

国际神学研究院 INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
教会历史（一）CHURCH HISTORY I

林慈信

课程补充资料单 A Check-List of Handouts

1. 教会历史（一）：指定阅读，指定作业 Church History I: Required Readings and Assignments
2. 教会历史（一）：课程大纲 Church History I: Course Outline
3. 教会历史导论（增订本） Church History: A Summary Statement (Expanded)
4. 教会历史学习指引 Church History Study Guide  
摘自：余达心，《基督教发展史新释》。台北：基督教改革宗翻译社，1994。  
Adapted: Carver Yu, *History of Christianity*. Taipei: Reformation Translation Fellowship, 1994.
5. Introduction to Greek Philosophy: Plato, Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism
6. 「道」的教义：从哲学到神学  
The “Logos Doctrine”: From Philosophical Background to Theological Statement
7. 「道」的教义的四种错误 Four Errors in the “Logos Doctrine”

**指定阅读 REQUIRED READINGS**

1. 华尔克，《基督教会史》。Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*. Periods I to V.
2. 伯克富，《基督教教义史》。（用基督教教义历史读本。）Louis Berkhof, *A History of Christian Doctrine*, using Samuel Ling, *History of Christian Doctrine* reader.
3. 《当代敬拜与圣乐》。Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II*.
4. 敬拜与赞美读本。Samuel Ling, *Worship Reader*.

**指定作业 ASSIGNMENTS**

1. 完成指定的阅读。Complete all readings.
2. 第一测验。Quiz #1 – Thursday week #1.
3. 第二测验。Quiz #2 – Thursday week #2.
4. 第三测验。Quiz #3 – Thursday week #3.
5. 考试。Test – Thursday week #4.
6. 读后心得：「我从本课程学到什么」。

Personal reflection paper: “What I Learned from this Course.” 3 pages. Due Thursday, week #6 (2 weeks after final test).

7. 读书报告或其他作业。

Project: choose one of the following; due Thursday, week #6 (2 weeks after final test):

(a) 写书摘：基督教教义历史（宗教改革前）。

Summarize Berkhof and Ling reader (on history of doctrine prior to Reformation).

(b) 写一个「教会历史问答」：教会历史与教义历史（宗教改革前）。

Write a catechism (question and answer format) on the history of the Christian church and Christian doctrine, prior to the Reformation.

至少 15 页。At least 15 pages.

可以由两人一组完成。Can be completed by a 2-person team.

教会历史 I：课程大纲

CHURCH HISTORY I: COURSE OUTLINE

导论 INTRODUCTION

I. 教会历史的神学基础 Theological Foundations for Church History

**早期教会 THE EARLY CHURCH**

II. 新约时期的文化与宗教世界：

希腊哲学，异教，犹太教与基督教

The Cultural/Religious World of the New Testament:

Greek Philosophy, Pagan Religions, Judaism and Christianity

III. 教会的增长逼迫

The Growth of the Church and Persecution

IV. 使徒后的教父，护教士与「道」的教义

The Post-Apostolic Church Fathers/Apologetists and the Logos Doctrine

V. 新约圣经的正典：「神是正典」的观点

The Canon of the New Testament: The “God Is Canon” Perspective

VI. 治会的制度：主教制度的兴起

Church Government: The Emergence of the Monarchian Bishop System

**从诺斯底主义至尼西亚会议 FROM GNOSTICISM TO THE COUNCIL OF NICEA**

VII. 第二世纪的异端：诺斯底主义

2<sup>nd</sup> Century Heresy: Gnosticism

VIII. 第二世纪反诺斯底主义的教父：爱任纽，特士良

The Anti-Gnostic Church Fathers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century: Irenaeus, Tertullian

IX. 第三世纪的异端：神格唯一论与撒伯流主义

3<sup>rd</sup> Century Heresies: Dynamic Monarchianism and Sabellianism

X. 第三世纪的教父：革利免与俄利根（奥利金）

3<sup>rd</sup> Century Church Fathers: Clement of Alexandria and Origen

XI. 亚流与阿他拿修：三位一体的教义的兴起

Arius and Athanasius: The Rise of the Doctrine of the Trinity

XII. 君士坦丁与尼西亚会议

Constantine and the Council of Nicea

XIII. 敬拜：早期教会的礼仪

Worship: The Liturgy of the Early Church

**尼西亚会议之后的发展 POST-NICEA DEVELOPMENTS**

XIV. 基督论的争辩与后尼西亚的神学（三教父）

The Christological Controversy and the Post-Nicene Theology (The Three Cappadocian Fathers)

XV. 蛮族的归主

The Conversion of the Barbarians

XVI. 拉丁教父：奥古斯丁等

The Latin Church Fathers: Augustine (Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom)

**中古时期的教会 THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH**

XVII. 修道运动的兴起

The Rise of Monasticism

XVIII. 查理曼大帝：教会与帝国

Charlemagne: Church and Empire

XIX. 经院主义的兴起

The Rise of Scholasticism

XX. 阿奎那

Aquinas

- XXI. 弥撒的礼仪  
The Liturgy of the Mass
- XXII. 教皇制度与衰落  
The Papacy and Its Decline
- XXIII. 宗教改革的前奏与其需要性  
The Prelude to and the Need for the Protestant Reformation

**教会历史导论（增订本）**  
**CHURCH HISTORY – A SUMMARY STATEMENT (Expanded)**

**白与黑：教会历史与系统神学 White on Black: Church History and Systematic Theology**

在神学教育课程 (curriculum, or *theological encyclopaedia*) 里，教会历史与系统神学是相辅相成的。系统神学尝试有系统陈列圣经所教导的真理教义；而教会历史研究教义的发展，探讨教会是领导周围的文化，或是走在文化与社会的后面。教会宣讲真理，还是放弃真理？威敏斯特神学院的创校教会历史教授 Dr. Paul Woolley 曾说：白(真理)放在黑(错误，异端)的背景来看，会看得更清楚。

The study of church history and the study of systematic theology go hand in hand. While systematic theology seeks to formulate the system of doctrine taught in Scripture, church history studies how doctrine developed, and either led or followed the cultural context of the church. Paul Woolley (one of Westminster Seminary's founding professors, a church historian) said: White (truth) stands out more clearly against the background of black (error).

**批判精神，牧者心肠 A Critical Spirit, A Pastor's Heart**

教会历史研究耶稣基督的教会如何诞生，成长，扩展到世界各地。直至近年，教会历史学家多注重基督教在西方(欧美)的发展。教会历史研究教会在不同的时代顺服或不顺服主耶稣的大使命；教会在社会中扮演先知的角色还是被文化掳掠。教会历史尝试了解教会在每一个时代是否正确的理解了圣经的教义系统？还是曲解？我们学习教会历史，必须具批判的学术精神，可是同时必须有教牧的心肠。正统的基督徒深信，教会在历史的每一时刻，都没有失去过圣灵的见证。

Church history is the study of how the church of Jesus Christ was born and extended (up till recently, church historians largely focused the story on the church in the west). It is the study of how the Church obeyed and disobeyed the Great Commission; how the church was a prophet to, or a captive to, her surrounding culture and society. It is a study of how the church understood or misunderstood the system of doctrine taught in Scripture. We should study church history both with critical eyes and a pastoral heart. The church has never been without the witness of the Holy Spirit.

**正统认信的立场 The Stance of Orthodox Faith**

我直接了当承认：我定意从一个正统(福音派)、基督新教(非天主教)、改革宗信仰神学的立场来研究教会历史。我是认信 (confess) 改革宗信仰的；我的会籍是在一个认信圣经和改革宗信条的教会。我接受大公教会的《尼西亚信经》和 Chalcedon 信经为教会正统的信仰(天主教\东正教和基督新教都接受这些信条)。我接受马丁路德从新对因信称义的福音的诠释，加尔文和后期改革宗信条(如 Westminster Confession of Faith)；他们都归纳「圣经中所教导的教义系统」。

I study church history unashamedly from an orthodox, Protestant, and Reformed perspective. I am a confessing minister, my membership is in a church which confesses faith in the Bible and in a Reformed confession (creed). I take the Nicene Creed and the Chalcedon creed as the orthodox (biblical) confession of the church of Jesus Christ; these ecumenical creeds are accepted by Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants alike. I take Martin Luther's re-affirmation of the gospel of justification by grace through faith, and Calvin's theology and subsequent Reformed creeds (such as the Westminster Confession of Faith) as summarizing "the system of doctrine taught in Scripture."

同时，我是福音派 / 基要派的基督徒。我相信一个正统的教义系统是稳固的根基，我们必须在此根基上建立一个活泼的灵命，和一个有力的，活出真正整全使命的教会，在世界以身传与口传，见证主耶稣基督的救恩。我深深的关切当代 (21 世纪) 教会在信仰 (神学) 和实践 (教会增长与事工模式) 的世俗化。因此我用正统的，福音派的，改革宗的信仰来看待教会历史，同时以护教学的精神分析，以重建当代教会的信念与生命。

I am an evangelical, a fundamentalist who believe in the importance of a living faith based on sound doctrine, and in the importance of the church living out a vibrant, holistic mission in, to, and for the world, in both word and deed. I am deeply concerned about the secularization of the church's theology and practice. Thus I study church history with orthodox, evangelical and Reformed eyes, and with an apologetic stance.

### **信仰伟人，真理的妥协 Giants of the Faith, Compromisers of the Truth**

基督教在她前 1500 年的历史中，充满了牺牲自己的信仰伟人。不幸当逼迫停止时，信徒对殉道者和其他在折磨时坚立不移的信徒(认信者) 的尊敬和怀念，往往导致迷信。教会的领袖在不同的时期都热心向文化，向知识分子用当代的，适切的语言见证自己的信仰；不幸这「文化预工」的过程中往往妥协了正统的信仰，而与东西方的世俗哲学与宗教混合(如一元论，诺斯底主义)。结果，教会的信仰 – 在一些关键的主题上，如神论、人论、基督论等 – 严重偏离了圣经真理。

In the first 1500 years of the Christian era, we read about the heroic sacrifices of early Christians and leaders. Unfortunately, when persecution ended, respect for the martyrs and confessors turned into superstition. We read about the noble attempts to speak Christianity in a relevant way to contemporary intellectuals; unfortunately in this attempt, church leaders compromised their Christian faith with secular Eastern and Western philosophy and religion (monism, Gnosticism, etc.). The result is syncretism in the church's understanding of God, Christ, man, and salvation.

### **向南，向东，向西：东西教会**

#### **Southward, Eastward, Westward: Churches of the East, Churches of the West**

教会从第一世纪就向多方面扩展：向南到非洲 (Coptic 教会)；向东到波斯，印度 (多马教会)，甚至在唐朝时到中国 (景教)。基督教也向西方发展，到希腊与罗马文化地区，包括北非洲。今天我们所称的基督教，往往是指西方 (西欧与北美) 地区的教会，包括天主教与基督 (新) 教。东方的教会，包括希腊和俄国的东正教，和亚洲 (中东) 和非洲的古旧教会 – 这些常常是西方教会所忽略的。

The church spread from the 1<sup>st</sup> century in different directions: southward to Africa (the Coptic church), eastward to Edessa, Persia (the Eastern churches), India (the Thomas church), and eventually China (the Nestorian church), and westward to Greece and Rome (the western church). What we call Christianity (that is, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism) is largely the result of developments in western Europe and north Africa. The Eastern churches include Greek and Russian orthodoxy, and the churches of the East and Africa – seldom studied by (western) Christians.

