某个特定历史阶段的现象。但是,从基督教自 身来说,有个问题必须重视。公元392年罗马帝国宣布基督教为 国教之后,基督教在欧洲从一个方面来说的确是得力于罗马帝国 的支持。476年西罗马帝国灭亡之后,教会在一个短时期内无所依 托,不久就同法兰克王朝攀上了关系,丕平王朝时期达到了无以 复加的地步。宗教上的扩张往往借助于世俗政权,这在十字军东 征时表现尤为突出。16 世纪天主教东传中国受阻,西班牙的奥斯 丁会就鼓吹用武力打开中国大门。遭到否决后,教会派范礼安、罗 明坚推行新的路线。上世纪末到本世纪上半叶的情况已如上述,所 以宗教团体和宗教机构本身的确有一个同政治保持距离的问题。 当代也仍然有现实意义。

三、上世纪末至本世纪上半叶,中国是世界上差会最多的国家。当时,殖民地和势力范围已瓜分完毕,中国成了欧洲、北美和日本争夺势力范围的中心。可以说该国有多少差会,中国也就有多少。穆德(Jhon Raleigh Mott)倡议,司德敷(Milton Theobald

Stauffer)主编的《中华归主》(The Christian Occupation of China. 1922) 所列举的差会机关就有 160 个。此外还有中国神职人员自 己组织的传信团体,如浙江的自立会及后来的聚会处,及山东的 耶稣家庭等。1958—1959 年大跃进和人民公社运动、1966—1976 年的"文化大革命"严重破坏了正常的宗教生活和宗教工作。有 的地方宣布无宗教区,结果一批骨干转入地下个别活动。这批入 成了 80 年代后宗教活动的中坚力量。其中有的人参加了"三自 会"、"爱国会"所属教会,有的拒不承认"三自会"、"爱国会", 成为地下传教骨干。这就形成了中国的基督教传播的特有的复杂 性,也增加了正确处理政教关系的难度。同时,一方面海外有的 敌对势力支持地下传教活动,甚至挑拨政教关系;另方面中国有 些干部和管理人员,对宗教有一个认识过程,过去的"左"的影 啊一时难以完全消除。有的地方落实政策还有差距,处理问题中 也存在若干简单化毛病。所有上述这些历史遗留问题难免影响到 当前政教关系。从现况调查中我们发现,1956年后合并的新教各 派各差会,如今有的分离出来独自建堂,有的堂点分开做礼拜,规 定好不同的钟点,个别地方教派之间矛盾相当激烈,以致教徒之 间发起纠纷。这些是教派或差会遗留下的问题,根源不在政府,但 同政教关系有关。当今世界基督教的发展趋势是合一与协调,在 中国则是防止已合一的运动产生裂痕,并且消除地上与地下传教 的矛盾。

1978 年是中国近代历史步人大转折、大进步的一年。以真理标准讨论和十一届三中全会为标志,开始了涉及经济、政治、思想、文化各个领域的拨乱反正。这场思想解放运动推进了政府宗教工作的改革与宗教理论研究的开展。1982 年的"十九号文件"就是改革与研究成果的集中体现,从此,宗教工作进入了有史以来的大发展时期。这一切工作都是中国共产党和中国政府在没有任

何外部压力的情况下自觉调节的,而且是很成功的调节。这个事实有目共睹,从海外资料看也备受称赞(当然是有各种保留或批评的称赞),但是对这个事实本身的研究却是太少了,更不用说由此得到的启示。本文之所以刻意提出这一点,原因是 80 年代后期以来,由于前苏联和东欧的解体,由于中国内部和国际上发生的一些事件,海外一些宗教界人士不知不觉地过多地从政治上观察问题,将许多政治因素带进了宗教领域,致使从一个方面正确处理政教关系复杂化,对于 80 年代以来的可喜进步却淡化了,忽视了,不太注意严肃认真地研究了,以致当下我们不得不拣起这个话题补述几句。

以邓小平为首的中国共产党第二代领导人总结国际共产主义 运动及中国发展的经验教训,大胆抛弃旧的社会主义模式,走出 误区,提出改革开放和社会主义市场经济的理论,这不仅是马克 思主义的重大突破,而且也是对人类进步事业的伟大贡献。先进 科技与现代化的大生产是当代世界文明的共同基础,全球性的商 品经济是中国与世界联系的纽带。尽管社会制度不同,但是商品 生产和市场经济有其固有的,人们不可改变的规律。经济决定政 治,经济在社会发展中起决定作用。恩格斯说:"我在曼彻斯特时 异常清晰地观察到,迄今为止在历史著作中根本不起作用或者只 起极小作用的经济事实,至少在现代世界中是一个决定性的历史 力量。"[4]但是在当时封建势力强大的德国,以及更早时期的中世 纪, 就不易看出经济的决定作用。[5]中国也有这种情况。经济愈落 后,人们愈以为权力决定一切。只有当经济的决定作用充分显示 出来,由经济所产生的社会关系和思想观念产生重大影响时,"有 权就有一切"的观念才会削弱。中国的社会主义的市场经济愈发 展,它同世界经济和科技的关联就愈大,与此相适应的社会主义 政治体制改革和观念更新也就日益成为现实。尽管社会制度和指

导思想不同,但是,一个经济发达,经济政治体制改革成功,思想观念和文化素质高的中国,肯定比过去和现在具有同世界各国更大的可融性,可交流性。民主和自由是具体的,依现实条件而充实和发展的,那时肯定也就更宽容一些,具体政策相应也就会作些调整。一切取决于国力的雄厚及国际关系的变化。海外一些敌对势力以为用经济制裁、人权问题和宗教事务等等加压力于中国,中国就会在经济、政治、乃至宗教方面退让,其实适得其反。这也是像我们这些宗教研究学者对此反感的原因。

中国是一个多元宗教并存的典型国家。除了传统的佛教、道 教、伊斯兰教与民间信仰外,还有少数民族的各种宗教信仰。明 朝中叶天主教传人中国时,广大的区域空间已被各种宗教占领了。 如何回应这个局面,是罗明坚、利玛窦及其他耶稣会士一直探索 的问题。当时各教并存于封闭的自然经济为基础的封建社会中,儒 学处于意识形态的指导地位。利玛窦的走上层路线和附会中国文 化传统方略取得了初步成就。但是毕竟无法回避和掩盖同中国传 统文化和宗教的分歧,《破邪集》代表了当时的基督宗教与儒、佛、 道的冲突。鸦片战争后,中国变成了半封建、半殖民地社会,新 教、天主教与中国其他宗教并存于这个社会背景中,基督宗教与 中国原有宗教的矛盾受制于民族矛盾。抵制"洋教"处于首位,教 义、教理分歧处于从属地位。历史经过一番曲折进入了80年代开 始的改革开放时期,各教共存于社会主义市场经济之中。在中国 现代化和市场经济潮流中佛教、道教、回教、基督教和民间信仰、 民间宗教的走向,必然成为一个引人注目的新课题。面临新的社 会背景,各教关系也发生微妙的变化。所谓儒教早已不复存在,儒

家思想也不是指导思想,像《破邪集》那些争议问题,早成为历史。当然,作为传统文化尚有深刻影响。基督教可以在佛、道及民间信仰盘根错结的地区传播而不复发生历史上的教派争端,各教都可以互不干扰,自行发展。可以说,恰恰是中国共产党领导的中华人民共和国为各教包括基督教的传播创造了历史上最为稳定的、良好的条件。对此,海外宗教界人士也日益看清了。《鼎》执行编辑林瑞琪先生在《基督宗教与中国文化交谈意义深远》的"编者的话"中说,"中国 80 年代的宗教开放,以至目前的多元发展,对笔者来说是中国基督宗教经历长期钟摆运动之后所进入的自我调适。这个时期可以是中国基督教展现自我身份的契机。"66〕

80 年代以来,天主教和新教教徒都有显著增长,其中新教发展更快。海外人士在兴奋之余,似乎未曾看到(或重视)如下几个情况;

一、80年代以来,发展势头最猛的是传统的民间信仰和祖先崇拜。修坟的数量超过新建教堂堂点的百倍甚至几百倍,新建大小寺庙也超过新建教堂几十倍甚至一百多倍。今年上半年浙江省开展"拆坟还耕"的专项治理,同时清理非法建造的寺庙。《人民日报》作了专门报导,还发表了五评"拆坟还耕"。[2]三个多月中全省共清理坟墓 25.7万多座,清理非法建造的寺庙1.79万多处。[8]仅萧山北干山就迁走 5万座坟。[9]宁波市有一处最大的坟占地532平方米。[10]中国还有人未死先建坟的风俗,即所谓"寿穴"、"寿坟"。台州小五金个体户王、林夫妇的"寿坟",占地300平方米,18名工匠花了4个月建成,内有凉亭、灵堂,厢房、彩画围墙,号称"台州第一坟"。温州青田一座坟耗资几十万,占地300平方米,还建有传达室,装有国际长途电话。[11]近十多年新建坟墓到底有多少?今年6月21日《浙江日报》头版头条报导了温州市情况,沿铁路、公路、风景区、开发区两侧(即所谓"三沿两

侧") 已拆除坟墓共 5 万余,至六月底"全市将累计拆除 20 万座 椅子坟的坟圈,并深埋复盖绿化"。非"三沿两侧"地方的坟圈还 有多少?谁也说不清。至于近几年新建寺庙,《光明日报》6月2 日头版报导说:"非法建造的小庙小庵和香火点等 13 万多处。" 《经济日报》4月10日第2版报导,黄岩区有600多座,路桥区有 220 多座, 最大的耗资 100 多万元。余杭市一个多月就清理了 260 座。参与这些活动的不仅是老百姓,还有相当多的生意人和干部 (参看 96 年 5 月 5 日《钱江晚报》:《是餐馆还是佛堂》; 96 年 4 月 15 日《报刊文摘》第 4 版:《福州大量公车上山烧香拜佛》)。由此 观之,基督教的发展是无法比拟的。经济富裕的温州,1995 年 9 月本人前往参观时,天主教堂地区下沉严重尚无钱解危,新教教 堂号称大修投人也不过 70、80 万。而平阳县钱仓镇的城隍庙,耗 资 100 多万,一根柱子就认捐 3 万。两相比较可以看出,中国传 统的宗教观念还牢牢地占据了主导地位。假定政府不加管制,任 其发展,可以断言基督教远远赶不上民间信仰,说到底就是一句 话:基督教在中国还没有根,充其量刚开始生根。

二、教徒的年龄结构、文化层次、性别比例近些年虽然发生了若干变化,但是总的说还是老人多,妇女多,文化层次低的多。换言之,"三多"现象并未解决。教徒的多数还是在农村,相当一批人还受中国传统的神灵观念的影响,追求的是老小平安,事事顺利,消灾驱邪。本人在一次坐禅的集会上碰到一位天主教徒(已退休)和一位新教教徒(在职),他们认为做礼拜和祷告不如坐禅练功有益干身心健康,所以就加人这支队伍了。城市兴起各种老人健身活动和娱乐活动后吸引了许多离退休老人,有的就不入教了。所以,划清基督宗教的神观与中国传统的神观的界线,是一件长期艰巨的工作。中国是个善于改造外来宗教的国家。佛教自东汉传入中国后,经过魏晋南北朝,到了隋唐大体就中国化了,

以禅宗为代表还创造了最简便的修身养性之术。基督宗教的命运如何?所谓"中国化"、"本色化"(或本土化)将会"化"出个什么结果还很难说。犹太教在犹太本土就没什么异端,只有背离耶和华而遭击杀的支脉或人物。基督教传入欧洲后,尽管欧洲基督教化了,但还是不断产生异端,因为异质文化和本土宗教在起作用。基督新教传入中国后近代就有洪秀全的"拜上帝会",本世纪以来也有不少中国人的创造。如果再看看农村有的自封传道人的讲经释道,不难看出已经有相当成份的"离经叛道"了。总之,一个民族的文化传统和本土宗教观念越持久、越牢固,外来宗教被改造或被扭曲的机会就越大。

在可以预见的未来,中国将是无神论与有神论、基督教与其他宗教并存的局面,而且无神论和本土宗教将占主要地位。中国的现代化给基督宗教带来发展的契机,同时也带来新的问题,面对新时期的这种无神论和多元宗教并存的局面,基督教如何回应,毕竟还是个问题。

近些年,海外基督教汉语刊物关于基督教的"本色化"和"处境化"及汉语神学发表了许多文章和著作。[12]还有许多文章比较研究了中国文化主要是儒家某个范畴(如仁、爱、良知等)同基督教文化的同异,力求寻求共融点。本文不具体评论各种见解,只想谈两个应予考虑但却未引起重视的问题。

先谈第一个问题。在探讨基督教与中国文化时面对过去多,考察中国现代化过程中面临的新情况不足。翻开三编《天主教东传文献》、《利玛窦全集》、《增订徐文定公集》及未收入《东传文献》的艾儒略等的资料,不难发现关于两种文化尤为中西两种神

观、两种伦理观念的论述不仅数量多,而且有的见解相当深刻。时隔 300 年,社会背景起了根本性变化。历史上对基督教东传起主要障碍的祭祖、祭孔和儒家观念,如今有的已不复存在,有的淡化了。明末清初杭州灵隐的和尚追到天主堂要同传教士辩论,如今平等对话取代了对抗,和睦相处,互相尊重。那么基督教的本色化、处境化在现阶段的中国究竟有那些障碍呢?恐怕是下列六个方面;

1、本文前一部分说的民间信仰同基督宗教的一神观念格格不入。老百姓的观念是哪个神灵验就拜哪个。灵验度差的神,即使庙再好,香火也不旺;反之,即使庙已拆除,他也要去拜那片空地。在原有神基础上再加上个耶稣,这好办;但要放弃神祠崇拜又谈何容易。至于三位一体,艾儒略就说过中国人很难理解,现在也变化不大。

- 2、中国文化深层意义上的观念,例如人性与罪性的观念,宗 族亲缘的观念等同基督教的原罪观念和普爱观念很难融合。中国 传统的灵魂观念同佛教的轮回观念、地狱观念纠缠在一起,因而 难以理解西方的灵魂学说。
- 3、1949年以后从小学开始的无神论教育是卓有成效的。文化 层次高的知识人大都不信神,所以在高等学校及文化素质高的机 构,发展教徒始终是个难题。
- 4、现代青少年从小就接受近代科技教育,教会传道人又不甚了解当代西方神学理论,当代对圣经的诠释以及进化与创造、科学与宗教的新解,基本上还停留在传统的诠释上。因此,这些文化人普遍感到上帝六天创造世界是个离奇的神话,基督事件是类似"八仙"的传说。
- 5、中国正处于经济政治改革的转型时期,旧的过时,新的未完全成熟;刚起步的、不成熟的市场经济与道德伦理建设有若干

脱节,社会上存在着急功近利的道德沉沦现象。基督教倡导的献身精神,背负十字架的精神,在这种社会环境下不易扩散,难以感化生意人、追求权钱利益的人。全国各地相当多的个体商店供奉财神爷赵公元帅。城乡尤为农村贴的门神是招财进宝或莫大的"福"字。结婚、乔迁、竣工、开张营业,以至于电话号码……都要选"八"这个吉利数。"耶稣与我无缘",有人如此说。

6、基督教这一"洋教"名声如上节所述,一时难以消除。国际上有些反华势力利用人权问题、宗教问题等做文章,海外有的宗教界人士或宗教刊物有意无意介人其中,因而国内不少人自然要同基督教保持一定距离,以为防身之备。即使是研究基督教的学者也是言行谨慎,不轻易接触不熟悉的人员、机构和刊物。

笔者提到的这六个障碍,是以多年观察和实地调查为依据的,决非想象之物。由此观之,本土神学、处境神学和汉语神学既有同传统文化的冲突,又有现代背景产生的新障碍。谈论"处境化",却不甚明白眼下中国的处境;欲求"本土化",却不知当今中国本土的国情。有的是探亲访友,观光旅游,饭后茶余的零星点摘;有的是短会交接所得印象;有的是间接得到些不系统的资料或者有限的个案调查。似此状况,就难怪"本土化"、"处境化"进展缓慢了。

第二个问题尤为重要。不论是本土神学、处境神学还是汉语神学,都须两个前提。公元 392 年基督教成为罗马帝国的国教,之后欧洲逐步基督教化,其前提之一是,希腊罗马本土产生了色诺芬尼,苏格拉底,柏拉图,亚里士多德及后来的斯多亚学派、新柏拉图主义等的一神论、批判了希腊原始宗教的自然崇拜和多神体系,发展了同基督教义相接近的神灵观念和宗教伦理。[13] 前提之二是,基督教本身经历了一番艰难曲折的改革。菲洛的喻意释经法本意是面向不懂母语的受希腊文化影响的外域犹太人,无意

中做了件融合两希文化的伟大工作。继之而起的亚历山大里亚学 派自觉地推进了这项事业。之后教父们完成了基督教欧洲化的工 作。这个过程是两希文化融合的过程,同时也就是基督教的改革 和完善的过程。用现代的话来说,也就是建立欧洲本土神学,欧 洲处境神学,希一拉语神学的过程。魏晋南北朝时期,中国五胡 十六国, 门阀士族自相残杀, 这一过程同时也是民族大融合, 中 土文化与佛教融合的过程。魏晋玄学尤其是"贵无论",为中国接 受佛学起了先导作用,同时佛学经历了几场大辩论、大改革,141因 而才有隋唐时期的佛教中国化局面。历史是一面镜子,历史给了 人们开发智慧的钥匙,如要建立本上神学、处境神学、汉语神学, 首先要创造这两个先决条件。否则,汉译再多的基督教历代文选, 撰写再多的汉语神学论文,也只是停留在知识界这一层面,虽然 为汉语学者创造了有利的研究条件,有重大学术价值,但是同教 会和教徒还是隔着一层皮,这里必须有~~个"中介"---将这些学 术成果转化为宗教机构和教徒的共识。关于本上化和处境化、本 世纪上半叶中国神职人员和教徒已做了许多有意义的探求,上海、 浙江、福建的自立会(参看本论丛第二辑莫法有关于温州基督教 史的文章), 山东的耶稣家庭(见本辑陶飞亚的文章)都有不少新 的创造。80 年代以来,各地教会自编了讲道教材,运用了民族乐 器伴唱圣诗,采用传统词牌、曲调,甚至民间曲艺,谱定了圣诗。 乐曲和歌词。在礼仪方面,也作了不少改革。浙江苍南龙港镇天 主堂甚至改变传统的在教堂开追思会礼仪,入乡随俗,到教徒家 里开追思会。研究本土化,必须随时总结这些中国化的经验,同 本土化的理论研究相结合;同时还应看到,这离真正的"本土 化"还远得很!因为这只是宗教表层的变化。没有基督教界自身 的改革,那是达不到真正的本土化、处境化的。

在这个"多元发展"的良好契机来临时,基督教的回应如何

呢?林瑞琪先生说:"即使仅以罗马天主教计算,中国开教少说也有七百多年。何以至今基督宗教仍然带给国人一份洋教的味道,基督宗教仍徘徊于边缘化和本色化的挣扎而有待在社会上定位,这实在是值得历史学者及教会人上深刻反省的问题。"[15]笔者认为本文讨论的四大问题就属于"深刻反省的问题"。调整政教关系,可以创造良好的外部条件;正视无神论、多元宗教并存局面,探求处境化、本色化问题,可以找到与汉文化相结合的途径;着力自身的改革,就能增强自我调节能力,适应新的需要。而所有这些都需放在中国走向现代化和市场经济这个大背景中来考虑。

注释:

- [1]本人曾撰文作过专门的分析, 见加拿大《维真学刊》1996 年第一期, 《SMSC 现象形成的历史——文化背景》。
- [2] 刘小枫:《共产党文化制度中的基督教学术》,同上,第二期,第17,20 页。
- [3]《天主教东传文献》续编《康熙与罗马使节关系文书·乾隆英使觐见记》,台湾学生书局 1986 年第二次印刷,第 96 页。
 - [4]《马克思恩格斯选集》1965年第二版,第4卷第196页。
 - [5] 同上, 第249页。
- [6]、[15]《鼎》,1996年10月,总第95期。笔者正在修改本文时收到香港圣神研究中心的赠阅刊物《鼎》第95期,临时加上几段,以示回应,也借此表达谢意。
 - [7] 1996年6月18,19,21,24,27日的《人民日报》。
 - [8] 1996年6月28日《浙江日报》头版。
 - [9] 1996年 5月 8月《浙江日报》第 6版。
 - [10] 1996年3月30日《浙江日报》头版。
- [11] 1996年4月23日《钱江晚报》第3版;《光明日报》1996年6月 2日头版。

- [12] 关于本土神学、处境神学与汉语神学三个概念的区别,我同意何光沪博士的见解。见何光沪《汉语神学的根据与意义》,加拿大《维真学刊》1996年第二期。
- [13] 详见《宗教与文化论丛》第一轴,本人撰写的《希腊哲学与早期基督教》一文。
- [14] 任继愈主编《中国佛教史》第三卷第一章第六节,第二章第四节, 第三章第七节及第五章。

2

The Social Concern of the Catholic Church for Hong Kong People

(from 1841 to 1945)

Sergio Ticozzi

The General Setting

The Hong Kong British Colony and the local Catholic Church have grown up together, mutually related from the very beginning.

"Since 1839, the island of Hong Kong being occupied, writes a short chronicle in Latin - a great number of soldiers stationed here began to get sick and die. Then, an Englishman, a certain Mr. Board, put forward to the representative of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Macao, Fr. Theodore Joset, the necessity to provide for the spiritual care of the Catholic residents in Hong Kong and asked for priests"[1]. Fr. Joset not only started to send a Catholic priest to Hong Kong for sporadic visits, but obtained also from the Congregation in Rome to constitute Hong Kong into a Prefecture Apostolic, that is an independent mission territory, on April 22, 1841. The Convention of Quanpi between Britain and China had just been

negotiated by Capt. Elliot and Governor Chi Shan (Keshen) on January 20, 1841, and Capt. Belcher had taken possession of the Hong Kong Island on January 25.

The mutual relationship has not always been an easy one during the whole period of history we are concerned with. With many of the difficulties arising from the different approach to the peculiarities of Hong Kong society, characterized by high mobility of its population (migrants both from Europe and China, generally without families), with an almost exclusive concern for material gain (even by unlawful means), clear division between the European and Chinese sections, low instruction level and limited cultural interests, with almost a complete lack of concern for spiritual values, etc.

Let us just clarify here these main characteristics of Hong Kong society, leaving the complete and detailed description of its setting to the specialists. Some general statistics on the growth and the composition of both the general and the Catholic population in Hong Kong^[2] are enough to pinpoint its first and most constant social characteristic, the mobility of its population with its mainly economic concern. Its growth has always been closely related to the historical events taking place in China, with its civil wars and political changes resulting inevitably in migrations and fluctuations in Hong Kong population.

"Although Britain first occupied Hong Kong in January 1841 in the wake of the Opium War with China, a colonial administration was not officially set up until the Nanking Treaty was ratified on 26 June 1843. Very soon thereafter, the Colony began to

play an influential role in the China trade and attracted a substantial multiracial community of foreign traders. But the opium trade also gave rise to a community of unruly residents and to crime. The first urgent problem of the Hong Kong govenment, then, was to maintain law and order and protect persons and property" 31.

In fact, the British Government, since its early almost complete submission to the big merchants' interests, was mainly concerned with the economic profit and the social order. Only later, it tried to gain full administrative and political control, but always in good cooperation and agreement with the business interests. "The constitutional history of Hong Kong before the Second World War, from the European point of view, was a battle between the commercial and business community to make Government move with the times in the interests of commerce and trade, and the attempt of Government to curb the hard-faced businessman, often of Scots ancestry, who refused to be soft-soaped by what he usually regarded as a supine administration too much in the pocket of the traditional Chinese" [1].

The priority for the economic interests fostered the development of Hong Kong as an efficient entrepot, free port and storehouse for goods in transit to China, Asia and the West (until after the World War I, when the transition to industrial economy took place), together with the ancillary industries, becoming the headquarters of the major merchant houses trading in the Far East. The services provided were associated with seafaring trade, that is banking, insurance, accountancy and legal sec-

tors^[5]. But all these efforts were carried out at the expense of other social concerns and services.

Another of the constant features of Hong Kong population has been the clear separation of its two main sectons. The European community kept an attitude of superiority and distinction; "Hong Kong population in 1941 was split into two main groups, Europeans and Asians, poised against each other. Each contained a number of sub-groups. At the top of the European pyramid were the colonial officials who had entered the colonial service as cadets straight out from England. If of superior rank, they lived mostly in the Peak District..."^[6]. This segregationist policy has been a constant feature of Hong Kong society, epitomized in the Peak District Reservation Ordinance of 1904, which prohibited to the Chinese to reside there (revised in 1930 and 1937, it was finally repealed in 1946).

In the above-outlined social general setting, while the Government was mainly concerned with the economic profits of the traders and with the observance of law and order of the society, the Catholic Church, together with other religious and social-concerned bodies, tried to play a different social role. Her leaders have been operating from different motivations. Their faith in the Church as a community committed first to the spiritual and eternal salvation of every human being, all considered children of the same heavenly Father, spurred them to care for and be concerned with anybody, no matter what nationality or class, in all their human needs. Therefore organizing "works of charity" and establishing "charitable institutions" were seen as the necessary

means for witnessing to the universal love which they believed in, and as a suitable means for spreading the Christian message in veiw of people's conversion. So their approach to social problems was pragmatic and realistic, aiming at providing service and help to the individual person or to a specific group, without feeling the necessity of thoroughly analyzing the situation and of tackling the roots of those social issues in order to find a radical solution. Moreover, the Catholic leaders, coming all of them from different European countries and mainly from Italy, were not politically related to the Colonial British Government (which was, in this respect, strictly connected with the Anglican Church), but just willing to cooperate with it in tackling some social issues. However they left to the colonial authorities the political decisions, just reminding them about their duty to find the radical solution of the same problems.

Our research, therefore, will just point out the social services the Catholic Church has been providing. Its purpose is to show how her concern for the welfare of Hong Kong people, although limited, has been constant throughout the years, in regard not only to their spiritual needs, but also to their material and social problems. I will focus my research, strictly on this social concern of the Church, omitting all the Catholic involvement in Education, which, given its vast dimensions and multifaceted role, requires a special and autonomous study. I shall specify the sectors that have been taken care of and evaluate the general characteristics and contribution of the social involvement of Church^[8].

Beginning

Fr. T. Joset, the first person responsible of the Prefecture Apostolic of Hong Kong, after two visits to the island, launched in Macao on February 24, 1842 a strong appeal in order to collect funds for the construction not only of a church but also of a school and a home for abandoned children in Hong Kong, whose human settlement was expected to grow very fast^[9].

As soon as he took up residence in Hong Kong in March 1842, he started at once to carry out his projects, but, unfortunately, his health did not stand the hardships and died in August. His successor, Fr. Anthony Feliciani reported in 1845: "In 1842, my predecessor had already started to arrange for a site in the centre of the city to build a Foundling Home. Soon after, he died and the English Government temporarily stopped all constructions, both public and private until the Peace Treaty with the Chinese Nation which was carried out in June 1843; so, the building of the above-mentioned institutions was continued on Jan. 24, 1844. Coming then the Government to new division of lands already given to proprietors, I realized that, according to the new plan for the city, the site marked for the Foundling Home was no longer suitable for the purpose because it was too small and exposed. I decided therefore to transfer it to another site further away from the city. We have called it 'Pious Institutions Site': it is situated on a hill facing the sea, with the motorway named Queen's Road at its bottom. The location is one of the hest in Hong Kong, always cool and enjoying a wonderful

view. this site, just outside the Catholic Cemetery, can provide space for the following institutions: a foundling home, a hospital, a seminary or a college and a chapel. And all these institutions are located half way uphill; at the foot of the hill we can build a clinic together with the residence of the doctor, a library, a Catholic press for European and Chinese literature, with the quarters for workers and the priest in Charge. In 1843 I started to level the above-mentioned site in different shape and size for the different institutions, but God allowed it to be stopped because of disputes with the Government. The disputes ended in my favour in June 1845 and at once I started for the third time the construction of the afore-said institutions and, at present, the site is almost entirely leveled and surrounded by walls. I have also started the building of a small chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier and of two small houses, one for the hospital and the other for the foundlings, both temporary..."[11]

This report clearly shows which social problems drew first the concern of the Catholic Church: let us consider them in detail.

Foundling homes and orphanages

Mgr. Augustin Forcade, the third Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong appealed, in December 1847, to the Sister of St. Paul de Chartres in oder to have some of them to work in a hospital, to run a school, to run a home for abandoned babies and to train nurses^[12]. Fortunately his request was accepted and, on September 12, 1848, the first four Sisters arrived in Hong Kong

and, at once, were put in charge of the Foundling Home in Wanchai, first in a house on the Pious Institutions Site and, few year later in the new Asile de la St. Enfance closer to the sea. It soon became known that they were caring for the abandoned babies. Their example, as well as a small remuneration, spurred other women to cooperate in collecting babies. "A real campaign for the protection of children was organized. It was the response to an urgent necessity!" [13]

The custom of abandoning or selling, even suffocating or drowning babies, especially girls, has been indeed widespread in many parts of China. The Chinese authorities had dealt with the problem by inflicting heavy penalties to killers, like the five ones decided by Emperor Qianlong (1736-95) and by the Viceroy of Guangdong in 1879, but to almost no avail. The main reasons for it were the superstitious fear to have somebody dying in the house, the traditional mentality that children were property of the parents who could get rid of them if misery, debts or the interest of the family should require it, the deep-rooted preference for male offspring who could continue the family and offer the sacrifice on the tomb of the ancestors, etc. In Hong Kong, the bad customs, with prostitution and concubinage, worsened the situation [142].

From 1848 to 1854, the number of babies collected was 1,360, with an average of more than 200 per year. L'Asile de la St. Enfance in 1859 had 60-70 Chinese children.

In 1878, there were more than 60 little girls and 4-5 boys under the age of 6, and more than 60 orphans above that age.

half of whom were blind [16].

The place became quite insufficient for the increasing number of children received; from the 500 in 1872, they were 1062 in 1889. With funds raised through subscriptions, lotteries, sales of works and bazaars, a spacious building, in fine gothic style, facing the sea could be built in 1890-91 and even enlarged in 1898, to provide a suitable location for the growing services; The Asile 0 Crib, the Orphanage, the Hospital, the Blind Asylum, the Alms House for destitute women, etc. The Crib stayed there until 1907, when, due to the lack of space, was moved to The Calvary, in Wongnaichong, Happy Valley [16].

The situation here, in 1911, was the following: "Today it is an average of 2,000 little creatures, who in the space of 12 months are either brought by parents, or are deposited at the door of the Asile. Very few survive... There are now more than 40, from 1 to 20 years old. According their age they are divided into two different categories and united in larger apartments destined to them... "[17].

All the institutions of the Sisters of St. Paul were gradually gathered in Causeway Bay in 1917, after the former Hong Kong Cotton Mill compound, bought in 1914, has been restructured. The Crib too was moved here in the early 1920s.

During the Japanese occupation, on April 4, 1945, bombs from the allied forces badly hit the whole complex, killing 50 inmates and 7 Sisters. The place had to be abandoned: 28 Sisters and 85 orphans were given hospitality in the Canossian Convent, the other orphans first by the Po Leung Kuk, and then accepted

by Macao institutions. After the War, The Crib and the Orphanage were rebuilt and restructured in modern lines as a Children's Home and Nursery.

Besides the Sisters of St. Paul, the Canossian Sisters [18], too, took up this service. As soon as the first six of them arrived to Hong Kong from Italy in April 1860, invited by the fifth Prefect Apostolic, Fr. Louis Ambrosi [19], they started to collect and take care of orphans and abandoned babies. On May 1, they opened two schools, for Portuguese and English girls and, soon after, a third one for poor Chinese girls, which was transformed into an orphanage. "Among the first received, there were two sisters, whose father had given his life in defense of the Catholic faith... Shortly afterwards a little eight year old girl, blind and abandoned by her parents, was brought to us... And then, an infant of few months was brought by her own monther" [20].

These are the beginnings of both the orphanage and of the foundling home or crib. In 1863 there were three orphanages, one for the Portuguese and two for Chinese children: "they had the number of the girls increased so extraordinarily that they had to refuse many others for lack of means to support them" [21] .

In 1865, the Canossian Convent in Caine Road, or the Italian Convent as it was called, was keeping 41 Portuguese orphans, 58 Chinese orphans, 18 babies with 120 outside entrusted to nurses, without being able to "tell exactly how many babies we receive daily and how many die" [22]. In 1874 the foundlings accepted by the Canossian Sisters were 577; in 1875 they were 562; in the Crib there were 33 while 130 were entrusted to wet-

nurses,

In 1886 - 87, the Canossian Sisters spread their work to Yaumatei and Kowloon, in 1890 to Shaukiwan and to Hunghom: in each place they took up at once the care of the abandoned babies.

The 1893 Report says that "even this year we count 970 babies saved through the charity of pious benefactors of L'Oeuvre de la St. Enfance. A good number went to heaven, the survivors are jumping about in their rooms keeping the Sisters in charge busy from morning to evening…"[23]

In 1893, Mgr. T. Raimondi^[24] ceded a boarding school for European and Eurasian boys under 10 years of age in West Point to the Canossian Sister, which lasted until 1907. "why was it closed? By the order of the Government, the section of the Holy Childhood had to be removed from the Centre at Caine Road, because of the frequent bursts of infective diseases among the babies, with so many young people in the Convent. After due consideration, it was decided to move all the babies to West Point, Sacred Heart House, and to close down the Boys' Boarding School, since the House was very suitable for such a work situated as it was near crowded streets. Soon the place became known. A harvest of babies followed, most of them, 'on transit' to get the passport to heaven and to leave their empty cot to others on the waiting list..." (25). And they remained there for many years. The activities going on in this foundling home and orphanage did not escape the attention of a good Chinese philanthropist, Mr. Li Po-chun, who personally visited it in the late 1940 and decided

to offer a new Children Hospital^[26].

The outbreak of the war in Hong Kong 1941 postponed the project of Mr Li until 1949, when the Ling Yuet Sin Hospital for Children was built and started operation. In the meantime, in 1943, the Home could celebrate its golden juhilee. In 50 year, "in this hospital, 84,150 destitute or motherless babies had been received and attended to, while roughly 50,000 had been given treatment in the adjoining dispensary, practically all free of charge. Personnel for the hospital has always been taken from the Canossian Institution, while founds were derived from the profit on the various work and activities of the same Institution, together with the generous help occasionally given by benefactors both from Hong Kong and from abroad··· Of the babies sheltered and attended to in the Hospital many succeeded in recovering from their ailments and were given back to their families or were adopted by good Chinese folks not as mui-tsai but as their own children. Others were brought up in the Canossian Orphanage and were taught a profession to make them useful members of society. The great majority, however, died and the reason was that most of the babies were brought to the Hospital at the last minute, and were often left at the Convent door in a pitiful condition. The Hospital has also been, and still is, a welcome resort for policemen who find abandoned babies dying in the streets

The third Catholic religious congregation involved with the care of abandoned children and orphans have been the Sisters of the Precious Blood. They have been working together with the

Canossian Sisters, right since the arrival in Hong Kong of the latter in 1860. They gradually grew into an autonomous congregation in 1922, with their own educational and charitable institutions. In 1931, with the support of the local Society for the Protection of Children, they opened a Children's Hospital in the compound of their own convent in Shamshuipo "as an expansion of their work in the Orphanage which has been doing good work for over 10 years" [28]. With the building of the Precious Blood Hospital in 1936, the children section was enlarged and could receive more abandoned babies and orphans, many of whom were sent by the Government through the Society for the Protection of Children. The cooperation with this Society increased between 1938 and 1941, allowing an extension of the Hospital in 1940 (2,673 children admitted in the same year), and distribution of a larger quantity of medicines and food. During the Japanese occupation, although some services had to be suspended, abandoned babies continued to be received daily^[29].

West poit reformatory

The increasing number of children who could not attend school has been a serious problem since the first years of the Colony (in 1896, official reports speak about 10,000 of uneducated children); they were either left in the streets easily becoming thieves or exploited as cheap labour. In order to "collect those young rascal, who had already served some time in jail for their crimes, and those vagrants who living in the streets without any work were easily introduce to vice and crime"¹³⁰, the

Church authorities felt the urgency to open a special institution in agreement with the Government.

A Reformatory was opened in 1863 in a small house in West Point, with 12 inmates. The Governor Hercules Robinson granted to the Catholic Church a piece of land in West Point for it and the foreign community liberally subsidized the construction of a new building. In 1865, 30 inmates were transferred there. The allowance of \$200 each, made out of the Poor Box from the Magistracy, enabled to start workshops where the inmates could learn carpentry, shoe-making and tailoring^[31].

In 1866, the inmates were 42; the work produced for self-support amounted to \$30.00 a month; visitor and press frequently praised its results.

"in 1869 a fixed subsidy was granted by the govrnment: \$50 per month. Sir Richard MacDonnel, on March 22, explained the reason for it; < Fr. Raimondi had made reference to the grant which had been made to the Reformatory at West Point; he thought he needed some explanation, since the grant has been made on behalf of the Government itself. The facts were simply as these. If it was not for this Institution, the Government would have thrown upon its hands a great number of destitute children for whom a maintenance should have to be provided. Building would have to be erected, Superintendents provided, and a large expense therefore entailed by the Colony. Now all that he had done was to make a very good bargain for the public. He had made a calculation based upon which he had given about one fourth of what otherwise be necessary to spend

from the public funds. He could say that children had the very best of care from those who now have charge of this valuable Institution, and no one could do better for them "[32].

In 1870, the inmates were 52. The work, done by the priests, was rather hard, having to deal with young delinquents; however, good results could be registered with the help also of former inmates who remainded there as paid teachers. Others reached good positions in Hong Kong as carpenters, shoe-makers and tailors, and even among those who had spent a short time in the Reformatory, without fully acquiring a trade, no one has been brought before the magistrate a second time^[33].

In 1875 an important change occurred with the direction of the Institution handed over to the Christian Brothers^[34] of St. Joseph's College. The following year, it started to admit also Portuguese and European boys; however, it was made quite clear that there was no intention to change the purpose of the Institution and, even less, to turn it into an easy asylum for illegitimate children of mixed marriages between European and Chinese.

In 1877 there were two other changes, the addition of a printing press to the previous arts and crafts and the starting of a vegetable-fruit garden in some fields nearby. The publications of the St. Lewis Reformatory Press were appreciated. The number of boys increased in 1878 to more than 60 Chinese and 12 of other nationalities, requiring more space^[35].

The enlargement was carried out from 1880 to 1885, by adding a new wing, funded by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

In 1885, due to the high cost, some of the industrial workshops were closed, and the inmates were sent to outside shops during daytime to learn a craft [36].

The Christian Brothers ran the Reformatory until 1893, when the direction returned to the local priests. Fr. Andrew Leong took charge to the Chinese section and Fr. Peter De Maria of the Portuguese section. In the meantime, the Government was proposing to reorganize the institution on a bigger scale and with a different approach, that is, to take in young criminals instead of sending them to prison. In 1894 there were 6 of these youngsters, kept in separate premises. This system went on for some time. In 1908, the institution reopened the industrial classes and completely removed the features of a Reformatory, in order to turn it into an industrial school and an orphanage for poor children. This change was codified by the New Regulations, approved by the Council of the Catholic Mission on January 9, 1914^[17].

From 1921 to 1926, the direction of the institution was taken over by the Maryknoll Fathers, and, starting from 1927 by the Salesians ³⁸¹. In 1935 with the establishment of the Aberdeen Industrial School, almost all the industrial sections, except for the press, moved there and the following year, the St. Lewis Industrial School and Orphanage was turned into the St. Louis Middle School.

Training of the blind and deaf-mute

The beginning of the Catholic Church's concern for the blind

people in Hong Kong started in the Canossian Convent.

"Shortly afterwards (in May 1860), a little eight year old girl, blind and abandoned by her parents, was brought to us by a good Christian woman, who found her roaming around the streets begging. No sooner did she learn the prayers and the truths of the Christian doctrine than she immediately and spontaneously began to teach them to the other smaller girls who had not learned them yet...", wrote the Superior Mother Cupis^[39].

Other blind girls were later accepted and taken care of, together with other orphans; a Portuguese blind boy joined, too. In 1874, six deaf-mute girls were also accepted. The need was felt for specialized teacher, who therefore were asked from Italy^[40].

In Europe, at that time, there was a strong awareness and concern for the teaching of the handicapped children, the blind and the deaf-mute in particular. Sr. Mary Porroni was the one chosen for this special training and then sent to Hong Kong. She arrived here on February 27, 1874, bringing technical knowledge and equipment as well, and started at once to train nine blind girls with the Braille system^[4].

"In the year 1874, an Italian Canossian Sister arrived, who knew how to teach the blind. She was sent for on purpose in consideration of the great many poor blind in China. To make an experiment and to have the service of the good Sister at once utilized, the first attempt was made by teaching Portuguese to the Chinese blind girls. Books in Portuguese printed for the use of blind were provided. In a few months the pupils were able to un-

derstand the lessons given in Portuguese and after one year and some months, the Chinese blind girls were able to read, write and make accounts. The next step would be to make them write and read their own language, but as it would be a very difficult thing to have the Chinese characters printed for them, it is intended to have the Chinese words printed in European letters. A trial has been made in having the blind girls write under dictation Chinese phrases and it succeeded very well. This we think is the first blind school opened not only in China, but, if we are not mistaken, throughout the East", reported the Hong Kong Catholic Register^[42].

The blind students were taught reading, writing, arithmetics, the three Rs, plus needle-work, fully satisfying their teachers with the good results obtained in the annual examinations and impressing all their visitors, among whom the Governor John Pope Hennessy during his visit in 1879^[43].

The care and the teaching of the blind continued in the Italian Covent in Caine Road, but in some other Canossian institutions too, a special section was reserved to them.

In 1917, the Hunghom Canossian Convent kept a handful of blind girls who were trained in needlework, stitch-craft, embroidery, knitting, showing an uncommon skill 44. And it was in this residence that, later in 1924, all the blind girls under the care of the Canossian Sisters were gathered together.

In 1919 the press, reporting on the celebration of the golden jubilee of the St. Francis Convent in Wanchai, emphasized the warm ovation given to the performance of the blind pupils, especially of their choir and solist, Miss Grimble, in rendering Carit à by Rossinl [45].

The school for the blind made a second move to Shaukiwan, in 1926. In 1930, when their house, then situated a step from the water-front, was flooded and had to be demolished, the 40 girls were moved to a bungalow in Wanchai, built for them.

In 1932, again they were transferred to Honey Ville, Mount Davis, a villa donated by the D'Almada e Castro Family, in memory of their late daughter Bruna Celeste: they were 35, aged from 4 to 20 years. There, besides the regular housework and traditional courses in reading, knitting, weaving, embroidery, baking and gardening, a music class was added. Taking advantage of the musical talent of one of the girl, Mary Ann Fung, the Sisters turned her into a successful pianist, Who then helped to train others.

"The unforgertable marks of Hong Kong history: the war broke out on December 8 (1941). Following the advice of the Authorities, the Sisters with all the blind girls evacuated Honey Ville for safety reasons and found their temporary shelter at the Canossian Convent in Caine Road. In January 1942, they moved back again to Honey Ville. Those were very hard days indeed! During the Japanese occupation, the stronger girls let by Sr. Laura, climbed the hills nearby for fire-wood, others with Sr. Pierina went down to the sea to fetch salt water which was then evaporated in order to get the kitchen-salt which could hardly be obtained in shops...Peace finally dawned in August 1945. Thirty blind girls much weighed down by terror, dragged by the suffer-

ing years and haunted unceasingly by the 'looters' gang who even threatened to kill the Sisters, had died. What was left was merely a handful of nine surviors" [46].

After the war, together with the recovery of Hong Kong, gradually the life of the Home for the Blind in Honey Ville, restarted too. By spring 1950, for the first time, blind day-students were also accepted. The total number was 38, the age ranging from 4 to 38 years. The Home remained there until 1959^[47].

The Sisters of St. Paul, too, have been taking care of blind girls, first in Spring Gardens, as mentioned above, and then in Causeway Bay up to the Japanese occupation period. The 1910 teport about the Blind Asylum reads; "The blind and other infirm girls form a special section where they receive instruction and are trained to some work which their conditions will allow. Thus they are taught sewing, washing, house-work, but, more practically, they help the Sisters to take care of the infants who leave the Crib" [48]. In 1917 the blind and handicapped inmates were 48 and in 1941 about $40^{[49]}$.

Care for the poor and protection of girls

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul

In order to improve the coordination of the help to poor people and the solution of pitiable cases in Hong Kong, a group of a dozen catholic personalities started in 1863 a branch of the international Society of St. Vincent de Paul^{Coo}, under the name of Conference of St. Francis Xavier, with Judge John C. White as

president[51].

The purpose of the members of the Society were to be riend the poor, visiting them in time of distress, providing them with relief, help and hospitalization, distributing books, clothes, etc. As a rule, "the Society does not undertake permanently to support any of the poor, but simply relieves their immediate distress and places the sufferers in a better position to provide for themselves in the future"[52]. The Hong Kong Society of St. Vincent started with weekly distribution of relief to the individual poor and with supporting needy families, which, from 8 in 1863, increased to 24 in 1880, 31 in 1890. 51 in 1900, 95 in 1912^[53], Then it added subsidies to support orphans, destitute and invalid people in various institutions, buying shoes for students, distributing clothes and blankets, helping in burial expenses, giving contributions to special relief funds and appeals, etc. The ordinary sources of their incomes were the members subscriptions, private donations from individuals and other institutions, Sunday collections from the churches, etc. Since 1881, an Annual Bazaar was organized, to which a Fancy Fair was added since 1894. The Colonial Government started to give it a grant of \$ 70.00 in 1889, which increased to \$100.00 in 1892 and 1940 was \$1,000,00 545 .

The 1940 annual report gives as receipts \$34,675.50 and as payments \$24.602.23 with a surplus of \$10,073.27. From January to July 1941, 221 families were supported with \$8.801.52, medical aid reached \$182.62, housing accommodation \$1.872.28; 140 children and 16 orphans were supported in

various shoools, etc[55].

Not only the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, but other Catholic Associations (such as the St. Joseph's Chinese Society, St. Raphael Society, the Catholic Union Club, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Patrick's Club, the Catholic Women's League, the Catholic Union^[56], etc.) and parishes also, not to mention individual priests, nuns and laymen, have been always involved in helping the poor, although the amount of their efforts can not be specified in numbers and statistics.

Marriages of Children

The concern for any kind of abuses against children and especially against girls has been a constant care of the Catholic Church, which made all efforts, together with other organizations, such as the Hong Kong Benevolent Society, the Po Leung Kuk, the Hong Kong Society for the Protection of Children, the Anti-Muitsai Society, etc. to prevent them. Several abuses have been persistent throughout the years, such as the custom the of marriage of children, the mui-tsai system of purchasing young girls as domestic servants, the immoral exploitation of young women by kidnapping and forcing them into prostitution, etc.

Since the Sichuan Synod, in 1803, the Catholic Church had directed the clergy to "sternly warn all the faithful to relinquish the traditional bad habit to dispose of the children for marriage in the infancy age and to wholeheartedly conform to the Church's regulations"; and "It should not be allowed that girls betrothed at whatever age should be accepted in the house of the fiance, in order to prevent any possible scandal; being this of sinful na-

ture, it should never be lawful even in order to avoid a greater evil" [57].

The First Synod of the Catholic Church of the Fifth Region of the Chinese Empire, held in Hong Kong in 1880, reiterated the same directives, which were adopted by the First Chinese National Council of the Catholic Church held in Shanghai in 1924 for the whole country.

Mui-tsai, problem girls and prostitutes

"In 1844 over13,000 Chinese residents of the city of Victoria were counted in the census but only 315 family. Of 436 permanent brick houses occupied by Chinese only 13 were private houses. Private houses in that year were outnumbered by brothels, of which there were 32. The situation had not changed to any marked extent in the 1870s ··· There was a more untractable problem - the Mui Tsai (literally 'little sister', a polite Chinese euphemism for servant). This was a custom where by a poor family surrendered a daughter to enter a richer family, which made a money payment for the transfer and brought up the child as a domestic servant, providing her with food and lodging but no wages and marrying her off on maturity ··· The quantity of young women and girls available on the market as mui tsai or as recruits for brothels was connected in the 19th century with deteriorating social conditions in South China "1581".

The Catholic priests and nuns had soon to face the plight of the women in Hong Kong, many of whom were forced into "slavery" or prostitution, and even to get rid of their little creatures. But they could not do much about it. The Sisters were moved by their pitiable conditions and opened their door to them.

"The other day many girls, old and young, arrived here from Canton and Macao, because everywhere people say that in Hong Kong they are building a House in which all these poor 'slaves' will be accepted. The building is half way its completion, yet people roam around, in the hope of getting inside...", wrote one Sister [58].

In 1878, the Hong Kong Catholic Register reported: "The Canossian Sisters wanted to provide for every possible need in this Colony. Nobody can deny that one of the greatest wants in Hong Kong is a place of refuge for those poor unfortunate women who have left the way of virtue and honour for that of vice and dishonour, and experience proved that if such a place existed in Hong Kong, several might be saved. Our good Canossians, at the request of some, opened a small house in Wanchai and the success which they have obtained confirms what we said. During the years in which the Sisters have had a House of Refuge for these unfortunate women in Wanchai under the name of Hospitium of St. Joseph, the average number of inmates has been 12. Several have been put in the right way, and how thankful they are to the good Sisters. The excellent Canossians were so much encouraged by the good results that, althought the last 3 years they have had the Hospitium flooded for four times and once have had a very narrow escape, they did not shrink from further exposing their lives rather than turn into the streets those unfortunate creatures; and when their house was no longer habitable

because of the floods, they did not go far, but they hired another small house running into expenses rather than give up their useful work..." [60].

The Wanchai Hospitium of St. Joseph was started in 1869, near St. Francis' Church, Wanchai. Its beginnings were humble, providing only a large room on the ground floor to the unfortunate girls: they were given refuge, assistance, guidance and some instruction, both in ordinary subjects or languages at the adjoining schools and in religious doctrine by three Sisters [61].

After the almost complete destruction of the building by the floods in 1878, new premises were built for better accommodation of all the institutions of the Canossian Sisters on that site. The Hospitium of St. Joseph continued until 1911, when it was closed due to the shortage of Sisters, all engaged in the English and Chinese school^[62].

Hospitals and dispensaries

The sanitary conditions, particularly in the first years of the Colony, were quite severe and the medical care quite deficient [63]. Therefore, since 1845, Fr. Feliciani entertained the bope of building a "Hospital for the Poor without reference to their religious standing". He started at once with a dispensary, which distributed medicines and provided even home calls for the sick.

"Truly I find that a hospital here is of great necessity both from spiritual and temporal points of view. Many unfortunate people, most Catholic from Goa and the Philippines, come to this harbour; the captains of the English ships, on which they work, don't care any more for them, leave them ashore without any help; they get sick out of misery and don't know where to be hospitalized; many of them pass away even without sacraments, because we are not informed or informed too late; therefore in order to find a remedy to so many inconveniences, it seems quite proper to have this hospital. I am fully aware that it will entail grave difficulties and expenses, yet we should try our best to provide this Mission with such an useful institution" [64]. Consequently, in September 1846 he launched an appeal for funds.

The St. Francis' Hospital in Wanchai, along Queen's Road but a bit uphill, could be opened in 1852, an imposing building, 102 feet long and 35 large, worthly to stand in any city of the world, according the public judgment. Unfortunately, the building could not be used for a long time as a hospital; because of financial difficulties, in 1859 it was rented to the Government as quarters for married soldiers. But in 1869 it was retaken by the Church. The entire site was rearranged and redeveloped; the Canossian Sisters, since May 7, 1869, restarted there various charitable institutions, among which a small hospital for the poor, an old people's home and a dispensary. The hospital, with the old name of St. Francis', was gradually extended. It met with various vicissitudes; floods, damages, destructions, reconstructions, etc. In 1891 it had 20 patients, in 1900, 106, in 1909, 70. The hospital proved to be a useful service to the poor of the area for almost a century, until 1959, when it was taken over by the Canossa Hospital on the present site | 65 |.

Besides the St. Francis Hospital for the poor, the Canossian Sisters were taking care of a similar institution in Caine Road. It was called at first, the "Ospedaletto", the Small Hospital, and it was started on June 19, 1860, with the first patient, a Chinese lady thrown out of her house because sick. It gradually grew bigger: in 1870 it had 8 patients, who however, in 1874, were transferred to the St. Francis Hospiral^[66]. To fill the place, some years later, the "Ospedaletto" was restarted on occasional basis. Only in 1915 the building of a new hospital could be undertaken within the Convent compound, meant as a source of income; it cared for people who could afford to pay for the medical treatment. "the handsome and excellently equipped hospital" was opened in Nov. 1917 under the name of the Italian Convent Hospital^[67]. It had ten rooms for adults and a large ward for children. When, in 1928, Mr. J. M. Stephen presented the Canossian Sisters with his villa on the Old Peak Road, they restructured and transformed it into a hospital, moving there the Italian Convent Hospital. The new one, renamed Canossa Hospital, was inaugurated on April 10, 1929, and could provide better accommodation and services. In hospital was so badly bombed on Dec. 22, 1941, that it had to be closed down. During the Japanese occupation, the building was completely demolished and its property taken by the Japanese authorities, who had other plans for the spot. Some of the medical services were trnsferred first back to Caine Road and then to the St. Francis Hospital in Wanchai. After the war, the Canossa Hospital was rebuilt in larger dimensions on the same spot and reopened in 1960, on a larger scale [68]

In 1886, the Canossian Sisters first rented a house in Yaumatei and started a small dispensary; in six months they treated 300 patients^[69]. This dispensary was run by them up to 1923, when the entire institution was offered to the Precious Blood Sisters.

In 1891 the same Canossian Sisters started in Hunghom another dispensary, together with the Foundling Home, which soon attracted queues of patients. It lasted until 1945 when the site, up to then known as the Canossian Hill, was levelled by the Government^[70]. Another dispensary was opened by them in the same year 1891 in Shaukiwan, and another one in Aberdeen in 1897.

The Sisters of St. Paul, too, in 1898, opened a hospital on the second floor of their new spacious building at Spring Gardens. There was no fixed price, the patients paid according to their possibility. a dispensary was annexed to it, where annual average of 2,000 patients were treated. The Hospital was soon overcrowded and in the evenings beds had to be set on the landings of stairs and in the corridors^[71]. In order to have more space, the Crib and the ward for the incurables had to move out in 1907. In 1917, it could be moved into the new premises of Causeway Bay under the name of St. Paul's Hospital, "one of the best hospitals of the Far East with regard to practical arrangement and up-to-date equipment "[72]. It had first, second and third class general wards with 94 beds and single rooms, of which 10 reserved for maternity cases^[73].

In 1939, the Kowloon Resident Association asked to have a private hospital for the population of the area. The then Catholic Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Henry Valtorta^[74], invited the Sisters of St. Paul, who since 1936 had been running a foundling home and a small clinic for the poor in a bungalow in Prince Edward Road, to accept the offer. When all permits arrived, the work for the building of the new hospital went very fast, St. Teresa's Hospital was opened on Sept. 14, 1940, with a capacity of 75 beds and two large wards for poor people, which soon were all occupied.

With the start of the Japanese bombardment on December 8, 1941, both St. Paul's and St. Teresa's hospitals got very busy with the wounded. On the second day of the bombardment, St. Paul's Hospital had already received about 60 soldiers in serious conditions. In February 1942, St. Teresa's Hospital was asked by the Japanese authorities to pack in order to give space for a camp for British prisoners; so, convent, hospital and children home had to be put up in private houses of friends (16 sisters and 35 orphans); doctors kept on visiting their patients. In August 1942, the Sisters could return to the hospital, thanks to the personal intervention of the Consul of Argentina, but were forbidden to admit patients. In July 1943, the Japanese authorities offered to pay a rent for the take-over of the hospital, only to forcibly occupy it a month later. All the Sisters had to withdraw to Causeway Bay where they helped in St. Paul's Hospital until the bombing of the site in April 1945 (75).

The Sisters of the Precious Blood have been operating the homonymous Hospital in Shamshuipo since 1936, which included

a special section for children (28 beds for adults and 33 for children), as we have already mentioned. It was enlarged in 1938—39 with 60 beds for adults; the children admitted in 1940 were 2.613^[76]. During the Japanese occupation, it could continue its services, although on a reduced scale.

These Sisters have been also operating, in the meantime, dispensaries in Shaukiwan, in Wanchai and Yaumatei.

Home for the aged

The concern of old people grew among both the Canossian and St. Paul's Sisters out of necessity, although at first the problem was not very serious, due to the transitory nature of the majority of the population. But with the increasing number of people who could not return to their homes and had to settle down, the necessity to shelter old people without any support from the family became urgent and, therefore, the Sisters tried their best to provide for it. They reserved in all their convents some space for aged and invalid people, especially women.

The Canossian Sisters developed a Home for the Destitute in Caine Road, since their arrival in 1860 with 6 of them, who increased to 25 in 1880, 37 in 1900, 48 in 1908, etc. It lasted until the Japanese occupation of the Colony. Another similar Home was started in Wanchai since 1869 with 6 destitute and invalid persons; they were 22 in 1880, 74 in 1900, 52 in 1908; in 1935, severely handicapped people were also accepted, becoming more a home for incurable ⁷⁷¹.

The first old woman who asked hospitality from the Sisters

of St. Paul in 1892 at their Asile in Wanchai, was heard saying: "here is the house of happiness" [78]. The hospice, which later became known as Alms House, was thus founded. Soon afterwards, others turned up, especially those who escaped the plague in 1894. In 1898 there were 36 inmates, who doubled in 1910; in 1917, the old women were 33, the incurable ones 22; in June 1941 they increased to 86¹⁷⁹¹.

In 1923, on the invitation of Bishop D. Pozzoni [80], the first group of the Little Sisters of the Poor[81] arrived in Hong Kong, to give their specialized service to the old people. They first found a place in Shamshuipo to accommodate about 50 old people, given to them by the Sisters of St. Paul [82]. Then, within a couple of years, they could move to the present site in Ngau Chi Wan^[83], and enlarge their services with new buildings and a chapel. They did not charge anything and lived relying exclusively on charity of benefactors, with the Sisters going around in the markets to beg for food for their inmates. Their humble service and disinterested spirit won the heart of many people, even among the rich. In 1932-33 a convent and new wings were added for the Sisters who had increase then to 12 and for the inmates who numbered more than 200. With the Japanese occupation of the Colony and the worsening of the economic conditions, they had to face very hard times. The food was down to two bowls of congee a day. Many old people could not survive. In February 1945, when the Japanese authorities gave three days to clear the house and hand it over to them, a new temporary accommodation had to be found. The over 100 able-bodied persons took shelter in S. Mary's Canossian Convent, Austin Road, and the other 30 — 40 sick were hospitalized in the Precious Blood Hospital. All of them could return to the Home on 17 September, after the end of the war^[84].

Plague

The first outbreak of bubonic plague in Hong Kong occurred on May 10, 1894, when the Colony was declared an infected port. Within the space of few weeks the epidemic bad reached great magnitude.

"After a long drought, the plague broke out first in Canton and then in Hong Kong. The drought has also brought hunger, because only in very few areas could people grow rice. Now we are informed that in Canton more than 20,000 persons have died of plague. Here people die at the average of 35 per day; the dead are all Chinese, except for two Portuguese. At the outbreak of the plague, the Colonial Government, at once, turned a ship and a hospital into *Lazareto* (plague hospital); however many die in their homes. The other day, the police visiting all residences found that in a house seven had died in the same way. Recently a large factory has also been converted into a plague hospital. The Chinese of course are emigrating in thousands..." [85].

Fr. Louis Piazzoli, whose "zeal during the plague of 1894 had aroused the admiration of the whole city" ⁸⁶, updated the information; "the plague is spreading rapidly with 100 dead each day, though only a section of the Chinese city is infected. The tragedy is terrible. There are streets completely empty; it is esti-

mated that about 40 thousand Chinese have left the island. The harbour too is deserted, the large ships sail at large; the trade is dead and the most horrible misery is growing. In these last days some English people, too, have died. Among the Catholics, we had about 20 cases. The plague is considered to be violent; out of a thousand hospitalized, only five recovered and ten are convalescent. I take care of the plague hospital and Fr. Peter De Maria of the one on the sea. At the Committee, I had offered the services of the Canossian Sisters, Who will reside in the Hospital..." [87]

The Canossian Sisters accepted the offer and six of them provided their service to the sick in the West Point hospital, for three months, with one of them contracting the plague and dying in the same hospital [88].

With the arrival of the autumn cooler weather the plague abated, but, unfortunately, in 1896, it was back again, though in a milder manner. In the meantime, strong measures had been taken to prevent another epidemic, even against some opposition. The Taipingshan District, the oldest and the poorest section of Victoria City, was the most vulnerable. Its small semidetached houses with unsanitary basements and wooden floors, quite congested and separated only by narrow lanes, had to be cleared up. New building regulations were made, requiring light and air, with wider roads, concrete floors and better sanitation. Fortunately the major part of the work was completed before the new outbreak. The deaths, this time, numbered 1,078, while about 25,000 Chinese left the Colony^[89].

From 1896 on, the plague became almost an annual recurrence, usually making its appearance in early spring, reaching the peak by July and abating during autumn and winter. Over the period 1894—1901, about 8,600 people succumbed to the disease. In 1902 Bishop Piazzoli wrote; "For a long time, we have been troubled by diseases and epidemics; every week about 50 still die of plague. Now, moreover, a fever called 'dengue fever' has broken out, though it is not always fatal. It is a fever with high temperature and is epidemic, typical of tropical zones. In the Convent, at a time, we had about 50 Sisters and girls in bed. Now we have three Chinese priests sick…" [30]. In 1904 the plague returned, taking away about 30 Catholics, but without causing undue apprehension and feard [91].

Although in 1905 the cause and the spreading way of the plague were discovered, allowing more effective preventive measures, the plague continued to afflict the Colony until as late as 1929, when two case were recorded, with more virulent outbreaks occurring in 1912, 1914 and 1924. Over the year 1894—1929, the total number of cases numbered over 24,000 and some 90% of these had a fatal outcome^[92].

In all these sad circumstances, Catholic priests and sisters volunteered their services to the sick and to the dying; their commitment ofter won public commendation.

Leprosy

Hong Kong, from time to time in its history, appears to have harboured lepers, especially among beggars, who tried in any way to avoid notice. An Ordinance was passed in 1910 requiring to report cases of leprosy, giving the Governor the power to order segregation and regulaiting their confinement. The practice has been to send lepers out of the Colony to the Settlement at Shek Lung, run by the French Catholic missionaries of the Missions Etrengère de Paris, or to other places, but sometimes the measure was not effective.

The problem of leprosy was again publicly raised in the Sanitary Board meeting in August 1934 by Mr. M. K. Lo, who called the Government's attention to the speading of the disease in the Colony^[93]. In the following November, the Governor appointed a special Committee to inquire into the leprosy problem, whose report was published in the local newspapers on Feb. 15, 1935, raising voices and suggestions from several parts. The first spokesman for the Catholic side was Mr. D. M. Stephen, the editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* pamphlet, who promoted contacts between the Government and the Catholic Bishop. The Governor exchanged visits and correspondence on the matter with Mgr. Valtorta, who, on March 11, could send a circular letter to all the religious congregatons of Sisters, then working in the Colony, to inquire about their willingness to offer their service for a Leper Asylum^[94].

All the congregations sent in promptly their positive answer. On May 15, Mgr. Valtorta could announce that the Government had chosen for the project the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception^[95], but unfortunately, on August 16, he received from the Colonial Secretariat the news that "it has not been

found possible to provide funds for the erection of such an institution locally in 1936"[96].

So the problem of the leprosy in Hong Kong had to be post-poned to the post-war period^[97].

Opium

The problem of opium in Hong Kong has been and is still quite serious. Although the retailing monopoly for opium was auctioned in 1854, a system of licenses for opium shops instituted in 1847 and its traffic declared legal by the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858^[98], the Catholic Church showed her public concern about it since the First Synod of the Fifth Region of the Chinese Empire, held in Hong Kong in 1880, which warned against smoking, trading and growing opium.

A letter of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome dated 18 Oct. 1884 instructed all the Vicars Apostolic in China to strive to eradicate the opium: "Cultivation, trade and usage of opium, though licit, however, become illict for the enormous harmful abuses testified by the experience, and therfore are forbidden to the Catholics, as the other similar crops...It is allowed the usage of opium for medical purpose" [99].

War relief services

The war of Japan against China, started on July 7, 1937, spurred the Hong Kong Catholic community to contribute not only prayer for peace but also help in various ways. In Dec. 1937, Bishop Valtorta praised all the efforts: "Here in our Vi-

cariate of Hong Kong, you also, o dear Christians, have done your duty very well and deserve most certainly a word of praise for what you have already done. Although most of you are very poor and have greatly suffered from the typhoons of this year, you have been generous indeed. Already more than \$5,000 have been contributed and collected and sent through the Catholic Action for Red Cross work in Nanking and Hankow, where the Bishop of Nanking, Mgr. Yu Pin has directed us to send them. A large consignment of medicines and of clothes has also been given by Catholic Associations and Catholic Schools. A very good example has also been set by the girls of the Catholic Schools and the girls belonging to the Catholic Action who have diligently worked with their own hands to prepare winter garments for th soldier..." [100]

In those years Mgr. Valtorta has been engaged first in the Emergency Refugee Council and then in the Hong Kong Refugee and Social Welfare Council, both as one of the presidents and through the cooperation of Catholic personnel and associations. The 1940 Report of the latter Council mentions specifically the participation of the Council of the Catholic Action and of the Catholic Women's League as well as the special contribution of a Jesuit Father, Fr. Thomas Ryan:

Unfortunately, the war did not stay away from Hong Kong. In order to get ready for the inevitable Japanese invasion, the majority of the Catholic leading personnel, priests, seminarians and nuns, undertook special training for war-time assignments, mainly Air-Raid Precautions, Auxilliary Fire Brigade, First-aid,

Auxilliary Nursing, Billeting Service, that is transportation and accommodation of refugees, etc. With the starting of the Japanese attacks on the Colony on Dec. 8, 1941, all the Catholic institutions, churches included, got ready for their emergency duties as first-aid stations, centres for refugees, wards for wounded soldiers and civilians, etc. The French Procure became the Billeting Transport Headquarters. The Catholic personnel, especially the British nationals, since the Italians were 'war enemies', were at once required in their assigned posts^[102]. And this, throughout the three weeks of the Japanese attacks.

Vatican's funds for the victims of war

The difficult conditions created by the Japanese invasion of South China pushed a large number of refugees into Hong Kong, increasing its population to 1,640,000 in 1941. The surrender of the Colony to the Japanese army in the afternoon of Christmas Day marked the beginning of the Japanese rule of the "Conquered Territory of Hong Kong", which lasted until August 15, 1945. Although at first, there was some confidence and hope in the currency and in a possible picking up of the trade, the conditions soon steadily deteriorated, due to the strangulation of Japan's seaborne trade; it was followed by food shortage, mounting inflation and virtual starvation of the population, which was compelled to leave by thousands, reducing its number to 600,000 in 1945. It was in this context that Bishop Valtorta received instruction to make use of HK \$ 45,000 from the Vatican's funds for relief services. On June 11, 1942, he explained the purpose

and the modalities to the Japanese

Foreign section department chief, Mr. Tadeo Oda^[103]. The sum, an auording the Japanese official ackowledgement, was distributed as follows: \$3,000 for the Japanese wounded soldiers, \$2,000 for the British wounded. \$25,000 for the prisoner of war in the camps and \$15,000 for the internees in Stanley camps.

The final report on the matter, written by Mgr. Valtorta himself, reads; "... The subsidy given to prisoners of war, according to the instructions received in 1942 was distributed in Hong Kong currency for the amount of \$ 45,000 and represented a rather conspicuous help, greatly appreciated, thanksgiving letters were sent in by English authorities from the concentration camps and forwarded by myself to Mgr. Marella in Tokyo. The Japanese authorities in Hong Kong at first created some difficulties for almost two months and asked instructions from Tokyo, before permitting the distribution of the subsidy. The day after the delivery, although the Chief of the Foreign Department had received and officially acknowledged the clearly specified details of its purpose and usage, the official newspaper, the daily Hong Kong News published that the subsidy of \$ 45,000 had been given by the Vatican only for the Japanese wounded soldiers. Following my immediate protest to Mr. Oda, who was responsible for the lie, though pretending to know nothing about it, the newspaper published a rectification."

"The subsidy distributed to the victims of war was handed to everybody who turned up or brought the private houses, without any discrimination of race and religion: Chinese, English, Arabs, Indians, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, pagans, etc. all were helped in the name of the Holy Father. Priority however was given to the Catholic Institutions, convents, orphanages and seminaries which were without food. Later, many of their staff had to take refuge in Macao since life in Hong Kong had become impossible. Particular care was also given to subsidize persons and families who left Hong Kong for Macao and for China, their only hope for survival. Many dispensaries for the poor were subsidized too. Economic kitchens were not opened in the streets to provide rice and congee to the poor, because the Government did not allow them, determined to depopulate Hong Kong by all means..."

"The ordinary way to help the poor and the hungry were the Relief Centres, established in every Parish and in other convenient locations. Although the Foreign Department had been informed about the Papal subsidy, yet we tried to avoid great publicity, first for fear that the Police should intervene in forcing poor people to leave or deport them by force, and, secondly, because the available amount of money, though significant in itself, was not enough to cope with the real needs. Month after month, every day 300—400 corpses were collected in the urban streets, sometimes even more, reaching up to 721 one day, who died of hunger, exhaustion or disease, to a total number of 50,000. A centre under the responsibility of the Canossian Sister, brought relief privately to those who could not come themselves for various reasons, especially because their families were

suspected by the Japanese..."

Final evaluations

The Catholic involvement in the various social services in Hong Kong has grown to a considerable degree from its start; in 1942, at the beginning of the Japanses occupation of the Colony, there were the following Catholic "charitable institutions"; 3 Foundling Homes, 3 Orphanages, 2 Homes for the Blind, 5 Hospitals, 5 Dispensaries and 3 Homes for the aged^[153].

"Since 1842 Hong Kong has survived many severe crises; but, apart from the period of the Japanese inter-regnum (1941—45), the territory has been able to provide the majority of its citizens with peace and security, and often a fair measure of well-being. Its history is in stark contrast to that of many Asian countries", wrote H. J. Lethbridge^[106].

Can the historian fully share the optimism of this statement?

The same author admits that "Before the Second World War, the lack of social welfare provisions, such as those found in Great Britain, was often defended on the grounds that the Chinese working class was mainly composed of transients and that if conditions were too favourable in Hong Kong the legions of the needy and destitute who abounded in South China would be attracted to the Colony" [107].

To put this optimism in the right prospect, it is useful to read also the official Annual Reports of the first years after the war. the 1948 Report, for instance, reads on our topics; "Five orphanages also accepted and cared for abandoned infants; these infants were nearly all girls, and all five orphanages were full to overflowing...Transfer of children from destitute or broken families, ofter for only a nominal consideration and by strangers who had been in the Colony for a short period, continued to present a serious social problem, especially on account of the opportunities which thus multiplied for traffickers in children...Public Assistance work for adult destitutes was carried out independently by ten voluntary organizations...A Buddhist, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic agency each maintained a Home for the Aged, and a few old and indigent persons were also accommodated free in a Government camp... "[108].

Even if, in gereral terms, a certain optimism is allowed, the objective researcher should endeavour to find out who were the main entities responsible for the social work and the multiple factors that have contributed to create a certain degree of "peace, security and well being". The traditional trend in the English

way of life to leave education and welfare mainly to the Churches has been also adopted in Hong Kong. From what has been documented above, the role of the Catholic Church is undeniable. Its characteristics, drawn from a comparison with other parallel social commitments by the Government and by Chinese Associatons¹²⁶⁹³, can be summarized in the following:

- a pragmatic and realistic response to solve the urgent needs of individuals or groups of people, generally the most needy and outcast, present in the Colony; the Catholic Church neither had the intention nor the possibility to find out a radical solution to the social evils, for which the full strength and efforts of the civil authorities were required;
- a pioneering and professional approach to some social problems, such as the abandoned children and orphans, the reform and professional training of youngsters with had or criminal records, the training of blind-dearf-mute persons, medical care and assistance to old people, etc. This has been possible thanks to the availability of specialized religious congregations. The Catholic Bishop tried in any way to have them working in Hong Kong and entrusted them with the full responsibility of the professional services, leaving to the local parish churches to carry out, through the various pious associations, the simpler ones such as the help of the poor, the assistance of needy families, etc.;
- lack of discrimination between European and chinese people, rich and poor (with preferential attention to the outcast), male and female, etc., thus contributing to narrowing the gap

between Chinese and European sections, fostering greater cooperation among all social layers of the society, equality between sexes, respect for human dignity and rights;

- a constant reminder and spur to the profit-oriented population of Hong Kong, Government officials included, towards higher human values, such as morality and justice, help and charity, hospitality and care, disinterested and humble service, active concern for the less fortunate, etc.

Although most of the Hong Kong social problems dealt with by the Catholic Church have not been solved for reasons out of her control, during the period under consideration, her social concern clearly demonstrates and proves the will of the Catholic community, numerically quite small, to take full part in the Hong Kong social life, actively sharing all the responsibilities to make our society a better place to live in.

Notes:

In the hand-written booklet, Decreti e Disposizioni concernenti la Missione di Hong Kong, HK Catholic Diocese Archives (HK-CDA), S. I., B. 22, F. O1. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, or the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples was established as a central Congregation by Pope Gregory XV on June 22, 1622 to direct and coordinate all evangelization work of the Catholic Church, with the competence over matters concerning all the mission territories. Fr. Theodore Joset, a Swiss secular priest, has been the first Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong from Apr. 22, 1841 to Aug. 5, 1842.

 $\lfloor 2 \rfloor$ In 1841, the total Hong Kong population was 7,450 (2,000 Stanley, 1,200 Shaukiwan, 2,000 on the boats, 800 in the bazaars, 300 labourers from Kowloon, 150 non Chinese); there were about 60 Catholic soldiers, mainly Irish. In 1845; 23,817 (595) Europeans, 362 Indians, 300 visitors...) with 900 Catholics (400 Irish soldier, 250 Portuguese from Macao, 250 Chinese, local and from Macao or Guanzhou). In 1861, the population, included the British Kowloon was 119.320, of whom 116,335 Chinese, while the Catholics were about 2,500 - 3,000 (1,500 Portuguese, 600 Chinese, 300 soldiers and other Europeans, plus and uncountable number of sailors from Manila and other ports). In 1872, there were 121,985 people of whom 4,520 Catholics. In 1881, respectively 160,402 and 6,170. In 1898, there were 254,400 people, of whom 239,210 Chinese; the New Territories added about 100.000 inhabitants. The Catholics were about 9.000. In 1901, the population was 368,987 (on Hong Kong Island only 283,905, of whom 80% male adults), while the Catholics 9.300. In 1911, 456.739 people, with about 11,000 Catholics. In 1921: 625,166 (of whom 26.7% born in Hong Kong) and 13,000 ca. respectively. In 1931: 840,473 (of whom 32.5% born here) while the Catholics increased to 15,202. The difficult conditions caused by the Japanese invasion of China in the late '30s sent a large number of refugees in Hong Kong, so in 1941 the population increased to 1.640,000 with about 20,000 Catholics. During the Japanese occupation of the Colony (Dec. 1941-Aug. 1945), large scale deportations of inhabitants were carried out, reducing them to 600,000 in 1945. In 1946, it again increased to 1,500,000,

The main sources of these statistics are The Population of Hong Kong, by Fan Shuh Ching, Swindon Book Co. Hong

- Kong, 1974 and the Catholic Church annual reports in HK-CDA, S. I, B. 05. 06. 07.
- [3] A. Rabushka, *Hong Kong*, a Study in Economic Freedom, University of Chicago, 1979, pp. 32-33.
- [4] H. J. Lethbridge, Hong Kong under Japanese occupation, p. 80, in Hong Kong: a Society in transition, ed. I. C. Jarvie, Routledge & Kegan, London, 1969.
- [5] For more details, see A. Rabushka, o. c. p. 16.
- [6] H. J. Lethbridge, a. c. in Hong Kong: a Society in transiton, p. 79.
- [7] The social doctrine of the Catholic Church as a systematic Christian vision of the social problems was then just making its first steps with the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo W in 1891 and *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI in 1931.
- [8] I have taken most of the following material from my work Historical Documents of the Hong Kong Catholic Church (in Chinese), Holy Spirit Center, Hong Kong, 1983.
- [9] See the text of the appeal, in English and in Portuguese in HK-CDA, S. II, B. Ol, F. 02.
- [10] Fr. Anthony Feliciani, Italian, member of the Order of Friars Minor (O. F. M., founded by St. Francis at Assisi, Italy, in 1208), has been the second and the fourth Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong, from Dec. 11, 1842 to Oct. 5, 1847 and from Aug. 24, 1850 to Jun. 20, 1855.
- [11] It is taken from the report to the Pious Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Lyons (France), which was subsidizing the missionary projects; see Archives of the said Congregation, quoted in E. Teruzzi, Breve Storia del Vicariato Apostolico di Hong Kong, HK-CDA, S. 1., B. 22, F. 04. The site, spoken

of here, is still occupied by Catholic institutions, up St. Francis Street. Wanchai.

- [12] Almost as old as Hong Kong. 1848—1973, booklet published by the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, in Hong Kong, 1973, p. 3.

 Mgr. Augustin Forcade, French bishop, member of the Societé des Missions Etrengèeres de Paris (M. E. P., founded at Paris in 1660), has been the third Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong from Oct. 5, 1847 to Aug. 25, 1850. The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres was founded in the diocess of Chartrese, France, in 1694, for educational and charitable work.
- [13] ibid., p. 11.
- "The Chinese have the idea that it is one of the evil spirits called kwai who desires the death of the little one; and it is thought dangerous to the other members of the househould to keep the child, as the evil spirit may take up his abode in the house and attack other members of the family. It is frequently the small sum required for the funeral that will induce the parents to give up the child or the exreme poverty of the family or again the delicate state of the mother": Hong Kong, Asile de la St. Enfance, 1910, p. 4-5. A reprint of the boolet, without the date, can be found in HK-CDA, S. V., B. 35, F. 02.

"Female offspring in traditional China were not as highly prized as male offspring and were occasionally abandoned by families in straitened circumstances": P. A. Cohen, China and Christianity, Harvard Univ. Press, 1963, pp. 91 - 92.

[15] The 1878 Report on Catholic Educational and Charitable Establishments gives the following information: "Everyone knows of the Asile, kept by the French Sisters at Spring Gardens. Up-

wards of 60 little children under 6 years of age are taken care of, all girls with the exception of 4 or 5. As soon as they can hold in their little hands a small piece of cloth, they are taught to work. Neatness is very remarkable there. Besides the children kept in the house, the good Sisters have always a considerable number of little babies to nurse outside, not less than 80, all female with one or two exceptions. An Orphanage for Chinese girls is kept also here; upward of 60 grown up girls are educated, clothed and fed, of whom nearly the half are blind"; see Supplement to The Hong Kong Catholic Register, No. 31. July 22, 1878.

The Hong Kong Catholic Register, the first Catholic weekly newspaper in the Colony, saw the light on Sept. 22, 1877; in 1882 it was renamed *The Catholic Register* and continued publication until 1887. The HK-CDA keep incomplete photocopy collections of the series.

- [16] Hong Kong, L'Asile de la St. Enfance, 1910, pp. 19 22. The site is that of the present St. Paul's Catholic Primary School.
- [17] ibid., pp. 38-39.
- [18] The congregation of the Canossian Sisters, or Canossian Daughters of Charity, was founded in 1808, by St. Magdalene, Marchioness of Canossa, at Verona, Italy.
- [19] Fr. Louis Ambrosi, Italian, diocesan priest from Verona, Italy, has been Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong from June 1855 to March 10, 1867.
- [20] The first Report, 1860-62, of the Canossian Superior Mother Cupis, reported in *Fragments* (an internal circulation bulletin-collection of historical documentation, which can be found in the Archives of the same congregation E, 2), n. 26, pp. 1-5.

- The 1863 Report, quoted in G. Brambilla, I PIME e le Sue Missioni, vol. 5, PIME, Milano 1943, p. 96. The progressive number of orphans, listed in the registers of the Canossian Convent Orphanage reaches 2.866, from 1860 to 1975, when it was closed; in 1861, the Orphanage had 12 orphans, 145 in 1870, 139 in 1907, 69 in 1935, 60 in 1937 and 22 in 1975; see Canossian Missions Historic Archives, E, Resgisters I. I.
- [22] The 1865 Report, quoted in Fragments, No. 28, p. 15.
- [23] Fragments, No. 51, p. 9. "L'Oeuvre de La St. Enfance". or the Holy Childhood Association was founded in 1843 at Nancy in France by the local bishop Mgr. De Forbin Janson to provide financial assistance to Catholic institutions caring for children. Later it was centralized in Rome as the official children missionaid society under the name of the Pontifical Association of the Holy Childhood.
- [24] Mgr. Timoleon Raimondi, Italian, member of the Foreign Mission Society of Milan, Italy (founded here in 1850, later named Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions, P. I. M. E.), has been the sixth Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong from Nov. 17, 1867 to Nov. 17, 1874 and its first Vicar Apostolic (bishop) until Sept. 27, 1894.
- [25] Fragments, No. 51, pp. 11-12.
- [26] South China Morning Post, November 28, 1940, reported under the title, Mr. Li Po-chun's Generous Offer to Hospital: "Mr. Li visited the institution a few days ago and expressed his warmest admiration for the work done there for the infants of the destitute poor in spite of the cramped space. He undertook to rebuild the entire place and present the Sisters with a large

new Infant Hospital and refuge. The present Foundling Home was started 47 years ago, to meet the need of catering for the great number of sick and dying children who were brought to the Sisters for treatment. The work has continued ever since, and the home gives its attention almost exclusively to the children of the extremely poor. The number of children brought there last year was 2.936, while the total of the first ten months of the present year is 2.327. The need of an institution on the scale contemplated by Mr. Li is evident..."

- [27] China Daily, 29 January 1943.
- [28] See The 1932 Report on local Children's Welfare, which gives the statistics of the first working year of the Hospital: 1,500 out-patients, 601 in-patients and 30 orphans.
- [29] A brief History of the Chinese Sisters of the Precious Blood, a booklet which can be found in HK-CDA S. V, B. 39; see it also in the Archives of the Congregation.
- [30] I Nostro Orfanatrofio, Scuola Tipografica S. Luigi, Hong Kong, 1916, p. 1.
- [31] Dates and Events connected with the history of Education in Hong Kong, St. Lewis Reformatory Press, Hong Kong, 1877, p. 11.
- [32] ibid., pp. 22-23.
- [33] The 1871 Report, quoted in ibid., p. 24.
- [34] Christian Brothers or Brothers of the Christian Schools, or La Salle Brothers (F. S. C.), were founded by St. John Baptist de la Salle at Rheims, France, in 1684, they have been working in Hong Kong since 1875, when they took charge of the St. Saviour's College, later renamed St. Joseph's College.
- [35] the 1878 Annual Report emphasizes its work; "The West Point

Reformatory for boys, under the care of the Christian Brothers, has been progressing. The work done at the establishment has increased, and the boys have made wonderful progress in printing. Several works in various languages, done very neatly, have been published therefrom ""; Supplement to The Hong Kong Catholic Register, No. 31, July 22, 1878.

- [36] I Nostro Orfanatrofio, o. c., pp. 6-7.
- "It is decided to continue the institution of the Chinese Orphanage, already existing, under the name of St. Lewis Industrial School and Orphanage. The aim of this Institution is to collect the poor orphans of our Mission, who are completely abandoned, and, exceptionally, all those whose parents could not in any way provide them with the basic support and education (but not criminal) and to help them to become good Christians and honest workers, by training them in some arts and crafts, according to their inclinations": I Nostro Orfanatrofio, o. c. p. t.
- Maryknoll Fathers (M. M.), or the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, were founded in 1911 in USA for missionary work. Salesians of Don Bosco (S. D. B.) or the Society of St. Francis de Sales, were founded by St. John Bosco at Turin. Italy, in 1862 especially for the education of young men.
- [39] Her first report, quoted in Fragments, No. 26, p. 4.
- [40] See letter of Mother Stella, dated 16. 5. 1873, quoted in the typewritten booklet, The Soujourn, the history of the apostolate for blind persons in the Canossian Institute's context, p. 1 (in Canossian Missions' Historic Archives, Wanchai Convent Boxfile) and G. Brambilla, I PIME e le Sue Missioni, vol. V, p. 406.

- [41] Quoted in The Soujourn, o. c., p. 2.
- [42] 22 July 1878.
- [43] The 1878 Report on Catholic Educational and Charitable Establishment wrote: "Among the Chinese orphans at the Italian Convent there are seven blind ones, who are taught reading, writing, arithmetics and needlework. The existence of this school is known perhaps but a few, but it is a fact; and the examinations which were held last year, not only gave entire satisfaction to those who were present, but were really quite marvelous in their results, and reflected the highest credit on the good Sisters of Charity, to whose zeal, eleverness and painstaking work is due the success of the first shool for the poor, afflicted blind"; in Supplement to The Hong Kong Catholic Register, No. 31, 22 July 1878. See also The Soujourn, o. c., P. 2.
- [44] ibid., p. 3.
- [45] Hong Kong Daily Press, 26-5-1919, quoted in The Soujourn, p. 3.
- [46] The House Chronicle, quoted in The Soujourn, o. c., pp. 5-6.
- [47] When the St. Francis Hospital in Wanchai was closed in 1959 and restructured, the Home for the Blind in need of larger premises moved there and became the Canossa School for the Blind Girls, one of the Government subsidized special schools. It soon started an integration program with blind students sent into other normal schools. In 1968 its name was changed into the Canossa School for the Visually Disabled, which developed into a well organized modern institution, with updated facilities and equipment, among wihich a richly diversified special library. In School for the Deaf and started also to accept blind

boys, developing into a co-educational school. In September 1980, the school moved into the present building. Later in 1991 both schools for the blind and for the deaf-mute were taken over by Caritas and turned into the Caritas Lok Kan School for severely mentally handicapped children and Caritas Magdalene School (for deaf-mute).

- [48] Hong Kong, Asile de la St. Enfance, o. c., p. 23.
- [49] See annual reports, in HK-CDA, S. V. B. 36, F. 01.
- [50] The Society of St. Paul, originally called the Conference of Charity is an Association of Catholic lay men and women devoted to personal service of the poor through the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The first Conference was formed at Paris in 1833 by Federik Ozanam and his associates.
- [51] Fr. Cajetanus Favini, their spiritual director, wrote on Sept. 10, 1863: "On Sunday, July 12, we have opened the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul, whose members are the two judges of the Colony (truly exemplary Catholic, one of whom is the President of the Conference itself), the Vice-Consul of France and the most outstanding figures of the Portuguese community of Hong Kong. So the poor, who could receive only 20—30 scudos per month from me, the alms for Mass, now can get about 50····": HK-CDA S. V, B. 12, F. 01; Fr. Favini's File (His short biography, p. 71).
- [52] See special 50th Anniversary Report in 1913, HK-CDA S. W., B. 07.
- [53] ibid.
- [54] HK-CDA S. W. B. 07.
- [55] Ses Report of the year 1940, HK-CDAS. W. B. 07.
- [56] From more details about all these Catholic Associations, see

- Historical Documents of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, oc., ch. 36.
- [57] Quoted in collection of the documents of the First Chinese Council of the Roman Catholic Church, Primum Concilium Sinense.

 Anno 1924, Zi-ka-wei, 1930, (Nos. 381, 1; 382, 2).
- [58] H. J. Lethbridge, Hong Kong: Stability and Change. Oxford Univ. Press, Hong Kong, 1978, pp. 71. 74.
- [59] Letter of Sr. Rachele, dated Jan. 2, 1861, quoted in Fragments, No. 20, p. 4.
- [60] The Hong Kong Catholic Register, No. 31, 22 July 1878.
- [61] Fragments, No. 33, p. 5.
- [62] The Sisters of St. Paul took care of problem girls and prostitutes on a sporadic basis. After the war, the care of adolescent girls with problems and the rehabilitation of women with criminal records were taken up by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (founded in France in 1641 for this purpose), when they arrived in Hong Kong from Shanghai in 1951.
- [63] "There were many difficulties in setting up the Colony. Malaria and typhus were common and many of the first settlers, merchants and soldiers, died of disease. Drainage of the swamps and better sanitation slowly improved the gereral health. Typhoons and fire also took their toll in those first years"; Public Affairs for Hong Kong, A. Wood and M. S. Law, Chiu Ming Publ., Hong Kong, 1973, p. 5.
- [64] See the 1846 Financial report, which records the expenses for the dispensary and the comments of Fr. Feliciani: HK-CDA S. I., B. 05. F. 01.
- [65] HK-CDA S. N., B. 02, F. 01; Instituto Canossiano, 50mo Anniversario in Cina, 1860—1910 (in the final statistics chart)

- and Historical Documents of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, o. c., ch. 11.
- [66] Istituto Canossiano, 50mo Anniversario in Cina, 1860-1910, in the final statistics chart.
- [67] See the report on South China Morning Post of 14 Dec. 1917.
- [68] It had a capacity of 200 beds. During the Japanese attack of the Colony. 4 Canossian Sisters working in the hospital, were asked by the British Government to take care of the wounded Indian soldiers in the Tung Wah Military Hospital, and for such a service received a commendation medal after the War: Canossian Missions Historic Archives, Hong Kong, Canossa Hospital Box-file.
- [69] Fragments, No. 44, p. 18.
- [70] Fragments, No. 50, pp. 4-5.
- [71] J. Vaudon, The General History of the community of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres, Hong Kong, 1979, p. 79.
- [72] Hong Kong, Asile de la St. Enfance, o. c., p. 4.
- [73] The General History of the Community of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres, p. 101-102, whit a full report, published in Economic Awakening of Indo-China of Jan. 25, 1920.
- [74] Mgr. Henry Valtorta, Italian, member of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions (P. I. M. E.), has ben the fourth Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong from 1926 to 1946, and the first Bishop of the Diocese from 1946 to 1951.
- [75] See the special commemorative publications for the 125th anniversary of the arrival to Hong Kong of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres, 1973, and for the 50th anniversary of St. Teresa's Hospital, 1990 (Archives of the Congregation).
- [76] HK-CDA, S. V. B. 40, F. 03.

- [77] See statistics chart in Istitute Canossiano 50mo Anniversario in Cina, 1860—1910. The Register I in C. E of the Canossian Missions' Historic Archives has the progressive number of 2,174 Chinese old women, from 1861—1932.
- [78] The General History of the Community of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres, p. 92.
- [79] Annual Reports in HK-CDA, S. V. B. 36, F. 01.
- [80] Mgr. Dominic Pozzoni, Italian, member of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions, has been the third Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong, from Jul. 12, 1905 to Feb. 20, 1924
- [81] This religious congregation was founded in 1839 at St. Servant in Britanny, France. Hong Kong was their third presence in China, after Shanghai and Canton.
- [82] Almost as old as Hong Kong, o. c., p. 1].
- [83] The site, now at the beginning of Clear Water bay Road, was then called Siumuitsun, and the road was Custom Pass Road.
- [84] After the war, new wings were added to the Home, and the Little Sisters of the Poor could open another Home for the Aged in Aberdeen in 1959.
- [85] Report by Fr. John Spada, dated May 21, 23, 1894, quoted in G. Brambilla. I PIME e le Sue Missioni, vol. V, p. 146. The 3 plague hospitals mentioned here were the ship Hygeia, the Kennedy Town Police Station and the Kennedy Town Glass Factory.
- [86] The General History..., o. c., p. 91. Fr. Louis Piazzoli, Italian, member of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions (P. I. M. E.), was then vicar general and the following year was appointed second Vicar Aposto.ic of Hong Kong until his death in 1905.

- [87] Report dated June 6, 1894, quoted in G. Brambilla, o. c., p. 147.
- [88] "On the advice of the Superior, I selected six Sisters to assist the plague-stricken. They take turns of twelve hours, day and night, from 6 am to 6 pm, three at each turn on mutual agreement. They do not return to The Convent for fear of contagion. The Rev. Fathers gave us the loan of a house near the St. Anthony's Church, West Point, half way to the hospital. There they rest in turn. We send food to them from the Convent, both to the house and to the hospital. It appears that God is blessing the work, wanted by Him through the Superios, for they have the poor and the patients address the Sisters as their own 'mothers', that is, the few on the road to recovery, some 13—14 in a hundred!"; letter of the Superior Mother Stella, dated July 10, 1894, quoted in Fragments No. 52, p. 12.

The Sister who died of plague on August 4, 1894, was the Portuguese Sr. Anna Pereira; see the *Old Chronicle*, Cannossian Missions' Historic Archives, A, Box file **I**.

[89] "The bubonic plague continues its devastation, with some Europeans too falling victim. The method of disinfecting the residences is strongly resented by the population; they are required to move out with all the property for two or three days, until the sanitation of the house is carried out. During this time, people are kept in the open air, day and night, exposed to any kind of weather. There is an average of 5—6 dead per day. The Government has resolutely adopted these sanitation measures. Now it is raining and cold; let us hope for some improvement!"; Report by Fr. J. Spada, dated Apr. 8, 1896, quoted in G. Brambilla, o. c., p. 193.

- [90] G. Brambilla, o. c., p. 193.
- [91] ibid., p. 196.
- [92] Journal of the HK Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 15 (1975), pp. 62, 69-70.
- [93] See report in The Morning Post, 30 May 1934.
- "... The Asylum, being intended for local Lepers, is not expected to be a large one. It might begin with perhaps 100 inmates and, in the course of time, be enlarged to accommodate a maximum of 200 or 300 patients, according to local needs... The Government has already received some proposals from at least two Protestant bodies, i. e. from the local Protestant Bishop and from Shanghai. It now wishes to know whether some Catholic body would be prepared to undertake the new work and on what conditions..."; HK-CDA, S. W. B. 09, F. 03.
- [95] This religious congregation was founded at Montreal, Canada, 1902, and has been working in Hong Kong since 1928.
- [96] HK-CDA, S. V, B. 09, F. 03.
- [97] H. Ingrams wrote in 1952; "Leprosy has become rather a problem. Up till recently lepers were maintained by the Hong Kong Government in a leprosarium near Canton but that arrangement has come to an end. There is legislation allowing for the expulsion from the Colony of lepers who cannot claim Hong Kong birth, or at any rate long residence there, but while tentative proposals are afoot for setting up a leprosarium in the Colony, the Tung Wah Hospital has in the meantime erected temporary matsheds to give shelter to the lepers"; see *Hong Kong*, H. Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1952, pp. 223-24. The Mission to the Lepers Hong Kong Auxiliary, was inaugurated in Nov. 1950, which, on the following Dec. 18, helped to

- move 161 lepers to the huts in Sandy Bay, built by Tung Wah Hospital.
- [98] See M. G. Whisson, Under the Rug: the Drug Problem in Hong Kong, South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 1965, p. 14.
- [99] Quoted in *Primum Concilium Sinense*, anno 1924, which collects all the documents related to the First Catholic Council in China at Shanghai in 1924, Nos. 423, 433.
- [100] Pastoral Letter of Mgr. H. Valtorta dated Dec. 10, 1937, in HK-CDA S. I. B. 4, F. 01.
- [101] "The settling of the refugees in Government Camps where the Rev. Fr. T. Ryan S. J. gave his valuable assistance in the pioneer work of catering, industrial and welfare work…": Hong Kong Refugee and Social welfare Council Report, 1940, p. 4. The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus (S. J.), founded by St. Ignatius Loyola at Rome, Italy, in 1540, have been working in Hong Kong, particularly in the educational sector, since 1926.
- [102] Fr. Thomas Ryan in his Jesuits under fire in the siege of Hong Kong. 1941. Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd.. London and Dublin. 1944. offers a detailed documentation of the Jesuit social involvement during the weeks of the Japanese invasion, that is Dec. 8-25. 1941.

"We had been asked by more than one department to give services of some of our number... The Medical Department wanted all the members that we could spare... A few were definitely assigned to special duties. Fr. Kennedy, who had as a doctor with R. A. M. C. experience in the last war, was to take charge of St. Teresa's Hospital, Kowloon, and eight of us were attached to the department which was responsible for the transfer to safe place of the dependents of workers in essential

- services..." (pp. 8-9. 19).
- "The intentions of H. H. the Pontiff are the same all over the world. He desires to alleviate as far as possible, the sufferings caused by war and in His efforts to help, makes no distinction as to nationality and country, as all men are equally dear to him": HK-CDA, S. 1, B. 25, F. 03, where all the related documents can be found.
- [104] HK-CDA, S. I, B. 25, F. 03; there is only a rough copy in Italian; the original report has ben written in rome on Nov. 26, 1946.
- [105] See General report to the Japanese authorities, HK-CDA, S. I., B. 25, F. 02.
- [106] H. J. Lethbridge, Hong Kong: Stability and Change, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong 1978, p. 1.
- [107] ibid., p. 5. A Social Welfare Officer in Hong Kong had been appointed only in August 1947, and a Social Welfare Office With its own financial vote was established as a sub-department of the Secretariat for the Chinese Affairs at the beginning of the financial year on the 1st April 1948.
- [108] Hong Kong, Annual Report 1948, published by the Government of Hong Kong, Commercial Press, March 1849, pp. 89-90.
- [109] For this comparison see Government Annual Reports, E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, Kelly and Walsh, HK 1895, G. R. Sayer, Hong Kong: Birth, Adolescence and Coming of Age. Oxford Univ. Press, London 1937, G. B. Endacott, Government and People in Hong Kong, 1841 1962, HK Univ. Press, 1964 and the chapt ers about Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk in H. J. Lethbridge, Hong Kong; Stability and Change, Oxford Univ. Press, Hong Kong, 1978.

附中译文:

天主教会对香港的社会关怀 (1841-1945 年)

田英杰 著 汪建达 译

概 况

香港英殖民政府和当地天主教会从一开始就互相关联,共同 发展。

"据一简短的拉丁年表所载,自1839年占据香港本岛之后,驻 扎于此的大量士兵开始染病死亡。而后,一个叫博德的英国人被 推荐为驻澳门的天主教教庭传信部代表。若瑟神父要求圣职人员 必须为香港天主教居民提供灵性的关切。"[1]*若瑟神父派一天主 教神父到香港作不定期访问,并得到罗马传信部的许可,于1841 年4月22日,把香港组建成一个独立的监牧区。1841年1月20日,由义律和琦善总督主持的中英穿鼻会谈刚刚结束,同月25日, 英国舰队便占据了香港本岛。

在我们所关心的整个历史过程中,它们之间的相互关系也不 总是一帆风顺的,因为与香港社会的特殊状况接触后,就引发了 众多困难。香港社会的特征是人口的高度流动性,移民多来自欧 洲和中国大陆,而且通常不带家庭。此外,人们差不多完全只关

注释未译,请按注序号查阅英文原注。

心物质利益(哪怕是通过非法手段获取);欧洲人和中国人居住区隔若鸿沟;低下的管制水准和有限的文化兴趣;还有人们对灵性价值完全漠然等等。

我们在此仅仅澄清香港社会的主要特征,而对它的背景作完整细致的描述则留给专家。香港普通人口和天主教人口的增长及构成的一般统计数字,^[2]足以突出其一贯的社会特征:人口及其主要经济关注的变动。人口增长同国内历史事件紧密相关,中国的内战和政治变动必然影响香港人口的迁移和波动。

"鸦片战争之后(1841年1月),英国首次占据香港,但殖民政府要到1843年7月26日签订《南京条约》之后才正式成立。不久,殖民政府便在中国的贸易中成了有影响的角色,而且吸引富有的、不同民族的外国商人团体。不过鸦片贸易同时助长了犯罪和难以管制的团体。维持法制与秩序,保护人身和财产的安全成了香港政府的首要问题。"[3]

事实上,香港政府一开始便顺从大商人的利益,因此它主要 关心经济利润和社会秩序。只是在后来,才试图全面掌管行政和 政治,不过这也常常是同商业利益一致的。"从欧洲人的立场来看, 二战前的香港建设史是一场商业团体同政府的斗争史。商业团体 要政府根据商业利益而随时代变动,政府则试图控制那些倔强的 商人。他们多为苏格兰人的后裔,通常拒绝被他们视为搜括中国 人太多油水的懒惰政府的奉承。"[1]

对经济利益的重视促使香港发展成有效的转运港、自由港以及转运到中国、亚洲及西方的商品仓库。连带辅助性工作,香港成了远东主要商品的贸易总部。二战后,香港才转向工业经济。它所提供的服务同远洋贸易相关,有银行业、保险业、会计业和法律部门。51不过,所有这些工作的实施都以牺牲其他社会关怀和服务为代价。

香港人口的另一特征是欧洲人和亚洲人的截然分离。欧洲人社团自以为高人一等、与众不同:"1841年的香港人口分裂成互相对峙的两大块:欧洲人和亚洲人。每一块都有大量的下层成员。欧洲人的上层是那些殖民地官员,他们作为见习生从英国本土直接到殖民地来。如果是属最上层的,那么他们大多居住在山顶区……"这种种族隔离政策是香港社会的特征,具体体现在1904年的山顶区保护法令上,它禁止中国人在该区居住。(该法令于1930年和1937年得到修订,在1946年最终被废除。)

从上述的概况中可以看出,政府主要关心贸易的经济利润、社会法律和秩序的维护,而天主教会,包括其他宗教和社会团体,试图承担不同的社会角色。其领导人工作的动机与众不同。他们信仰教会,认为教会首先是从事每个人的灵性和永恒得救的团体,把所有人都看成是同一天父的儿女,鼓励他们不分民族与阶级,出于人性去照顾和关心他人。因此,组织"慈善事业"和建立"慈善机构"被视为是对他们所信仰的普遍之爱作见证的必要手段,亦是为人们的皈依而传播基督教信息的适宜方法。所以他们对待社会问题的方式是实用、现实的,力图为个体或特殊群体提供服务和帮助。他们觉得没有必要去全面分析情况,深究社会问题的根基,以便发现根本性的解决办法。可况且天主教会负责人往往来自欧洲,主要来自意大利,同英殖民政府没有政治联系(在这一点上,政府同英国国教联系紧密),不过仅仅是希望政府能同他们合作以解决部分问题。他们把政治决策交给殖民当局处理,只是提醒他们有责任去全面解决共同的问题。

我们的研究只是指出天主教会所提供的社会服务,其目的是为了说明他们不仅满足香港人的灵性需要,而且还解决物质和社会问题,尽管他们对香港人福利的关怀有限,却是自始至终。我的研究严格集中在教会的社会关怀上,省去了教会对教育的参与。

由于教会在这领域涉及太广且起到多重角色的作用,对此问题需要独立的研究。我将列出专门的部分去处理和评价教会介入社会的特征和贡献。^[8]

开始阶段

第一个负责香港监牧区的若瑟神父两次访问该岛之后,于 1842年2月21日在澳门发表一个强烈呼吁,不仅替香港的教堂 而且为建造学校和给弃儿的居所筹集资金。据估算,那时香港的 居民已大幅度增加。[9]

1843年3月,若瑟神父在香港定居后,马上实施他的计划。不 幸的是,他的健康敌不过艰难困苦,于8月便去世了。他的继任, 斐神父[10]在 1845 年写道: "1842 年, 我的前任已开始为建立育婴 堂而在市中心安排场地。不久他过世了,英政府暂停所有公共和 私人的建设,直到 1843 年 7 月同中国签署和平条约。1844 年 1 月 24 日,所有建设又继续进行。后来政府又重新划分原已给前任牧 师的土地,根据城市的新规划,我认为原来划给育婴堂的地基太 小、也太暴露,因此我决定把它迁移到远离城市的地方。我们把 那叫做'慈善机构区域', 它坐落在临海的小山下, 其尽头是皇后 大道。那地方是香港最好的位置之一,凉爽又能饱受美景。那恰 好在天主教墓地外的地基,能为下列机构提供空间:育婴堂、医 院、墓地或学院、小礼拜堂。所有这些都坐落在半山腰上,我们 在山脚可建一个诊所,附设医生宿舍、图书馆以及附有工人及主 持牧师住宿处的天主教出版社,这出版社为中国人、欧洲人提供 印刷品。1843年,我开始为不同的机构平整形状各异的地基,可 是同政府的争端又不得不中止这一切。1845 年 7 月, 这争端由于 我的努力而平息,我立即第三次组建上述的机构。如今,地基差 不多已平整,也有了围墙。我开始建造献给圣弗朗西斯·沙忽略的小礼拜堂和两所临时房,一间用作医院,一间用作育婴堂。....."[11]

这个报告清楚表明,天主教会最先关注的是社会问题。让我们来看看具体情况。

育婴堂和孤儿院

1847年12月,香港教区第三位负责人科主教向圣保罗女修会呼吁,希望她们参与医院的工作,去管理学校和育婴堂,并且训练护士。[182]幸运的是,他的请求得到了响应。1848年9月12日,四位修女首赴香港,并随即负责在湾仔的育婴堂。育婴堂起初在慈善机构区域的一所房子里,若干年后搬到靠海的新的育婴堂。人们都知道她们照料弃婴。她们的榜样和少量的报酬鼓励其他妇女与她们合作去收集弃婴,"一个真正保护孩子的运动组织起来了,这是对紧急需要的回应。"[13]

遗弃或买卖,甚至闷死、淹死婴儿,特别是女婴的风俗盛行子中国大部分地区。中国当局通过对杀人者处以极刑来处理这个问题,如乾隆皇帝和广东总督曾处罚过五例,可收效甚微。主要原因是:害怕有人死在家中的迷信;把孩子当作父母财产的传统精神;处境悲惨、债务缠身或出于家庭利益的需要,孩子是可以被清除掉的;根深蒂固地喜欢能传宗接代、奉祭祖坟的男孩等。在香港,恶劣的卖淫和纳妾之风,使境况变得更糟。[14]

从 1848 年到 1854 年,被收养的婴儿有 1360 个,年平均超过 200 个。1859 年,育婴堂收有六七十个中国小孩。

1878年,那儿有 60 多个小女孩,四、五个未满 6 岁的男孩。超过六岁的孤儿有 60 多个,其中一半是盲人。[15]

随着被收养孩子数目的增多,场地越来越紧张。1872 年有 500 人,到 1889 年就达 1062 人。通过捐献、彩票、买卖或义卖筹集 资金,于 1890—1891 年按精致的歌特式风格建成了一幢临海的宽 敞大楼,并于 1898 年加以扩展,这为不断发展的服务事业提供了 合适的场所:如育婴堂、孤儿院、医院、盲人收容所、穷困妇女 的贫民所等等。育婴堂到 1907 年一直在那里,后由于拥挤,搬往 黄泥湾的加尔瓦略山。[16]

1911年的状况大体如下:"一年四季,通常有 2000 个小生灵由他们的父母送来,或放置在育婴堂门前。其中只有极少数存活下来……现在只有 40 多个,从 1 岁到 20 岁不等。根据年龄把他们分为两类,并把他们合并在一个专为他们准备的大房间里。"[17]

重建购于1914年的香港棉纺织厂院子之后,圣保罗女修会的 所有机构在1917年逐渐汇聚到铜锣湾。育婴堂亦于20年代迁到 那里。

在日军占领期间,1945年4月4日,来自盟军的炸弹糟糕地击中该区,炸死50名被收容者和7位修女。那地方只得放弃,25位修女和85个孤儿在卡诺沙修道院受到款待,其他一些孤儿被保良局收容,后为澳门的机构接收。战后,育婴堂和孤儿院都重建成现代的幼儿院和抚育所。

除了圣保罗女修会的修女,卡诺萨的修女[18]亦承担这些服务。1860年4月,从意大利来的首批6位修女刚抵达香港,就受第五教区盎神父[18]的邀请,去收拾和照看那些孤儿和弃婴。5月1日,她们为葡萄牙人和英国人开放了两所学校,不久为贫穷的中国女孩开办了第三所学校,后来改成孤儿院。"在第一批被收养的小孩中有两姐妹,她们的父亲为保卫天主教信仰而殉道。不久,一个为其父母抛弃的8岁盲女带到我们这里,……尔后,一个只有

几个月的婴儿由她亲生母亲带了过来。"[20]

所有这些都是孤儿院和收容所的开始阶段。1863 年有三所孤儿院,一所为葡萄牙小孩,两所为中国小孩:"她们领养的女孩数目增长得离奇,养活她们的手段又匮乏,因此不得不谢绝许多其他人。"[21]

1865年,在坚道的卡诺萨女修道院(亦叫意大利女修道院)养有 41 个葡萄牙孤儿,58 个中国孤儿,18 个婴孩,外面还有托付给护士的 120 个婴孩。她们说不清每天有多少小孩被领养,又有多少死去。2211874年,被卡诺萨的修女收容的有 577 个,第二年有562 个。在育婴堂有 33 个,130 个托付给了奶妈。

1886-1887年,卡诺萨的修女把工作扩展到油麻地和九龙, 1890年到筲箕湾和红墈:她们到一个地方就立即开始照料弃婴。

据 1893 年的报告载:"即使是今年,由于耶稣幼年会虔诚捐献者的善心,有 970 个婴儿获救。大量的婴儿夭折了,幸存的在房间里蹦蹦跳跳,弄得负责的修女从早忙到晚。"[28]

1893年,高神父[24]把西环寄宿学校转让给卡诺萨修女,这学校一直维持到1907年。"为何关闭了它呢?根据政府的命令,部分人员必须从坚道搬迁出去,因为有太多的年轻人在女修道院,传染性疾病不时在婴孩中爆发。考虑到这一点,就决定把所有婴儿都移到西环的圣心堂,并关闭男孩寄宿学校,因为圣心堂座落在繁华街区,是开展工作的适宜场所。不久,那儿便出了名。那儿接纳了大量婴孩,对大部分婴儿来说,那里是获得通往天国的护照的中转站,他们腾出的小儿床让给候补名单上的其他人。……"[25]她们在那里呆了好多年。收容所和孤儿院发生的一切都没有逃过一位好心的中国慈善家李宝春先生的注意,他于1940年末亲自访问那里,并提供了一所新的儿童医院。[26]

1941 年在香港爆发的战争把李先生的计划推迟到 1949 年,

当时他为儿童建立了凌月仙医院。1943年,该收容所举行五十周年大庆。在这 50 年中,该医院总共收养了 84150 个处境悲惨或没有母亲的婴孩,大约有 5 万人在毗邻的诊所得到免费医治。医院工作人员大多来自卡诺萨的机构,而基金来自这个机构的各种各样工作和活动的利润,包括香港及海外捐献者不时地慷慨解囊。……通过医院对婴儿的保护和照料,很多孩子康复了,他们被送回老家,或为善良的中国人当作亲生儿女而不是当作妹仔领养。其他的人养在卡诺萨孤儿院,教以一种专长以便使他们成为社会有用之才。不过绝大部分没有活下来,因为大多数是在奄奄一息时被送到医院,或是被抛在医院门口,处境悲惨。对在街上发现弃婴的警察来说,医院一向是受欢迎的地方……"[27]

"宝血女修会"是第三批从事照看弃儿和孤儿的天主教会众。她们于 1860 年下半年抵达香港后便与卡诺萨的修女协作。1921年,逐渐发展成一个独立的会众,拥有自己的教育和慈善机构。随着她们十多年来一直运作良好的孤儿院工作的扩展,在 1931 年她们得到当地政府保护儿童协会的支持,开办了一所儿童医院和自己的修道院。[28] 1936 年建成"宝血"医院,儿童分部也得以扩充,能接纳更多的弃婴和孤儿,其中很多是政府通过保护儿童协会送过来的。1938—1941年,随着同那个协会合作的加深,医院于 1940年得以扩建,当年就接纳 2673 个孩子,分发了大量药品和食物。日军占领期间,尽管一些服务被迫中止,可依然每天收容弃婴。[29]

西环管教所

自殖民政府成立以来, 失学儿童数目的增长一直是严峻的问题。据官方报道, 1869 年约有1万儿童未受教育。他们或被遗弃

街头,轻易沦为盗贼,或被当作廉价劳动力受压榨。为了管制那些已几度进宫的年轻流氓,那帮没有工作、游荡街巷、容易滑向违法犯罪的无赖,¹³⁰]教会当局认为,开办政府许可的特别机关实在显得必要。

1863年,一所收容 12 人的管教所在西环一小房子里成立。港督罗便臣把西环的一块土地划给天主教堂,外国人团体慷慨资助新房建设。1865年,30 个被收容者转移到那里,每天从地方行政官的济贫箱开支 200 元津贴,够开一所让他们学习木匠、制鞋和裁缝的工场。[31]

到 1866 年,被收容者达 42 人;自给的产品每月值 30 元;来 访者和舆论界经常赞扬他们的成果。

1869年,政府给了每月50元的固定补助金。3月22日,理查德·麦克唐纳爵士解释了缘由:"高神父提到了给西环教养所的补助金;由于这补助金是政府给的,他认为需要一些解释。而实情非常简单,要是没有这个教养所,政府要为大量处境凄惨的小孩提供补助是不可能的。建造房屋、提供管制人员,政府要耗费更多。现在政府要做的是同公众的高水平的讨价还价。经过计算,政府认为它现在的耗费只是处理同样问题要耗费公众基金的四分之一。政府认为,孩子们在令人钦佩的机构的负责人那里得到了最好的照看,没人能比他们做得更好。"[32]

1870年,被收容者达 52个,牧师为管理这些少年犯所干的工作确实相当累人。不过借助那些以前被收容,后来仍留在那里做付薪教师的人员的帮助,良好的结果还是一目了然的。很多人作为木匠、制鞋匠和裁缝师在香港取得了正当地位,即便是那些只在收容所呆了很短一段时间,也没学会一门手艺的人,也没有再次被带到地方保安官那里。[33]

1875年, 收容所移交给圣约瑟夫学院的基督教兄弟会[84]之

后,其方针发生了重大改变。此后,它开始接纳葡萄牙和欧洲小孩。尽管如此,它显然没有改变教养院原先的意图,更不必说是想把它变成中、欧非法混血人的廉价收容所了。

1877年又有另外两个转变,附设了一家印刷以前的艺术和手艺的出版社,在附近空地开辟了苹果园。圣路易斯管教所出版社的出版物受到称赞。1878年,孩子增多了,中国籍的有 60 多个,其他国籍的有 12 个,场地的需要更大了。[35]

1880-1885年,由圣灵先会提供资金,实施扩展工程,新增了厢房。

1885年,由于开支太高,关闭了一些工场。白天,就**派被**收容者到外面的工场学习手艺。³⁶¹

基督教兄弟会一直管理着教养院,直到 1893 年把指导权移交给当地教牧人员。安德烈神父负责中国部分,翟神父负责葡萄牙部分。同时,政府想把它重新组建成更大的规模,并采用不同的管理方法,即在那里接纳年轻罪犯而不是把他们送进监狱。1894年,有6个年轻罪犯在不同的房子里得到看管。这个系统运作了一段时间,到1908年重新向工人阶级开放,除去了管教所的特征,以便使它成为一座工业学校和穷苦孩子的孤儿院。这种变动被整编成新的法规,在1914年1月9日的天主教宣教大会上得以通过。[37]

从 1921—1926 年,由玛利诺神父们管理该机构,自 1927 年起,转移到圣弗朗西斯会。[38] 1935 年,随着阿伯登工业学校的建立,除出版社外,其他工业部门都迁到那里。此后,圣路易斯工学院和孤儿院变成了圣路易斯中学。

对盲人和登儿的培训

天主教会对香港盲人的关怀始于卡诺萨修道院。

古修女会长写道:"不久(1860年5月),一位好心的女基督徒领来年仅八岁又遭父母抛弃的盲女孩,原先她流浪街头,四处乞讨……,一旦她学会祈祷并领悟了基督教教义的真理,就立即自发地向未领会这些的其他小女孩宣讲……"[39]

后来又接纳了其他盲女孩,还有另外的孤儿和一葡萄牙男孩。 1874年,又接纳6个聋哑女孩。这样就有向意大利要求速派特殊 教师的需要。[40]

那时欧洲,对残疾儿童、盲人、聋哑人的教育有着强烈的觉醒,并给了特殊的关注。波罗尼爵士被挑去接受特别训练,然后派往香港。1874年2月27日,她带着专业知识和设备到香港,立即开始用盲文教 9个盲女孩。[41]

据香港天主教记录报载:"1874年,考虑到中国有大量贫穷的盲人,特别派来一位懂得如何教育盲人的卡诺萨的修女。第一次尝试是把葡萄牙语教给中国盲女孩,这既是为了做试验,也是为了马上利用好心修女的服务。人们提供盲人使用的葡萄牙文书籍,几个月后,学生就能够理解用葡萄牙文讲解的课文,一年零几个月后,她们就能读、写和算。接下去是要让她们用自己的语言读写,可是要用中文为她们印刷相当困难,于是打算用欧洲的字母来印中国字。后来做了一个让她们听写中国话的试验,相当成功。假如没弄错的话,我们认为这不仅是中国,亦是整个东方的第一所盲人学校。"[42-

盲人学生接受读写算及儿童启蒙教育,还有针钱活,每年优良的考试成绩和来访者(包括 1879 年来访的轩尼诗总督)的印象

令教师们甚感欣慰。[43]

在坚道的意大利女修道院,一直保持对盲人的照顾和教育。在 其他卡诺萨机构,亦为他们保留特殊的一块。

1917年,红 勘卡诺萨女修道院让少数盲女孩接受针线活、刺绣、针织和缝纫技术的训练,那些女孩表现了非凡的技能。[*1]1924年末,所有受到该修会修女照顾的盲女孩在老地方重聚一堂。

1919 年與论界报道在湾仔的圣弗朗西斯女修道院五十周年的庆典,强调盲人学生的表演受到了热烈欢迎,特别是他们的合唱队和独唱者吉姆波小姐。^[45]

盲人学校在1926年第二次搬迁到筲箕湾。1930年,由于他们的房子离海滨仅一步之遥,受到洪水龚击而不得不拆除,40个女孩搬往在湾仔为她们建造的平房。

1932年,她们又搬到摩星岭的"韩呢"别墅,这是戴玛大和加斯度夫妇为纪念他们已故的女儿赛丽斯特而捐赠的。那儿有 4 岁到 20 岁的盲人学生 35 人。除日常事务和像阅读、针织、纺织、刺绣、烧烤、园艺这类传统课程外,还新增音乐课。凭着一名叫冯淑媛的女孩的音乐天赋,修女们把她培养成一位成功的钢琴家,她后来又帮助训练其他人。

1941年12月8日日军人侵香港的战争爆发,这是香港历史上不能忘却的伤疤。根据当局的建议,由于安全的缘由,修女及盲女孩被迫从"韩呢"别墅搬到卡诺萨女修道院。1942年1月,她们又折回别墅。那真是艰难岁月啊!在日军占领期间,强壮一点的女孩由劳拉爵士带领,到附近山上捡柴火,其他随佩理纳爵士到海边取海水,让其蒸发取用食用盐,因为商店里已经几乎见不到盐……1945年8月,和平最终来临。由于惊恐而骨肉日消,再加上艰难岁月的拖累、又没完没了地受到那帮甚至要威胁杀死修女的掠夺者的骚扰,有30个盲女孩死去,仅剩下9位幸存者。461

战后,随着香港的恢复,"韩呢"别墅的盲人之家的生活亦逐 渐重新开始。1950年初春,接纳第一批盲人走读生。那里总共有 38人,年龄从8岁到38岁不等。盲人之家在那里一直开办到1959 年。[47]

日军占领香港之前,圣保罗的修女也在照管盲女孩,起初在春园,后来在铜锣湾。1910年关于盲人庇护所的报告说:"虚弱的盲女孩组成特殊的分部,她们在那里可以接受指导和力所能及的工作训练。她们学习缝纫洗涤、家务工作,不过更实际的是帮助修女照看那些离开童床的婴孩。"^[48]1917年,被收容的盲人和残疾人有 48 位.到 1941 年约有 40 位。^[49]

关心穷人和保护少女

圣灵先会

为了进一步帮助穷人和处理在香港的令人悲悯之事,一打天主教人士在1863年以国际圣沙忽略的名义,创建国际圣灵先会的分部,^[50]怀特法官担任该分部主席。^[51]

该协会成员意在照管穷人,在他们沮丧的时候拜访他们,为他们提供宽慰、帮助和食宿,派发书籍、衣服等等。通常,"协会并不长久固定地去帮助任何穷人,而只是减轻他们当下的痛苦,把受苦者置于较好的境地以便他们以后自己养活自己。"^[52]香港的圣灵先会开始工作时,每星期为个体的穷人分配救济品,为贫困的家庭提供帮助,1863年有8户,到1880年增至24户,1890年有31户,1900年和1912年分别是51户和95户。^[53]后来它增加了给各机构孤儿和悲伤虚弱者的救济金,为学生们买鞋,派发衣服和毛毯,提供丧葬费用,捐助各种特别的救济基金和救济呼吁

等等。他们的收入通常来自成员的捐助,个体和其他机构的私入资助,以及礼拜天教堂募捐等等。自 1881 年起,组织"年度大拍卖",1894 年又新增"小商品市场"。殖民政府从 1889 年起给它 70元的补助金,到 1892 年增至 100元,1940 年为 1000元。[54]

1940年的年度报告表明:该协会的收入是 34675. 50 元.支出是 24602. 23 元,节余 10073. 27 元。从 1941年 7 月起,用了 8801. 52 元帮助 221 户家庭,医药资助是 182. 62 元,提供食宿花费 1872. 28 元,还帮助 140 个小孩和 16 个孤儿在不同的学校上学,等等。[55]

不仅是圣灵先会,其他天主教协会(如圣约瑟夫中国协会、圣勒法克耳会、天主教联合俱乐部、圣体会、圣博德会、天主教妇女团体,天主教联合会^[56]等。)和教区也经常帮助穷人,更不必提那些个别的牧师、修女和普通人,尽管他们所作的努力很难用数据和统计材料明确说明。

童 婚

天主教会一直关注有关孩子特别是女孩的弊端,它联合其他组织,如香港福利协会、保良局、香港保护儿童协会、反妹仔协会等,努力去铲除它们。这些弊端由来已久,像童婚,买年轻女孩作奴婢的"妹仔制",通过拐卖年轻女子和强迫她们卖身而邪恶地剥削她们,等等。

自 1803 年四川教区会议以来,天主教会要求他们的工作人员"要严厉警告信徒,去除童婚这传统恶习,全心全意地遵从教会教规";"为了防止任何可能的丑闻,被许配的女孩不管多大都可被带入未婚夫的屋中,这种做法是不允许的;由子这样做本身有罪,所以哪怕是为了避免更大的邪恶,亦绝不可能是合法的。"[57]

1880 年在香港召开的中华帝国第五教区第一次天主教会议

上,重申了同样的训导。1924年在上海召开的第一届全国天主教大会亦接受了这些训导。

妹仔,女孩和妓女问题

"据 1844 年的调查,在维多利亚城区的中国居民超过 13000 人,不过仅有 315 户家庭。436 所中国人居住的长久性砖房仅有 13 家为私人所有。那时妓院比私人房子还多,有 32 家。到 19 世纪 70 年代,情况没有明显改观……那里还有更难处理的妹仔问题 (妹仔的字面意思是'小姐妹',是中国人称呼奴婢的委婉语)。根据风俗,穷苦人家放弃自己的女儿以便她到富人家去,这样家里可得一笔钱,而女孩则被当作仆人收养,供以食宿但没有工钱,当她长大就把她嫁人……19 世纪华南地区世风日下,市场上充斥着大量将成为妹仔和被妓院吸收的年轻妇女和小女孩。"[58]

天主教神父和修女不得不面对处在水深火热之中的香港妇女,很多人被迫成为"奴隶"或"妓女",甚至抛掉自己的亲生骨肉。不过他们所能做的亦很有限。修女们被她们的悲惨状况感动,为她们敞开大门。

其中一位修女写道:"一段时间,不管老幼,有许多女孩从广东和澳门来到这里,因为每一个地方的人们都在说,香港正在建造接纳所有这样穷苦'奴隶'的房子。房子才建了一半,人们已在四周徘徊,希望能被接纳……"[59]

据 1878 年香港天主教记录报载:"卡诺萨的修女想为殖民地提供所有可能的帮助。没人否认,在香港最迫切的需要是要有地方收容那些贫穷不幸的妇女,她们丧失了美德和尊严,代之以污秽和羞辱。经验证明,假如在香港有这样的收容所,有一批人是可能获救的。我们善心的卡诺萨修女,出于这些需要,在湾仔为那些不幸的妇女开设了一所小房子,成功地证实了我们的看法。在

那些日子里,修女们在湾仔开办了圣约瑟夫难民所,平均收容 12个人。有一些人受到合理的接待,对那些修女真是感激不尽。良好的结果如此鼓舞那些出色的卡诺萨修女,尽管在 3 年内她们的救济院受了 4 次洪水龚击,仅有一次幸免于难,她们还是情愿自己忍饥挨饿,亦不愿把这些不幸的人推向街头。当洪水使她们的房子不再适合居住时,她们前景惨淡。不过她们还是租了另外一所小房子以节省开支,而不是放弃她们有益的工作……"[50]

靠近圣约瑟夫救济院的湾仔救济院于 1869 年开张。起初的工作微不足道,只在底楼为那些不幸的女孩提供一个大房间:三位附近学校的修女在日常事务和语言学习上,在宗教教义上,给她们以庇护、帮助和指导。[61]

1878年,一场洪水差不多吞毁了那些房子,为了更好地为卡诺萨修女的众机构提供食宿,在老地方重建了新房。由于修女都在英语或中文中学工作,人手短缺,圣约瑟夫救济院到 1911 年就 关闭了。[62]

医院和诊所

殖民地的卫生条件相当简陋,尤其是在早期,医药护理奇缺。^[63] 因此自 1845 年起,斐神父希望能够为穷人建造一所医院,而不考虑他们的宗教立场。他随即开了一个诊所,分发药品,甚至满足病人的住房要求。

"我确实发现,无论从灵性还是世俗的角度,在此建造医院十分必要。很多不幸的人来到这港口为英国船的船长工作,(他们大多为来自果阿和菲律宾的天主教徒)那些船长把他们扔在岸上,不给任何帮助,亦不给丝毫照顾。他们由于悲痛而得病,亦不知哪里可得到治疗。很多人甚至未做圣事就去世,因为我们根本没得

到通知或通知我们已为时过晚。为了补救如此多的不便,有这样的医院实在显得正当。我完全知道这样做花费甚多,困难重重,但我们将竭尽所能为该教区提供一个如此有用的机构。"[61]后来在1846年9月,他开始呼吁筹集基金。

在湾仔的圣弗朗西斯医院本来可在 1852 年对外开放。它靠着皇后大道,不过稍稍处上坡一点,是一幢 102 英尺长 35 英尺宽的引人注目的建筑,根据公众的看法,它处在世界上任何城市也不会自惭形秽。可不幸的是,由于财政困难,那幢建筑在很长时间内不能当作医院使用;1859 年租借给政府,作为已婚士兵的住房。不过在 1869 年又被教会收回,整个地方都加以重新安排、扩展;自 1869 年 5 月 7 日起,卡诺莎的修女又在那边成立各种慈善机构,其中设有为穷人服务的小型医院、养老院和诊所。沿袭旧名的圣弗朗西斯医院逐步发展了,它经过了种种兴衰荣枯;洪灾、破坏、拆除、重建等等,1891 年又有 20 个病人,1900 年和 1909 年分别是 106 个和 70 个。这所医院为当地穷人提供有益服务差不多有一个世纪之久,直到 1959 年,现在的卡诺萨医院坐落在其旧址上。[55]

替穷人服务除圣弗朗西斯医院外,还有卡诺萨修女负责的在坚道的类似机构。一个"小型医院"于 1860 年 1 月 12 日开张,接待的第一位病人是由于生病而被扔出家门的中国妇女。医院渐渐扩大,到 1870 年有 8 个病人,1874 年,他们被转移到圣弗朗西斯医院。^[65]若干年后,为了占住那个地方,"小型医院"重新临时开张。1915 年,在女修道院的围墙内建了一所新医院,作为收入的手段之一,它照看那些能支付医疗费用的人。1917 年 11 月,漂亮而又设备精良的意大利女修道院医院对外开放,^[67]有 10 个成人房间,一个为孩子的大病房。1928 年,斯蒂芬先生把在旧山顶道的别墅送给卡诺萨的修女,她们把它改成医院,意大利修道院医

院就搬往那里,命名为卡诺萨医院,于 1929 年 4 月 10 日剪彩开张。它能提供更好的食宿和服务,1935 年倒塌后重建。日本人轰炸期间,具体说是 1941 年 12 月 22 日,医院遭受严重轰炸而不得不关闭。日军占领期间,医院建筑遭到完全毁坏,其财产为日本当局侵占,场地另作他用。部分医疗设备起先转移到坚道,后来到湾仔的圣弗朗西斯医院。战后,卡诺萨医院在故地重建,1960年以更大的规模重新开张。[68]

1886年,卡诺萨的修女第一次在油麻地租了房子开设小诊所,6个月内治了300个病人。[69]她们管理诊所直到1923年,然后整个提供给"宝血女修会"。

1891年,她们在红墈又开设了另一诊所,还有收容所,吸引了大量病人。该诊所一直开到 1945年政府平整它所在的卡诺萨小山丘为止。[70]她们于 1891年在筲箕湾,1897年在香港湾仔各开设一家诊所。

1898年,圣保罗的修女在春园宽敞的新房子二楼开了一所医院。付费并不固定,而是根据能力偿付。这医院附有一家诊所,年平均有2000名病人得到医治。不久医院便拥挤不堪,到晚上甚至连楼梯和走廊上都不得不搭起床铺。[71]1907年,为了有更大的空间,甚至连为绝症病人准备的房间和床位也不得不腾出来。10年后,它搬到在铜锣湾以圣保罗医院命名的新房子里。"根据其实际的管理和最先进的设备,它是远东最好的医院之一。"[72]普通病房分为三等,有94张床位,50间单人房间,其中10间是专门留给孕妇的。[72]

1939年,九龙居民协会要求为当地居民建造一家私人医院。 后来天主教宗座代牧恩理觉主教^[73]邀请圣保罗的修女接受这项 任务,早在1936年,她们就在爱德华王子路的小平房内管理为穷 人开设的收容所和诊所。当所有许可都满足后,新医院工程进展 神速。圣德勒撒医院于 1940 年 9 月 14 日开业, 有 75 张床位和两间为穷人开设的大病房, 不久便全住满了。

自 1941 年 12 月 8 日日本人轰炸之后,圣保罗和圣德勒撒医院都忙于处理伤员。轰炸第二天,圣保罗医院就接纳了 60 个重伤 士兵。1942 年 2 月,日本当局要求医院合并一部分,以便腾出空间为英国俘虏提供营地。因此,女修道院、医院和儿童之家(有 16 位修女,35 个孤儿)都被迫安置到朋友家的私人房里,医生依然去拜访他们的病人。幸亏阿根廷领事的私人干预,修女们于 1942 年 8 月重返故地,不过被禁止接纳病人。1943 年 7 月,日军当局为占据医院付了租金,亦不过是为了在一周后强占它。所有修女只得返回铜锣湾,在那里帮圣保罗医院的忙,直到 1945 年 4 月该地遭到轰炸。[74]

自 1936 年起,"宝血女修会"在位于山水坡的同名医院内工作,如前所述,那里有儿童分部(给成人有 28 张床位,给儿童的有 33 张)。1938—1939 年,给成人的床位扩大到 60 个。1940 年,接纳了 2613 个儿童。[75]日本人占领期间,尽管规模有所减小,可依然提供服务。

同样,这些修女也在位于筲箕湾、湾仔和油麻地的诊所服务。

养 老 院

由于香港主要人口的流动性,老年问题起初并不十分严重,后来出于必要.卡诺萨和圣保罗的修女逐渐关心起老年人来。随着不能返家而只得定居下来的人口的增加,为得不到家庭庇护的老年人提供保护就越来越有必要,因此修女们竭尽其能为此作准备。她们在各自修道院为老人、残疾人,特别是妇女保留部分房间。

卡诺萨的修女在坚道发展了一所济贫堂,1860年她们刚到就

带了6人,到1880年增至22人,1900年、1908年分别是37人、48人。另外自1869年来还在湾仔开办了类似机构,收了6位又穷又有残疾的;到1880年是22个,1900年和1908年分别是74个和52个。到1953年,由于也收容严重残疾的人,那里也就不仅仅是收容不可治愈者的家园了。[77]

第一个来的老妇人是听说"这里有个幸福之屋",「邓]于 1892 年向全保罗的修女在湾仔的育婴堂要求照顾。后来建立济贫院,不久就来了其他人,尤其是 1894 年瘟疫的幸存者。1898 年收容了 36个,至 1910 年翻了一翻;到 1917年,收容的老妇人有 33个,不可治愈者 22个; 1941 年 7月,总共增至 86个。「79]

1923年,在帅主教[so]的邀请下,第一批"安贫小姐妹"[st]抵达香港,为老人作特别服务。她们起先在山水坡找了地方,为由圣保罗的修女交付给她们的 50 位老人提供食宿[st]。若干年后,她们搬到现在的牛池湾[st],凭借新的建筑和私人礼拜堂,扩大她们的服务。她们没有要求什么,完全依赖捐献者的善心生活,她们还到集市上为被收容者乞讨食物。她们的谦卑和无私的精神感动了许多人,甚至那些富人。1932—1933年,新增了修道院和厢房、修女增至 12 位,被收容者已超过 200 人。随着日本人的入侵和日益恶化的经济状况,她们不得不面对异常艰难的岁月。每日口粮降至二碗稀饭。很多老人难脱此劫。1945年 2 月,日军当局给了三天时间清扫房子并移交给他们,她们就不得不另找临时性的接待处。100 多个身体尚可的人在柯士甸路的圣玛丽卡诺萨女修道院处避难,其余三四十位病入安置在"宝血"医院。战后,所有的人在11 月 17 日重返故地。[st]

瘟 疫

在香港,淋巴腺鼠疫的第一次爆发是在1894年5月10日,当

时宣布香港为已感染的港口。几周内传染性瘟疫便蔓延开来。

"久旱之后,起初在广东爆发瘟疫,后延至香港。干旱还导致饥荒,因为人们只能在极少几个地方种植水稻。在广东有2万人死于瘟疫,这儿每天约有35人死亡。除两个葡萄牙人外,死者全都是中国人。瘟疫爆发之后,殖民政府立即把一艘船和一家医院改成瘟疫医院;可还有许多人死在家中,警察走访所有居民区,发现在一间房子里有7人以同样的方式死去。近来有一家大工厂被改成传染病医院。当然中国人成千上万地迁出香港……"⁽⁸⁵⁾

"1894 年瘟疫期间,何主教的热情赢得了全城的敬佩。"[86]他及时收集信息:"尽管只有部分中国城区受到感染,瘟疫规模还是迅速扩大,每天死亡人数达 100。这真是一场可怕的悲剧,整条整条的街道阒无人烟,据记载有 4 万人离港。港口废弃,大轮船大批离港,贸易中止。让人胆战心惊的苦难还在蔓延。在如末世的日子里,一些英国人也死了,其中有 20 个天主教徒。这瘟疫相当凶暴。在受到医治的 1 千名患者中,仅有 5 人康复,10 人处于痊愈之中。我负责一传染病医院,翟神父负责在海上的一所。在委员会里,我提出要卡诺萨修女的服务,她们将住在医院里……"[87]

卡诺萨的修女接受了提议,有六位在西环医院内为病人服务 三个月,其中一位感染瘟疫死于医院内。[88]

秋后天气转冷,瘟疫减轻,可不幸的是,1896年瘟疫又卷土 重来,尽管稍稍温和一些。与此同时,虽然遭到反对,但为了防 止其他传染性疾病,采取了强硬措施。太平山区极易受到传染病 的侵袭,它是维多利亚城区最破最穷困的一块。那些一侧与他屋 相连的房子全部得清理掉:它们既没有卫生设施,又是木质地板, 拥挤不堪,仅有狭窄的小弄彼此间隔。新的建筑规则制定后,要 求有良好的通风、光线和卫生设施,还要路面宽阔,有水泥地板。 幸运的是大部分工作在瘟疫再次爆发前完成。这次死了 1078 人,有 2 万 5 千人离港。^[89]

自 1896 年起,差不多每年都爆发瘟疫,通常始于早春,在 7 月份达到高潮, 秋末逐渐消失。1894—1901 年, 约有 8600 人死于疾病。何主教在 1902 年写道:"长期来我们一直受疾病和传染病的困扰,每周有 50 人死于瘟疫。如今更糟,又爆发'登革热',尽管它并不一定致命。这是一种发高烧的热病,并有传染性,是热带的典型疫疾。有 50 位修女和女孩病到在床。如今又有三位中国牧师得病……"[50]1904 年瘟疫又卷土重来,夺去 30 位天主教徒的生命,不过没有造成过分的恐惧和担忧。[91]

虽然在1905年, 瘟疫的原因和传播途径都清楚了, 有可能采纳更多有效的预防措施, 但瘟疫肆虐香港要到1929年, 那里有两个病例记录在案, 在1912、1919、1922年, 有更多的急性传染病爆发。自1894—1929年, 总病例超过24000, 死亡率达90%。[92]

在那泣风愁雨的境地中,天主教神父和修女自愿为病人和垂 危者服务;他们的献身精神经常得到公众的赞扬。

麻风病

在香港历史上,时时有港口麻风病发生,特别在乞丐中间,他们想尽办法藏头缩尾。1910年通过的法令要求报告麻风病例,给政府对病人宣布隔离、划定限制的权力。实际的做法是把麻风病人遗送出香港到石龙的营地,由巴黎外方传教会的传教士管理,或到其他地方,不过这种措施有时没有效果。

在 1934 年 8 月的卫生部会议上, 芦先生再次公开提出麻风病问题, 要政府注意麻风病在殖民地的传播。[93]11 月份, 政府任命一

特别委员会去调查麻风病问题,在当地 1935 年 2 月 15 目的报上刊登了调查结果,唤起各方面的注意及建议。《圣心传讯》小册子的编辑 D·M·斯蒂芬先生,是天主教方面的第一位代言人,他促进政府和主教间的接触。总督作了回访,并就此事同恩理觉主教取得联系,后者在 3 月 11 目向所有在殖民地工作的修女宗教会众发了通函,询问她们是否愿意到麻风病人收容所提供服务。[94]

所有宗教团体都立即作了肯定的回答。5 月 15 日恩理觉主教宣布,政府已选择了圣母无原罪传教女修会^[96]的计划。但不幸的是,8 月 16 日,他接到殖民地秘书处的消息说。"在 1936 年要提供资金在当地建造这样的机构是不可能的。"^{96]}

因此,香港麻风病问题的解决只得推迟到战后。[97]

鸦片

香港的鸦片问题一直相当严重。尽管鸦片的零售权于 1854 年得到拍卖,但在 1847 年已制定了一套开办鸦片商店的制度。1858 年《天津条约》签定后,鸦片运输合法化了。[98] 1880 年在香港召开中华帝国第五教区第一次会议后,天主教会公开关注鸦片问题,警告人们不要运输、种植和吸鸦片。

一封署期为 1884 年 10 月 18 日的公理会写给罗马传信部的信,要求所有的中国的宗座代牧去努力取缔鸦片:"种植、买卖、使用鸦片虽然是合法的,可经验已经证明它们是有巨大危害的陋习,所以这样做亦是不合法的。因此天主教徒严禁从事这些活动。……像其他类似的作物一样,把鸦片当药用是许可的。"[99]

战时救济服务

1937年7月7日,抗日战争爆发。香港天主教会不仅为和平 102 祈祷,还以各种方式提供帮助。1937年12月,恩理觉主教表扬了所有的努力:"哦,亲爱的基督徒,在我们香港代理区,你们十分尽责,对你们的表扬你们完全受之无愧。尽管你们大多囊中羞涩,今年又大遭台风的磨难,可你们确实是慷慨大度的。通过天主教行动会,为在南京、汉口工作的红十字会募捐、集资超过5000元,南京教区的主教于斌要我们把钱转送过去。天主教联合会和学校捐献了大量的食品和衣服。其中的女孩树立了良好的榜样,她们用勤劳的双手为战士准备过冬衣袍……"[100]

战争期间,恩理觉主教起先在紧急救护难民委员会工作,后转到香港难民和社会福利委员会,作为领导人之一,与其他天主教人士和团体通力合作。后一委员会在1940年的报告中专门提到天主教行动会和天主教妇女联合会,还有耶稣会赖神父的特别贡献。[101]

不幸的是,香港亦卷入了战争。为对且本人势在必行的人侵作些防备,天主教大部分领导人、神父、修士和修女,都为战时委派接受特别训练,主要有空袭准备、辅助消防队、紧急救援、住宿服务等等(最后一项主要为了转移和接待难民)。自1941年12月8日日本人进攻香港起,所有天主教机构,包括教堂,为负起像紧急救护站、难民中心、受伤士兵和公民的病房这样的紧急性责任做好准备。法国妓院成了士兵住宿、运输中心。由于意大利是"战争敌人",天主教徒,特别是英国籍的,被要求到那里去担任职务。[102]这在日本人入侵三周内都是如此做的。

梵蒂冈为战争受害者提供基金

日本人入侵华南地区所造成的困难境地,迫使大量难民涌人香港,到 1941 年人口已达 164 万。圣诞节下午,香港殖民政府向

日军投降,标志着日本人统治"香港征服区"的开始,并一直持续到 1945 年 8 月 15 日。起初人们对货币和恢复贸易有那么些信心和期望,但由于日本的海上贸易独霸天下,形势每况愈下。紧接着便是粮食短缺、通货膨胀,人们遭受实实在在的饥饿,成千上万的人被迫离港,到 1945 年人口降至 60 万。正是在这种背景下,恩理觉主教接到指示,使用来自梵蒂冈的 45000 港币。1942年 6 月 11 日,他向日本外交部长小田解释这笔款项的意图和使用方式。[103]

根据日本官员的许可,这笔款项分配如下:3000 元给日本伤兵,2000 元给英国伤兵,25000 元给集中营战俘,15000 元给禁闭在斯坦莱集中营的人。

由恩理觉主教亲自撰写的关于此事的最后报告说:"……根据 1942 年收到的指示,分发给战俘的补助金按当地货币计算有 45000 元,这种有目共睹的帮助是深受感激的。在集中营的英国当局写来感谢信,由我亲自送给在东京的马主教。在港的日本当局在同意分发补助金之前,制造麻烦近两个月,说要听取东京的指示。在分发之后,尽管日本外交部负责人正式了解这次发款的具体细节和用途,但在官方每日发行的《香港新闻》却说:梵蒂冈提供的 45000 港币是给日本伤兵的。我立即向小田抗议,虽然他假装对此事一无所知,而事实上他要对这谎言负责。随后报纸刊登了一则更正启事。"

"救济金发到每一个能来的,或已被带到私人房子里的战争受害者手里,没有任何种族和宗教歧视:不管是中国人、英国人、阿拉伯人、印度人、天主教徒、新教徒、犹太人、异教徒等等,所有人都以圣父的名义获得帮助。不过那些天主教机构,那些食物匮乏的女修道院、孤儿院和神学院享有优先权。后来,由于在香港生活已不可能,大多机构人员不得不去澳门避难。另外还特别

考虑补助那些离港去澳门的中国人和家庭,这是他们幸存的唯一希望。许多为穷人服务的诊所亦得到补助。由于政府决心用各种手段削减香港的人口,它不允许在街上开设为穷人提供米饭和粥的经济食堂……"

"帮助穷人和饥饿者的经常是救济中心,它们设在每一教区和其他便利的地方。虽然日本外交部知道教皇的救济金,不过我们还是避免过分抛头露面,第一是担心警察的干预,迫使穷人离开或驱逐出境。第二是由于尽管补助金本身是笔大数目,但应付实际的需要还远远不够。一月又一月,在郊区街道上收集的尸体每天有300-400具,有时一天高达721具,他们死于饥饿、衰竭或瘟疫,总数超过5万。由卡诺萨的修女负责的一家救济中心,为由于各种原因不能前来的家庭私下里送去救济,特别是为那些受到日本人怀疑的家庭……"

"由于日元的巨幅贬值, 梵蒂冈方面中止了补助, 不过幸运的是获得变卖财产的许可。在不同时期, 甚至在获得许可之前, 我们早就变卖了: 三所房子以及我和前任的金链和戒指, 一个金圣礼匣, 一个给"我们圣母玛利亚"雕像的皇冠, 教堂的钟等等, 有些亦是为了还债。一位教徒捐献了价值 25 万日元的不同股票。这样, 我们才得以幸存, 继续帮助穷人和诊所, 虽远不如以前那么慷慨了……"[104]

最后评价

自天主教会参与香港的种种服务以来,其发展已具相当规模。 1942年,日本人开始占领香港,那时属天主教的"慈善机构"有 三家收容所、三所孤儿院、两处盲人之家、五所医院、五处诊所、 三所养老院。[105] H•J•莱思布里奇写道:"自1842年来,香港渡过重重危机,除日本占领期间外(1942—1945年),那里为大多数市民提供了和平和安全,还有相当规模的社会福利。"[106]

历史学家能否完全同意这个乐观的看法呢? 莱氏承认: "二战前,如在英国,社会福利的缺乏常常得到辩护,根据是香港的居民主要是流动性的,而且如果在香港的条件太优越,那些在华南受遗弃的大量贫困潦倒者要为香港所吸引。"[107]

恰如其份地看待这一点,有助于理解战后官方的第一次年报: 1848 年的报告中与我们有关的有:"五所孤儿院亦接纳和照料弃 婴,差不多所有弃婴都是女孩子,而孤儿院亦人满为患……贫困 或破裂家庭的孩子过继只付象征性的钱,而且是受只在港作短暂 停留的陌生人操纵,这造成了严峻的社会问题,特别为拐卖儿童 大开方便之门。……十家自愿团体实施针对贫困人的公共扶助工 程……佛教、新教、天主教机构各自开办了一所养老院,少数老 人和穷人在政府营地得到免费食宿……"[108]

概而言之,即便容纳一定程度的乐观主义,客观的研究者还是应该努力去发现,谁为社会工作尽了主要责任,谁多方而为创造某种程度的"和平、安宁和幸福"作了贡献。英国社会的传统把教育和福利交给教会承担,香港社会亦采纳这一点。从上述文献可见,天主教会的作用不容抹杀。与其他同等的政府和香港居民的联合会[109]的社会工作相对照,教会工作的特点总结如下:

- 1. 教会对个体或团体的迫切需要作出的反应是实用和现实的,一般针对当时当地最贫困者和孤苦零丁者。教会不想亦不可能根本性地清除社会邪恶,因为这需要市民当局的全部精力和努力。
- 2. 用先进和专业的方式解决部分社会问题: 比如收容弃婴和 孤儿,对有不良或犯罪记录的青年的改造和职业培训,对瞎、聋

哑儿童的培训,给老人的医药照料和帮助,等等。这样做所以可能,得感谢特别宗教会众的帮助。天主教主教们想尽办法要他们在香港工作,把专业服务的全部责任都交给了他们,把简单一些的事情留给当地教区的教堂,要他们通过各种虔诚团体去帮助那些贫困的人们和家庭等等。

- 3. 不管是欧洲人还是中国人,穷人还是富人,男人还是女人,都不加以歧视(对被遗弃者还特别照顾). 这有助于弥补中国人和欧洲人之间的隔阂,在社会各阶层中鼓励更大的互相合作,促进性别平等,重视人的尊严和权利。
- 4. 不断提醒和鼓励那些只看重利益的香港人,包括政府官员,去关注更高的人生价值,比如道德和正义、助人和仁慈、友善和关怀、无私和谦卑的服务、对不幸者的主动关心,等等。

尽管天主教会所处理的社会问题大多数未得解决,因为有许 多因素是他们力所不能及的,不过从整个历史时期来看,它的社 会关怀清晰地表明亦证明了天主教团体规模虽小,可全身心地投 入了香港的社会生活,积极分担了使我们社会变得更适合人栖居 的责任。

ABSTRACT

The question that what the new moral paradigm will be like has attracted much attention. We believe that it should not be onedimensional, but a multidimensional one. It is true that in some periods of history people have used one kind of morality to deal with all moral problems, but that is because the social structures at those times are simple and homogeneous. Things are different now. In a modern society, life has become increasingly complicated, fully unfolding its multi-horizontal and heterogeneous feature. If we agree that the insights of Wittgenstein and M. Walzer are right, we would say that "morality" should not be understood narrowly. There may not be one "morality" which solves all kinds of moral problems, but are diversified "moralities" (moral horizons) which solve moral puzzles in different "forms of life" or "spheres of human life." So what we are not to subscribe to any particular "school" or "-ism," but to investigate the multi-horizontal nature of morality. Our research of the regular variations of important moral indices such as moral language, moral emotion, moral content, moral cost. the way of moral execution, the object of moral attack, the social function of moral action, and so forth, has shown that "morality" could be divided into four horizons:

1. Justice

This is the basic level of morality. Its principle is not harming others. Thus, its content features many negative injunctions ("You shall not"). This horizon is to protect the basis of a society.