### **信经，信仰，与异端 Creeds, Doctrine, Heresy**

我们在教会历史读到罗马皇帝奇妙的归信基督，然后教会在太平的环境固定了自己的信仰 (教义)：教会订下《尼西亚信经》和《迦克敦信经》。亚他那修愿意为了圣经真理的缘故，孤独面对全世界的教会，坚定不移。属灵伟人奥古斯丁竭力宣讲恩典的教义，与伯拉纠主义争辩。奥古斯定的历史观，为教会在世界的角色奠定了坚实基础。后来经院哲学大师阿奎那，混合了基督教神学与希腊哲学，否认了人在理性上堕落，导致妥协罪与救恩，信仰与理性等方面的真理。

We read about the unbelievable conversion of the Emperor, followed by the solidification of church doctrine in a context of peace (the Nicene Creed and the Council of Chalcedon). Athanasius was willing to stand against the whole church, if necessary, in order to be faithful to biblical truth. We read about the rise of spiritual giants like Augustine who preached the doctrine of grace, and combated the heresy of Pelagianism; Augustine also articulated a philosophy of history which strengthened the stand of the church in the world. In a later generation, Thomas Aquinas, the giant in Scholastic philosophy, blended Christian theology with Aristotelian

philosophy, thus denying the fall of man's reason, and compromising Christian truth in the areas of sin-and-grace, and faith-and-reason.

### **修道院的内部改革，伊斯兰教外来的攻击 Monasteries Reach Out, Islam Invades**

中古时期修道院运动兴起，将手抄的圣经和最基本的文明(认字，农业等)传到西欧，开拓了「现代欧洲」。590年后，教皇制度成为主流教会传统，与「圣罗马帝国」联手干预欧洲的政治。这时教会领袖腐败，灵命衰落。同时伊斯兰教兴起，北非洲与东方的基督徒多有在回教徒的进攻时低头，放弃自己的信仰。

We read about the rise of monasteries and their contribution to missions to western Europe; the monasteries preserved the Bible and basic western civilization (e.g. agriculture). They literally gave birth to “modern Europe.” We read about the sad rise of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, and the political corruption and spiritual decline of the church; the rise of Islam and the surrender of Christians in North Africa and the East to Muslim conquest.

### **改革的先锋，与时机的成熟 Precursors of the Reformation, and the Fullness of Time**

我们也读到在中古后期教会内部的改革运动：他们出于爱主的心，痛斥教会的弊病并且翻译圣经。可是时候没有成熟，没有显著的成果。十字军东征是教会历史上的一大污点，大错特错。教会尝试用军事势力收回圣地；结果造成回教徒 1000 年来不忘也不饶恕基督教。不过教会也出现过人格高超的使者，如圣方济，他差点带领一位回教统治者归信基督。1500 年，时候成熟了，神带领教会回归 圣经真理，从新发现人完全靠恩典，藉信心被称为义的纯正福音。

We read about sincere but failed attempts to purify the church from corruption and superstition, and the early heralds of Reformation, including Bible translation. We read about the Crusades, a mistaken attempt to reclaim the Holy Land, which Muslim people will not forget nor forgive. But we also read about spiritual giants like St. Francis of Assisi who almost convinced an African monarch to convert to Christ. The stage was set, by 1500, for a true and total return to the biblical gospel of sin and grace.

### **学习教会历史的益处 The Benefits of Studying Church History**

学习早期，中古教会历史，对我们可有重要的启发与帮助：(一)我们必须学习清楚，合乎圣经，系统地表达/组织我们的信仰，以便有效的宣讲。(二)我们必须有力地回应各样异端与当代的世俗文化思维，长期有效地培养自己的辨别能力，以温柔的心应对非信徒。(三)我们必须心灵的深处爱基督的(有形)教会；这爱激励我们为她的成熟，稳定，生机，与宣教意识一生努力，直到我们见主面。

The study of early and medieval church history should motivate us to: (a) articulate our theology (convictions) clearly, biblically and systematically, (b) understand and respond to heresy and our secular culture boldly, lovingly and with great discernment, (c) love our church deeply enough to work toward a greater maturity and stability, as well a greater vibrancy and mission-mindedness, until we meet the Lord.

### **后记：从后现代二十一世纪看教会历史的適切性**

#### **POSTSCRIPT: THE RELEVANCE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY POSTMODERNITY**

1. 我们必须承认，今天的西方世界是一个后基督教的世界。而第三世界(中国，非洲等)的教会，则生活在一个前基督教社会中。

We must confess that the western world today is a post-Christian world. For Third World churches (e.g. China, Africa), however, their context is a pre-Christian society.

2. 诺斯底主义(一元论)的世界观 = 今天新纪元运动的世界观。而新纪元运动乃今天西方最具影响力的信仰。

Gnosticism (monism) is the worldview of the New Age Movement today. The New Age Movement is the most influential faith in the western world today.

3. 诺斯底主义与其他不被接纳在新约正典的书信，今天正被新派的圣经学者与神学家被肯定为另类的基督教。这是为什么《达文奇密码》如何受学者欢迎的原因之一。

The texts of Gnosticism and other sects which were not included in the New Testament canon, are often affirmed by liberal Bible scholars and theologians as an “alternative Christianity.” This is one major reason why *The Da Vinci Code* is so welcomed by scholars today.

4. 这又令我们想起：我们究竟能够直到历史事实的真相吗？后现代的学者认为，历史只是解释，没有事实（文本）本身这回事。

This leads us to another related question: Can we, in fact, come to know the real facts of history?

Postmodern scholars believe that history is only interpretation, there is no such thing as a “fact” (text).

5. 今天福音派的我们应该接受大学形的神学教育吗？我们应该接受福音派以外对教会历史的解释与方法论吗？

As Evangelicals, should we accept the “university” model of theological education? Should we accept interpretations of church history, and methodologies in studying church history, which come from presuppositions outside and far from historic, orthodox Evangelicalism?

## CHURCH HISTORY STUDYGUIDE 教会历史学习指引

Adapted: Carver Yu, *History of Christianity*. Taipei: Reformation Translation Fellowship, 1994. Revised by Samuel Ling.

摘自：余达心，《基督教发展史新释》。台北：基督教改革宗翻译社，1994。林慈信修订，2002。

### 导论：教会二千年历史速写 (页 1-8)

初期教会 (30-590/600)

大贵格利一世(约 540-604)

中古教会(590-1517)

宗教改革

现代教会 (1517 - 今)

#### I. 初期教会 (30-600) (页 2-4)

##### A. 后使徒时期 (100-170)

教会的纯正信仰，合一见证

教会权威的形成

文献，正典，信条

(林: 神乃正典, 保守教会承认圣经)

逼迫

基层信徒

##### B. 尼西亚前时期 (170-320)

逼迫; 异教哲学，异端攻击

正统神学思想，护教运动

(有教父因世俗哲学影响偏离真理)

教会组织(制度)

敬拜，礼仪

信徒：中，上层

##### C. 尼西亚时代 (320-590)

君士坦丁大帝归信基督 (312-313)

基督教 -> 国教; 世俗化，结构化

### Christianity: A 2000-Year Survey (1-8)

The Early Church (30-590/600)

Gregory I (ca. 540-604)

The Medieval Church (590-1517)

The Protestant Reformation

The Modern Age (1517-present)

#### THE EARLY CHURCH (30-600) (2-4)

Post-Apostolic Age (100-170)

Orthodoxy, unity of the church

Ecclesiastical (church) authority

Documents, canon, creeds

(Ling: God kept church to recognize canon)

Persecution

Believers: lower classes

Anti-Nicene Age (170-320)

Persecution; pagan philosophies, heresies

Orthodox theology + apologetics movement

(Secular philosophy affected Church Fathers)

Church order

Liturgy in worship

Believers: middle, upper classes

The Nicene Period (320-590)

Emperor Constantine – conversion

Official religion->secularized, bureaucracy

修道主义 (荒漠, 独处)  
神学 (教义) 争论  
(林: 三位一体, 基督神人二性等)  
大公会议  
教会的分裂

## II. 中古时代 (590-1517) (页 4-6)

罗马帝国萎缩; 蛮族入侵  
410 哥特人攻罗马: 亡国先兆?  
475 罗马主教央求蛮族不焚城  
315 罗马帝国迁都 -> 君士坦丁堡  
西边颓废; 罗马大主教->政治经济  
宗教领袖 -> 天主教渐渐壮大  
东边 - 神学争论不止  
630 回教兴起 637 攻入耶路撒冷 Islam  
639 叙利亚陷入回教手中  
50 年内 - 东罗马帝国->回教版图  
西边 - 经受蛮族侵扰  
“黑暗时代”: 罗马文明崩溃  
教会: 保留文化遗产的使者  
耕作技术失传 / 修道士负耕作任务  
光明一面: 教会向西, 北边扩展  
600-750 英格兰, 苏格兰, 爱尔兰,  
德国, 法国蛮族全部归信基督  
不久 - 北欧也归基督教  
东边教会萎缩; 罗马大主教渐渐  
成为大公教会最有影响的人  
罗马教会宣教成就->欧洲教会母会  
罗马教会牧养/管辖欧洲所有教会  
教皇势力壮大, 权力斗争, 腐败  
意大利贵族控制教皇推选, 政策  
900 起教皇制度几经改革无法扭转  
很多主教管数个教区, 从不牧养  
售卖有利可图的圣职  
很多圣职人员道德败坏  
民间缺乏牧养/真理教导, 迷信渗入  
圣职人员利用迷信 -> 赎罪卷  
神学: 经院学派兴起  
神学反省被亚里士多德系统俘虏  
理性论证取代对神话语的聆听  
神的道被化为一套抽象玄奥系统  
(注: 余氏巴特主义的主观见解?)  
教会需要改革: 上下呼声

## III. 宗教改革 (1517-1648) (页 6)

16 世纪初: 政治, 经济, 社会结构,  
文化意识蜕变->教会变革急剧

Monasticism (desert, solitude)  
Theological (doctrinal) controversies  
(Ling: Trinity; 2 natures of Christ; etc.)  
Ecumenical councils  
Schism

## THE MIDDLE AGES (590-1517)

Barbarian tribes invade Roman Empire  
Goths' invasion, 410: a sign of the end?  
475 Bishop's plea prevents Rome's burning  
Rome moves capital to Constantinople, 315  
West desolate; Bishop of Rome -> political,  
economic leader; RC Church's power grows  
The East: unceasing theological controversy  
rises 630, invades Jerusalem, 637  
Syria falls to Islam, 639  
50 yrs.: Eastern Roman Empire mostly falls  
West: constant threat of barbarian invasions  
“Dark Ages” – Roman civilization collapses  
The church: preserver of cultural heritage  
Agricultural skills: preserved by monks  
The bright side: the Church expands to W, N  
600-750 All tribes in England, Scotland,  
Ireland, Germany, France = converted;  
soon thereafter Northern Europe = converted  
The Church in the East shrivels; bishop of  
Rome->most powerful in ecumenical church  
Church in Rome – mission/“mother church”  
Rome rules/pastors all churches in Europe  
Pope's power, power struggles, corruption  
Italian nobles control papal election/policy  
From 900: several papal reforms – futile  
Bishop absenteeism – multiple dioceses  
Sale of (profitable) clerical offices  
Many religious (clergy) = morally bankrupt  
No teaching of truth -> folk superstition  
Clergy exploits superstition: indulgences  
Theology: rise of Scholasticism  
Theology -> captive by Aristotelianism  
Rational arguments supplant listening to  
God; God's Word -> abstract systems  
of speculation (Yu = Barthian bias?)  
Voices of reform from high and low

## THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

16<sup>th</sup> century: changes in politics, economy,  
social structure, culture -> change in church

(林注: 都市化, 中产阶级, 文艺复兴人文主义, 希腊, 拉丁古卷)  
1517 马丁路德发动改革运动:  
全面检讨, 批判, 改革天主教信仰  
德国改教 -> 信义宗教会  
信义宗: 丹麦, 瑞典, 那威  
改革迅速蔓延: 德, 瑞士, 法  
瑞士: 慈运理, 加尔文->改革宗教会  
改革宗: 苏格兰, 荷兰, 比利时  
1530s 英国亨利八世与教廷决裂  
英国: 圣公会

(林注: 1558-1660 清教徒运动, 继续, 更彻底地改革英国教会)  
17 世纪英国不接受圣公会体制者  
渡洋北美: 深受改革宗神学影响  
法国, 意大利, 西班牙, 波兰: 改革运动失势; 天主教传统牢固坚立  
教会呈现分裂: 三百年彼此敌视  
改革派(基督教) 宗派之间: 信仰(神学), 体制差异: 互不往来  
17-18 c. 天主教精力倾注传教事工  
基督教宗派间/内神学争论(是事实)  
宣教几乎交白卷(林注: 不乎事实)  
(林注: 天主教/基督教巨大差异:  
1. 教会权柄不能等同/超越圣经的权威; 圣经乃至高权威  
2. 救赎不藉圣礼注入; 义乃唯独藉信心归算; 人藉信心称义  
3. 人无剩余功德; 信徒皆圣徒; 基督乃神人之间唯一中保。  
基督教忙于建立真理, 批判基督教在宣教交白卷 = 不公道。)

#### 第四课 (29-36)

##### 异端的纷扰与正统信仰的确立

异端->持守真道

分裂->伤害; 努力保持合一见证

1. 爱宾尼学说 - 犹太人的信仰  
不相信基督=道成肉身的神  
耶稣=神特别拣选的人, 因顺服, 圣洁, 而认为神的儿子  
耶稣=人; 只是身份上是神的儿子
2. 幻影说 - 物质世界=邪恶的神(圣洁本体) 不可能取物质肉体  
道成肉身没有真正发生  
基督的肉身=幻影, 给人幻觉

(Ling: urbanization, Renaissance humanism, Greek and Latin manuscripts more available)

1517 Martin Luther begins Reformation:  
thorough critique of Roman Catholic faith  
Rapid growth, Germany -> Lutheran church  
Lutheranism->Denmark, Sweden, Norway  
Reformation spreads: Switzerland, France  
H. Zwingli, John Calvin: Reformed church  
Reformed->Scotland, Netherlands, Belgium  
England: Henry VIII breaks with Rome  
England: Anglicanism (Church of England)

(Ling: 1558-1660 Puritanism = movement to continue/deepen Reformation in England)

17<sup>th</sup> c. Dissenters of Anglicanism ->America  
Reformed theology: profound influence  
Reformation in France, Italy, Spain, Poland:  
unfavorable; Catholic tradition = entrenched  
Catholic/Protestant schism; hostility  
Protestant denominations: theology (faith), polity (order) differ; often no communion  
Roman Catholic missions, 17-18<sup>th</sup> centuries  
Protestants: theological controversies (True)  
No missionary activity? (Ling: Not true)

(Ling: Major Catholic/Protestant differences:

1. Church's authority is not equal to/higher than Scripture; Scripture = highest authority.
2. Grace is not infused through sacraments; righteousness=imputed through faith only.
3. Man: no merit; all believers = saints; Christ is only God/man mediator.

Protestants were busy establishing the truth; critique re. missions = unfair.)

#### Lesson 4 (29-36)

##### Heresy and Orthodoxy

Heresy->need to preserve truth

Schism->hurt; keep witness of unity

1. Ebionism - Jewish heresy  
Christ = not incarnate God  
Jesus=man, chosen by God, recognized as son of God for obedience/holiness  
Jesus=man; = "son of God" in office
2. Docetism - material world is evil  
God (holy) cannot take material body  
The incarnation didn't really happen  
Jesus' body = a shadow, a fantasy



在十字架上受苦的=不真是耶稣基督，只是幻影  
 约翰书信，福音提到，反驳  
 3. 诺斯底派 - 东方二元论；神秘信仰+希腊哲学 (混合体)  
 +基督教的外衣  
 在哥林多教会里：灵/体对立；苦行修炼；否定肉体复活；复活只是灵魂的事  
 在歌罗西教会里：敬拜天使；以规条苦待己身  
 诺斯底派 80-150AD 成形；最后与教会脱离关系  
 相信：灵与物质界对立。物质世界=罪恶的。  
 在灵界，自有永有的神：不断从本体发出(emanates) 灵体 (aeons). 越近神=像似神=有神性质, 能力  
 灵界=由不同等级灵体组成。  
 一个灵体：离神极远，神性/能力极低；受不住物质牵引，吸进物质界，以物质创造了宇宙。  
 这“造物主”=旧约的神,不是真神  
 人类受造于灵体，本身带灵的生命；生命却困于物质之内。  
 至高神为拯救人类，差派一位具高度神性能力的灵体进物质世界。  
 或：人类的灵从物质中解放出来。极轻视旧约

Person who died on cross=not really Jesus Christ; only a shadow  
 John's gospel, epistles mention it; rebuttal  
 3. Gnosticism – Oriental dualism; mystery religions + Greek philosophy (mixture) + outward form of Christianity  
 In Corinth: spirit/matter dichotomy; asceticism; denial of bodily resurrection; resurrection = merely of the spirit/soul.  
 In Colosse: worship of angels; rules and regulations, harsh on body.  
 Gnosticism emerged 80-150 AD; finally broke with the Christian church.  
 Beliefs: spirit = against material world. The material world = evil.  
 In spiritual world, self-existing God always Emanates his essence -> aeons.  
 Close to God=like God=God's nature/power  
 Pleroma=diff. gradations of aeons.  
 An aeon: far from God, low in divinity/power; couldn't resist matter's lure, entered material world, created universe w/ matter.  
 Demiurge Creator=OT God, not true God.  
 Man = created as spiritual being, with Spiritual life; life = bound in matter.  
 Highest God sent aeon, w/ high divinity & power, into material world to save man.  
 Or: man's spirit frees himself from matter.

### **INTRODUCTION TO GREEK PHILOSOPHY: PLATO, NEO-PLATONISM AND GNOSTICISM**

The world of the New Testament church includes the influence of the Roman Empire; the Greek language; Greek philosophy; pagan religion; and Judaism.

Greek philosophy has profoundly influenced the Church's interpretation and defense of the Christian faith (i.e., theology and apologetics).

Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*; Merrill Tenney, *New Testament Survey*.

Greek philosophy is relevant to our apologetics and evangelism today. Some ideas Greek thought are dressed up as "pagan religion," in the name of "New Age philosophy" today. Therefore we must understand the basic concepts in Greek philosophy.

Reference: Peter Jones, *Spirit Wars*; Christian Witness in a Pagan Planet's website is: [www.cwipp.org](http://www.cwipp.org). Also by Peter Jones: *The Gnostic Empire Strikes Back; Gospel Truth/Pagan Lies* ([www.prpbooks.com](http://www.prpbooks.com).)

### **THE PURSUIT OF PHILOSOPHY: METAPHYSICS, EPISTEMOLOGY, ETHICS**

There are 3 major branches of philosophy: metaphysics, epistemology, ethics.

[1] Metaphysics: What is the “really real”? What is that “ultimate reality” which explains all reality? Behind the phenomena and things in the outside world, what is that “ultimate reality” which does not change?

The Bible’s answer: God, who is self-attesting (he witnesses to himself), is the “really real.” God is that “ultimate reality” behind all things. God created all things. God gave life/existence to all things.

[2] Epistemology: How, on what basis, do I know what I know?

Rationalists would say: we know something because the “idea” of the thing exists in my mind. Empiricists would say: we know something because we can understand it through sense perception, e.g. scientific investigation, personal experience.

The Bible’s answer: We know all things because God has revealed them to us, through (a) himself/his Word; (b) ourselves, (c) the created world. It is God who enables us to think about things, and to investigate things through science and experience.

[3] Ethics: What is the foundation for right and wrong?

The Bible’s answer: The will of God, the “whole counsel of God” (Acts 20:27), God’s law, is the basis for all right and wrong.

### **RATIONALISM AND EMPIRICISM**

In metaphysics, we call Plato an “idealist,” and Aristotle a “realist.”

In epistemology, we call Plato a “rationalist,” and Aristotle an “empiricist.”

In modern philosophy, Rene Descartes would be a “rationalist,” and Locke, Berkeley Hume are “empiricists.” Rationalists believe that ultimate reality (the really real) dwells in the realm of ideas; while empiricists believe that ultimate reality dwells in “the concrete world out there.”

Both rationalists and empiricists have built up an absolute (the mind, or the things out there/science) to replace the God of the Bible. These are “idols.”

Any metaphysics, any epistemology which is not based on God and his revelation as starting point/foundation, will (a) be speculative and abstract, and (b) end up with answers, absolutes which are “idols.” (The analysis of Cornelius Van Til.)

Plato and Aristotle: They do not begin with the self-attesting God and his revelation.

### **PLATO: ULTIMATE REALITY = IDEA/FORM**

Plato: The “really real” is in the world of ideas/forms.

Things in the concrete world (books, cups) are not really real. They are merely copies of the ideal” the “idea of the book” (book-ness), the “idea of the cup” (cupness), etc. Thus the outside world is really an illusion. We must seek the ideal world (immortality).

Aristotle: The “really real,” or the “idea/form,” is in matter. Matter takes on form, from potential to real.

Therefore: conduct scientific investigation to know things.

### **NEO-PLATONISM: EXISTENCE/BEING IS AN ATTRIBUTE**

Neo-Platonism: They add the abstract, non-biblical idea that “existence is an attribute.”

Therefore, some beings have more “existence” (being), others have less “existence” (being).

The Bible teaches that God exists, is real, God is living/alive. We, too, exist. We are real, we are living/alive.

But “being alive” is not an attribute. Love, holiness, compassion, righteousness, eternity, infinity: these are attributes. “Being” (existence, being alive) is not.

### **BEING IS MEASURABLE: MORE OR LESS**

What is more: “being” is measurable! Some beings have more of being, some have less.

For Neo-Platonists (and Gnosticism), ultimate reality is “pure Being,” or “the good God.” On this level (the highest level) of existence, there is only being (idea, form), no non-being; no matter (matter is evil).

There is a whole range of spiritual beings (lesser gods, angels, etc.) which have less being than “pure Being.”

E.g. the Demiurge (creator God), Jehovah of the Old Testament, is lesser than “the good God,” because he can

become angry. He has less “being” than the good God.

The good God + the Demiurge (Creator/Jehovah) + all spiritual beings (angels, spirits, etc.) = “the Pleroma” (the divine fullness).

Therefore, neo-Platonists/Gnostics are “polytheists.” (They are also monists – see below.)

### **GOD AND MAN: ACROBATS/TRAPEZE ARTISTS FLYING IN MID-AIR**

Man is lower than God, lower than the lesser gods and angels. Man is suspended, half way between form and matter, being and non-being.

There are two directions in which man can go: Man can aspire in his soul for immortality (pure form/being). He is pulled upwards. Thus, man can be noble.

But man has physical desires, he is pulled downwards toward matter (pure non-being). Therefore, man can be lowly.

Since the God of the Bible (demiurge, in the Gnostics’ view) is not “pure Being,” but a little lower, therefore: both God and man are pulled upwards toward Being, and pulled downwards toward non-being (matter).