2. Ethical

I follow Hegel in distinguishing Ethical from Moral, Sittlichkeit from Moralitat. By "ethical" I mean the moral responsibilities relating to family, kindship and other kinds of intimate relationships. This horizon has been the dominant form of morality in the ancient time. In China, its power can be felt up to today. Thus, the virtues of this level are also obligatory. Generally speaking, natural affection and the pressure of convention will help insure the execution of this type of morality.

3. Moral

This level of morality denotes the actions which come from the clearly thought out principles and self-determination of individuals, to help others who have no close relation to the moral agent. In contrast to the two former horizons of morality, this one is positive, for it stresses more self-sacrifice in helping others than other-fending in protecting oneself. Doing this morality cost the agent considerably. It is not obligatory but rather, "supererogatory." If one fails to do it, he will be praised as "good". So the typical moral emotion of this level is not indignation (as at the level of "justice"), but admiration.

4. Agapism

This level of morality is also called "religious" by many people and is not without reasons, for it is often in great religions, instead of moral philosophy, that this level of morality attracts attention. It has prominent features: (1) to totally sacrifice oneself to work for the goods of other people; and (2) to be often supported by the faith in being in a great pilgrimage pursuing a great cause. This horizon is reached by few people and is not obligatory at all. Without it a society can still go on. Of course, with it society will transcend its status quo and leap to a beautiful new horizon.

To be a real "modernized society," a nation's moral paradigm should include all of these horizons so as to deal with different kinds of moral problems. In constructing this paradigm, the most urgent task to do today is to restore or to build the long missing horizon- "Justice" morality, because the healthy development of a healthy market economy and democratic will not obtain without the mautration of this type of morality. However, this is not to ask people to ignore the "high horizon" moralities. To build the more positive, idealistic morality is also important, if Chinese do not want to fall into the to trap of another type of "one-dimensional man". We believe that our proposal better meets the need of the life-world than any "one-ism" proposal. However, it would be foolish to say that our proposal has solved all problems. Instead, it has opened the door to new and momentous ones. For instance, thinking about the resourcee for reconstructing the supererogatory morality (both "moral" and "agapism"), some scholars have recommended Chinese Christianity. It is natural, for it is surprising to many people that in a moral decaying time the Christian majority still devotes to idealmorality. However, there exist special problems among different Christian subculture groups. For instance, the "elite" Christians and the "grass root" Christians barely communicate with each other and tend to look down upon each other. If these mutual biases do not get levelled, the development of Chinese Christianity will stumble.

现代化过程中伦理重建的多维视角

包利民 著

当代世界的一个基本发展趋势是现代化。由于现代化在物质 获益上的不言而喻的意义,世界各国几乎难以抗拒投身其潮流之中的诱惑。然而,这种获益似两面刃,几乎毫无例外地引发了传统伦理价值体系从理论到实践的剧烈震荡,道德丑陋日益大胆地挑战人们的心理承受力。在惊讶、震惊、不平与愤慨之中,知识分子提出种种理论上的回应与预测。概括起来,不外两种,一种是"卢梭式"的,即认为现代化(文明与商品经济)必然带来纯朴厚道的传统道德的瓦解,沦丧是不可逆的,道德一去不复返,现代社会必然是与道德完全无干的社会。在西方、麦金泰尔的《品德之后》是这一思想的最近的详尽论证;[1]另一种是"乐观式"的,即认为现代化条件下的新型社会关系将给新道德的建立带来真正的契机,比如"公正"、"自主"、"权利"、"契约"。

这两种看法似乎都对宗教不利,前者指出在启蒙理性觉醒的 日光之下,宗教当消散为无根基者,后者则倾向于认为宗教是 "新道德"("真正道德")的对立面和阻碍,应予以消除。

本文将分析现代化社会中道德重建的途径。我们的基本立场 是,为了弄清这个问题,必须首先对"道德"的复杂性、内部异 质多维结构有一个清楚的认识。人们在道德问题上的纷争向来不一致、有许多可能是因为他们用的词是一个("道德"或"伦理"),但他们所指称者是相当不同的东西。这些不同的东西也许并没有哪一种是"真"、哪一种是"假",而是各自代表了道德多维度体系中的一个维度。"宗教"(本文主要探讨其道德意义)也是这样一个维度。当代社会应当重建的是一个多维共存、平衡"公正"(柏拉图意义上的——即"各自管好自己领域的事"的[2])的道德体系;如此,则"宗教精神"也将发挥其不可替代之重要作用。

我们首先阐述一下"多维度级道德体系"。这一体系是我们近几年在研究中汲取康德、黑格尔、罗尔斯、维特根施坦、瓦尔策、哈贝马斯等人的理论逐渐建立的,[3]它在分析一系列理论与生活问题上被证明行之有效,具有相当的启发性。这种道德内部的分层有其科学依据,即根据人们在讨论伦理学问题时常论及的"本质"、"实质"、"社会意义"、"语句"、"情感"、"社会反应"、"实施办法"、"代价大小"等等范畴内部量或质上的有规律移动,将"道德"划分为四个维度:

公正——伦理——道德——普爱

在这条线上,愈是靠左面的,愈是社会必需的,从而强制于每个人的,亦即用社会机构化方式加以实施的。因为这(两)层道德如果丧失,则社会立即感受到瓦解之威胁。遵守它们并不太难(代价不大),所以不会被特别称誉为"有道德的";但是不遵守,则会受到谴责(为"不道德的")。愈靠右边,则愈不属于社会存在的基本条件范畴,社会也不会用制度化手段强制实行之,不会将其列入"义务"或"责任",而是由个人的自由选择(自愿)决定。因为这(两)层道德即使厥如,社会机体也不会(立即)丧失运行功能。做到它们有相当难度(代价大),所以做不到,往往

不被视为"不道德";倘若做了,则会被视为"道德的"。

这些只是一个大略的概述,下面我们将稍加展开,看一看这 -·概要特征如何体现在四级道德维度中。

1. 公正 这一层也可称为"法"或"准法"维度。是一个社会最基本的道德维度。其内容以"否定"为特征,其道德语句往往由"不得……"(You Shall Not)构成,其主要内容是"不得伤害别的主体"。用黑格尔对"抽象法"道德原则的表述,它的基本要求是:"成为一个人,并尊重他人为人。"[*]对这一层的伤害会威胁社会和个人的基本生存条件,所以激起的道德感情是愤慨(义愤)。由于这一层的必要性与低代价性,它被当作"义务"和"责任"向每一个人要求着,社会甚至会直接出面动用暴力手段维护它。

这一层道德的具体内容因时因地而异。看不同历史时期的不同社会视何者为"基本"、"起码"而定。不过它在近代西方自由主义伦理学的"契约"、"公正"、"权利"、"责任"等范畴体系中有一个较充分的"实现"(亚里士多德意义上的)。

2. 伦理 这是狭义上的"伦理"。黑格尔曾将道德进一步分为"伦理"与"道德"(《法哲学原理》第二、第三篇)。我们这里指的"伦理"主要是家庭、家族以及亲密朋友之间所存在的道德。马克思与恩格斯曾指出家庭是古代氏族社会的唯一社会关系。在中国,由家族关系衍发出的道德(孔、孟思考模式)是历几千年而不衰的人们行为方式准则,这是今日东、西方文化的差异乃至对立在道德上的主要依据之一。西方人对中国独有的一套"伦理"型道德常常感到难理解,甚至斥为"前道德"的。「5」不过几年来社团主义(Commanitarian)和女权运动在西方兴起,重新关注

这一类型的道德,并批评仅仅专注于"公正"层的西方主流伦理学的偏颇。^[6]

实际上,这一维度的道德也是基本社会道德,其维护办法也相当踏实,一是强大的社会舆论,另一是自然亲情。社会视遵行伦常关系为责任,做到的,不受特别称赞(为"有道德"的);做不到,会招致"不道德"的激烈指责。至于亲情的渲染,熟悉孔面者就不用多提示了。在西方,亚里士多德在《尼各马可伦理学》中也指出,双亲对子女的种种投入不求回报,本身就有无上快乐。[7]

3. 遂德 这是与"伦理"相对应的狭义上的"道德"之道德维度。其主要内涵是经过自觉思考的道德主体自愿地帮助别人一不是亲友的别人,所以,这是高代价的一维度道德。社会并不以"责任"之名加以强要求,更罕见用暴力体制强行推广。这一层的缺乏并不影响一个社会的起码存在。当然,道德主体可以自己为自己提高"责任"基准线,亦即以"良知"要求自己;当自己做不到时,自责。至于社会,则在人能做到这层道德时,赞扬其为"有道德";做不到,一般不指责——或带有很大的宽容与理解:这只是"应当",而不是"必须"。用现代伦理学常用的术语,这是"超责任"的(supererogatory)。

康德伦理学实际上处于这一维度道德之中,黑格尔对其批评, 是认为这固然很"理想主义",但缺乏现实性;相反,以"伦理" 为代表的"实体道德"则已不再停留在抽象"应当"的软弱意志 中,而实现于历史社会中,所以高于"道德"。

4. 普爱 即个体自觉自愿地牺牲自己的一切, 献身于全人类的救助事业。实行这一维度道德的人, 相信人的生命——甚至一

切生命自身有无限价值和尊严。达到这一维度道德在世界史上很迟,而且至今只有不多的一些人完全达到。然而这些人确乎是世界史意义上的人,因为他们一旦悟到、提出并实行(往往以牺牲生命为代价),便会给人类文明史带来质的变化,使"人"的质量陡然上跃一个梯级。

由于它在认识上的高难度与代价上的巨大,也由于它不是社会存在的必需品,所以它不是"普遍义务"或责任。做不到的人不会被批评为"不道德"的;但能做到的人当然是"道德"的,而且是最伟大的道德。这一点,伦理学界可能有不同看法。将"道德"狭隘地理解为"公正"或最大化功利的学者甚至会将此视为与道德完全无关者。著名哲学家弗兰克尔曾批评了这一狭隘看法,指出一般伦理学忽略"爱的伦理学",而犹太一基督教的伦理学却以爱的伦理学为核心。[8]

那么,是否可以将这一度级的道德命名为"宗教"呢?某种意义上说,可以。世界性大宗教的代表人物如耶稣(以无罪之身为整个人类担负毁灭性的深重罪孽,为了爱),地藏王菩萨(我不下地狱、谁下地狱?),墨子(摩顶放踵,利天下为之),等等,是其典型。然而有几点必须注意。一是这里讲的是广义伦理学,宗教含有超伦理因素,不可框束于这一体系中,不仅仅只是"普爱"。另一是"宗教"一词本身有许多歧义(如"迷信"、"偶像崇拜"等),这就与"普爱"精神不相容了。

以上我们粗略地勾勒了一个多维度级的"道德"体系。对于 当代世界中的道德重建,它的意义首先便是告诉人们:新建的道 德最好是各度级齐备的完整体系。历史上固然有过一个或两个维 度便"胜任"社会需求的时期。但时代发展至今,社会有机体日 趋复杂,现实与思想的诸层面一一绽现开来,它们各自需要不同 类型的"道德"来解决它们质的相异(虽然具有"家族相似")的问题。中、外近现代伦理理论与实践中都曾有过"抽去某层道德,拉下或提升另一层来代用"的倾向,虽然抽去的与取代的维度各不相同。然而,这种"抽"、"代"活动会使原先应当多维齐备、完整充裕的道德出现不自然的压缩与张力状态,使原本担负一种任务的道德维度充任两种乃至三种维度的任务,结果不胜负荷,导致人们对此维度本身的怀疑,进而导致对整个"道德"的怀疑。

具体到本文的主旨,我们认为,一方面,现代化条件下道德 重建的首要任务之一是建立"公正"层道德。这是基本的社会道 德,但也是易于被上几层道德所取代而被忽视的一度道德。今日 世界中,人们已日益意识到社会生活中的一个很大的领域必须由 这一度道德支配。它的不成熟或人为的萎缩,会造成普遍愤怒或 不平之心态。但是另一方面,对基层的、否定性的道德维度的重 视不应当以对高层的、肯定性的道德的忽视为代价。普爱精神作 为一种理想主义,永远是引导人走出"下沉"、"兽化"倾向的明 灯,从而有其强烈的范导作用。与普爱精神紧密相关的世界大宗 教,能够以"公正"层道德所没有的特殊力量自发地重塑道德。近 十几年来,从学者到政府机关都肯定基督教发展为当地社会带来 的道德上的好风气。我们想指出的是:人们应注意这是一种自发 的道德复兴运动。也就是说,它用不着财物奖励,用不着大量研 讨会或经验交流会的敦促,用不着处心积虑的呵护……它自己就 在商品大潮的道德危机中逆流而上了。而有些"自觉的努力"往 往费力大却收效微, 与这一"自发运动"恰成对比。学者还在那 里悲观感叹"危机深化"后会不会人心全面式微,可他们身旁已 有大批人群人心已不式微了。或者,有些学者会说这些人大多是 农村人,而且与整个人口比还只占少数。我们的回答是,数量在 衡量生命时不是最重要的指标,每个人的生命都是一次性的,都

有极大之价值;至于"农村"、"城市"之说,更是学者不该有的势利偏见。我们真正应当做的,是从这一自发道德复兴运动中总结哲学的与社会学上的伦理启迪。比如说"普爱——准宗教"的道德维度之所以有抗衡货币的强大诱惑力量,在于它诉诸的是对超越性的绝对道德真理的坚定信念,整个生命在信仰中获得新生,则全身心地重组于"投身圣神战胜邪恶的宇宙伟大史诗事业"的历程中。这种根本性的生命变化,是一般伦理学、尤其"公正"类伦理学不讨论的——认为无关,甚至认为会伤害"主体自由"。然而,这种变化给道德带来的内在巨大支持力量却是公正伦理学或功利主义伦理学诉诸的"无知之幕后理性计算"或"同情心"等等动机所无法比拟的。

再强调一遍,我们并不认为现时代道德重建中"公正"层道 德不重要。它重要,但它有自己的领域,不应当跨域称霸。真正 的现代化没有道德不行(那是人的异化……为机器的奴仆),而且 仅仅有公正道德也不行。必须拥有丰富全面的道德包括普爱精神, 这样才给人的全面发展提供了伦理保证,才使当代以及将来的社 会发展具有真正价值。

注释:

- [1] 麦金泰尔(A. Macintyre):《德性之后》,第18章,冀群等译,北京,1995。
- [2] 柏拉图:《理想国》, 433D, 郭斌和等译, 商务, 1995。
- [3] Limin Bao, Different Paradigms of Value Formation, Hangzhou University Press, 1996, Chapter 3,
- [4] 黑格尔:《法哲学》,第46页,范扬等译,商务,1979。
- [5] Kohlberg, Essays of Moral Development, Vol. 1, San Francisco, 1981.
- [6] Gilligan, In a Different Voice, Harvard, 1982.

- [7] 亚里士多德:《尼各马可伦理学》,第8卷第12章,前力田译,北京,1992。
- [8] 弗兰克纳 (Frankena):《伦理学》, 第3章第13节, 关键译, 北京, 1987。
- [9] 保罗:《以弗所书》4:21-24。

4

Inculturation of the Catholic Faith in the Philippines

Lourdes J. Custodio

The Filipino People's Faith-Journey

A study on the inculturation of the Faith in the Philippines would require some background. It is important to note that the Filipinos have had a long history of very colorful religious experiences. In the first place, we had a pre-Christian religious experience, then four centuries of Spanish Christian evangelization. This was followed by the American Protestant influx in the Commonwealth and later there was the Japanese occupation during World War I. There was the experience of Vatican I's "second Pentecost" and an experience of "People's Power", othrwise known as the peaceful EDSA Revolution, there is today the experience of the growth of "Basic Christian Communities". As a resultof these experiences our understanding and love of Jesus Christ is colored by our personal and national historical experiences of pain and struggle, of victory and celabration. All these have in some ways defined and clarified our unique identity as persons, as Christians, as Filipinos, as a nation^[1].

Inculturation of the Christian Faith in Philippine Soil

The reflections of the participants of the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines (PCP-I) on the *INCULTURATION* OF THE FAITH IN THE PHILIPPINES are found in the PCP-I ACTS AND DECREES [2] as follows:

"Pope John Paul I describes inculturation as 'the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures'. (RM 52) Acknowledging the urgent need for this at present, he likewise recognizes that it is a difficult process."

"In the process of inculturation the Church and the culture of the people interact. The Church introduces the Gospel into the life of the people. Without in any way changing the Gospel's substance, the Church needs to present it in such a way that people will be able to appreciate its true meaning and be in a postition to accept or reject it, or, having accepted it, may be able to assimilate it more fully in their lives. (A & D, 203)

"In his first encyclical Pope John Paul I pointed out that the basic missionary attitude before a people and its culture is respect. (RH, 12) How can the Church respectfully insert the Gospel into a culture? In this process of insetion, the Church itself has to be affected. It has to become a Filipino to the Filipinos just as St. Paul was a Jew to the Jews and as one outside the law to those who are outside the law precisely for the sake of the Gospel and for the salvation of people." (1 Cor 9: 19-23)

(A & D, 204)

"History shows that missionaries from outside one culture find it extremely difficult to present the Gospel to the people of that culture in a way that culture can be readily unerstood and assimilated. Changes are necessary and these place the evangelizer in missionary would have to learn the language of the people if he is to bring the Gospel to their hearts. He will have to be a learner, willing to be taught by the people he has come to teach. And he may be auxious that in the process of inculturation the substance of the Gospel itself may suffer." (A & D, 205)

"That is why inculturation is and must be a slow journey. In the words of Pope Paul IV speaking in Uganda: 'it will require an incubation of the Christian "mystery" in the genius of your people in order that its native voice, more clearly and frankly, may then be raised harmoniously in the chorus of other voices in the Universal Church. ' (quoted in RM, 54) Inculturation requires evangelizers to immerse themselves in the cultural milieu of the those to whom they are sent. It requires evangelizers to understand, appreciate, foster and evangelize the culture of the people while equipping themselves to communicate effectively with it." (A & D, 206)

"Inculturation means inserting the Gospel into a culture and expressing it through the elements of that culture. In the process, the Gospel will affect and upset that culture's 'criteria of judgment, determining values, points of interest, lines of thought, sources of inspiration and models of life, which are in contrast with the Word of God and plan of salvation. '(EN,

19) Thus the Gospel will bring about a beneficial transformation of cultural values. " (A & D, 207)

"Inculturation is necessary for the sake of the Church itself. It enriches the Church. Unless the Church participates in this process of inculturation it will not be able to respectfully draw the good elements within the culture, renew them from within and assimilate them to form part of its Catholic unity. The catholicity of the Church is more fully realized when it is able to assimilate and use the riches of a people's culture for the glory of God." (A & d, 208)

"Our history shows both the fruits of inculturation and the sad consequences of its lack, with varying degrees of success and failures, we have tried by the sheer striving to live our faith, to inculturate both the Church and the Gospel. The risks of inculturation remain, but there is no other way that a Filipino can become a Filipino Catholic except by undergoing the process with its attendant risks." (A & D, 209)

"We have to raise up more and more Filipino evangelizer, formed in the 'Filipino way'. We have to develop a catechesis and theology that are authentically Filipino, and a liturgy that is truly inculturated. We have to develop ecclesial structures responsive to Filipino needs. In this way a truly Filipino Catholic community will emerge which will be able to offer to other Asian Churches and to the Universal Church its own particular contribution to Catholic unity. The priocess is on its way. It needs energizing and prodding." (A & D, 210)

"The words of Pope John Paul I conclude our reflection:

inculturation must involve the whole poeple of God, not just a few experts, since the people reflect the authentic 'sensus fidei' which must never be lost sight of. Inculturation needs to be guided and encouraged, but not forced, lest it gives rise to negative reactions among Christians. It must be an experession of the community's life, one which must mature within the community itself, and not be exclusively the result of erudite resarch. The safeguarding of traditional values is the work of a mature faith. "(RM, 54) (A & D, 211)

Inculturation as seen in PCP- I Decress

Under the topic Special Religious Concerns[3], there are the following articles calling for inculturation of the Faith:

Article 17. #1. There should be more formation on inculturation and integration of Filipino values with the Gospel values, especially in the devotion to Mary and the saints.

- #2. There should be continuing research and study on a spirituality attuned to Filipino culture and directed towars evangelization.
- #3. In the corporate task of developing a truly incarnate spirituality, more attention should be given to the synthesizing that is initially even if imperfectly found in our popular religiosity.
- # 4. Preaching should serve the Word of God and should be made in the context of Filipino values, focusing adequately on Filipino social and moral values such as pagsasarili (self-reliance), pagkakaisa (working together), and pagkamak-

abayan (patriotism, nationalism).

Article 18.#1. The Commission on Liturgy should study the potential of popular religosity, purified and enriched by the Word of God and transformed into a vehicle for effectively proclaiming the Good News and incarnating it in the lives of our people.

- #2. Special attention should be given to a study of the theological and pastoral implications of *sinulog*, *ati-atihan* and other religious festivities that affect the life of our people.
- # 3. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints should be Christ-oriented. Catechetical programs must ensure that novenas have the Word of God as an integral part.

Inculturation, a Strong Pastroal Thrust Today

In the Philippines today, there are unmistakable indications of the advance of inculturation^[4] as seen in the following:

- 1) The demand on the part of the catechists and religion teacher for local catechetical materials which incorporate Filipino cultural values and attitudes has sharply increased.
- 2) There is a continuing effort to make greater use of and to purify the popular religiosity of various regions.
- 3) There is an increasing awareness of the social challenge of the philippine Church, the "Church of the Poor," and "participative" mission (PCP- I) of all members of the Church.
- 4) The growth of Basic Ecclesial Eomunities which are the especially significant "places" of inculturation and the building up of the local Church.

Barriers to a Deeper Inculturation of the Faith in the Philippines

There are many barriers to a deeper inculturation of the Faith in the Philippines which have been analyzed as follows:^[5]

- 1) The fear on the part of some older Catholics, whether clergy or lay, which tends to discourage many good-intentioned and even well-balanced attempts at deeper inculturation.
- 2) The "natural" Filipino propensity for apparitions, vision, faith healers, etc., often exposes the popular Faith to superstition and an emotionalism that can obscure the centrality of Christ, the legitimate role of the Church, and the purity of liturgical worship.
- 3) The lack of sufficient expertise and practical "know how." An increased awareness of "being Filipino" is only gradully being developed. Its absence obviously impedes any interpretation of Christian and Filipino values and deeper inculturation of the Faith.
- 4) A certain over stress (among some) on "contextualization", especially in regard to the thrust on socila justic in Philippine catechesis; one over-activist, and the other lacking in sensitivity to the exisiting concret Philippine situation.

Pointing to the Roots of the Barriers to an Inculturated Catechesis

The causes of the aforesaid barriers to an authaentic inculturation^[6] have been found to be as follows:

1) Lack of a sufficiently weel-formed and prepared catechetical personnel. There would be much more inculturation going on "from bottom up" if those actively engaged in catechizing had the skills of reflecting, adopting new measures, etc.

- 2) Dearth of professionals who are capable of contributing toward inculturating the Faith. There seems to exist a rather wide gap between the typical seminary theology professor and the active catechists and religion professors. the professionally trained theologians frequently are not aware of this gap, despite their own pastoral work. The professionals in education and communition tend to stick to their professional preparation, ofter taken in foreign universities and dominated by secular social science and behaviorist attitudes.
- 3) The limitation resulting from the professional trainging of Filipino educators can also be seen in the nature and quality of the inculturation world published in recent years. Many are doctoral theses written for foreign universities, which supply necessary background for the long range process of inculturating the faith, but are scarcely intelligible to the ordinary catechetical coordinator much less, catechist.

The cause of the obstacle in the way of inculturation in the Philippines is the gap between professional studies and the actual catechests. A middle level of study and work is badly needed to translate and apply such studies to the actual catechetical enterprise.

Success Stories on Efforts Towards an Inculturated Catechesis

Despite the aforesaid barriers to inculturation, we have also success stories such as the following:

- 1) The establishment of Basic Ecclesial Communities where the members take responsibility for the catechesis of their children, which yield very positive efficits.
- 2) The slow but steady growth of local catechetical materials. The most significant is the completion of the the Catechism for Filipino Catholics (CFC), the equivalent for us of a National Catechism. This project was started some five years before the Universal Catechism was even approved. This National Catechism exemplifies the basic methodology proposed by the National Catholic Directory of the Philippines (NCDP), which stressed integration, inculturation, and community-forming or fidelity to God, to man, and to the Church.
- 3) The improvement of the catechetical aspect of traditional Catholic celebrations such as popular local religious festivals, pre-Christmas Masses, Holy Week celebration and Marian devotions like Flores de Mayo, etc.
- 4) A growing awareness of the need to raise the quality and collaborate more effectively in Catechist Formation Programs throughout the country, as shown in the National Convention of Formators of Catechists.
- 5) Regional meetings of Diocesan Catechist Formators are being held.
- 6) There is an increased number of Bible study groups, Days of Recollection, Parish groups, etc.

Areas of Inculturation in Need of Greater Attention

There are less successful areas o finculturation of the Faith in 128

the country such as:

- 1) the over-riding problem of numbers to be catechized. The PCP-II recognized this problem and called for a radical increase of catechists as absolutely necessary for any effective catechesis of the great mass of baptized Filipino Catholics.
- 2) Besides the huge number of un-catechized Filipino Catholics there is the problem of the quality of catechesis offered, particularly in view of the ever-growing modernizatin, secularization and the challenge of the various Fundamentalist and Born Again sects.
- 3) The PCP- I expressed concern as well over the apparent lack of effectivity of many Catholic schools in inculturating authentic Christian attitudes and values in their graduates.

"There Is No Other Way for Us but Inculturation of the Faith"

- "There is no other way for us but inculturation of the Faith" is the unmistakable conclusion of the "Notes on Inculturation of the Faith in the Philippines," by Archbishop Legaspi. This, in essence, is what the National Catechetical Directory of the Philippines as well as the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines concluded. As a consequence, a commitment has been made solemnly by all. For its realization, the following [5] needs to be done:
- 1) To find and create Catechetical formators who can educate catechists to use their own personal Filipino experience and culture in communicating the Catholic Faith. The catechists formation which inculcates inculturation skills must be given the

highest priority.

- 2) To overcome the verbal formalism that corrupts so much of Philippine education, in general, and catechsis, in particular. Personal critical understanding and exercise of the Faith in daily life must be the special focus.
- 3) To enable the catechists to relate the Christian truths to daily life experience. It has been observed that most catechists explain and articulate the Faith in their own words and from their own experience.

It is hoped that a greater interest and a wider participation will ensue in the catechetical ministry, specifically in its inculturation. Major problems are seen to lie ahead. But when the said interest and participation are concretized into practical actions, then it can be said that the process of inculturation is in fact going on and being energized by the grace of God. Thus a truly Filipino Catholic Community will emerge.

Guidposts in the Journey of Faith towares Being Church in Asia

At this juncture, I would like to cite a text in BEING CHURCH IN ASIA related to inculturation:

A local Church comes into existence and is built up through a deep and mutually enriching encounter between the Gospel and a people with its particular culture and tradition. In current theological and magisterial language this is known as inculturation. Inculturation consists not only in the expression of the Gospel and the Christian Faith through the cultural medium, but includes, as well, experiencing, understanding

ing and appraopriating them through the cultural resources of a people. As a result, the concrete shape of the local Church will, on the one hand, be conditioned by the culture, and, on the other hand, the culture will be evangelized by the life and witness of the local Church. [10]

There is an explanatory not give in aforecited source regarding the use of the term "inculturation." In the selfrealization of the local Church through a process of inculturation, it must be noted that the Gospel is always found already in an inculturated form, since the Gospel is not an abstraction. It exists in the concret as the faith of a people appropriated and expressed in their cultural context. The encounter then of a people with the Gospel, in practice, is a meeting as well with a culture animated by Faith. This is the reason why some authors prefer to speak of "interculturation" rather than inculturation. In this commentary then, the term inculturation is adopted but with the meeting of cultures being implied in its scope.

The following^[11] are, I believe, very helpful guideposts with respect to inculturation of the faith in the Philippines:

Most of the Asian countries, one of them is the Philippines, are characterized by massive poverty. Many people are deprived of the basic necessities of dood, water and shelter. There local Churches then, after the pattern of the Incarnation, are called upon, in a spirit of solidarity, to really share the lot of the poor, the margialized and the exploited in the society wherein they live.

Inculturation into the context of life of the people opens up

the local Church to the horizon of the Kingdom. The Kingdom is larger than the Church and the Church itself is an instrument of the Kingdom. This sets the local Church in an evangelizing dynamism that leads to its self-realization by bringing into the life of the poor and the oppressed, true human dignity, justice and freedom. This is in keeping with the statement of the Synod of Bishops in 1971: "Action in behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us a constitutive dimension in the preaching of the Gospel."

Inculturation is likewise something integral: it affects every aspect of the people's Christian life and mision. Genuine inculturation cannot be effected merely through the work of an élite group of experts. The faithful by living within their particular context according to their. The faithful by living within their particular context according to their "sense of faith aroused and sustained by the Spirit of Truth" (LG, 12) will learn to express their faith not only in fidelity to the Christian tradition but also in response to their cultural situations. this response is unique and it is the responsibility of the whole community which discerns God's God's World and Spirit in its culture and history.

Another very important area of inculturation is the Liturgy of the Christian Community. Liturgy expresses the faith of the Church (Lex orandi lex crdendi). True liturgical inculturation of the community should spontaneously spring forth from the life of faith lived fully in the context of the culture and life realities of the people. It must not be introduced through artificial process from without.

Faith-formation or catechesis initiates the faithful into the life of faith and helps them to achieve maturity in it. Thus this is another very important area of inculturation, as has been previously pointed out in detail, in the case of the Philippines. The content, method and terminology used in catechesis must be attuned to experience, pedagodical traditions, psychological make up and linguistic genius of the people.

"Prayer: the life of the Church in Asia" was the theme of the FABC Second Plenary Assembly. This theme was chosen to emphasize the need to integrate into the life of the Asian local Churches the ways of prayer and worship of the Asian peoples. The spiritual riches and religious values of the Asian Continent must flow into the life of the local Church to enrich it. Deep awareness of God, meditation, contemplation, interiority, asceticism, self-denial, simplicity of life, deep faith, silence, the spirit of surrender, sense of mystery, deep communion are some of the suritual values highly prized and fostered in the Asian traditions. These many spiritual riches will, it is hoped, find a natural place in the prayer and worship of the Churches in Asia and will greatly enrich the prayer-life of the Church throughout the World.

When speaking of the emergence of the local Church through encounter with culture, it is necessary to view this encounter as something dynamic. Culture, it is necessary to view this encounter as something dynamic. Culture is a living reality. It continues to grow and to change owing to developments from within as well as from without. Change takes place in every cul-

ture, though at different pace. One significant force for change in a culture is its encounter with other cultures. Inculturation in Asia, as elsewhere, demands that the local Church grow by Isitening, perceiving and responding to the evolution of culture.

What is striking about culture today is its unprecedented rapid transformation, this is very much acelerated by the process of modernization which has its own consequences. Modernization is meant here to be the process of rapid transformation of society caused by modern science, technology, industrialization, modern means of communication, urbanization, new educational, economic, political systems that have profoundly affected the traditional culture, institutions, ways of life and the like.

The meeting of traditional cultures and modernization in Asia has produced a wide variety of reponses. These have ranged from the juxtaposition of modernity with traditional cultures, to trying to discard totally traditional cultures in order to replace them with modernity, while on the other hand, a staunch opposition to modernity together with the defence of traditional cultures. Undoubtedly however, the mainline response in Asia has been a profound desire to reap the benefits of modern culture without losing the identity of one's traditional heritage and its long-cherished values and ideals.

The encounter between modernity and tradition poses immense challenge to the Church (GC, 56). Pope John Paul I characterized this present situation thus: "It is obvious that the emergance of new culture calls for courage and intelligence on the part of all believers and everyone of goodwill. Social and cultur-

al changes, political upheavals, ideological ferment, religious questioning, ethical probing, all show a world in gestation, in search of from and direction, organic wholeness, prophetic renewal." (L'Osservaatore Romano, English Edition, 16 December, 1985)

The aforecited is most applicable to Asia. It is by responding to the complex situations in Asia countries with their challenges that the Churches in this contingent will truly become local Churches. For a harmonious blending of tradition and modernity, the Church in Asia needs to exercise critical discernment. An awareness of the limitations and strengths of both tradition and modernity is imperative. This would contribute to the evolution of a humanism that is truly Asian; a humanism that will result from the encounter of the best elements of traditional culture and modernity. The shape of the local Churches in Asia of tomorrow will depend upon the process of inculturation that takes place today in the context of the meeting of tradition and modernity in this Continent.

Pope John Paul II in his meeting with the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences in Manila on the occasion of its 25 years of existence commented that the rapid technological progress and economic growth have revolutionized the face of Asia. He said further that while affirming the benefits of this development, the Church must nonetheless make a realistic assessment of the price paid for this modrnization. The Church must confront those aspects which pose "an immense threat to life; not only to the life of individuals but also to that of civilizaton it-

self" (Letter to Families, 21). Moreover, he noted that what is even more striking than Asia's recent material progress has been the transformation of the spritual landscape of the Continent. "this great Continent is at a spiritual crossroads", the Pope observed. This is due to the fact that religious indifferantism and exaggerated individulism are now threatening the traditional values which, generally speaking, have bestowed meaning and harmony on the life of individuals and on the community they compose. All because the forces of secularization tend to undermine the Continent's religious and cultural heritage. In view of this the Pope exhorted:

"Such a moment can only confirm the Church's resolve to carry out her primary mission: the proclamation of Jesus Christ and the promotion of the values of the Kingdom (Redemptorst Missio, 34). And in cooperation with every force for good, Catholics on this continent should feel the urgency of building up the "civilization of love, founded on the univarsal values of peace, solidarity, justice and liberty, which find their full attainment in Christ" (Tertio Millennion Adveniente, 52)^[12].

With respect to authentic inculturation, Pope John Paul I had this to say to the Asian Bishops:

"You have the demanding task of accepting St. Paul's invitation to become 'all things to all men' (I Cor 9: 22). idetifying yourselves with the life and tradition of your people so that the perennial truth of Revelation can be expressed in ways that are meaningful and convincing. On you rests the responsibility for fostering with wisdom and fidelity the most suitable means for communicating the Gospel to the various Asian Cultures. The more you take into account the questions, religious formation, language, signs and symbols of those whom you wish to lead to Christ, the more effectively you will serve the cause of evangelization." (Evangelii Nuntiandi, 63). [13]

Needless to say, Christian life and involvement of the local Churches in Asia must be accompanied by theological reflection which should be attentive and responsive to the questions and problems arising from experience and praxis. Vatican I document on Missionary activity recognized the importance and necessity of a contextualized theological reflection. (AG, 22)

There is also a need for an inculturation of the Religious Life. Religious men and women are called upon to manifest in their worship and witness, in their common life and service, how the followers of Jesus incarnate, in a most authentic way, Jesus' life and mission in the very heart of a people and a culture. Formation programs in the religious life must be immersed in the language and lifestyle of the poorer sectors of the countries. The preferential option for the poor, worked out in daily life, is often the best way of bringing about an authentic inculturation of Religious Life.

With respect to the Laity, the Holy Father recalled, during his recent visit to the Philippines, how the the PCP-I exhorted the lay faithful to play a fuller role in the Church's elevating and liberating service to the human family. He quoted its Final Document which says: "All the lay faithful are called to heal and transform society, to prepare the temporal order for the final es-

tablishment of the Kingdom of God." (Acts and Decrees of PCP-I, 435)

The lay faithful constitute the vast majority of the Philippine Church. There is a pressing need for their formation in the Christian faith attuned to the culture of the people. A strong emphasis on developing a social conscience is imperative as well. The widening gap between the poor and the affluent is a cause of concern. The Philippine Church, particularly in this post PCP-I period, is truly trying to make the faith more and more rooted in the culture and life of the people. There is a particular emphasis on being Church of the Poor, tilting the attention given to the building of Basic Ecclesial Communities, which are especially suited in the deprived areas. There is also the growth of other small Chrisian communities which are more and more for the building up of communion and participation, and the fostering of mission and service in the world involving all the People of God, but increasingly and in a special way, the laymen and laywomen. The unending effort not solely of the Hierarchy but of all the faithful as well is to seek and respond to the active and creative presence of the Word and the Spirit in the day-to-day life of our Christian communities.

To the young people of the Phillippines who constitute more than half of the country's population, Pope John Paul I during the Tenth World Youth Day had this to say: "What does the Church and the Pope expect of the young people? That you confess Jesus Christ. That you learn to proclaim all that the message of Christ contains for the true liberation and geniune progress of

humanity. This is what Christ expects of you. This is what the the Church looks for in the young people of the Philippines, Asia, of the world. In this way your own cultures will find that you speak a language which is already echoed in some way in the acient traditions of Asia, the language of true peace and fullness of life, now and forever." [14]

In his homily during the quadricentennial celebration of Archdioceses of Manila, Cebu, Nueva Caceres and Nueva Segovia, the Holy Father sounded this call to the Philippine Church: "Out of the Church's religious mission during these four hundred years there came a light and an energy which have served to structure and consolidate the human community according to the divine law (Gaudium et Spes, 42). This is the source of our joy. This is the reason for the Philippine Churchz's joy, visible in this celebration, with all the color and vitality of your culture and Christian traditions. But this is also your task and responsibility: to remain faithful to what has been handed down and to build on it, so that God's law will abide in your hearts and his blessings will increasingly be pured out on your nation." [16]

In his meeting with the Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, Pope John Paul I told them these encouraging words: "Down the centuries, the Christian message has become deeply rooted in the Fillipino soul and remains the animating force of your society. More than four and a half centuries after the Catholic faith was first preached here, the Spirit who led the peoples of this Archipelago to embrace the Gospel without forsaking the many positive elements of their cultural heritage is now calling the

Church to bear a renewed witness to the power of the Gospel to transform human life and culture. " $(GS, 59)^{[16]}$

The Holy Father recalled as well to the Church of the Philippines its special responsibility before the Lord, first to one's nation, then towards the wider world of Asia and the world beyond, working through faith for the renewal of God's whole creation. (Acts and Decrees of PCP-1, 7)

In conclusion, I would like to cite again the Holy Father's words to the Bishops of Asia relative to inculturation:

However arduous this task of authentic inculturation, we can take consolation from the experience of the early Church. Although the preaching of the Christ Crucified and Risen ran counter to the religious culture of those to whom the Gospel was first preached, the Holy Spirit guided the Church's proclamation, leading its hearers to the "obedience of faith" (Rom 1: 6) which has then purified, and elevated their way of life, imbuing customs and behaviour with a Christian outlook and spirit. [16]

In view of all that has been said, it is clear that the Philippine Church is called upon to continue its journey of faith through the road of inculturation following the dynamic of Incarnation, Paschal Mystery and Pentecost.

NOTES

[1] Archb. Leonardo Z. Legaspi, O. P., D. D., "Notes on the Inculturation of the Faith in the philippines" in ROOTED IN CULTURES, FRUITFUL IN CHRIST, Ed. Fr. Vicente G. cajilig, O. P. (Manila: UST printing office, 1995) p. 140.

- [2] ACTS AND DECREES OF THE SECOND PLENARY COUNCIL OF THE PHILIPPINES (Manila: Secretariat, PCP = 1, CBCP, 1992), pp. 73-76.
- [3] Ibid., pp. 236-237.
- [4] Op. cit., p. 141.
- [5] Ibid., p. 142.
- [6] Ibid., p. 142.
- [7] Ibid., pp. 143-144.
- [8] Ibid., p. 144.
- [9] Ibid., p. 145.
- [10] "The Birth. Life and Mission of the Local Church" in BEING CHURCH IN ASIA, Eds. Fr. John Gnanapiragasam and Fr. Felix Wilfred (Qugzon City: Claretian publications, 1994), p. 60.
- [11] Ibid., pp. 54-63.
- [12] Pope John Paul I, "Meeting with the Federation of Asian Bishops' conferences" in the BOLETIN ECLESIASTICO DE FIPINAS, January-February, 1995, p. 91.
- [13] Ibid., p. 94.
- [14] Pope John Paul 1, "Prayer Vigil, Tenth World Youth Day.", Ibid., p. 72.
- [15] Pope John Paul I, "Holy Mass for the 4th Centenary". Ibid., p. 48.
- [16] Pope John Paul I, "Meating with the Philippine Bishops' Conference". Ibid., p. 51.
- [17] Pope John Paul I, "Meeting with the Asian Bishops' Conferences.", Ibid., p. 94.

附中译文

天主教信仰在菲律宾的本土化 步斯托戴奥*著 王 芮 译

一、菲律宾人民的信仰历程

研究信仰在菲律宾的本土化需要有一些背景。指出菲律宾人已拥有一段很长的丰富多彩的宗教经验史,这是很重要的。起初,我们有前基督教宗教经验,然后是西班牙基督教的400年福音化,接着是美国新教汇入菲律宾,二战期间则为日军占领。我们拥有梵二"第二圣神降临节"和"人民力量"的经验,此外还有著名的EDSA 和平革命的经验。如今,则有"基本基督教团契"成长的经验。这些经验的结果使得我们的理解和耶稣基督的爱带有个人与民族的痛苦与奋斗、胜利与庆典的历史经验之色彩,所有这些都以某些方式规定和阐明了作为人、作为基督徒、作为菲律宾人、作为一个民族的独一无二的身份。[1]**

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^{**} 注释未译,请按注序号查阅英文原注。

二、基督教信仰在菲律宾的本土化

菲律宾第二届大公会议(简称 PCP- I)参加者的思想见解体现在《PCP- I 法令》^[2]中:

"教皇约翰·保罗二世把本土化描述为'真正的文化价值通过 文化价值观念在基督教中的整合以及在各种人类文化中通过基督 教的嵌入而进行的内在转化'。(RM,52)在承认目前迫切需要这 种转化的同时,他同样认识到这个转化过程的困难。"

"在本土化过程中,教会和文化相互影响。教会把福音带入入民的生活之中。在不改变福音的任何本质的情况下,教会对福音的表达应让人们能够懂得它的真实意义并能接受或拒斥它,或者虽已接受,但在他们的生活中可能更充分地吸收它。"(《法令》,203)

"教皇约翰·保罗二世在他的第一通谕中指出,在一个民族及 其文化面前,基本的宣教态度是尊重。(RH,12)教会如何恭敬地 把福音嵌入文化?在这一嵌入过程中,教会自身必定受到影响。面 向菲律宾人,它就必须成为菲律宾的教会,正如圣保罗面向犹太 人就作犹太人,面向律法之外的入就作律法之外的人,这完全是 为了福音和人民的救恩。"(林前9:19~23)(《法令》,204)

"历史表明,一种文化之外的宣教士们发现,将其福音以另一种文化真正理解和吸收的方式呈现给入民是极其困难的。因此,改变是必不可少的,这些改变相对就把传福音者置于非主导地位,这会使他(指宣教士——译者)感到不可靠。但要使福音深入人心,他就必须学习人民的语言。他将不得不成为一个学习者,甘愿接受他去教导的人民的教导。并且他还可能担心,在本土化中福音的本质受到损害。"(《法令》,205)

"这就是本土化为何是而且必定是一个缓慢的历程之原因了。 教皇保罗六世在乌干达的讲话中说,本土化要求在你们国家的天 才们对基督'奥迹'有一个酝酿过程,以便在普世教会的其他声 音的合唱中和谐地产生更加清晰和真诚的本地声音(RM,54)。本 土化要求传福音者沉浸在派遣地的文化环境中。它要求传福音者 理解、欣赏和培养当地人民的文化,并使其文化接受基督教,同 时为了更有效地与其文化沟通而装备自己。"(《法令》,206)

"本土化意指把福音嵌入一种文化,并通过该文化的要素来表达。福音在这一进程中将影响、推翻该文化的'判断标准、主要价值观念、兴趣点、思想路线、启示源泉和生活方式,它们和圣言、救恩的计划形成鲜明对照(EN,19)'。这样,福音将对文化价值观念带来有益的转化。"(《法令》,207)

"为了教会本身的利益,本土化必不可少。它充实着教会。除非教会加入这一本土化过程中,否则不可能在文化中谦卑地汲取养料,从里面更新它们并吸收它们,从而构成天主教整体的一部分。当教会为了天主的荣耀能够吸收和运用一个民族文化的资源时,其大公性也就更加完满地表现出来。"(《法令》,208)

"我们的历史说明本土化的成果以及缺乏它的可悲后果。伴随着大大小小的成功与失败,我们已试图通过纯粹的努力去实践我们的信仰,用文化表达教会与福音。虽然本土化的危险继续存在,但除了承受所伴随的危险之外,没有其他办法可让一个菲律宾入成为一名菲律宾天主教徒。"(《法令》,209)

"我们必须以'菲律宾的方式'培养越来越多的传福音者。我们必须发展一种真正菲律宾入的教理和神学,一种确实是本土化的礼仪。我们必须发展符合菲律宾入要求的教会组织。这样,将出现一个真正菲律宾的天主教团契,它将向其他亚洲教会和普世教会(罗马公教——译者)为走向普世联合提供自己独特的贡献。这

一过程还在发展之中,它需要奋发努力。"(《法令》,210)

"约翰·保罗二世的话可作为我们反思的总结: ……本土化必须包括所有天主的子民,而不仅仅是几个专家,因为人民反映了真正的决不能被忘却的'信仰感'(sensus fidei)。本土化需要指导与鼓励,但无需强迫,免得它在基督徒中引起消极反应。它必定是团契生活的表达,也必定在团契自身中成熟,决不是排外性的博学研究的结果。传统价值观念的保护是成熟信仰的工作。(RM.54)"(《法令》,211)

三、《PCP-I法令》中所反映的本土化

在关于宗教的特别关怀^[3]这一主题中,有以下条款要求信仰的本土化:

第17条 第一款 关于本土化, 菲律宾和福音价值观念, 尤其和崇拜玛利亚和圣者的价值观念的整合, 应多加培养。

第二款 应该继续探索和研究与菲律宾文化相协调的且指向福音化的灵修。

第三款 在发展一种共同的真正的道成肉身的灵修任务中,应更加关注首先(即使不完美)在我们普遍的虔诚中发现的综合性的东西。

第四款 宣道应服务于圣言,应在菲律宾的价值观念的语境中进行,应适当集中在菲律宾社会和道德价值观念上,如pagsasarili(自信)、pagkakaisa(合作)和 pagkamakabayan(爱国主义、民族主义)。

第18条 第一款 主管礼仪的委员会应当研究日常宗教性之潜力,用圣言来纯化和丰富它,把它转化成有效的传扬好信息的工具,并让它体现在人民的生活之中。

第二款 要着重研究影响人民生活的节日如辛努洛格节 (Sinulog)、阿蒂-阿蒂安节 (ati-atihan)。

第三款 对荣福董贞玛利亚和圣者的崇拜应当以基督为目标。教理纲要必须确保日常宗教实践成为我们信仰的真实表达,祈祷应当念颂作为一个组成部分的圣言。

四、本土化; 当今强烈的教牧趋势

从以下四点可以清楚地看出菲律宾本土化的进展^[1]:(一·)为了获得结合菲律宾文化价值观念和态度的当地教理材料,对教士和宗教老师的需求急剧增长;(二)持续不断地努力运用各地区普遍的虔诚,并纯化它;(三)越来越意识到教会的社会挑战,意识到"穷人教会"和所有信友的"参与性"宣教(PCP-I);(四)基本教会团契的增长,它们尤其对本土化和对当地教会的建立起着举足轻重的作用。

五、信仰在本土化中的障碍

菲律宾面临许多更深入的信仰的本土化障碍:[5](一)一些老天主教徒的担忧。不管是神职人员还是一般信友对于深入的本土化的善良意向和正常的举措感到沮丧;(二)"天生的"菲律宾人对神奇现象、幻象和信仰治疗物等的偏爱,常常把普通信仰解释成迷信和情感主义,它们会让人难以理解基督的中心性、教会的合法地位以及礼仪崇拜的纯洁性;(三)缺乏专门知识和实践技能。一种增长的"成为菲律宾入"的意识只能渐渐发展。这种意识的缺乏显然妨碍任何对基督教和菲律宾的价值观念以及更深入的信仰的本土化之理解;(四)有些教理过分强调"处境化",尤其在社

会正义的目标上:一方面是过分活跃,另一方面对现存的菲律宾的具体处境缺乏敏感性。

六、关于本土化之教理的障碍根源

上述本土化的真正的障碍之理由是:^[6](一)缺乏够格的有准备的教理人员。如果那些用问答法积极从事教导的人拥有反思、采纳新措施的技能,那么就"从根本上"需要更多的本土化;(二)缺乏能为信仰的本土化作出贡献的专职人员。在典型的神学院神学教授和积极的教理回答人员及宗教学教授之间存在一个相当大的鸿沟,受到职业训练的神学家常常意识不到这种鸿沟,尽管他们也在从事自己的教牧工作。教育和通讯方面的专业人员倾向于坚持他们的职业训练,经常为国外大学聘用,并受制于世俗社会科学和行为主义态度;(三)产生于菲律宾教育者的专业训练的限制,也可以从近年来出版的关于本土化著作的性质与质量上看出。许多是在国外大学写的博士论文,它们为长期的信仰的本土化过程提供了必要背景,但它们几乎不可能为普通教理协调者所理解,更不用说教理人员了。

总之, 菲律宾本土化障碍的根源在于专业研究和实际教理问答之间的鸿沟。因而,非常需要将介于二者之间的研究和著作加以翻译, 并将这种研究成果运用于实际的教理工作。

七、本土化的教理问答方面的成功经验

尽管有上述本土化上的障碍,但我们也有一些成功经验。^[7] (一)建立了基本的教会团契,其成员对他们的孩子们的教理问答 负有责任,从而产生了良好的效果;(二)当地教理问答材料缓慢 但稳步地增长。最有意义的是完成了《菲律宾天主教徒教理问答》(简称CFC),它与《民族教理问答》并列。这一工作是在大约五年前《普世教理问题》通过之前开始的。这一《民族教理问答》乃是对《菲律宾天主教指南》(简称 NCDP)一书提出的基本方法论的例证,这一基本方法论强调整合、本土化和团契构成或者说对上帝、人和教会的忠诚;(三)关于传统天主教节日在教理方面的改进,传统节日如当地普通宗教节日、圣诞前大弥撒、复活前一周庆典以及像梅奥一类的玛利亚崇拜等;(四)不断意识到需要提高质量,并要在全国教士培养计划中进行更有效的合作,正如全国教士培养人员会议上所表明的那样;(五)召开了教区教士培养人员会议;(六)《圣经》研究小组、灵修默祷小组和教区小组的人员增多。

八、需要大加关注的本土化领域

菲律宾信仰的本土化不太成功的地方,「81如:(一)首先是接受教理的信友数量问题。大公会议(PCP-I)认可了这一问题,并要求从根本上增加教理问答的传授者,这对受洗礼的菲律宾天主教徒的任何有效的教理传授来说都是绝不可少的;(二)除了大量天主教徒来接受教理之外,还有提供的教理的质量问题,特别是要考虑到持续发展的现代化、世俗化和各种基要派与再生派的挑战培育:(三)大公会议指出,许多天主教学校对学生本土化的可靠的基督教态度和价值观念方面,显然缺乏有效性。

九、"我们只能进行信仰的本土化"

"我们除了本土化没有其他出路",这是勒伽彼主教"关于菲 148 律宾信仰的本土化之按语"的毋庸置疑的结论。本质上,这是《菲律宾全国教理指南》和菲律宾第二届大公会议所得出的结论。因此,这一点被庄严地承诺下来,为了实现它,需做到以下几点:^[3](一)发现和造就教理培养人员,他们能够教育那些传授教理者在天主教信仰的沟通中运用他们自己个人的菲律宾经验与文化。包括本土化之技能的教理培养必须予以最大优先性;(二)克服言语上的形式主义。一般说来,这种形式主义腐蚀了菲律宾的教育,尤其是教理传授。在日常生活中,必须特别关注对信仰的个人批判性理解与实践;(三)让传授教理者能够将基督教真理和日常生活经验联系起来。可以看到,大多数传授教理者掌握他们教导的信条,但他们不能从自己的经验出发用自己的话来解释和阐述信仰。

我们期望着在教理事奉,特别在本土化中表现出更大的兴趣和更广泛的参与。我们注意到主要问题就在眼前。但当上述的兴趣与参与具体化为实践行动时,可以说本土化事实上正在进行,并且为天主的恩宠所加强。因而,一个真正菲律宾的天主教团契将形成。

十、亚洲信仰旅程中作为教会之指导原则

现在我想从《成为亚洲教会》一书中引一段与本上化有关的话:"当地教会是福音与一个带有特定文化与传统的民族之间通过深沉和相互促进的相遇才产生和建立起来的。用当前神学的和官方语言说,这被称为本土化。本土化不仅在于通过文化媒介的福音和基督信仰的表达,而且通过一个民族的文化资源来包容、体验、理解和占用它们。因此,当地教会的具体形态一方面受制于文化,另一方面它的生活和见证也使得文化接受基督教。""你

关于"本土化"一词的运用,上述引文中有一个特定的解释

性说明。当地教会在通过本土化过程的自我实现中,我们必须注意到,福音总以一种本土化的形式被发现,因为它不是一种抽象物。它就像被占用和表达的民族之信仰一样,存在于其文化语境的具体对象之中。民族和福音的相遇在实践上是一场聚会,民族和由信仰赋予活力的文化的相遇也一样。这就是为什么有些作者宁愿淡化"不同文化间相互表达"而愿谈论本土化的理由。在这一评述中,采用了本土化这一术语,但各文化的汇聚是暗含在其范围之内的。

我相信,下面的论述的内容对于菲律宾信仰的本土化非常富 有指导意义:[11]

大部分亚洲国家(菲律宾是其中之一)的特征是大众贫困。许多人被剥压了基本需要,如食物、水和住房。因此,要求当地教会仿效道成肉身的楷模在团结精神的指导下真正与大量的穷人、边缘人和受剥削者在他们所在的社会中共同分享。

本土化进入人民生活的语境,这让当地教会开辟了天国的视域、天国的曙光。天国比教会更大,而教会自身是天国的工具。这就把当地教会置于福音化的动力之中,当地教会通过带给穷人和受压迫者生活、真正的人性尊严、正义和自由,从而达到自身的自我实现。这和1971年主教会议报告相一致:"为了正义和参与,在世界的转变中行动,在我们看来完全是福音传播中的一个基本方面。"

本七化同样是整体性的东西,它影响了人民的基督教生活与宣教的每一个方面。真正的本土化不能只受到精英专家们的著作影响,应该"靠全体信友信德的超性意识"(LG,12),生活在其特定语境中的信友不仅通过忠诚于基督教传统而且通过对他们文化处境作出回应来学会表达其信仰。这种回应是独一无二的,这是在文化与历史中了解天主圣言与圣神的整个团契的职责。

本土化的另一个重要方面是礼仪。礼仪表达教会的信仰。真正

礼仪上的本土化应当在信仰生活中自觉培养,因为这种信仰完全扎根于文化语境和人民的现实生活中。因此,不能通过外在的人为方式引进礼仪。

信仰构成或教理把信友引入信仰生活,帮助他们在教理中成熟。因而,如前所述,这是本土化的另一重要方面。教理中所用的内容、方法和术语都必须符合经验、教学传统、心理特征和民族的语言本质。

"祈祷:亚洲教会的生活",这是第二届 FABC 大会主题。选择 这一主题是为了强调把亚洲人民的祈祷方式和崇拜方式整合到当 地教会生活中的必要性。亚洲人民的精神财富和宗教价值观念必 须注入当地教会的生活,以丰富之。深沉的神意识、神定、冥想、 内省、禁欲、克己、生活简朴、笃信、沉默、顺从精神、神秘感和深沉的沟通都是亚洲传统中受到高度赞赏并加以培养的精神价值观念。希望这些精神财富在亚洲祈祷和崇拜中找到自然的位置, 也将大大丰富全球教会的祈祷生活。

谈到当地教会通过与文化相遇而产生,有必要视这种相遇是一种动态过程。文化是一种活生生的实在。由于内外的发展,它继续成长和变化。变化发生在每一种文化中,尽管这种变化具有不同的步调。文化中一个重要的变化力量就是与其他文化的相遇。亚洲的本土化(其他地方也一样)要求当地教会通过倾听、理解和回应文化的发展而成长。

当今文化最显著的特征就是文化空前快速的转变。由于具有 其自身意义的现代化过程,这种转变完全是加速的。这里的现代化 意指由现代科学、技术、工业化、现代通讯手段、城市化和新的 教育,经济、政治体制引起的社会快速转变的过程。它们已深刻地 影响了传统文化、制度和生活方式等等。

亚洲传统文化与现代化的相遇已引起大量的回应。这些回应

一方面有现代性与传统文化的并列,也有企图全面放弃传统文化 以便以现代性取代它们;另一方面也有为传统文化辩护,坚决反 对现代性。然而,毋庸置疑,亚洲主要的回应就是要获得现代文化 的好处却又不损失一个国家的传统遗产及其长期珍惜的价值和观 念。

现代性与传统的相遇向教会提出了强烈的挑战。(GB,56)教皇保罗二世把当前处境描述为:"很显然,新文化的出现需要所有信友和带有善良意志的人们有勇气和智力。社会文化的变迁、政治动乱、意识形态骚乱、宗教怀疑、伦理反省,这一切显明了一个世界正在酝酿之中,在寻找形式与方向,表明这个世界是有机整体,是先知性的复新。"(L'osservatore Romano,英文版,1985年11月16日)

教皇保罗二世的话完全适用于亚洲。通过回应具有挑战性的 亚洲图像的复杂处境,亚洲教会将真正成为当地教会。为了传统和 现代性的和谐,亚洲教会需要学会批判辨别。对传统和现代性有一种局限和力量的意识,这是绝对必要的。这有助于真正属于亚洲的人文主义的发展,这是一种产生于传统文化和现代性最佳因素相 遇的人文主义。未来亚洲当地教会的形态取决于发生在当今亚洲的传统与现代性相遇之语境的本土化过程。

教皇保罗二世在菲律宾成立25周年的亚洲主教联合会上评论说,技术上的快速进步和经济的快速增长已彻底改变亚洲的面孔。他进一步指出,在肯定这一发展的利益同时,教会对这一现代化所付出的代价必须有一个现实主义的评估。教会必须面对这些方面对生命一一不仅仅是个体生命而且是文明本身的生命——产生的巨大威胁(《致家庭书》,21)。而且,他注意到最近比物质进步更显著的是亚洲精神风貌的转变。教皇看到"这块大陆正处于灵性上的十字路口"。这是由于,宗教冷漠主义和被夸大的个人主义正

威胁着传统价值观念,一般而言,它们已赋予个人生活和由个人构成的社会以意义与和谐。由于世俗化的力量,一切都渐渐损害亚洲的宗教与文化遗产。鉴于此,教皇告诫说,"此刻只能肯定教会决心实现她首要的使命:宣讲耶稣基督和增进天国的价值观念(Redemptoris Missio, 34)在和每一种善的力量合作中,亚洲天主教徒应感到建立'爱的文明'之紧迫性,这种文明是建立在和平、团结、正义和自由的普遍价值之上的,它们在基督里都已完全达到。"(Tertio Millennio Adveniente, 52)[12]

关于真正的本土化,教皇保罗二世这样对亚洲主教说:"你们有接受圣保罗'对一切人就成为一样人'(林前,9:22)的高要求之重任,让你们自己和你们民族的生活与传统打成一片,以便启示永久真理能够以各种有意义和可信服的方式表达。此外,用智慧和忠诚培养责任感,因为智慧和忠诚是让福音和亚洲各种文化相沟通的最合适方式。你们越是考虑到你们希望引向基督的人的问题、宗教构成、语言、符号和象征,你们将越有效地服务于福音化事业。"(Evengelii Nuntiandi,63)^[13]

无需多说,亚洲当地教会的基督教生活与其复杂相关的事情必定伴随着神学反省,这种神学反省应该注意和关心经验和实践中产生的问题和难题。梵二会议关于宣教活动的文献承认处境化的神学反省之重要性和必要性。(AG,22)

当然,宗教生活也需要本土化。要求信男信女们在他们共同生活与服务中,在他们的崇拜与见证中,弘扬耶稣的追随者以最真实的方式在民族与文化的深层中体现耶稣的生活与使命。宗教生活的培养计划必须浸透着各国穷人的语言和生活方式。有偏向性地选择穷人,并在日常生活中带来效果,这常常是培养真正宗教生活的本土化的最佳方式。

关于一般信友, 圣父在最近访问菲律宾期间, 回忆起第二届

大公会议如何劝告普通信友,在教会提升和解放人类家庭的服务中扮演一个更完美的角色。他援引大公会议最后一个文献说:"要求所有普通信友去调和与改变社会,以世间的秩序为上帝国的最后建立作准备。"(《法令》,435)

菲律宾教会的大多数人是普通信友,在协调基督教信仰和民族文化方面,迫切需要他们。大力加强发展社会良知也是必不可少的。穷人和富人之间不断加大的鸿沟是问题之症结。菲律宾教会,尤其在第二届大公会议之后,正在真正设法使信仰更加植根于民族文化和民族生活之中。教会尤其强调成为穷人的教会,把注意力转向没有特权者。教会更关心建立基本教会团契,这些团契尤其适合于缺乏良好教育条件的地方。其他小基督教团契也有增长,这些团契越来越多地从事交流并参与包括所有天主子民(普通信友以特殊的方式在增加)的世界中进行宣教和事奉培养。不只是僧侣集团而且所有信友都不懈努力地在我们基督教团契的日常生活中寻找圣言与圣神的主动性和创造性的临在,并作出回应。

菲律宾年轻人超过全国人中的一半,约翰·保罗二世在第十届世界青年节这样说,"教会和教宗对年轻人有何期望呢?那就是你们皈依耶稣基督。你们应学会向所有人表明,基督的信息包含了人类的真正解放和进步。这就是基督对你们的期望。这也是教会对菲律宾年轻人的期望。这样,你们自己的文化将发现,你们在说一种以某种方式在古代亚洲传统中已发出回响的语言,一种永远是真正和平和革命丰盛的语言。"[14]

在马尼拉、宿务、新卡塞斯和新塞戈维亚教区400周年庆祝会的布道中,保罗二世号召菲律宾教会:"400年来,在教会宗教宣教之外出现了一道光和一股能量,人们根据神圣的律法已将它们用来建构和巩固人类共同本体。(GS,42)这是我们的喜乐之源。这是在这次庆祝会上可以见到的菲律宾教会喜乐的理由,这次庆

祝会充满着你们的文化和基督教传统的各种色彩和生命力。但这也是你们的任务与职责:对已留传下来的遗产保持忠实并把我们的生活建立在它的上面,以便你们在心里遵循天主的律法,让他的祝福不断地倾注到你们的民族中来。"^[15]

在菲律宾主教大会上,教皇保罗二世告诉主教们这样一些鼓励性的话,"几世纪以来,基督教信息已深深地扎根于菲律宾人的灵魂里,保持着你们社会的生机活力,在天主教信仰传人的四个半多世纪中,是圣神引导这一列岛的人民去接受福音而不放弃其文化遗产中的许多积极性内容,如今圣神正号召教会为改变人类生活和文化的福音的力量作见证。(GS,59)"

保罗二世也提到了菲律宾教会在上主面前的特殊责职,为了 天主整个创造物的更新,通过信仰的工作首先是对民族的职责,其 次是对亚洲的职责,再是对全世界的职责。(《法令》, I7)

最后,我想再引一段与本土化有关的圣父对亚洲主教说的话: "不管这一真正本土化的任务有多艰难,我们能够从早期教会的经验中获得安慰。尽管对受难又复活的基督的宣扬与首先被传福音的人的宗教文化背道而驰,但圣神指引着教会成长。从五旬节开始,一代又一代地继续下去,真理之圣神一直伴随着教会的宣讲,引导听众'顺从信仰'(罗1:6),这种宣讲已纯粹化,已提升了他们的生活方式,因为基督教观念和精神浸透在习惯与行为之中。"[17]

如上所述,很显然,菲律宾教会必须通过本土化的道路继续遵循道成肉身、复活节奥秘和五旬节的信仰之旅程。

ABSTRACT

The Jesuss families were established in the beginning of 1921, in the Taian Prefecture of Sandong Province. In 1952, they were disbanded. Ninety percent of whole population lives in countryside, which is one of the characters of the Chinese Society, and majority of them were uneducated. How to preach Christian faith in the wide countryside of China, and make uneducated peasants accept Christian doctrine? The answer was to write Christian poems and proses in the style of Chinese folk arts, which was a great invention by the members of the Jesus's families, among them Jing Dianyin was a representative. The collected relevant materials includes 267 preaching songs, among them the words of 137 songs were set to music, 257 poems, 83 antithetical couplets and some letters. These words of songs, poems and proses were written in the style of Chinese folk songs, rhymes and allegro, which were popular in that place. They are not stick to one pattern, and easy to be read, remembered and spread by their vivid words. In content, they are propaganda of Christianity, interpretation of Christian dogma, catechism to answer real problems and an introduction to make people walk on the path of Jesus's families. So they played a role which the normal preaching way could not do. They will inspire us when we think about the issue of Christianity and Chinese culture, as well as the response of Christianity to China.