God and man are like acrobats (trapeze artists), swinging and flying through the air in a circus. They are not pure Being, they are not pure matter. So they aspire upwards, or they are pulled downwards, toward matter/non-being.

Ultimately, God and man are on the same level (somewhere between Being and non-Being). Platonism and neo-Platonism are “monistic.” (Monism is the believe that all is one – God, man and the universe are on the same level. New Age monism believes that God, man and the universe are all the same thing.)

### **THE IRRATIONALISM OF (NEO-) PLATONISM AND EVERYONE ELSE**

In the end, pure Being, or the good God, is unknowable. He is beyond words, he is beyond description.

On the other end of the scale (this scale is called “the Great Chain of Being”), matter, or non-being, is also unknowable, because it has no being.

So the highest and the lowest forms of existence are both unknowable! Neither has any attributes. Neither are personal.

Why is this so? Because Platonists and Neo-Platonists did not begin with God and his revelation as their basis for knowledge of the world.

All non-Christian philosophies are irrational: their “absolutes” are unknowable.

### **IMPERSONAL, ABSTRACT**

“Pure Being” and “Pure Non-Being” are both unknowable for another reason: they are both im-personal, abstract ideas.

Only a personal Being can command worship, obedience from his subjects, and entering into relationships. The God of the Bible is a personal, tri-personal God. Any “idol,” any other “absolute” which man sets up (e.g. “Being” and “Non-Being”) is, by definition, im-personal. This is why all non-Christian philosophy is so abstract. It is not concrete.

### **GNOSTICISM: MONISTIC, MYSTIC, ABSTRACT, PAGAN, PANTHEISTIC, POLYTHEISTIC**

Now, back to Gnosticism. Gnosticism is “monism,” because God and man are ultimately on the same level (the level of suspense). Gnosticism is “mysticism,” because it teaches believers to seek, through irrational spiritual enlightenment, a secret kind of knowledge. It is “abstract,” because it does not build its worldview on God and his revelation in Scripture. It is “pagan,” because since it does not build on Scripture, it teaches man to either become ascetic (denying our sensual desires), or to become licentious (misuse our sensual desires). It becomes pantheistic, or polytheistic (worshipping many gods).

The most important of all these characteristics is: monism.

### **THE PLEROMA**

Louis Berkhof describes Gnosticism this way in *A History of Christian Doctrines*.

A trait of dualism runs through the whole system and manifests itself in the position that there are two original principles or gods, which are opposed to each other as higher and lower, or even as good and bad. The supreme or good God is an unfathomable abyss. He interposes between Himself and finite creatures a long chain of aeons or middle beings, emanations from the divine, which together constitute the Pleroma or fullness of the divine essence. It is only through these intermediate beings that the highest God can enter into various relations with created beings. The world is not created by the good God, but is the result of, probably, a fall in the Pleroma, and is the work of a subordinate, possibly a hostile, deity. This subordinate god, is called the Demiurge, is identified with the God of the Old Testament, and is described as an inferior, limited, passionate, and vengeful being. He is contrasted with the supreme God, the source of goodness, virtue, and truth, who revealed Himself in Christ.

The world of matter as the product of a lesser and possibly an evil god, is essentially evil. There is found in it, however, a remnant from the spirit-world, namely, the soul of man, a spark of light from the upper world of purity which in some inexplicable way became entangled in evil matter. Its deliverance can be obtained only through some intervention of the good God. A way of deliverance has been provided by the sending of a special emissary from the kingdom of light into the world of darkness. In Christian Gnosticism this emissary is regularly identified with Christ. He is variously represented, either as a celestial being appearing in a phantasmal body, or as an earthly being, with whom a higher power or spirit temporarily associated himself. Since matter is in itself evil, this higher spirit could not have an ordinary human body.

We can see these elements in Gnosticism:

- (1) The highest “good God” is unknowable, un-describable. He is an “unfathomable abyss.” Gnosticism is abstract, not concrete. Its highest “good God”, like the liberal/neo-orthodox God, is “wholly Other.”
- (2) Gnosticism is dualistic: there are two gods, two ultimate principles in the universe.
- (3) Gnosticism is polytheistic. There are many lesser gods and spiritual beings which make up the “pleroma.”
- (4) The “good God,” or “Pure being,” cannot communicate with man directly, because matter is inherently evil.
- (5) The created universe, including man and his body, was not created good. It was created evil. Man’s body was created to serve as a prisonhouse for fallen angels. Creation was done by an angry God (demiurge).
- (6) The Old Testament God is not the same God as the God and Father of Jesus Christ (the good God).
- (7) The soul of man can go either way: upwards, aspiring toward God, or downwards, pulled by his sensual desires. There is a noble part of man, and a lower, animal part of man.
- (8) The purpose of salvation is not forgiveness of sin and fellowship with God, but deliverance from the flesh, from the material world.
- (9) Gnosticism cannot explain the relationship between the soul (a spark of light from the spirit world) and the body (inherently dirty and evil), because of its dualism.

#### **THE INFLUENCE OF GNOSTICISM ON CHRISTOLOGY**

- (1) Jesus Christ is spirit, his body is not real; or
- (2) Jesus is a godly man, upon whom the spirit descended temporarily, e.g. at his baptism until before he went on the cross.

#### **THE RELEVANCE OF GNOSTICISM TODAY**

Gnosticism is not just an ancient heresy, to which the Church Fathers responded in defense of orthodoxy. It is alive and well today, in the form of Christianity! Liberal theologians have gone to the extreme of promoting Gnosticism in the name of Christianity. These theologians are very happy that books like *The Da Vinci Code* become popular, because their common goal is to make Gnosticism and other ancient heresies *the orthodox form*

of Christianity for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and to make our historical evangelical/fundamentalist form of Christianity an aberration, i.e., a heresy.

Reference: Peter Jones, *Spirit Wars* and articles as the website of his organization: Christian Witness in a Pagan Planet: [www.cwipp.org](http://www.cwipp.org). A very helpful critique of the Da Vinci Code is: Darrell Bock (Dallas Theological Seminary), *Breaking The Da Vinci Code*.

## THE RESPONSE TO GNOSTICISM:

### IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, ANTI-GNOSTIC CHURCH FATHERS

「道」的教义：从哲学到神学

THE “LOGOS DOCTRINE”:

FROM PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND TO THEOLOGICAL STATEMENT

#### I. 哲学背景：斯多亚主义 HILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND – STOICISM

(Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*. Revised edition. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1959. Period 1, chapter 1, p. 7.)

斯多亚主义：唯物主义；万物皆物质；不过有粗与细（灵、物质）之分

STOICISM = MATERIALISTIC; ALL IS MATTER;

BUT THERE IS FINE/COARSE (SPIRIT/MATTER)

Stoicism was primarily a great ethical system, yet not without claims to be considered a religion. Its thought of the universe was curiously *materialistic*. *All that is real is physical*. Yet there is great difference in the fineness of bodies, and the coarser are penetrated by the finer. Hence fine and coarse correspond roughly to the common distinctions between spirit and matter.

万物之源 = 有生命的温暖 SOURCE OF EVERYTHING = VITAL WARMTH

Stoicism approximated, though it much modified, the view of Heraclitus. *The source of all, and the shaping, harmonizing influence in the universe, is the vital warmth*, from which all has developed by different degrees of tension, which interpenetrates all things, and to which all will return.

「道」= 有理性的，有自觉的，住在众人里；我们的理性=「道」的一部分；

「道」= 上帝，一切的生命与智慧

LOGOS = INTELLIGENT, SELF-CONSCIOUS, DWELLS IN ALL;

OUR REASON = PART OF LOGOS, LOGOS = GOD, LIFE AND WISDOM OF ALL

Far more than Heraclitus’ fire, which it resembles, *it is the intelligent, self-conscious world-soul, an all indwelling reason, Logos* ( ), of which our reason is a part. *It is God, the life and wisdom of all.*

「道」在我们里面；跟随在我们里面的上帝 LOGOS IS WITHIN US; FOLLOW THE GOD WITHIN

*It is truly within us. We can “follow the God within”*; and by reason of it one can say, as Cleanthes did of Zeus: “We too are thy offspring.” The popular gods are simply names for the forces that stream out from God.

有一种智慧存在，是人类行为的自然律；跟随「道」，顺从「道」= 人生最高的人物与目标

上帝启发一切的善；（斯多亚主义的）上帝 = 泛神论的

ONE WISDOM EXISTS, ONE NATURAL LAW FOR CONDUCT;

TO FOLLOW/OBEY LOGOS = HIGHEST DUTY & GOAL IN LIFE

GOD INSPIRES ALL GOOD; GOD = PANTHEISTIC

Since one wisdom exists in all the world, there is one natural law, one rule of conduct for all men. All are morally free. Since all are from God, all men are brothers. Differences in station in life are accidental. *To follow reason* in the place in which one finds oneself *is the highest duty*, and is equally praiseworthy whether a man is an Emperor or a slave. So *to obey reason, the Logos, is the sole object of pursuit*. Happiness is no just aim, though duty done brings a certain happiness purely as a by-product. The chief enemies of a perfect

obedience are passions and lusts, which pervert the judgment. These must be resolutely be put aside. *God inspires all good acts*, though *the notion of God is essentially pantheistic*.

## II. 神学断言：殉道士游斯丁的「道」的教义

### THEOLOGICAL STATEMENT: THE “LOGOS DOCTRINE” OF JUSTIN MARTYR

(Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*. Revised edition. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1959. Period 1, chapter 11, p. 46-47.)

游斯丁研习斯多亚主义，柏拉图，亚理斯多德；新旧约是对宇宙最真的解释

**JUSTIN STUDIED STOICISM, PLATO & ARISTOTLE;**

**FOUND OT & NT TRUEST EXPLANATION OF UNIVERSE**

Justin, called the Martyr, from his heroic witness unto death in Rome under the prefect Rusticus, about 165, was born in Shechem, in the ancient Samaria, of heathen ancestry. ... An eager student of philosophy, he accepted successively Stoicism, Aristotelianism, Pythagoreanism, and Platonism. While a Platonist his attention was directed to the Hebrew prophets, “men more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers.” Theirs is the oldest and truest explanation “of the beginning and end of things and of those matters which the philosopher ought to know,” since they were “filled with the holy Spirit.” “They glorified the Creator, the God and Father of all things, and proclaimed his Son, the Christ.” ...

游斯丁的归主并非宗教经验；自认为哲学家

**JUSTIN’S “CONVERSION” = NOT RELIGIOUS; JUSTIN: A PHILOSOPHER**

Justin’s religious experience ... was not a profound and mystical union with a risen lord, as with Paul. It was not a sense of forgiveness of sin. It was a conviction that in Christianity is the oldest, truest, and most divine of philosophies. Justin continued to look upon himself as a philosopher. ...

基督教 = 最真的哲学；「道」是我们的教师，是父神的儿子，使徒

**CHRISTIANITY = TRUEST PHILOSOPHY,**

**LOGOS = OUR TEACHER, SON, APOSTLE OF THE FATHER**

Justin’s central belief was that Christianity was the truest of philosophies, because taught by the prophets of the Old Testament, and by the divine Logos “our Teacher ... who is both Son and Apostle of God the Father.”