耶稣家庭的宗教诗文初探

陶飞亚 著

耶穌家庭1921年初创建于山东泰安马庄,1952年解散。三十余年的光阴,在历史上不过弹指一挥间,但耶稣家庭的宗教特色和经济形态,在中国教会史上刻下了自己的痕迹,也引起了海内外学者的注意。近年来美国学者裴士丹(Daniel H. Bays)、台湾学者查士杰、国内王神荫、罗伟虹、徐鹤等均对此作了深入的分析。[1]不过,本文试图转换一个视角,着重探讨耶稣家庭的诗文,看一看它是如何在中国文化中过渡西方宗教,用中国文化来阐释基督教文化。

一、耶稣家庭宗教诗文的概况

耶稣家庭的宗教诗文大致包括三类。第一类是布道诗歌。这类诗歌有几种版本。家庭印刷出版乡村布道诗有137首,全部谱成歌曲。另一种是50年代初经人辑录的《耶稣家庭诗歌选》,其中收入了家庭每年流行的崇拜圣诗、短简诗歌、乡村布道诗及经文诗歌

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共100首。这些诗歌大部分为家庭创作,但也有经家庭改编的华北乡村教会所用的诗歌。第二类是诗词和对联,其中尤以圣经题词为多。各种资料中保存下来的共有诗歌257首,福音对联83首。第三类也可以包括在这个题目中的是家庭书信,由于这类材料比较分散,又历经战乱和动乱,保存下来的很少,因此本文可能会涉及其中的内容,但不作重点讨论。这三类中可能有小部分的题目或内容有交叉。究竟这批诗歌文字有多少,还需要进一步的收集考证。不过上述资料已经大致上可以反映出家庭宗教作品的概貌。

这些作品的作者是谁?1949年底访问过耶稣家庭的汪锡鹏在1950年7月出版的《记耶稣家庭》中说"他们的诗歌全是各信徒所创作的,从各自心坎里所发出的声音和言词"。[2]看来家庭的一些成员参加了这些诗歌的创作,但是具体的姓名已无从可考。不过其中的大部分可以肯定的是家庭的创始人敬奠瀛的作品。家庭信徒后来曾说:"敬奠瀛在世之日,曾蒙圣灵感动,即事、即景、即兴,写过大量灵意深远的诗词对联,尤以圣经题词为多。"[3]《灵韵集》中的257首诗词和83首对联都出自于敬的手笔。可见敬是一位乐于用诗歌文字来传播宗教思想的家庭领袖人物。总起来说,这些作品是以家庭为背景的,家庭的宗教生活是这些创作的生活源泉,所以,在某种意义上,又可以看成是有家庭独特风格的宗教诗文。

从时间上看,这些宗教作品最早的写于20年代初,如有1921年的"圣徒信用储蓄社"开幕时的骈文,最晚的写于50年代初,如1950年礼拜题词。但是大部分写于30、40年代,即在耶稣家庭发展比较快的时期。这些作品陆续地产生在这样的年代跨度中,为我们追寻家庭的思想渊源提供了重要的线索。

二、内容与特色

家庭宗教作品涉及的内容非常丰富。主要内容包括了第一是赞美耶稣、赞美基督教以及宣传基督教教义的经文诗歌;第二是宣传世界末日、忏悔世人的罪恶;第三是劝人信奉基督教及信教得救的益处,并且有针对性的对"大娘"、"兄弟"、"小朋友",甚至"大烟葫芦"的布道歌;第四是宣传家庭道路的诗篇。不过也许敬奠瀛注意到其他教会对耶稣家庭的不同看法,在注明对外布道的诗歌中对"家庭"自身的鼓吹并不多。

汪锡鹏曾经分析过耶稣家庭的诗歌,认为这些诗歌有几方面的特质:一是"彻底的同情农人";二是赞美"无产阶级者的生活";三是"轻世的态度";四是"逃世的情调";五是"末日的敏感";六是"末日的出路";七是"耶稣家庭的情况";八是"耶稣家庭的人"。「可实际上,汪对家庭的评价可能过于美化了,不过他的这些分析勾划出了家庭诗篇的内在逻辑,就是要宣扬从苦难生活的现实中走出来,登上航向彼岸世界的方舟,即诗歌文章中的耶稣家庭。

汪的分析着重在诗歌宣扬了什么,但笔者更感兴趣的是诗歌 怎样宣扬,进一步说就是怎样在乡村社会主要对农民和农村知识 分子宣传基督教的思想。

采用民谣或者民间说唱艺术形式是家庭诗歌的第一个显著特色。总起来看,家庭的诗歌没有一定之规。它有时也采用律诗格式,但韵律并不讲究,虽然这些诗歌有喜用长短句却不采取词牌的对韵律的规定。有的很长,有的很短。最短的仅有4句,最长的如下面引用的敬奠瀛给惠东的诗歌(可能是圣经的题词):⁵⁰

耶稣家庭,宇宙精华。社会南针,人类宝筏。种族邦 国,富贵贫贱都抹煞。天国临世,神人同工,普世成一家、 试看造物之伟大,处处示人以,界限不可划。同居于月华 中,同游于月光下,天载地覆,风吹气嘘,星斗布如画。 如此庄严,如此美丽,如此公宏,谁能说属我,谁能说 属他。况且飞机轮船,火车电话,都显示(着)世界快统 一,人类应合家。而且大同共产,呼声震天涯。然而取道 有差,想夷齐间居首阳山下,见一窝蚂蚁分两队,出外 觅生涯。殚精竭虑, 共觅得一个死蚂蜡, 东队向东移, 西 队向西拉。东说东路距家近,西说西远有良法。两路相争, 各不相下,放下蚂蜡,舞起爪牙。一方拼命斗,一方打死 架。日薄西山,蚂蜡未进家。老弱待食饥欲死,少壮争雄 命已杀。夷齐合唱一个歌儿代劝架。歌曰:"撇了孤竹园, 逃来首阳山,不羡肉味美,却爱蕨味鲜。肉体甘粗淡,心 灵自泰然。手足而合作,可将天地翻。股肱而违戾,甚于 全体瘫。以养反害太愚顽,蚁斗可为前车鉴。"歌罢,天 高地大,轮船随意游,悠悠苍穹,飞机任意驾,东滨西 滨随便玩耍, 千山万水随便说话。赏多少风光美景, 看多 少奇异卉花。宇宙真理管探讨,造化奥秘尽考查。取不尽 用不乏。不费钱,不要价。皆只因神恩浩荡,人和致祥,万 物应化。耶稣是哥哥, 真神是爸爸。民胞物与宇宙家。嘿 嘿!你想这家美不美?哈哈,你看这家大不大?有何苦,说 长道短,争权称霸,有何苦,同室操戈,剖豆分瓜。醒来 吧1归家吧!赞美主耶稣,哈路利亚。

这首诗歌中有2字句,3字句,4字句,5字句,7字句和11字句, 甚至有感叹词单独成句。而且全文长达97句,与其说是长诗或者 词,不如说更像是山东大鼓书或者山东快板书了。这二者都是当时山东非常流行的艺术形式,尤其在山东的乡镇是老百姓比较熟悉的东西。在耶稣家庭所在的泰安地区还流行莱芜梆子等地方戏。耶稣家庭的许多诗歌显然深受这种艺术形式的影响,如在圣徒社时期就有过以"玛利亚哭坟"为题可以吟唱的诗歌。用这种形式来宣传西洋宗教,可能更能打动民众的心。

与此相连的另一个特点是其语言的生动和通俗性。汪锡鹏引用过一首题为"美生涯"的家庭诗歌,他说自己"曾读过许多描写无产阶级生活的小说,但是始终认为没有一本可以比诗中的'粗粗拉拉的吃点,破破烂烂的穿点,零零碎碎的睡点'三句话还来得深切而实在"。[6]其实这些诗句用词就像上引诗歌中"玛蜡"都来源于当地的口语。为了说明问题,引"敬拜真神"[7]中的几段:

兄弟姐妹请都坐下,咱们谈谈家常话。如今世道真是 坏了,世界平安没一家。

父子兄弟都不和睦,婆媳妯娌常吵架。皆因他们不信 耶稣,魔鬼趁机迷惑他。

从前一家有鬼闹他,共有四口躺倒任。门神关公灶君菩萨,个个坐着不管他。

后来那家信了耶稣,魔鬼听说就跑啦。这位耶稣大有 能力,你不信他还信吓(啥)。

木雕泥塑石刻纸画,铁打铜铸死疙瘩。这些偶像能引 魔鬼,各样怪事来到家。

桃条浆水杆草燎他,法官神婆难治下。只要一心信靠 耶稣,百无禁忌不要怕。 这首诗歌用的全是大白话,既琅琅上口,又通俗易懂。用的是乡村社会中谁都熟悉的语言,描写的是谁都熟悉的事情,而且采用了比较简单的歌曲形式,这自然对歌者和听者都有一定的感染力。即使是讲述圣经故事,家庭诗歌也把对中国人生疏的内容形象化了,如原耶稣家庭诗歌引词"天然乐"。[8]

山镇静,水活泼,电跳舞,雷唱歌,风云雨露鼓太和。草木花开荣耀主,鸟兽虫鱼智慧多。万物都显天然乐。 信耶稣,俯仰无愧,爱真神,福分如何。

用这样的语言描绘自然万物,仿佛给万物赋予了生命,自然现象充满勃勃生机,但又是一派天然和谐的景象。这样的描写即使单纯从文学艺术的角度看,也需要相当的技巧。自然,技巧也服从于宗教的内容,借助于这样优美的文字,作者在潜移默化地传播着基督教的宗教思想。

但是中国文化博大精深,儒佛道的思想通过戏剧曲艺、祭祀和朝山进香等类似的活动,以及传统教育和科举制度渗透到各个社会层面,影响了人们的文化价值观。这是基督教在中国必须面对的现实。耶稣家庭诗歌并不是仅就圣经来解释圣经,而是大量把中国文化典故掺和在宗教诗篇中,用中国文化来比较基督教文化,这是耶稣家庭诗歌的又一个特点。

家庭诗歌中常常用中国文化的典故来说明基督教道理。前引给惠东的题词中就引用了伯夷、叔齐在首阳山下的故事。在其他诗歌中提到颜回、秦皇,提到大禹开辟九州、商代夏、秦朝一统天下的历史。但是,这些中国历史的材料,最后都用来说明基督教的道理。特別是传统的思想和宗教,也经常被引在诗歌里,成为宣扬

基督教的铺垫。这样的例子在家庭诗歌中有相当的数量。如一首无名的题词。^[9]

此经降自天,非由心传。字里行间,生命充满,都为耶稣见证。自始至终,六十六卷,上下数千年,信爱一线串。炯非理性哲学,都由悟性纂编。即便是奇庄、玄老,也可以至性参。唯此经,神迹满卷帙,预言充幅篇。若非虚心相信,被神启示,总是瞠目茫然。就是这近代武器,早为此经显然指点。愿阁下专诚皈主,重生、充满,佛也不必言,仙也不必言。简直是以马内利,神在人间。

如另一首无名的诗歌.[10]

焚有光,磷有光,闪闪烁烁不久长。星有光,月有光,高悬天空照四方。总之都在暗中现,太阳一出尽隐藏。儒中庸,道言玄,仙家炼丹,释涅槃。学辟谷,学参禅,成功犹如登天难。耶稣原道成肉身,信则得救妙难言。

再如写给"孔而耶者"瞿科武的"赠言"中说,[二]

孔氏训以克己,消极战争也;耶稣命我以舍己,俾 我侪无已之可克,积极战争也。故教主三载而功成。孔氏 晚年犹曰:加我数年,吾以学易,可以无大过也。天道、 人道、美功、己功、可见一斑也矣。

这里两首诗歌一篇短文,其写作的对象可能都是有文化的家庭信徒。诗中提到了老子、庄子、儒学、佛教、道教、仙家等中国

传统文化的基本 "元素",也说到了儒家的中庸、老庄的玄学、佛学的参禅和涅槃,甚至仙家的炼丹和道家 "辟谷"的修行方法。作者认为这些都是"理性"的修行的方法,但基督教则是靠悟性来领悟的。作者说 "优哉儒释道",但只是"人工",只有基督教才能使人得救。而且如果一个人看不懂圣经,那就是没有虚心的精神,没有被神启示。自我基督教传人中国、关于教义的辩论,尤其是"儒"和 "耶"之争,从明末清初一直到近代,时有发生,有时甚至很激烈。敬的这番解释也是人们所谓的"信则有,不信则无","心诚则灵"的近似诡辩的习惯说法,但对于信徒来说,却有了似是而非的答案。

值得一提的是,这些诗歌对传统文化并不一概排斥,例如在给"岭梅爱侄纪念"[12]中说"吗哪园而小,本是生命宝,无奈肉欲人,淡薄受不了。埃及葱与蒜,反觉味道好。谋道不谋食,孔圣训可考"。如圣经对联"要学墨子爱群众,切忌杨子重一毛"。[13]这里赞美的是孔子和墨子,传统文化成了基督教的注脚,遍观《灵韵集》中一共二百多诗歌,依据史籍的注解就有二百多处。这些宗教诗文的中国气息、乡土气息浓厚了,西方宗教的背景却大大地淡化了。

不仅如此,家庭诗歌的另一个特点是结合当时的现实来宣扬基督教,这种结合有两方面:一是涉及社会形势。在家庭诗歌中经常出现一些时髦的名词概念,如"圣徒信用储蓄社"成立的骈文中就说到"工农"、"资本家"、"利他主义"等,[14]上面的诗歌中提到了"飞机轮船"、"火车电话"、"大同共产",在其他的诗歌中也常常有"科学"、"进步"等现代的术语。这些名词术语的意义解释的是否准确,姑且不论,但是它使得发源于古代的宗教在人们的心目中增添了现代的色彩。二是结合家庭形势。在有时间可考的诗歌中,可以清楚的看出这一点来。如1921年为成立信徒社写作开幕

词骈文、鼓励信徒在宗教的引导下建立"无贫无富"、"无高无低"的理想社会。再如约在30年代"马庄老家未纳十分之一,穷到极点时"敬吟诵"耶稣家,穷充满,无的吃,无的穿,自然禁食真喜欢"给信徒听,以激励人心。[15]40年代特别是抗战以后,家庭有较大的发展,敬创作大量的诗歌来影响信徒的思想,如1941年写"贫而乐",1942年写"真门徒",1943年写"爱主要真诚"、"方舟歌",1944年"叹人生",1945年"糊涂桶",1946年"真假生活",1947年"我们的方舟"、"三种记号"、"归家吧",1948年"油果山",1949年"平而淡"、"开发东北"、"末日风涛",都属于这种类型。[16]这些诗歌有的鼓吹安贫乐道,有的宣扬末世论,但最终着重点是鼓吹耶稣家庭的道路,都是要引导信徒走家庭的道路。这种带有现实色彩的宣扬,拉近了宗教与信徒的距离。

汪锡鹏在1950年说中国发行最广的歌颂耶稣的诗歌是《普天赞颂》,但他认为该书里面有许多"词曲太深,而不能适合大众的胃口","有少数诗歌,仿佛不是中国人的心声"。但他认为耶稣家庭的诗歌是带有"民族性"的。虽然汪缺乏详细的分析,但这个看法多少有点道理。实际上,家庭有如此之多的诗歌短文,在其他宗教团体中是很少见的。它的乡土味和现实性或者说实用主义的特色在同类的宗教文学中也是非常突出的。现在的问题是,要进一步考察这种诗歌文字对宗教生活的影响。

三、宗教功能

耶稣家庭创办时只有几十人,到50年代初发展到数千人。作为一个宗教组织来说,很难说它发展得快还是慢。但家庭特殊的经济形态需要有很强的凝聚力。无疑,组织上的严密,管理上的严厉,社会动荡形成的外部环境都是非常重要的,但是家庭的诗文作为

一种宣传意识形态的工具也起了一定的作用。

还要提到汪锡鹏,他当时在家庭中生活了几天,经常看到、听到信徒们在劳动生活中吟唱这些诗歌。50年代初脱离家庭的信徒在材料中说家庭能如此发展是和"它的麻醉宣传分不开的"。¹⁷⁷信徒在后来说,"有些作品在灵命上曾给兄弟姐妹很大帮助,确实曾对主的圣工给以推动。有的诗章,甚至成了那时圣徒们行主道路的主题之歌。全家爱唱,人人乐学。"[181]1984年11月罗伟虹和徐鹤曾访问过山东一些耶稣家庭,在他们发表的研究论文中指出:"由于诗歌简易通俗,琅琅上口,使那些没有文化的教徒也能记唱,并在唱诗时,不知不觉地接受了他的一套宗教说教,现在时隔三十多年,许多家庭成员对这些诗歌还会背会唱,说明它在当时确实深人人心。"[19]

不同时代不同角度的看法如此一致,显然很能说明耶稣家庭的诗歌和文章在宣扬宗教方面的特殊功能。其实在中国文化传统中,口语化的诗歌在思想教化方面的作用早就得到社会的重视,多少代来《三字经》在有文化和没文化的社会阶层中口口相传,广泛流行就是一个最典型的例子。耶稣家庭的领导人长期生活在山东农村,受过传统和新式的教育,当然懂得阳春白雪和者盖寡,下里巴人,和之者甚众的道理。只是耶稣家庭的诗歌借鉴了这种形式和风格来宣扬外来的宗教,形成了带有乡村风味的基督教文学,在旧中国文化生活极其贫乏的农村社会,成为一些基督教徒喜闻乐见的文化形式。

注释:

[1] 此前关于耶稣家庭历史的主要出版物有50年代初汪锡鹏的《记耶 稣家庭》小册子,1953年上海出版过《耶稣家庭革新经过》,1959 年英国传教士李岱汶(Dr. D. Vaughan Rees)的《共产党中国 的耶稣家庭》。

- [2] 汪锡鹏:《记耶稣家庭》, 第1页。
- [3] 《灵韵集》,前言。
- [4] 汪锡鹏,《记耶稣家庭》,见"诗歌中的耶稣家庭",第1至16页。
- [5] 《灵韵集》,第31至33页。
- [6] 汪锡鹏:《记耶稣家庭》,"诗歌中的耶稣家庭",第3页。
- [7] 《耶稣家庭乡村布道诗歌》, 第3页。
- [8] 《灵韵集》,第66页。
- [9] 《灵韵集》,第36页。
- [10] 《灵韵集》,第125页。
- [11] 《灵韵集》,第44页。
- [12] 《灵韵集》,第21-22页。
- [13] 《灵韵集》, 第89页。
- [14] "从来商贾多利己, 赔上生命赚物质。尺争分寸, 称争高低, 瞒老欺少, 巧言花语。见富贵则胁肩谗笑, 遇贫贱则睥睨藐视。似这黑暗商界, 实令人痛伤心肺。来来来, 我们同心努力, 急起直追, 本耶稣舍己精神, 实行利他主义。使人类无贫无富, 俾市价无高无低。叫那些压死工农的资本家, 永远没有立足地。到那时普世平等, 皋皋熙熙, 异口同声都说道: 惟奉主名来的是应当称颂的。"见《灵韵集》, 第3页。
- [15] 《灵韵集》,第46页。
- [16] 《耶稣家庭诗歌选》、《灵韵集》和《耶稣家庭的历史》。耶稣家庭的诗歌基本上没有直接涉及到政治党派,但是很显然有些诗歌在政治上非常消极,在50年代初家庭改革过程中,一些家庭信徒指出了解放战争时期一些诗歌的反动性(见《历史》第19页)。笔者在和刘天路合著的《基督教与近代山东社会》中,对家庭的性质作过分析,下引罗伟虹等文章对诗歌的欺骗性也作论述,本文对此不再赘述。
- [17] 《耶稣家庭的历史》,第15页。

- [18] 《灵韵集》,前言。
- [19] 罗伟虹,答徐鹤"耶稣家庭——基督教与中国封建体制相结合的产物",见《宗教》,1986年第2期,第25页,南京大学宗教研究所。

World Peace - World Religions - World Ethics

Hans Küng

Most commentators of our time agree that after the unexpected events of 1989 the world political situation as a whole has become more unstable, more uncertain. No one thought it possible that the world historical scene would change so rapidly; the collapse of the Soviet system, the reunification of Germany, the democratization of the former Eastern bloc states, the Gulf War, the civil war in former Yugoslavia. No one can as yet say definitively where all these developments are leading. But one thing seems certain; the collapse of Soviet socialism in 1989 and the break-up of the antagonistic military blocks is — if I see things correctly — a third chance for new world order, following those which were missed after the First World War in 1918 and the Second World War in 1945.

I. Three chances for a new world order: 1918-1945-1989

Chance 1: 1918. After the First World War, the 'Legue of Nations' was founded, on the instigation of the then American Pre-

sent Wilson (1920). This was based on the vision of the nations finally arriving at a shared, peaceful and just control of world affairs. But Europe and the world missed this first chance; above all with Fascism and National Socialism, but also with Japanese militarism, and following them with the Second World War, the Holocaust, the Gulag Archipelago and Hiroshima. Instead of world order there was world chaos.

Chance 2: 1945. At that time there was another chance of such a new world order, and the 'United Nations' which was now founded was to help towrds this. But this new attempt, too, proved divided. Instead of a world order there was a division of the world. Now to an unbridled capitalism with negative results above all in Latin Americal and Africa there was added a socialism which from the Elbe to Valdivostok led to an unprecedented enslaving of human beings and exploitation of nature — until it could go on no longer.

Chance 3: 1989. Now we have the third chance of what I would call a 'postmodern' world order. Politically, it presupposes the democratic state, and economically a market economy with both a social and ecological orientation (not to be confused with 'capitalism', which is neither social nor ecological), at least as it is affirmed in principle from Wahington via Brussels to Moscow, even if it is far from being developed. But such a world order will not come into being without a new relationship between the nations. And who could have guessed that once again within Eu-

rope a war of unimaginable cruelty would be waged? Other regions, too, are far from being pacified. Is there a new world disorder instead of a new world order?

If we look at today's world, there is no getting round the terrifying fact that at present around thirty armed conflicts are going on. The UN is already overtaxed with thirteen peacekeeping missions under way. At present the UN numbers 184 member states (as compared with 51 in 1945). The unofficial estimate is that if Africa were also to be divided up by ethnic boundaries the number of 'sovereign states' could approach 450. But if smaller and smaller ethnic and religious units want to win the status of 'sovereign state' for themselves, not only Africa, but also Europe from Spain to Russia, will be thrown into disorder by the splintering. The future will then be more insecure than ever. There will no longer be any question of stablility if the units get smaller and smaller, the perspecitves narrower and narrower, the pressures towards national demarcation more and more fanatical. Yugoslavia is a warning, and what has also been happening in Germany between Rostock, Solingen and Constance is a cruel warning of the need to rethink and to arrive at better rules for society in this one world and one humankind. But how?

I. No new world order without a world ethic

First of all, a **negative** statement; a new, better world order will not be introduced on the basis

- solely of diplomatic offensives, which all too often are ad-

dressed only to governments and not to peoples and which only too often are unable to guarantee the peace and stability of a region;

- simply of humanitarian help, which cannot replace political action;
- primarily of military interventions, the consequences of which tend more to be negative than positive;
- solely of 'international law', as long as this rests on the unlimited sovereignty of states and is focussed more on the rights of states than on the rights of peoples and individuals (human rights).

Then a positive statement: a new world order will ultimately be brought in only on the basis of

- more common visions, ideals, values, aims and criteria;
- a heightened global responsibility on the part of peoples and their leader;
- a new binding and uniting ethic for all humankind, including states and those in power in them, which embraces cultures and religions. No new world order without a new world ethic!

Someone may object; given the war in Yugoslavia, where Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats and Muslim Bosnians are engaging in cruel and bloody slaughter; given the situation in the Middle East; given the tensions between Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbijanis; between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in India; between Buddhist Singhalese and Hindu Tamils in Sri Lanka;

and not least given the unresolved conflict in Northern Ireland between Catholics and Protestants, is it not crazy, in order to safeguard the future of this earth, to call for a world ethic to which the religions are to make a decisive contributions? My counterquestion would be; when could such a demand be more urgent than today? At all events 'world ethic' is not a fair weather slogan, a luxury which might arouse academic interest or give one a good profile as a ceremonial speaker. It arises out of the bitter experiences of the past, the bloody crises of yesterday, in which the religions have often played a fatal role. But crisis means not only danger but opportunity.

I. Not a single world culture or world religion

World politics, the world economy and the world financial system play an essential part in determining our national and regional destiny. Even in Switzerland people are slowly beginning to see that there are no longer any national and regional islands of stability. And despite the marked splintering of national and regional interests there is already such a strong political, economic and financial world network that economists are speaking of a world society and sociologists of a world civilization (in the technical, economic and social sense); a world society and world civilization as a coherent field of interaction in which all are involved, either directly or indirectly.

But this world society and technological world civilization which is coming into being in no way also means a single world culture (in the spiritual — artistic — formative sense) or even a

world religion. Rather, world society and world civilization include a multiplicity of cultures and religions, some of which even have new emphases. To hope for a single world religion is an illusion; to be afraid of it is nonsense. The multiplicity of religions, confessions and denominations, of religious sects, groups and movements in today's world is still perplexing. They form a complex phenomenon geographically, historically and culturally, which cannot and must not be put under a single heading.

But if we do not want to reduce this overcomplexity which has grown up down the centuries and want to adopt an approach which is not only regional or national but world-historical and world-wide and in this sense planetary; if, given the present complexity which is also, indeed particularly, to be found in matters of religion, we are seeking a new orientation also and particularly in matters of religion, then in view of what Wilfrid Cantweel Smith has called the 'one religious history of humankind' we will do best to keep to the great religiousriver systems of the high religions which still exist dody, and which have also inundated the nature religions of Africa, America and Oceania. If we look at the world today, seeing our globe as it were from a statellite, in the cultural landscape of this earth at present we can distinguish three great religious river systems with their areas of entry, transcending individual, nations and cultures. and all of which have their own genesis and morphology:

the religions of Semtic origin: these have a prophetic character, always begin from a contrast between God and human beings, and are predominantly marked by religious confronta-

tion: Judaism, Christianity and Islam;

- the religions of Indian origin: they primarily have a basically
 mystical tone, tending towards union, and are characterized
 more by religious inwardness: the early Indian religion of the
 Upanishads, Buddhism and Hinduism;
- the religions of the Chinese tradition; these are stamped by wisdom and are fundamentally characterized by harmony; Confucianism and Taoism.

Older, stronger and more constant than many dynasties and empires, these great religous systems have modelled the cultural landscape of this globe over the millennia. In an incessant rhythm of change, sporadically new mountain chains and high plateaus have thrust themselves up on the different continents, but the great rivers, older, stronger and more constant, have kept making ever-new cuts in the rising landscape. Similarly, in our cultural landscape ever-new social systems, states and ruling houses have arisen, but the great old rivers of the religions have been able-despite all the rises and falls-to maintain themselves with a few adaptations and deviations and have shaped the features of the cultural landscape in a new way. Simply because of that, because of the far-reaching ways in which cultures have been shaped by religions, it would make no sense to speak of a single world culture or world religion or even to attempt to.

And yet, there are features which the religions have in common. Just as the natural river systems of this earth and the landscapes shaped by them are extremely different, but the rivers and streams of the different continents all have similar profiles

and patterns of flow, obey similar laws, cut clefts in the hills, wind in the plains and inexorably seek a way to the sea, so too it is with the religious river systems of this earth. Although they are extremely different, in many respects they display similar profiles, regularities and effects. Confusingly different though religions all are, they are all messages of salvation which all respond to similar basic human questions, to the eternal questions of love and sorrow, guilt and atonement, life and death. Where does the world and its order come from? Why are we born and why must we die? What determines the destiny of the individual and of humankind? What is the basis of moral awareness and of the presence of ethical norms? And over and above their interpretation of the world, all also offer similar way of salvation; ways out of the distress, suffering and guilt of being, pointers towards meaningful and responsible action in this life - towards a permanent, lasting eternal salvation, redemption from all suffering, from guilt and death.

Now all this means that even those who reject the religions (and in my book Does God Exist? I have subjected all the arguments of the modern criticism of religion to a thorough examination) will have to take them seriously as a fundamental social and existential reality; they all have to do with meaning and meaninglessness in life, with human freedom and slavery, with justice and the oppression of peoples, with war and peace in history and the present.

N. Taking the religious dimension seriously

There is no doubt about it: any religion is ambivalent as human phenomenon — as ambivalent as art or music, which also have been and are massively misused. Sociologically, religions too are systems of power concerned for stablization and the extension of power. They have a high potential for conflict. But they also have an often overlooked potential for peace. Religion can stir things up, certainly, but it can also calm them down. Religion can motivate, foment and prolonng wars, but it can prevent wars and shorten them.

- The fondations for the peace between France, Germany and Italy were laid by convinced Christians (and Catholics); Charles de Gaulle, Konrad Adenauer, Robenauer, Robert Schumann, Alcide de Gasperi.
- Peace between Germany and Poland was prepared for by a memorandum drafted by the Pretestant Church (the Evangelical Church of Germany).
- Peaceful revolutions in Poland, East Germany, Czechosłovakia and also in South Africa and the Philippines have shown that religion can also serve to bring about peace.

Here I would like to say quite clearly that the purely strategic, economic and political aspects of such crises must not be allowed to overshadow their social, moral and religious aspects. Here is just one **example**, from what used to be **Yugoslavia**.

Anyone who is not blind to history will have noticed that the modern state frontiers in Eastern Europe seem pale in comparison with the ageold frontiers which were once drawn by religions and confessions; between Armenia and Azerbijan, between Gerogia and Russia, the Ukraine and Russia, and similarly also between different peoples in Yugoslavia. It is possible to understand the complexity of the problems in Yugoslavia only if one knows that for a thousand years — basically since the division between Western and Eastern Rome — two different religous have been meeting in the middle of Yugoslavia; the Eastern Byzantine paradigm with Serbia and the Roman Catholic paradigm with Croatia. Catholic Croats could get on better with Muslims than with Orthodox fellow Christians — In addition, there are the problems of the fivehundred year occupation of Serbian territory by the Turks (since the defeat at Kosovo polje in 1389), which among the Serbs produced the ideology of a lasting suffering and endurance which very often does not (or does not any longer) correspond to reality.

Now the Serbs. Croats and Bosnians (the only indigenous Muslims in Europe) are all southern Slavs. For centuries Servbs have lived among Croats, originally recruited against the Turks, as ethnic cousins. And so today the three groups are highly mixed in the state territory of what once was Yugoslavia, most of all in Bosnia. So it was wrong after 1989 first of all to defend a single uniform Yugoslav state (Phase 1 of the EC and US policy), but also wrong then to go to the opoosite extreme and split the whole of Yugoslavia into national states (Phase 2, expecially German and then also EC and US policy). A confederation (with cantons or whatever) world have been the right course to take from the beginning, and not just now, when it is too late.

Will there ever be peace in such a region if the religious dimension of the confilict is not taken seriously? In the present conflict my sympathies wer first of all with Croatia (not because it was Catholic but because it had been attacked) and then above all with the Muslims. But may I as a Catholic theologian keep silent about the fact that the Catholic Croatian Ustahsa state under the Nazi protectocrate killed tens of thousands (some say hundreds of thousands) of Serbs without a single protest at the time from Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb or Pope Pius XI, both of whom were very well informed? But truly, the Orthodox Serbs also have their overloaded list of guilty actions.

Over forty years both churches could have found time to sort out the situation, concede guilt, ask for forgiveness, and prepare for a political peace. The World Council of Churches, often more concerned with the world than the churches, certainly meant well when in the middle of the civil war it brough together bishops from both sides, though the ecumenical discourses ended in unecumenical accusations. Indeed whether one speaks today with a Serb or a Croat, each talks about the crimes of the other side and says nothing about the crimes of his own side — just like the Germans and French of old. Will Serbs and Croats need yet another war of revenge before they become aware that such thought and policy dominated by revenge will never lead to peace but always only to new destruction? If a cease-fire should finally be achieved, will there still be no bishops or theologians who could begin to talk to one another in an understanding way? Self-critical recollection is unavoidable.

My basic queston is: must these religions inevitably be engaged in conflict and strife? Peace (shalom, salam, eirene, pax) is a main feature of their programmes. Their first task at this time must be to make peace among themselves, in order with all the means which the media offer:

- to clear up misunderstandings;
- to work through traumatic memories;
- to dissolve stereotyped images of enemies;
- to come to terms with the conflicits of guilt socially and as individuals;
- to break down hatred and destructiveness;
- to reflect on what they have in common. Are the members of the different religions aware of the ethos they have in common despite their great 'dogmatic' differences? Not at all.

V. The need for a minmal consensus on ethics

First of all, understanding among the religions does not require believers to line up against unbelievers. The Roman campaign for re-Catholicizaton, especially in Eastern Europe, euphemistically called re-evangelization, only leads to a re-opening of the old war graves; we do not need another division of society and political parties into clerical and anticlerical (as for example in Poland). The project of a world ethic, a global ethic, calls rather for an alliance of believers and noon-believers over a new common basic ethic.

Secondly, the religions without doubt have a special function and responsibility when it comes to binding criteria and personal basic convictions. What unites all the great **religions** needs to be worked out carefully and in detail on the basis of the sources — a significant and enjoyable task for the scholars of the different religions which is still in its beginnings, but has aroused much interest amazingly quickly and has produced a first result.

At a more fundamental level I would ask, what can religious contribute to the furthering of an ethic, despite their very differnet systems of dogmas and symbols, which distinguisheds them from philosophy, political pragmatisam, international organizations, philanthropic concerns of all kinds? Granted, in the past religious have always absolutized their traditions, fixed mysterious dogmas and ritual prescriptions and set themselves apart from any others. Yet where they want to, they can present fundamental maxims of elementary humanity with quite a different authority and power of conviction from that of politicians, lawyers and philosophers.

VI. A supreme norm of conscience and a leading figure

Granted, religions were and always are tempted to lose themselves in an infinite jungle of commandments and prescriptions, cannons and paragraphs. Yet where they want to, they can demonstrate, with quite a different authority from any philosophy, that the application of their norms does not apply to individual cases but is categorical. Religions can give men and women a supreme norm of conscience, that categorical imperative which is still important for today's society, which imposes and obligation at quite a different depth and on quite a different foundation. For all the great religions call for the observance of something like a 'Golden Rule' -- which is not just a hypothetical and conditional norm but one that is a categorical, apodeictic and unconditional norm — one that is quite practicable in the highly complex situation in which individual or groups must often act.

This Golden Rule is already attested in Confucius: 'What youyourself do not want, do not do to another person' (Confucius, c. 551—489 BCE); and also in Judaism (in a negative formulation); 'Do not do to others what you would not want them to do to you' (Rabbi Hillel, 60 BCE to 10 CE); and finally also in the Sermon on the Mount (in a positive formulation); 'Whatever you want people to do to you, do also to them.'

This Golden Rule could be a safeguard against a crude ethics which is not an ethic at all; it does not need to be understood as pure dispositional ethic which does not perceive realities, but could become the centre of an ethics of responsibility (the term used by Max Weber and Hans Jonas), which always reflects on the consequences of what we do and allow.

The reference to Confucius and Jesus of Nazareth also already indicates something else, unlike philosophies, religions do not just offer abstract models of life. They can refer to specific individuals who have already gone that way, what Karl Jaspers calls 'normative people'. so the **normative leading figures** in the world religions are of the utmost significance; Buddha, Jesus of Nazareth, Con-fu-tse, Lao-tse or Muhammad. It makes a crucial difference whether one pontificates to people about a new form of

life in the abstract or whether one can introduce them to such a form of life by means of a compelling concrete model; as followers of Buddha, Jesus Christ, Con-fu-tse, Lao-tse or the Prophet Muhammad. For me as a Christian — to speak quite plainly here — Jesus Christ is and remains the way, the truth and the life (that is as it were my internal perspective), but (and this is at the same time my external perspective) I cannot avoid noting that 'the way, the truth and the life' is for believing Jews the Torah, for Muslims the Qur'an and for other religions someone or something else.

VII. The process of forming an awareness of a world ethic

But is the working out of such an ethic realistic? Is it perhaps just the undertaking of a few Western intellectuals who once again want to 'export' their project? No, the call for a world ethic is not a matter of 'exporting' of a model, an artificial 'globalization' or the 'idea of universality' as opposed to the 'idea of regionality'. Here we have neither a radical universalism which takes no note of the actual plurality in our world, nor a radical relativism, which does not contribute towards the common life of different groups but to what Wolfgang Huber calls a 'relative u niversality', which despite all cultural and religious differences recognizes some principles which transcend culture and religion. Indeed, to be more precise, it is a matter of becoming aware of what culture and religions already have in common: the formation of an awareness and hence a change of awareness in the sphere of ethics of the kind that has come about in, say, ecology

or disarmament.

But is there even the slightest sign that anything is actually happening? I am happy to be able to report the following. At the centenary celebration of the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago at the geginning of September 1993, a 'Declaration to wards a Global Ethic' was presented which I had the honour and the toil of working out; it was accepted by the vast majority of the delegates and in the end ceremonially promulgated. For the first time in the history of world religions this Parliament undertook to formulate a basic consensus over binding values, irrevocable criteria and basic personal attitudes. Granted, such a declaration will not change the world overnight, but it will encourage all those who are already committed to it and put to shame those who tend rather ironically to ridicule, to dismiss or from confessional egoism declare impossible anything that religions may have in common.

The significance of the 'Delcaration towards a Global Ethic' can be illustrate at one point in particular in the context of Islam. For the 'four irrevocable directives' which are elucidated in this declaration include a 'commitment to a culture of non-violence and respect for life'. There was serious discussion of this point during the Parliament. For specifically in view of the desperate situation of the Muslims in Bosma, too little emphasis seemed to be placed here on the right to self-defence (which is also affirmed by the United Nations Charter). However, on closer reading these fears proved to be ungrounded. For the Declaration deliberately took a middle way which was capable of

achieving a consensus; between a 'Realpolitik' of the use of violence to resolve conflicts and an unrealistic unconditional pacifism which — when confronted with devastation, expulsion, violence, death, mass murder unconditionally renounces the use of violence. The right to self-defence to which the Muslims attach importance is thus clearly affirmed both for the individual and the collective. But within the framework of a culture of non-violence it applies only in extremis, when non-violent resistance is meaningless. In the face of bmtality, barbarism and genocide, selfdefence has to be allowed. No further holocaust of any people whatsoever simply be accepted in a pacifist way. On the other hand, no simple formula of legitimation can be offered for military intervention of any kind; no 'just wars' in the service of all too evident economic, political and military interests are to be justified in this way.

Va. Towards a culture of non-violence

This is what the Global Ethic Declaration says about non-violence:

Numberless women and men of all regions and religions strive to lead live not determined by egoism but commitment to their fellow humans and to the world around them. Nevertheless, all over the world we find endless hatred, envy, jealousy and violence, not only between individuals but also between social and ethnic groups, between classes, races, nations, and religions. The use of violence, drug trafficking and organized crime, often equipped with new technical possibilities, has reached global proportions.

Many places are still ruled by terror 'from above', dictators oppress their own people, and institutional violence is widespread. Even in some countries where laws exist to protect individual freedoms, prisoners are tortured, men and women are mutilated, hostages are killed.

- (a) In the great ancient religious and ethical traditions of humankind we find the directive: You shall not kill! Or in positive tenns: Have respect for life! Let us reflect anew on the consequences of this ancient directive: all people have a right to life, safety and the free development of personality in so far as they do not injure the rights of others. No one has the right physically or psychically to torture, injure, much less kill, any other human being. And no people, no state, no race, no religion has the right to hate, to discriminate against, to 'cleanse', to exile, much less to liquidate a 'foreign' minority which is different in behaviour or holds different beliefs.
- (b) Of course, wherever there are humans there will be conflicts. Such conflicts, however, should be resolved without violence within a framework of justice. This is true for states as well as for individuals. Persons who hold political power must work within this framework of a just order and commit themselves to the most non-violent, peaceful solutions possible. And they should work for this within an international order of peace which itself has need of protection and defence against perpetrators of violence. Armament is a mistaken path; disarmament is the commandment of the times. Let no one be deceived; There is no survival for humanity without global peace!

- (c) Young people must learn at home and in school that violence may not be a means of settling differences with others. Only thus can a culture of non-violence be created.
- (d) A human person is infinitely precious and must be unconditionally protected. But likewise the lives of animals and plants which inhabit this planet with us deserve protection, preservation, and care. Limitless exploitation of the natural foundations of life, ruthless destruction of the biosphere, and militarization of the cosmos are all outrages. As human beings we have a special responsibility especially with a view to future generations for Earth and the cosmos, for the air, water, and soil. We are all intertwined together in this cosmos and we are all dependent on each other. Each one of us depends on the welfare of all. Therefore the dominance of humanity over nature and the cosmos must not be encouraged. Instead, we must cultivate living in harmony with nature and the cosmos.
- (e) To be authentically human in the sprint of our great religious and ethical traditions means that in public as well as in private life we must be concerned for and ready to help. We must never be ruthless and brutal. Every people, every race, every religion must show tolerance and respect indeed high appreciation for every other. Minorities need protection and support, whether they be racial, ethnic, or religious.

I am convinced that the new world order will only be a better order if as a result there we have a pluralistic world society characterized by partnership, which encourages peace and is naturefriendly and ecumenical. That is why even now many people are committing themselves on the basis of their religious or human convictions to a common world ethic and are calling all people of good will to contribute to a change of awareness in matters of ethics.

Translated by John Bowden

There is a commentary on the Declaration in: A Global Ethic. The Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions, ed. Hans Küng and Karl-Josef Kuschel, London (SCM Press) — New York (Continuum) 1993. Editions in other languages are available or in preparation.

For further information:

Hans Küng, Global responsibility. In Search of a New World Ethic, London (SCM Press) — New York (Continuum) 1991; id., Judasim, London (SCM Press) — New York (Crossroad) 1992;

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附中译文

世界和平——世界宗教——世界伦理 汉斯·昆·著 王来法 译

现今的绝大多数时事评论家一致认为:1989年的意外事件以后,世界的政治形势从总体上变得更不稳定、更不确定了。从没人想到世界历史的面貌会发生如此迅速的变化:苏维埃制度冰消瓦解,德国重新统一,前东欧集团国家解体,海湾地区爆发战争,前南斯拉夫地区发生内战。也没人能说清楚这一切变化的根子在哪里。不过,有一点似乎是肯定的:1989年苏联式社会主义的瓦解和敌对军事集团的解体——如果我没看错的话——是继1918年一次世界大战结束和1945年二次世界大战结束之后出现的第三次建立新世界秩序的良机。

-、建立新世界秩序的三次良机:1918、1945、1989

第一次良机:1918年。第一次世界大战结束后,在当时的美国总统威尔逊的倡议(1920年)下,成立了"国际联盟"。成立"国际联盟"的意图是最终实现各国对世界事务共同、和平和公正的管理。但是,欧洲和整个世界丧失了这第一次良机,这首先是由于法西斯主义和国家社会主义,其次也由于日本的军国主义,它们

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共同造成了第二次世界大战、大屠杀、瓜拉喀群岛(Gualag Archipelago)和广岛事件。世界混乱取代了世界秩序。

第二次良机,1945年。那时出现了建立这样一种新世界秩序的又一次良机,"联合国"就是为了推动这一目的的实现而建立起来的。但是,这次新的努力也以四分五裂而告终了。世界的分裂取代了世界秩序,结果是,除了肆无忌惮的资本主义之外,又加上了苏式的社会主义。前者尤其在拉丁美洲和非洲造成了不良的后果,后者则从易北河到符拉迪沃斯托克造成了空前的人类奴役和自然掠夺——直至无以为继为止。

第三次良机:1989年。现在我们遇到了建立新世界秩序的第三次良机。我把这种新秩序叫做"后现代"世界秩序。这种"后现代"世界秩序要求在政治上建立民主国家,在经济上建立具有社会和生态双重取向的市场经济体系(切莫把它和资本主义混为一谈,资本主义既不具有社会的取向也不具有生态的取向)。这种新秩序尽管还远远没有阐述得很具体,但是起码从原则上,已经从华盛顿到布鲁塞尔直至莫斯科都得到了肯定。不过,这样一种世界秩序没有一种国家之间的新关系是不会变成现实的。有谁想得到在欧洲会再一次爆发其残酷程度令人难以置信的战争呢?世界的其他地区也远远没有消除战争爆发的可能。一种新的世界无序会不会取代一种新的世界秩序呢?

如果我们睁眼看一看今天的世界,就无法回避目前有三十来 起武装冲突仍在继续这一可怕的事实。联合国已经由于担负着13 项维和使命而不堪重负。目前,联合国有184个成员国(1945年是 51个)。根据非官方的统计,如果非洲也以种族界限划分为国家的 话,那么"主权国家"的数字就会接近450个。但是,如果越来越 小的种族和宗教群体要为自己争取"主权国家"地位的话,那么,不仅仅是非洲,就连从西班牙到俄罗斯的整个欧洲,也会因为分裂而陷于无序状态。未来会比过去更不安全。如果国际社会的基本单位越来越小,人们的心胸越来越狭隘,对于国家分割的追求越来越狂热,那就再没有任何稳定可言了。南斯拉夫的局势是一次警告,德国的罗斯托克、索林根和康斯坦茨一带发生的事件又是一次严重的警告。它们要求我们重新思考为整个世界和整个人类建立更加合理的规则。但是,怎样才能做到这一点呢?

二、没有一种世界伦理就没有新世界秩序

首先让我们以否定的方式来说明:一种新的、更合理的世界 秩序的建立决不能

- 一一单靠外交攻势,这种攻势总是向政府发动而不是向人民发动,并且这种攻势总是元法保障一个地区的和平和稳定;
 - 一单靠人道主义援助,人道主义援助不能代替政治行动;
- —— 主要依靠军事干预,军事干预的结果总是消极的而非积极的;
- 一单靠"国际法",因为"国际法"迄今还是以国家的无限 主权为基础,还是关心国家利益甚于关心民族和个人利益(人 权)的。

然后让我们以肯定的方式来说明,一种新世界秩序的建立最 终只能依靠

- 一更加一致的看法、理想、价值观、目标和标准;
- ——各国人民及其领导人高度的全球责任心;
- ----一种新的对包括各国及各国领导人在内的全人类都有约

束力的、统一的、能够包容一切文化和宗教的伦理。没有一种新世界伦理,就没有新世界秩序。

有人也许会提出反对意见:面对南斯拉夫的战争——那儿信奉东正教的塞尔维亚人、信奉天主教的克罗地亚人和波斯尼亚的穆斯林正在相互进行血腥的屠杀;面对中东地区的紧张局势;面对信奉基督教的亚美尼亚人与信奉伊斯兰教的阿塞拜疆人之间的对峙,印度的印度教徒、穆斯林教徒和锡克教徒之间的对峙,斯里兰卡的佛教教徒僧加罗人与印度教徒泰米尔人之间的冲突;面对北爱尔兰地区天主教徒与新教徒之间悬而未决的冲突,号召建立一种需要宗教作出决定性贡献的世界伦理以捍卫地球的未来,岂不是发疯吗?对于这样一种反对意见,我要反问:这样一种要求还有什么时候比今天更迫切呢?不管怎么说,"世界伦理"不是冠冕堂皇的口号,不是一种会使学者们感兴趣或者能使人获得良好的典礼主持人形象的奢侈品。"世界伦理"产生于过去的痛苦经验、昨日的流血危机,在这些危机中,宗教常常是起了决定作用的。但是危机不只是意味着危险,它还意味着机会。

三、反对单一世界文化或世界宗教

世界政治、世界经济和世界金融体系是决定我们国家和地区命运的主要因素。甚至在瑞士,人们也渐渐地开始意识到,再也不会有什么与世隔绝的国家或地区稳定岛屿了。尽管国家和地区间的利益存在着明显的分歧,然而已经产生了一种如此强有力的政治、经济和金融的世界网络。经济学家们称这种世界网络为世界社会,社会学家们则(在技术、经济和社会的意义上)称其为世界文明。这是一种作为各国各地区共同交往、相互影响领域的世界社

会和世界文明。所有的国家和地区都将直接或间接地参予这种交往并受到影响。

但是这种正在生成的世界社会和技术意义上的世界文明决不同时地意味着一种(精神——艺术构成意义上的)单一的世界文化,甚至也不意味着单一的世界宗教。相反地,世界社会和世界文明包含着文化与宗教的多样性,其中的某些方面甚至还会得到新的强调。希望出现单一的世界宗教只能是一种幻想,害怕出现单一的世界宗教也是荒唐的。在今天的世界上,多种多样的宗教、信条和宗派,多种多样的门派、组织和思潮,依然令人目不暇接,它们构成了地理、历史和文化上的复杂现象,这种复杂现象是永远不可能变成只有一种颜色的。

但是,如果我们不想简化这种多少世纪以来不断加强的极端复杂性,如果我们想采取一种不仅是地区的或国家的而且是世界历史和世界范围(也就是地球)的立场,如果目前的这种复杂性也具体地表现在宗教问题上,而我们也正在宗教问题上寻求新的发展方向,那么,从威尔弗里德·坎特威尔·史密斯所谓"唯一的人类宗教史"观点来看,我们就应该干方百计地保持由今天依然存在并且淹没了非洲、美洲和大洋洲各种自然宗教的高级宗教组成的伟大宗教河流体系。

如果我们看一看今天的世界,从人造卫星上观察一下我们的 星球,那么在今天地球的文化景观中,我们能够分辨出三条伟大 的宗教河流体系及各自超越一切个人、国家和文化的流域分布情 况,每一条河系都有自己独特的起源和形态:

甲.起源于闪族的宗教。它们都有一位先知人物,总是从神与人的比较开始,其主要特征是宗教对抗。这样的宗教有犹太教、基督教和伊斯兰教。

乙. 起源于印度的宗教。它们基本上都有一种神秘色彩,

倾向于联合,主要特征是信仰的内在性。这样的宗教有奥义教、佛教和印度教等早期印度宗教。

两. 具有中国传统的宗教。它们以智慧为标志,主要特征 是和谐。这样的宗教有儒教和道教。

这些伟大的宗教体系要比许许多多的王朝和帝王都更古老、更强大和更持久,几千年来,正是它们造就了我们星球上的文化景观。在不断的变化过程中,不时地会有新的山脉和高原出现在各个大陆上,但是伟大的河流,更加古老,更加强大和更加持久的河流,却能在这不断隆起的地表上不断地刻画出新的图案来。同样地,在我们的文化景观中,新的社会制度、国家和统治家族层出不穷,但是这些伟大的古老宗教河流,却能够在所有这些兴衰过程中,稍事改变就生存下来,并以新的方式塑造文化景观的面貌。光从这一点来看,光从宗教塑造文化的深刻方式来看,谈论甚至试图建立单一的世界文化或世界宗教就只能是妄言臆语。

然而,有些特点是各种宗教共有的。地球上的自然河流体系以及由它们造就的地形虽然差别很大,各个大陆上的河流却有着相似的身影和流动方式,服从同样的法则。在丛山中切割裂缝,在平原上蜿蜒前行、不屈不挠地开辟道路、奔向大海。地球上的宗教河流体系也是一样的。虽然它们彼此大相径庭,但是在许多方面有着相似的轮廓、规律性和效果。尽管所有的宗教彼此之间都有着很多的不同,却都是得救的福音,都要回答相似的人类基本问题,回答爱情和悲哀、犯罪和赎罪、生和死等永恒问题。世界以及它的秩序是从哪里来的?我们为什么会出生又为什么一定要死?是什么决定了每个人和整个人类的命运?道德意识和伦理规范形成的基础是什么?除了对尘世的解释以外,各种宗教还都提供了类似的得效。途径:告诉人们如何摆脱苦难和罪行,教导人们在今生今世做有意义、负责任的事——引导人们走向持久、永恒的得教,消除一

切苦难、罪行和死亡。

所有这些说明,即使那些反对宗教的人(在拙著《上帝是否存在?》里,我全面地考察了所有批评宗教的现代论证)也必须把宗教当作一种基本的社会现实加以严肃认真的看待;而所有的宗教都与生活的有无意义、人类的自由和奴役、民族的平等和压迫、历史和现实中的战争和和平有着不可分割的联系。

四、严肃对待宗教方面的问题

毫无疑问,任何宗教作为一种人类现象都具有两面性,这正如艺术或音乐具有两面性一样,音乐和宗教都曾经并且正在广泛地被误用。从社会学上讲,宗教也是一种权力体系,也有权力的稳定和扩张问题。因此,各种宗教都具有引发冲突的巨大潜能。但是,它们还具有常被人们忽视的导致和平的巨大潜能。确实,宗教会挑起事端,但是它也能平复事端。宗教能发动、挑起和延长战争,但是它也能阻止和缩短战争。

- 一·为法兰西、德意志和意大利之间的和平打下基础的是虔诚的基督徒(和天主教徒): 戴高乐、康拉德·阿登纳、罗伯特·舒曼、阿尔基德·德·伽斯佩里。
- 一一为德国和波兰之间的和平打下基础的是由新教教会(即 德国福音教会)起草的一份备忘录。
- ——波兰、东德、捷克斯洛伐克以及南非和菲律宾发生的和 平革命都已表明宗教也能带来和平。

在这里我想毫不含糊地说,这些危机的纯粹的战略、经济和政治方面决不允许用来掩盖其社会、道德和宗教方面。如今正好有一个来自通常人们称之为南斯拉夫的例子。

稍有历史知识的人都会看到, 东欧地区的现代国界与古老国界相比是苍白无力的,而古老国界是以往根据宗教和信仰划定的, 亚美尼亚和阿塞拜疆、格鲁吉亚和俄罗斯、乌克兰和俄罗斯之间的界线都是这样划定的, 南斯拉夫内部不同民族之间的划分大体也是这样。要想懂得南斯拉夫问题的复杂性,就必须了解千余年来(主要是从东西罗马分裂始), 两种不同的宗教一直在南斯拉夫的中部碰撞。这两种宗教就是塞尔维亚人信奉的东正教和克罗地亚人信奉的天主教。信奉天主教的克罗地亚人与穆斯林的关系要比他们与信奉东正教的基督教同门的关系更加融洽……除此之外,还有一个塞族领土(自从1389年科索沃城之败以后)被土耳其人占领长达500年的问题,这种占领在塞尔维亚人中间产生了认为自己长期忍受痛苦的思想观念,而这种观念常常是(或永远是)与实际情况不相符的。

塞尔维亚人、克罗地亚人和波斯尼亚人(欧洲唯一的本地穆斯林教徒)都是南斯拉夫人。多少世纪以来,塞尔维亚人一直作为近亲民族生活在他们最初招募来抗击土耳其人的克罗地亚人中间。所以,今天这三个民族在曾经叫做南斯拉夫的国土上,尤其是在波斯尼亚境内,是高度混合的。因此,1989年以后,欧洲联盟和美国开始捍卫单一制的南斯拉夫国家的做法是错误的,而后来欧盟、美国尤其是德国走向另一个极端,把整个南斯拉夫分裂为几个民族国家,这一做法也是错误的。正确的办法是从一开始就采取邦联制(把整个国家分成若干个州或别的什么)。当然,现在再来采取这种办法已经太迟了。

在这样一个地区里,如果冲突的宗教方面得不到严肃的对待,还会有什么和平呢?在当前的冲突中,我最同情的是克罗地亚人(不是因为它是天主教民族,而是因为它受到了攻击),其次是穆斯林。但是,一旦想到纳粹保护下的天主教克罗地亚乌斯塔沙国家

(Catholic Croatian Ustasha state) 曾经杀害了几万(有人说是几十万)塞尔维亚人,而当时萨格勒布的大主教斯特皮纳克(Stepinac)或教皇庇护十二世虽然完全了解情况却连屁也不放一个,作为天主教神学家,我还能保持平静吗?当然,说实在的,信奉东正教的塞尔维亚人犯下的罪行也是罄竹难书的。

在四十多年的时间里,两个教会都有充分的时间弄清情况、承认过错、请求饶恕并为政治和平作好准备。世界教会理事会关心世界常常要甚于关心教会。它当然是出于一番好意,在内战过程中把双方的主教召集在一起,尽管泛基督教主义的讨论最后是在非泛基督教主义的谴责声中结束的。确实,不管你现在是和塞尔维亚人还是和克罗地亚人交谈,他都会滔滔不绝地谈论另一方的罪恶而对本方的罪恶只字不提,正和古时的日耳曼人、法兰四人一模一样。塞尔维亚人和克罗地亚人是不是只有在另一场复仇战争之后,才会认识到这种以复仇为核心的思想和政策决不会带来和平而只能带来新的毁灭呢?如果停火最终实现,是不是仍然没有主教或神学家能坐下来以一种互相理解的方式互相交谈呢?自我批评式的回顾是不可避免的。

我的基本问题是:这些教派是否非陷入冲突和纷争不可呢?和平(shalom, salam, eirene, pax)乃是它们计划的主要特征。它们当前的首要任务只能是互相之间缔结和平,只有这样,才能运用新闻媒介提出的下列各种手段。

- --消除误解;
- ---清理痛苦的记忆;
- ~ 一融解陈旧的敌对印象;
- 一一协商解决对社会和个人都有害的冲突;
- ---消除仇恨和破坏心理;
- —— 反思各教之间的共同点。各教的教徒们是否知道虽然大

家在教义上有很大差别却有着共同的精神实质呢?他们一点也不知道。

五、需要在伦理学上达到最起码的意见一致

首先,各教之间的相互理解并不要求教徒们携起手来反对非教徒。罗马天主教会为了使东欧重新天主教化(说得好听一点是为了重新福音化)而发动的十字军东征,结果只是重新打开了古老的战争墓穴,我们没有必要再一次把社会和政治团体区分为拥护教权和反对教权的这样两部分(例如像波兰那样)。恰恰相反,建立世界伦理、环球伦理的计划要求在新的共同基本伦理基础上实现教徒和非教徒的联盟。

其次,宗教在确定标准和个人基本信念的过程中,无疑发挥着特殊的作用并担负着特殊的责任。因此,把所有主要宗教结合在一起的因素需要根据原始资料仔细而具体地加以阐述——对于不同宗教的学者们来说,这是一项重要而愉快的工作,这项工作依然处在起步阶段,但是已经以惊人的速度引起了广泛的兴趣,并且已经产生了初步的结果。

更进一步的问题是:具有完全不同的教义和符号体系的宗教, 在促进一种伦理的过程中,能够做出什么样的贡献,从而使自己 区别于哲学、政治手段、国际组织以及各种慈善事业呢?必须承认, 以往宗教总是把自己的传统绝对化,把神秘的教义和礼规凝固化, 并使自己远离于其他的一切。然而,只要宗教愿意,它们就能以完 全不同于政治家、法学家和哲学家的权威和说服力,提出关于人 类本性的基本原理。

六、良心的最高准则和领袖人物

应该承认,宗教在过去和现在总是习惯于使自己陷入无数的清规戒律、圣典经文之中。然而,只要它们愿意,它们就能经完全不同于任何哲学的权威说明它们的准则不是只适用于个别情况,而是适用于一切情况的。宗教能够给予人们一种良心的最高准则,这种无上的命令对于今天的社会依然是至关重要的,它能够以完全不同的深度、在完全不同的基础上赋予人们以某种义务。因为,所有主要的宗教都要求人们遵守"金科玉律"一类的准则一一这种准则不是一种假设的和有条件的准则,而是一种普遍适用的、必然真实的和无条件的准则一一在个人或团体常常必须置身于其中的极为复杂的环境中完全可行的准则。

这一金科玉律已经为孔子证实:"己所不欲,勿施于人。"(孔子,约公元前551-489年)在犹太教义也可以看到(其否定的形式):"不要对他人做你不想他们对你做的事情。"(拉比·希勒尔,公元前60年一公元10年)最后,还可以在金山宝训中看到(其肯定的形式);"你想人们怎样待你,就得怎样待他们。"

这种金科玉律能够成为反对赤裸裸的功利伦理学的一座坚固堡垒。赤裸裸的功利伦理学其实根本不是什么伦理学,金科玉律没有必要被理解为不顾现实的、纯粹神定的伦理学,但是能够成为"责任伦理学"(马克斯·韦伯和汉斯·乔纳斯所用术语)的核心。责任伦理学总是反思我们的行为可能带来的以及我们所能允许的后果。

引证孔夫子和拿撒勒的耶稣的话还说明了另一个问题:宗教和哲学不同,它们不单是提供抽象的生活模式,它们还能够指出实现了这种生活方式的具体人物,也就是卡尔·雅斯贝斯所说的

"榜样人物"(normative people)。所以,在世界各教中,作为榜样的领袖人物是最最重要的,佛、拿撒勒的耶稣、孔夫子、老子或穆罕默德都是这样。下面这两种做法是有根本区别的:一种是只能抽象地命令人们接受一种新生活方式,另一种是能够借助于有魅力的具体典型来引导人们接受这种新生活形式,使他们成为佛、耶稣基督、孔夫子、老子或先知穆罕穆德的信徒。坦率地讲,对于我这个基督徒来说,耶稣基督就是并且永远是道路、真理和生命(这正是我的内心观点),但是同时我又不得不承认(这是我的公开看法),"道路、真理和生命",对于犹太教徒来说就是旧约圣经,对于穆斯林教徒来说就是古兰经,而对于其他宗教的信徒来说就是别的什么人或东西。

七、形成世界伦理意识的步骤

但是,创立这样一种伦理是不是现实的呢?也许这只是几个总想"输出"其计划的西方知识分子的个人企图吧?不,要求建立一种世界伦理不是什么生活模式的输出、人为的全球化或与"地方性观念"相对立的"普世性观念"的问题。在这里,我们既没有无视现实世界多元性实际的极端普世主义,也没有极端的相对主义,后者不去促进不同群体的共同生活,却去促进沃尔夫冈·休伯所说的"相对的普世性",置所有的文化与宗教差别于不顾,去承认某些超越文化和宗教的所谓原则。准确地讲,建立世界伦理是一个认识文化和宗教已有共同内容的问题,是一种意识的形成,从而也是那种可以说是产生于生态学研究或裁军运动的伦理学领域中的一次观念的转变。

但是,有没有丝毫的迹象表明世界伦理的建立实际上有所进 展呢?我很高兴能够告诉大家:在1993年9月初举行的芝加哥世界 宗教议会成立百年庆典上已经产生了一部《建立环球伦理宣言》。 很荣幸,这部宣言是由我起草的。出席庆典的绝大多数代表都同意 这部宣言,并在庆典结束时庄严地将之公布于世。这个会议在世界 宗教史上第一次担负起使命,在确定价值观、绝对标准和基本态 度问题上形成了基本一致的意见。应该承认,这样一个宣言不会在 一个晚上改变整个世界,但是它将大大鼓舞那些正在为此献身的 人们,并使那些总是以讽刺的态度挖苦、反对或根据信仰利己主 义宣称各教不可能有任何共同之处的人们感到羞耻。

《建立环球伦理宣言》的重要意义在伊斯兰教的情况中尤其可 见一斑。因为这个宣言中阐述的"四条绝对命令"里有一条是"献 身于非暴力和重生命的文化"。会议期间,代表们对这一点进行了 认真的讨论,因为这条命令似乎过于轻视自卫的权利了(自卫权 是联合国宪章也肯定了的)。当人们想到波斯尼亚穆斯林的绝望境 况时,尤其会产生这样的担心。然而,只要人们更加仔细地读一读, 就会发现这些担心是没有根据的。因为宣言巧妙地采用了能够为 各方接受的中性表达方式,既不偏向于用暴力解决冲突的"现实 政策",也不偏向于非现实的无条件绥靖主义。绥靖主义在蹂躏、驱 逐、暴力、死亡和大规模屠杀面前无条件地谴责使用暴力。所以, 穆斯林所重视的自卫权利无论是对个人还是对集体来说都得到了 明确的肯定。但是在非暴力的文化结构里,自卫权利只适用于极端 的情况,只有在非暴力反抗变得毫无意义时才适用。在兽性、野蛮 和种族灭绝面前,是必须允许使用自卫权利的。无论如何,不能以 绥靖主义的方式眼睁睁地再去接受民族大屠杀了; 另一方面,也 决不能为任何一种军事于预提供法律根据,决不能以这种方式把 明显为了谋求经济、政治和军事利益而进行的所谓"正义战争"说 成合理的。

八、走向非暴力文化

关于非暴力问题,《环球伦理宣言》是这样说的:

- "各地各教的无数人们都在争取一种不受利己主义统治而献身于全人类和全世界的生活。然而,我们在全世界看到了无穷无尽的仇恨、妒忌、猜疑和暴力,它们不仅存在于个人之间,而且存在于社会和种族群体之间,阶级、人种、民族和教派之间。常常是运用新技术方法进行的暴力活动、毒品交易和集团犯罪已经充斥了全球。许多地方依然笼罩着"来自上面"的恐怖,独裁者们在压迫自己的百姓,有组织的暴行到处蔓延。即使有某些法律规定保障个人自由的国家里,也是犯人受虐待,人们遭残害,人质被杀死。
- 1. 在人类伟大的古老宗教和伦理传统中,我们看到了这样的命令:勿杀生!或者用肯定的话说:"重生命!"让我们再次反思这些古训的后果:所有的人,只要不去侵犯他人的权利,就都有生活、安全和个性自由发展的权利,谁也无权从肉体或精神上去折磨、伤害他人,更不要说杀害他人。任何民族、国家和人种都没有权利仇恨、歧视、"清洗"、放逐具有不同行为方式或信仰的"异己的"少数人,更不要说消灭他们。
- 2. 当然,只要有人类,就会有冲突,任何地方都是如此。然而,这种冲突应该在公正的前提下以不使用暴力的方式来解决。无论是对个人还是对国家来说,这都是正确的。那些掌权的人们必须在维护公正秩序的前提下从事活动,竭尽全力地争取最非暴力的、最和平的解决途径。他们应该在国际和平秩序范围内为此目的工作,而这种和平秩序本身又需要保护,需要抵御暴力的破坏。扩充军备是一种错误的道路,裁减军备才是时代的召唤。任何人都不要蒙在鼓里,没有全球的和平,人类就不能继续生存。

- 3. 年轻人必须在家庭和学校里懂得暴力不可以用作解决与他人纠纷的手段,只有这样才能造成一种非暴力的文化。
- 4. 人是无限珍贵的,因而必须无条件地受到保护。但是和我们一起生活在这个星球上的植物和动物的生命也应该受到保护、维持和照顾。无限制地掠夺自然生命资源、粗暴地破坏生物圈以及宇宙的军事化,都是野蛮的行为。作为人类,我们对地球和宇宙,对空气、水分和土地有着特殊的责任,当我们考虑到子子孙孙时,就尤其是这样。在这个宇宙当中,我们大家是不可分割地联系在一起的,彼此之间必须互相依赖,每一个部分都依赖于全体的兴旺。因此,人类对自然和宇宙的统治决不应受到鼓励。恰恰相反,我们应该使自己养成与自然和宇宙和谐一致的生活习惯。
- 5. 按照我们伟大的宗教和伦理传统精神,做一个真正的人意味着在私生活和公众生活当中都必须关心他人并随时准备援助他人。我们必须坚决地摒弃无情和残忍。每一个民族、人种和教派都必须显示出对其他一切民族、人种和教派的容忍和尊重一一亦即高度的理解。无论是人种上的、民族上的,还是宗教上的弱小者,都需要保护和扶持。

我相信,如果我们最终拥有的是一个鼓励和平、善待自然和 天下众生的,以合作关系为特征的多元世界社会,那么新的世界 秩序就一定是一种更合理的秩序。正因为如此,即使在今天,依然 有许多人凭着他们的宗教或人生信念献身于建立共同世界伦理的 事业,并号召一切善良的人们努力地去推动伦理观念的转变。

关于《建立全球伦理宣言》的详细评论见 A Global Ethic. The Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions (《环球伦理·世界宗教议会宣言》), ed. Hans Küng and Karl-Josef

Kuschel, London (SCM Press)-New York (Continuum) 1993。 其他文字的版本也已出或将出。

如果要掌握进一步的资料,可参阅:

Hans Küng, Global Responsibility, In search of a New World Ethic (《全球责任·探索新世界伦理》), London (SCM Press) -New York (Continuum) 1991;

同上, Judaism (《犹太教》), London (SCM Press) -New York (Crossroad) 1992;

同上, Christianity. Essence and History (《基督教·本质和历史》), London (SCM Press) -New York (Continuum) 1995;

同上, Islam (《伊斯兰教》), 即将出版。

7

Speaking of God in Post-modern Europe

Bruno Forte

In autumn of 1799 a poet and thinker, Georg Friedrich von Hardenberg, better known under the pseudonym Novalis, wrote an essay entitled Christianity or Europe (Christenheit oder Europa), published first in the edition of the Schriften of 1826. The context, in which the work had been written, was the crisis of the European consciousness connected to the French Revolution and, more precisely, the uneasy transition to the time of Restoration. Novalis intended to sketch a messianic — spiritualistic perspective, to foster a solution of the problems and contradictions produced by Protestantism and by the secularization of the Enlight enment.

The key idea, stressed by Novalis, is the primacy of religion, which alone can reawake Europe and give it security and unity in the midst of the present risks of disgregation; only the order of Christianity, only a reestablished respublica christiana — evoking the Medieval World — could save the old Continent. This process, however, is not conceived as a return to the past, but

as a utopic revolution, oriented to creation of a "new Christianity", that Novalis imagines as the reconstruction of the visible universal Church, without boundaries, embracing all the souls thirsting after the Divine.

The evident limit of the proposal was that Novalis suggested a system as ideological as the one, against which he struggled, the modern "ordre de la raison". To the crisis of his time he simply opposed the climination of history, a utopic return to the past, that was conceived idealistically, but in reality had never existed. That explains why the thesis of Novalis did not constitute more than a suggestion, ready to be exploited by reactionary interpretations.

The "case" represented in Christenheit oder Europa is particularly relevant in understanding a time, like ours, characterized by a crisis of the European consciousness actually not so different from the crisis following 1789: the collapse of the Berlin Wall showed the end of the ideological world, that inspired the system of the opposing political blocks, whose clearest expression was precisely on the European Continent. The disgregation, following this process, demonstrates that the true identification, characterizing the time of European Modernity, was not between Europe and Christianity, but much more between Europe and the ideological paradigm, produced by the Enlightenment. Is the European Continent perhaps not the cradle of both the bourgeois and revolutionary ideologies exported everywhere in the world? Instead of the formula of Novalis, Christianity or Europe, one could thus propose the formula Europe or Ideology, or even Europe

rope or Modernity, in order to understand better the crisis of the European consciousness in our time. It means that the crisis of Europe today is the crisis of ideological reason or more broadly the crisis of the Enlightenment.

The following reflections try to describe the parabola of Modernity and to sketch the task of Christian theology in this parabola, in order to answer the question of how to speak of God in a non-ideological way, in the context of post-modern Europe.

1. The parabola of modernity and the restlessness of the European

consciousness

a) "Adult reason" and the thirst for totality

An emancipated "adult reason" is at once the agent and the aim of modernity; it started with the shift to the subject by Descartes, continued with the various developments of the "Enlightenment", up to and including the mature fruit of the French Revolution and the dryly speculative systems of Hegel. In all this the "order of reason" tends to embrace the whole reality of the history of humanity and of the world. Everything has to be brought back to the norm and the measure of reason, so that the slightest shadow is dispersed and every resistance to the process of emancipation of the spirit is overcome. This speculative equation between "ideal" and "real" mirrors the practical aim of making the human being the only subject of historical development and the jardstick of the world including all its relationships. Sim-

ilarly it represents an ambition for a crystal clear form of thought, where everything is transparent and obvious, without anything remaining outside or any sense of the beyond. In this way "modern thought" posits a thirst for totality, which, by its very constitution, makes it absolute and violent: a world explained conceptually tolerates no resistance, puts up with no interruption, and seeks only to exorcise any search for singularity and any surprise arising from difference.

The highest speculative celebration of the triumph of reason is found in the Hegelian system; this system presents itself as "its own time turned into concept", and hence as the faithful theorizing of the "exit from (underage) minority" by reason and the realizing of the victorious process of the spirit to the point of arriving at a total order of truth transparent to itself. Truth is totality; this, earned and embraced in the "toil of the concept", is the exhaustive answer to the question of meaning, which stems from the painful contradictions of the real. In the vital thrust of this process every contradiction is dissolved, and every division overcome; "What is a contradiction in the kingdom of death is not so in the kingdom of life" (G. W. F. Hegel, Theologische Jugend-shriften).

What in Hegel had been a response to an acute need of historic reconciliation, after the dramatic crisis of the French Revolution and of its aftermath, frequently becomes a seduction of embracing totality within the manifold inheritance of Hegel — a giving in to the lure of absolute knowledge, a presumptuous historic protagonism of adult reason. It is here that one finds the consti-

tutive and dramatic limit of modern ideology, in its many configurations, bourgeois and revolutionary. The legacy of Hegel, as a product of the achieved synthesis of ideas and reality issuing in a system, is the ideology that aims to change the world and life itself starting from the concept. Reality as lived must adapt itself to reality as programmed. "Negative" and "positive" will be brought into a synthesis, transcending them both, by means of a dialectical process merging relationships between history and real situations. Totality, embraced in thought, will not take long to convert itself into totalitarianism, a hard and violent historicity, a revolutionary transformation reaching out to adapt reality, however intransigent or obtuse, to the progressive and enlightened ideal.

b) The "dialectic of Enlightenment" and the loss of meaning

The parabola of modern ideologies only highlights this fright-ening causality; lacking attention to the "real" reality and closed to the new and its surprises, it results at once in a terrible bordom and a high cost of ideological presumption—which in human terms is both social and ecological in its impact. In this way the "dialectic of the Enlightenment" sprang from the obvious and painful consciousness—experienced mostly in Europe—that "the earth fully enlightened gleams under the banner of a triumphant misfortune" (M. Horkheimer. Th. W. Adorno).

This fate of the modern age mingles revolutionary and bourgeois ideologies. If the totalitarianism of the former is brazen and openly repressive and violent, the totalitarianism of the bourgeois is subtle and pervasive, propagated through the "hidden persuaders" of the welfare society, which in their way are no less demanding and imperious than the various "lords" of the revolution. Both cases presuppose a meaning imposed on everything, an ideal justification which exorcises the dramatic price paid; if this great plan is to be accomplished, it must be carried through totally in order to function in its entirety.

The bitter failure shatters both dreams of totality: collective boredom is no less striking than the nausea of someone who has everything; an anxiety about freedom is no less great than the need for justice and for a genuine quality of life. On both sides the future is viewed with the vague hope that it may not be a repetition of the past, and that the meaning promised and distilled from ideology may not come to oppress anew the toil of living. From both East and West the crisis of "adult reason", shows itself as a rejection of a satiated and programmed totality, as the collapse of the horizons of meaning offered by this totality, and as a need for difference, that is new and truly revolutionary in its potentials. All of this seems to break the circle of answers derived from an identity that has been taken for granted until now. The future thus arrives with surprising rashness; it is not something programmed or simply derived from the present, as in the case of ideology, but something darker, more worrying and not easily available to life and to real history. Beyond modernity and its particular parabola, the so-called "post-modern" arrives as unease, intolerance and rejection.

c) The "weak thought"

The crisis of "totality" of the modern spirit has come to show 210

itself mainly in the shape of a "collapse of meaning": whereas enlightened reason had clear and obvious solutions, worked out within the context of an all comprehensive and transparent meaning, the post-modern has rediscovered the dark recalcitrance of life with respect to any ideal "sense". Thus there remain the painful fetters of finitude and of death, the unresolved toil of negativity, and the difference that undermines any facile presumption of having an identity. The outcome is a farewell to security, a reinstatement of death and of nothingness, the abandoning of any basis, in order to voyage towards the unknown, "devoid of meaning", and even finally liberated from the lure of meaning. "Weak thought", "a long goodbye to being and to basics", the "adventure of the difference" taking over from the Bacchic triumph of identity, seem to result in an utter "collapse", in a permanent fall into the void. The loss of meaning. which stems from the crisis of the totalizing answers of modern reason, is carried forward on waves of refusal, so to speak, and is becoming increasingly a loss of the desire even to pose the question of meaning. Thus what is in trouble is not so much the answer, as the very legitimacy of the questioning and even the coherence of the pain from which such questioning is born. If all "col-lapses", will not this pain also fall into nothingness? because what is the point of looking for meaning? why seek any exit? Indifference or disinterest in even posing the question of meaning, rather than the actual lack of a meaning, constitutes the real "mortal illness" that pervades the quite diverse societies of Europe at the end of this millennium.

The future — immersed in all the anxiety and obscurity left by the ashes of ideological prisons — seems in danger of drowning in a new wave of totality. When a "strong" foundation, all-inclusive and reassuring, gives way to an absence of foundations, the result is no less vast and total. If nothingness can pass itself off as simply the reverse side of completeness, as a minus sign placed in front of the bracketing of reality, once again the future loses its obscurity: it will be a continuation of the present, a perpetuation of weakness, a free fall prolonged. Paradoxically the very category of the "future", in connection with which the fail ure of the "strong" reason of modernity has become obvious, reveals the real continuity that links nihilist post-modernism with the world from which it stems and which it so forcefully rejects. "Weak thought" deduces the future from the present in an equally totalitarian manner as "strong thought" identifies the real and the ideal. It is incapable of any wonder or of any welcome for the new, and at least insofar as it remains incapable of it, it shows the totalizing presumption of ideological reason.

The new and non-deducible traits of future call then for a different kind of thinking, not negligent, able to leave behind the prisons of ideology, but also alert enough not to fall into the trap of its own reversal. To open oneself up to such thinking involves relying on the authentic differentness and newness of the future, and hence measuring it against the ultimate, without deducing it from the penultimate. Eschatology, in so far it is precisely the doctrine of things both last ("eschata") and new ("novissima"), the "memoria futuri", grounded in faith in the promise of God

reveals here its surprising actuality and critical reserve, in the face of the shoals of modernity and of its nihilist tendencies. This horizon of eschatology involves "new" thinking because it dares to think through the "new", and to open itself completely to its surprises.

2. Searching for lost meaning: Theological criticism and the crisis of ideological worlds.

a) The criticism in the name of the absolute primacy of God: Karl Barth and the "Deus dixit"

If theology is the "new thinking", capable of embracing the non-programmed and non-deducible newness of the future, it is no surprise that the key turning point in the overcoming of "modern reason" should spring from theological reflection. The doctrine of the last things, which had become an innocuous closing chapter in Christian dogmatics, comes alive with fresh actuality and unexpected interest in the theology of twentieth-century Europe: (Whereas for nineteenth-century liberalism the saying of Troeltsch could apply: "The eschatological office is closed from now on", from the beginning of this century, on the other hand, it has worked overtime » (H. Urs von Balthasar). The question of the future is giving new vigour to all aspects of thought and is inviting it to tackle what is new and emerging in Christian hope. Thus people discover anew that "the eschatological element is not one of the components of Christianity, but in an absolute sense the high road of Christian Faith; it is the note through which everything else finds itself in tune, the dawn of awaiting a new day which colours everything with its light" (J. Moltmann). Hand in hand with the rediscovery of eschatology goes a recovery of the question of meaning and of possible responses to it, in a way that goes beyond the modern crisis and the nihilist abyss of post-modernism. This renewed appearance of ultimate horizons thus links up with the search for lost meaning.

Karl Barth must be credited with having rediscovered the eschatological content of Christian faith in all its irreducible objectivity; against the presumptions of the liberal universe, unmasked by the crisis of historical time, his commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans, in its second edition (1922), carries a cry of accusation, at once violent and liberating. The ultimate source of the absolute primacy of the eschatological element— against the totalizing presumptions of ideological reason—lies in the tran scendence of God, in his being as pure Object, non-reducible to the limits of the subject. Christianity is completely and in every dimension eschatological, insofar as it has to do in every way with the ungraspable sovereignty and transcendence of the God of revelation, who communicates himself to humanity under the form of promise and of hope, not as some object to be known.

b) The criticism in the name of existence: Rudolf Bultmann and the theology of decision

Barth, however, does not subtract from the radicalism of rejection: the dialectical confrontation with liberal thought leads him to dony any coherence between the human or worldly and the

God-who-comes. And because of this Rudolf Bultmann, who had at first been on his side as part of the front of anti-liberal "dialectical theology", reacted and distanced himself, in order to recoveridignity for the human subject, not in enmity to but rather in relationship with the offer of the eschatological gift of God. The eschatological moment for Bultmann is where the Godwho-comes encounters each person, in all the concreteness and the distinction of his or her uniqueness. The determining trait of this moment — "the moment of decision" — lies in the fact that nobody can make a decision on behalf of anyone else, nor can anyone programme or deduce his or her own time: "Just as I have to live my life, so much I die my death" (R. Bultmann). Here lies, moreover, the fascination and the drama of ideological presumptions, of total visions of the world: "It is easy to grasp why ideologies (Weltanschauungen) are so cherished by man... often they are very useful to him; they enable him to be freed from himself, they dispense him from the problems posed by his concrete existence, from the care and responsibilities connected with it ... in this way, just when his existence is shaken and becomes problematic, he finds a way of liberating himself from all that, and instead of tackling the issue head-on, prefers to understand it reductively as a case of familiar generality, to fit it into a context, to objectify it so as to evade his own personal existence" (R. Bultmann).

c) The theology of hope and the future of the world
In contrast with the "violent historicity" of "strong" thought
in modern reason, the rediscovery of Christian eschatology —

above all the form of the theology of hope — sets up an "open historicity", which holds the human present and the divine future in an essentially asymmetrical relationship; it forgets neither the otherness on God's part nor the "novum" which his promise opens out for history. Far from supposing the identity of the real and the ideal, consciousness of the "eschaton" keeps the subject open to the permanent beyondness of the pure Object, and hence to he newness of the furture of the living God, not deducible from any premise, but radically the outcome of his freedom. This future remains indeterminded in its beyondness; it is attained only in the form of "promise" and of journey towards, not by any realized anticipation or "prolepsis". It is not the cor inquietum that invents or produces the tomorrow, but rather according to Christian faith, the resurrection of Christ makes the heart restless, liberating it even now from false securities and provoking a commitment to the liberation of the world, drawing into the human present somthing of the future promise of God. The "already" is marked with the "not yet" which comes to make its home in the now. The meaning which the theology of hope offers to restless humanity is not a tranquillizing certitude nor an illusory possession, but challenge and trust, struggle and contemplation, watchfulness and serene waiting, which even now alter the present tense of mankind.

3. "In finibus Europae": post-modern time and Christian theology

a) Theology as critical guardian of historical praxis

From the rediscovery of eschatology flow some important consequences that influence the understanding of the current critique of faith as well as the dialogue of faith in advanced society with various cultural expressions that have known the parabola of modernity. Conscious attention to ultimate horizons requires that faith, theology and Church are able to live with the tensions involved in "penultimate" time: these include that between the "already" of the first coming of Christ and the "not yet" of his return. A "realized eschatology" today runs the risk of falsifying the tension between the "already" and the "not yet", making Christian faith into an illusory "ecstasy of fulfilment". If the present is "the hour of harvest of past history", the dramatic nature of intermediate time disappears, and the future ends up emptied of any energy of potential newness. The tension between "alrady" and "not yet" has a vital importance for Christian praxis in the complex societies of socalled "post-modernity". All this entails for the Church a need to become a conscious and critical guardian of historical praxis, in the name of the permanent transcendence of the Kingdom which is to come (an eschatological reserve). Far from being sucked in as a function of the now, the Christian community is called to vigilance, to a costly commitment to solidarity, to denunciation and to proclamation in the name of a greater hope. The inculturation of faith, interpreted as the witness of the "eschaton" in the complexity of human cultures, asks of the community of believers a praxis of prophetic freedom, rooted in concrete commitment, and being at the same

time a critical leaven and a permanent reminder of the beyond and of the newness of the living God.

b) A new language of faith

What seems to be asked of faith and of Christian theology is neither the projection of human desires, present or past, nor some reconstruction in fantasy of an unattainable future, but obedience to the Word and to the Silence of the divin self-communication, in order to produce a language of faith capable of speaking with relevance to post-modern cultures. In searching for this language, the believing community will unite metaphor and symbol with the concretely existential and with doxology. By means of a metaphoric and symbolic language faith will strive to express for the cultures of advanced societies the ineffable of the future of God, while respecting what remains essentially inexpressible. It will evoke the final coming, starting from the first coming of the Word made flesh, without presuming to exhaust it or grasp it completely. By means of a language that is existential, concrete, descriptive and self-involving, eschatological faith will strive to express the present condition of mankind and of the world, into which the ultimate horizon brings at the same time light and unease, hope and conflict. Finally, by means of a lived and celebrated language of faith, in particular through forms of prayer and praise, the Christian word will try to link together the encounter between human condition (exodus) and God's revelation (advent) which is celebrated again and again in hope. In this light, eschatological thought cannot but build itself up as solidarity in the actual living of the Church, as well as in a conscious responsability towards the past, the present and the future of the people of God.

c) Death and the question of meaning

The rediscovery of the eschatological aspects of faith will also lead to a rediscovery of the theme of death, inevitably linked to the question of meaning, which re emerges from the ashes of ideological presumption and from the not less total negation involved in post-modernist nihilism. If the optimism of emancipated reason had exorcized death, relegating it to the status of a merely negative moment in the overall process of the spirit, the pessimism of the "long farewell" of the modern enlarged the embrace of death to everything and to every moment of life, understood as a permanent call into the void, and thus served to marginalize even more the dramatic nature of dying. The claim that death is nothing or else the idea that everything is a continual dying turn out to be two complementary ways of avoiding the basic question that death poses to life; thus death is denied, evaded, suppressed. This "decline of death" is summed up in the figure of "death overturned", of the death of death, of death thus expelled from the flow of live which does not tolerate interruptions and silences.