神圣的「道」= 无处不运作，教导（希腊的）哲学家与没有文化教育的人；

所有顺从「道」的人都是基督徒

**DIVINE LOGOS = AT WORK EVERYWHERE,**

**TEACHING GREEKS (PHILOSOPHERS) AND BARBARIANS;**

**ALL WHO OBEY LOGOS = CHRISTIANS**

This divine Logos he conceives, in true Stoic fashion, as everywhere and always at work, teaching the Greeks, of whom he cites Socrates and Heraclitus, and the “barbarians,” such as Abraham, so that these, and all who at any time obeyed the same guidance were really Christians. (*Apology*, 46; Ayer, p. 72.)

光照众人的神圣「道」= 在基督道成肉身；基督 = 完整的启示

**ALL-ILLUMINING DIVINE LOGOS = INCARNATE IN CHRIST; CHRIST = FULL REVELATION**

His great advance on Stoicism is his conviction that this all-illuminating divine Logos became definitely incarnate in Christ, so that in Him is the full revelation of that which elsewhere is less distinctly seen.

基督教的信息 = 与异教的哲学相似；认识上帝，不朽，过道德的生活

**CHRISTIAN MESSAGE = SIMILAR TO PAGAN PHILOSOPHY:**

**KNOW GOD, IMMORTALITY, MORAL LIFE**

The content of the Christian message Justin conceives in terms very similar to those of the best contemporary heathen philosophy – knowledge of God, morality, the hope of immortality, and future rewards and punishments. Like common non-Pauline Christianity, he views the Gospel as a new law, teaching a somewhat ascetic moral life.

「道」= 低于上帝，上帝的儿子，与上帝合而为一；忽略历史上的耶稣

#### **LOGOS: SUBORDINATE, SON, AGENT, ONE WITH GOD; HISTORIC JESUS = NEGLECTED**

Justin's emphasis is on the divine Logos, subordinate to God the Father, yet his Son, His agent, and one with Him in some true, though rather indefinite, sense. This emphasis is really at the expense of the historic Jesus, for though both are identified, the earthly life of Jesus is little stressed save as the great historic instance of the incarnation of the Logos, and therefore the occasion on which the divine philosophy was most fully revealed. He does, indeed, speak of Christ's "cleansing by His blood those who believe on Him" (ibid., 32), but such thoughts are not primary.

游斯丁与保罗，约翰不同；第一位「科学性」（学术性）的神学家

#### **JUSTIN DIFFERENT FROM PAUL & JOHN; FIRST IN "SCIENTIFIC" THEOLOGY**

Hence the theology of Justin, faithful martyr though he was, betrayed little of the profoundly religious content so conspicuous in Paul, the Johannine literature, or even in Ignatius. It marks, however, a conscious union of Christian thought with the Gentile philosophy, and therefore the beginnings of a "scientific" theology.

目标 = 护教；护教士的神学不限于他们的护教著作

#### **AIM = APOLOGETIC; THEIR THEOLOGY = MORE THAN APOLOGETICS**

Moreover, it must be recognized that the aim of Justin and other Apologists was to write a brief for Christianity, claiming for it the same tolerance permitted to other religious philosophies. Hence they strove to show the similarities between Christianity and the best in pagan thought; and we should not necessarily imagine that their apologetic works reflect the whole of the faith they espoused.

III. THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT INTO A DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY: TERTULLIAN

IV. OTHERS

V. ORIGEN

### 「道」的教义的四种错误

#### **FOUR ERRORS IN THE "LOGOS DOCTRINE"**

若要明白第三世纪的三位一体观和基督论（关于「道」的看法），我们必须回到早期护教士，特别是殉道者游斯丁（Justin Martyr）的「道的教义」（Logos Doctrine），才能了解世俗哲学的，抽象的神观，和抽象的「道」观（真理观），如何扭曲了正统的圣经教义。让我们分辨出「道的教义」四方面的偏差。

In order to understand the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of Christ which emerged in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, we must go back to the early apologists, especially Justin Martyr's "Logos Doctrine." Only then we will understand how a secular, philosophical, abstract view of God, and an abstract concept of the "Logos" (truth), had twisted orthodox biblical teaching. Let us discern four deviations from Scripture in the "Logos Doctrine."

#### **第一种错误：不可言喻的上帝 First Error: God as Unspeakable**

游斯丁的「道的教义」是这样理解上帝的：上帝是世界的创造者、美饰者、和保存着。上帝是不能见、不受生的，祂是无名、永恒的、不可透知的（不能测度的）、不变的存有；没有需要，没有热情。祂从无有创造了世界，使物质成形（给了物质「形式」）。（The invisible God is an unbegotten, nameless, eternal, incomprehensible, unchangeable Being, without any needs and free from all passions. He created the world out of nothingness and gave form to matter.）物质从某种方法被生，由上帝创造，上帝用物质造了世界，使世界成形（使之得到「形式」）。虽然如此，永活上帝的真实本性并没有表达出来。（Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, 德文 1895 / 英文 1952, Vol. I, pp. 112-113.）我们清楚看见，护教士们仅有一种抽象的上帝观，即是：上帝的存有就是绝对没有属性的存在 (attribute-less existence)。他们把上帝的本质和属性分开。他们没有看到，上帝既然在历史中具体地、清楚地自我启示，我们就有可能真正地认识上帝。

Justin Martyr's "Logos Doctrine" understands God in this way: "The invisible God is an unbegotten, nameless, eternal, incomprehensible, unchangeable Being, without any needs and free from all passions. He created the world out of nothingness and gave form to matter." In some way, matter was created by God out of nothingness. God used matter to create the world, so that the world has "form." Despite this, the true nature of the living God has not been expressed. (Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, German: 1895 / English: 1952, Vol. I, pp. 112-113.) What is clear is: the apologists have only an abstract concept of God, i.e.: God's being is an absolute attribute-less existence. They have separated the being (essence) of God and his attributes. They have failed to see that since God has concretely, clearly revealed himself in history, it is possible for man to truly know God.

### 第二种错误：世俗、抽象的「道」的观念 **Second Error: A Secular, Abstract Concept of "Logos"**

在上帝创造物质和创造世界的两项作为中，以「子」作中保。可是护教士们认为不应从「神话式」的意义来理解「子」。知识分子必须超越群众的迷信：子是上帝的「道」(Logos)。原来「道」是知识分子阶层非常喜欢用的词汇，特别是斯多亚派的哲学家。只要提到「道」，就能引起大家的兴趣。教会选用了这个名词，为了要说明「道」是神、在神里面、与神同在。(参 Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.) 但是，如此一来，三位一体上帝的第二位格（「道」或「子」），便降低成为知识分子心目中的理想观念，「道」（或「真理」），就好像当今中国知识分子，想到基督教的上帝的时候，会用英文“God”来表达，似乎在他们的心目中，上帝是一个西方哲学观念与名词而已，而不是宇宙真正的创造者与主宰。

In God's two acts of creating matter and creating the world, the "Son" was employed as mediator. However the apologists did not conceive of the "Son" in a mythological way (in other words, they did not follow the Bible). Intellectuals, they thought, must transcend the superstition of the masses: the "Son" is the "Logos" of God!

"This was a favorite term of the cultured classes. Whenever it was mentioned, the interest of all was at once secured. (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.) The church chose to use this term, in order to explain that the "Logos" is God, in God, and with God. (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.) However, in doing so, the second person of the Trinity (Logos, or son) was lowered to be a mere concept in the minds of intellectuals (Logos, or truth), just like among mainland China's intellectuals who use the English word "God" to express their concept of the Christian God (while speaking in the Chinese language in discourse). "God" becomes only a western philosophical concept, and not the personal Creator and Ruler of the universe.

知识分子心目中的「道」是从下而上，人类思维的理想境界。圣经提到的「道」是上帝，是三位一体的第二位，「道」是从上而下道成肉身的。

The "Logos" in the minds of intellectuals is a projection from below, from the realm of human thought. When the Bible speaks of "Logos," he is God, he is the second person of the Trinity. The Logos comes down from heaven, in the Incarnation.

### 第三种错误：「道」从上帝的意志生出，在上帝创造世界的时候生出

#### **Third Error: "Logos" Came into Being through God's Will, at the Time of the Creation of the World**

护教士们说，上帝起初是孤存的，可是因祂拥有的理性功能，在祂里面有「道」。(Originally God was alone, but by virtue of the reasoning faculty belonging to him he had in himself the Logos.) 藉着上帝简单的意志行动，道就生出。祂是父头生的作为。「头生者...不是得到存有，因为从起初以来，上帝既是永恒的聪明，在祂里面就有道，祂是永远有道性的。」("The first begotten thing ... not as coming into being, for from the beginning God, being eternal intelligence, had in himself the Logos, being eternally Logos-natured, (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.) 因此从早期教父开始，就有了「子」是有起点的因子。

The apologists believed that: "Originally God was alone, but by virtue of the reasoning faculty ( ) belonging to him he had in himself the Logos. By a simple exercise of his will, the Logos sprang forth ( ) i). He is the first born work of the father (Tat. 5; cf. Just. Ap. ii. 6.



Dial. 100. Ath. 10: “The first begotten thing ... not as coming into being, for from the beginning God, being eternal intelligence, \_\_\_\_\_, had in himself the Logos, being eternally Logos-natured, \_\_\_\_\_). (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.) Therefore, from the early Church Fathers, there is the idea that the “Son” had a beginning.

关于「道」的起源是这样说的：「这能力是从父的权能和计划而生的；不是由分隔而生。父的本性并没有被分。」就像火，点了另外一把火时，并没有变小，「而被点燃的第二把火，也同样地没有比第一把火小」（“that which is taken away from it appears to be also the same and does not diminish that from which it was taken”）。道...有神性；是神圣的（\_\_\_\_\_ theos），可是不是神自己，but not God（\_\_\_\_\_ ho theos）。

对父来说，道是他者，他物，是另外一位，却不是另一个心意 (mind)(He is ... divine. In respect to the Father, he is something else and another, and is such in number but not in mind.)。「受生的是另外一位，与生他的有别...。」（“... that which is begotten is other in number than ἡμῶν γὰρ that which begets”）。因此道与父一起是上帝，我们理当唯独敬拜他，像唯独敬拜父一样。(Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.)

Of the manner in which the Logos originated, it is said: “This power was begotten from the power of the Father and his counsel; but not by a separation, as though the nature of the Father were distributed,” i.e., somewhat as a fire does not diminish another by which it is enkindled, “and that which is taken away from it appears to be also the same and does not diminish that from which it was taken” (Just. Dial. 128, 61, 100. Tat. 5). He is not an angel, but divine; divine (\_\_\_\_\_), but not God himself (\_\_\_\_\_ ) (Dial. 60; vid. Per contra, Ap. i. 6). In respect to the Father, he is something else (\_\_\_\_\_ ) and another (\_\_\_\_\_ ), and is such in number but not in mind, \_\_\_\_\_ (Just. Dial. 56, 50, 55, 62, 128, 129: “And that which is begotten is other in number than that which begets, as everyone must confess”). Thus the Logos is God together with the Father, and to him alone, as to the Father, is worship due (Just. Dial. 68, 63f. Ap. ii. 13). (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 113.)

上帝透过道来启示祂自己。他是上帝的使者。上帝决定要创造世界的时候，祂就生出了祂在自己里面有的「道」，成为说话的道。(When God determined to create the world, he begat the word which he had in himself as the word uttering itself in speech.) (Seeberg, Vol. I, p. 114)

“Through the Logos, God has revealed himself. He it is who in the Old Testament period appears to men. ... He is the messenger of God, “our teacher and apostle,” God revealed, \_\_\_\_\_ ... When God determined to create the world, he begat the word which he had in himself (\_\_\_\_\_ ) as the word uttering itself in speech (\_\_\_\_\_ ).

「道」有起源的说法，到《尼西亚信经》的时代，就被清楚辨别出是异端。

The idea that the “Logos” has a beginning became condemned as heresy, by the time of the Council of Nicea.

#### 第四种错误：「道」是上帝里面的理性 Fourth Deviation: Logos is the Reason in God (Divine Reason)

俄利根（奥利金）循着「道的教义」的传统说：「道」从来就是住在上帝的心中。因为万物被造之前，上帝就有这位策士：「道」就是祂自己的理性和旨意。但当上帝决定要造祂所愿意造的被造物的时候，祂就生出这道，就是所有被造物的头生者，上帝自己没有倾倒入祂的道，乃是生出了道，而无时不与道有关系。」因此，基督就是上帝里头 (immanent in God) 的理性，上帝赐给这「道」分开的存在。身为上帝的理性，祂不仅仅在创造之时，和在旧约先知中工作，而且也在世界的智慧者（哲学家）中运行。

Origen, in the 3rd century, follows the tradition of the “Logos Doctrine”: “... the Logos always existing resident in the heart of God. For before anything was created, he had this counselor, which was his own reason (\_\_\_\_\_ ) and purpose (\_\_\_\_\_ ). But when God determined to make whatever he desired, eh begat this Logos as the word (\_\_\_\_\_ ), the first-born of the whole creation, he himself not

being emptied of the logos, but begetting the Logos, and always remained associated with his Logos” (Theoph. li. 22; cf. 0. Ath. 10. Tert. adv. Prax. 5: *sermonalis* and *rationalis*). Christ is, therefore, the Reason imminent in God, to which God granted a separate existence. As the divine Reason, he was not only operative at the creation and in the Old Testament prophets, but also in the wise men of the heathen world.

### 结论：理想的观念与上帝的启示 Conclusion: An Ideal Concept vs. God’s Revelation

西波尔 (Seeberg, 1895)作这样的结论：「道这个哲学观念决定了基督教的思想，虽然我们不应该忽略两者之间的分别：基督教作者的「道」是一个独立的位格。他们无条件地承认基督属神的位格。当约翰「道」的观念被认为是与斯多亚哲学的「道」平衡时，我们必须这样理解：它只是思想的外形（虽然它的影响力是惊人的），用来介绍「道」给世界认识。」有《尼西亚信经》(Nicene Creed, 325 A.D.)和《威敏斯特信仰告白》(Westminster Confession of Faith, 1647)作为借镜的我们，应该比西波尔更加警觉，看到从世俗（斯多亚）哲学借用观念的危险。

Seeberg concludes: “The philosophical conception of the Logos (cf. Heize in loco) here determines Christian thought, although the important difference must not be overlooked, that the Logos of the Christian writers is an independent personality. The divine person of Christ is acknowledged without any limitations; and when the Johannine conception of the Logos is presented as parallel with that of the Stoic philosophy, it must be understood merely as an outward clothing of the thought (momentous indeed in its consequences) in such garb as to commend it to the heathen world.” (Seeberg, Vol. 1, p. 114.) We who can learn from such documents as the Nicene Creed and the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), should be even more alert than Seeberg, seeing how dangerous it is to borrow concepts from secular (Stoic) philosophy.

西波尔说：早期的护教士不常说到三位一体的奥秘，可是这为他们带来最深奥的难题，在他们心中造成最高的愿望：「我们只被这愿望催使：要看见上帝，和与上帝同在的道。子与父合一，是怎样的合一？父与子的相通是怎样的相通？圣灵又怎么样？灵，子，父之间的联合与分别又在哪里？」

Seeberg says: the early Apologists did not mention the mystery of the Trinity often, but “apprehension of it constitutes for them the profoundest problem and the supreme desire of their hearts: ‘carried away with this desire only, to see God and the Logos with him. What is the unity of the Son with the Father? What the fellowship of the Father with the Son? What the Spirit? What the union and the difference of those who are thus united – the Spirit, the Son, and the Father?’ (Ath. 12).” (Seeberg, Vol. I, pp. 114-115.)

亲爱的读者：我们与知识分子讨论三位一体，宇宙最高的真理，信心与理性的关系等问题的时候，有否妥协我们的立场？我们是否不假思索的，就采用世俗的理性观(intellectual categories)？今天世人喜欢思想的观念，包括真正的人性 (genuine human-ness)，充满意义的「关系」(relationship)和「相遇」(encounter)，「脆弱」(vulnerability)，内在医治，敞开性 (openness)，未来的不可知性，还有自古以来的「神的不可透知性」，神是「全然他者」等。今天教会的神学家，是否有高度的醒觉？还是与早期教父一样，本着向知识分子传福音的美好动机，却不知不觉带教会走到异端的地步？

Dear reader: When we discuss with intellectuals the doctrine of the Trinity, absolute truth in the universe, the relationship between faith and reason and other topics, have we compromised the stance of our faith? Do we simply borrow secular intellectual categories? Today, some of the favorite concepts in the world include: genuine human-ness, meaning relationships, encounter, vulnerability, inner healing, openness, the unknown nature of the future, and God as the “wholly Other”, God as utterly incomprehensible, etc. Are theologians alert and awake today? Or would we be just like the early Church Fathers, armed with a good motive to evangelize intellectuals, we lead the church unawares to the point of heresy?

回到圣经的启示，使用圣经的词汇和观念，然后谨慎地检讨世俗观念里的真正意义，才是安全稳妥的护教与神学进路。

Return to what God has revealed in Scripture. Use the Bible’s vocabulary and concepts. Then, carefully evaluate the meaning of secular concepts. This is the safe, solid way for theology and apologetics.

人论（罪论，恩典论）的基础，与西方教会的教会观的发展：奥古斯丁的教义  
FOUNDATION OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL DOGMA (SIN AND GRACE)  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH  
IN THE WEST: DOCTRINE OF AUGUSTINE

29. 奥古斯丁的基本神学思想，和他在教义史上的地位

29. The Fundamental Religious Ideas of Augustine and His Place in the History of Doctrines

[Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 307-312.]

奥古斯丁思想的背景：西方与东方的教会

Background to Augustine's Thought: The Church in the West and East

西方教会：神人之间的法律关系；东方教会：新柏拉图主义

WESTERN CHURCH: GOD/MAN LEGAL RELATIONSHIP EASTERN CHURCH: NEO-PLATONISM

西方教会对基督教信仰的典型观念，一直强调上帝与人在法律上的关系，和灵魂的得救。「宗教（敬虔）与信仰的根基，乃从遵守上帝的吩咐与敬畏上帝而来」（居普良 Cyprian 语）。我们在上文也看到，西方教会在三位一体论与基督论的争辩上，维持了她典型的立场（例如：特土良）。虽然如此，东方教会里的「复兴运动」也在这点上起了作用；例如：希拉流 (Hilary) 与安伯罗修 (Ambrose)；后者深受加帕多加三教父（尤其是巴西流 Basil）的影响；还有喻意解经法的普遍性（例如：耶柔米 Jerome）。

The general conception of Christianity which prevailed in the Western church in the third century has been seen (p. 198) to have been that of a legal relationship between God and man, whose result is the salvation of souls (*salus animarum*). "The whole foundation of religion and faith proceeds from obedience and the fear of God" (*observatione ac timore*, Cyprian, *de hab. Virg. ii.*; cf. *supra*, p. 194 f.). We have seen, further, that in the Trinitarian and Christological controversies the West maintained its characteristic position (illustrated in Tertullian, p. 125 f.; also pp. 237, 255). Nevertheless, the Renaissance movement in the Eastern church made itself felt even here, as is manifest in the views of Hilary, and no less in the writings of Ambrose, who was largely dependent upon the Cappadocians (especially Basil), and in the prevalence of the allegorical method of exegesis (cf. also Jerome).

例如演讲家 Victorinus 也很像奥古斯丁：他在解释三位一体论时应用了新柏拉图主义的「形式（理念）」论 (theory of ideas)。Victorinus 也重述了保罗「称义」的教义，虽然他暴露了一种天真的「伯拉纠主义」。与此同时，东方教会也没有忽略西方教会的观念，甚至乎更完整地发展了它们。特土良乃是原罪论和恩典教义的最重要影响；关于这两项教义，安伯罗修 Ambrose 特别为奥古斯丁铺路。

Such a man as the orator Victorinus, in a way which reminds us of Augustine, applied the Neo-Platonic theory of ideas in the interest of Trinitarianism and – which is of special interest to us – was able to reproduce Paul's doctrine of justification, although not, indeed, without exhibiting a naïve Pelagianism (vid. *Mi. viii.*; also *Dict. Of Christ. Biograph.* iv. 1129 ff. R. Schmidt, *M. Victorinus Rhetor*, Kiel, 1895). At the same time, the characteristic ideas of the West were not lost sight of, but even more fully developed. In the doctrines of original sin and grace (where Tertullian is still the controlling influence, vid. P. 122; cf. also Cyprian and Commodian, p. 192), Ambrose largely anticipated Augustine (vid. *supra*).

因此，西方教会从奥古斯丁时期开始的神学活动，不是没有先驱的。我们可以说，安伯罗修是「奥古斯丁前的奥古斯丁」，他对奥氏的影响最为深远。不过连 Tyconius 这位幻影说者，在教会观与对恩典的教义上，也为奥古斯丁铺路。

The agitation which prevailed throughout the Western church from the days of Augustine was not without its forerunners. Ambrose was an Augustine before Augustine, and remained for the latter the controlling authority. But such a man as the Docetic Tyconius likewise prepared the way for Augustine, not only in his

views concerning the church, but also by his emphasizing of grace.

### 奥古斯丁对西方教会与文化的重大影响 **The Masterful Influence of Augustine on the West**

承先启后：开拓西方教会的教义 AUGUSTINE = PIONEER IN HISTORY OF DOCTRINE

奥古斯丁就是在教义史这一时刻开始他的工作。他承先启后地结合了他时代所有的文化与宗教元素，又发展出新颖的思想。在他的后期，没有一位像他那么影响教义史的发展。奥氏所表达的观念，开拓了西方教会的教义发展史；他所代表的敬虔，是西方教会的典范；他是西方社会思想与灵命生活最有魄力的伟人。

At this point begin the labors of Augustine, who combined in himself all the elements of the culture and religion of his age, and yet produced something quite new. He is the dominating force for the History of Doctrines in the West during the following periods. The ideas which he expressed gave birth to the dogmatic history of the West; the form of piety which he represented remained as a model, and became one of the most powerful co-efficients in the intellectual and spiritual life of the race.

受他影响，由他的思想支持的计有：经院哲学和神秘主义；天主教会的权力架构与中古时期的反权力架构运动；罗马（天主教）与威登堡（马丁路德）。奥古斯丁的方程式，他对复杂神学问题的表述，他敬虔的情操，都在后来的教义历史上再现。虽然后人带着完全不同的精神，可是都不能脱离奥氏思想和词汇的影响。

The labors of scholasticism no less than the emotions of the mystics, Roman hierarchy as well as the anti-hierarchical parties of the Middle Ages, Rome and Wittenberg, alike leaned upon him and found support (cf. Reuter, p. 479 ff.). His formulas, his statement of the perplexing problems of theology, and his religious temper, are constantly reappearing as we pursue the subsequent History of Doctrines. Even where an entirely different spirit is manifest, there is no escape from the masterful influence of his thoughts and terminology.