The return of the question of meaning and of the theme of eschatology, over and above these "philosophies without death", entails a courageous move to "restore death". For Christian fatih this "return to death" is the spur to come back also to that death, where in a unique way the death of death is consummated—the death of the Son of God in the darkness of Good Friday and

his rising into life. In the infinitely painful event of the "death of God" the meaning of human living and dying is revealed and promised. In that event, read in the widest horizon of the history of salvation as the story of the covenant between God and the world, the eyes of faith search for meaning; what is seen is not only life as a road of responsability in learning to die, but also death as a "dies natalis", the supreme and mysterious act of being born into that life which lies beyond death.

d) A new dialogue between philosophy and theology

And here — at the foot of the Crucified and with the disturbing question of the silence of his death - opens a new space of possibility for a dialogue between philosophy and theology beyond the collapse of meaning brought about by the crises within the ideological worlds of modernity. Insofar as it involves a critical theory of real history, philosophy can betray itself and become mere commentary on the present moment, and hence an ideological justification of the now; this will happen unless it allows itself to be challenged by the encounter with irreducible Otherness, with an ungraspable newness of Difference, never reducible to Identity. It is not enough, then, that philosophy be a responsible exercise of memory, nor simply a critical consciousness accompanying the present; philosophy cannot abdicate that questioning about the beginning and the end which stems from what is deepest in present pain. It is the "cross of history" that brings to birth the question of its meaning; the ruptures and the falls, the renewals and the new initiatives raise an unavoidable question about the possible meaning of all this. They stimulate a

quest for a kind of connection that might unify all the fragmentation of the works and days of mankind, and might nourish this desire with a goal that would make all the burden of living in some way worthwhile.

"In the last analysis the interpretation of history is an attempt to understand the meaning of human action and suffering" (K. Löwith). For Christian faith the silence of Good Friday is the place where God's Advent, with all the non-graspable newness that marks it, has met the exodus of the human condition, with the depth and weight of its contradictions and of its incompletion, which are included in the "verbum abbreviatum" of human finitude: death itself. The same question about the "cross of history" has been a crucial motivation for modern "philosphies of history", whose parabola of triumph and decadence has reawakened with new actuality the scandal of the Cross of the Son of God as a unique potential meaning for the "cross of time" and so as the basis and central content of a vision of the world and of life that can give meaning and hope to history.

When the violence imposed by ideology on reality has run up against the tough resistance of the real itself, it has become obvious that it is not enough to change the world and life on the level of thought in order then to produce effective change in the concrete world of so much complexity. The crisis within the ideologies of historical progress is a crisis of a closed totality. It is the breakdown of a horizon that wanted to impose itself as ultimate, and which — preisely in the fragility and in the incompletion of all it was able to contain and produce — has been shown up as

plainly "penultimate". Beyond everything that the philosophy of history wanted to embrace and include, an unknown and strange country presents itself, a region of "otherness", a nondeducible being, a Homeland glimpsed but not possessed.

"Christianity today", wrote the Italian philosopher Luigi Pareyson who died recently, "is not something before which one can remain indifferent. One has to choose for or against. There is no middle way: any intermediate position has been swept away by the crises of modern culture. In its fall modern culture has split in two, and philosophy, as its critical conscience, has viewed these two aspects as alternatives. The question is therefore philosophical, in the strongest sense of the word; hence it is unavoidable, and the resulting dilemma is imperative. It is useless to object that it deals with a question that goes beyond philosophy and is exclusively religious, and hence intimate, private, and of interest only to a certain type of person. As a philosophical question, arising from the critical consciousness of a definite historical situation, it interests everyone; faced with the ruins of modern culture the problem of a new culture arises, of a new world to be built, in which we all have to live (de re nostra agitur), and it is at this point that the choice for or against Christianity becomes decisive. Not less than a question, philosophy is also a decision; it is philosophy which gives shape to the dilemma; it is philosophy that poses the either/or, thus compelling towards an option. There is no getting away it: il faut choisir".

附中译文

在后现代欧洲语境中言谈上帝 B. 福特 著 汪建达 译

1799年秋,诗人兼思想家乔治·弗里德里希·冯·哈登贝格写了《基督教或欧洲》一文,第一次发表在1826年版的论文集上(其笔名诺瓦利斯更为人所知)。写该文章的语境是与法国大革命有关的欧洲意识的危机,更确切地说,有关的是向复辟时期的不安的过渡。诺瓦利斯意在构画一幅弥赛亚式的、灵性的图境,促进由新教和启蒙运动的世俗化所带来的问题和冲突的解决。

诺瓦利斯所强调的关键观念是宗教的首要性,仅此一点就能使欧洲再度觉醒,给处在分裂危险中的欧洲以安全和统一:只有基督教的秩序,只有重新建立的基督教共和国——后一点让人回忆起中世纪——才能拯救旧大陆。不过这一过程不是要回归到过去,而是一场乌托邦式的革命,旨在建立"新型基督教",诺瓦利斯把它想象成重新建立没有界限的可见的普世教会,接纳所有渴望追求神圣的灵魂。

这建议有明显局限:诺瓦利斯提议的一套同他竭力反对的现代"理性秩序"同属意识形态。针对当时的危机,他只是反对忽略历史,主张乌托邦式地回归到过去,他这样做太理想化了,在现实中从来就不存在。这就说明为何诺瓦利斯的论文只能是一条建议,而且容易为保守的解释所利用。

《基督教或欧洲》描述的情况与理解一个同我们现在相似的时

代尤其相关,这样一个时代的特征是欧洲意识出现了危机,它与法国大革命后产生的危机并没有什么区别。柏林墙的倒塌表明意识形态世界的终结(意识形态世界曾产生对立的政治集团,这在欧洲大陆有着非常清晰的体现)。这一进程之后的分裂表明,已成为欧洲现代性的时代特征的真正区别,不在欧洲或基督教之间,而更多地在欧洲和启蒙运动带来的意识形态的范式之间。难道欧洲可能不是已传遍世界的资产阶级和革命意识形态的摇篮吗?因此人们提议用"欧洲或意识形态",甚至用"欧洲或现代性"这个公式取代诺瓦利斯的"基督教或欧洲",以便更好地理解我们时代的欧洲意识的危机。这意味着今日的欧洲之危机是意识形态的理性之危机,更广地说,是启蒙运动的危机。

下面的反思试图描述现代性的轨迹,并在此轨迹中勾画基督 教神学的任务,从而回答如何在后现代欧洲语境中,以非意识形 态的方式谈论上帝。

一、现代性的轨迹和欧洲意识的不安

1. "成年人的理性"和对总体性的渴望

解放了的"成年人的理性"既是现代性的动因,又是其目标。它始于笛卡尔的"回归主体",在"启蒙运动"中得到不同的发展,是后成熟于法国革命和黑格尔的枯燥的演绎体系之中。在所有这一切中,"理性秩序"倾向于包容所有人类和世界的历史,所有一切都要回到理性的规范和尺度上来,以便去除任何阴影,克服任何对精神解放的抵制。这种在"理想"和"现实"之间的演绎方程式反映了一种现实的目标,意在把人变成历史发展的唯一主体以及世界和各种关系的尺度。同样,它代表一种野心,希望思想有如

水晶般清澈,在那里任何东西都是明白无误的,没有任何东西处于局外,也没有任何超越的意义。"现代思想"以这种方式设定了对总体性的渴求,通过它的建构,这种思想变得绝对和激烈。这个用概念解释的世界容忍不了任何抵制,也受不了任何打断,它一味企图去驱除任何对独特性的追求和任何由差异引发的惊奇。

在黑格尔的体系中,思辨理性达到了巅峰。这个体系是这样表述自身的:"自己的时代转化成了概念",因此是借助理性对"未成熟的少年的出路"作出忠实的理论概括,是精神胜利过程的实现,这过程要达到自身透明的真理之总体秩序。真理即总体性,这看法从"概念的劳苦"中获得,又为其所接受,是对源于现实的痛苦之矛盾的意义问题的详尽回答。在这一过程充满活力的推进中,一切矛盾消解了,任何分裂都被克服。"在死亡王国所谓的矛盾,在生命王国中就不是矛盾了。"(黑格尔)

在法国大革命及其后的剧烈危机之后,黑格尔对源于历史性和解的迫切需要的回应,不时诱惑他把总体性包容在他的多重遗产之中——亦即屈服于绝对知识的引诱,或者说屈服于专横的成熟理性的历史权威。正是在这里,人们发现了现代意识形态(它有许多结构形式,有资产阶级的、革命的)所固有的引人注目的局限。作为已完成的在体系中的观念和现实事件的综合的产物,黑格尔的遗产是意识形态,意在从概念开始改变世界和生活本身。既成的现实必须使其自身适应规范化的现实。"正""反"凭借消融历史和现实的辩证过程,超越自身变成了"合"。包含在思想内的总体性不久就变成严酷的极权主义,亦即修剪现实,使之适合进步和启蒙理想的革命性转变,而不管现实与理念是格格不入的,或是毫不相干的。

2. "启蒙运动的辩证法"和意义的沦丧

现代意识形态的轨道只突出骇人的因果性,由于缺乏对"真正"现实的关注,遮蔽其新奇惊人之处,导致意识形态前提的可怕的厌烦和巨额的代价。对人来说,它在社会和生态两方面都有影响。这样,欧洲人差不多都经验到的"启蒙的辩证法"是从这样显然和痛苦的意识中起源的,即"完全文明的世界在耀武扬威的不幸统治之下闪光"(霍克海默尔,阿尔多诺)。

现时代的命运同革命的和资产阶级的意识形态交织在一起。假如前者的独裁主义是厚颜无耻、光天化日下的压迫和暴力,那么资产阶级意识形态的独裁主义,经由福利社会的"隐蔽的劝说者"的宣传,则更微妙和无孔不人,而这宣传方式的贪婪和傲慢一点也不比革命的"老爷"逊色。这两种情况都假设一种凌驾万物之上的意义,一种清除所付的巨额代价的理想化理由。假如要完成这个庞大的计划,它就必须总体去实行,以便作为整体发挥作用。

苦涩的失败粉碎了这两种总体性的美梦,集体的厌烦同拥有一切的某些人的恶心一样引入注目;对自由的焦虑和对公正和真正生活质量的需求一样强烈。双方都怀着模糊的希望,把未来看成可能不是历史的重演,意识形态许诺和残留的意义可能不会重新来压抑生活的磨难。东西方"成年人的理性"的危机表明它自身是对让人厌烦的和程序式的总体性的拒斥,是总体性所提供的意义域的崩溃,也是对差异性的渴求,这是在其潜能中新的和真正的革命。所有这些看来打破了来自至今还被认为是理所当然的同一性的答案系列,因此未来横冲直撞地到来了:它不像在意识形态中那样,是有秩序的或仅仅是从当今起源,而是某种更晦暗、更让人担忧的东西,不能轻易为生活和真正的历史所利用。超越现代性及其特殊的轨迹,即所谓"后现代",作为不安、挑剔和拒斥降

3. "弱性思想"

现代精神的"总体性"之危机主要以"意义之崩溃"的形式 体现自身。在一切文明的理性有了清晰显然的结论的地方,(这些 结论都是在一个广泛透明的意义语境中得出的。) 关于任何理想 "意义", 后现代总能再次发现生活的隐蔽反抗。因此, 那里依然存 在着有限性和死亡的束缚,否定性的不可解决的折磨,还有清除 任何无意义的假定同一性的差异性。结果是摒弃安全,重新恢复死 亡和虚无的地位,放弃任何基础,以便航向未知和"意义之缺 乏",最终从意义的诱惑中解脱出来。"弱性思想"、"对'存在'和 '基础'的长久摒弃"和"差异性的冒险"取代了同一性的酒神式 的胜利,似乎导致了完全的"崩溃",陷入了永久的虚无。意义之 沦丧起源于现代理性的总体回答的危机,又由于受拒绝的浪潮的 推进,逐渐变得甚至连提出意义的欲望也消失了。因此处在麻烦中 的与其是答案,还不如说是问题的合法性,甚至是问题由之起源 的痛苦的连贯性。假如所有的都"崩溃"了,这痛苦难道不也跌入 虚无之中?因为追寻意义有什么意义呢?为何要寻找出路?在这世 纪末,遍布形态各异的欧洲社会的真正"致命疾病",与其说是意 义的真正缺乏,还不如说是对提出意义的无动于衷或漠不关心。

未来一度陷入所有由意识形态的牢笼残余留下的焦虑和灰暗中,看起来又有为总体性的新浪潮所淹没的危险。当包罗万象、使人信服的"坚实基础"为基础的缺乏所代替时,结局依然是庞大的、总体性的。假如虚无本身能够像圆满的反面,像加在实在括号前的负号那样被忽视的话,那未来将又一次丧失它的灰暗性,它将是持续的现在、水恒的虚弱和延长的自由降落。悖论式的是,"未来"这范畴揭示了虚无的后现代同那个世界的真正的连贯性,

后现代本身起源于那个世界,并且强烈拒斥它。与此范畴相关,现代性的强硬"理性"的失败是显而易见的。就像"强性思想"将现实等同于理想,"弱性思想"则以专横的方式从现在演绎出未来。它不能带来新的奇迹,也不会欢迎新的东西,至少当它处在这种无能状态时,它体现了意识形态理性的总体性质设。

未来新的不可推演的特征要求一种不同的思想,它不是随意挑一种,而是选那种能够抛弃意识形态的束缚,又有足够的警醒,不至于陷入自己对手的圈套。要自身对这样的思想开放,依赖本身的差异和未来的新颖之处,因此它以终极为尺度,而不是从次终极那里演绎出来。面对现代性的危机和它的虚无主义倾向时,只要末世论以对上帝诈诺的信仰为基础,是关于最末(eschata)和最新(novissima)事物的教义,是未来的回忆,那它就显示了惊人的现实性,是批评的后备军。这末世论的视域包括了"新"思想,因为它敢于通过"新"而思考,而且其自身对新的惊奇完全开放。

二、探寻意义的沦丧:神学的批评和 意识形态世界的危机

1. 以上帝绝对首要性的名义的批评:卡尔·巴特和"Deux dix-it"

假如神学是一种"新的思想",能够包括未来的不可程序化和不可演绎的新颖之处,那么克服"现代理性"的关键转折点该从神学的反思开始就不足为奇了。随着新的事实和意想不到的兴趣,这些有关最终事物的教义(它曾是基督教教义学无关大局的最后一章)在20世纪的欧洲神学中复兴了:"特洛尔奇的说法'从如今起求世论的使命已经终结',可以适用于19世纪的自由主义,可是从这个世纪初以来,末世论却又加班加点地发挥作用。"(H·U·巴

尔塔萨)对未来的追问是从各个方面给思想以新的活力,邀它接触新事物,并溶入到基督徒的希望之中。因此人们重新发现,"末世性因素并不是基督教组成部分之一,从绝对意义上讲是基督教信仰的最高之路。它是曲调,其他万物通过它发现自身的和谐,它是人们期盼的为万物增色的新的一天的黎明之晨曦。"(R·布尔特曼)同末世论的再发现一起,以超越现代性的危机和后现代虚无主义之深渊的方式,恢复了对意义的追问以及可能的回应。因此,这最终视域的重现同对失落的意义的探寻联了起来。

在基督教信仰所有不能还原的客体性中重新发现其末世性的内容,这应归功于卡尔·巴特:他不受历史时代的危机的蒙蔽,反对自由主义世界观的前提,他对保罗《罗马书》的评论(1922,第二版)带有控诉的叫喊,剧烈且具有解放作用。同意识形态理性的总体前提相对应,末世性因素的绝对首要性的最终根源在于上帝的超越性,他是作为纯粹客体而存在,不可还原到主体的有限性上。就基督教以各种形式同启示的上帝的不可提摸的权柄和超验性打交道,上帝以许诺和希望的形式同人交流,而不是作为需要认识的什么客体来说,基督教从各个维度都是末世性的。

2. 以生存名义的批评: R·布尔特曼和决断神学

和自由主义思想的辩证性对抗,导致卡尔·巴特否定人或世俗世界与来临的上帝之间的任何连贯性,虽然这结论并非从拒斥的激进主义那里得出。由于这一点,起先是反自由"辩证神学"的先锋布尔特曼,从那个阵营疏离蜕变出来,为了在与上帝的末世性恩赐的贡奉相联系而不是相敌对中,重新恢复人类主体的尊严。对布尔特曼而言,末世性时刻是指将来临的上帝与独特个体的所有具体性和差异性相遇。这一时刻——"决断时刻"——的决定性特征在于事实上没有入能代表他人作出决断,也没有人能够延长或

推迟这个时刻,"就像我必须在自身的生命中生活,那我亦必须死于自己的死亡。"(布尔特曼)此外,这决定性特征更在于意识形态前提和世界总体图景的狂热和戏剧性。"为什么人类如此珍惜意识形态?这是容易理解的……这对他太有用了,意识形态能够使人从自身解放出来,为他免除他的具体生存以及与此有关的担忧和责任……当他发现自己的生存已经动摇并成问题时,他找出能使自己摆脱这一切的出路,就是更喜欢把它还原地理解为熟悉的普通状况的一个事例,把它放到某个语境中,把它客观化以便消除他自身的个体生存,而不是直面这一切。"(布尔特曼)

3. 希望神学和世界的未来

与现代理性的"强性"思想的"剧烈的历史性"相比,基督 教末世论的再发现 (尤其是希望神学), 建立了 "开放的历史性", 它将在本质不对称的关系中支撑人类的现状和未来的神圣,它既 没有忘记上帝方面的异质性,也没有忘记他所许诺的对历史开放 的"新的东西"。"末世"意识不设想现实与理想的同一性,它让 主体对纯粹客体的永恒超越性保持开放,因此对主体而言,活生 生的上帝的未来之新奇不能从任何前提中演绎出**来**,而完全是他 的自由之结果。未来在他的超越性中处于未决状态:它只能以"许 诺"和向什么漫游的形式得到,而不是通过实现了的预言或预测 描述来得到。它不是发明或产生明天的不安之心,但根据基督教信 仰, 基督的复活使人心变得警醒, 把它从虚假的安全中解放出来, 激发他们为世界的自由而献身,把上帝许诺的未来带到人们的现 状中来。在现在中安家的"未来"表明了"过去"。希望神学提供给 警觉的人类的意义既不是使人镇静的必然性,也不是虚幻的财富, 而是挑战和信任,奋斗和冥思,警醒和安详等等,这即使在现在, 也能改变人类的现状。

三、"In finibus Europae": 后现代和基督教神学

1. 神学,作为历史实践的批评卫士

未世论的再发现产生了··些重要后果,不仅影响着当今对信 仰的批评的理解,也影响着先进国家内的信仰同认知现代性轨迹 的各种文化表述之间的对话。关注最终视域的意识需要这样的信 仰: 神学和教会能够在"倒数第二个"时代的张力间存在。这包括 处在基督第一次降临的"过去"和他将复归的"未来"之间。如今, "实现了的未世论"有冒使"过去"和"将来"的张力消失的危险。 把基督信仰变成虑幻的"圆满之狂喜"。假如现在是"过夫历史的 收获时节",那么中间阶段的剧烈本性就消失了,未来以耗尽潜在 新奇的所有能量而告终。在如此复杂的后现代社会中,"过去"和 "将来"的张力对基督教实践有生死攸关的重要性。所有这些,需 要教会以将来临的国度(一块末世性的保留地)的永恒超越性的 名义,成为历史实践有意识的批评卫士。决不作为现状的活动受到 蒙骗,基督教团契受到号召要保持警觉,要为献身于孤独付出代 价,凭借更大的希望替人民控诉和宣告。信仰的本土化(在人类文 化的复杂性中为"末世"作见证)要求信仰团体为预示的自由实 践,扎根于具体的献身工作,同时成为活生生上帝的超越性和新 颖性的批评的发酵剂和永恒的提醒者。

2. 信仰的新语言

为了产生能够同后现代文化相联系而言说的信仰语言,信仰 和基督教神学需要的似乎既不是现在也不是过去的人类欲望,也 不是在达不到的未来幻想中的一些重建,而是对道和神圣的自我 交流之沉默的服从。为了寻找这种语言,信仰团体把隐喻和象征同具体的生存和荣耀联结起来。凭借隐喻和象征的语言,信仰将努力向先进国家的文化表达妙不可言的上帝之未来,同时尊重本质上不可表达的那部分。这将激起最终的降临,而这降临开始于第一次道成肉身,没有假定是已经穷尽了它或完全掌握了它。借助生存的、具体的、描述的和自我投入的语言,末世性信仰竭力去表达人类和世界的现状,在那里最终的视域同时带来光明和不安,希望和冲突。最后,凭借活生生的杰出的信仰语言,特别是以祈祷和颂扬的形式,基督教的话语将努力把人类的现状和神的启示的相遇联结起来。神的启示在希望中一次又一次得到庆贺。在这光明之中,末世论思想必须把教会自身组建成一体,在教会的现实中,在对过去、现在和未来的上帝子民的有意识的责任中体现这种一体性。

3. 死亡和意义问题

信仰的末世性一面的再发现也将导致死亡的主题的再发现,这必然与意义问题联系在一起,而这问题在意识形态前提的残余中,也同样在与后现代的虚无主义相关联的总体否定中再度出现。假如说自由理性的乐观主义取消了死亡,把它贬低为仅仅是精神的总体过程的一否定阶段,那现代与死亡"长久告别"的悲观主义则把死亡同生活中每一事物及阶段联在一块,把它理解成是进人虚空的永恒召唤,因此被用于排斥死亡的戏剧特征。声称死亡即虚无或认为万事万物都处在持续的死亡中的观念,被证明是逃避由死亡强加给生活的基本问题的两种互补方式,因此死亡被否定、取消和压制。这"死亡之沦丧"的最终形象是:"死亡被克服",死亡的死亡,死亡从那种不能容忍任何间断和沉默之流中清除了出去。

超乎"没有死亡的哲学"之上,对意义问题和末世论主题的回归导致勇敢地走向"恢复死亡"。对基督教信仰而言,这"回归死亡"激发人们回归到那个死亡,在那里,死亡的死亡以独一无二的方式圆满完成了——人子在受难目的黑暗的死亡和他的复活。在"上帝之死"的无限痛苦的事件中,活人和死人的意义得到了揭示和许诺。在拯救历史的最广泛的视域之中,那个事件被当作人与世界立约的故事,在那个事件中,信仰之眼探寻意义,其所看到的是不仅要把生活当作一条有责任学习死亡的道路,而且把死亡看作是"出生之日",是要获得那超越死亡的生命的无上和神秘的行动。

4. 哲学和神学间的新对话

这里——在受难耶稣的脚下,连带关于他死亡的沉默这令人不安的问题——为哲学和神学间的对话开辟了新的空间,这对话超越了现代性的意识形态之内的危机所带来的意义的崩溃,只要它涉及对真实历史的批判性理论,哲学是能够出卖自身,变成仅仅是对现阶段的评注,因此成了现状的意识形态上的正当理由。除非哲学能够在同不可还原的他者,同决不可还原到同一性的差异性之不可把握的新奇相遇中接受挑战,上述这一切才确实会发生。哲学作为记忆的尽责的运作,或作为陪衬现状的意识形态是远远不够的,它不能放弃对从现在最深的痛苦中源起的开端和终结的追问。是"历史的十字架"带来痛苦之意义的问题:断裂或堕落,复兴和新的开端提出不可回避的问题,即关于所有这一切的可能意义。它们激发对某种联系的探索,这联系可能将人类生活和工作的所有片断统一起来,可能培养这样一种愿望,意在使所有生活的重负在某种程度上是有价值的。

"分析到最后,对历史的解释是力图理解人类活动和苦难的意

义。"(K·洛维升)对基督教信仰而言,在耶稣受难目的沉默那里,上帝带着不可把握的新奇降临了。这沉默带着其所有的矛盾和不完善的深度和分量,(这些都包含在对人类有限性的简要说明中:死亡本身)与人类境况的大规模变迁相遇。关于"历史的十字架"的同样问题成了"历史哲学"的关键动力,由于新的事实,即上帝之子十字架上的耻辱成了"时代的十字架"唯一可能的意义,成了世界图景和给历史以有意义和希望的生活的基础和中心内容,"历史哲学"的兴衰轨迹又复兴了。

当意识形态强加给现实的暴力遭到事实本身的顽强抵制时,仅仅在思想层面改变世界和生活,以便在如此复杂的具体世界产生有效的变化,这显然是不充分的。历史进程的意识形态内的危机是封闭的总体性的危机。这视域的崩溃要自封为终级,而事实上它已经作为平常的"次终极"出场,也恰恰在万物的破碎性和不完善性上是它能包容和产生的。超越历史哲学想要概括包容的任何东西,一个未知和奇异的国度呈现着自身,那是"他者"的领域,是不可还原的存在,是闪光但不能被占有的家园。

刚去世的意大利哲学家 L·帕雷森写道:"今天的基督教已不是人们在它面前可以保持无所谓态度的某种东西。人们要么赞成它、要么反对它,没有什么中间道路:现代文化的危机将清除任何中间立场。现代文化在其衰弱中分裂成两块:哲学作为批判意识,把这两面看成是可互相替换的。因此问题是哲学性的(从这词的最强意义上谈),即它是不可避开的,尴尬两难的结局是必不可免的。说它处理问题超越哲学和宗教之外,因此是内部和私人的,而且只有某种类型的人感兴趣,这样的反对是没有用的。作为从特定历史环境的批判意识中起源的哲学问题,它引发每个人的兴趣:面对现代文化的废墟,产生了建设我们都不得不在其中生活的新文化和新世界的问题。而且正是在这一点上,赞成或反对基督教的

选择成了关键。不仅是问题,哲学也是一种决断:是哲学给尴尬境地定了形,是哲学强加了非此即彼,因此强迫人们走向自由选择,不存在任何从那里逃脱的可能性: il faut choisir。"

当代天主教伦理学纪实 傳乐安 著

天主教伦理学简史

天主教的伦理学不是基督教成立时就有的。它作为一门独立的学科是晚近400年来的事。由于它以基督教的神学原理为基础,以及在阐述各种伦理问题时又常常以神学的形式出现,所以伦理学与天主教的哲学一样同神学合而为一了。天主教伦理学的正式名词称之为"伦理神学"是再合适不过的。

在基督教开创时期,教父从前没有写过系统而完整的伦理学论著,但不等于他们就没有宗教的伦理思想。教父们曾根据新旧约全书,特别是其中的法律观念,加上当时社会上流行的斯多亚伦理学说,组成过一些基督教的伦理理论。换言之,基督教开始时,他们就以神学思想为基础,把基督教的道德观与异教的道德哲学理论结合在一起,提出了基督教伦理神学的框架。

中世纪,天主教的伦理学在亚里士多德学说的影响下有所发展,但依然混合在神学之中,没有自立门户。托马斯的代表作《神学大全》第二集主要讨论伦理问题,但完全以神学原理为依据进行甚为抽象的研讨。托马斯虽然把伦理探讨集中在第二集中,但没有打算把它作为一门独立的学科。不过,客观上无可否认,他已为

天主教伦理学整理出较为系统的理论,而且也为晚近出现的伦理神学打下了独立的理论基础。正因为如此,在托马斯逝世后不久,罗马天主教在复兴托马斯主义时,把《神学大全》中的第二集列为天主教大学伦理学的专门教科书。显然,这时候的天主教的神学和哲学教授开始讲授天主教的伦理学了。大约在1582年前后,"伦理神学教授"这一名词也随之出现了。

托马斯为天主教构架的伦理学的基本论点是:上帝所启示的伦理法则(如上条诫命)和自然的伦理法则(如行善避恶),这二者组成了客观的伦理秩序。这客观的伦理秩序是永恒不变的,是人类伦理行为和伦理判断的最后标准。因为上帝的启示是基本不变的,所以上帝所揭示的伦理法则也是基本不变的。至于自然的伦理法则,本身就是上帝创造人时赋予人本性上的基本律法,也就是人之所以为人的理由,所以人的本性本质也是永恒的,而建立在人本性上的自然伦理法则自然也是永恒不变的。总之,在托马斯看来,上帝的启示和人的本性是不变的,那么建立在它们上面的客观伦理秩序当然具有超越时空限制的绝对性。

显而易见,托马斯的伦理学说是极为原则的和理论的。它是一种典型的宗教道德哲学和理论神学。这种道德哲学和伦理神学刚出台,就与律法即教会的教规紧密地联结在一起。由于它与教会法规组成一体,结果为教会律法所禁锢,从而着重于研讨罪恶的性质和犯罪的责任问题。所以,实质上,它是在注释法律条文,界说大罪和小罪的区别,告诫教徒们什么是该做的,什么是不该做的,甚为消极地对待教徒的伦理行为。

为此,当代天主教的伦理研究工作者不无感慨地说,"教会传授的伦理是以法律为中心","教会的伦理讲是非"。在这样的伦理神学教育下,难怪有些神职人员"处理事情,与人打交道时,却现出一副刀笔吏的面孔,刻薄无情","分条分目的辨是非、定罪

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这种以法律为背景的托马斯主义伦理神学,无疑着重于个案的分析,追究犯了罪没有,犯了什么罪等的责任问题。这种研讨方式,从中世纪末开始,一直持续到本世纪60年代梵蒂冈第二届大公会议为止,足足有400余年之久。对于这种现象,现代著名的德国天主教伦理神学家海霖(Bernard Haring)早在1950年首次登上罗马讲坛时,就大胆提出,"伦理神学必须从家长式的教会法的'非法同居'中自我摆脱出来,回到自己的'住宅中去'。"在其多次再版的《基督之律》一书中曾作这样的披露和概括,公元1600年阿曹(John Azor)根据托马斯的《神学大全》第二集编辑的"《伦理教程》是课本型的第一部伦理神学,直至梵蒂冈第二届大公会议为止,另无其他著作出现。伦理神学的结构已被阿曹定了型,对后代伦理学家来说,几乎没有修改的余地"。[2]

的确,阿曹的《伦理教程》和托马斯的《神学大全》第二集,成为天主教大学和修道院的基本教材,一直沿用了几个世纪,在天主教内部竟然再也找不到其他类型的伦理神学论著。这种以神学原理为基础、教会律法为根据的伦理神学传统,长期以来支配着天主教会的伦理思想,规范着全世界天主教教徒的一切行为。对此,当代开明的伦理神学家深感落后于时代发展,不符合社会需要,迫切呼吁改革传统,主张结合实际情况作新的伦理神学探索。

罗马教会为了改变自己的落后处境,于1962至1965年间召开 梵蒂冈第二届大公会议,提出"顺应时代潮流"的口号,要求全 教会认清形势,整顿结构,改革宗教礼仪,并宣布愿同各宗教和 全世界进行对话,等等,藉以加强自身的信仰活力,迎接社会迅 速发展而日益现代化的挑战。会议的种种改革措施,不仅促使神学 加深研究,而且也诱发伦理神学进行开拓性的研究。伦理神学界同 神学界一样终于出现了百家争鸣的局面。 目前,天主教的伦理神学界敢于向传统伦理神学挑战,打破传统的旧框框,面对生活现实,既研讨宗教性的问题,更研讨人们在社会生活中的种种具体问题。所以,当代的天主教伦理神学与传统的伦理大不相同,不简单地划分基本伦理和特殊伦理,而根据实际情况分为宗教伦理、医学伦理、生命伦理等许多科目,涉及面极为广泛。它简直成为一个几无所不包、无所不谈而大有发展前途的热门学科。

当代天主教伦理神学的崛起及其新思想

当前,天主教伦理学界出现了一大批力求改革的著名伦理神学家,除上面提到的海霖之外,还有麦柯弥(Richard A. Mc Cormick)、杨森(Louis Janssens)、苏勒(Brunc Schuller)、富斯(Josef Fuchs)、康纳礼(John R. Connery)、大卫(J. David),以及被罗马教廷处分的柯伦(ch. E. Curran)和基东(Guidon)等。另有不少著名的神学家也不时参与其间,经常发表伦理方面的改革意见,如孔卡(Y. Congar)、吕巴克(H. De Lubac)、斯萊贝克(E. Schillebeeckx)、拉纳(K. Rahner)、格洛泰尔(J. Grooteers)、马尔德莱(G. Martelet)等,他们同伦理神学家一起组成一个庞大的伦理革新队伍。

无论是伦理神学家或者是神学家,他们都立足于人自身,针对现代文明和社会实际,对伦理道德进行多方面的思考和探讨,大胆地提出有违于传统的开创性见解。可是,对罗马教廷一些保守派来说,无疑制造了许多麻烦,增加了极大的压力,简直是一个难以控制的自由派。

海霖作为当代天主教伦理学界的元老和权威,率先向天主教传统伦理发难。早在梵蒂冈第二届大公会议之前,他就提出改革传

统伦理神学的法律观点,披露神职人员由于受此教育,一直扮演着无情的判官,使教徒处于消极被动的地位,老是思念罪过,不断地作检查。海霖认为,人是中心,爱是出发点,应由此去探讨伦理行为。天主教的伦理神学,必须面对现代社会的发展和需要,关注现代人生活的实际问题,作切合实际的新的伦理考察和判断。

海霖在其《基督之律》(1954年初版)一书的1967年第8版绪论中指出:"伦理神学所要谈的,固然是永恒的真理,但它的谈话对象,却总是它同时代的人。它应该以永恒之光,衡量它同时代的问题与责任。"

他声明自己不想写"千遍一律的'诫条伦理'书",他认为"基督徒的生活,不可片面地只着眼于法律或诫规的条文,甚至也不可首先从上帝的命令和揭示的意义上考虑……天父对我们的要求,而应当在基督的爱中,通过基督的爱,以爱还爱,过一个真正基督化的生活"。所以,现代伦理神学在于帮助基督徒认识"他们身为基督徒在现世的职责,抱定紧跟基督的决心,正视他们公私生活的各种问题"。

正因为这样的新观点和新思想,当代开明的伦理神学家不为传统所束缚,不局限于法律条文,大胆地探讨日常生活中的一切问题,哪怕与教义教规相抵触,也不惜进行具体分析,发表自己的伦理见解。他们广开视野,深入探索,力图实践既符合基督徒身份又不脱离社会现实的伦理行为,确切地作出结合实际情况的伦理判断。

显然,当代开明的伦理神学家的目的,并不是对抗或反对教会,也不是削弱信仰,而是出于爱护教会和维护信仰。他们试图消除宗教信仰与生活实践、教会思想与社会文化等不协调的矛盾;他们希望教会的某些观念和教规与当前的社会意识、伦理价值和道德判断不要互相脱节,特别是教会的某些传统道德观念和诚规与

当前发达的社会实际经验不要发生矛盾,尽可能地排除教徒们在信仰生活与社会生活中处于左右为难的局面。例如在同居、离婚、再婚、同性恋、性生活、避孕、堕胎、人工怀孕,乃至民主、人权、种族、战争等当前十分突出和非常棘手的问题上,不致于拘泥于抽象的观念或原则,死扣传统的教义教规条文,弄得不知所措而成为现时代的怪人。

当然,当代开明的伦理神学家们在向教会的传统伦理教导提出批评和意见的同时,更希望教徒们自己学会反省教会的伦理教导,针对实际情况,各自负责地作伦理判断。如著名的神学家拉纳就指出,教会的"教导权可能发布一种伦理的教导",可是,"如今生活的复杂性,以及人类问题上的许多发现,造成许多难解的个案同教会传统的伦理教导是相冲突的。我们只要提一下性伦理或社会结构的改变所引起的各种问题,就够瞧的了"。可见,教会的传统"伦理教导可能与问题本身,或是它的历史,或是它发展中的某个新阶段,不一定完全恰切配合,但却不能给予具体的解决方式"。所以,"我们必须在上帝和良心的面前,做我们自己的决定。即使这项决定问其他天主教徒是相反的,我们也需要实践这些决定,并对它们负责"。31

关于教会的伦理教导与社会实践相脱节和矛盾的问题,海霖于1988年11月给罗马教皇写的信,以及1989年1月发表的《伦理神学的危机》一文,都先后提出警告。他对教会中出现的伦理神学的困境深感忧虑,强烈要求罗马最高当局检查传统,面对现实生活,作深入的调查研究,防止由于当前伦理道德上的一大堆难题,使大批教徒不断离开教会。

最近,美国著名的伦理神学家柯伦,于1989年6月在美国天主教神学协会的讲演中也说,当今世界处在变革的过程中,人类生活环境中发生的种种变化,都会产生新的社会问题,可是天主教

的伦理传统迄今还想把历史看作一成不变的事实,将历史中发生的变革看作出于偶然或者是罪恶的结果,妄图使其教徒死背教条,墨守陈规,做与世隔绝的时代怪人。柯伦还直言不讳地抨击罗马教廷,指责教会领导一直在滥用权力,独断专横。梵蒂冈的"教导机构对伦理问题的干预,从来没有像20世纪这么严重"。上

当代一些开明的伦理神学家,不怕触犯上级,不怕违背传统,敢于正视于变万化的社会实际,迎接现代进程中的任何挑战。他们在坚持宗教信仰的前提下,提倡创新精神,改变旧观念,作新的伦理判断。

当代开明的伦理神学家的基本观点是:伦理的主体是个人,人都要独立地面对上帝,各自在上帝面前负责。伦理的动力是良心,作为独立的个人,都要依靠自己的良心去作决定。所以,在当前极其复杂的社会环境条件下,必须学会独立思考的能力,自己作判断,对自己的行为负责。

与传统伦理神学相比,当代伦理神学的分析和研究颇为现实和具体,所发表的意见也颇为新颖和独到.因而他们同罗马官方保守派之间的争论也就颇为激烈,个别已发展到抗拒与警告、蔑视与处分的对峙局面。近几十年来,当代伦理神学在天主教内部已成为问题最多和争论最尖锐但影响最广泛和最令人注目的一门学科。

罗马教廷坚持传统伦理神学,排斥当代 伦理神学家的现代化要求

当代开明的伦理神学家的思想及其言论无疑是大胆而尖锐的,他们不仅批判了教会的传统伦理道德观,而且还抨击了教会领导的训导权威。对坚持传统的罗马当局一些保守派来说,简直是

丧失立场,背离原则。为此,罗马教廷频频发指示,重申教会传统的伦理原则,严厉指责开明的伦理神学家为离经叛道,标新立异, 蛊惑人心,制造紊乱。有的因而被勒令缄默,有的被禁止公开讲演 或发表文章。

例如关于当前社会上十分突出的避孕和堕胎的问题,罗马教廷于1968年7月25日颁布《人类生命》通谕,强调传统教义中的生命原则,宣称人的生命是上帝给的,人只有管理权,无生杀权。"我们要再一次声明,应当绝对排除一切在夫妻性生活的准备阶段或实施阶段或其自然后果的发展阶段,企图从目的或方法上使怀孕成为不可能的行为视作合法的节育方法。"教会一如既往,坚决反对任何避孕和堕胎的各种手段。

梵二会议刚闭幕不久,教皇保罗六世就无视梵二会议的改革 开放精神,向全世界各地教会签发如此强硬的声明,不仅使神学 界大为震惊,而且给许多教徒家庭加重压力。不少报刊评论说,罗 马教廷投下了一颗重磅炸弹,挑起了当代伦理神学关于性伦理的 大论战。

继保罗六世之后的几任教皇,在避孕、堕胎、离婚、同居、人 工授精,乃至安乐死等一系列问题上,不仅无所放松,反而显得 比保罗六世更为维护传统,更为坚持原则。

如1993年11月12日,现任教皇约翰·保罗二世假信纪念《人类生命》通谕发表25周年之际,进一步强化保罗六世的观点,宣扬教会传统的伦理原则。他说:"保罗六世在论述避孕行为本质上是违禁的和不道德时,教导我们,这样的道德标准不允许有任何例外,任何个人或社会的环境水远不能使这一行为成为合法。"这位教皇还宣称:"教会在伦理方面的教导直接来自上帝的启示,所以决不许可有任何怀疑。"

1994年3月,约翰·保罗二世致菲律宾等政府信函中,再次声

明教会一如既往坚决反对任何人工避孕手段。

在这之前,这位教皇曾多次宣讲教会关于性伦理的道德原则, 同时也严厉地指责不同意的一切反对者。1980年度,他在巴黎附近 接见法国主教们时,针对教内外强烈反抗的浪潮,不指名地批评 开明的伦理神学家。他说:"教会有关伦理的教导不能与那些求助 于大众传播媒介为自己壮声势的神学家们个人所得出的结论或个 人所有的直觉混为一谈。"

1986年9月15日,法国里尔天主教大学医学院司教外医院一样,成功地实验人工授精诞生天主教内第一个试管婴儿时,罗马教廷人为恼怒,于次年2月2日马上发布《尊重生命的开始和生殖的神圣性》文告,约翰·保罗二世声明,天主教坚决反对试管婴儿的实验,谴责人工怀孕为不道德的行为,告诫天主教徒必须遵循合乎人性的自然规律,尊重人的生命的诞生。

文件重申"生命这一礼物必须在婚姻中透过固定而专一的夫妻行为"、"在夫妻身体外完成的受孕,就失去了身体语言和夫妻共融的意义和价值",换言之、"它缺乏伦理法则所要求的性关系,即男女双方实践互相献身而在真正的爱之中生育的关系"。为此,教会郑重指出,任何医生或生物学家都不能左右人的生命来源,一切试图或假定在性爱之外"制造一个人、都是违背道德的,因为这些行为同时违反了人类生殖和规律结合的尊严"。

有关性问题的道德论述,罗马教廷几乎年年有所宣传和申辩,如1989年2月16日,罗马教廷的喉舌《罗马观察家报》说,教会关于夫妻生活的伦理原则是明确的和坚定的。"婚姻并无授予夫妻获得子女的权利,只是授予履行生育的自然行为的权利",所以,在夫妻之间合乎自然的性行为之外运用性机能来获得子女,本质上是不合法的和不道德的,教会一概反对。

除了性伦理之外,罗马教会还以七件圣事中的教义宣讲婚姻 244 伦理,断言男女两人的结合是上帝设计的,因而是神圣的、永恒的、不可解除的。

针对当前社会上离婚率逐渐升高,现任教皇援引传统教义大声疾呼:"婚姻不是一种暂时性的合同",一再断言"婚姻的不可解除性"。1980年由他主持专门研讨婚姻问题的世界主教会议上批发的《家庭团体》文告,宣称夫妻双方的结合是上帝的律法和自然法所制定的,所以对当事者来说,毫无疑问是不可挽回的。作为教徒,必须认清婚姻是一件圣事,不是一般的契约,因而教会无论如何不会允许离婚。

1983年由这位教皇批准生效的《天主教法典》第1141条上就这样明文规定:"完成而既遂的有效婚姻,除死亡之外,任何人间权力,或任何原因,皆不得解除。"从而把离婚或离婚后再婚再一次列为违反教规而属于非法的行为。

当安乐死问题逐渐为人们所探讨,以及个别国家开始写入法律条文时,罗马教廷又以其一贯作为全世界伦理道德捍卫者的身份,于1993年2、3月间的《罗马观察家报》上接连发表社论,进行谴责,宣称教会如反对堕胎一样,坚决反对安乐死。"人的生命从开始直至自然结束,始终是神圣的和不可侵犯的。"社论重申教义教规的基本论点:"只有上帝才是生命的'主人',人仅仅是生命的'管理者'。"为此教会要提醒人们:"医学历来是为人的生命服务的,决不是为死亡服务的。"主张安乐死的人,无非是"宁愿不要生命的文化,而去赞同死亡的文化"。

同年10月5日,罗马教廷又颁布一个题为《真理的光辉》的新通谕,人们发现,这是教会有史以来第一次系统的阐述伦理道德的立场及其基本原则。

这份由三部分组成的长达175页的最新通谕,旨在挽救当前天 主教的伦理道德危机,特别是教会内部关于性道德方面的混乱现 象。

第一部分强调伦理神学必须以圣经为基础。

第二部分是通谕的核心,就当代伦理神学中出现的一些动向, 尤其是一些争论焦点,作经典的理论解答,力图把当代的伦理神 学纳入传统的经典伦理神学轨道。

通谕论述,人的行为本身同其后果有着不可分割的内在联系, 切伦理论断既要考虑行为者的意图、良心和自由,,又要衡量行 为的后果。所以,在解放自己的自由时,不能不注意自然法的种种 规定,以免自由的滥用;在估计良心的主观性时,不能不强调律 法的客观性意识。教皇批判当代某些伦理思想无非是怀疑乃至否 定传统的道德规范,把个人的自由与良心看作是"绝对权威",使 自由与良心变成"一切道德价值的根源,最后导致极端的个人主 义泛滥"。教皇随即宣称,道德规范的普遍性和真理的客观性,谁 也无法否定。自然法中放诸四海皆准的一些禁令,无论何时何地, 任何人都有遵守的义务,谁也不能借口违背。教皇不指名地指责某 些伦理神学家借口顺应社会发展,违背教会传统教导和规定,如 对婚前性行为、避孕等作所谓符合社会要求的处理。

通谕第三部分宣布教会的伦理教导在社会各领域中应起的作用。

这份通谕主要是为大学和修道院的神学和伦理学教授和研究 者撰写的。要求他们与教会的训导保持一致,不要为社会上某些阶 层的价值观所迷惑,或为某些神学思潮所左右而赶时髦。尤其是作 为伦理神学家,必须坚持教会伦理传统的基本原则,同有损于教 会伦理传统教导的各种思想作斗争。

约翰·保罗二世向开明的伦理神学家发出了警告,"教会所教导的原则,不属于神学家之间可以自由争论的题材,谁唱反调,就是把教徒的道德良心引入歧途。"

1993年圣诞前夕,教皇向罗马广场上2万名教徒讲话时,再次宣扬《真理的光辉》,指责当前某些伦理思潮曲解个人自由和良心,妄图建立一个完全主观的道德判断。教皇声称,人的理性的自主性并不意味着理性可以不顾客观准则,擅自创造伦理道德的价值和规律。为此,对于堕胎、人工怀孕等等,教皇再次严厉加以谴责。

在1994年元旦献词中,罗马教廷义不忘向全世界宣讲其《真理的光辉》,重申教会传统的伦理神学原则和伦理道德观,公开反对业已为人们日益接受的堕胎、绝育、安乐死等方法;同时告诫其信徒不要随波逐流,干一些上帝所禁止的埋没天良的坏事。

同年,当记者提出教会和教皇的伦理道德教导,当前不仅不为众多的人所接受而且还常常遭到强烈抗议时,这位教皇回答说:"有些人认为,在道德上,尤其是在性伦理上,教会和教皇没有迎上当代世界日趋自由风尚的主流。世界往这方面发展,所以使人觉得教会在退步,或者世界正在远离教会。"其实这种现象,前任教皇保罗六世早已注意到,他曾指出,那种"伦理相对论"不是伦理的进步,相反它给西方文明带来很大威胁和危害。他为此发布《人类生命》等通谕与之抗衡。

至于当前人们的伦理道德思想之所以与教会传统教导背道而驰,这位教皇在《跨越希望的门槛》一书中归咎于社会上不正当的宣传和教会内部有些人的呼应,他指责说:"大众传播工具使社会习惯听取那些'耳朵发痒'的东西。情况更糟的是,神学家,尤其是伦理学家与传播媒体联系,把他们违背'健全道理'的言论和著作广为宣扬。"《真理的光辉》就在于坚持教会传统教导,不怕艰难,捍卫真理。"基督早就警告过我们,得教的路不是宽广舒适的路,而是狭窄难行的路。我们没有权利抛弃这观点,也没有权利改变它。这是教会训导当局的忠告,也是神学家一尤其是伦理学家的责任,他们既是教会训导的合作者,就有他们特别的责

任。"[5]

可是,人们要问,罗马教会上述一系列的指示和不断警告,是 否达到其预期的目的?其实上,不仅教外人士不予理睬,就是教会 内部也反应强烈,争论只是越加激烈,对抗情绪却越加高涨。

众所周知,罗马教会宣布的传统伦理原则,与教徒们的现实生活差距越来越大,罗马教会一再发布的伦理训导,与教徒们作的伦理判断往往大相径庭,所以不少教徒感到左右为难而难以接受,有的教徒干脆就按自己的良心办事。就教会较早公布的《人类生命》来说,曾有过很好的证明。当时《罗马观察家报》虽然为此发表题为《教皇一个说了算》的文章,欢呼教廷保守派的胜利,可是欧美舆论界却指出,教会内部犹如发生了一次大地震,范围之广,裂度之深,非教廷之意料。有些神职人员因此离开了教会,有些教徒放弃了宗教实践,更有一些压力团体自发地组织起来,提出质疑或抗议。

《人类生命》的论述同当前的社会思想产生了极大矛盾。伦理神学家们直截了当地指出,教会就性道德问题的表态是一种冒失的行动,这既关系到干千万万天主教徒家庭的实际生活问题,又涉及社会的衣食住行和教育等全球性问题,非一二个原理能解决。比利时鲁汶天主教大学教授格洛泰尔说:"我想保罗六世不了解当时的情况,因此错误估计形势,犯了一个大错误。"另一个著名神学家马尔德莱也评论说:教会领导如果摆脱传统经典伦理观念的束缚,"对那些远远超越自己生活经验的问题,多听取教徒夫妻们的意见,情况会好得多"。他还说:"当前人们的抵触情绪,主要由于教义的呆板强硬和硬性规定某种避孕等方法为禁区,令人难以心服口服。"教徒们这种情绪"可以解释为拒绝服从罗马的权威"。

加拿大的主教们曾公开表明对《人类生命》通谕的看法,批 评处分人工避孕的决定。 瑞士主教团在其声明中说:"没有遵循通谕的指示而去节制生育,只要他们并非出于自私的动机或贪图世间的快乐","他们不必想自己在上帝而前是有罪的。"

值得一提的是,美国24名修女也加入到抗议《人类生命》通 谕的行列,指责教会不关心妇女的处境和身心健康,甚至公然在 世俗报刊上联合签名支持堕胎。

据盖洛普对美国天主教徒民意调查证实,罗马官方与教徒之间在伦理思想特别是性道德方面存在着严重的分歧,仅就离婚与再婚案件来说,在美国天主教家庭中不再是罕见的事了。教徒们对婚姻不可解除性的观念正在改变,60年代,50%的教徒反对离婚,到了80年代,降到10%,现今只有极少数教徒认为离婚是不对的。更多的美国教徒因不愿在这方面受到教义教规的束缚而脱离了教会。

在德国每年近2万名教徒离开教会,主要原因是对教会官方关于性伦理道德方而的教导深感不满。

鉴于教会处于如此严峻的形势,不少地方教会不时发出呼吁或抗议。如1988年底,欧洲163名神学家在联合签名的《反对监督、争取一个开放的天主教》这一名为"科隆声明"上,反对罗马教廷革除某些伦理神学家的教职,剥夺他们文论自由的权利;强烈抗议罗马教会领导滥用权力,强迫神学家就范。

继"科隆声明"之后,1990年底,北美(包括美国和加拿大)的天主教神学家协会,也发表《不要消灭圣灵》这份被称之为"华盛顿声明"的文件,猛烈抵制中央集权制,反对罗马教廷的绝对权威。协会不认为梵蒂冈公布的文件不可以进一步探讨。最后指出罗马教廷对于婚姻、避孕、性生活等问题迄今不顾时代发展和社会文明,死抱住传统的狭隘观点不放。

1991年3月21日,由瑞士、比利时、法国、美国等两大洲的神

学家、神父和教徒们,发表了题为《我们不能缄默》的瑞士"卢塞恩声明"。他们呼吁教会最高当局实现梵二会议的改革运动,广泛听取基层群众的意见,公开讨论当前各种问题。

该声明同"科隆声明"和"华盛顿声明"一样,指责教廷独断专横,滥用权力,干预神学教授的讲课内容,极不适当地扩大教会的训导权,把关于避孕、节育、堕胎和人工怀孕等说成是不允违背的绝对禁令。

身为天主教的伦理神学家们,对于教会官方顽固地死扣教条失去大批教徒深感忧虑,意识到自己的责任重大,务必面对现实,妥善解答当前十分突出的伦理道德问题,以维护教徒的利益和信仰。如著名的美国天主教圣母大学伦理学教授柯伦神父,他执教20余年,一直持开放和灵活的态度,面对当前的科学与社会发展,结合现代的物质和精神文明,大胆探索当前人们生活中十分棘手的伦理问题。由于他经常发表与教廷相左但为教徒欢迎的新论点,1986年被罗马教廷革除教职,然而他并不退却,依然登上讲坛,宣讲其新见解。令人注意的是,不仅柯伦本人对教廷的处分置若罔闻,更有许多人给予支持,如北美750余名伦理学家和神学家联名表示赞同柯伦的新思想。

又如加拿大渥太华圣保罗大学的著名伦理学教授基东神父, 1986年发表的《性创造者》一书被教会官方列为禁书。由于他不听 劝告,1992年正式受到罗马教廷的纪律处分,可是他不仅拒不接 受,相反还控告罗马教廷某些专横的判官,把避孕、节育、堕胎 和婚前同居等一概宣判"死刑"。他同柯伦一样坚持自己的论点,顽 强地进行其性方面的研究和创作。

另有一些开明的伦理神学家对于罗马官方的教导或是持保留态度,或是表示异议,或是提出批评,他们关注教徒们的实际处境,在各自研究的领域里,想方设法为教徒们排忧解难。他们虽然

没有受到柯伦等那样的处分和警告,可是他们的言论无不受到罗马官方的监视和审查。

如海縣、麦柯弥和拉纳等认为,对于教会一再强调的生命等原则,需要明智地加以解释,因为一个真理本身往往同其某一个历史过程中的个别文字的陈述是有些区别的,所以一定要进行具体而仔细的研究。对于离婚、避孕、节育、堕胎、人工怀孕等等,务必严肃对待,酌情处理,切不可死扣条文,一概否定。当然,失之过宽不可取,但是任意定为大罪也不合适。尤其对于尚待进一步精确化的理论,简单地说成为不可更改的原则,难免不给教徒以错误的指导。总之,特别在涉及生命的性道德问题上,在未获得最佳答案时,应当循循引导,避免过早地作某种断定或宣判。

关于教会始终坚持的婚姻不可解除性,现代不少伦理神学家认为,教会所依据的传统伦理道德规范,对离婚和再婚的教徒采取排斥的做法,迟早会成为不可能。^[6]

关于当前十分迫切的避孕等问题,伦理神学家们也中肯地指出,凡事要从实践出发,教会不应一味抽象地强调原则,消极地反对或不时宣布禁令。对于某些国家和地区的社会现实所反映的节育迫切性,避孕是否一定要否定?堕胎是否无法预防?教会如果能够提出积极的方法,引导人们的良知,比单纯地反对或禁止,将会有效得多。反之,"如果天主教人士不注意节制生育的重要性,这个真空将被最不文明的方法堕胎来补救,或是政府要强制有两个以上子女的夫妇实行节育措施,届时,天主教人上只有自自的浪费时间在谴责这些罪恶上。"[7]

其中有的从立法上进行探索和论述,如专门研究教会法的安倍尔(J-M. Anbert)说,教会法典中许多条文原来是根据生活习俗写成的,随着时代的推进,不可能一成不变。例如教会关于婚姻不可能解除的理论,同避孕和节育一样,由于不符合现时代实

际,正在逐渐僵化和公式化。即使有人援引圣经,也是值得推敲的。 其实,圣经上的话也不应绝对化。上帝对人类的爱、基督对教会的 爱可以作为婚姻的象征,可是我们毕竟是人,我们应当把婚姻看 作人的一种经验,通过这经验让上帝和基督的爱显示出来。现今把 上帝和基督对人类永恒的爱变成法理性的人间不可解除的约束, 如果这种约束意义的内涵——夫妻之间爱情已经消失,而这种约 束依然存在,这岂不是一种法理上的造作?

海霖也持同样的见解,指出婚姻不可解除性这一观念是一个根深蒂固的法律观念,由于这个观念,夫妻间虽然所有人间关系的迹象已经无可挽回地消失,可是婚姻的约束依然存在。由于这永久性,从而又得出了把离婚和再婚者排除在教会及其圣事之外的规定。现在看来,对这规定作任何修改,必须先对它所依据的永久性和不可解除性的观念作系统的和理论的搏斗。

麦柯弥不无赞同安倍尔等对婚姻不可解除性的法律剖析。^[8] 他也认为社会发展史足以证明,在工业化时代之前,90%的家庭在农村,为了维护社会结构的继续存在,保持家庭的稳定成为夫妻间不可推却的责任,那时离婚就被视作不可想象的事。显然,那时候爱不是婚姻的必要因素,至少在婚姻开始时如此。在这环境中,忠诚与不可解除性深深地刻在社会结构中,从而组成法律条文和形成法律观念。现时代,一切都发生变化,社会结构城市化,夫妻结合的主要力量是互相的爱,忠诚只能是一项应当努力实践和追求的目标,它可能遭到失败。由于这些新情况的出现,教会应当修改过去的婚姻观点,不能不考虑放宽婚姻不可解除性的一些规定。

斯莱贝克论述说,婚姻是一种人类历史的现象,不可能用单一的方式给它下一个一劳永逸的定义。对于婚姻这一事实,应当结合支持它的社会、心理、文化和经济等各种因素加以综合考察。所

以婚姻不可解除的条件不是不可变的。

大卫直截了当地指出,教会把狭窄的法律观念应用到丰富多彩的婚姻神学上曾犯过不少错误。他呼吁现代伦理神学家不要重蹈覆辙,要敢于对婚姻的法律观念作新的反思。

总之,现代一些开明的伦理神学家,包括神学家和法学家们,都希望教会当局不要拘泥于传统的道德规范,把离婚和再婚看作邪恶,而采取开放与宽容的态度,尽可能给离婚和再婚的教徒以合情合理的对待。更不要轻易的判断他们的良心,因为离婚和再婚的情况是极其复杂的,他们不一定是坏的教徒,有的依然是很好的教徒。如果没有爱而痛苦地生活在一起,或者离婚者终身不得再找一个婚姻伴侣,在伦理上则是可悲的。

对于教会当局一再严厉谴责的人工避孕和人工怀孕,开明的 伦理神学家们同样根据当前的社会实际情况,提出各自的看法。他 们决不像罗马教廷那样一味反对和加以指责,而同情教徒们之所 以实行避孕或人工怀孕的实际处境,想方设法消除他们在思想上 和宗教感情上的不必要的教规压力和宗教罪恶感。

加拿大的主教们认为,罗马教廷处分人工避孕的决定是十分 轻率的,公开表示不可接受,更不会向有关的教徒宣布什么罪名。

前面提到过的美国天主教伦理神学家柯伦教授,虽然由于辩护人工避孕而被革除教职,可是他并没有改变自己的观点,相反他依然公开指出教会当局不切实际地空谈原则,不加区分地处分避孕的教徒,这既不合情理,又不得人心。柯伦甚至还说,即使是绝育,在某些情况下,也未必绝对不许可。一句话,采用人工避孕的教徒纵然不遵守教会的规定,可是其良心未必见得有意违背上。帝。

关于人工怀孕,柯伦也发表与教廷指示相左的意见。他同麦柯弥和海霖等一样,都曾直言不讳地批评罗马当局把夫妻性爱之外

应用任何人工怀孕的方法说成是反道德的和罪恶的结论,并且指出现今在伦理神学或神学界之间想找到这种说法的赞同者,只能是极少数。

他们向罗马当局提问, 夫妻之间的性生活与生殖是否有必然 联系?有的不是没有怀孕么?如果出现这样的例外,该怎么办?难道 孩子只能产生于夫妻之间的性爱行为, 而不能产生于夫妻之间另一种爱的行为?

海霖和另一位伦理神学家特洛亚封丹纳(Troifontaines)为了这个伦理问题,曾专门去学习这方面的医学知识。他们在研究中发现,对于夫妻之间的性行为要有一个整体的观念,过分侧重于生理的自然方式,或单纯地从生理过程上去考虑,以致认为不可改变、中断或阻碍生物生理过程的自然发展,这就与动物之间的交配无所区别了。必须充分注意人性及其价值的主观因素和作为人的行为的内在动机所给予外在生理过程的意义。简言之,必须以人性为根据的价值尊严作为伦理判断的准则。基于这个观点,对于产生人的新生命的生物生理过程的任何变化,不能先验地一概加以排斥或不加分析地加以否定。问题在于这种变化是否使人活得更像人?是否积极地或消极地影响人际关系?是否增进或破坏人类存在的基本价值?所以,如果采取丈夫的精液人工受孕方法,无疑出于夫妻之间的相爱和渴望子女的动机。有了子女,会使这对夫妻更幸福,家庭更美满,生活更积极。这种通过医学技术的人工授精方法,就难以称之为不正当的或反伦理的。

海霖等人的这些论述和意见,现今基本上为不少伦理神学家和神学家们所接受。至于采用捐赠者的精液,有的伦理神学家认为要极其谨慎。其他诸如试管内受精、代理母亲即借胎怀孕,或人造子宫即使受精卵完全在母体外长大等,海霖等认为,最核心的是:精子和卵子应当来自未来孩子的父母,最关键的是:受精卵应当

在母胎内着床、长大,这是夫妻之爱的结合的完整表现。如果缺少这种心理和生理过程,就应当抛弃。

由此可知,现代伦理神学家对人工怀孕是有所分析的,虽然 反对代理母亲和人造子宫,但对人工授精基本上持开放态度,这 与罗马教廷反对第三者介入而排斥任何人工怀孕是不相同的。现 代伦理神学家在一定程度上赞同人工怀孕,在运用医学技术时,他 们主张按照人的动机、目的以及由此产生的环境和后果去衡量其 伦理价值。这种思想同他们前面关于避孕和绝育等论述是一致的。 显而易见,他们首先注意的是人的因素,考虑的是人的自我意识, 与此同时不忘尊重人的良知。

总之,现代伦理神学家认为,伦理选择原本取决于人的内心,虽说伦理行为不能不涉及时代的变化和社会的要求,但是最后还是为了人而自我负责地去抉择。作为教徒,特别是经过深思熟虑的反省所形成的良知而实施其伦理行为时,既忠于内心的自我,又敬爱自己的上帝,这比单纯地服从教会传统教导和所指示的道德规范更有意义和更有价值。现代伦理神学家还指出,教会的传统教导和道德规范并非不需要遵守,可是其理论并非是绝对的。例如在历史发展过程中某个阶段,不一定时时处处完全恰切吻合,特别在当前十分复杂的问题上,伦理性常常比较含糊,要求划一或永恒,每每是一种奢望。再者,传统的道德规范往往受到时代和法律观念的局限和影响,其精确性和不变性是值得商榷的。所以,与其让教徒处于既想服从又难以执行的矛盾之中,以及某些教徒因此而背上沉重的罪恶包袱,不如启发他们根据自己的良知,结合实际,自己思考,自己判断,自己负责。

历史上曾不乏这类事件,当教徒的良知与教会的权威失去平衡和发生冲突时,教徒的良知通过实践常常会找到一些解决的方法。经过一段时间考验之后,教会也体会到它是正确的。为此,现

代伦理神学家最后建议,身为教会领导,对于目前难以处理的解答的疑难,切勿轻易表态或下断言,不妨暂时采用"通融原则"或"道德宽容论",似乎较为适宜。圣经上耶稣同罪人一起就餐,就是这种方式的具体表现。

乍看起来,现今一些开明的伦理神学家的上述言论好象在对抗教会的教导,事实上,他们正在作开拓教会伦理思想的尝试,力图更新教会的伦理理论,充实和完善教会的道德准则,最终目的是使教会成为伦理道德的捍卫者,依然肩负起全世界伦理道德中流砥柱的角色。

当代伦理神学在现代化过程中的一些基本论点

从当代开明的伦理神学家与罗马教廷之间的争论和对抗中, 人们可以清楚看到,开明的伦理神学家正视现实,结合社会结构 的变化和现代的精神文明,大胆地提出不少改革和创新的思想和 见解,而罗马教廷所坚持的经典的传统伦理神学则面临着现时代 的严峻挑战。综观近几十年来开明伦理神学家们发表的言论和著 作,以下几个新观点和新理论值得大家注意和研究。

第一,批判传统律法的教条主义——当代伦理神学家意识到 天主教传统的律法教导,已经发展成为极其有害的教条主义。它死 扣法律条文,引导教徒把道德生活的注意力消极地集中在条文的 遵守与否上。例如规定教徒在星期天必须参与弥撒,星期五不得吃 荤等,否则就是犯罪,得不到"宗教上的安全感"。当代伦理神学 家指出,在搞诸如此类的教条主义所形成的形式主义时,岂不知 抹煞了这类教规的内在精神实质以及在这类教规之外还有更重要 的爱的问题。事实上,爱在这类教规上,乃至所有法律上,都是无 法体现的。当代伦理神学家还引证说,律法主义之搞教条主义所形 成的形式主义的虚伪性和危害性,正如圣经上耶稣基督谴责伪善的法利赛人一样,他们对于法律条文一文不名,为了遵守安息日,什么都不能动,连灯火也不去吹灭;道貌岸然,俨若圣贤,其实内心却毫无敬爱上帝之意。为此,当代伦理神学家提醒教徒:"我们可能遵守了一切法律和规则的细节,可是最后在内心修养上却一无所获。"

第二,关注自我实现的基本抉择——当代伦理神学家提倡伦理的主体性,主张每一个人在行动前,面对上帝,根据自己的良心自己去作决定。这就是说,当代伦理神学不再局限于分析或衡量个别行为如撒谎、离婚等罪恶的大小问题,而注重每一个人的内在的最深刻的意识局面,探究个人如何实现自我的"基本抉择",乃是伦理行为的关键。教会长期以来忽视人内在的最深刻的意识局面,把个人的"基本抉择"这一观念遗忘了。当代伦理神学之所以重视个人的"基本抉择",因为正是它规定着人的伦理行为。

第三,强调伦理生活的社会特性——当代伦理神学家认为,由于教会传统道德教育的影响,现今许多教徒的伦理观念局限于自我生活和一般的人际关系上,忽视"伦理生活的社会特性",不知道个人对整个社会应该负什么责任。岂知社会结构上的罪,如暴力、不公正、侵犯人权、环境污染等等,无不同个人的罪一样,都应该抑制和排除。为此,必须树立伦理生活的社会观,着眼于整个社会的利益,对于反暴力、反种族歧视、民主和自由、节育或避孕,以及环保等等问题,必须予以关注。当代伦理神学家认为,无视他人的权利被侵犯或剥夺,实际上是自私自利,不尊重他人,否认他人的权利被侵犯或剥夺,实际上是自私自利,不尊重他人,否认他人的生存权利,不承认他人应该有人权似的。

第四,断言人是伦理判断的核心——当代伦理神学家强调,人是一切伦理思考的基础。在作伦理判断时,首先要为整个的人着想,即既要考虑到人是由灵魂和肉体组成而具有无限的价值,又

要注意人这个群体的利益不得侵犯。

就性伦理方面而言,节育和避孕是当前比较突出的世界性问题,当代伦理神学家建议,切勿按照教会传统的伦理神学简单地加以否定,因为单纯地注意是否符合自然法则,必然会忽视整个人的利益,整个婚姻的好处,子女成长及其教育,以及国家的人口问题,等等。伦理神学家海霖曾说:"输卵管是为女人而有的,而女人并非为输卵管而有。"显然,能力和力量是人为的,反之则不行。可见,当代伦理神学的又一个基本观点是:"无论如何,人——整个的人和群体——才是伦理决定的核心。"

第五,指出伦理规范的暂时性——当代伦理神学家发现,许多行为标准并不如以前想象的那么绝对。基本的伦理原则是不会变的,但是具体的伦理规范很少是永恒不变的。在历史进程中,许多具体伦理规范逐渐在变化、更正或取消,随着社会的发展和人们思想的提高,不时有新的规范来代替。人们希望拥有永远清晰而明确的观念,可是事实的复杂性和可变性使具体伦理规范必然是暂时性的。例如不许堕胎、不许杀人,不是在任何情况下都那么绝对。在自卫战争中,在母亲和胎儿都处在危急的状态下,不能没有例外。

再者,何况不少具体的伦理规范还常常受到地理环境和文化因素等制约,局限性和可变性也就显而易见了。此外,人们使用的哲学概念和语言都十分有限,具体的伦理规范不可能不常常受到限制,所以具体的伦理明文规定不可能是完满无缺的,永远不需要修正的。作为当代的伦理神学工作者,务必正视现实,认真负责地检讨伦理规范,否则"便成为文字狱了"。

第六,反对唯命是从,提倡个人负责——当代伦理神学家披露,教会传统伦理教育在于向教徒们灌输诫规,规定什么是禁止的,什么是有罪的,不是启迪教徒们的良心,培养他们独立判断

的能力。教徒们只知道根据上级的规定,特别是《教理问答》上注明的条文来规范自己的生活,检查自己的行为。又如教徒们在忏悔时,往往把神父当作专家似的,一心倾听他的判断和教导。

当代伦理神学家指出,现代社会环境于变万化,个人生活情况各不相同,不仅谁也不敢断言存在着永恒不变的伦理明文规范,而且谁也不可能拿出现成的万全答案。在现时代新的历史条件下,教会传统伦理教育方法该清算了,教徒们一味服从上级教导的依赖性该终结了。教会不该代替教徒个人的良心,教会的教育只能启发和引导教徒的良心,教徒要学会独立思考,对伦理生活要有自我负责的责任感。一句话,教会的传统伦理教育必须进行一次彻底的革命。

第七,澄清教会训导的绝对权威观念——当代伦理神学家们提出上述一些新见解和新观点,显然与教会传统的伦理教导是相违背的。这些新见解和新观点最终必然会涉及教会领导的最高权威训导权问题。事实上,当代伦理神学家最后也的确直言不讳地揭露说,长期以来,由于教会进行强制性的教育,在教徒的思想中形成了教皇不能错误的绝对权威观念。这种极不正常而又十分落后的认识,在当前新的历史条件和民主潮流的背景下,必须予以彻底更新。

著名神学家孔卡说,翻开教会史,教皇不能错误的权威不是一开始就有的,而是在130年前后人为地树立起来的。从此以后,教皇的教导成为金科玉律,教徒必须恪守不渝,绝对服从。可是,近几十年来的实际情况表明,随着民主化进程的迅速推进,教徒们的思想正在发生变化。明显不过的是,1968年7月25日教皇保罗六世在《人类生命》通谕中颁布教会反对节制生育的教导时,在许多神学家和教徒中引起了强烈的抗议,教皇的训导权顷刻之间成为公开争论的对象。事实上,不少教徒虽然尊重教皇,但对他提出

的论点不再不加思索地绝对服从,而是更多地结合社会实际,考虑家庭本身的利益·去采用各种避孕的手段。开明的伦理神学家也直截了当地说,对合法的权威人士,我们应该适当的尊敬,可是"要求一个人对权威人士教导的道理有同样的忠诚,这是滥用权威,因为教会并没有肯定他们不会错误"。最后,开明的伦理神学家明确指出,教会当局的训导权威主要在于维护教徒们的宗教信仰,而不是向教徒们宣布清规诫律或什么禁令。教会训导权威的代表人物如果多听取教徒们的意见,他们的讲话不致于引起教徒们如此强烈的反感。

小 结

现代伦理神学家们的敢说敢想不无惊人之处,他们既不愿受传统伦理神学旧框框的束缚,也不怕顶撞罗马教廷权威的风险。他们坚信,如果否定探索、尝试、假设、提问和解释的可能性,伦理神学的研究根本不可能进行,更谈不上有什么发展或成就。如果拒绝在这领域中进行探索性的冒险和现代化的工作,而规定伦理神学应当做的不过是重复过去所讲的伦理原则,不过是重弹一些不可批判的伦理准则,其实不了解伦理神学的实质,就会导致伦理神学脱离现实而日趋没落。孔卡援引教皇本笃十五世的话论证说,"有关不属于启示的问题,我们应该允许辩论的自由。"[9]

他们认为,伦理神学不是绝对的,不存在金科玉律或恪守不渝的信条,它是一门可以自由探讨的学问,它应该以人为核心,结合现实社会。伦理神学思想必须随着时代、社会和文化等演变而有所发现、有所发展。各地教会和教徒应当根据各自的历史条件和社会文化背景去体现信仰,与此同时探索出符合实际需要的伦理神学。

最后,他们还向罗马教廷呼吁,希望教会努力抑制权力欲的 诱惑,使教会的权威主要为各地教会及其教徒服务,在教会的权 威与各地教会及其教徒的良心之间建立真正的关系。虽说各地教 会及其教徒目前时有发表与教会当局相左的意见, 然而"表述异 议的权利"是极为可贵的,教会当局应当以富有"建设性的方式 去回应异议"。"表述异议"的伦理神学家或神学家并不是不服从 教会和教义,或放松自己的宗教信念,而是更忠于上帝和维护教 会。"表述异议",实际上"使真理成为大家参与的事,促使我们 在教会的立场上去探讨真理的核心"。对教会来说,"表述异议"也 是"辩证性的冲击",因为"教会原是由人性与神性两种成分组成 的复杂混合体,它需要积极性与消极性的回应"。历史记载,"提出 抗议的基督徒曾给予教会生气,扩展了教会智慧的遗产,缓和了 教会错误的行为。如12世纪法国哲学家兼神学家阿贝拉尔曾长时 期同中世纪教会发生冲突,但他那令人不安的理性理论成了经院 神学的工具。中世纪哲学家蔑视教会对亚里士多德的禁令,则为托 马斯的《神学大全》奠定了基础,该书成为天主教思想最珍贵的 宝石。"[10]诸如此类,不胜枚举。当然,人们也看到,"不同意、反 对、冲突等这些倾向会威胁任何一个团体的稳定性。但是,没有这 些,团体会失去活力、会腐败,宗教团体会失去他们的精神力 量",这是历史告诉我们的"信息"。[11]

显然,当前主张开放和改革的伦理神学家,在使天主教伦理神学现代化的过程中,虽然似乎作为罗马官方和传统的反对者,但并不意味着敌视自己的教会。其实他们力图更新教会的伦理道德思想和理论,以吻合现时代人们的实际要求。他们在天主教伦理神学现代化的工作中提出的一些新见解和新论点,在教会内部的确引起了极大的争论,然而无可否认,同时也获得了许多神职人员和广大基层教徒的强有力支持。这些开明的伦理神学家的大胆革

新和尝试,无疑反映了当前天主教伦理神学发展的新动向和新现象。所以,无论赞同与否,都不得不承认,这是一股受到全世界伦理学界关注的宗教伦理新思潮,谁也无法逆转,谁也难以扼制,它展示着天主教伦理学富有生机的未来。

注释:

- [1] 成世光:《天人之际》,第18、22页,台南,闻道社,1978年。
- [2] 海霖:《基督之律》,第42页,台中,光启社,1973年。
- [3] 拉纳:《对成年基督信友的反省》,参阅《神学论集》,台北,1985 年,第63期。
- [4] 参阅《天主教文献》, 巴黎, 1989年, 第1979期。
- [5] 约翰·保罗二世:《跨越希望的门槛》,第224-226页,台北,1995年。
- [6] 麦柯弥:《离婚与再婚》,见《神学论集》,台北,1982年,第54期,
- [7] 金象達:《人口问题与调节生育》,见《性爱、婚姻、独身》一书, 台北,1974年。
- [8] 麦柯弥:《梵二后天主教伦理神学的七大特色》,见《神学论集》,台北,1981年,第50期;詹德隆:《基本伦理神学》,第6-19页,台北,1985年。
- [9] 孔卡·《对现代神学家的忠告》,见《精神生活》,1968年夏,季刊, 华盛顿。
- [10] 柯迪:《对教会内权威之抗拒 一种多学科的透视》,见《神学论集》,台北,1984年,第60-61期。
- [11] 沃伊蒂瓦:《人是行为的主宰》,第287页,波士顿,1979年。

终极价值之追寻与教育的道德基础

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导 论

人们长久以来一直争论是否存在着"终极价值"之类的实体。 苏格拉底和柏拉图作为绝对主义者,十分反感当时的智者所主张 的相对主义价值,明白表示:一、存在着绝对价值;二、有些价 值比另一些价值更重要。柏拉图论辩道:在价值领域中存在着理想 的"相"(forms),正如在几何与逻辑的领域中存在着理性的 "相"一样。他认为公正、美德与智慧便属于这样的绝对价值。但相 对主义者却认为公正之类的东西是相对于环境或文化的、无法成 为普通适用于一切环境、超越时空的抽象实体。因此,绝对主义的 (或以柏拉图为例,理想主义的)公正感是抽象的,以纯粹相的形 式存在,能普适一切情况;而相对主义的公正观却是具体的,只 能放在一定语境中加以考虑。

这里的差别主要是:要么认为价值是先验存在的实体——人 类必须去发现它们(或者已启示给了人,以便人可以认识终极真 理),要么认为价值是人的发明创造,全然不是终极真理,只不过

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是一个社会提供给个人的流行观念。无论怎么讲,大家都同意价值 及其代表的观念具有内在复杂的结构,从而常常会使有关讨论与 争辩难达一致结论。人们在分析价值时,往往超不出其语词定义, 更遑论对其相对界域得出一致看法。

关于价值及性格形成的全部理论关涉到价值是否能被教授还是必须以别种方式获得的问题,并且关涉到家庭及文化对德性的形式与发展的影响等相关问题。如果价值能像几何一样被教授,那么教育在正面价值的形式中就会起作用,正如人们期望教育对各种课目的教与学起作用一样。比如说,苏格拉底在《曼诺篇》中认为,一个人不能以被教会几何的同样方式教成自制的、勇敢的或公正的。弗洛伊德怀疑道德训练的想法,说人的欲望或情绪模式不必通过道德训练也能得到改良。他认为,为了使一个人的行为模式优化,人们必须进行矫正工作:"如同抽干 zuyder 海一样。"他的意思是:用别人的价值来塑造一个人的价值,应当采取心理治疗的形式——更近于预防的或医疗性的医治而非道德训练。这些对标准的学校课程型的正面价值教育法的挑战,的确提出了根本性的问题——我们如何才能最佳地在下一代人们中造就正面价值态度?

宗教教育一般被认为既是理智的又是道德的,甚至连神学也被视作既是思辨的又是实践的。托马斯·阿奎那援引雅各的警示"你们要实践道德而非仅仅闻道",认为宗教教育关涉的知识不仅是关于"神圣事物"的,而且是关于人据以走向神的"人之行为"的。既然人无限地远离神,他需要神恩才能走向神,而神恩在阿奎那看来"正是分有神性"。

我们在考虑终极价值问题时,必须询问是否道德知识会引向 道德行为,因为价值说到底不过是在日常生活过程中运用我们的 道德判断。那些理解正面价值和伦理学原则的人必然按其知识而 行吗?一个人会不会知道什么是该做的却干出相反之事?圣保罗似乎这么主张,因为他写道:"我应该做善事我却不做。"如果说善行还需要比知识更多的某些东西,那又是怎样获得的呢?一个人(比如教师)能否帮助他人获得它呢?如果可以,怎样进行?直接教导?典范?建议?奖与罚?神恩?

这些论题令思考者追问,是否必须先讨论任何有关家庭、国家、学校及教会在道德训练过程中作用的问题。他们使我们去思索诸如诗歌、音乐、法律、习俗等对成人与儿童的个性形成的具体影响等问题。所有这些相关联的德育问题都有一个政治方面,呈现为国家为了道德缘故检查或规范艺术的权利问题(柏拉图认为国家应当这么干);亦呈现为在对青年人的道德引导中是家庭还是国家据优先地位的问题;并呈现为好人与好公民或好统治者的区分,还呈现为训练普通人与训练领导者的可能不同之处。

这些是我们必须首先关注的问题。此处的矛盾不一致也必须 首先得到解决。对于一个用赌博收入供养学校的社会(像美国俄勒 冈州的做法)应当怎么想?对于一个在学校与教会中努力教育尊重 成人权威、对同胞的关怀等等,同时又通过大众传媒向青年传送 极为相悖的信息的社会,我们又该怎么想?

Allan Bloom 在《美国心灵之封闭》中为我们描绘了这么一幅社会混乱的图景:

"想象一下:一位13岁的儿童坐在他家的客厅中做数学作业,同时戴着耳机或看 MTV。他享受着哲学天才和政治英雄主义的联盟历经几个世纪的苦斗,付出烈士鲜血换来的自由;他拥有人类有史以来最富生产力的经济所提供的舒适与闲暇;科学透视了自然的奥秘,以便向他提供惊人的、活生生的电子声象。但进步最终导向何处?一个全身涌动着快感节奏的毛头小子,他的感情从对杀亲之乐唱赞美歌中表达得很清楚;他的志向是在模仿制造音乐

的手腕中羸得名声和财富。简而言之,生活变成了一个永无止息的、商品化包装好了的"淫色幻境"。"只要他们戴上耳机,他们就不可能听到伟大传统所言道者。长久以往,则一旦他们除去了耳机,他们便变成了聋子。"

寻找价值

如果我们假设终极价值存在着,我们就必须也设定这些价值不会随时间、地点而变化,否则这些价值从定义上讲就不能视为是"终极的"。这一见识使人无法随意区分价值的本质。价值或是神赐的(有神论信念),或是自然法之一部分——像重力或离心力一样不必是神赐的。无论何种情况,价值都是预先存在的,历时而不逾。

在这一世界观中,有些价值是不那么终极的。这一点,在用最高级词"终极的"中便已蕴涵。部分原因是有些价值具有最大效应。公正与清洁都是价值,但前者胜过后者。科学研究指出:清洁干净会阻止疾病传播,但科学研究难以如此具体地阐释公正。这是因为公正与清洁不仅在程度上而且在质上不同。一个知道在送饭前不洗手有可能传播疾病的人却不遵循这一知识行动,会被认为不够公正。这是柏拉图所谓知识是通向美德之途径的话的一个例子,也是约翰·亚当斯"一切清醒的知识追求者,古代的与现代的、异教的与基督教的,都宣布人的幸福以及人的尊严在于美德"这句话的实质所在,更是当孔子在《论语》中说美德包含着完善性——稳重、宏达、诚、敬、仁——时想要表达的意思。俄国教育部长阿·阿卜拉莫夫博士说学校的重点应放在"绝对的道德价值和导向,这是犹太——基督教传统中十分明显的文化模式",这也是他想要表达的意思。

如果我们不设定终极价值的存在,一切价值成了相对的、等级体系就更难达至,虽然它们可以被宣布、护卫和强制推行。从相对主义立场出发,不会假设先在存在、启示或发现,任何拥有或多或少意义的价值都被简单地视作是人为构造,充其量只能说某些价值的意义源于民主社会的社会契约、君主社会的贵族责任,或是集权社会的暴力。再以美德和清洁为例,实用的相对主义者会说这些价值的意义在于其运用中的后果。寻找它们不确定的"源头"并不重要,从而问题不在于是否价值代表着某种水恒真理,而在于当美德在某个特定场景中是否运用时会发生什么。李·伊亚科卡(克里斯勒汽车公司总裁)在自传中说他对个人自由的哲学讨论不感兴趣,如果关涉到要求乘客系安全带的法规的话。他说,此事的实质是;安全带挽救人命,节省医院开支,而这便是要求人们系安全带的充足理由。他是作为有德性者说这番话的,因为他心中装着别人的福利。

相对主义者指出整个社会中美德被忽视并给公民性格带来危害的例子。我们不难想象这样的社会。它们太多了,我们的世纪充斥着这些例子。很可能真像 W. 詹姆士注意到的,相对主义与绝对主义并不一定像人们开始会认为的那么十分不同。诸如诚实、认真、真诚和同情被视为对生活具有实际效用,而不仅仅只是善之抽象概念。像"诚实为最佳方略"以及"真诚会使你自由"的格言说得更多的是实际后果而非抽象概念,相对主义会说最重要的事是在特定情境中当人们相互诚实对待时会发生什么,以及相对之下当人们相互不诚时会发生什么。杜威说的就是这个问题——他说反思与实践的经验是事情的核心。绝对主义当然也会同意相对主义者对后果的重要性的强调,不过,绝对主义者会警告:后果常常很难估价,而且由于社会系统的复杂性,事物并不总是真像它们所显得的那样。

相对主义者认为具体场境或语境本身就能决定一个价值的重要性。有一件事让我对此印象颇深:两年前我和一些旅游者一起访问荷兰哈勒姆的一所房子,在那儿一个基督徒家庭在二战中隐藏了犹太人以防纳粹搜查。面对纳粹军队,这家人否认在家里隐藏了犹太人。这样,他们便是对询问者不说老实话。在这一具体场景中,这家人必须在爱同胞与是否向那些会因他们所为而杀害或囚禁的人讲真话之间做出抉择。所以相对主义者会说:虽然爱与诚实都被珍视,它们的相对价值仅仅在一定语境中才有意义。

事情确乎不那么简单,因为我们生存的大量处境都涉及到这种或那种妥协,尽管其严峻性不像上面这个例子那么大。我们将告诉少年学校环境中的何种价值?我们有无一个模式可提供给他们?有没有一套价值——其中某些后果更重大些——是我们敢于和他们共享的?最近我听到一位15岁女孩——一位西雅图的高中生——说虽然她本人不吸毒,她的许多朋友和同学却习以为常地陷入非法吸毒中。她进一步说,任何想买大麻或致幻剂的学生都能很容易地从校园中那些有名的学生毒贩手中买到。她说这在她知道的所有中学中都一样。我们该对那些吸毒成瘾而危害健康前程的青年人说什么呢?我们对那些到学校来寻求教育但却受到那些目的不在此的同学的危害的学生负有怎样的义务呢?

在此我们可以回到价值起源的问题。价值由何而来?如果有些价值是终极性的,我们如何能知晓?这些问题可以有三种我前面提到的解答。一种可能是:价值与神同生。第二种可能是:价值自然发生,正如物理规律一样,并不一定有神圣起源。第三种可能是:它们是人之构造。前二种可能论辩某些价值的先在存在,第三种论辩说人的经验与反思是起源之连续不断的进化点。

在旧约故事中,当摩西手持十诫石版自西奈山而下时,他并 没表示是自己发明了它们。他清楚地说它们是神赐于人之法律。它 们是神圣启示的产物。当耶稣·基督向人类提出十诫的概念精华 "全心全意地爱主、你们的神,爱邻人如己"时,他话语中有神之 威严,信仰者慰籍的主要源泉是:这些指令中蕴涵的价值并非拿 来叫人争论的随意观念,而是正当生活的毫不含糊的洞见。这给予 生活行为的一种结构,提供了一种自由感,这是那些不太确定何 者正当的人不能享有的自由。在有力的和受教育的人当中,有一种 可笑的、如果不说是可怜的通常观念,即这种结构只为普通人所 必须,他们自己是不要的。他们甚至看不到实用主义的论证:领导 得最好的人是通过榜样进行领导的。

自然法论证从某种意义上讲是神圣启示论与人之构造论的一 种妥协。它使人的角色成为真理的发现者而非启示的接受者或价 值创建者。作为发现者,我们总是对新发现开放着。我们对物理学 中自然律的感受从牛顿宇宙到爱因斯坦宇宙虽然发生了变化,(当 然,对何者为善的发现并不必然与物理学上的发现完全等同,正 如 Lewis 在其《人之废弃》中指出的,对自然律是否正确的一个 检验乃是去发现不同文化中最佳思想者的基本共识。)但这也只代 表了在人类史上某个时间的最佳思想。曾一度有过对"龙"之存在 的共识,所以自然律的确定性不能在共识基础上得到实证。为时空 所隔开之社会对某些属性方面有共识,只能作为自然法的论证,而 不能成为其实证 (proof)。事实上,不存在任何自然法的演绎论证 足以令那些选择不接受它们的人承认其具有超出"可能论证"的 效准。然而, Lewis 引用了一组强有力的价值, 认为它们是自然法 的本质: 怜悯、真诚、智慧、公正、恢宏、诚信、仁慈和同情。这 些价值经过适当的塑造与教诲,具有改变生命的力量。哲人、教师、 诗人、艺术家、小说家和传记作者从古老时代起就知道这一事实, 但是,在我们相对主义思想的现时代,这些永恒价值却轻易地被 抛去一边,或是通过无止境的定义争论而琐屑化。

第三种可能性是:正确与错误的价值起源于人,在任何意义上都不是先在存在的。这一论证实质上是说:如果比如说真诚一般来讲是"好"的,那是因为我们为了这一或那一原因决定了"真为好"。从这一视角看,我们的价值并无高贵之处,可能只不过是进化之印迹,是能很好地服务于我们的长期的生存斗争的。为了相信这一点,人们无需从天堂或自然法中寻找线索,只要相信此人或此文化已决定真诚至少在一定程度上有功效就行。事实上,我们知道许多人在日常事物中不实践真诚,他们明白欺骗更可取,还能找到整个社会都把欺骗当成通行政策的理由。他们关于真诚做了何种选择?

当然,相对主义态度比起其他态度容许更广的适当性与主观性。我的一位学生曾告诉我她看不出欺骗说谎有何不对之处,倘如这能帮助她实现成为一个教师的目标的话!她这么推理:世界上充满骗子与说谎者,她能生存的唯一方式就是按他们的规则游戏。我常常怀着矛盾心理想到此人。她的价值在我看来是邪恶的,但另一方面她说话时不带伪善。

我有一位人类学家朋友曾多次说她相信不存在着"真",只存在每个人的"真"。你相信何者为真对你来说就是真的,直到新证据否证之。这种看法有一定吸引力,但即使这种看法也不会令随意欺骗成为真理。此处的真实感建立在个人的诚信上。这种看法的结果是什么?她宣称道:这种观点引向更大的宽容,对人更持非审判态度。但是假如一位独裁者坚信他的压迫性"真理",因为它合乎人民的最佳利益,人们该怎么办?如果一位教师坚信他的"真理"是学生应当不带同情地被教授以学科内容,又会发生什么?这些并非是与实际世界无关的例子。假如一个社会的孩子都变得玩世不恭,相信真理不存在——甚至个人自己的真理,那又会发生什么?对这些问题的回答是:社会会从内部腐烂掉,有人,甚至大多数人

会把这些话视为异想天开,我并没与他们争辩的兴趣。

知识与价值

1854年,英国哲学家斯宾塞发表了一篇文章:"什么知识最有价值?"斯宾塞感到这问题是一切教育的"问题中的问题"。我同意这一点。斯宾塞写道:"为了建立合理的课程体系,我们必须先解决我们要认识什么;……我们要确定知识的相对价值。"斯宾塞的看法在今天比他一个半世纪前写这些话时更具有针对性。

斯宾塞的结论是:最有价值的知识是科学,因为科学在知识的所有领域中最直接地关涉我们的自我保存。斯宾塞的论点是:自我保存是教育的首要目标。这种想法很有吸引力。我们大家都想活下去并过得好。事实上,目前流行的青少年自杀表明我们甚至无力使我们的青少年相信这一基本价值。但是,以何种代价自我保存?这是许多人面对厄运时间的问题。现代有人仍学到了基督与苏格拉底在古代就展现的事实:我们人类生存中有超出自我保存的东西。苏格拉底之妻得知他死刑判决时痛哭不止,说他受到如此不公之判决太可怕了。苏格拉底却问她:是否她宁愿他被公正地判决(为处死)?

我认为斯宾塞的问题提对了,但答案却错了。他提出了一个形而上学的问题,却以物质至上的答案回答之。这在人类历史上发生过不止一次。近代世俗人一直想抛弃我们最深的人性价值与理想,当代世俗人选择拜倒在物质至上与自利之庙宇前。我感谢像 A·Solzhenitsyn 这样的作家,他们帮助我看到古代的人类精神的永恒神赐价值是真正重要的。这才是最有价值的知识。我们如果在学习中忽视灵性的与道德的价值,那就走上了最危险的自我毁灭的道路。人类史上有多少社会的多少例子可以告诉我们这一简单教

训啊!

重要的步子首先是在民主框架中改进社会与学校。没有民主就不可能真正有教育,因为没有民主人们就不能表达自己的思想与愿望。但是光有民主显然还不够,民主并没解决美国的一切问题,社会中还必须有超越的灵性目的感。

1991年8月号 Omni 杂志——一份美国科技杂志——报道了最近美国人关于灵性价值及其起源的意见普查: 95%的美国人信神和神恩价值; 90%的人向神祷求帮助和劝告; 75%的人相信耶稣基督的神性。清注意这种相信更高力量是价值源泉的事实可以解释美国社会的活力。但是这并非是一个完善的社会。问题还大量地存在,诸如吸毒、犯罪和青少年异己感,那些宣称自己信神的人,也相信消费主义。但是这一相信她们生活中的神性目的的持续感给许多人以过着一个超出自我保存和欲求物质事物的生活的理由。

回到斯宾塞的问题:"什么知识最有价值?"我认为对子在民主社会框架中的真正灵性价值的知识是最有价值的知识。这是我们向下一代做出的贡献。看一下圣保罗致腓力比书:

最后,弟兄们,一切真实的,一切尊荣的,一切公 正的,一切纯洁的,一切神恩的,一切优秀者和值得赞 颂者,思考这些事吧。

话说得再清楚不过了。圣经要我们在善恶之间、正误之间、真谎之间、美耻之间、优劣之间做出抉择。

我们共同从属的文明是具有目的的道德和灵性价值的源泉。这些价值可以在文学、艺术、文化、音乐以及传统中找到。有意义价值的一个伟大源泉是圣经,新旧约圣经。犹太-基督教之积极道

德、灵性价值传统是西方文化核心,正如伟大的传统教育和文字是东方文化核心一样。杰弗逊在《独立宣言》中写道:"一切人被创造为平等的,并且被造物主赋予一些不可剥夺之权利",包括"生命、自由和对幸福的追求"。这触及到犹太-基督教传统的核心。

我可以讲一个故事。我曾在学校(环境)里指导过一个实验研究。这一研究的目的是检察对10岁、11岁和12岁学生教授经济学的几种不同方式的有效性。学生们被随机安排到不同活动中,包括有一个班可以有机会制造他们自己选择的产品。这个班被教师要求决定制造什么并卖给其他学生。他们选择了制造简易布面夹子,可以让学生们用来存放作业。他们制造、登广告并出售他们的产品。学生们每天干,分工进行活动。在此过程中有许多问题产生,学生们必须以民主的方式加以解决。课堂成了反思道德复杂性之处。教师每天花几分钟检查他们的工作并与他们讨论与他们所做的有关联的经济观念。她解释各种概念如"供给与需求"、"劳动分工"、"资源配置",等等。学生被要求将这些观念与他们的活动联系起来。

在一个对照班级中,学生们学习经济学教科书。他们学习实验组学生学习的同样经济观念,区别在于对照班的学生把经济学作为典型的抽象学校课业来学。在此班中很少有理智上的或道德上的复杂性,但重点放在信息上。在研究结束时,不同的学生被测试其经济学知识。实验组学生比"教科书班级"学生得分高许多。班级间差异不在于能力,而在于意义。实验班学生做的工作具有意义,教科书班学生所做的工作没有意义。如果意义在教学领域中如此重要,它对于人的灵性领域又该有何许更大之重要性呢?

这次研究的另一方面也值得注意。实验班的学生一起工作,一起讨论,一起决定。结果他们汇报说相互间产生了富有意义的友谊。一位学年当中进校的女孩被安排在实验班,这是位安静害羞的。

女孩,没有朋友。在班里当名新生是件不容易的事。学校生活对于她是痛苦的和困难的。教师说她是个自己做自己事的好学生,但孤独内向。课间时她独自一人呆在操场上。她会看着别的孩子活动,但不参加。午饭时她一人吃。但是当她进了实验班后,情况开始转变。她很快与大伙打成一片,因为学生需要一起工作。她有了几个朋友,并成了一个幸福的女孩,与别人一起吃饭玩游戏。我很高兴她没被随意安排入教科书班级,否则她会和别的学生一样,忙于读书,没时间发展友谊。

结 论

当耶稣基督宣称他的人间使命时,他塑造着生命的终极价值——正如我们必须为青少年塑造一样。无论多少格言和劝导,无论多少官方宣告都无法逾越他的目常榜样。他并没有过一个高高在上的生活,并没呆在书斋中琢磨智慧名言。他的教导总是在最困难的环境中面对最困苦的人做出的,恰如今目的优秀教师给予他们的学生超出目常学校生活的巨大丰厚关怀一样。

我们开始时间的是有无终极价值以及如果有是什么的问题。 让我们回到此问题。有时建立一种观念的最佳方式是明确这种观念不是什么。为讨论之便,我们可以假设终极价值存在,而不管其起源如何。倘如此,它们必然具有终极对立面,即最高级的否定。 考虑一下人类历史,无论宏观还是个人日常生活经验的,难道不是很清楚我们的世界和个人生活中有毁灭性力量?当一个孩子在肉体或情感上遭虐待时,他是遭罪。更厉害的是,孩子会把虐待内化,从而将会以某种形式将它传给别人。当整个社会在肉体或情感上遭虐待,其扩散可能会成几何级数增长。

我们必须问自己:为什么有些人要虐待别人?我认为这是恶的 274 存在。我们当中既有善之潜能,也有恶之潜质。我提到过没有朋友、但后来在改善了的环境中有许多朋友的小女孩,我们能说教师和其他学生忽视她便是恶吗?我们不必指责他们。但小女孩确乎是通过忽视所带来的虐待的牺牲品。我们如果忽视别人的需求,那我们自己便也是虐待之牺牲品。当小女孩开始结交朋友,她变得幸福了。而那位看到关怀人的环境可以帮助落后者的教师的生活也由这位小女孩的教训得到改变。她在此刻瞥见一种终极价值,她的生命便不再如旧。其他学生的生命也由新朋友所丰富。这些就是我们称作"小胜利"者。他们发生于善克服恶的那些超越时刻,一切伟大教师都知道这些时刻。

我认为有终极价值,可以确知,古代东西方哲人都确知之。它们是智慧、美、真、公正、自由、勇气、信仰、希望和爱。但是这只是纸上空词,如果不被实践的话。在日常生活中实践公正的孩子将为自己和他人期盼公正,在生活中体验自由的人将为自己和他人要求自由。

但是这些价值中最大者是爱。在新约《哥林多书》第13章我们可以看到爱的充分表达。

但丁在《神曲》中写道:"爱本身就是你的一切优点的真正种子。"陀斯妥也夫斯基写道:"没有爱就没有感觉。"甘地写道:"爱永远不死。"罗素写道:"事情之根是一非常简单和古老的东西。我几乎不愿提到它,以免'聪明人'会用讥笑应答。这就是爱,基督之爱或挚爱。如果你感受之,你便有存在的动机,行动的指导,勇气的根据,诚实的迫切愿望。"

柏拉图曾写道:"如果你问教育的好处是什么,答案很简单:教育造就好人,好人行动高贵,在战场上征服敌人。"我认为敌人就在门外,我们急需好人在战斗中征服之。敌人就是异化、吸毒、犯罪、不公正、冷漠、灵性贫乏、缺乏持久的道德目的,就是残

暴,它是侵蚀我们的可怕敌人。

1630年,英国北美麻湾殖民地的第一位民选长官 Winthrop 在船上布道,讲到美国人总是追寻,但又总是并非成功地归属的 终极价值。他勾勒了在新英格兰旷野中新生殖民地将来可能发展 的乌托邦前景,他说到了让世界看到的"山上之城",他告诉他的 追随者"我们必须相互喜爱,共同悲伤,共同劳动和受苦,总是 以团体为第一,就像同一身体的各部分一样"。这些话真正表达了 对人类同胞的爱。我们应当分享他的境界,不以生活之成功在于物质财富,而在于共同感。他的境界建立在神与人的契约之上,这给予人的"只为善、义、诚之事"的自由。他说:"有了这种自由,你便能抵抗生活中的困苦。"

10

基督教与现代化[1]

H. 奥特 著 孙周兴 译

中国已经特别激烈地为现代化的浪潮和问题所席卷了。看起来,这乃是自第二次世界大战以来整个人类大家庭的全球性命运。我在自己的家乡瑞士也能够感受到这种命运——大家知道,瑞士是一个小国家,十分现代化,而在另一方面看却又十分的传统。尽管各个不同国家和地区的现代化过程存在着很大的差别,但是,我们大家都面临着一个具有相同结构的问题。因此之故,我才敢以一个门外汉的身份,与您们——道来谈谈现代化问题方面的一些想法。为此,我在这里要感谢贵校"基督教研究中心"的盛情邀请。

总的讲,我下面的思索包括三个部分:

- 一、对于现代化的理解;
- 二、面对现代化问题的基督教的动机以及一种可能的使命;
- 三、在一个现代化时代里,对于人类之将来,有一个现实主义的基督教的或者也是一般宗教的前景吗?

我知道,我们的问题早已经广泛地并且已经长期地得到了讨论,特别是目前在您们中国,但也以各个不同的名目在世界其他地区得到了讨论。而且我希望,我在这里并没有过多地重复那些东西,这些东西尽管是正确的,但已经太经常的被人们讲过,因此

已经成为老生常谈了。

最后还有一段开场的话:我已经觉察到,在您们的国家里,这个问题在各种各样的圈子里得到了广泛的讨论,我们外国人每天都在您们投刊上(如《中国日报》)读到,您的国家政府和地方政府如何为这一个巨大的问题的许多特殊难题绞尽脑汁,尤其是在生态学领域里,如果像表面看来的那样,中国的基督徒作为少数派对此争论有完全特殊的兴趣,那么,我想,这乃是与基督教的基本态度联系在一起的,这种基本态度,基督徒们称之为"先知的"(prophetisch),("先知"在此并不意味着预言未来。这个词的意思毋宁是,在人们所生活的特殊时代里对历史的进程具有一种启发性的消息。)

一、对于现代化的理解

现代性和现代化的基本特征大概就是现代技术,以及与之相随的一种持续增长(即所谓的"进步")和现代技术的扩展的一切后果——对于人类精神、人类价值和人类社会处境的后果。

在我们这个时代里,思考现代技术之本质的最重要的思想家,可能始终还是马丁·海德格尔(Martin Heidegger)。实际上,我们看到,海德格尔仅仅是深刻地描述了现代技术现象,而没有对之作任何一种伦理上的价值判断。海德格尔以他在50、60年代所写的著作,远远地超越了他那个时代。为了描述现代技术,海德格尔新创了"座架"(Ge-stell)这个概念。[2]这在德文中是一个难以翻译的新造词。这个概念在德语中合乎与动词"摆置"(stellen)有关的那个词族,诸如:"订造"(be-stellen)、"制造"(her-stellen)、"表象"(vor-stellen),或者直接就是在"止住"、"挡住"意义上的 stellen。海德格尔以此概念想说明:作为整体的现代技术的特征

乃是对世界中的现实的总体客观化(objectivierung)。一切都变成可制作的了,一切都能够被订造出来,一切都能够被操作,并且受到人和人类社会的粗暴强力的控制。人类技术的扩展和蔓延不知道任何界限。而且,这并不是一个关乎人的自由选择和决断的问题,不是一个由一种简单的伦理的和政治的决定能够改变的问题。相反地,人可以说已经被现代技术的精神和气质所占领了。在某种程度上,这整个发展乃是命运性的:它在西方思想的漫长历史中有其深刻的根源一一此处所谓的西方思想并非特指基督教思想,而是西方形而上学的思想。因为西方形而上学的思想中包含着一种客观化倾向。

海德格尔本人并没有说这是好是坏,他只是描述这个事件。按 照他的看法,想直接依靠某些伦理原则来与这一全球性事件作斗 争,是十分天真的。但很清楚,现代技术的"精神"、气质也触及 到社会的价值和处境,因而也触及到人类生活的所有的情感、伦 理和精神层面。我们在卡尔·马克思的《共产党宣言》中,在马克 思对他那个时代的资本主义的清晰分析中,看到了某种类似的说 法。马克思说,在资本主义世界里,一切都变成可度量的(金钱价 值尺度),并且因此变成可计算的和可支付的。这样一来,那些古 老的人类价值逐步被摧毁了,因为一切都是可买卖的了。我想,现 代技术世界的情形也是如此,在那里,任何事物都是可订造的和 可测度的,因而也是可支付的。

在现代技术现象中,而且特别是在现代通信技术和舆论工具现象中,有一个心智的和伦理的方面,就是不断增强的追求简单化的倾向,追求对人类实在性的简单化观点的倾向。在西方民主政治中,我们可以看到,这种倾向如何能够获得一种对政治生活的有害的影响,在此如何被统一起来并且"被拉平"(nivelliert)了。这条道路的终点或许是一种唯一的、统一的、适合于所有人的世

界语言的可怕远景。但这样一种世界语言不再是一种语言了,而只是一个符号系统了。构成我们绞尽脑汁地思索的现代化这个严肃问题的,并不完全是技术本身,而是与技术的发展过程相随的这样一些精神的和道德上的后果。

在技术的这些后果当中,一个更广大的后果乃是人类对自然一一那是人类的天然家园——的不断异化。请各位允许我根据我的旅行经验来举一个小小的例子,在今天,整个世界的现代宾馆全都具有相同的国际标准,其中有许多宾馆,人们是打不开房间窗户的。¹³¹人们完全依赖子人工的空气调节。这样一来,人们便断绝了与自然的联系,与海德格尔在其著作中所谓的"四重整体"(Geviert)的联系。¹⁴¹以"四重整体"这个概念,海德格尔指的是我们的生活的基本方位:人居住和活动于这四个维度的四重整体中,也即在天空、大地、终有一死者(即人类人体)与神性者(即处处都出现的超越关联)的四重整体中。一切现实事物都逗留下这一广大的关联体中。第一个物(真正的物,因为工业的批量产品是否还是真正的物,这是值得置疑的!)以自己的方式反映着这个四重整体。但在这里,如若要在阐释中进一步追踪海德格尔的这一十分难以捉摸的思想线索,那我们可能就会扯得太远了。

最近几年里,我在中国旅游讲学时看到,恰恰在中国哲学家中间,有特别多的人对海德格尔的思想怀有兴趣。所以,让我在这里来说明一下海德格尔的另一个表述,以此来结束我这个演讲的第一部分。正如我已经断定的那样,我们依照海德格尔的看法不能用简单的伦理规范来考察技术现象。海德格尔说,我们不能通过一种独有的意志决断来克服现代技术世界。有时候,海德格尔也说,我们虽然不能够克服(überwinden)技术,但也许有朝一日将"经受"(ver-winden)技术。[5]后面这个德文词语难以翻译。人们也许可以这样来想象它的含义,我们将不能摆脱技术,不能把技术她

在我们身后,但我们可能有朝一日将把技术整合(integrieren)到我们本己的灵性的和精神的存在之中。在此情形下,技术就不再是某种统治我们的东西,而是成为我们的存在的广大境域中的一部分了。

二、着眼于现代化问题的基督教的可能动机和使命

基督教必须做出努力,与它的同时代人谈论他们当下时代的 各种问题,并且对他们说一些话。这乃是基督教的"先知"使命的 一个部分。基督教徒必须在此保持现实主义的态度,并且看到现实 的(不具是假定的、意识形态上的)问题。他们必须形成一道对于 时代的现实境况的敏锐目光。在今天,他们与其他同时代人一起, 面临着现代化这个紧迫的问题。这种境况可能导致两个态度,一种 是对技术发展的"进步的"肯定态度,另一种是对技术发展的 "保守的"反对态度。基督教既不应该成为在意识形态上进步的,也 不应该成为在意识形态上保守的。但它的道路也不是一种软弱的 妥协的道路, 而不如说, 它所要求的乃是通过创造性的想象, 为 将来、为一种新的前景寻求新的引线。当然,我作为基督教神学家 决不会认为,基督教能够独力完成这一使命,能够单独矩应付这 一巨大的挑战。相反地,我相信,我们时代的基督教和基督徒的 "先知使命" (prophetischen Mandat),恰恰就包含着这样一回事 情,即:培养出一种决心,一种要与其他人合作的决心,用圣经 的和基督教的说法,就是一种与所有"具有善良意志的人"合作 的决心。为了竭力思索一个关于现代化问题的作用范围的问题,人 们已经挑起了我们人类存在的一个心灵的、"超越的"维度。倘若 我们要求能够通过一种唯一的宗教 —— 消除所有其他宗教 —— 来 重新构成和组织现代世界,那么,这种唯一的宗教就会是一种

"精神帝国主义"(geistlicher Imperialismus),后者恰恰不再是心灵的,不再是真正宗教的!这样一种态度不是宗教的,而是基要主义的(fundamentalistsch),因而是意识形态的!

一种真正的宗教的态度把它的目光指向上帝本身的当前性, 指向神圣的超越者 (heilige Transzendenz) 本身的当前性。它在一 切事物和个体中寻找上帝的教助恩典。与之相反,一种基要主义的 和意识形态的态度则确信,它拥有以一种唯一的教义系统为形式 的宗教垄断权。它相信,唯有这个教义系统以所有其他的系统的代 价,将保持最后的胜利。

真正的宗教丰富我们人类的生活,而意识形态的基要主义则使人类生活变得贫乏不堪。因此之故,各种宗教不应该在竞争中为霸权地位而斗争,相反地,它们必须努力去寻求某种相互之间的共性,而又没有因此相互混合起来。关键倒是取决于每一种宗教都要保存它自己的传统的精神财富。这种保存可以通过一种善意的和灵活的对话来实现——但这种对话未必就是词语和概念层面上的心智对话,而首先更多的是日常的共同生活的一种共同性。

推动和促进这样一种对话,乃是我们这个时代的基督教的"先知使命"的一部分。因为,我们根本上只能共同地努力,把对于超越者的感受力,对于神圣奥秘的当前在场、上帝的当前在场的感受力,还给这个星球上的人类社会。根据这种对超越者的内心感受,我们有朝一日将重新有能力去"经受"(ver-winden)现代技术,把现代技术整合到我们本身的心灵存在的更广大的境域之中。我们时代的(但根本上也是所有时代的)基督教界的使命,可以概括在耶稣基督在山上布道时对门徒们所讲的两句话中:"你们是大地的盐"和"你们是世界的光"。第一句话的意思是:大地上的生活不可成为无味的("无盐的"),不可成为无聊的、沉闷的、平庸的、单调的、因而无兴趣的,不可没有任何挑战,没有任何

深度,没有任何奥秘和冒险,没有任何超越的背景。上帝,神圣的、水恒的神秘之物,热爱着大地和整个宇宙。上帝创造了大地和整个宇宙,创造了所有的"干万事物",使它们成为它自己的奥秘的反光。第二句话的意思是:世界不应该是没有光的,不应该没有一种对一切"有感情的生命"来说的辉煌的和终极性的希望之光芒,也即不应该没有达到一种终极规定的希望——人们现在把这种终极规定性称为"永生"、"涅槃"(Nirwana)、"天堂"、"净土",或其他不论什么称法。或者,人们也可以直接把它称为:与永恒的奥秘本身的终极联盟。世界,我们的共同的家园,不应该是黑暗的,不能是没有希望、没有将来的。

这乃是直接从耶稣基督本身所讲的话中推出来的基督教的原则和基督徒的使命。但我想,这也是一般宗教的普遍原则,尽管不同宗教会以不同的方式去形成和体现这些原则。我认为,这与我们的现代化问题关系甚大,也密切关系到一种新的生活方式和将来的生活方式的问题,特别是我们马上面临的将来(即21世纪)的生活方式的问题。

三、在一个现代化时代里,对于人类之将来,有一个现实主义的(基督教的和一般宗教的)远景吗?

我认为,有这样一种远景,或者也许更应该说,有多种这样的远景。因为这个问题是多层面的,并且需要许多相近的远景。所以说到底,在全球层面上,在联合国层面上,也已经有各种各样的远景得到了阐明,当然,它们还需要某种灵感和细节上的完善。我在这里主要想到联合国所讲的三个概念:

- 1. "人权";
- 2. "可持续发展";

3. "人类的共同遗产"。

人类个体必然有一些不能转让的权利,亦即:对具有生理、精神、道德和心灵存在的人类个体的保护,对具有个别和一般相统一的人类个体的保护。人当然不是一个孤立的生物,而是一个社会的生物,他需要一个社会的、文化的和心灵的家园。因此之故,我们必须在将来力求把人类社会的、文化的和心灵的家园领域保存在它们的全部差异性、多样性以及特殊的特性和同一性之中。因为只有这样,尘世生活的"盐",它的冒险特征,它的深刻维度,才不会流失,而是将持续下去。我们必须学会一点,即:自然的多样性,物种多样性,但也包括而且首先是文化和生活方式的多样性,制于"人类的共同遗产"(Common Heritage of Humankind),只有后者(如果我们把宗教维度也包括在内)才能为这个地球上的人类个体生活提供财富。

技术将继续发展下去,而且必然将继续发展下去,以便为人类亿万之众提供食物,提供最低限度的生活标准和社会保障。但是、技术必须以某种方式发展、方使得这种发展能够继续下去、持续下去,(这就是"可持续发展"这个概念的真正意义,这个概念的流行的德文翻译是"nachhaltige Entwichlung",这个翻译恰恰是不贴切的!)为的是我们不会在将来某一天达到某个地步、在那里不再有什么落后(Zurück),而且技术将摧毁掉一切生活质量一诸如通过对一切自然资源的毁灭,或者通过对一种极端枯燥的统一性的扩展。我们必将比我们在过去所做的多得多的关注生活质量,因为恰恰是对生活质量而言,已经出现了比以往大得多的危险。

"生活质量"(Lebensqualität)乃是一个难以捉摸的和不能简单地说明的概念,因为它关系到人们恰恰不能用数量标准来把握的那个方而。这就是说,生活质量这个常用的概念并不关乎这样一

个问题,即:个人挣多少钱,在某个地区有多少医院和学校,等等。相反,在这个概念中透露出某种更深刻的东西,我们用数字,在数量上不再能够表达出这种东西,不如说,这种东西已经超出了数字和数量范围。因此之故,我们谈论生活的质量(Qualität des Lebens)。

在我们生活于其中的这个现代化时代里,我们必须寻找和发 展将来的生活方式的标准。举一个例子:世界范围的通信手段或者 世界范围的快速便利的交通本身没有什么害处。但有一种威胁包 含在各种通信工具的大众精神气质(Massen Mentalität)中,或 者包含在这样一回事情中,即:我们——由于对一种更迅速和更 便利的交通的兴趣——漫不经心地建造起宽阔的马路,而这些马 路永远地摧毁了过去的山水风光。我确信,我们能够找到和制订出 迫切需要的标准,我们能够把这些标准用作引线,用作启发手段, 指导我们应该如何与技术打交道。这些标准是能够找到的,而且它 们也能够是卓有成效的,只要我们以正当的精神开始工作——亦 即以这样一种精神,这种精神超越了纯粹的数量关系,不仅仅把 人之外的自然视为一种为人类服务的必要工具, 而是把它视为一 种创造杰作,这种创造杰作在自身中有其内在的尊严(例如,动 物是我们的兄弟,它们与我们一样,也是有情感的生物!),并且 处于与永恒的和无所不包的神秘之物的直接联系之中。这种精神 就是宗教的精神。

注释:

- [1] 本文系作者海因里希·奥特(Heinrich Ott)1995年10月在杭州大学 所作的演讲报告。作者为瑞士巴塞尔大学教授。 - 译注
- [2] 后期海德格尔把技术之本质称为"座架"(Ge-stell),此词为海氏所生造,显然意在词面上突出技术与"表象" (vorstellen)、"订造"

(bestellen) 和"制造"(herstellen)等的联系。此外,在"座架"(Ge-stell)一词中,我们还应注意其前级 Ge-的"聚集"之义、以及词根 stell 的"摆置"之义。——译注

- [3] 奥特教授来杭讲学时,为执一间能够打开窗户,让自然空气流通的房间而颇费了一番周折,最后找到了西子湖畔的西子宾馆。作为神学家和哲学家的奥特教授的"自然"心情十分真切动人。——译注
- [4]"四重整体"(Geviert)是海德格尔在50年代提出的一个基本词语,他以此标示世界四要素(即天、地、神、人"四方")的相互映射和相互居有的整体运动。可参看海德格尔:《演讲与论文集》,特别是其中的"第·居·思"和"物"等文。一·译注
- [5] 德语中的 überwinden (克服、压倒、克制) 与 verwinden (克服、熬过、经受住) 有相同的词根和相近的意义,难以明确地区分开来。但在词语色彩上,前者比后者更强烈些。根据海德格尔的意思,我们在此权把 überwinden 译为"克服",把 ver-winden 译为"经受"。特别可参看海德格尔《路标》一书中的"面向存在问题"一文。一译注

ABSTRACT

This article puts an emphasis on Paul Tillich's main writing, Theology of Culture, though his another book, Systematic Theology, also mentioned whenever it is necessary. Tillich had concerned the issue of the relationship between religion and culture for his whole life, which is mainly expressed in the Theology of Cuture. He thought that religion is not a special function of human spirit, but a base for all special functions. Religion used to turn towards the function or areas of moral, recognition, aesthetics and emotion. It has walked around every special areas of human spirit, but it has not found its own home or its territory. At last, riligion suddenly realized the truth that it is not necessary to seek, because religion itself deep-rooted in the basic stratum of human spirit. Religion is the last, infinite, unconditioned aspect of human spirit, which is " an Ultimate concern". What religion concerns is "the Ultimate being" which belongs to human race. It aims to supply purpose, ultimate meaning, ability of judgement and creation for all special functions of human spiritual life.

Tillich also studied two historical types of religious philosophy: ontological and cosmological, and two kinds of methodology: ontological method and cosmological method. He think the first one is fundamental, and the seconds is auxiliary, which is helpful to

the accommodation between religion and secular culture. "Religion is ontology of culture, and culture is a form of religion", which is specially manifested in religious language and the forms of arts. At the end, the author of his article points out that he would define Tillich's thought of religious philosophy as "theological existentialism", which is much better to express its nature and main issue, rather that "theology of exitentialism". His theology of culture can called "cultural theology of pan-Religion".

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蒂利希"文化神学"述要

张志刚*著

保罗·蒂利希 (Paul Tillich, 1886—1965年) 是著名的美籍德国神学家、哲学家。他毕生从事神学研究与宗教实践,主要著作有《系统神学》、《文化神学》、《新教时代》、《信仰的动力》、《存在的勇气》、《永恒的现在》、《基督教思想史》等等。作为一个系统神学家,蒂利希最重要的著作当推洋洋近百万言的《系统神学》。为写此书,他几乎用去了一生中最宝贵的后几十年。该书由芝加哥大学出版社于1951年到1963年陆续出版一、二、三卷,又于1967年结集而成三卷合订本。因此,《系统神学》一书当应看作蒂利希一生神学研究与宗教实践之总结。但作为一位有所建树的宗教哲学家,蒂利希的主要思想特色却集中体现在《文化神学》(1959年)一书中。蒂利希一生的学术思想具有比较严格的一致性。他在撰写《系统神学》期间就曾指出,虽然自己一生的大部分时间和精力都投入了系统神学的教学与研究,但他的"兴趣中心"却始终不离一个重要的问题,这就是"宗教与文化的关系问题"。他的大多数论著,包括大部头的《系统神学》均在试图确立一种方式,把基督

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教与世俗文化联系起来,以求揭示人类文化诸多活动领域中所深含的宗教因素。可根据上述说法,从蒂利希整个思想过程来看,这个兴趣中心地就成了一条逻辑线索,为我们把握其宗教哲学思想的主要特征提供了基本依据。于是,考察蒂利希的文化神学观念就显得十分重要了。

一、走向精神生活的深层

宗教之本性何在?或者说,宗教到底是什么?这是蒂利希整个 文化神学体系所要追究的首要问题,他的《文化神学》也正是由 此落笔的。

蒂利希指出,一旦有人就宗教说点什么,马上就会遭到两方面的诘难。一方面,有些正统的神学家会问:你是否把宗教看成人类精神的产物呢?如果你的回答是肯定的,这些神学家便会掉头而去。因为照他们的看法,宗教原本就不是人类精神的产物,而是圣灵的恩赐。虽然人类的精神在尘世问是有创造性的,可相对于上帝而言,则完全是被动性、接受性的。另一方面,有些世俗的科学家会问:你是否把宗教视为人类精神的本性呢?如果你对此也作出肯定的回答,他们同样也会掉头而去,走向另一个极端。这些科学家往往根据心理学、社会学、历史学、人类学等学科的成就,强调宗教理论与实践的多样性、宗教观念的神秘性,以及社会生活的世俗性等等。他们认为,宗教是一定历史阶段的特有现象,而在科学如此昌盛的今天,宗教已经失去了立足之地。因此,宗教信仰只不过是人类精神的一时寄托,决非本质特性。

以上两种截然相反的观点显示出了当今社会集体意识的严重分裂。这是一种精神分裂症似的分裂, 蒂利希如此评论道, 这种分裂迫使人们对宗教作出了简单的肯定或否定, 从而严重威协着当

今人类的精神自由。其实,无论是来自神学方面还是出自科学角度的语难,都是对宗教的武断拒斥。细究起来便会发现这样一种怪诞的现象:上述两种意见虽然各持一端,却共有一种顽固的信念,即把宗教界定为与种种神圣存在物之间的关系,尽管对于神灵存在,与否,神学批评家与科学批判者持有相反的论点,前者给予肯定而后者加以否定。蒂利希强调指出。正是这样一种简单的宗教观念,使人们丧失了理解宗教的可能性。问题的症结在于:"要是你一开始就问上帝是否存在,那你永远也不可能接近上帝;而且如果你断言上帝确实存在,那你甚至比否定上帝存在更加远离上帝。"[2]

那么,宗教到底是什么呢?与前述两种意见不同,蒂利希回答: "宗教是人类精神的一个方面。"^[3]他解释道,这个论断的含义在 于:假如我们从一个特殊的角度去看待人类精神的话,那么人类 精神本身就表现为宗教,这个特殊的角度就是指人类精神生活的 深层。因此,宗教并不是人类精神的一种特殊功能,而是其所有特 殊功能的根基。在蒂利希看来,这个论断对于理解宗教之本性有着 至关重要的意义,因而还有必要对它所包含的多重意思展开分析。

首先必须意识到,宗教不是人类精神的一种特殊功能。历史告诉人们,宗教千百年来曾经从一种精神功能转向另一种精神功能,结果却几经转向,几经挫折。这说明宗教在历史上始终处于一种寻觅家国,争取地盘的状态之中。譬如,宗教一度转向道德功能,敲击道德领域的大门。道德是宗教的"至亲",它的确不好拒绝宗教,但在道德领域宗教是作为一个"穷亲戚"而被收留下来的,其条件是为"主人"服务。这也就是说,只有当宗教屈从于道德,有助于教化出虔诚而善良的公民、官吏、武士、乃至丈夫和儿童时,才会被道德领域所接纳。反之,每当宗教提出自己的主张,要么被追闭嘴,要么便被当作道德肌体上的"毒瘤"遭到割除。又譬如,宗

教也曾为认识功能所吸引,关注认识问题。但在认识领域中,宗教 仅仅是认识的一种特殊方式,是神话般的想象或神秘性的直觉。这 无异于认识的附庸,而且还是一个临时的"帮工"。一旦认识功能 为科学成就所强化,马上就会断绝与宗教的关系,把宗教赶出自 己的地盘。除此之外,宗教还曾转向审美功能和情感功能,但或是 因为不甘消融于艺术之中,或是因为不愿降低为主观情感,宗教 最后也没有驻足于这两个领域。这样,在走遍人类精神生活的所有 领域之后,宗教依然没有家园、没有领地。也正是在这样一种情形 下,宗教才猛然顿悟自己根本就不必去寻找什么家园,更不必去 争夺什么地盘,因为自己本来就深深扎根于人类精神活动的一切 特殊功能之中。"宗教是整个人类精神之底层。"[4]

何为"整个人类精神之底层"呢?蒂利希指出,所谓整个人类精神的底层,就是指宗教所探究的是人类精神生活中终极的、无限的、无条件的方面。"宗教,就该词最宽泛,最基本的意义而论,就是终极之关切(ultimate concern)。"51显然,在蒂利希看来,"整个人类精神之底层"跟"终极之关切"是有密切关系的。这两个概念实际上是从不同的角度表达了宗教信念的处所或神学研究的对象。他在《系统神学》一书中对"终极关切"这个范畴作过全面的阐释,并从中引出了神学研究的两条形式准则。

希的观点,终极关切即是宗教关切的同义语,它是"终极的、无条件的、整体的和无限的"。[6]通过逐一推演终极关切的上述几个特征,蒂利希提出了"神学的第一条形式准则(the first formal criterion of theology)":"神学的对象即是在终极意义上关切着我们的东西。只有那些能把它们的对象作为对我们具有终极意义的事物来加以阐述的命题,才是神学的命题。"[7]

在阐释了终极关切的基本特征之后,还存在着一个重要问题: 终极关切的基本内容是什么?或者说,所谓无条件关切着我们的东西是什么呢?蒂利希认为,对上述问题显然不能以"某种特殊的对象",其至也不能以"上帝"作为答案。假若非要就终极关切的内在本质说些什么,那么所言所指必须根据关于终极关切这一概念的分析。"我们的终极关切就是决定着我们是生存还是毁灭的东西。只有那些能把它们的对象作为对我们具有生存或毁灭意义的事物来加以阐述的陈述,才是神学的陈述。"[8] 这便是蒂利希提出的"神学的第二条形式准则"。

这样一来,蒂利希便重新确立了终极关切或宗教信仰在整个人类精神生活中的重要地位。他进一步指出,在人类精神的所有基本功能、所有创造活动中均深藏着这样一种终极的关切。在道德领域,这种终极关切明显地表现为道德要求的无条件性。因此如果有人以道德功能为名拒斥对终极存在的不懈追求,这种终极关切也是一目了然的。因此,如果有人以认识功能为名拒绝宗教,就是在以宗教的名义反对宗教。而在审美领域,这种终极关切则体现为对表达终极意义的无限渴望。因而,如果有人想以审美功能来拒绝宗教,他仍然是以宗教的名义来反对宗教。总而言之,在一切人类精神活动领域中反映出来的那种终极关切状态,其本身就是宗教的。"宗教是人类精神生活的本体、基础和根底。人类精神中的宗教方面就是指此而言的。"[9]

蒂利希清醒地意识到,理论与现实之间往往存在着很大的冲 突,针对上述宗教界说,难免会有人就宗教一词的狭义或习惯用法 来追究宗教的现状。既然宗教寓于人类精神生活的所有功能之中, 为什么人们还要通过各种形式,像神话、崇拜、教会等来专门发 展宗教,并以其作为人类精神生活的一个特殊方面呢?蒂利希回答 说,这是由于人类精神生活与其本体或底层之间的悲剧性分裂。在 历史上,宗教总是力求触及人类精神生活的本体或底层,使其从日 常生活的尘埃中显露出来,以使人们能够获得神圣的经验,即感 受到终极意义和终极勇气之源泉。这正是宗教传统的荣耀之处。宗 教的光荣与宗教的耻辱向来就是并存的。传统的宗教往往忽视了 ·个根本的问题,即其自身的存在实际上就是人的现实存在与本 质存在之间发生悲剧分裂的结果。因而,它们盲目地以终极领域而 自居,一味鄙视世俗领域,并将神话、教义、礼仪、戒律等等统 统作为终极的东西,强加于那些不愿俯首称臣的人们。这种状况便 是世俗世界在历史上一向激烈反抗宗教世界的主要原因。蒂利希 认为,这种反抗势必导致可悲的结局,因为世俗领域和宗教领域 本来就处于同一困境之中,而目前的对抗状态具能使这种困境愈 发危急。因此,无论是宗教领域还是世俗领域均应意识到,它们各 自事实上都植根于广义的宗教,即有关终极关切的经验。一旦意识 到这一点,宗教领域与世俗领域之间的剧烈冲突便会消除,宗教 便会在人类精神生活中,即在其底层重新发现自己的真正处所,并 由此出发为人类精神生活的所有特殊功能提供主旨、终极意义、判 断力和创造力。这就是蒂利希对宗教本义的基本理解。也是他为当 代宗教选择的根本出路。

二、宗教哲学两种类型批判

蒂利希指出,接近上帝的方式大致有两种:一是"消除分裂"(the way of overcoming estrangement);一是"陌路相逢"(the way of meeting a stranger)。在第一种方式中,当人发现了上帝时也就发现了自己,发现了某种既与自身分裂又与自身同一的东西,尽管这种东西不但无限超越于他而且还绝对制约着他。在第二种方式中,当人跟上帝相遇时,他仿佛只是偶然碰见一个"陌生人"。从根本上讲,他对这个陌生人没有任何确切的了解,也没有任何依附关系。以上两种接近上帝的方式实际上标志着宗教哲学研究中可能出现的两种类型或两种方法。消除分裂的方式标志着本体论型的宗教哲学,或称宗教哲学的本体论方法;陌路相逢的方式则标示着宇宙论型的宗教哲学,亦称宗教哲学的宇宙论方法。这两种类型或方法在西方思想史上一直相互对立,彼此消解。问题的症结到底何在呢?继规定了文化神学的研究对象后,蒂利希之所以要对宗教哲学的两种类型进行历史的批判,其目的就在于进一步确立文化神学的研究方法、

西方人文研究一开始曾为诸多"古老的势力"所束缚。这里讲的古老势力就是指那些半宗教半巫术的、半神圣半邪恶的、半超人半非人的、半抽象半具体的存在物。它们是神话之素材。后来,西方人文研究主要从两个方面挣脱了这类古老势力的枷锁。一方面,这些势力通过屈从于它们中间的一个神而从宗教上被征服了,这个神就是以色列的先知,他是作为"正义之神"而成为普遍的上帝的。另一方面,这些势力通过屈服于某种较之自身更真实的原则而从哲学上被征服了,这个原则因包容一切属性而成为普遍的原则。这样也就产生了"两个绝对的关系问题",即宗教上的绝对

"上帝"(Deus)和哲学上的绝对"存在"(Esse)二者的关系问题。 蒂利希指出,这二者肯定是相互联系的。问题在于它们是怎样联系 的呢?这种联系又意味着什么呢?从历史上看,对于上述重大问题 的两种不同解答便构成了西方宗教意识发展道路上的两个里程 碑。

回首西方宗教意识的发展过程,奥古斯丁首先对两个绝对的 关系问题作出了经典的回答。他认为,两个绝对在真理之本性上是 一致的。真理在所有的哲学论证中都是这样预设的. 真理就是上 帝。人们无法否定真理本身,因为只有以真理的名义才能否定真 理,这样也就确证了真理,由此也就肯定了上帝。用他的原话来说: "我在哪儿发现了真理,也就在哪儿发现了我的上帝,即真理本 身。"可见,在奥古斯丁那里,宗教绝对是哲学上的绝对的先决条 件,上帝就是上帝问题的预设。这大致就是奥古斯丁对宗教哲学基 本问题所作出的经典的本体论回答。随后,经院哲学中的弗兰西斯 学派将上述本体论解答发展成了一种神学原则。该学派着重强调 认识上帝的直接性。波拿文德拉(Bo-naventura)指出,上帝对心。 灵来说是真实存在的,是直接可知的。这种认识不需要任何中介。 对此马修(Matthew)又论证道,上帝就是认识之原则,是原初的 真理。我们根据这种认识原则或原初真理可以认识一切事物,因为 上帝本身就是主体与客体的统一。上帝是无可怀疑的,因为怀疑只 有在主体与客体彼此分离的情形下才可能产生。

宗教哲学思考中的宇宙论方法是由托马斯提出来的,其一般原则可以表述如下:理性的方式并非接近上帝的直接方式,而是一种媒介。理性作为一种推论方式尽管没错,但并不能提供无条件的必然性,因为它所进行的推论必须以权威的方式才能完成。这就意味着:在理性因素的一侧还伫立着非理性的权威。于是,弗兰西斯学派的直接理性便被一种论辩理性所取代了。为迈出这关键的

一步,托马斯摒弃了奥古斯丁的基本观念。在他看来,认识事物不外两种方式:借助事物本身与通过我们自身。因此,就"上帝存在于其自身"这一命题而言."上帝之存在"是通过该命题本身而被认识的,因为其中的谓词同时也就是主词。诚然,上帝就是其自身的存在,但由于我们并不了解上帝,并不清楚上帝的模样,所以该命题是不能通过其本身而被理解的,而必须借助我们比较了解的那些事物来证实,即通过上帝之创造来证实。这样,托马斯便把人排斥于 Primumesse (原初的存在)和 Prima veritas (原初的真理)之外,从而切断了本体论方法的"神经"。

很明显,托马斯所要否定的就是人对"绝对"的直接认识。照他看来,有关绝对的认识在性质上无异于科学的认识。一个搞音乐的人即使不理解某些数学命题,也不得不接受由数学权威论证的这些命题;同理,人们也不得不接受宗教权威所阐释的神学命题。因此,出自权威之手的论证最适用于神学。托马斯就是本着上述观念来论证了有关权威的所有神学命题的。这种做法最终导致了信仰与理解的脱节。

从以上简要的历史回顾可以看到,托马斯等人对两个绝对的关系问题所作的宇宙论解答,大大消解了奥古斯丁创立的本体论方法,以致在西方宗教思想史上形成了一次重大转折。经过这次转折,宗教的绝对"上帝"成了高于一切的唯一存在,而哲学上的绝对"存在"则成了"一种既定的实在结构"(a given structure of reality),在这之中任何事物均是偶然的、个别的。于是,信仰与认识之间的素朴同一被破除了,宗教信仰中的偶然因素也随之暴露出来了。蒂利希指出,在整个西方宗教意识发展史上,本体论方法与宇宙论方法时而分离时而融合,因此,这两种古典方法在各个历史阶段上总是同时存在、相互抗争的。尽管继奥古斯丁和托马斯之后,又有不少神学家和思想家进行了种种尝试,但与上述两种

古典方法相比,都没有取得什么实质性的进展。所以说,深刻批判这两种古典方法,重新反省两个绝对的关系问题,便成了认识历史、寻求出路的关键所在。蒂利希强调,我对这些问题给出的系统回答是以一种绝对肯定的、建设性的形式来表述的,其根据即寓于对宗教哲学两种类型的历史与现状的认识之中。

那么,究竟应当如何解答两个绝对的关系问题呢?蒂利希回答:只有一种方式,即把哲学上的绝对看作宗教上的绝对的一种成份。Deus est esse (上帝就是存在),这个命题是全部宗教哲学的基础,是思想与宗教得以统一的前提。唯有确立这一前提,才有可能消除思想与宗教在个体生活和文化活动中的精神分裂症似的分裂。因此,可以这样表述宗教哲学中的本体论方法:"人直接领悟到某种无条件的东西,它无论在理论上还是在实践中都是主体与客体彼此分离,相互作用的 Prius (先在)。"[10]蒂利希对上述命题里的基本概念作了如下解释:

首先,在这一命题中所谓的"领悟"不是指直觉、经验和认识,而是一个纯中性的词。领悟一词不带有直觉的性质,因为无条件的事物在领悟中不是作为一种"格式塔"(Gestalt),而是作为一种原素、一种力量、一种需要而显现出来的。同时,领悟也不含有经验的意思,因为经验一词一般是用来描述主体所体验到的现存状况,而领悟却不是一种跟经验观察有关的活动。最后,领悟也不是认识。从根本上讲,认识总是指一种以主客体分离为前提的、孤立的理论活动,而领悟恰恰与此相反。但以上术语问题还不是最重要的,问题的实质在于:"这种本体论的领悟是直接的,不以推论过程为中介。只要把注意投向它,它便会根据某种无条件的确定性呈现出来。"[11] 因此,对无条件的事物的领悟本身也是无条件的,这种领悟超出了任何心理功能。奥古斯丁在心理学方面的一个重要兴趣就是要说明:心灵的诸种功能是互为内在的,要想把它

们与存在、真和善割裂开来是不可能的。而托马斯则分解了心理功能的固有联系,并把仅仅靠理智无法实现的东西划归于孤立的意志。这实际上有损于对宗教的理解。总之,领悟到无条件的事物的是人,而不仅仅是人的认识功能。也就是说,人是作为整体而不是作为部分来参与领悟的。

其次,也需要对"无条件"一词作些解释。无条件一词在上述 命题中是用来取代宗教思想史上的一个基本概念---"绝对"的。 绝对一词在字面上意指"没有关联",在传统上又意味着唯心主义 的自我发展的原则,而在无条件这一概念中以上两层含义均被祛 除了。所谓的"无条件"就是指对那些领悟到某种无条件事物的人 们的无条件要求。此外,还必须避免对无条件一词的一种误解。 "无条件"或"某种无条件的事物"不是指一种存在物,甚至也不 是指"最高的存在"或"上帝"。诚然,正是因为上帝不为任何条 件所限才成其为上帝,但无条件的事物并不等于上帝。上帝一词充 斥着人类用以表达终极关切的种种具体的符号,而事实上终极关。 切是借助于某种无条件的事物才被把握的。这里讲的"某种无条件 的事物"决不是指某个具体的事物,而是指内含于一切存在之中 的"存在之力量"。这种存在之力量是一切具有存在性的事物的 "先在",无论在逻辑的意义上还是在本体论的意义上,它都先于 一切具体事物,先于一切相互分离与相互作用,因为它自身即是 同一的基点。如果失去了这一基点,便无法想像主体与客体之间的 相互分离和相互作用。

蒂利希进一步指出,有关的历史分析已经表明,如果不把字宙论方法建立在本体论方法的基础上,势必导致宗教的自我毁灭。要是承认这个事实,那便可以把宇宙论方法重新表述如下:"我们无需推理而能直接领悟到的无条件的事物,在文化的和自然的领域里也是能认识到的。"[12]这样,在否定了传统的宇宙论所用的论

证方法之后,我们便可以重新发现其真正的、富有建设性的意义。 宇宙论方法在历史上主要表现为两种形式。第一种形式是否定性 的,它遵循的是古老的宇宙论论证,即根据对无条件事物的领悟 来分析有限事物的有限特征。在现代心理学、存在主义哲学等学科 的推动下,人们目益关注偶然性、危险性、短暂性,以及随之产 生的焦虑、担忧和无意识等心理现象。关于上述问题的讨论实际上 正孕育着一种新的宇宙论方法。假若我们放弃有关某种最高存在 的荒谬推理,即会发现宇宙论方法是引导人们深究宗教意义的一 种重要手段。字宙论方法的另一种形式是肯定性的。它遵循的是目 的论论证,即探讨自然的和文化的创造力中的无条件的因素。在自 然方面,关于"整体"、"生命冲动"、"格式塔"等观念的研究,实 际上就是在做这种探讨,因为所有这些观念都意指某种无条件的 事物,而任何特殊经验都是由该事物决定的。在文化方面,这种探 过则表现为对各成一体的文化及其演化作出宗教的**解释**,即进行 "文化神学"研究。这是一种多层次的尝试,其前提就是认为诸种 文化产物,像一幅画、一种制度、一种法律、一场政治运动等等, 无论其何等世俗,都在表达着一种终极的关切,而它们所隐含的 无意识的神学特征是有可能被认识的。

基于上述历史批判,蒂利希最后推出了以下三个重要结论: "(1)本体论方法对于各种宗教哲学来说都是基本的;(2)不以本 体论方法为基础的宇宙论方法将在宗教与哲学之间造成毁灭性的 分裂;(3)以本体论方法为基础,附之以宇宙论方法,宗教哲学将 有助于调和宗教与世俗文化。"[13]

三、基本观念: 宗教与文化本体

蒂利希关于宗教哲学的研究对象与研究方法的讨论,主旨在 300 于从根本上重新阐明宗教的涵义。在他看来,宗教所关注的就是那种属于并且理应属于人类的终极关切的"终极之存在"。这便意味着:信仰实质上就是为某种终极关切所把握的存在状态,而上帝就是该种关切所指内容的名称。这样一种宗教观念与传统观点很少相似之处。根据传统看法,宗教即是对一种叫做"上帝"的最高存在的信仰,以及这种信仰的理论与实践。相反,蒂利希在此不是再从理论的角度而是要从存在的角度来重新理解宗教观象。因此,他也把自己所主张的上述观念称为"关于宗教的存在概念"(the existential concept of religion)。

蒂利希认为,从关于宗教的"理论观念"转向"存在观念"将 会带来一系列理论成果,而其中的一大主要成果就是促使人们重 新认识宗教与文化的关系问题。他说:"作为终极关切的宗教是赋 予文化以意义的本体,而文化则是宗教的基本关切表达自身的形 式之总和。简言之,宗教是文化的本体,文化是宗教的形式。"[14]若 是这样来理解宗教与文化的相互关系,即可以防止产生把二者截 然割裂开来的二元化倾向。事实上,每一种宗教行为,不仅就制度 化的宗教而言,同时也包括心灵中的内在活动,都是以文化为其 表现形式的。换个角度说,每一种文化产物,不论是源于人类精神 生活的理论功能,像对于现实的艺术直觉和认识感知,还是来自 人类精神生活的实践功能,像对于现实的社会改造,无一不在表 达着一种终极关切。总之,在全部人类文化创造活动的诸种功能 中,均存在着一种终极关切,而它的直接表现形式就是一种"文 化的式样"(a style of culture)。因此,如果我们能够理解一种文化 的式样,也就能够发现该种文化的终极关切或宗教本体。蒂利希试 图结合当代西方的文化特性来证实上述基本观念。

在蒂利希看来,若想描述当代西方文化的基本特性,非得从两种激烈冲突的精神运动入手,这就是占据统治地位的"工业社

会精神"与处于反抗状态的"存在主义精神",自18、19世纪以降, 工业社会精神就一直在整个西方的社会生活中高居统治地位,而 当今西方社会的生活式样就是这种精神的直接反映。尽管目前人 们对这一生活式样的基本特征抱有不同的看法,但我们还是可以 着眼于人,总结出人在工业社会中的两个主要特征。

第一,实在丧失了应有的深度。近几百年来,人类面对这个属于自己并包括自身在内的世界,把自己的活动日益集中在对之进行有计划的理论研究和技术改造上,这样,人在跟实在的冲突中也就逐渐丧失了其应有的深度。也就是说,实在业已丧失了其内在的超然性,即它对永恒的关切。而有限的字宙则成了一个自足的系统,它是可计算、可管理,而且还可以根据人类的需要和意愿加以改善的。从18世纪初以来,上帝就被排挤出了人类活动的势力范围,因为上帝的任何干烦都会扰乱人们的技术活动和商业行为。结果是,上帝变成多余的,而宇宙反倒远离人类成了人类的主人。这种情形便导致了人在工业社会里的第二个主要特征。

第二,人类忽视了应有的本性。对人来说,工业社会造成了一场重大的冲突,这就是人的本性与人的实存的激烈冲突。现实中的人是疏离的,或用传统的语言来说是堕落的,但现代人恰恰忽视了这一点。早在工业社会形成时期,传统的负罪感与死亡感即已淡化了,因为诸如此类的情感有碍于人类征服外在的与内在的自然。现行的教育制度已使绝大多数人适应于生产和消费的需要,因此,人的现存状态被误认为是人的本质状态,人的发展也被误解为一种逐步实现自身潜能的过程。这种状况不仅反映在个体的人格上,而且也普遍反映于整个社会的价值观念上。在现代人的心目中,以科技征服时空已被视为重新统一人类的基本途径,而历史中的恶性结构、生活中的冲突势力等则被看作一时的障碍。正如现代人已用作为有限系统的宇宙取代了上帝,用作为宇宙中心的人取代了

基督,他们在信仰上也用和平与正义取代了"上帝国"。于是,由神圣与邪恶的尖锐冲突反映出来的深刻人性便丧失了。这就是工业社会以其创造式样所表现出来的基本精神。

面对上述文化困境,西方教会大致采取了两种不同的态度。一方面,固执超自然主义的教会在教义、礼仪等方面向传统退避,以求维护自己的地位。与此同时,它们又从作为敌对势力的工业社会精神那里采纳了一些概念,但这些概念所象征的存在深度已经降低到了普通层次,甚至可以说降到了"二维经验"的水平。事实证明,这种超自然主义的态度只不过是自然主义的翻版而已。另一方面,力主自由主义的教会则意识到像超自然主义那样维护传统信仰是根本行不通的。因而,它们敢于承认并力图适应新的形势,其做法是以现代术语来重新解释传统的概念或符号。这就是所谓的"自由神学"得以成立的根据所在。但必须指出、由于放弃了经典教义、特别是关于现实的启示、自由神学对于上帝与人的理解是以丧失神学原则为代价的,而作为这些原则的启示正是超自然主义者想要维护的。由此可见,西方教会对工业社会精神所作出的上述两种基本反应都是软弱无力的。

当自然主义与超自然主义、自由主义与保守主义统统卷入一些无关大局的论争时,历史已在孕育着另一种沟通宗教信仰与现代文化的新方式,这就是以存在主义而闻名的精神运动。就最宽泛的意义而言,存在主义就是对寓于工业社会结构中的基本精神的一种抗争。它所直接抗争的就是人在当代社会的生产和消费体系中所处的地位。按照存在主义的一般观点,人理应是他的世界和他自身的主人。但实际上,人却变成了他所创造的现实的一部分,变成了一种客体,一种东西。这种情形就仿佛把人变成了一部"宇宙机器"上的一只齿轮,人要使自己不被机器碾碎,他就必须服从机器。正是这样一种机械效应使现代人蜕变成实现某些目的的手

段。更可悲的是,这些目的仅仅在于自身的实现,而缺乏任何终极的目的。这就是人在工业社会中面临的困境。

现代人面对这种困境主要采取了以下几种反应方式,其一,由 于产生了空虚、疏离、无意义、非人化等感受,人们不再把现实 看成有意义的,而落入平凡的形式与结构之中的实在也不再与人 类对话了。其二,同样出于上述感受,有一部分人甘愿将自己封闭 在现实中的某个有限的范围里,以防非人化的世界侵害自己。这实 际上是一种神经病态的反应方式,它意味着屈从文化需求,抑制 意义问题。其三,还有一部分人则不乏勇气,勇敢地承受着切身感 到的空虚、焦虑和无意义,他们富有创造性地生活着,敏锐地表达 着当代人类的困境。我们可以把20世纪上半叶涉及文化问题的艺 术作品和哲学论著都归类于后一种反应方式,它们创造性地表现 了当代文化中的毁灭性倾向。无论是文学、诗歌、影视、音乐,还 是哲学、舞蹈、建筑、所有这些领域中的杰出成果实际上都在以 各自的式样,既展示了与非存在的激烈冲突,又显示了承受并适 应这种冲突的顽强力量。照蒂利希来看,这些杰出的文化成果就仿 佛是一把钥匙。有了这把钥匙,我们便可以打开当代文化这扇紧闭 的大门,从而发现当代文化的现状不仅仅只是暴露了现代人的困 境,同时也反映了整个人类的困境。蒂利希正是由此悟出了现代西 方文化中的抗争精神——存在主义所具有的神学意义。

四、个例分析: 宗教与文化形式

"宗教是文化的本体,文化是宗教的形式",蒂利希在宗教与文化的关系问题上持有的基本观念就是如此简洁。然而,要想评价上述基本观念,还需要进一步考察蒂利希对诸种文化形式所作的个例分析。从前述基本观念与这些个例分析的逻辑关系来看,后者

在蒂利希的整个文化神学体系中主要不是前者的应用,而是前者的展开。也就是说,前者的全部意义是借助后者逐步推演出来的。因而,要理解前者还必须进而追究后者。蒂利希对文化形式所作的个例分析几乎遍及所有文化领域,诸如语言、艺术、哲学、科学、道德、历史、教育等等。以廓清蒂利希文化神学的主旨要义为目的,我们仅从中择其二例,即宗教与语言象征、宗教与艺术式样。

1. 宗教与语言象征

宗教的形式就是文化,在蒂利希看来这一点在宗教语言方面体现得尤为明显。各种语言,包括《圣经》的语言,都是文化创造活动的结果。事实上,人类精神活动的所有功能都是建立在有声或无声的语言基础上的,宗教也不例外。专就宗教与语言的关系来说,蒂利希认为,"人的终极关切非得用象征表达出来,因为只有象征化的语言才能表达这种终极。" [5] 鉴于当代人文研究在象征问题上的理论分歧,蒂利希在具体阐释上述观点之前,首先说明了他对象征问题的一般看法。

在蒂利希看来,所谓的象征就是语言,语言象征主要具有以下六个特点:

(1) 象征意指自身之外的他物。在这一点上,符号 (symbols) 与记号 (signs) 有相同之处。比如,街头的红灯并非表示自身而是意指停车。红灯与停车二者在本质上没有关系,它们之间的联系主要是靠惯例建立起来的。字母、数学、甚至包括部分词语也是如此,它们也都是意指自身之外的声音或意义,这类特殊功能主要也是靠习惯形成的。因此,这一类记号有时也被称为象征。但这样一来便造成了语言上的混乱,给象征与记号的分类带来了更大麻烦。然而,具有决定性意义的一个事实在于,记号并不介入它所示意的对象,而象征却必须介入。

- (2)象征必须介入它所意指的对象。比如,作为一种象征的国旗,无疑呈现出一个国家的势力与尊严。因此,除非一个国家发生了历史性的变迁,该国的国旗是决不能为其他任何象征所取代的。
- (3) 象征所揭示的是我们用其他任何方式都无法感触的实在中的某些层次。以艺术为例,各门艺术实际上均为揭示实在中的某一层次独创了一些象征,而对该层次的感觉是以其他任何方式也无法获得的。一幅画或一首诗所揭示的审美意境或实在因素,显然是靠科学方法无法理会的。这就说明,实在中的某些层次或因素通常是遮蔽着的,而艺术创造或艺术象征所要揭示的就是这样一些层次或因素。
- (4)象征还能揭示出心灵中与实在相对应的那些层次。比如,一出好戏给予我们的不止是对人性的一种新感觉,而且还能使我们自身存在中的某些深含不露的层次昭然若揭。唯其如此,我们方能接受该戏所表现的实在。这也就是说,在人类心灵中有一些层次,只有借助一些特殊的语言象征,像音乐中的旋律、节奏等,才能得以展现。
- (5)象征是个体或集体无意识的产物。象征无法被有意识地创造出来,它们总是个体的或群体的无意识的产物。换言之,一种象征如果不被我们存在中的无意识层次所接受,它便没有任何功能。至于具有某种特殊社会功能的象征,像政治象征和宗教象征,即便不是集体无意识的产物,至少也要被其所接受。
- (6) 象征是不能被发明或创造的。象征像生物一样有生有灭。 一旦条件成熟它们便会出现,而当条件改变时它们也随之消失了。 比如,"国王"这个象征就是在特定的历史时期出现的,而到现代 这个象征在世界大多数地区都已经失去了其原有的意义。象征不 会因人们的渴望而出现,也不会因科学的或实践的批判而消失。象 征之所以能够自行丧失功能,就是因为它们在其生成的群体中不

再产生反响了。

以上六点就是各类象征共有的主要特点。在蒂利希看来,宗教象征就本质而言是跟其他各类象征一样的。宗教象征也展示了实在中的一个层次。这个层次假如不用宗教象征来示意,就是遮蔽着的、深藏着的。蒂利希把这个层次称为"实在本身的基础层次"。他说:"实在中的这个维度是所有其他的维度和深度的基础,因此,它不是跟其他层次并列的层次,而是基本的层次,是其他所有层次的根底,是存在本身的层次,或者说是存在之终极力量。"「阿蒂利希就是这样把存在、象征和宗教三者挂起钩来,并认为作为终极之关切的宗教信仰是必须用特殊象征来加以表达的。为了充分证实上述观点,他在《信仰之动力》一书中又以问答的方式,通俗地解释了与宗教象征有关的一系列基本问题。我们可以把这些问题大致归纳如下:

问题 A:为什么宗教信仰或终极关切不能用直接而恰当的方式表达出来呢?譬如,要是一个人把金钱、成功或国家看作自己的终极关切,难道这种关切也非得用象征化的语言才能表达出来吗?这也就是说,如果终极关切的内容不叫"上帝",难道还摆脱不了象征的氛围吗?