### 奥古斯丁其人：追求真理与生命 **Augustine The Man: Pursuit of Truth and Life**

奥古斯丁的回转经历是大家都熟识的。虽然他在情欲方面曾经犯错，他有着崇高的灵魂，不受罪恶的影响。他有一种强烈追求真理与生命的精神。他先是 Manichaeism 的门徒，后来深受天主教会的荣耀、教会认信者的榜样、和基督恩典的大能的影响。当时讲道家的喻意解经法、保罗的教训、和新柏拉图主义的哲学，都预备他受洗成为教会的成员。

The history of his conversion is well known. Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354-430) was, despite his fervid sensuous temperament and the errors into which it led him, a noble soul, free from everything sordid. He was inspired with an intense yearning after truth and life. A disciple of the Manichaeans, he was won by the glory of the Catholic church (conf. v. 14; vi. 1.5, 11; vii. 19), the examples of her confessors (ib. viii. 2, 5, 6 f.), and the power of the grace of Christ (ib. vii. 5, 18f.; vii. 8 ff.). The allegorical interpretations of Scripture in the preaching of the day (ib. vi. 5. 11; cf. vii. 1), the teaching of Paul (ib. vii. 21 init.; viii. 6), and the spirit of the Neo-platonic philosophy prepared the way for him into the communion of the church.

### 奥古斯丁的思想特征（一）意志：意志主义

#### **The Distinctive Thought of Augustine (1) The Will: Voluntarism**

意志 = 人性之核心；人的意志转离上帝；「新意志」 = 爱 = 真自由

WILL = ESSENCE OF MAN; MAN'S WILL TURN FROM GOD; NEW WILL = LOVE = TRUE FREEDOM

奥古斯丁的影响那么广泛，乃因为他回到基督教灵魂的原本情操。他从少年期就追求快乐，生命与财富。这位勇敢的天才，自始就不以静默为理想；他尽力地追求理想。人的意志是人最核心的部份。意志转离上帝，转向虚无。因此，意志导致所有的痛苦。同时「新意志」，就是由上帝感化的意志，即是「爱」，是上帝恩典所赐的真正福乐。唯有上帝控制人的意志的时候，人才真正自由。上帝是全能的意志，祂掌管、预定万事。人的意志与上帝的意志之间有着完全的区别；人的意志服在上帝的意志之下。人得救和蒙福的意义，就在于被上帝的意志（旨意）所控制、所渗透。从这个观点看来，宗教（敬虔）的意义，就是在爱中顺从上帝。不过也是这个观念，使奥古斯丁认为教会一切有形的典章都有权存在，因为它们都是上帝所设计、所指定的。

The universal significance of Augustine results from his return to the original Christian temper of the soul. He was from his youth distinguished by an insatiable longing for happiness, life, and wealth. Not quiet contemplation, but the utmost exertion of every power, was from the very beginning of his career the ideal of this daring genius. The will is the essential part of man. It turns away from God and toward nothingness. It is, accordingly, the cause of all misery. On the other hand, the new will, inspired by God, i.e., love, is the real blessing bestowed by divine grace. Only when God's will controls the will of man is man free (vid. conf. vii. 16, 22; viii. 5.10; xiii. 10.19; de civ. Dei xiii. 22.1; de sp. et lit. 30.52). But God is the almighty Will, which controls and ordains all things. Over against and beneath the divine Will, stands the will of man. To be controlled and permeated by the will of God constitutes salvation and blessedness. Regarded from this point of view, religion is subjection to God in love. But from this same point all the positive and empirical ordinances of the church could appear to Augustine to exist rightfully, because designed and appointed by God.

## (二) 理性精神：新柏拉图主义的哲学

### (2) Intellectualism: Neo-Platonic Philosophy

新柏拉图主义 + 上帝的主权：意志导致知识

人有与生俱来对本相的理解：人默想永恒 = 救赎

NEO-PLATONISM + SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD: WILL -> KNOWLEDGE

SOUL HAS INNATE SENSE OF FORMS; CONTEMPLATING ETERNITY = SALVATION

奥氏的这项原则乃基于基督徒单纯的相信上帝的主权，和人意志上的顺服。与此同时，奥氏的思想中有新柏拉图主义的因素。基本上，人的意志为人带来知识。意志所意旨的，成为人的灵魂的一部份，因为灵魂认识了它。」肯定地，人不能爱一样事，除非他认识它」（《论三位一体》）。不过，知识不仅来自察觉这些属天真理。人的灵魂，有着先天的「内在感觉」(interior sense)，它透过万物中「能被理解的形式」(intelligible forms, *per intelligibilem speciem*) 来掌握万物的本相。这种「对本相的理解」(*species intelligibilis*) 不是学回来的，而是与生俱来的。可是奥古斯丁在这方面走进了柏拉图系统的「有形世界」(intelligible world) 的观念中；就是，人默想所有存有事物的原来形式：这乃是古旧（希腊）的幻想。默想永恒，对奥氏乃变成救恩之所在：这不折不扣是希腊哲学的精神。

But to this principle of Augustine, which, in the final analysis, rested upon the primitive Christian recognition of the sovereignty of God and the subjection of the human will, was added the Neo-Platonic element in Augustine's sphere of thought. Fundamentally considered, it is the will which leads man to knowledge. That which is willed becomes a constituent part of the soul, since the latter knows it. "For certainly a thing cannot be loved unless it is known" (de trin. x. 1.2). But knowledge arises not only from the perception of these heavenly truths. There is innate in the soul an "interior sense," which apprehends the nature of things through their intelligible forms (*per intelligibilem speciem*, de civ. Dei, xi. 27. 2). This *species intelligibilis* is not attained, but innate. But here Augustine launches out into the "intelligible world" of the Platonic system – into the contemplation of the ancient fantasies of the original forms of all existing things. The contemplation of the eternal becomes for him – in genuinely Greek spirit – salvation (cf. de quaest. oct. l. 46. 2.).

奥古斯丁思想：上帝是最伟大的意志；人是意志；爱乃蒙福人生；新柏拉图主义：默想有形世界

AUGUSTINE IN NUTSHELL: GOD IS WILL, MAN IS WILL, LOVE = BLISS;

NEO-PLATONISM: CONTEMPLATE INTELLIGIBLE WORLD = BLESSEDNESS

这就是奥古斯丁思想的基本架构。首先：意志主义：上帝是宇宙最伟大的意志；人是意志；爱乃是蒙福的人生。其次：新柏拉图主义的理性精神：默想有形的世界乃是蒙福的人生。这两条线路相辅相成，而它们又由个人内在经验的惊喜而涵盖。

These are the fundamental intellectual lines within which the thought of Augustine moved. First, voluntarism (God is Will and man is will; love is blessedness). Then, the Neo-Platonic intellectualism (the contemplation of the intelligible world is blessedness). Both are, in a marvelous way, interwoven, and over all lies the enchantment of inner and personal experience.

### (三) 上帝与灵魂

#### 3. God and the Soul

宇宙两大实存：上帝，灵魂：灵魂须握住上帝

TWO GREAT REALITIES: GOD, SOUL; LAY HOLD UPON GOD

奥古斯丁在一个强烈挣扎的过程中找到了救赎：就是与永活上帝相交，他用尽笔墨发挥这真理。他所有的作品都流露着个人生命中的挣扎和追求，这乃是他思想的根源。宇宙只有两个伟大的实存：上帝和灵魂。上帝是光，是真理，是生命；人的灵魂中只有黑暗，痛苦，死亡。可是惟有当灵魂握住上帝，上帝握住灵魂的时候：人才有清楚的看见，人才有真正的福乐。我们引用一些奥氏的名言，救能感受到他灵魂的情操：

It was in the midst of earnest struggle that Augustine found salvation in the fellowship of the living God, of whom he could so impressively speak. All that he has written bears the marks of its origin in the depths of his personal life and earnest striving. There exist for him but two great realities: God and the Soul. God is light, truth, life; in the soul dwell darkness, misery, death. But where the soul lays hold upon God and God lays hold upon the soul, *there* is clearness of vision and the power to do good – *there* is blessedness. A few citations will best reveal this fundamental religious temper of the man:

「因此，你愿望认识什么？简短的说。我愿意认识上帝和灵魂。没有其他的吗？完全没有。」

“What, therefore, does thou desire to know? ... State briefly. God and the soul I desire to know. And nothing more? Nothing at all.”

但奥氏只要认识上帝与灵魂，乃是因他宣告：「我不爱别的，只爱上帝与灵魂。」

But this limitation of interest is a consequent upon the declaration: “*I love nothing else but God and the soul*” (soliloq. i. 2, 7; viii. 15; xv. 27).

「你激发我们的心，因此我们学习以赞美你为喜乐；因为你为你自己创造我们，我们的心没有安息，直到在你里面安息。」

“Thou doest stir us up to find delight in praising Thee, because Thou has made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee” (conf. i. 1).

「这是我的罪：我寻求快乐，崇高的事，真理，但不是在上帝里寻找，而在被造之物里寻找，包括我自己和别人。这样我直奔痛苦，混淆，错误。」

“For in this I sinned, that I sought pleasures, sublimities, truths, not in Himself but in his creatures, myself and others. And thus I rushed into griefs, confusions, errors” (ib. i. 20).

「谁能向我赐予，叫我在你里面找到安息？谁能向我赐予，叫你进入我心，陶醉我心，好使我忘记我邪恶的道路，而拥抱你作我唯一的美善？求对我的灵魂说：我就是你的救恩。」

“Who will give to me that I may find rest in Thee? Who will give to me that Thou mayest come into my heart and intoxicate it, so that I may forget my evil ways and embrace Thee as my only good? Say to my soul: I am thy salvation” (ib. i. 5).

「我太迟学会爱你，这么古旧的美，这么新鲜的美：我太迟学会爱你。看哪，你在里面，我在外面，我却在外面寻找你；我形体没有美貌，但投奔于你所造的美貌之形体。你与我同在，但是我没有与你同在。那些事情抓住了我，使我远离你，它们若不在你里面，就不会这样。你向我呼召，大声喊叫；刺痛了我的耳聋。你的光彩灿烂照耀，驱逐了我的瞎眼。你破碎了我的灵，吸引我的灵。我渴慕你。我尝到了；我饥，我渴。你抚摸了我，我被你所赐的平安完全得着。」

“Too late I have learned to love Thee, Loveliness so ancient and so new – too late I have learned to love Thee. And behold, Thou wast within and I without, and there I sought Thee; and I, unshapely, rushed upon the shapely things which Thou has made. Thou wast with me and I was not with Thee. Those things hold me far from Thee, which would not be if they were not in Thee. Thou has called and cried aloud, and broken through my deafness. Thou has sparkled and shone and driven away my blindness. Thou has broken and allured my spirit, and I pant for Thee. I have tasted, and I hunger and thirst. Thou has touched me, and I have been

consumed with Thy peace” (ib. x. 27).

「我寻找得力之路，好赐我力量享受你，却找不到，直到我拥抱（接受）神人之间的中保，基督耶稣。」

“And I sought a way of gaining the strength that would be capable of enjoying Thee, and I found it not until I embraced the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus” (ib. vii. 18).

「祂的来临，这是祂的人性；祂继续活着，这是祂的神性。祂的神性是我们旅程的目的地；祂的人性是我们旅程的所在地。除非祂为我们成为我们旅程的目的地，不然我们不能达到祂的居所，不可能来到祂那里。」

“His coming is his humanity; his remaining is his divinity. His divinity is the whither we are journeying; his humanity is the where we are journeying. Unless he had become for us the where we are journeying, we could never have come to him where he dwell (in Joh. tr. 42.8).