回答,作为终极关切的任何事物都是可以转化为一种"神"的。如果有人把国家当成终极的关切,那么这个国家的名称也就成了一个神的名称,这个国家本身也就有了某种神的属性,而这种神性较之其现实的存在与功能来说都是相去甚远的。这样一来,该国家便象征着、即符号化为真正的终极。但这是一种以偶像崇拜的方式表现出来的象征化。同理,作为终极关切的金钱和成功也可以这样看。只不过在上述情况下,原先标示普通实在的概念变成了终极关切的"偶像象征"(idolatrous symbols)。

蒂利希指出,上述概念之所以能够转化为象征,其原由正是

终极的特征和信仰的本质所在。真正的终极总是从有限的存在转向无限的存在,而任何无限的存在均是不能以直接而恰当的方式进行表达的。就宗教信仰而论,上帝也在不断地变换自己的名称,这就是上帝一词的用法往往易于变成一种滥用或一种亵渎的主要原因。无论人们抱有的终极关切是什么,不管人们是否将其唤作"上帝",只要是一种终极关切便有一种象征意义,而且该意义既超出自身又介入自己的意域。所以说,"信仰并无其他任何表达自身的方式。信仰之象征就是象征化了的语言。"[17]

问题 B: 信仰之象征仅仅是一种象征吗?

回答:如果提出这样的问题,那便意味着提问者既没有理解记号与象征的基本差别,也没有理解象征性语言的内在力量。无论在性质上还是在强度上,象征性语言的力量均是远远超过任何非象征性的语言的。因此,不应当说信仰之象征"仅仅是一种象征",而应该讲"不仅仅是一种象征"。只有首先明确这一点,才有可能进一步领会不同种类的宗教象征。

问题 C:如果说"上帝是我们的终极关切的基本象征",^[18]那么,为什么会有这个象征呢?

回答:"就是为了上帝!上帝就是为了上帝而有的象征。"[19]但在上述答案中,还必须区分上帝这一概念所包含的两种因素;第一,终极的因素,这属于直接体验而不是象征本身;第二,具体的因素,它源于我们目常的经验和用于上帝的象征。比如说,一个人若把一棵"圣树"(a scared tree)作为自己的终极关切,那么,在他的心目中便既有这种关切的终极又有这棵圣树的形态,正是后者的象征化把他跟前者联系起来了。又比如,一个崇拜阿波罗的人实际上也有终极的关切,但这种终极关切并非表现为抽象的形式,而是象征化为阿波罗这个神圣的人物。再比如,一个赞美耶和华的人,他不仅有一种终极的关切,而且也有他所关切的对象的

具体意象。蒂利希指出:"这就是'上帝是上帝的象征'这个似乎神秘的陈述的意义。正是就这一确定的意义而言,上帝是信仰之基本的、普遍的回答。"[20]

问题 D: 既然神圣人物都是终极关切象征化的结果, 那么, 这些神圣人物是否存在呢?

回答:这个问题本身就是无意义的。如果"存在"一词是指能在实在整体中发现的某物,那么任何神祇都是非存在的。事实上,前述有关上帝概念的理解,已经使"上帝是否存在"这场古老的争论变得无意义了。应当进一步考虑的是,在信仰所能采纳的无数象征中,究竟哪一种象征最适于表达信仰的意义。换句话说,究竟哪种终极之象征既能明确表达终极关切又不含有偶像崇拜的因素,这才是问题的实质所在。而所谓的"上帝之存在",其本身就是一种语言混乱。在人的终极关切中,作为终极的上帝是比其他任何确定的事物,甚至包括自我都更为确定的。

上帝是信仰的基本象征,但并不是唯一的象征,上帝的所有属性,诸如力量、仁爱、正义等等,实际上也都是将有限的经验加以象征化的结果。例如,把上帝称为"全能者",这即是为了使无限之关切象征化而运用了人在关于权力的有限经验,并不是在描绘一位可以随心所欲的最高统治者。对于人们赋予上帝的其他种种属性与行为,无论是过去的、现在的、将来的,也都应该如此认识,因为所有这些属性或行为不外是出自人类目常经验的象征,决非是对上帝在以往或未来的所作所为的记载。所以说,"信仰并非相信诸如此类的故事,而是接受以神圣的行为来表达我们的终极关切的象征。"[2]:

2. 宗教与艺术式样

蒂利希认为,每件艺术作品都含有三种因素,题材、形式和

式样。一般说来,题材不为任何性质所限,像善与恶、美与丑、整体与部分、神圣与邪恶、人性或非人性等等。因此,题材潜在地等同于感觉映象中能为人类心灵所接受的一切事物。但是,每个艺术家或艺术时期显然是不会通盘采纳各种题材的。题材的取舍有其选择原则,而选择原则又是依赖于艺术的形式和式样的。

所谓的形式是指那种使一事物成其为该事物的因素,因而它属于存在本身的结构性因素。形式赋予事物以独特性、一般性、空间感和表现力。艺术创造取决于形式,即运用诸如声音、词语、石料、颜料等等特殊材料,并将其升华为独立的作品。因此,如同其他文化创造活动一样,形式在艺术创造中也是一种具有本体意义的决定性因素。但是,形式本身又是为式样所限定的。

式样一词最早用于描述服饰、建筑和园艺等方面的时尚,现在则被普遍地用于艺术、哲学和政治等领域。在艺术领域,式样就是指某个时期限定着众多艺术作品的"独特方式"。可以这样说,某一时期的艺术作品正因有其形式才成为艺术作品,也正因有其式样才有相似之处。因此,讨论式样问题的关键环节即在于,发现那些具有同一式样的艺术作品的内在共性是什么?它们想要表现的又是什么?

蒂利希自信,他通过大量分析艺术式样和哲学式样已经找到了自己的答案。根据他的基本观点,"各种式样都在表明对人的一种自我解释,由此也就回答了生命的终极意义问题。"²²³因而,不论一位艺术家选择了何种题材,也不管他所采用的艺术形式何其强弱,实际上都在情不自禁地以自己的式样表达着他自己的、他的群体的、以及他所处时代的终极关切。所以说,即使他拒斥宗教,也无法摆脱宗教,因为宗教即是置身于终极关切中的那种状态。一言以蔽之,"每一种式样都表现了某一人类群体或历史时期的终极关切"。¹²³¹艺术式样如此,文学的、哲学的、道德的式样也是如此。

由此可见,辩解式样本身即是一门艺术。回顾基督教艺术问世以来西方艺术史上视觉艺术的式样系列,其丰富性与多样性令人叹为观止。拜占庭式、罗马式、早期和后斯的哥特式、早期和盛时的文艺复兴式、风格主义、巴罗克式、罗可可式、古典主义、浪漫主义、自然主义、印象主义、表现派、立体派、超现实主义,乃至当代的非写实主义等等,所有这些式样都就其由之兴起的时代叙说着什么,即表达着对人的一种自我解释。虽然艺术家们在大多数情况下并没有意识到这一点,而是通过艺术批评家、特别是哲学家才得以了解的。

总之,在蒂利希看来,宗教与艺术式样之间存在着一种深刻的联系,即任何艺术式样皆是某一群体或某个时代的终极关切的艺术表现。为了证实上述论点,他具体分析了当代艺术史上的一幅名画。蒂利希认为,毕加索的佳作"格尔尼卡"(Guernica)就是一幅杰出的新教美术作品。当然,这并不是说该画本身就是对新教问题的直接回答,而是说从这幅杰作中可以看出毕加索对新教问题抱有的激进主义精神。

新教对于人及其困境有着独到的理解。新教在原则上强调人与上帝之间的无限距离,人的有限性和人对死亡的屈服,尤其是强调人与其本质存在的疏离,以及邪恶势力即人类自我毁灭倾向对人的奴役。按照新教的基本精神,正是由于人没有能力使自身从这种奴役状态下挣脱出来,基督教改革先驱们才提出了人与上帝重新结合的教义。在这种重新结合的过程中,上帝单独行动着而人只是被动接受着。但即使这种被动的接受也需要付出极大的勇气,即要有勇气大胆承认这样一条悖论,"堕落的人"是正当的,正是这种处于焦虑、愧疚与绝望中的人,才是上帝无条件接纳的对象。

蒂利希据此指出,如果我们把毕加索的作品"格尔尼卡"看 作艺术地表达当代人类困境的一个范例,该画所暗含的新教精神 特征就明朗化了。它以强烈的艺术感染力将人在现代这样一个充满罪恶、焦虑与绝望的世界中面临的问题展示于我们眼前。值得注意的是,真正赋予该画表现力的并非其题材而是其式样。尽管作为个体的艺术家之间,包括毕加索本人的不同创作时期之间可能存在着一些差别、甚至是重大差别,但毕加索采纳的这种式样却是20世纪即我们当代的艺术特征。若把毕加索创作该画时期其他画家的所有重要作品与当代早期画家的同等力作对比一下,就可以发现20世纪的视觉艺术在式样上显然是有其同一性的。照蒂利希看来,在新教历史上恐怕也只有这种式样才能真切地表达当代人类困境。

五、神学的俗化与文化的神化

如前所见,蒂利希的文化神学主要由三部分内容构成:(1)宗教观念批判,即通过消除正统的神学家与世俗的科学家在宗教观上的基本分歧,重新规定宗教哲学的研究对象;(2)传统方法批判,即通过克服本体论型宗教哲学与宇宙论型宗教哲学在历史上的长期冲突,重新确立宗教哲学的研究方法;(3)文化神学基本观念释义,即根据上述两方面的认识进而分析当代文化的基本特征和表现形式,以求阐明宗教与文化的本质联系,综合二者之间的严重分裂。不难看出,这三部分内容所涉及的都是重大问题,尤其是作为理论归宿的最后一项工作,意义更加明显。因此,蒂利希对之所作的严肃尝试不仅为他在当代神学界和宗教哲学界树立了显赫的地位,而且也使他在整个思想界产生了重大影响。

思想史是人们获取比较研究所必需的想象力的一个重要源泉。全面考察蒂利希的文化神学,无论其人还是其学说都令人想起了著名的"康德现象"。如果说康德曾在近代哲学史上扮演了一个

"调解人"的角色,那么蒂利希似乎可以看作当代神学界的"调解人";如果说康德曾想用"批判哲学"来调和现实与理想、科学与宗教之间的尖锐矛盾,那么蒂利希则试图以"文化神学"来再次调解现代意义上的存在与非存在、理性与非理性、文化与宗教等等多边冲突。至于把蒂利希比作康德是否妥当,笔者还没有十分的把握,因为蒂利希的学术地位与影响还有待历史来鉴定。但把蒂利希文化神学的基本特征归结为上述意义上的"调和性",想必不会引起太多的异议。

蒂利希文化神学的主旨在于重新恢复宗教与文化之间的密切关系,为此所采用的方式是两面调和。在笔者看来,这种调和性主要是通过这样两个方面或过程反映出来的,"神学的俗化"与"文化的神化"。所谓"神学的俗化"是指,对于宗教一方,蒂利希首先是本着现实主义的态度把神学思辨引向世俗生活;而"文化的神化"是指,对于文化一方,蒂利希则是基于信仰主义立场将文化形式加以神学解释。这两个方面或过程虽然在蒂利希那里是相辅相成、难解难分的,但要想真正理解其文化神学的基本特征,则有必要在实际讨论中加以区分,并首先把讨论的重点放在前一个方面或过程。

按照蒂利希的看法,恢复关系即意味着弥合分裂。面要达到这个目的,不仅不能依靠传统的神学,反而必须从根本上对之加以反省。因为宗教与文化之所以久分不和,其责任首先应当归咎于传统神学。正统的一神论一直在西方近代神学传统中占居主导地位,蒂利希则用"精神"(spirit)一词的歧义性道出了正统一神论的偏差。在蒂利希看来,宗教本来就是存在与信仰二者分裂,即人性疏离的产物。这无非是说,宗教属于人类的"精神"(以小写字母打头的spirit),上帝即是精神之本。可正统的一神论却本末倒置,把宗教看作"圣灵"(以大写字母打头的Spirit)的恩赐、无情的圣

旨,同时又把上帝当作"超然的存在"、"最高的在者"。于是,宗教变成了信仰绝对命令,上帝则成了绝对命令的绝对主宰。这样的宗教或上帝难免远离现实,遭到一般人的反抗或拒斥。蒂利希开诚布公地指出,尼采想要"杀死的"就是这种意义上的上帝。这就说明,正统一神论的严重失误不只是世俗世界反叛宗教信仰的主要原因,同时也是无神论思潮蓬勃兴起的深刻根源。虽然蒂利希具有强烈的反无神论倾向,以为"无神论最终只能表现为一种放弃任何终极关切的企图,即对人生存在的意义漠不关心",[24]但他还是敢于承认,无神论对"天真的一神论"可谓一副有效的矫正剂。可以肯定,蒂利希正是有感于上述现状,才萌发了关注世俗文化创造活动、走向人类精神生活底层的大胆主张。而这种主张本身即标示着现代西方神学研究中的一场重大的思想转变,即从抽象的上帝概念转向具体的文化活动。

"神学的俗化"在蒂利希那里不光表现为把神学研究引向一般意义上的世俗生活,而且还表现为正视世俗科学,即当代人文科学。这后一种倾向也是相当重要的。从蒂利希的整个思想推演过程来看,如果说他对传统神学的反叛主要是有感于一般意义上的世俗生活,那么就必须指出,他对传统神学的批判则主要得助于现代人文学术。在蒂利希看来,由于传统神学误解了宗教信仰的本质、本义,其教义、教理必然也就疏忽了存在的意义,丧失了象征的功能。因而,他在神学与宗教哲学研究中不仅积极主张吸取精神分析、存在主义、象征理论等学科的重要成果,以便重新发现传统象征的深刻涵义,甚至还主张废弃传统神学的一些陈旧象征,广泛采取当代人文研究中的新语言、新概念来揭示新的现实。对此,蒂利希曾用一段亲身经历作过生动的说明。他说:"当我对任何一所大学里的人们谈到异化时,每一个人都知道我的意思是什么,因为他们全都感到自己是和他们的真实存在和生命,特别是

和他们的自我异化了。但如果我说他们都是罪人,他们就会感到莫明其妙,他们会想:'我没有犯过罪';……但异化对他们来说却是一个事实。然而,罪的真正意义正是异化,即是人从上帝异化的力量。罪的全部意义如此而已。我想,这就是对于我们的问题的一种可能的解答,因为关于人类困境的基督教教义的真实性是整个20世纪的每一篇著作、每一幅绘画和每一种哲学思维所已经证实了的。只要我们能证明这一点,并向人民说明:重大的存在性悲剧发生于今天也像发生于过去一样,我们就能使青年人理解人类困境是什么。这就是我的全部系统神学的论点。"[25]在这段话中,蒂利希把自己在神学研究上持有的现实主义态度表达得再清楚不过了。

由以上分析可见,"神学的俗化"的确是蒂利希为调和宗教与文化的尖锐矛盾而大胆迈出的第一步。但更重要的是,他的根本目的在于由此走向"文化的神化"。蒂利希认为,宗教与文化的长期分裂实际上是一种两相背离的历史现象。对于这种分裂局面,传统神学固然负有部分甚至是主要的责任,但世俗文化也有其不可推卸的过错。尤其是近代以来,工业社会精神的片面发展不能不视为造成宗教与文化彻底决裂的一个重要原因。工业社会的基本精神就本质而言是一种自然主义精神。这种自然主义在拒斥宗教、抛弃上帝的同时,也随之丧失了存在深度,疏离了人类本性,恶化了人类的困境。按照蒂利希的看法,若想摆脱当代人类困境,就必须重新克服宗教与文化二者之间的深刻分裂,而要想你合这种深刻分裂,就不仅需要"神学的俗化",同时更需要"文化的神化",即重新发现文化形式所固有的宗教意义。

首先把宗教定性为终极之关切,进而再把种种人生信仰统统归结为宗教信仰,这是蒂利希将文化加以神化的两个关键环节。关于这个问题,我们在前文的概述部分已经引过几个例证。但蒂利希

为证实上述观点,其用心之苦,所举例之多,却是超出常人想象的。毫不夸张地说,只要随手打开蒂利希的任何一部主要论著,几乎都可以找到几个这方面的例子。比如,他讲过,一个追求存在主义精神的人就是把存在主义作为他的终极关切;一个献身于共产主义事业的人就是把共产主义作为他的终极关切;一个酷爱艺术的人就是把艺术作为他的终极关切;一个渴望美国式的成功的人就是把这种成功作为他的终极关切……总之,蒂利希对文化加以神化的第一个基本结论可以简述为:无论哪种人,凡是对其人生意义有所理解,便必然进人宗教的氛围。

看到这种面面俱到的论证,不免叫人怀疑蒂利希是不是想在 其文化神学研究中彻底尝试一下"完全归纳法"。但无论如何,这 种论证对蒂利希来说有着至关重要的逻辑意义。因为对于人生信 仰的神化实际上也就是对文化活动主体的神化,而从文化活动主 体的神化便可以顺理成章地推出文化活动形式的神化。由此来看, 我们可以按照相同的位格,把蒂利希对文化加以神化的第二个基 本结论简述如下,无论哪种文化活动形式,凡是对其根本意义有 所探讨,便必然进入宗教的氛围。显然易见,上述两个基本结论不 仅带有浓厚的信仰主义色彩,而且还具有强烈的泛宗教论倾向。

蒂利希文化神学的基本特征在于"调和性",那么,其文化神学的基本性质又是什么呢?相比之下,这个问题要比前面讨论的问题难度更大一些。这主要是因为,在以往的蒂利希研究中,中外学者在"特征问题"上的认识还比较准确,但在"性质问题"上所作的结论则存在着比较大的偏差。浏览有关的研究专著或评介资料,西方学者一般都把蒂利希的宗教哲学思想定性为"存在主义的神学",国内的学者主要是采纳了这种看法。表面看来,这种观点似乎不无道理。一个明显的事实是,蒂利希像地道的存在主义者

一样,他的整个神学研究也是以当代人类困境为基本着眼点的。他在对人类困境的一般分析中不但大量引用了存在主义哲学的基本概念,甚至连他的一些主要结论也和存在主义哲学家们不乏共鸣之处。然而,表象的相似并不等于本质的同一。尽管我们在前文已经提及蒂利希本人对"存在主义"这个概念的独特理解,但为了直接点明以往研究中的主要偏差,我们在此不想过多地纠缠于概念问题,而只想指出另一个关键性的事实:在蒂利希看来,存在主义包括其哲学只不过是文化的一种形式,而并非文化的本性。换句话说,存在主义哲学只是发现了基本问题,但并没有也不可能提供根本答案。照此来看,如果仅仅依据问题上的共识就把蒂利希划入存在主义者的行列,这恐怕是连蒂利希本人也不会同意的。

从根本上说,一种学说的基本性质是其研究方法的深刻反映。 因此,要如实揭示蒂利希宗教哲学观念的基本性质、还需要深入 触及其研究方法。我们已经知道,蒂利希试图以文化神学来涵盖系 统神学、历史神学和实践神学这三大研究领域。其中,系统神学是 文化神学的基本原理部分,而《系统神学》一书实际上也就是一 部"神学原理"。蒂利希在该书的"导论"里曾就神学研究方法问 题作过专门论述。他认为:"系统神学所用的是相关方法。……这种 相关方法就是通过存在的问题与神学的答案之间的相互依存性来 阐释基督教信仰的内容。"265一般说来,"相关"(correlation)一词 的用法有如下三种:第一,意指不同的资料之间的对应性,比如 统计图表中的对应关系。第二,意指不同的概念之间的逻辑依存。 性,比如两个概念之间的对立关系。第三,意指诸种事物或事件在 结构整体中的现实依存性。蒂利希指出,上述三种涵义在神学研究 中各有重要的用途。就对应性而言,宗教象征与其象征化的对象之 间是相关的,这种相关性涉及到宗教知识的核心问题,就逻辑依 存性而言,描述人类的概念与标示神祇的概念之间是相关的,这

种相关性限定着论及上帝和世界的命题;就现实依存性而言,人的终极关切与其关切的对象之间也是相关的,这种相关性则证实了宗教经验中的人一神关系。神学研究借助这样一种"相关方法"(the method of correlation)所要达到的主要目的就是分析存在的问题由之产生的人类境况,从而证明基督教的启示所运用的象征就是这些问题的答案。

由此可见,相关方法在神学研究中的具体应用大致可以分为这样三个要点:提出"存在的问题"、分析"人类的境况"、证实"问题的答案"。蒂利希对上述三个要点都作了具体解释。首先,"存在的问题"就是宗教启示所要解答的问题。这些问题都是永恒的,是与人类历史同始同终的,因为它们本身就是"我们自己的问题"。可以说,在人提出其他任何问题之前,他首先必须探求自身存在的问题。因此,这些涉及存在本身的问题,一方面远在整个人类的历史初期就已形成了,另一方面早在每个个体的儿童时期也就出现了。对此,几乎所有的神话学和儿童学的研究成果都可以引以为证。事实上,"做人"便意味着在有关答案的影响下去思考自身存在的问题。或者说,"做人"就不得不首先接受有关的答案,随后在其影响下再去反省自身存在的问题。

如同存在问题的提出一样,对于人类境况的分析也是由来已久的。在今天,虽然有关人类境况的各种分析都被归于存在主义的名下,但实际上诸如此类的分析是远远早于存在主义的,甚至可以断言,自从人类开始自我认识之时就已经出现,并以各种概念形式从早期哲学中反映出来了。这也就是说,一旦人类开始观察自己的世界,他就会发现自己不过是这个世界的一部分;同时还会意识到自己在这个对象化的世界里仿佛是一个陌生人,他只能借助于科学分析来认识这个世界的某些层次,而根本无法识破这个世界本身。到这时,人类便开始意识到这样一个事实:对于认识实

存来说,他自身就是通向更深层次的"门户",即唯有通过自身的存在才有可能达到存在本身。但这并非是说人比其他物质对象更适于作为科学研究的对象,而是在相反的意义上说,人通过其自身存在的直接经验能够揭示普遍存在的某种本性。这就是人类需要分析自身存在境况的主要原因。

哲学和神学都对人类境况进行分析,但二者进行分析的角度 与深度却大不相同。人类在各个文化领域所作的创造性的自我解 释,都是可以用于分析人类境况的原始材料。哲学家的任务是,通 过这些材料来分析存在的状态,以及存在的问题的历史演变。而神 学家对于这些材料,是依据基督教启示可提供的答案来加以梳理、 进行分析的。在蒂利希看来,这种依据启示而作的分析显然要比哲 学家的分析深刻得多、透彻得多。蒂利希不仅自己身栖哲学与神学 两大领域,同时他也主张系统神学家起码应该是一个具有批判理 解能力的哲学家。这样便会出现一个问题: 作为哲学家的神学家与 纯粹的哲学家,这两种人对于人类存在境况的分析难道会有什么 不同吗?蒂利希对此也作出了肯定的回答。他指出,后者只是把这 种分析作为整个哲学研究的一部分,而前者总是要把他所分析的 材料跟基督教的神学观念联系起来。这种做法并不会使神学家的 哲学思考处于外界事物的摆布之中,虽然作为一个神学家,他并 不追究何为哲学上的"真",而作为一个哲学家,他又不苛求何为 神学上的"真",但他在分析人类的存在以及普遍的存在时,却不 能不自始至终地感受到基督教信仰的象征是有意义的、可理解的。 总之,神学家一向确信他所分析的任何事物均无法改变他所要回 答的本体问题,因为这个本体就是"存在的逻各斯",就是"基督 耶稣的体现"。如果不把这一点作为分析的前提,那么他肯定会既 失去了"哲学上的真诚",又丧失了"神学上的关切"。

关于"问题的答案",蒂利希指出,基督教是基于一系列带有

启示性的历史事件而建立起来的,这些事件本身就包含着问题的 答案。所以,系统神学正是本着准则,借助这些事件而从中寻求有 关存在问题的答案的。这是因为,问题的答案并非源于问题本身即 出自存在状况的分析,而是来自问题之外、超越于存在状况而与 人类进行对话的。否则的话,它们就不成其为答案了,因为问题就 是人类存在状况本身。但从相关方法来看,问题与答案之间的实际 联系要比以上描述复杂得多。问题与答案总是相互依存的。在内容 上,基督教所提供的答案是依存于那些具有启示性的历史事件的; 在形式上,它们又是依存于问题本身的结构的。"上帝"作为信仰 的基本象征,无疑回答了人类有限性中隐含的问题。但在系统神学 中,如果把上帝跟"非存在之威胁"联系起来,那么上帝必须被 称为"存在之无限力量",即经典神学中讲的"存在本身";如果 把焦虑定义为"意识到了存在的有限性"。那么上帝必须被称为 "存在之无限勇气",即经典神学中讲的"普遍的上帝";如果把上 帝国跟"历史存在之谜"联系起来,那么上帝必须被称为"历史 之意义及其实现"。所谓的相关方法就是以这种方式来重新阐释基 督教的传统语言象征的,这样便既保留了这些传统的基本象征的 活力,又使它们回答了由当代人类存在状况分析所提出来的问题。

在基本评价部分再把不少篇幅让给蒂利希,这种做法好象有点不妥。但就眼下讨论的问题而言,笔者以为还是尽量让蒂利希本人出来说话更可靠一些。比较蒂利希的有关论述与以往研究者的基本结论,不难看出后者不仅存在偏差,甚至可以说是相当大的偏差。要是像以往的研究者那样,把蒂利希的宗教哲学观念理解为"存在主义的神学",同时就必须承认他所运用的是存在主义的方法。可这显然与蒂利希本人的方法论原则不符。事实上,蒂利希的基本研究方法不但不是"存在主义的",而且压根儿就不是"哲学的"。即使就以往研究者们赖以立论的事实根据来看,结论与事实

二者之间的出入也是相当大的。蒂利希虽然如同大多数存在主义哲学家一样,十分关注当代人类的存在困境,但他的这种理论关注决不是"以人学为本位"而是"以神学为本位"的。这一点正是问题的要害之所在。如果在宏观思想背景比较的意义上,非要把蒂利希的宗教哲学观念跟存在主义哲学放在一起加以考察,那也必须对以往的研究结论作一个重要的修正,与其说蒂利希所主张的是一种"存在主义的神学",不如说是一种"神学的存在主义"。但依笔者来看,为了更准确地把握蒂利希宗教哲学观念的理论实质,我们最好还是放弃以往的研究结论,采取这样一种新的解释,蒂利希的宗教哲学是一种"具有现实主义倾向的、基于信仰主义立场的文化神学",或在此意义上简称为"泛宗教论的文化神学"。

相关方法是蒂利希的整个文化神学体系的逻辑核心。这种方 法的基本思路在于,把"存在的问题"与"神学的答案"联系起 来。我们已经看到,"存在的问题"与"神学的答案"在蒂利希那 里是用来泛称一系列重要的矛盾关系的,诸如人性的疏离与人性 的复归,存在的烦恼与存在的勇气,无意义与意义,非存在与存 在,精神的表层与精神的底层,文化的形式与文化的本体等等,而 所有这些矛盾关系又都从各个角度深刻地反映出文化与宗教这一: 基本矛盾。很显然,在上述种种矛盾关系中,前项均指"现存的有 限性",后项则指向"存在的无限性"。因而,从根本意义上可以说, **蒂利希实际上是以一种新的人文语言重新探讨了思想史中的一大** 难题——有限与无限的关系问题。但必须指出,带利希本人尽管处 于现代文化的氛围,他的相关方法却仍然没有摆脱传统的形而上 学思维方式的劣根性。他为调解"现存的有限性"与"存在的无限 性"而提出的方案,首先是以绝对割裂有限性与无限性为逻辑前 提的。根据他的逻辑,现存之所以是有限的、有问题的,就是因为 现存仅仅依靠自身是无法达到无限、无从寻求答案的。蒂利希就是 这样在世俗文化领域为宗教信仰重新确立了神圣的地位,无条件地将"本体"、"意义"等等划归于宗教象征。面对这种武断的神学观念,我们应当意识到一个重要的问题,形而上学方法在文化神学中的复兴的确是有其现实根据的。正如康德当年根据"认识(理性)能力的有限性"为宗教信仰保留了地盘一样,蒂利希如今又根据"存在(理性和非理性)状况的有限性"重蹈康德学术之覆辙。而上述意义上的有限性恐怕就是宗教信仰得以长期存在的主要认识论根源。

注释:

- [1] P. Tillich, Theology of Culture. New York; Oxford University Press, 1959, Foreword.
- [2] Ibid., p. 5.
- [3] Ibid., p. 5.
- [4] Ibid., p. 7.
- [5] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
- [6] Tillich, Systematic Theology, Three Volumes in one, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 11-12.
- [7] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- [8] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- [9] Tillich, Theology of Culture, p. 8.
- [10] Tillich, Theology of Culture, p. 22.
- [11] Ibid., p. 24.
- [12] Ibid., p. 26.
- [13] Ibid., pp. 10--11.
- [14] Ibid., p. 42.
- [15] Tillich, Dynamics of Faith, New York: Harper and Row Pub-

- lishers, 1957, p. 41.
- [16] Tillich, Theology of Culture, p. 59.
- [17] Tillich, Dynamics of Faith, p. 45.
- [18] Ibid. p. 45.
- [19] Ibid., p. 45.
- [20] Ibid., p. 46.
- [21] Ibid., p. 48.
- [22] Tillich, Theology of Culture, p. 70.
- [23] Ibid., p. 70.
- [24] Tillich, Dynamics of Faith, p. 45.
- [25] 转引自 L. J. 宾克莱著,马元德等译,《理想的冲突》,第314页, 北京:商务印书馆,1984。
- [26] Tillich, Systematic Theology, p. 60.

12

Theological Models of Christian Responses to the Contemporary World

J. J. Mueller, S. J., Ph. D.

The history of Christianity can be explained by following its responses to cultures. The reason is simple: while Christianity cannot be identified with any culture, it cannot escape always being imbedded in a culture. This is true from the beginning with Jesus being imbedded in the Jewish culture of his day and remains true for the many cultures of the contemporary world where Christianity finds itself today.

Christian responses to the contemporary world are many and varied. One reason is that the contemporary world, by definition, is always changing. New ideas, institutions, technologies, and most of all people contribute to this flowing, swirling river of human endeavor. One can therefore presume that theologies will reflect the tension between culture and Christian responses.

Another reason for the many responses is that Christianity tries to be responsible on two levels. First, Christianity has a sacred tradition that is centered in the revelation of God in Jesus. The responses to that tradition have always been done in relation to a given time and place in culture that was always "contemporary" for their times. This tradition says simply that we have come to know a God who loves us and invites us to a discipleship that follows wherever God leads us. Secondly, this tradition of Christian pursuit of holiness is also a mesage of importance for all peoples in every culture. This god loves us all. Our truly human response is always to love this God ahove all things and our neighbor as ourselves in the manner of Jesus. In this sense, every Christian response requires trying to find God in the contemporary world. The search for God touches everything we do. Thus our pursuit of justice, peace, joy and reconciliation is always a pursuit of this God who goes before us in people and culture, inviting us to help build up the Kingdom of God.

This study is made up of three parts; a short historical sketch of the develoment of contemporary world; the basic historical options of Christian responses to culture presented through the work of theologian H. Richard Niebuhr, and the options that theology has taken in treating the relation between the Christian tradition and the culture through the work of theologian David Tracy. These theologians also formulate their assessments by being part of the historical sketch with which we will begin. Though they are western in their thinking, I believe they have hit upon important theories that transcend western culture and Chinese Christianity, by testing these theories, can make an important contribution to the world-wide theological enterprise.

Historical dynamics of the contemporary world

Different discoveries changed our way of thinking and contributed new dynamics into our world. These discoveries offered new knowledge and, most importantly, new methods for discovery. They changed the way we think about ourselves, God, and the world. Our awareness, or consciousness, pivots around three indentifiable periods of time: (1) the Age of Global Discovery: (2) the Age of Science; and (3) the Age of Reason. Each of these ages left a legacy of changed awareness that has been incorporated into each successive age. Together they help identify the challenge of the contemporary age and the theological critiques that we will discuss.

(1) Age of Discovery, 1492—Globalization

The European discovery of the "new world" marked a change in consciousness that has continued to this day. For the first time in Western history, and equally so for the new areas who were also exposed to Western culture such as the Americas and Orient, the entire peoples, cultures, societies and religions entered into the realization that the people like geography were interconnected with one another on one planet. The discoveries of Christopher Columbus in 1492 were a symbol of this small beginning, expanding into a larger and deeper connectedness that has continually developed. His was the first step to globalization but with new modes of transportation, electronic media, internet cyberspace, we are only now connecting globally in ways undreamed.

Although some scholars have not paid much attention to 1492 other than quantitative and factual discovery, nevertheless it has become an increasingly important qualitative and subjective moment in our common future. Unfortunately this five hundred year period has not been a glorious one with wars, cultural imperialism, and economic again as part of the negative heritage of this period. We may not be able to change history, but, with knowledge, we are not condemned to repeat it. A new way of treating one another in an ever-rapidly developing globalization places insistent responsibilities upon Christianity to meet these new challenges as responses to the contemporary and growing interconnected world.

(2) Age of Science, 1650-New Method

The age of science has been one of the most notable characteristics of the Modern World in the West. To put it simply, people began to learn how to think, judge, and decide as individuals. "Received tradition" was no longer the only way to go forward. New and creative alternatives were possible. Whereas the first age found new territory in land, this second age found new territory in inner land within the human mind. The great figure in the west was Isaac Newton who formulated mathematical equations that accurately presented the laws of motion. The cosmos, nature, societies, and self-came under the spell of cause-and-effect relationships. Newton said that the relationship between cause and effect were such that if one knew the cause or the effect, one could reconstitute the other. Therefore, explanation and predictability were possible for any event. All nature was

regulated by these laws and thus the world was open to discovery and certainty. Science nature was the creation of God, then nature was like a mirror into God's unfathomable mind and presented God's designs clearly and unambiguously. While some found God revealed in nature, others found an irrelevant "god" who wound up the mechanisms of nature like a clock and put it in motion without needing to be involved. This separation of God from this world was the origin of modern atheism in the West^[1].

(3) Age of Reason, 1650-New Authority

Whereas science, or more precisely the scientific method, opened up nature to unthought of discoveries, it fathered a new child called reason, an independent and proud heir of truth. The dominance of reason is also called the Age of Enlightenment because reason was like a light that shines in the darkness of ignorance, fear and superstition to illuminate a new path. Unfortunately and incorrectly, humanity was seen as unenlightened, or ignorant, and knowledge would suffice. Only in time would we come to realize that what is more stubborn, hard-headed and devious is prejudice, bias, and an unwillingness to even seek the truth, which hide like submerged rocks to sink the ship of knowledge. Rene Descartes, the French mathematician and philosopher (note the relationship!), is the best representative of this age. He is the "Father of Modern Philosophy" in the West and his famous latin statement symbolizes this approach: "Cogito Ergo Sum" or "I think therfore I am. " It is an autonomous reason, or mind, that remains self-sufficient and thereby disconnected from other influences, and capable of arriving at truth independent of the muck and mire of human living. When reason dominates as an authority, it is called rationalism. Rationalism, however, had its many detractors in Christianity through anti-rational movements of pietism, romanticism, mysticism.

The autonomous reason and its reign was dealt a serious blow by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant at the end of the eighteenth century who demonstrated the limits of reason. A scientist himself, Kant showed that the working structure of reason itself was always involved in knowning. Thus, how the mind works limits what it can know. Moreover the mind only knows the phenomena of existence, not the inner essence which is a product of the mind. Thus, there is no "objetive knowledge" on two counts; one, because the mind is already involved and, two, becasue the mind only knows phenomena. The result was that the objectivity not only of philosophy but also science were called into disturbing suspicion. While the needs of destruction were sown to an autonomous reason, the confidence in the person to work with these limits insured that the role of reason remained strong.

These three stages still remain and mark the Modern world in the West. They shaped the arguments and advancements of what constitutes the contemporary age. Each stage found additional resources when played off another stage. Their forces combine together to characterize the distinctive history of the West and provide the context within which the West examines and critiques itself and others. What follows are the works of two theologians who critique these periods and who also find their methods as part of the advancement of these ages. Thus it is "as part of" and yet "against" these ages that the following theologians make sense. While they are part of this western tradition, I believe that they have transcended their indebtedness to the west to offer their work to all cultures. Their insights are most helpful for any culture to understand how and why Christianity not only responds to the contemporary world today but also can respond to the variety of options that are possible tomorrow.

The two theologians are H. Richard Niebuhr and David Tracy, both of the United States. Niebuhr, a Protestant, belongs to the earlier part of this century's "neo-orthodoxy" movement and deals with the historic options that Christianity has taken in response to culture. Tracy, a Catholic, is described as a "post-modern" theologian who argues for a new model in theological method and presents it in light of the various models that have developed in the twentieth century in the United States.

H. Richard Niebuhr: Christ and Culture

In his classic book *Christ and Culture*, H. Richard Niebuhr called the many-side debate about the relations of Christianity and culture "the enduring problem." ^[2] In order to present the historical conversation that has occurred over two thousand years the options taken, and the constructs formed, Niebuhr suggests collecting the many historic individuals and movements into types. ^[3]

The method of typology, though inadequate to completely exhaust the complex historical relationships, has the advantage of calling to attention the continuity and significance of the great motifs that appear and reppear in the Christian struggle. [4]

Before proceeding further, the meaning of "Christ" and "culture" must be definded as the two terms of the relation. Let us begin with culture.

(1) Culture: Niebuhr seeks a theological definition of the term that will suffice for a general layman's knowledge. "Culture is the 'artificial, secondary environment' which man superimposes on the natural. It comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes, and value." [5]

The chief characteristics of culture are (1) it is always social, (2) it is human achievement, (3) it is a world of value whose purpose is the good of humanity, and whose concern is the realization and conservation of values, and (4) it is directed toward pluralism, i.e. the values a culture seeks to realize in any time or place are many in number.

While these describe some of the obvious characteristics of culture, the truth is that we do not know human nature or the gospel apart from culture. Like a goldfish swimming in a bowl who has no idea of what water is, "it's always been there," so too have humans taken the context of culture for granted. Now that culture can be defined and delineated through its characteristics. a whole new consciousness about our relationship to culture begins. Or, if we can extend the image, if the goldfish knows

what water is, it steps beyond ignorance to knowledge about water.

(2) Christ: For Niebuhr "Christ" does not refer to Jesus Christ but to the Christian believers who belong to that community for whom Jesus is of supreme importance as the key to understanding themselves and their world. [6] Because of the variety of personal and communal beliefs and interpretations of Jesus, "Christ" will arch over the various differing views.

Niebuhr's rationale is that Christians hold this in common; that Jesus Christ is their authority, and that the one who exercises these various kinds of authority is the same Christ. Since the person of "Christ" does not easily relate with the principle of culture, Niebuhr prefers to ground the person of Jesus through a moral perspective and chooses a concrete, defining virture of Jesus as his principle, namely love. Thus belief in Jesus Christ in any culture contains the command of loving God and loving neighbor. By so doing, although not denying the differences, Niebuhr subsumes Christianity in different cultures and in different churches under the comprehensive term of "Christ."

This ingenious theological move allows Niebuhr to move beyond previous blockages surrounding doctrinal and ecclesial differences within Christianity, which remain bogged down in historical soil and needing to be freed. Niebuhr can now speak about Christianity as a whole, and from a modern perspective. Thus he managed to raise the analysis to a new and higher viewpoint whereby Christ and Culture could be brought into fruitful relationship to one another. His insightful combining of wholes rather than breaking down the parts has been such a significant transition in theological thinking about Christianity's response to culture that scholars consider it a classic book.

To type a particular event or person presents difficulty because the characteristics depend upon so many variables; an early or late selection of an author, the collected works, the judgment of history, the judgment by differing historical perspectives. For example, depending upon who writes the history, a person like Luther is a saint or a heretic, a reformer or a renegade. Granted the difficulties in typing, let us present his five types or models in order to reexamine western history from his perspective and understand the contributions each type can make.

Perhaps a word of caution is necessary to remember; no model is complete in itself and all the types do not exhaust the possibilities. Each type exhibits chosen historical position and the question of right or wrong is not the issue, although one may ask the question of a type's adequacy or inadequacy. The five types fit on spectrum ranging from counter-cultural to accepting of culture thusly; type 1, 4, 5, 3, 2.

Christ Culture

1 --- 4 ---- 5--- -- 3 -- --- 2

Type 1: Christ against culture. The tension between the two is obvious: the Christian resists culture as sinful, dehumanizing, evil, or wrong. Conflict may lead to opposition which may lead to oppression. Niebuhr places much of the early church in this category. The most representative theologian is Tertullian who, in the third century, rejects any other loyalty than Christ,

warnign that even political life and military service should be aoided. Group separations such as monasticism and later sectarians such as the sixteenth century Mennonites also manifest this type. Martyrs also belong to this type. In many ways this type looks for a resolution within the culture itself but cannot find it.

Type 2: The Christ of culture. The tension between Christ and culture does not exist for this type which represents the opposite end of the spectrum. This type harmonizes Christ and cultrue so that a mutual accommodation results. Niebuhr places the early heresy of Gnosticism in this group for, while they accepted Jesus as spiritual savior, they found the state providing what was important to life. Christ represents an oral teacher, the prinnacle of human achievement, and the church becomes a religious association rather than a society. The most representative theologian is Abelard who rejects all conflict between Christ and culture and attributes any tension to the church's misunderstanding of Christ. People such as Locke, Kant, and Thomas Jefferson who see reason as the high road to the knowledge of God and our salvation also belong to this type. Whereas type one reverts to spiritualism, type two exhibits a naturalism which might be sometimes called "cultural Christianity". It might be noted that this extreme resembles the first type but whereas type one resists, this second type insists. It finds its resolution within the culture.

These next three types represent the church of the center.

Type 3: Christ above culture. This type synthesizes the two in a "both-and" dialectic. Falling to the right of the spectrum, this 334

type realizes that a gap exists between Christ and culture even though they belong together. The first great representative of this type is Clement of Alexandria in the third century who takes the Stoic philosophy and synthesizes it with the self-emptying love of the Christ. Thomas Aquinas represents probably the greatest of all synthesizes and brings Aristotelian philosophy under the power of the gospel. Pope Leo XII of the late nineteenth century who wrote the social encyclicals about Christian response to industrial society is also an example. The problem with the synthetic type is that it does not face up to the radical evil in all human work. This criticism comes from our next type.

Type 4: Christ and culture in paradox. This type separates the two into an "either-or" dialectic. Falling to the left half of the spectrum, this type acknowledges a dualism inherent in both authorities. Ultimately they resist synthesis and stand rather like two blocks, side by side. Any victorious judgment will come only at the end of time. Niebuhr places the apostle Paul in this type because Paul placed the Christian citizenship in heaven while acknowledging the inescapable drag of human citizenship on earth. The most representative of this type is the German reformer Martin Luther in the sixteenth century who preached that the life in culture could lead to Christ but way independent of Christ, hence papacies and kingdoms could obscure the Kingdom of God. Only the final judgment can separate the two. The nineteenth century Swede, Soren Kierkegaard, the "Father of Existential-ism," is also an example.

Type 5: Christ the transformer of culture. This type is closest

to the dualist (#4) and rests in the middle of the spectrum. More positive and hopeful than the dualists, conversionist hold that culture becomes transformed in relation to Christ. Neibuhr understands the gospel of John as the earliest representative where Jesus says the world is presently being overcome. The most representative type is the great fourth century theologian Augustine who understands Christianity as redirecting, reinvigorating and regenerating the natural order to the supernatural. Sixteenth century's John Calvin is another example because of his insistence of the gospel into all aspects of civil life.

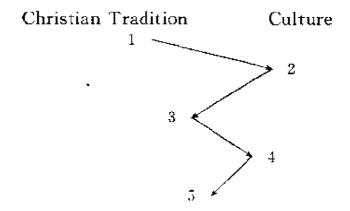
Niebuhr concludes that no one "Christian answer" is conclusive. ^[7] He says, "The problem of Christ and culture can and must come to an end only in a realm beyond all study in the free decisions of individual believers and responsible communities. *[8]

Niebuhr's thinking in types, or models, has been very helpful as a way to gather a tremendous amount of data down through the centuries, make sense of historical patterns, and offer ways of understanding different Christian responses to culture. He draws upon the two disciplines of sociology and history, both products of the age of science and reason, to devise his models. Model thinking, we must remember, functions in a two-fold capacity both to explain and explore new data; in this case, the Christian responses to culture. Niebuhr's work has greatly influenced the work of David Tracy who examines the question from a different perspective; how has theology, rather than the Christian, dealt with culture. The answer to this question involves

how the Christian tradition and culture are related in any given theological method. Method, rather than content, is Tracy's concern. Less on-side than Niebuhr's concentration on Christian responses, Tracy holds open the culture's critique of those Christian responses. Hence where Niebuhr is one directional toward culture, Trace offers a mutual critique of both in method that we will later come to know as correlationa.

David Tracy: Blessed Rage for Order[9]

Tracy understands five models to be acting in this century. In this sense, he is not doing a comprehensive history of various Christian responses, but the actual line of development that has brought us to where we are today. Tracy's model would be sequential, as opposed to Niebuhr's spectrum, and would look like this:



The tension in these models is the relationship between the Christian tradition to the left and the culture to the right.

Model 1: Orthodoxy. This first model does theology from within an ecclesial community and to an ecclesial community. It is a theology by and for believers only. Its purpose is to explain beliefs and systematize teaching in order to support the tradition

of the community. Often very elaborate and sophisticated understandings are developed, though they are not shared nor attempt to be shared with the wider, non-ecclesial public. As a result this model stands, generally, over and against the culture in favor of the ecclesial tradition. Thus it is oftern considered isolated from the public arena and narrow in its scope, even to the point of being overly defensive about its authority and suspicious of rival positions. One example of this model would be most of Catholic theology in the nineteenth century which found itself at odds with the totalizing authority of scinece and reason. [10]

Model 2: Liberalism. This seond model accepts the discoveries that science brings as correct and valuable for theology. Free and open inquiry is its thrust. Because individuals can learn for themselves, autonomously, Christian tradition needs to be reformulated in light of this modern consciousness and measured by the modern world if Christianity is to be credibe. The best example of this model is the German Theologian, Friedreich Schleiermacher, the so-called "Father of Modern Theology" in the Protestant tradition who reformulated theology in light of Kant. Other examples are the "Modernists" and many theologians who were part of the "Quest for the Historical Jesus" of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, who reformulated theology from a rigid historicism.

These first two models mark the extremes of our spectrum: model one being narrowly ecclesial; model two being narrowly cultural. As our next three models show, there is a need to deal with the ecclesial and cultural areas not as extremes but in a new

type of relationship.

Model 3: Neo-Orthodoxy. The term neo ("new") -orthodoxy describes one reaction to liberalism. The theologians of this model accepted the liberal agenda but argued that the Christian tradition and its message were being sold short. H. Richard Niebuhr described the liberal agenda in the memorable phrase: "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross. "[11] The revelation of God that generated and sustains this religious tradition can stand on its own merits, and it is capable of bringing a culture under God's judgement if necessary. The experience of the devastation of World War I, the depression, industrialization and resulting human effects of hunger, poverty, and degradation put the lie to notions of continued, inevitable progress. It seemed the opposite was the result as suffering, tragedy and sin were existential realities pointing out the shortcomings of liberal theology. This model, while not reconciling Christianity and culture, understands Christianity and culture in a dialectical, back and forth, tension where one necessarily requires the other. The tension, however, is the action that results from these two areas in dialogue. No easy answer exists. Believers must continue to respond by searching out the best. next step in influencing culture. [12]

This model resembles the tensions in H. Richard Niebuhr's "Christ and culture in paradox" which is fundamentally dualist. European Karl Barth, and the United States Americans H. Richard Niebuhr and his brother Reinhold Niebuhr are represen-

tative examples. Our use of H. Richard Niebuhr's models above illustrates the basic tensions that the Neo-Orthodox model feels so deeply.

After 1945, the Neo-Orthodox model of theology faded though its contributions remainded. One reason that is pertinent for our study is its failure to re-think the Christian tradition in light of modern scholarship. As we saw in H. Richard Niebuhr's work on Christ and Culture, he used the term "Christ" for "Christian" in order to find the deepest source of agreement across the various ecclesial differences. In so doing, neo-orthodoxy focused on the "authentic believer" and not what was believed. It is this area of the Christian tradition that becomes the left over agenda of the next two models.

Model 4: Radical theology. This model comprises those theologians who recognized that the content of the Christian tradition needed to be re-examined in light of modern scholarship. Such advances as historical scholarship made it necessary. This model also sees that the so-called "Modern world" is cracking up. While it accepts the liberal insights, it tries to reformulate Christian tradition in what might be called "post-modern" terms. Hence the entire traditional doctrines are challenged. The major Christian doctrines of God, Christ, church, authority, sin and salvation were in need of serious reformulation. However, these changes resemble complete overhauling of the tradition, even to the point of its annihilation. Two examples of this model are the "Death of God" theology in the 1960s which said that the "god" of tradition had to die if humans were to be free. Hence the tra-

dition, which was interconnected with cultural systems, had to die. Another example is one facet of the feminist theology in the 1980s that claims maleness is so imbeded in the tradition that the entire tradition has to die. They ask for "post Christianity" to start the tradition anew. In some ways, this model has affinities with the "Christ above culture" model where "radical theology" stands above the Christian tradition as we know it.

Model 5: Revisionist Theology. This model also takes up the problem of culture's contribution to Christian tradition but does it in a mutually informing and correcting way. It applies a method of correlation which accepts the challenge to re-interpret the Christian message and reexamine the Christian tradition, and at the same time challenge culture's assumptions and conclusions. The theologian in this model is committed both to Christian faith and contemporary culture together. Therefore the Christian tradition and contemporary culture must enter into what resembles a conversation around a table where each asks questions and gives answers to one another. The process is one of revisioning, or re-looking, at itself and culture in a mutual relation. Such a model does not look down on culture nor does it exalt it; neither does theology stand isolated within a narrow ecclesial community while refusing to act upon culture and, when necessary, defend its position in a public way as well. Neither Christianity nor culture hand over their identity. They are placed within the larger context of the whole where the integrity of both are needed.

One example of this model is "Process Theology" which is

largely a U. S. American phenomena. It sought to reinterpret the understanding of God from the modern scientific findings in physics. The switch from Newtonian physics to Relativity physics offered a new paradigm by which to understand the metaphsics of what the world is all about. Their work did not require the abandoning of the Christian tradition as it was experienced, but it did challenge the metaphysical assumptions that belonged to other ages, such as the Neo-Platonic Augustine or the Aristotelian Thomas Aquinas. This model has affinities with Niebuhr's "Conversionist model" where both Christianity and culture work together for transformation.

Conclusion

Niebuhr's model clearly presents the varieties of historical options Christianity has taken toward aspects of culture. In each model, the objective is the same. Thus we have five models with the same purpose; to affirm the sacredness of human dignity that demands as its condition a just social order. Sometimes the response come in opposition to the culture, at other times in support of the culture, and still other times in active working with the positive and negative elements of culture in some transforming action. Niebuhr shows that Christian response can be many and varied, and that more than one model may be operating at the same time. Some members of the Christian community use one model while others chose another. As with any plurality of responses, the challenge is to listen to and understand the Holy Spirit speaking within the ecclesial community. Unity of mind

and hearts come from the power of the Spirit. Thus, the rule of Christian love comes into focus: evil and sin are always to be resisted; goodness and love are to be promoted. Hence, God's grace, creativity, and love are not under the control of humanity or any cultural construct, but are gifts that we, and all of our sisters and brothers, need in every culture in order to love as we are shown in Jesus.

Tracy provides for us an important set of models in theology by which we can understand the historical Christian responses to contemporary cultures in this century. The backdrop for his analysis is the heritage of the Modern world in science and reason. His own preference of the Revisionist Model suggests that Christianity has taken a seriously considered listening posture toward culture, while not being afraid to speak up and criticize either. Theology has moved unabashedly into the public arena without apology and with confidence in its strength to help form culture according to the principles of love and justices.

Tracy's method is also global. This is the first of our three historical forces mentioned at the beginning of this study and one that is often not paid attention to sufficiently. Not only does he accept all cultures, not just Western, into this theological process, but, as a matter of integrity, his model demands as total and universal a conversation as possible. It would seem, also, if the possibility within it. Thus this model can find room to grow and expand in the future.

Perhaps the attitude this model requires is most important for all future Christian responses to culture: to have an open and listening posture, base on God's presence active in the world, in order to understand another's postion. Without compromise or lack of integrity, honesty and trust, the Christian is always about the process of discerning God's presence in culture. But the Christian decision is not alone. It is made within a tradition, within an ecclesial community of believing Christians, and across cultures. What remains constant in every decision is that the Love of God and Neighbor as Jesus has shown us in his life, death and resurrection, remains the source, center, and rationale for every Christian response to culture.

Notes:

- [1] Michael J. Buckley, At the Origins of Modern Atheism, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- [2] H. Richard Niebuhr. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper and Row, 1951.
- [3] Niebuhr acknowledges his debt to the work of Ernst Troeltsch who as theologian pursused the relation to culture from a social science perspective and used types. Cf. Christ and Culture, p. xii.
- [4] Ibid., pp. 43-44.
- [5] Ibid., p. 32.
- [6] Ibid., p. 11.
- [7] Ibid., p. 230.
- [8] Ibid., p. 233.
- [9] David Tracy, Bless Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology. New York: Seabury Press, 1975, pp. 22-43.
- [10] For a very fine treatment of the development of Catholic theology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see T. M. Schoof, A

Survey of Catholic Theology 1800 - 1970. New York: Paulist Newman Press, 1970.

附中译文

基督教回应当代世界的神学类型 [.]. 米勒*著 吴忠云 译

基督教的历史可依据它对文化的回应加以阐释。原因很简单: 尽管基督教不可能与任何文化相认同,但它总逃不脱被融入于某种文化当中。无论从其始,耶稣被融入于当时犹太文化中,还是今天基督教发现自己置身于当代世界的诸多文化当中,这都是确实的。

基督教对当代世界的回应多种多样。原因之一是按其本质,当 代世界总是处于变化之中。新的观点、机构、技术、绝大多数民族 都对人类事业这条奔涌、旋转的长河作出贡献。所以可以断言,神 学能反映文化和基督教的回应之间的张力。

出现这诸多的回应的另一个原因是基督教在两个层面都试图显示其回应能力。首先,基督教有一个显现于耶稣中的神圣的启示的传统。对这一传统的回应总是同一定的时间和地点的文化相关联的。这种文化对当时而言,也就是"现代的"。这一传统意味着我们应该认知爱我们、并规劝我们成为他的门徒的上帝,无论他把我们引向哪里,都追随他。其次,这一基督教的神圣的传统对所有文化中的所有人都是一条重要的信息;这一上帝是我们全体人的。我们人类的真实的回应是像耶稣那样爱上帝胜于一切,爱邻人如

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我们自己。在这个意义上,基督教的每一个回应都要求在其当代世界中寻找上帝。对上帝的寻求涉及我们所做的一切。我们追求正义、和平、喜悦和和谐,就是追求上帝,他在世人和文化当中向我们显现,邀我们携手建立上帝国。

本文由三部分构成:对当代世界发展作简要的历史勾划;介绍神学家理查·尼布尔著作关于基督教对文化的回应的基本历史选择:通过神学家大卫·特雷西的著作考察神学处理基督教传统与文化之间关系时所采取的选择。这些神学家还提供了我们随后要讨论的三个部分的评价。尽管我们的思维方式是两方的,但是触及了超越西方文化的重要理论。通过验证这些理论,我相信中国基督教也会对全世界的神学事业作出重要的贡献。

一、当代世界的历史动力学

各种各样的发现改变了我们的思维方式,为我们的世界提供了新的动力,提供了新的知识,尤为重要的是,发现了新的方法,它们改变了我们思考自己、上帝和世界的方式。我们的体察或意识是以三个可以分辨的时代为轴心的:(1)全球发现的时代;(2)科学的时代;(3)理性的时代。每一个时代都留下了被改造的观念遗产,它们被融合于后继的每一个时代之中,携手确认了当代的需要和我们后面将讨论的神学批判。

1. 发现的时代: 1492 - 全球化

欧洲对"新世界"的发现造成了持续至今的观念更新。这对西方、对新发现的地区,诸如美洲和东方(它们都面对着西方文化),也一样是首次。整个人类、文化、社会和宗教开始认识到人类像地理一样,是在同一个星球上互相关联的。1492年克里斯托弗

·哥伦布的发现是这一小小开端的征兆,它逐渐扩展为一个以后持续展开得更深、更广的网络。他的发现仅是全球化的第一步,只有采取新的交通手段、电子传媒、国际电脑网络,我们才以不曾梦想过的方式将全球联结在一起。

尽管有些学者只是把1492年看成仅是地域上的事实的发现,而没有给予更多的重视,然而它正逐渐变成一个在我们共同的将来具有日益重要意义的时刻。不幸的是,由于战争、文化帝国主义和经济的增长,使这一时期成为负面遗产的一部分。这500年没能成为一个辉煌的时代。我们或许不能改变历史,但由于见识的增长,我们不会再重蹈覆辙了。在一个不断快速全球化的时代,要求有一种新的相处之道作为对当代日益联结的世界的回应,去迎接这些挑战!这个重担落到了基督教身上。

2. 科学的时代: 1650---新方法

科学的时代已成为现代西方世界最引人注目的特征。简言之,人们开始学会如何作为个体去思考、辨别和作出决断。"接受传统"已不再是前进的唯一道路,新的、创造性的选择已有可能。第一个时代人们在领土方面发现新的疆域,第二个时代人们却在人的心灵这块内在的土地上发现了新的疆域。西方的伟大人物是伊萨克·牛顿,他制定了精确地显示运动规律的数学等式。宇宙、自然、社会和自我都被因果关系的符咒镇住了。牛顿说因果关系是:如果知道了原因或结果中的一个,就能重构另一个。所以,任何事件的解释和预测都是可能的,整个自然都是受这些规律支配的,由此整个世界就是可以认识和确证的。既然自然是上帝的遗物,自然就像照见上帝之无限深邃的心灵的一面镜子,显示了上帝之明确无误的设计。当有些人发现显示在自然中的上帝的时候,另一些人则发现了一个风马牛不相关的"上帝",自然就像一口钟那样上紧

了发条,在不受干预的状况下运动了。上帝同这个世界的分离是西方现代无神论的肇端。^[1]

3. 理性的时代: 1650 --- 新权威

科学,或更确切地说,科学方法带来了对自然的意想不到的发现,同时,它也带来了一个新的产儿——理性,真理之独立的与骄傲的继承者。理性主宰…切的时代,也被称为启蒙的时代,因为理性 就像一束光,照亮了无知的黑暗、恐惧和迷信,揭示了一条新的道路。然而不幸的也是不确切的是,人性都被看成是蒙昧无知的,似乎知识可以充实它。只是随着时间的推移,才使我们认识到,更顽固的偏执迷惑人的是偏见,不愿探寻真理,它们就像使知识之船沉没的暗礁那样隐藏着。法国哲学家和数学家(注意他们的关系)笛卡儿是这个时代的最佳代表。他是西方"近代哲学之父",他的著名拉丁文格言表明了这一点:"我思故我在"。正是自为的理性或心灵保持着自足,并与别的影响相隔离,与人类生活的肮脏、卑俗保持独立而达到真理。当理性像权威支配一切时,它被称为理性主义。然而,经过虔敬主义、浪漫主义和神秘主义的反理性运动,理性主义在基督教中就有了许多的诋毁者。

自为的理性及其主宰受到了18世纪德国哲学家康德的沉重打击,他证明了理性的界限。作为科学家,康德表明了理性自身的功能结构总是与认知活动相关连的。因此,心灵的运作仅限于可知的范围。而且,心灵只能认知存在的现象,而不是作为心灵产物的内在的本质。根据上述两方面的缘由,因而不存在所谓"客观知识"。结果是不仅哲学,而且科学的客观性也受到了恼人的怀疑。尽管在自主的心灵中播下毁灭的种子,人们仍相信在这些限度内理论的作用,这就确保了理性的地位仍是强大的。

这三个阶段迄今仍然存在,并成为现代西方世界的标志。它们

构成为现时代的证据,推动了它前进。当你衡量三个阶段、三个因素(全球化、科学、理性)中某一个更主要的时候,你就发现另外两个也有追加得分的材料。它们的力量结合在一起构成了西方杰出历史的特征,并提供了西方借以检验和批判自己和别人的语境。

接下来讨论的是两位神学家的著作,他们同时发现了构成这些时代发展三部分的方法。因此,还因为既是"作为这些时代之部分",又与这些时代"相冲突",才使这些神学家有意义。尽管他们是这一西方传统的一部分,但是我相信他们已经超越了他们继承自西方世界的东西而把他们的成就奉献给了所有的文化。它们的洞见大有助于任何文化理解基督教为何不仅对当代世界作出回应,而且能对未来各种可能的选择作出回应,又如何作出回应。

这两位神学家是理查·尼布尔和大卫·特雷西,两位都是美国人。尼布尔,一位新教徒,属于本世纪"新正统派"运动的早期成员,研究基督教对文化的回应曾有过的历史选择。特雷西,一位天主教徒,被认为是一位"后现代"神学家,在神学方法方面论证了一个新的模式,并根据20世纪在美国发展起来的各种不同模式加以阐述。

二、理查·尼布尔:《基督与文化》

在其经典著作《基督与文化》中,理查·尼布尔称基督教与文化的关系的多方面的争论为"经久不衰的问题"。[2]为了阐明以往2000年中发生的历史对话和各种被采用过的选择以及所形成的各种结构,尼布尔建议将很多历史中的个人和运动集中起来构成类型。[3]

类型学的方法尽管对全面揭示复杂的历史关系并不适合,但 350 对揭示基督教斗争中一再出现的伟大动机的连续性和意义有引人注目的有利之处。^[4]采用类型法·虽然不可能将复杂的个人和事件完全归入某种类型,但是在我们的时代却可以提供解决基督与文化问题的方向。

在这一讨论之前,"基督"和"文化"这两个词必须根据两者的关系加以定义。先让我们从文化开始。

1. 文 化

尼布尔寻找了一个"文化"这一词汇的神学定义以满足一般外行的知识:"文化是人造的第二环境,它是人强加给自然的,它包括语言、习惯、观念、信念、风俗、社会组织、传承下来的人造物、技术过程和价值。"⁵⁵

文化的主要特点是,(1)它总是社会的;(2)它是入类的成就;(3)它是一个价值世界,其目标是人类的善,它关涉的是价值的实现和讨论;(4)它指向多元论,即一种文化寻求在任何时间和地点实现其价值,在数量上是多数的。

实际上,如此描述文化的显著特征,说明我们不知道人性或文化之外的福音。像一条金鱼虽在一个盆里嬉游不会知道水是什么,"它总是在那儿",人类对文化的语境也视之当然。一旦文化及其特征被如此定义和刻画,一个关于文化与我们的关系的新观念就开始了。或者,假如,我们能扩展其想象,假如金鱼能知道水是什么,它就跨越了无知而得到了对水的认识。

2. 基 督

对尼布尔而言,基督并非指耶稣基督,而是基督教信仰者。他们属于这样一个团体,耶稣对理解他们自己和他们的世界有极高的重要性。¹⁶¹ 因为个人和团体对耶稣的信仰和解释殊异。"基督"

将涵盖各种不同的观点。

尼布尔的理由是:基督教徒有一点是共同的,耶稣基督是他们的权威,并且行使各种不同的权威的是同一个基督。因为"基督"的人格并不与文化的原则简单地相关联,尼布尔宁愿通过道德的视角来奠定耶稣的人格,并选择一个具体的、限定的耶稣品德作为他的原则,这就是爱。如此,在任何文化中对基督的信仰包含了爱上帝和爱邻人的命令。这样,尼布尔将不同文化和不同教派的基督教归结为"基督"这一概括性词汇之下,尽管不否定其差异。

这一巧妙的神学变动使得尼布尔能够超越以往包含于基督教中的学说上和教派上的障碍,这个障碍植根于历史的土壤之中,需要加以摆脱。

现在尼布尔能从现代的视角,将基督教作为一个整体来看待了。他试图将他的分析提高到新的和更高的立足点。在那里,基督与文化被引入到彼此卓有成就的关系之中。他将基督教作为整体来考察,而不是分解为部分,它已经为神学思考基督教对文化的回应带来有意义的转变,以致学者认为它是一本经典著作。

将特定的事件或入物归为类型,存在着特殊的困难,因为其特征依赖如此多的不同点:作者前期或后期的选择;收集到的著作;历史的判断,不同历史视角的判断,如像路德这样一个人是一个圣徒还是一个基督徒,一个改革家还是叛教者。承认了类型法的困难之后,我们就来介绍他的五种类型或模式,以便从他的立场来重新验证西方历史并理解每一种类型所作出的贡献。

也许一句忠告还是值得记取的:没有哪种模式是自身完备的, 所有的类型都不可能穷尽可能性。每一种类型显示被选取的历史 地位,以及对错与否,并不是问题之所在,尽管人们可以提出一 个类型之合适或不合适的问题。从反文化到接受文化,这五种类型 构成这样一个系谱,即类型:1、4、5、3、2。

基督 文化

1 ---- 2

类型1:基督与文化对立。两者的张力是很显然的:基督教徒将文化斥之为有罪的、反人性的、邪恶的或错误的。冲突可能导致造成压制的对立。尼布尔将诸多早期基督教教派归入这一范畴。最有代表性的神学家是3世纪的德尔图良,他拒斥了基督之外的所有忠诚,警告说即使政治生活和服兵役也应回避。集体隔离,例如修道生活及以后的宗教如16世纪的摩门教也证明了这一类型。殉道者也属于这一类型。这一类型试图以许多方式在文化自身寻找解决办法,但没有找到。

类型2:文化的基督。就这一类型而言,文化与基督的张力不存在了,它处于这一系谱的相反的一端。这一类型将基督和文化和谐统一起来,以便它们有一个共存共容的结果。尼布尔将诺斯替派的早期异端归入这一类型。当他们接受耶稣作为精神的拯救者的同时,他们发现国家对世俗生活是至关重要的。基督代表了口述教师,人类成就的顶点,教会变成宗教协会,而不是社团。最有代表性的神学家是阿布拉德。他不承认基督与文化之间的所有冲突,并且把任何紧张状态都归于教会对基督的误解。像洛克、康德、杰弗逊之类的人也属于这种类型,他们把理性看成通达上帝知识和我们的拯救的捷径。人们把类型1归于唯灵论,把类型2看作自然主义的表现,有时它也许可以称之为"文化基督教"。也许该注意它极端相似于类型1,只是类型1是排斥,而类型2是并容,类型2找到了在文化内的解决途径。

以下三种类型代表居间的教会。

类型3:基督居于文化之上。这一类型在"两者都"的辩证法中综合了两者。这一类型被归在系谱的右边,这一类型承认基督与

文化之间裂缝的存在,即使二者集一的时候也是如此。这一类型的第一个大的代表是3世纪亚历山大里亚的克莱门,他吸收了斯多亚哲学,将它同基督的毫无保留的爱综合在一起。托玛斯·阿奎那大概是综合派的集大成者,他将亚里士多德哲学归在福音的力量之下。19世纪后期的教皇利奥十三是另一个典型,他写了关于基督教对工业社会的回应的社会性教皇通谕。这种综合类型的问题是没有直面所有人类作品中的罪恶。这一批评来自我们要讨论的下一类型。

类型4:处于悖论的基督与文化。这一类型将两者分开在"或此……或彼"的辩证法中。被置于系谱的左半部分,这一类型承认内存于两个权威中的二元论。极而言之他们拒斥综合而毋宁像两个营垒挨个地站立。任何成功的判断都只有在结束时才到来。尼布尔将使徒保罗归入这一类型,因为保罗在承认世俗人是受公民权之不可避免的拖累的同时,设置了基督教在天国的公民权。这一类型之最佳代表是16世纪德国的改革家马丁·路德,他宣称文化中的生活将引导到基督,但却是独立于基督的,因此教会制度与王国将使上帝之国暗淡。只有最后审判才能将两者分离开来。存在主义之父19世纪瑞典(原文如此,译者注)的索伦·克尔恺郭尔也是一个代表。

类型5:作为文化改造者的基督。这一类型与二元论是最接近的,处于系谱的中间,转变派比二元论更积极而且更有希望坚持文化被改造以后与基督相连。尼布尔认为《约翰福音》是最早的代表,在那几耶稣说,世界是现世地被改造的。这一类型之最典型代表是4世纪的伟大神学家奥古斯丁,他将基督教理解为将自然秩序再指向、再振奋、再创造为超自然的。16世纪的约翰·加尔文是另一个例子,因为他坚持福音进入市民生活的所有方面。

尼布尔总结道,没有一个"基督徒的回答是结论性的"。[7]他 354 说:"基督与文化的问题只有在各个信仰者的相应的团契超乎研究领域之外时,才能而且必定达到一个结局。"^[3]

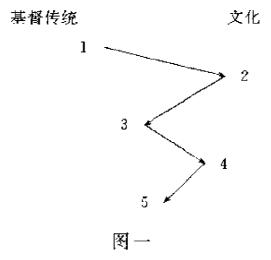
尼布尔之类型或模式思维方式,作为一种收集几个世纪留传下来的大量资料、发现历史典型的意义,提供理解基督教对文化的不同回应,是一种有启迪的方法。他运用社会学和历史学的理论来设计他的模式,而这两门学科都是科学和理性在这一时代的产物,我们必须记住类型思考法,在解释和探索新资料中有双重作用。在这里指的是基督徒对文化的反应,尼布尔的工作大大影响了大卫·特雷西。后者从另一角度检讨了问题:神学而不是基督徒是如何对文化作出反应的。对这一问题的回答牵涉到基督教传统和文化在一个特定的神学方法中是如何相关的。特雷西所关心的是方法而不是内容,不像尼布尔那样只把注意力集中于基督教对文化回应上。特雷西对基督教的回应持文化批判的开放态度,因此,在尼布尔那里是单向地指向文化的,特雷西则在他的方法中提供了对两者的相互批判。对此我们稍后就会知道它们是如何相互关联的。

3. 大卫·特雷西:《对秩序的神圣渴求》[9]

特雷西认为本世纪有五种模式在起作用。在这个意义上,他不是研究基督教不同回应的全面历史,而是今天起指导作用的现实的发展线索,特雷西的模式与尼布尔的系谱不同,它是连续的。它是这样的(见图一);

这些模式间的张力存在于左边的基督教传统与右边的文化之间的关系之中。

模式1:正统派。第一个模式处理的是产生在教会团体内并且也只是适应于教会团体的神学。它的神学来自信仰者也仅仅是为



了信仰者。它的目的是解释信仰,系统化教理,以便支持这一团体的传统。通常它所发展起的理解是相当精致、深奥的,尽管它们并不也不试图与广泛的非教会共同分享。结果是这一模式为了支持教会传统,常常凌驾于文化之上或与文化相对立。因此,它通常被认为是自给于公共领域,其范围是狭窄的,甚至被限制于捍卫自己的权威,怀疑对立的立场。这一模式的一个例子是大部分的19世纪天主教神学,它发现自己总是与科学和理性的整个权威相悖。[10]

模式2:自由派。这种模式接受神学所带来的对神学来说是正确的和有益的发现。它追求的是自由和开放的探讨。由于个体能自主地自为地研讨,因此基督教传统必须根据这一现代意识进行重新建构,根据现代世界来加以衡量基督是否可信。这一模式的最大代表是德国神学家弗里德里希·施莱尔马赫·在新教传统中他被称为"现代神学之父",他根据康德重新建构了神学。别的例子是"现代主义者"和许多19世纪、20世纪初"寻找历史上的耶稣"的神学家。他们从严格的历史主义立场出发重新建构神学。

前面两个模式构成了我们系谱的两端。模式1是狭隘的教会派的,模式2是单线的文化派的。我们接下来讨论的三个模式表明,必需把教会和文化看作是新型的关系,而不是处于对立的两端。

模式3:新正统派。"新"正统派一词表述了对自由主义的反抗,这种模式的神学家容纳自由派的实际行为,但是认为基督传统和基督信息已被他们卖空了。尼布尔在一值得记取的句子中描绘了自由派的实际所为:"没有愤怒的上帝让无罪之人通过没有十字架的耶稣的教诲进入没有审判的王国中。"[11]产生并坚持了这一宗教传统的上帝启示,能够靠启示自身的长处而自立。如果必要,它能够使文化置于上帝的审判之下。第一次世界大战灾难性的经历,大萧条、工业化、饥饿、贫穷和堕落等入类自身制造的恶果,代替了持续的、不可避免的发展的谎言,其后果似乎正相反。悲剧和罪恶标志自由派神学的缺点真实存在。这一模式不是将基督教与文化相调和,而是将基督教与文化理解为动态的一个必然要求另一个的辩证的张力之中。不过,这种张力是两个领域对话所产生的活动。不存在轻而易举的答案,信仰者必须寻找影响文化的最好的第二个举措继续作出反应。[12]

这一类型类似尼布尔的类型4.基本上是二元论的"处于悖论中的基督与文化"的张力。欧洲人卡尔·巴特尔、美国人尼布尔和他的兄弟莱内霍尔德·尼布尔代表了这一类型。我们用理查德·尼布尔的上述模式表示新正统派类型深深感受到的基本状况。

1945年以后,新正统派的神学衰落了,尽管其贡献仍在。我们仍要坚持研究的理由是,它无法根据现代学术对基督教传统作出反省。正如我们看到的,理查德·尼布尔论基督与文化著作,他以"基督"代替"基督教",其目的是试图跨越各种教派的歧异而找到深层的一致的渊源,新正统派将注意力集中在"可靠的信仰者"而不是信仰的内容上。正是基督教的这一领域变成了以下两个模式所要讨论的议题。

模式4.激进神学。这一模式包括那些承认基督教传统的内容必须根据现代学术加以重新审视的神学家。如同历来的学术一样,

按当代学术这样去做是必要的。这一模式同时看到所谓"现代世界"正在瓦解。在接受自由派的洞见之余,它试图依据或许可以被称之为"后现代"的词汇来重新建构基督教传统。因此,整个传统的学说受到了挑战。上帝论、基督论、教会论、权威说、原罪说和拯救论等主要学说都亟需认真地重构。然而,这些变化像是完全抛弃传统,以致到了虚无化的地步。这一模式的两个范例是60年代"神死"神学,它认为假如人类要自由,传统的上帝就必须死亡,因此同这种体系紧密相联的传统也必须死亡,另一个范例是80年代女权主义神学的一个侧面,它声称"男权已如此深地落入传统,以致整个传统都必须抛弃"。他们呼吁"后基督教",以便创造新的传统。在某种意义上,在那儿激进神学就如我们所知的是超乎基督教传统之上的。

这一模式的范例是"过程神学",它主要是美国的现象。它试图依据物理学的现代科学发现对上帝的理解重新作出解释。从牛顿物理学到相对论物理学的转变提供了一个新的范式,可以借此

去理解世界到底是什么的形而上学,他们的工作不要求放弃自己 所经历的基督教的传统,但它确是对属于另一些时代的,诸如新 柏拉图主义的奥古斯丁或亚里士多德主义的托玛斯·阿奎那的形 而上学假设提出了挑战。¹³³·这一模式与尼布尔的"改造派类型"有 亲缘关系。在那儿,基督教和文化一起协作进行改造。

结 论

尼布尔的类型论清楚地显示了基督教对文化各方面采取的诸种不同的历史选择。每一种类型的对象都是同一的。我们看到,五种类型有一个共同的目的,肯定人类尊严的神圣性,要求有一个公正的社会秩序作为神圣的条件。有时回应与文化相冲突,有时支持文化,有时在某些改造的活动中与文化中的积极和消极因素进行积极对话。尼布尔指明基督教的回应可以是多样而殊异的。同时可以运作一个以上的类型。有些基督教团体的成员采用这一类型,而另一些则采用另一个,由于存在回应的多样性,所以在教会团体内需要理解圣灵,倾听圣灵。心灵和心声的一致来自圣灵的力量。这样,基督之爱的准则归结为一点,罪恶和原罪总是受拒斥的,善和爱总是受提倡的,因此,上帝的荣耀、创造和爱不再受人类或任何文化结构的控制,而是我们和我们所有的兄弟姊妹在所有文化中所需要的礼物,以便于能像在耶稣那儿看到的那样去爱。

特雷西为我们提供了神学中重要的模式系列,借此我们能理解历史上的基督教对当时文化的回应。他的分析的背景是科学和理性中的现代世界的遗产。他自己对修正派模式的偏爱表明,基督教已经采取了对文化认真倾听的姿态,而不怕说明和批判二者之一,神学已经充满对自身力量的自信,无条件地进入了公共争论的场所,以便根据爱和正义的原则去帮助形成文化。

特雷西的方法也是全球性的,这是我们在开始时提到的三种历史力量中的第一种(即全球化因素),而且是经常没有给予足够的重视的。在其神学的考虑中,他接受所有文化,不仅是西方的,而且总的来说,他的模式要求尽可能是整体和普遍的对话。它似乎也表明,假如许多文化发展到新类型的全球文化,他的模式将能够包括这种可能性于其中。因此,这一模式有余地在将来扩展和增长。

这一模式所要求的态度也许对未来基督教对文化的回应是至 关重要的:这就是拥有一个开放和倾听的姿态,以上帝在这个世 界的积极出场为基础去理解一个不同的立场;基督教总是不妥协 地、不乏忠诚和信心地在文化中辨认上帝的存在。它总是处在这一 过程中。但是基督教的决断决不是孤立的,它是在传统中,在信仰 基督的教会团体中,在跨越文化中进行的。每一个决断所留下的总 是像耶稣在降生、殉难和复活中所显示的那样爱上帝,爱邻人;总 是每一个基督徒对文化回应的根源、核心和理由。

多元论和压迫:基督教 面对多种宗教与许多穷人

P. F. 尼特*著 林 曦 译

当今世界,基督教(或任何宗教)的价值面临两种世界性的现实的挑战;多种宗教和许多穷人。有两个事实向任何宗教共同体的源流与责任提出了挑战,一是有许许多多种其他方法,人们通过这些方法可以成为宗教徒并在生活中追求意义、承担义务;另一是有如此众多的人由于世上商品的不公平分配而遭受非人所能忍受的贫困。就基督教而言,由于传统基督徒已宣称他们的宗教是唯一真实的宗教(如今,他们正加以修正,宣称"最好的宗教"),也由于他们肯定了一个犹太人的上帝观念,这个上帝关心人民的疾苦,并对因不公正或奴役而引起人民的苦难作出回应,因而就强化了这种挑战。

换言之,当今基督徒必须对多元论和压迫作出回应。尽管这两种挑战确实是不同的,但它们都必须得到基督徒和基督教神学家们的关心,必须把它们放在一起并加以权衡。目前,基督徒似乎把这两种现实看作彼此不相关的问题来处理。现在所需要的是对这两个不同的但同等紧迫的问题——宗教的差异性与全球责任或宗

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教间对话与社会一生态的解放,或用更为基督教的术语说,宗教的神学和解放的神学---一起作出协调一致的回应。把这两种关怀和承诺结合起来并不容易:它们之间的比较也不受欢迎。事实上,我认为这样一种比较会向基督徒提出不舒服却富有成效的要求。

向多种宗教和许多受害者作出回应,这种协调和权衡的复杂性和许诺,用更哲学或学术性的观点来说,在我喜欢称之为北方(或欧洲,北美)的后现代主义与南方(或亚洲)的后现代主义中已存在并得到了澄清。遍及欧洲和北美大部分地区的一个明显的后现代意识特征是肯定多元论和差异性,并且欣然接受。文化、宗教、伦理传统、世界观和诠释都是形形色色的,我们决不可能把它们混为一谈。没有一个会成为绝对的文化、意义或诠释。每一种真理主张总是"被社会性地构成的",因而是受限制的。没有一种真理主张可以自鸣得意或吸取其他全部真理。差异性是主流,所以,就让百花齐放吧!

确实,一种亚洲的观点,尤其鉴于我在印度已对它的研究,会肯定这种宗教或文化的差异性;像许多亚洲人一样,印度人已在文化、宗教和伦理多元论中生活了多个世纪。但他们会增加某种欧洲人和北美人常常过于无知或避而不谈的北方后现代意识。南方的后现代主义不仅仅承认差异性而且承认压迫。由于压迫和不公正而导致的人民和这个星球的苦难也是其后现代现实和意识的一部分。事实上,对于个人经验和国家如印度的社会经验来说,承担更重的是压迫而不是差异性,在南方的后现代意识中,人们可以说,占主导的是压迫的苦难而非差异性。

作为一个美国公民,我写这篇文章能够证实我们北美人和欧洲人从南方国家如印度听来的信息必定使我们不舒服。它提醒我们,我们如此热衷差异性和宗教间的对话,这或许已消解了我们

应该对遍及世界的苦难和压迫的关心。但南方的后现代主义也告诉我们,甚至更不舒服地告诉我们,多元论和压迫不能完完全全地得到权衡;这不是简单的一个"既……又……"的问题。相反,权衡将是"首先这个,然后那个"中的一个;首先关注压迫,然后接受差异性。

换言之,消除由压迫引起的人民苦难与有知觉的存在物之苦难的责任,与我们肯定并接受宗教差异性相比,必定具有某种优先性。对话中,我们首先或主要的关怀必定是面对理解和解放由压迫所带来的可怕的苦难之现实。所以这样一种对解放,人类生态利益的责任在宗教间对话中必定是主要的真理的语境、内容与标准。在某种意义上,不包含关心压迫的多种信仰的相遇就不可能是真实的对话——至少在目前,在当今世界如此。

更确切地说,要在宗教间的对话中恰当地"权衡"多元论和压迫,我们将不得不在对话桌上给予受压迫者以优先权和给予受压迫的地球本身以一个优先的位置。受压迫者的关怀、经验和分析将不得不拥有神学家们所称的一种"解释上的特权"——一种更大的优势,一种在宗教彼此间努力理解并分享真理、价值和行动中的特殊角色。所以,我认为多元论和压迫之间的权衡不是一种平等的权衡。压迫的现实在多种信仰对话的内容中具有一种优先性,而在我们对话的考虑中受压迫人民和受压迫地球的呼声必须具有"解释上的特权"。

对许多传统的对话实践者来说,这样一种主张听起来是极端的、偏激的。现在我提出三个主要理由来表明为什么必须认真看待这样一种主张。在宗教间对话中必须给予受压迫者以解释上的特权,以便(一)使得对话成为可能;(二)使得对话成为真实;(三)让对话免受强权利用。

一、设置可能的对话

我们先从总括性的陈述开始: 当今世界确实没有考虑到不同文化、不同宗教中人们之间的真实对话;除非把这个世界改变了,我们真的不能相互交谈。这一陈述的基础是哈贝马斯(Jürgen Habermas)"理想的言说处境"的概念,它对任何交谈都是必不可少的。鉴于真正不同人们之间发生真实的交流,所有人或团体都必须拥有完全自由的机会走向对话桌; 所有的一切都应当聆听并认真考虑。(Habermas 1984,19) 用梵蒂冈第二次大公会议的话来说,为了对话就必须是平等对平等(par cum pari)。(大公主义法令,第9节)鲍姆(Gregory Baum)更实事求是说到,"如果在两个或更多参与者之间存在某种平等,那么交谈反而是富有成果的。"(1987,92)

但这里也有问题。我们一旦假定了当今世界的不平等性以及由经济、政治与军事力量造成并维持的不平等方式,那么在这个世上就没有这样一张共同对谈的桌子,所有人在这张桌子上都有预备的机会,每种声音都可看作与另外的声音一样大,每一位参与者真正感受到自由并不受威胁地说出他/她内心的话。民族之间以及民族内部,存在着不容许所有人拥有同等声音的权力结构与社会一经济的差异。

所以,我们所需要的,至少作为一条对话的"基本原则"是,我们在这个世上或在我们自己的社会中有责任去努力创造"理想的言说处境"。这就意味着一起实践-行动。自然地这不仅仅是首先解放然后交谈的过程。然而,在我们社会中,一种对不平等以及一

^{*} 参见文末 Habermas 1984年出版的著作,第19页。以下引文方式与此相同。

些人与其他人一样被认真考虑的方式之意识,一种主动的意识必定是我们对话精神的一部分,否则,我们的交谈会严重受损。

同样,当我们在对话中接近"他人"时,肯定他们的差异性并向这种差异性开放是不够的。除了肯定其差异性外,我们还必须肯定他们的自由与尊严。如果缺乏这种自由与尊严,我们就必须竭力使其成为可能。热衷差异性而不关心尊严,这在接近他人中只能是半人性的。"差异性的见解导致持久的相遇以及对他人的认识,然后必须抵制剥夺他人任何东西的实践……所以,解放性的实践不仅仅是一种'好人'面对无可容忍之恶的实践;这也是肯定他人文化差异性某种'真的'的必要条件。"(Taylor 1991, 159—160)

如果我不允许她成为她想成为的人,我怎么可能尊重并肯定另外人的差异性呢?因而,彼此间真实对话之可能性的另一个条件,首先是主动抵制并战胜控制,因为人们的同一性受到社会-经济的、基本的或性压迫之结构的控制。所以,"赞美差异性"和"抵制控制"在对话的同一行动中成为构成整体必不可少的要素;对话既要求遵循差异性又要承担解放的责任。"这把为解放和正义而斗争以及在相对性中为认识而斗争两者拉得比我们通常所想的更加接近了。"(Taylor 1991, 164;又见157—159)

二、设置可靠的对话

要使宗教间对话成为真实,就必须不仅包括诸宗教所宣称的内容而且包括当今世界人民所要求的内容。换言之,多种信仰的对话像神学一样必须在宗教传统和神学家所乐意称的"人类共同经验"之间联系起来。然而,目前对绝对大部分人都是自明的是,他们最"共同的"经验是因压迫而带来的苦难与贫穷的经验。所以,

在对话中必须给予那些正在受难的呼声以特权或把它们放在第一位,否则,我们的对话并不代表当今世界或者对当今世界作出回应。乔普(Rebecca Chopp)对这一点作了清晰、充满激情的陈述:

贫穷是典型性的人类经验;只有和穷人站在一起并通过穷人来调节我们的解释性透境的焦距,我们才可能充分体验和解释历史。(Chopp 1986,48)

只有和那些受难者·一穷人、受压迫者、活着的人和死去的人·一在一起,我们才会理解人类存在的现实。 (同上,151,又见122)

当我们作为"既定的"阶级,"发展的"民族或"主流的"宗教开始倾听并认真考虑现实与无数压迫的受害者之证言时,就会发生既惊奇又不可思议的事情。就像禅宗经验的顿悟或新悟一样,我们发现自己以不同方式看待世界。我们通常看待自己、民族和诸民族共同体的方式是"受阻的"、可能"被颠倒的"甚至可能"被绝断的"。我们开始"明白"控制和非正义的现实,也"明白"这种现实性怎样在我们公民、消费者和宗教徒中广泛渗透。(Tracy 1987,71-72) 正如通过躯体和受害者的呼声告诉我们的,"苦难……断绝了我们的范畴、经验与历史,苦难要求一种新的范式来解释生存和基督教(也是诸宗教)的证据……苦难这一问题的帮方式、处理问题及其所关心之事的新方式。"(Chopp 1986,120) 在多种信仰的对话中,受害者及其苦难的出场既断绝了交谈又改变了交谈。

但我也敢于提出,受害者所显露出来的苦难的现实性在我们多元主义的、多视角的以及相对的世界中能够为多种信仰的对话提供一个共同基础。这不仅仅由于苦难的普遍性,即由于在全世界都以类似的形式和相似的原因感受到苦难这一事实,而且苦难也由于它对我们经验具有直接恶性循环而提供了共同的基础。的

确,正如后现代学者提醒我们的,一切经验都是被解释的。但如果有一种经验,在这种经验和解释之间的差距不管多小或多么显而易见,这就是苦难的经验。尽管对苦难原因或补救方法的解释会很多,但苦难作为一种要求我们以某种形式加以抵制的现实的意义或解释,我敢说,几乎就出现在苦难自身的经验中。苦难具有普遍性和直接性,这种普遍性和直接性为建立宗教间相遇的共同基础,提供了理想且必不可少的基地。苦难的直接性可用于一切文化、一切宗教。换言之,解释之滤在苦难现实性问题上要有一个更艰难时期才能提供不同观点:苦难太具有直接性,以致无法被众说纷纭的解释所窒息。

菲奥伦泽(Francis Schüssler—Fiorenza)警惕而清楚地提供了相同的主张:"苦难把我们引向人类生存这一基本事实,并且超越解释学循环……所以说,苦难就处在解释与现实之间。"(1991,135)它由于暂停了无休止的解释活动,以及使我们作出令我们去行动的真理主张,苦难超越了解释学循环。为保证我们的行动或抵制,对苦难的种种解释完全接近现实。

如果苦难的现实继续成为多种信仰对话内容的一部分,苦难者或受害者在对话中出场是必不可少的。这种必要性也可以通过西方"解释学大师"如伽达默尔和哈贝马斯所理解的解释学任务的性质而得到论证。如果没有绝对的真理基础,如果真理不是超越一切具体解释并清楚地向我们显明,如果我们大家对真理具有不同的文化上受限制的观点,那么走向真理之路必定包含我们各种观点之间更广泛的交谈。交谈必须尽可能具有包容性和广泛性。正如专家们告诉我们的,我们在尽可能多的观点之间需要一种"广泛的反思性平衡"。(Fiorenza 1984,301-311)

但我们的交谈必须是包容性的认识,它把我们引向同等重要却令人不安的认识,这种认识已具有排他性。这是一种尽管常被忽

视但却是无可否定的现实,大量的人不是已被排除就是不可能参与到学术、市政、教会的交谈与讨论之中。他们已被称为"地球的不幸者"、"历史的软弱者"。他们是因许多理由没有算入的人或仅仅没有受到注意的人,或者如果受到注意,那么他们不是已被排斥就是没有被当作一回事,他们的认识已成"战败的认识"。如果他们已成为经济不公的受害者,那么他们也因"认知上的不公"而受害。(Fiorenza 1991, 136)

如果为了我们面向真理的对话富有成果,就必须包括真正的他人,那么我们必须搞清楚我们在哪里找到这些"他人"(others):他人不仅有文化、宗教、性和伦理上的差别,而且还包含社会、政治上的差别。事实上,按我的设想,这些通过排除的他人(others—through—exclusion)拥有包括进来的优先地位,他们在交谈中拥有一种特殊的声音,在追寻真善中他们的经验与证言拥有一种"解释上的特权"。

这种优先地位首先是建立在简单且令入不安的事实基础上的,这个事实就是他们已被长期排除在外,如今必须实现"认知上的正义"。如果并没有把无声的声音引入交谈并把它们作为首先要聆听的话,那么交谈会受到根本性的损害,而我们的"理性"则完全被剥夺了。只有实现"认知上的正义",我们的谈论才名符其实。

认识到那些不在交谈的人的声音---

由于死亡、长期的挨饿或其社会、政治生活的全而扭曲——是关键性的方式,通过这种方式就可以出现最广泛的交谈,这种广泛性对产生并维持理性的真理是必不可少的。(Faylor 1990,64,着重号是我加的)

被排斥的受害者的声音,包括那些为受害的尘世辩护的人的声音在交谈中具有一种优先地位,这不仅因为它们如此干差万别,

而且因为它们的差异性也正在改变。所以,如前所述,它们能够断绝并改变我们的意识。"使交谈的共同体尽可能具有包容性已成为必要。人们不可能仅仅求助于经验证据作为真理的保证;人们不得不带着被忽视并常常受压抑的他人的声音把冲突的范式与传统的解释带进对话与交谈中来。"(Fiorenza 1991, 137)

但这不只是对话中给予他们特权的受压迫者数量,这也是压迫的经验内容或质量,这种压迫的内容或质量使得受压迫者认识到安逸者和强权者自己决不能认识到的事情。这必须和受害者更大的否定性经验发生关系。尽管否定性确实是常人生活的一部分,但受压迫者既在量上又在质上体验它,这种量与质使得他们的经验不同于经济上富裕,政治上强权的人的经验。所以,受害者有"一种出于不被更多的精英、中间派团体体验到的基本的否定性洞见"(Taylor 1990,65)。更确切地说,受压迫者能够为社会现实与政治现实提供种种洞见,这些洞见在现实中几乎是不可能有的。受害者已"比强权者对他们征服的文化的认识学到更多强权者的文化"(同上)。这样对人类生存以及我们既定文化的否定性洞见不只是"有趣";如果交谈和论述世界的不幸有什么关系、那么这样也是极其必要的。

但赋予无发言权者的声音以"解释上的特权"或"优先性",这是什么意思呢?当然,我并不认为他们的声音是唯一听到的声音。战胜压迫和苦难的一个主要关怀并不否定(而是确实要求)我们的交谈和艰难的尝试是多元的并保持其多元性。富裕者、中产阶级、神秘主义者、艺术家们的声音和受压迫者的声音都一同听到。给予受害者以特权和优先权,这并不意味着他们的观点或主张始终是规范性的,受害者也可能已扭曲了他们对现实的种种解释和补救现实的方法。对话桌上并没有绝对的特权,也没有最后的强制性要求。

想要描述受害者的特权地位,我认为这意味着除非已听到了受难者的声音,没有什么交谈可以被看作完全的或者能够完成的。另外这些声音不仅"首先"而且"常常"被听到(Taylor 1990,66)并且名符其实地听到了。要郑重其事,要真的听从它们,我们不得不承认,倾听并理解它们常常是困难的;并且承认我们必须克服不信任和逃避的初步性反应。在学术上具有特殊地位的特雷西已承认这一点:

我们交谈的和历史的所有受害者已开始发现他们自己的交谈方式,因为我们的交谈在许多方面是难以听、更难以从。他们的声音可能是刺耳的、不文明的——一句话,是不同的。它们确实是不同的。我们都已开始感受到这种不同性的恐怖。但只有通过听从这些不同声音,我们才可能开始听我们自己论述的和我们自己内部的不同性。我们开始听自己喋喋不休的东西可能都是我们连梦也不敢做的。(Tracy 1987, 79)

三、防止有权势的人利用对话

对宗教之间真正多元对话提出新要求的尖锐批评来自那些运用政治语言分析和政治话语分析的人,他们以此表明经济-政治力量如何可能同化和已同化对话的拥护者。他们尖锐批评的基础相当简单,我们的解释和语言并不仅仅限制我们自己对真理的把握,它们也压迫他人维持并实践自己真理的能力,语言不仅仅是限制性的,它也是服务于一个团体压迫其他团体的工具。大卫·特雷西郑重其事地告诫道:

每一种话语都在自身中承担隐秘的和受压抑的现实,这是一种由极其特别的力量和知识安排的现实。每一

种话语由于在特定假设下起作用,因此必然排斥其他假没。我们的话语首先排斥这些人,即可能瓦解已建立等级制的人或向占主流的霸权提出挑战的人。(1987,79)

我们可能轻易忽视已认识到的语言和解释的深层的和无处不在的内容。我们在过去(现代性时期)不敢面对,而如今(后现代时刻)又变得惊恐的是,这种对他人的排斥,这种服务权力和服务自我的行为,并不是像我们清除堵塞喉咙的东西一样可以消除,对语言的运用中的"全面扭曲",是无处不在的倾向性一一这是一种声带的疾病!我们若没有听从迷人的意识形态之要求(这是为我们自己的权力或统治而运用我们的"真理"之倾向),并常常作出回应,我们就不能解释也不能说:

意识形态是无意识的,但全面地影响了态度、价值 观和信仰,它们产生于全部语言运用、全部真理分析和 关于知识所有主张的物质条件中……正是在我们完全用 来认识任何现实的语言中才传达种种意识形态。(Tracy 1987,77)

这些对语言的全面扭曲可能变成对对话的全面扭曲。为了真实的多元主义而设立崇高的冠冕堂皇的计划可能变成"控制"那些不同于我们且可能对我们产生威胁的人的途径。正如威廉斯(Raymond Williams)警告我们的:

首要的任务是通过共同使用的语言,并共同有效地形成一种多元论和对话的语言,而有特权的团体以这种方法来掩饰他们的霸权主义。在某种意义上,这样的团体能够信任共同对话中的所有伙伴,每一伙伴的声音都同等地起作用;在另一种意义上,这种谈论使得注意力偏离了谈论下面的权力的不平等分配。(Williams 1977, 112)

那些意识到世界权力的实际不平等分配的和那些要为对话辩护而反对意识形态而加以歪曲的宗教间对话的实践者,要求一种必须出现于我们所有对话中的"解释上的怀疑"。我们第一步总是向我们的认知、计划和对话要求投以怀疑的目光——我们要探寻我们的真理主张在那里就是权力主张,并且面对它们。这里,确切地说,就在这里受压迫者的声音在对话中必须有更特殊的位置,我们没有他们的声音就不能实现对我们自己传统或对我们为对话作出贡献的解释上的怀疑。我们只能通过自己服务自己。在亚洲的苦难与压迫中实践对话的皮里斯(Aloysivs Pieris)清楚地指明了要害(Pieris 1989,308—309)。压迫者只有在受压迫者的帮助下才能真正面对他们自己的压迫。

我们通过澄清穷人、苦难者和那些关心世上苦难的人在所有信仰内相遇中会出现并享有特权,才能防止同化对话。换言之,我们必须承认并坚持不仅仅"每种声音同样作出贡献",而且我们当中一些人有更紧要和有益的话要说——即历史中没有说的那些人和现实中的那些人都是受害者。如果对话必须总是平等对平等(par cum pari),那么也存在平等者当中的优先者(primi inter pares)。

如果苦难者和受害者在对话中真的行使着解释上的特权,那么那些权力者仅仅听从他们是不充分的,我们也将不得不和他们一起行动,而且也要替他们行动。理解苦难者在说些什么,掌握令他们处于奴役中的和折磨尘世的压迫结构,这不仅仅是一个"理论"问题,它只能来之于实践。没有这种实践我们无法"听到"授予特权的受害者的声音,我们的对话也会被歪曲或同化。

所需要的……是一种新的实践,即和那些非正义结构作斗争的运动连在一起的团结的态度和行动。这种实践会修正参予者的意识并影响他们自己对宗教传统的解

释……新的实践对追求神学对话的真理而言是一个不可分割的方面。(Baum 1991, 13)

上述反思的结论是,在多元论和压迫之间不存在一个纯正的平衡。承认并肯定这一非平衡性就是承认不是一个问题而是一个机会。通过授予世上的受压迫者和受压迫的尘世在对话中的优先地位或特权,我们将能够使宗教多元论成为丰富和改变世界的一个源泉。换言之,世上的受压迫者能够在许多不同宗教之间充当桥梁作用。受压迫者能成为"中介人",他们会帮助不同宗教彼此理解,一道工作。如果首先听从世界的受压迫者,诸宗教就能够更好地彼此倾听。

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ABSTRACT

This article, Jesus in a Pluralistic Age of Religion, attempts to understand Jesus in an age of pluralistic religions, who occupies the centre of Christian faith. The author's main idea is that Jesus revealed a way how to shake off a strain between human race and a supreme God, turning away from self-centredness and living in love.

It consists of three parts. in part I, the traditional Christology is examined, from which a definite conclusion could not be drawn, because based on the historical facts, we really don't know whether Jesus is Lord or not. Without disputing about the divinity and human nature of Jesus, the author explains the status of Jesus in the dimension of human existence, thus a deficiency of the traditional Christology is overcome. In part I, the author expounds "the message of growth" revealed by Jesus. We may see the message in two aspects: people believe that God is source of life and love. In part I, the author attempts to prove the universality of this message, to examine the conceptions of religions. The author believes that religions in the way of truth may help people to overcome the trend of materialisation of human race.

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多元宗教时代的耶稣

王志成*著

两种或多种宗教相遇可能出现三种结果:一、一种宗教取缔其他宗教,譬如传统基督教试图征服伊斯兰教。但从宗教现象学、宗教史学看,一种普世性宗教在具备相当的信徒和物质力量的情况下是很难想象会被另一种宗教取缔。二、两种宗教或多种宗教之间相互学习,又保持各自的独立性,在某种意义上,中国传统的儒佛道就属于这种情况。然而,传统宗教的相互学习之动机往往是最后取缔对方,因此也很难做到真正的相互独立,倒是相互竞争成了主要的努力所在。三、在相互学习、不断纯化各自信仰的基础上,跳出每种宗教本身的条件性,进入纯粹的信仰和生活之中,从而会出现一种相互融合的新的信仰形态。

今天,由于科学、技术、通讯交通事业的发展,人们总感到地球变得越来越小,成了一个"地球村",因而不同文化、不同信仰在同一时空里出现并相互接触已不再新鲜,而是司空见惯的事了。在一个生活区我们常常可以见到佛教徒、道教徒、基督徒、穆斯林、犹太教徒甚至锡克教徒、克里希那的奉献者等等。但事实上,

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大多数持不同信仰的信徒之间并没有建立起良好的关系,他们相互指责、相互否定,影响着人们的生活,甚至潜伏着宗教之间的危机和冲突。鉴于此,许多神学家试图跳出各自的信仰圈子来考虑普世宗教问题,其目的就是要寻求不同信仰的统一、共融。有的神学家不仅克服了上述第一种结果,而且也克服了第二种结果的第一种情形,达到不同宗教之间相互学习、保持各自独立的境界。而我们也可以设想在这个世界上,宗教和文化、神圣和世俗、多元和融合,构成一个有机整体的局面,人类将克服一切宗教本身所具有的条件性,逐渐进人一种自觉的生命境界。在这方面的工作,虽然困难重重,但已从学术界到世俗界都已取得了巨大成果。本文的立场也是普世主义的,试图立足于今日多元宗教时代这一现实来考察基督教核心人物耶稣,并认为耶稣向人们昭示了挣脱人类和上帝之间张力的出路——抛弃自我中心主义,皈依上帝,在爱中生活。这就是耶稣向我们昭示的成长信息。

耶稣是名,基督[1]是号。耶稣是基督教的核心,没有耶稣,也就没有基督教。基督教的信仰是围绕"耶稣事件"(Jesus-event)而展开的。但一开始,人们对于耶稣事件就有争论。基督教历史中几个主要信经(Creed)都是在不同历史条件下,针对不同对象和要求而制定的,可以说是一种信仰规则(rule of faith)。[2]既然作为规则,就不必对规则本身作一种真理性的探讨。[3]不同规则可以同时存在,而不必判定其是非曲直。因为尽管还有很多人在坚持由信经体现出来的基督论(Christology),但事实上基督论一直在发展、变化,要让基督论凝固不变是不可能的。其实,基督论的形成与发展反映的是人们(神学家、教会、信徒甚至普通学者)对"耶稣

事件"的理解的变化。对于一个基督论的形成可以作社会心理分析,也可以作语言学分析,更可以作神秘灵修的证道。我们不可能否定古代几个信经,尤其是《使徒信经》之后的信经,它们明显具有针对性,如《尼西亚信经》针对亚流主义,并借用希腊哲学化语言来表达基督论,因此具有历史性、文化性。新信经的出现则表明基督论的可变性或称之为发展性。在当今时代,不同文化中的人们(尤其第三世界的人民)根据耶稣的原初信息和时代特征与要求可以发展出各自的基督论。[4]

我们对基督论中耶稣其人作一些分析对理解基督论的神髓或许不无裨益。纵观神学发展史和当代神学以及一些神秘主义理论家的思想,人们对耶稣的理解很不相同。《马太福音》有记载,"耶稣来到了该撒利亚腓立比境内,向门徒说:'人们说的人子是谁?'他们说:'有人说是施洗的约翰;有人说是以利亚;也有人说是耶利米或先知中的一位。'"(5]这二节经文说明耶稣在世时,神学还没有开始形成时,人们对这位塑造基督教文明的人物有不同的理解。宗教哲学家约翰·希克(John Hick)认为《新约圣经》集中在耶稣门徒的体验上,他们把耶稣看成把人带人天国的基督、[6]弥赛亚以及上帝的受膏者。门徒以某种方式把耶稣体验为(experiencing-as)弥赛亚,这种方式和那些把他看作(例如)异端拉比或政治鼓动家的人,有着天壤之别。《新约圣经》文献反映了耶稣作为基督的使徒的解释。[7]

传统基督教认为,耶稣是基督,是上帝道成肉身,是完全的人与完全的神之统一。当代主要教派及其信徒依然坚持这种基督论。它的主要依据是《尼西亚信经》:"……我信主耶稣基督,上帝的独生子,在万世以先为父所生,生于上帝而为上帝,出于光而为光,出于真神而为真神,被生而非受造,与父一性,万物都藉着了受造;为救我们世人而降临,因圣灵从童女马利亚成了肉身

而为人……"要读懂《尼西亚信经》并不容易。按常理,既然这信 经是被公会议制定出来的,想必制定它的人总可以完全理解。但我 们又如何知道他们是怎么想的呢?神学家如阿波里拿留(Apollinaris) 曾提出人由精神 (nous)、灵魂或心 (psyche) 和身体 (sarx) 构成, 耶稣的精神是永恒而神圣的逻各斯, 而身心都是人 性的。希克认为这对耶稣的神性、人性提供了一个清楚的涵义,但 被判为异端。「點从神学发展看,人们对《尼西亚信经》并不满意,至 少颇有影响的亚流派是这样,今日很有影响的自由主义神学家大 概也如此。《尼西亚信经》在面临人们的理性思辨和不同信仰时, 教会必然要作出回应。传统基督教如果坚持正统的《尼西亚信经》 或《迦克敦信经》,那么必然会遇到无法回避的问题,如基督教的 优越性问题、上帝独生子问题、耶稣神人两性的理解问题,非基 督教徒的得救问题以及非基督教真理问题等等。传统基督论或传 统基督教在处理这些问题时光疑不能使多数人满意, 尤其不能使 其他信徒满意,所以,传统基督论对待这些问题的态度与立场会决 定其自身的命运。

东西方都有人认为耶稣是天外来客,发展着的科学加上想象的翅膀很容易使人理解并接受这种观点,当反驳者说他们不能解释耶稣为何像人一样先由母胎出生,又为何有一个自然的成长过程,也无法解释他有兄弟乡亲时,他们予以辩护,认为"外星人"的概念不必和人们所称的那样,外星人的存在形态并不是我们现在人的样子,它犹如一种超时空的信息体潜入人体(如马利亚),并感孕降生,和常人一样成长,而人的肉眼对这一切无法把握。如果《圣经》记载无误,那么我们可以说马利亚童贞怀孕便可以证明这种观点,而不是不可理解的神迹了。同样,也可以由此理解其他被认为不可思议却又是真实的"事实",如约瑟梦见主的使者(外星人)显现并告诉他:"大卫的子孙约瑟,不要害怕,只管

娶过你的妻子马利亚,因她所怀的孕是从圣灵来的。她将要生一个儿子,你要给他取名耶稣,因为他要把自己的百姓从罪恶中拯救出来。"^[9]把耶稣看作外星人而构成一种基督论似乎不能为普通基督徒所接受,却为不少世俗界人士所认可。

在东方,不少人认为耶稣是特异功能师。理论代表是柯云路。他在《新世纪》(内蒙古大学出版社,1992)、《人类神秘现象破译》(花城出版社,1992)等书中专题讨论"耶稣事件",认为耶稣在传道之前去了印度,学到了瑜伽功,有特异功能。认为基督教是佛教中东化,更彻底的世俗化。他专门研究了耶稣所行的神迹,认为有些神迹一般气功师可以做到,有些神迹高级气功师可以做到,而耶稣的功力已远远超过一般的气功师。他认为耶稣有两大法宝:一是精神的,即他信人格化的父上帝,人们信他,因而人们也信上帝;二是他有超常的能力。这两者是相互配合、不可分割的,因此人们目睹他的异能而信他,并因此相信上帝。柯云路的理论解释迎合了大量读者,使人们相信他的解释是合乎理性的,可以接受的。当然,这种把耶稣视为特异功能师的解释主要依赖于中国目前流行的气功理论与实践。

另外,不同宗教对耶稣的理解也不同,有的(如日本创价学会会长池田大作)把耶稣看作一个阿罗汉,[10]印度教传统的哈瑞克里希那(Hare Krishna)知觉运动会把他看作是至尊主克里希那的一个化身等等。[11]

确实,从整个文化视野看,对耶稣是谁的讨论也许每一种都有道理,也许是几种理解的综合,也许其中任何一种解释都不是,他乃是我们今日一切语言都不能表达的奥秘。我认为选择其中任何一种对耶稣的理解都是冒险(对有的人来说是偏见),而且任何一种选择都没有办法作理性和客观性证明。说实在的,在判断耶稣是谁这个类似形而上学的问题上,向佛陀学点处理问题的智慧是

很有价值的。当和尚 Rādha 没完没了地问一些类似形而上学的问题时,佛陀直接了当地说:"Rādha,这问题走得太远了,你已摸不着问题的边。……涅槃(Nibbāna)是目标,涅槃是目的。"[12]我们常听人说,你没有进入角色,你不是基督徒,因此不能理解许许多多教义。但我认为,即使成为基督徒也未必就真的理解基督教中的每条教义,因为每一个人对于基督的至尊人格神上帝的体验程度很不一样。许多问题没有必要提出,也没有必要作出明确的回答。倒是像佛陀一样不为问题本身所束缚,而只是以涅槃为目标,为目的。同样,我们未必要在基督论上作出定性的判断,而以称义为目标、为目的。

当一个人用另外一种眼光看待基督论时,他就会对耶稣的言与行有全新的体会与领悟。同样地,他也就不会被具体的问题、情节和类似形而上学的问题所束缚,[18] "无执亦无失",亦就"无为而无不为"了。

我们以这样一种开放的心态面对耶稣时,便会有一股清香的气息扑面而来,全身浑然进入一种圆满的状态。这股清香气息就是耶稣向我们昭示出来的成长信息。那么,这种成长信息是什么呢?

耶稣说:"谁也不能事奉两个主。或是恨这个而爱那个,或是重这个而轻那个。你们不能事奉上帝又事奉玛门。"(太6:24;参见路16:13)[14]这节经文明确地向我们表达了这样一个信息:人的价值、生存取向不是以上帝为中心,就是以个人欲望(如追求钱财)为中心。以上帝为中心的生活被认为是神圣、圣洁的生活,是人类符合于宇宙之主的生活。上帝对人类需要的正是这样一种生活取向。但《旧约》也已向我们昭示了人类以自我(欲望)为中心

的生活,「15]这种生活是和上帝为中心的生活相对立的。因此,上帝和人类之间的矛盾之大小取决于人类生活的价值取向、生存取向及其强度。事实上,人类始终想以自我为中心,「16」结果与上帝处于极大的张力之中。纵观人类发展史,这种张力不是越来越小,而是越来越大。

在这种张力中,人类注定是失败者,但人类总是执迷不悟、作茧自缚,总生活在"摩耶"(maya)之中。耶稣当头一棒说:"除了上帝之外,再没有良善的。"[17]这就从价值论上肯定了上帝中心主义而不是人类中心主义。《马太福音》记载说,有律法师要试探耶稣,问他哪一条是最大的诚命,耶稣回答:"你要尽心、尽性、尽意,爱主你的上帝。这是诚命中的第一,是最大的。其次也相仿,就是要爱人如己。"[18]从这3节经文可以看出,耶稣把上帝视为人所关注的核心,这也许是指灵性的垂直维度而言的,而爱人如己是对灵性成长的水平维度而言的,两者的本质都是一种无私的非出自利己目的的奉献之爱、存在之爱,[19]也就是一种非人类自我中心主义。如果一个人的生活、精神状态是指向这两条诚命的,那么他就不再是个罪人,必定在爱中得到升华,成为一个灵性成长的人。

耶稣不仅向人们昭示了解决人类问题的出路,并以此身体力行,在受难的十字架上达到了知行合一,表明他已"尽心、尽性、尽意"地把自己的一切交托给上帝,即实现了他所宣扬的以上帝为中心的生活。

鉴于我们把耶稣所宣扬的成长信息看作人类和上帝之间张力得以消除的关键,因此有必要进一步揭示这种成长信息的内涵。

耶稣的这种成长信息从负面规定就是: 抛弃、否定自我中心性, 也就是摆脱人的罪性, 至少不犯罪; 从正面规定就是: 信上帝和爱人如己。

耶稣对于解决人类和上帝之间的张力之认识非常清楚,人必须放弃自我中心主义。耶稣不仅认识到这一点,而且能够完全实践出来,达到知行合一。这种知行合一表现为三个维度:对上帝——信;对人——爱;对自己——虚己。

从福音书中可以看到,耶稣与上帝的关系主要表现为三个方面:第一,宣扬天国的信息,上帝的国度,上帝的权能,以上帝为一切的归宿,一切的依靠;^[20]第二,个人与上帝的沟通,如耶稣常独自一人外出,上山祈祷;^[21]第三,把自己的生命全部交托给上帝。

耶稣与人的关系,福音书记载得相当统一,反映在他的思想中全都是贯穿着一个爱字。但这种爱不是一般人讲的爱,它不是情爱、友爱,也不是宠爱、溺爱,而是圣爱(Agapé)。这种爱是出于上帝,而不是出于人自己,世间常人的爱常常出于个人目的与动机,具有利己色彩。圣爱没有这种性质,它完全是一种不求回报的存在之爱。他劝人爱人,甚至爱仇敌。耶稣待人的方式及态度的论述可以参见《路加福音》第6章27至38节。223 我认为,这段经文非常明确地指出了一种新的生存方式:在日常生活中放弃以自我为中心,而应以上帝为中心,使自己像上帝一样表现出自我奉献的圣爱。耶稣在处理自己与人的关系中,依靠信心,并用他的能力为人做事,如赶鬼、治病等等。耶稣对自己的认识似乎有些独特。一般人总乐意表现自己,但耶稣没有这种欲望,他仍是以上帝为中心。他把自己的一切归于上帝,交托给上帝,一切都以上帝为考虑的中心。231 这种意识在耶稣的身上表现得非常强烈,我用虚已(self-emptying)一词来表达耶稣对自己的态度。

虚己的本质就是舍己,就是背上十字架。耶稣自己背上十字架,也劝告他的门徒说:"若有人要跟我,就当舍己,背上他的十字架,来跟从我。"[24]这种虚己本质上和保罗在《罗马书》1:26一

32节描述的人的自我中心主义是绝然对立的。

十字架是一种苦难的象征,一种牺牲的象征。如果把保罗说的"因信称义"看作一个一次性行为,那就错了。有的人口上信了,心里不信;有的人口上、心里都信了,却没有行动;有的人信了,却不坚定,有的信了只是一种打赌。信只是要寻找自我的一个身份,如果让他/她果真背起一个不是像纪念品一样的十字架,而是要承担痛苦、牺牲时,他/她就不信。我认为马丁·路德所引发的新教改革运动从历史的角度看,尽管与传统罗马教廷所理解的得教相比,有一种解放的价值,但也有把称义"简单化"的嫌疑,而保罗的理解也有可能被某些人理解成"简单化"了,因为耶稣本人没有表达这种思想。从耶稣的言行看,称为一个义人并没有后来保罗及路德等人理解的那样简单。人们因着耶稣可以称义,这一点不错,但耶稣明明白白地告诉我们:做一个义人是不容易的。[25]然而,我认为,尽管进入生命之门不容易,但耶稣向我们昭示了人类自我中心主义和上帝中心主义这对矛盾的消解之路,即人类的生命方式从自我中心转向上帝中心。

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我们从耶稣的言与行中似乎找不到理由来证明上述教义是站得住脚的。在这个神秘宇宙里,万源之原的主道成肉身也许是可以接受的。[26]在东方,人们称这样的道成肉身为化身(avatara)。化身不一定只有一个,而是可有无数个,可有不同类型的化身,中国

古代的月印万川、理一分殊之说则可以形象地说明化身的多元性。

把耶稣理解为真理、道路是对的,因为耶稣向人们昭示了消解人类存在之症结的出路,他的信息是真理,他的方式是道路。但是,说真理、道路是耶稣或耶稣是唯一的真理、唯一的道路,那就不对了。当然,从使徒那里发展起来的除了靠耶稣之名别无拯救,教会之外无拯救(传统天主教)以及基督教之外无拯救(传统新教)等教义也就不对了。这不仅具有浓厚的护救色彩,而且(更严重的是)也堵住了那至尊的主拯救人类,消除人类自我中心主义之疾的道路。[27]

耶稣向我们昭示出来的成长信息是普遍有效的,但上帝传达这种成长信息并非唯一的,而是相反,我们几乎在所有世界宗教传统中都可以找到。在这个文化、宗教多元的时代,我们不可能停留在人为地建立起来的条条框框之中,这些条条框框在一定条件下也许是必要的,但当人们成长了,已把握到这种条件性时,我们就应当克服任何形态的束缚,不为任何文化形态的具体形式(教义)所束缚,即应当无执,否则依然会陷入物质性形态和精神性形态的约束,因而也就无以言及佛教讲的涅槃(Nirvana)、道教讲的"得道"、儒教讲的"成圣"以及基督教讲的"得救或称义"了。

事实上,我们都只是走在真理的途中。在这条道路上,我们可以怀疑其他宗教的教义,也应怀疑自己所坚持的教义,如重新反省教会借耶稣之名发展起来的各种教义。怀疑本身不是目的,而是为确定性作必要的清理工作,用中医理论讲就是泻。

有的人怀疑自己的宗教,信仰另一种他/她认为更合理的宗教;而怀疑所有宗教则变成一位相对主义者和彻底的怀疑论者。我认为后一种情况就等于泻而不补,在这个意义上,怀疑是对生存的威胁,一个人在多元宗教时代只有怀疑的话,他不可能获得灵

性的真正成长, 而只有崩溃。

其实,怀疑自己与别人的宗教信仰,并进而展开对话,这是 为了使信仰更纯粹,而不是取消信仰。对话的每一方目的不是最终 证明自己是唯一正确的,更不是要取缔对方。

无疑,我们在多元宗教时代,主动去分享他人的信仰,也主动与他人一起分享自己的信仰,并在这种分享中不断克服各自信仰的物质性束缚和形式化内容,使得我们的信仰更纯粹。[28]

基督教和其他一切世界宗教一样处于真理的道路中。或许再过100年,印度教、佛教、伊斯兰教、基督教等已不再是今天的模样了。关于未来,有一点可以肯定,由耶稣昭示出来的成长信息依旧是普遍有效的,那时,大家都处在更宽更广的真理之路上,并一道走在同一条路上。[29]

注解:

- [1] 英文 Christ 来自于希腊文 Christos, 受膏者之意, 七十译本常译 为与希伯来文同意义的弥赛亚 (Messiah)。
- [2] 历代信经主要有四个: 1.《使徒信纶》(Apostles' Creed),是由一个时期教会共同生活而逐渐形成的; 2.《尼西亚信经》(Nicean Creed),是4世纪教会对抗亚流主义(Arianism)而制定; 3.《迦克敦信经》(Chalcedonian Creed),是公元451年教会为对抗多个异端而制定; 4.《阿他拿修信经》(Athanasian Creed)。
- [3] 普世神学家 George Lindbeck 在其著作 The Nature of Doctrine (The Westminster Press, 1984) 中对教义即规则的观点作了极其详尽的阐述。
- [4] 无疑,基督论是当前神学界的一个热点,也是一个敏感话题、天主教、新教神学都提出种种基督论,使得人们对它的理解无所适从,另外,尤其应该注意到第三世界神学家提出的基督论,因为这

些基督论是在一种不同于传统基督论的上壤中形成的,具有其文化、经济和政治等特殊性。参见 John Sobrino Christology at the Crossroads (Maryknoll, N. Y. Orbis Books, 1978); C. S. Song, Jesus, The Crucified People (The Crossroad Publishing Company, N. Y. 1990) 等。

- [5] 见《乌太福音》16.13-14, 英文见 The Jerusalem Bible, 中译本与《圣经》和合本在措词上稍有差异,以下引用《圣经》方式与此相同。
- [6] 《马太福音》16,16。
- [7] John Hick, Problems of Religious Pluralism (London: Macmillan: NewYork: St. Martin's Press, 1985), P23等。
- [8] John Hick, The Metaphor of God Incarnate, Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993, P48.
- [9] 《乌太福音》1,20-21。
- [10] 即认为耶稣的修行境界达到阿罗汉的层次,言外之意还不能和 佛、菩萨的境界相比。
- [11] 根据印度教传统,主克里希那有很多化身,而不承认主的化身之 唯一性,这一点总和基督教中耶稣是上帝独生子的观念相撞。
- [12] 参看 Samyutta-nikaya I, 187/189 (khandha-vagga I, 1) 转引R. Panikkar, Myth, Faith and Hermeneutics (Asian Trading Copporation) 1983, P270; 潘尼卡对佛陀阿答的分析见 P270—273; 关于佛陀对类似形而上学问题之态度而引起的神学和宗教哲学问题,参见 John Hick, An Interpretation of Religion, Macmillan, 1989,第19章第1节, Disputed Questions in Theology and the Philosophy of Religion, Yale University Press, 1993,第6章。
- [13] 另外,我认为对上帝本身进一步认识等问题也不宜随意放任"低贱的理性" 胡作非为。我们在这世界上是为了理性的形而上学,还是为了得救、救赎、称义/解脱?我深深地体验到耶稣在这问题

上毫不含糊地坚持后者。

- [14] 均门是希腊文 "mammon" ("mamoma") 音译, 意为钱财。
- [15] 例如被认为人类始祖的亚当、夏娃违背上帝命令,偷食禁果。我 把这故事作了隐喻式理解,即认为人类自我中心主义和上帝中 心主义的分野就在这里表现出来了,而该隐杀其弟亚伯则是人 类自我中心主义的具体表现。参见《创世记》第3章、第4章。
- [16] 天下人造通天塔的故事就形象地说明了这一点,见《创世记》11. 4。
- [17] 《路加福音》18:18。
- [18] 《马太福音》22:37-39。
- [19] 类似印度传统的巴克提(bhakti)。
- [20] 我们在《马太福音》第4章可以象征性地看到人类自我中心主义 和上帝中心主义的模拟性斗争,但这场斗争在耶稣身上始终没 有发生。在《创世记》中夏娃很容易受到蛇的诱引,而在这里,耶 稣受到魔鬼三次诱引都没有中计,原因很简单,因为耶稣以上帝 为归宿,为依靠。
- [21] 《乌太福音》14:23,《乌可福音》1;35,6;46。
- 「22] 又可参见《马太福音》5,43-48。
- [23] 作为一个例子,参见《马可福音》14,36。
- [24] 《马太福音》16:24,可参见《马可福音》8:34、《路加福音》14:27。
- [25] 耶穌登山训众时说:"你们要进窄门!导引入灭亡之门是宽大的,路是广阔的,而走的人多。导入永生之门是窄小的,路是狭隘的,找着的人也少。"(太7:13-14,又见路13:3-24)事实上,这一点在其他宗教圣典中也是如此说的,如印度的古老经典《薄伽梵歌》7:3说:"manusyānām sahasresu kascid yatati siddhaye yatatām api siddhānām kascin mām vetti tattvatah."(千千万万人中或许只有一人追求完美,那些完美之人几乎没有人真正认识我。)这里的"我"指克里看那,类似于基督教中的主上帝,那

稣所称的父、阿爸。

- [26] 希克等人主张对道成肉身教义作隐喻性理解,反对字面性理解, 我在这一点上持保留态度。
- [27] 这里对至尊上的理解并不与传统基督教信仰相同,也与一般哲学家的形而上学的上帝(存在)不同。对至尊主的认识既不是经验的结果,但也离不开推理与经验,在一定程度上,推理与经验具有指向性。如托马斯·阿奎那的五路证明本身不能证明上帝存在,但具有一种指向性作用。
- [28] 主克里希那就对阿周那说过,人具有"sarvadharmān parityajya mām ekam saranain vraja ahaim"(放弃一切宗教,直接皈依我) (《薄伽梵歌》18:66),才能从一切恶报中解救出来,才有最终的解脱,亦才有灵性成长的最后归宿。
- [29] 普世神学有汉斯·昆(Hans Kung)的看法,很值得每一位信仰者反思,他说:"关于未来,只有一件事是确实的。在人类生命完结之时,在世界的末日,将不会再有佛教或印度教,也不再有伊斯兰教和犹太教。的确,最后也不再有基督教。在末日不会再有任何宗教,而只有上帝本身;全部宗教都被引导到他那里,在不完满让位于完满之时,随着基督徒自己为人所知,也就会充分认识上帝:直接面对真理!这样,在末日,各宗教之间将不会再有预言家或得启示者;既无穆罕默德,也没有佛。事实上,就连基督徒们所相信的基督耶稣也将不会站在那里,据保罗说,一切势力(甚至死亡)都将归顺于其一身的这个人本身也要'归顺于上帝',这样、上帝本身 一或无论东方对他怎样称呼——不仅存在于万物之中,而为万物之主(本前、15:28)。"见刘小枫主编,《二十世纪西方宗教哲学文选》,第32页,上海、1991年。

实际上,即使在今天,超乎教派甚至文化形态而又有信仰的人,已不再是不可理解了。

《转折点》丛书简介

汪建达

1985年以来,Crossway Books 出版社出了一套题为《转折点 ·基督教世界观系列》从书,主编是德克萨斯大学奥拉斯基 (Marvin Olasky) 教授 "从书作者们认为: 在当代文明中, 世俗主义、人 文主义的势力相当强大,它们往往排斥宗教,视之为人类心灵不 成熟的产物或者是迷信的变种,认为即便没有宗教,我们的生活 依然是可能的,而且能够活得更好。在西方,现代主义(包括后现 代主义),人文主义和世俗主义同虽然存在错综复杂的关系,但在 排斥基督教价值取向这一点上,却是一致的。丛书宗旨是:以正统、 虔诚的基督徒的立场,对人文主义、世俗主义等对现当代文明所 造成的恶劣影响作出积极的回应。丛书作者特别面向美国现状,从 爱滋病到财政赤字,从堕胎问题到经济衰退,从家庭危机到泛滥 成灾的社会不道德行为。现代文明对此简直是束手无策, 作者认 为,这一切的根源在于人们背离了上帝之道,而这套丛书的目的, 就是要帮助人们认识现状,"在对现代生活和文化的批评性领域, 提供一种圣经的、基督教的看法,鼓励人们把这种看法贯串到所 有的学科和研究机构中去。"

到1994年,这套丛书已出版16部,涉及现代生活的方方面面: 其中第一部是 H. Schlossbery 和 M. Olasky 合著的《转折点:基督徒世界观宣言》,可谓丛书的思想总纲。涉及新闻媒介的有 M. Olasky 的《主流新闻界——美国新闻媒体的反基督教偏见》。涉及 政治的有,M. Olasky 和 H. Schlossbery 等合著的《自由、正义 和希望·一对穷人和受压迫者的策略》, D. Bandow 的《超越良善 督教信仰和国际政治》, H. Schlossbery 的《受压迫者的芳香----教会和它的执行者》。涉及艺术、文学等文化现象的有: K。 Z. Billingsley 的《诱惑人的形象----基督教对电影世界的批评》, K. Myers 的《上帝之子和蓝色的羊皮鞋——基督徒和通俗文化》、G. E. Veith 的《言外之意——基督教文学指南》和《艺术王国—— 从 Bezalel 到 Mapplethorpe》。关于家庭、教育的有 Olasky 夫妇的 《超越良善—同情地面对生育危机》, D. Wilson 的《重新发现丢 失的学习工具——别具一格的基督教教育之探讨》。关于经济方面 的有: E. C. Beisner 的《繁荣和贫困》和《面向增长的繁荣—— 从圣经的观点看人口、资源和未来》。这里着重介绍《转折点》、 《自由·正义和希望》和 G. E. Veith 的《后现代——当代思想和 文化的基督教指南》这三部著作。

《转折点》一书是整套丛书的宣言。作者有个基本信念,那就是耶稣基督是主,体现在《圣经》里的上帝之道应该应用到生活的各个层面。在第二、三章里,作者阐明了虔敬主义是如何成长的,以及这种意识形态的后果。作者首先区分了虔敬和虔敬主义,后者认为人所有的一切都堕落了,包括人的理性,但这种看法对心智的敌意走过了头。虔敬主义有两大后果: 1. 助长了对基督教的攻击,比如以前教科书的立场一般是中性的,而现在对基督教的攻击增强了。2. 削弱了基督教的自卫能力,结果是社会对宗教自由的限制增强,基督教在性革命面前无能为力,对大众媒介的影响日趋衰弱。之所以造成这种局面,从基督教方面而言,是因为虔敬主义取得了胜利,就世俗方面而言,是由于康德的两元论思维方

式占了主流。这两种教义使人们有了这样的观念:基督教是纯粹属于私人的,不能被应用到公众生活中。

第四、五章,作者区分理性和理性主义,并着重分析理性主义及其影响。他说,事实已经表明,一旦我们把理性作为我们最后的权威,结果是相当令人担忧的,理性主义的失败也是有目共睹的。在人口、激进的女权主义、毒品、新闻记者的自由、日常管教等问题上,理性主义所提供的一切都无法用来解决问题。

第六章主要介绍圣经是如何理解理性的。只有当我们理解上帝创造了我们,我们才能正确地运用理性。我们有理性,是因为上帝以他的形象造人,而且理性是上帝的特征之一。

该书第七、八章正面阐述作者的看法:面对这个世界,一个基督徒应该有何作为?真正基督徒的世界观不会导致人们的信仰从这个生活大世界退缩到仅仅是私人的领域,也不会同理性主义同流合污。作者举例证明:在很多问题上,基督徒的作为富有成效,如反对贩卖奴隶、与贫穷作斗争、重新重视家庭、在法院上与对基督教的攻击作斗争、向黄色书刊宣战、反对堕胎等。人们所应该做的是:以圣经方式来重组我们的思想,找出并清除虚假的观点,要寻求改革,并保证大家在教会、国家事务上达成建设性的理解。作者还认为,《圣经》是形成基督教世界观的关键,下面所要做的是必不可少的:1.经常学习《圣经》,人们虽然经常这样想,但都往往没有这么做;2.应该学习基督教历史;3.应该有指向未来的解释,应该依据《圣经》对社会现状作出说明。

就如保罗·尼特所言,苦难和多元论是当今基督教所面临的两大问题。让我们来看看美国的其他学者是如何看待苦难问题的。

《自由·正义和希望》一书专门讨论关于穷人和被压迫者的策略问题,是受在瑞士召开的关于这些问题的国际会议的激发而写成的。此书具体讨论如何以圣经的态度来处理这些问题。该书第二

章依据《创世纪》和《阿摩斯书》的某些篇章,来看前人如何在 具体语境中处理这些社会问题。第三、四章批评了(不是全部)这 样的理论:即强调应用政府的经济力量来与贫困作斗争,并特别 考察集体主义和马克思主义的一些做法。第六章评价了一批关于 政治、经济控制的著作,并对有关经济发展的动力作了特别说明。 第七章涉及这次会议的其他方面。第八章以《关于救济和发展的 Villos 宣言》作总结。面对贫困,他们认为《圣经》的教义在很多 方面都有助于解决问题,比如人类苦难的真正根源在于人类反对 上帝,既然问题是由物质和灵性两个层面造成的,它的解决也应 从这两面入手,基督徒的工作要特别着重于人的灵性转变。

后现代是当今的热门话题,西方人更是深深地卷入其中。面对后现代,一个基督徒又该如何去评价它呢?《后现代》一书提供的是基督徒对后现代的理解。作者肯定自己是处在后现代之中,但他反对后现代主义这种意识形态。

该书第一部分考察当今思潮的新范式,从解构主义、后马克思主义到大众文化的相对主义。这一部分还考察了现代主义和后现代主义的区分,并提供一种基督徒式的回应。第二部分主要分析艺术,不管是通俗艺术还是先锋艺术,它们都失去了确定性和人性的一面。此外,一些后现代主义认为,可以从传统中发掘东西提供给当今世界。第三部分解剖后现代社会,认为世界已经分裂成不同的部分,在政治上,由于后现代把所有的社会关系都还原到权力问题,这就威胁了民主和自由。作者认为,民主、自由和《圣经》的绝对性能为未来的社会提供基础。在最后一部分,集中讨论宗教问题,认为教会不应向时代精神屈服,而应该恢复和运用灵性传统。

这套丛书代表了正统基督教对当代世界的回应,对于我们研究基督教与当代世界有重要价值。

C. S. Lewis:基督教对 当代性回应的一个个案

思 笔

- C. S. Lewis (1898-1963年) 可以被视为20世纪西方基督教 对当代社会作出回应的一个与众不同的、具有相当广泛影响的类型。
- C. S. Lewis 是一个十分特别的人物,他拥有许多"称号";英国著名学者、文学批评家、小说家、平信徒神学家与护道家。他是一位极富多方面文学才华的大师级学者。在牛津读书时曾创下三考(毕业初试,英国文学及古典文学)第一名的纪录;26岁时就任牛津研究员,自1925年到1954年在牛津教授英国文学,1954年至去世为止在剑桥教授中世纪与文艺复兴时期文学;他的诸多著作成就很大,成为有关领域经典之作,如《爱的寓言:中世纪传统的一个研究》(1936年),《〈失乐园〉长序》(1942),《十六世纪英国文学(戏剧除外)》(1954年列为剑桥英国文学史一部分),《文学批评的实验》(1961年),《废弃的意象:中世纪与文艺复兴文学导论》(1964年)。

然而在 C. S. Lewis 的五十多部著作中,还包括诗集、小说,甚至科幻小说与儿童文学,都是发行量极大的成功之作。如他的太空科幻小说三部曲:《来自寂静的星球》(1938年),《太白金星》(1913年)和《狰狞暴力》(1945年)引起热烈争论。他的童话系列"那尼亚历险记"写于1949~1953年之间,一共七本:《狮王、女

巫、衣橱》,《开司平王子》,《黎明号远航》,《银椅子》,《马与小孩》,《魔术家的外甥》,《最后一战》。此系列在西方家喻户晓,成为儿童文学经典。他的小说《裸颜》(1956年)亦极具功力。

不过, C. S. Lewis 最为大众所知的可能还是他在基督教信仰方面的各种著作。它们风格多样,包括反讽体的《地狱来鸿》(1942年),小说体的《天渊之别》(1945年),《天路回归》(1933年),哲学推理的《痛苦问题》(1940年),《神迹》(1947年),《共同基督教》(1952年)。

从这些著作所跨的领域看,人们不难想见 C. S. Lewis 在当代基督教世界中的独特取向。20世纪基督教世界总体可以分为两大阵营:神学哲学家与信仰大众。前者居于大学、研究机构中,与人文学术息息相通,相互唱和,无论流派多么繁多。总显出独立思考、批判研究的态势,从而被人归为"自由主义"、"怀疑主义"。后者远离学术界,不欲卷入任何哲学争辩与理性反思,但信仰坚定。这两大阵营中间必有一个过渡带:许多既想信仰,又不欲抛弃理性、学术的人。C. S. Lewis 适应了他们的要求:他既是一个彻底坚信的基督徒,又运用种种文字功夫,以学者身份出现,著书辩论,不避哲学,被称作"怀疑者的使徒"。他在牛津,曾长期(1941—1954年)主持"苏格拉底俱乐部",每周聚会,这一周基督徒讲,下一周非基督徒讲,相互挑战、公平辩论,体现出 C. S. Lewis 坚信理性可以证明信仰的乐观心态。

神学一般给人以晦涩印象,大众信徒又多囿于宗派之争。C. S. Lewis 却用明快文字、严密逻辑、流利说理论证在他看来属于一切基督教宗派信仰的"共同基督教"原则。

C. S. Lewis 自称"旧式的西方人", 热爱古典文学及其世界, 对当代世界的一系列特质加以批评, 他坚信价值客观性, 反对怀疑的、主观的、道德相对主义的20世纪; 他坚信超自然的、神奇 的世界,反对科学主义及自然主义对丰富世界的单面还原,他坚持情感的、全面的人,反对"理性主义"对人的抽象理解。

身为著名学者,信仰如此单纯,不为"现代"流行思潮影响,这与他的学术背景(古典及中世纪文学)和个人经历分不开。C. S. Lewis 的清明理性背后,有信仰上的长期苦苦挣扎斗争,他一生思考宇宙的意义,神的存在与罪恶、痛苦存在之间的悖论,信仰的依据等等。他56岁时方结婚,极为幸福,写下自传《惊喜之旅》(Surprised By Joy, "Joy"既是他一生渴求的神秘状态,又恰是他妻子的名字)。但妻三年后即因癌症不治身亡。这对 C. S. Lewis 是一巨大打击,三年后亦去世。在他妻亡之后写下的《悲伤体验》中,可以看出信仰的动摇。虽然许多人都认为该书说明最终他经受住了痛苦,更坚定了信仰,但显然以后他不再写铺陈理性论证、咄咄逼人的护教著作了。

C. S. Lewis 对于有知识的、大学里的基督徒影响特别大。 "大众基督徒"虽不甚满意他的多谈哲学以及对圣经有时会有的一些讨论式质疑,但总体对他极为推崇。故 C. S. Lewis 生前身后名气都很大,在美国惠顿学院有专门的纪念馆,在北美有四种期刊专门研究他。他的著作一再印行,译成许多国家文字在世界各地大量销售。他是一个独特的基督徒,所以可以想见,在他代表的那批有同样经历、同样思考、同样问题、同样渴望与期盼的人群中还会有长久不衰的影响。

Bruno Forte

汪建达

著名神学家布鲁诺·福特 (Bruno Forte), 1949年生于意大利那不勒斯, 1973年晋升神父, 1974年取得神学博士学位, 三年后, 又获得哲学博士学位。福特是那不勒斯宗座神学院教义学教授, 他在图宾根和巴黎作过长时间的研究工作, 众多著述在欧州和拉美出版。他还是欧洲几个大学的客座教授, 1985年在 Loreto 召开的意大利教会会议和1988年在 Erfurt 召开的第五届欧洲教会联合会议上, 他是首席发言人。福特作为罗马促进基督教统一的宗座会的顾问, 积极参与普世教会运动。

迄至1993年,福特的著作已达14部,其中不少已被译成英文、法文、德文、葡萄牙文、西班牙文和波兰文。其中有些著作已收入他的八卷本的《Simbolica Ecclesiale》中,至1992年已出版六卷。译成英文的主要著作有:《教会:三位一体的圣像》,Boston,1991;《祈祷者》,Boston,1992;《三位一体作为历史》,New York,1989;《他爱他们到永远——对爱和圣体的神学反省》,Boston,1993。

从解释学的立场来看,福特的神学思想的特征在于他接受了"历史意识",这使他的思想处在历史反思的意大利传统中,比如G.B.维科就属于这个传统,在专业的神学领域,Joachm of Flore,Thomas Aquinas 和 Alfonso de' Liguori 亦属于此传统。在那里,神学被认为是与它的过去、现在和未来相关联的。当神学与过去和

它的源头相关联时,它是"回忆",也就是满怀信心地关注神性的启示,就像在活生生的教会传统中所传下来的那样;当神学与现在相关联时,它是"交往"——它在与当今的历史和文化境况的对话中,同团体的灵性生活一起,欢迎和探索时代的迹象;在与未来相关联中,神学自我呈现为"预言",考虑将来临的神与向前而行的人类生存之间的相遇。福特与黑格尔主义截然划清界限。他赞同历史意识的开放性,这历史意识朝向"他者"和超越者的"神奇"。

从与福特神学的内容有关的立场来看,他的思想始于圣体的教会学,直到钻研启示的基督论——三位一体的核心内容。福特认为,与复活事件相关联,三位一体应被看作是永恒的爱的事件。启示的恩赐通过道或由身和圣灵的宣信得以实现,它源源不断地注人到信仰者之中。对起源和末世论的研究要根据三位一体的信仰得以解读。启示的行为被认为是圣言、沉默和相遇者的三位一体的辩证法,这不能仅仅在逻各斯的维度上得以理解。教会团体被认为是三位一体的圣像,它在三重人格的上帝那里发现其起源、模式和终极目标,在三位一体中才能理解作为童贞圣玛利亚的形象。与整个基督教的奥秘相关联,玛利亚被认为是基督教的圣像。简言之,福特的非常重要的著作《Simbolica Ecclesiale》,是试图从基督教的核心内容和它的特殊性出发,来表达能够在活生生的三位一体的宣信中被找到的基督教信息。

后 记

《宗教文化》(2)的中心议题是基督教对当代世界的回应。本 书一至五篇,侧重讨论在东方文化、东方社会背景下基督教面临 的新课题。1492年西欧至印度的新航线发现之后,传教士接踵到了 印度。尔后,以印度和菲律宾为基地向外辐射。时至今日,社会状 况发生了重大变化。即使是在传教最自由的地方,天主教和新教的 教徒也是少数,甚至是极少数。原因是多方面的,恐怕主要还是异 质文化的问题。渗透了当地文化的宗教也已经根深蒂周。这一组五 篇文章只是涉及一些景况,提供一些材料,提出若干问题。本论从 下一辑将专门讨论基督教与中国文化的问题。本书第六至第十四 这九篇文章涉及的都是当代世界的共同性问题。其中 Hons Küng, Bruno Forte, H. Ott, J. J. Mueller, P. F. Knitter 等五 位学者的文章是应邀专为本论丛撰写的。Hons Küng 和 H. Ott 教 授都是当代天主教哲学家和神学家的著名代表。Ott 教授于1993 年至1995年连续三年都到杭州大学基督教研究中心讲学。Bruno Forte 是当代意大利宗教哲学家的后起之秀,本辑专门作了介绍。 J. J. Muller 和 P. F. Knitter 也是当代宗教研究的名学者。在此 对他们的热情支持表示衷心感谢!中国社科院哲学研究所傅乐安 教授是我国在宗教研究方面有卓越成就的学者,也是我于1965--1975年在同一单位工作的挚友。1990年3月杭大基督教研究中心成

立以来就一如既往予以真挚的支持,从本论丛第一辑开始就为我们撰稿。北京大学宗教系新秀张志刚副教授,山东大学历史系陶飞亚副教授对世界宗教有专门研究,成绩斐然。很荣幸,我们的论丛得到了国内老朋友、新朋友的大力支持和鼓励。来自国内同行的支持和帮助,在一定意义上更加宝贵。我们也企望能尽微薄之力,为国内学者提供一块耕耘之地。

从本辑开始,我们将增加些新的栏目,介绍海内外学术动态、研究机构、代表人物和图书资料,欢迎海内外同行提供信息。

《宗教文化》能顺利出版,应归功于意中经济文化交流协会, 尤其是梁作禄顾问,以及东方出版社领导田士章先生、责任编辑 严平先生和孙涵女士。令人欣慰的是,我们的共同劳动的成果已经 日益得到海内外同行的首肯和赞赏。不过,我虽然相信古希腊的一 句格言"好的开端导致好的结果",但却不相信它的另一句格言 "好的开端是成功的一半",我倒觉得,离终点半步也只是成功的 一半,而且终点也不过是新的起点。

编者: 陈村富

POSTSCRIPT

Volume three of this anthology, Religion and Culture, takes Christian response to the contemporary world as its major theme.

The first five artices lay particular emphasis on the new problems which Christianity faced in the cultural background of the Eastern societies. After discovering the new route from Westen Europe to Indian in 1492, Christian missionaries had successively arrived to Indian. Then, they spread to the surrounding countries from their bases in Indian and Philippine. At this late hour, therefore, the social situation have greatly changed. Even in the places where Christian missions are allowed most free, believers of Catholicism and Protestantism are minority, even a tiny minority. Among many reasons which are responsible for this fact. I think different characters of culture is the key issue. Incultulated religions had already ingained. With limited pages, this group of five articles only certain situations. supplying some materials and raising a few questions. The volume four of the anthlogy is specially designed to discouss the issue of Christianity and Chinese culture.

All nine articles, numbered 6-14, refer to the issue of common characters of the contemporary world. Hans Küng, Bruno Forte, H. Ott, J. J. Mueller and P. F. Knitter were invited by

the editor to contribute their articles which are specially written for this book. Hans Küng and Professor H. Ott are famous representatives of the contemporary Catholic philosophers and theologians. Professor Ott successfully came to the Christian Research Centre of Hangzhou University to give lectures from 1993 to 1995. Bruno Forte is a promising young Italian religious philosopher, whom this book specially introduced. J. J. Mueller and P. F. Knitter are also eminent scholars in the filed of religious studies. Here, I would like to take the chance to express my appreciation to them all for their fervent support. Mr. Fu Lean, a professor of Philosophical Institute of the Chinese Social Science Academic is a famous Chinese scholar with outstanding achievement in area of religious study, who was my sincere friend when we worked in the same working unit from 1965 to 1975. Since the establishment of the Christian Research Centre of Hangzhou University in March of 1990, he has firmly supported it, as always, contributing his articles from the first volume of this anthology. Mr. Zang Zhigang, an associate professor of the Department of Religion of Beijing University, and Tao Feiya, an associate professor of the Department of History of Sandong University, are both new promising scholars, who have special interests in the study of world religion and achieve splendid results. It is my honour that the anthology are supported and encouraged by our old and new friends in China. In a sense, the support and help we have got from them are more precious. We will exert what little strength we have to supply a field for Chinese scholars to cultivate.

From this volume, certain new columns are added for introducing academic trends, institutes, leading exponents, books and materials, both in China and abroad. Scholars who have the same interest with us are welcome to supply information related. We should give the credit to the Italian-Sino Association of Economic and Cultural Exchange, especially its consultant A. S. Lazzarotto (Liang Zhuolu), Mr. Tian Shizhang, a leader of the Dongfan Publishing House, Dr. Yan Ping and Mrs. Sun Han, its responsible editor for this volume, for the successful publish of this anthology. We were gratified at the achievement by our labour side by side, which is increasingly recognised and appreciated by scholars in China and abroad. I believe, however, an old Greek saying, "A good beginning makes a good ending", though I dot't believe another, "well begun is half done". I would rather say that it is still half done, even if only half step away to the end, let alone the end itself is a new beginning.

Chen Cunfu (editor) .