「因为你引导我，我进入到深处；因你已成为我的帮助，我就能够。我进入，我看见，好像永我灵魂的眼睛，在我灵魂眼睛之上，在我的理性之上，不变之光。... 啊，永恒的真理，真正的爱！可爱的永恒，你是我的上帝。... 自从我首次认识你，你接我到你怀中，好叫我能看见我应当看见的事，是真实的；我看见了，但我尚未成为如此...我因爱、因敬畏而震栗。」

“I have entered the depths under Thy guidance, and I have been able, since Thou hast become my helper. I have entered and have seen, as with a certain eye of my soul, above this same eye of my soul, above my mind, the unchangeable Light. ... O eternal Truth and true Love, and lovable Eternity, Thou art my God. ... And since I first have known Thee, Thou hast taken me to Thyself, that I might see that that exists which I should see, and which I who see am not yet... and I have trembled with love and terror” (conf. vii. 10).

「当我寻求你时，我的上帝啊，我是寻求蒙福的生命。我会继续寻求你，好让我灵活着。因我的身体靠我灵魂活着；而我的灵魂靠你活着。」

“For when I seek Thee, my God, I seek blessed life. I will seek Thee, that my soul may live. For my body lives from my soul, and my soul lives from Thee” (ib. x. 20).

「对我来说，紧握上帝真美好；这是一切的美好。你还愿望什么？你若这样愿望则使我忧伤。弟兄们，你们还要愿望什么？没有什么，比紧握上帝更美。」

“For to me, to cling to God is good; this is the whole good. Do you wish anything more? I grieve that you so wish. Brothers, for what more do you wish? There is nothing better than to cling to God” (in ps. 72. 34.)

「应当以信，以望，以爱，敬拜上帝。」

“God is to be worshipped by faith, hope, love” (enchirid. iii; cf. soliloq. i. 7. 14).

「求你赐下你所指定的；求你指定你所喜悦的。」

“Give what Thou appointest, and appoint what Thou wilt” (Conf. x. 37; cf. solil. i. 1. 5).

「求你带领我，求你指示我，求你在我的道路上赐我帮助。... 求在我里面，加添信心，加添盼望，加添爱。」

“Do Thou suggest to me, do Thou show me, do Thou grant me help by the way ... increase in me faith, increase hope, increase love” (solil. i. 1. 5).

「但有一种喜悦，不向邪恶的人赐下；只赐给乐意敬拜你的人。你自己就是他们的喜悦。这就是蒙福的生命本身：我们的喜悦就是投向你，就是因你喜悦；就是这样的喜乐，没有其他的喜乐。」

“But there is a delight which is not given to the wicked, but to those who willingly worship Thee, whose joy Thou Thyself art. And this is blessed life itself, to delight one’s self toward Thee and on account of Thee; this it is, and there is no other.” (conf. x. 22.)

这些言说充满着崭新的精神；同时表达了奥古斯丁令人忘形的措辞。人本身的生存充满罪和痛苦；但上帝是人的救赎：不因固有的法律，不藉赏与罚，而在于亲自与上帝相交：生命之交，爱之交。保罗以此作他的罪和恩典教义的基础。

A new spirit breathes through these utterances, and they illustrate at the same time the enrapturing diction

of Augustine. The very existence of man is sin and misery; but God is his salvation – not by virtue of fixed laws, not by way of reward or punishment, but in the direct personal fellowship of life and love. These are the ideas upon which rests Paul’s view of sin and grace.

#### (四) 顺服大公（天主）教会的权柄

#### 4. Submission to Catholic Authority

从这出发点，奥古斯丁进而遵循教会传统的方程式与理想来发展他的宗教思想，同时深化了后者。不过他从开始就要求顺服教会的权柄（「不过我不会相信福音，除非普世教会的权柄催逼着我」）。从奥氏关于三位一体论和基督论的言论中，可以清楚看出这一点。

But Augustine now proceeded, while maintaining as his central position that above indicated, to unfold his religious ideas within the lines of the traditional formulas and ideals of the church. He “deepened” and transformed the latter. But he had also from the start demanded submission to the authority of the church (vid. de utilitate credendi ix. ff.; c. ep. Manichaei 5.6: “But I would not believe the gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic church impelled me”). This has been manifest in our study of his Trinitarian and Christological utterances (p. 238).

奥古斯丁与伯拉纠主义在罪论与恩典教义上的争辩，也可以看出他如何顺服教会的权柄：不过在这里他的神学的典型要素表达的特别强烈。又他与多纳徒派 (Donatism) 在教会论与圣礼观上的争变，和他接受与高举民间天主教的教义，都应从这角度理解。

It comes to view again in his doctrine of sin and grace, as developed in the conflict with Pelagianism, although here the characteristic religious elements of his theology assert themselves with peculiar force. In the same light are to be viewed his utterances touching the church and the sacraments during the anti-Donatistic controversy, as well as his acceptance and ennobling of nearly all the teachings of the popular Catholicism.

奥古斯丁在每方面都保存自己的特性，可是同时他的信仰是正统的，他是一位隶属当时天主教会的教师。他不像奥利金（俄利根）那样发展出一套神学系统；他为他的时代提供了丰富的宗教与哲学观念；他从他的时代所领受的，都以一个净化、更加深化的形式送回。

He remains himself almost everywhere, but he is yet, at the same time, an orthodox Catholic teacher in the church of his age. He did not, like Origen, develop a theological system, but he furnished to his age a wealth of fruitful religious and speculative ideas, giving back to it in a purified and profounder form what he received from it.

他的教义缺乏统一性，他结合了各种矛盾：福音与哲学，大公（天主）教会传统与敬虔，意志主义和理性主义等等；可是他的作品特别刺激人的思想。他是一位神学家，也是哲学家；更重要的是，他是一位宗教天才，一个伟大的人。

His doctrine is deficient in unity, combining the most violent contradictions (gospel and philosophy, Catholic tradition and religion, voluntarism and intellectualism, etc.); but his writings proved stimulating in an unparalleled degree. He was a theologian and a philosopher; but he was also more, a religious genius and a great man.

我们须研究：（一）奥古斯丁的教会论与圣礼论（有别于多纳徒派）。（二）他的罪论与恩典论（有别于伯拉纠主义）。（三）他对神学与教会的一般观念：这方面我们会根据他唯一的全面性教义著作，*Enchiridion ad Laurentium*。

It will be necessary for us to examine: (1) His doctrine of the church and the sacraments, in opposition to Donatism. (2) His doctrine of sin and grace, in opposition to Pelagianism. (3) His general view of theology and the church, in tracing which we must follow the lines of his only comprehensive dogmatic work, the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*.

### 30. 多纳徒派之争论，与奥古斯丁继续发展教会论，圣礼论

#### The Donatistic Controversy and Further Development of Doctrines of Church and Sacraments



by Augustine

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 312-327.)

## 1. 多纳徒派之争 The Donatistic Controversy

早期教会最大的分裂：由北非洲迦大基教会事件引发

罗马皇帝 Diocletian 逼迫：要求交出圣经

缓和派：Mensurius, Caecilian: 可以交出圣经以外的书；反对尊崇殉道者等

强硬派：Secundus

缓和派 Caecilian 被选作主教； Felix 主礼

「敬虔者」（强硬派）抗议；外国领袖支持，选出 Majorinus 其继承人=多纳徒 Donatus

GREATEST SCHISM IN ANCIENT CHURCH – AROSE IN CARTHAGE

DEMAND IN DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION: SURRENDER SCRIPTURES

MILDER VIEW – MENSURIUS, CAECILIAN: MAY SURRENDER INDIFFERENT WRITINGS; OPPOSED VENERATION OF CONFESSORS, MARTYRS

RIGORIST – SECUNDUS; CAECILIAN = BISHOP, CONSECRATED BY FELIX

“PIOUS” = INDIGNANT; FOREIGN RIGORISTS COME, ELECT MAJORINUS

MAJORINUS’ SUCCESSOR = DONATUS THE GREAT

早期教会最大一次的分裂，因北非迦大基教会里人事问题和当地情况引发。与 Novatian 的分裂一样，导火线是一次的逼迫。在 Diocletian 皇帝在位时的逼迫，国家要求信徒交出圣经；北非教会的回应分两派。迦大基主教 Mensurius 属缓和派，容许交出圣经以外的书籍。他和他的会吏长 (archdeacon) Caecilian 也反对向认信者与殉道者过分的尊崇。Tigisis 的 Secundus 属强硬派。Mensurius 死后，Caecilian (迦大基的强硬派恨他入骨) 被选为主教，由 Aptunga 的 Felix 主礼祝圣。强硬派认为 Felix 是妥协派。这次选主教，引起敬虔（强硬）派的愤怒，他们又有国外强硬派人士的支持。

(a) The greatest schism in the ancient church arose from personal and local

conditions in the congregation at Carthage. As in the case of the Novatian schism, a persecution furnished the occasion. Various courses of action were advocated in North Africa in response to the demand for the surrender of the Scriptures during the Diocletian persecution. Bishop **Mensurius of Carthage** represented the milder view (surrender of other writings of indifferent character permitted). He and his archdeacon **Caecilian** also opposed the exaggerated veneration of confessors and martyrs. **Secundus of Tigisis** advocated a rigoristic view. After the death of Mensurius, Caecilian, who was hated by the strict party in Carthage, was chosen bishop and consecrated to the office by **Felix of Aptunga**, whom the strict party regarded as a “traitor.” This election awakened great indignation among the “pious” (Lucilla), which was encouraged by the foreign rigorists.

Numidian 的主教们差派 Casae Nigrae (地名) 的 Docetus 来迦大基教区作牧师。七十位主教在迦大基开会 (主后 312 年)，宣告该次按立无效。Majorinus 被选为迦大基的主教；他的继承人是 Donatus。因各种原因的影响，这些冲突造成教分裂为两派，彼此对立：大公 (天主) 教会派与多纳徒派。

The Numidian bishops had sent Docetus from Casae Nigrae to Carthage as vicar of the bishopric. An assemblage of 70 bishops in Carthage (A.D. 312) declared the ordination invalid. **Majorinus** was then elected Bishop of Carthage. His successor was **Donatus the Great**. Through a combination of many influences, this conflict led to the formation of two warring churches sharply opposing one another, the Catholic and the Donatistic.

造成分裂的因素：殉道者的骄傲；被逼迫时的敬虔，坚持教会必须圣洁，

对过去的 (过时的) 回忆，政府施压，教会与政府合作，社会压力，国家主义

FACTORS -> SCHISM: PRIDE OF MARTYRS, PIETY UNDER PERSECUTION,

HOLINESS OF CHURCH, ARCHAIC REMINISCENCES,  
CIVIL AUTHORITIES' PRESSURE, CHURCH IN LEAGUE WITH STATE,  
SOCIAL DISTRESS, NATIONAL MOTIVES

(为)殉道者的骄傲,在逼迫压力之下唤醒的敬虔精神,坚持教会的圣洁的观念,对过去的会议,政府接着来的施压,天主教会与政府结盟,甚至可能有国家主义精神,都结合起来,把一场个人斗争变成庞大的教会分裂,耗尽教会一个世纪的精力。北非的教会真正分裂为两个教会:例如,330年有270名多纳徒派的主教出席迦大基会议,而311年有266名多纳徒派主教出席。非洲地区以外,没有可观的多纳徒运动;在西班牙,在罗马各有一位该派的主教;除此以外,只有Caecilian和他的跟随者被公认是该派人士。

The pride of the martyrs, the spirit of piety quickened anew under the stress of persecution, the idea of the holiness of the church, archaistic religious reminiscences, the pressure soon brought to bear by the civil authorities, the league of the Catholic church with the state, social distress, perhaps also national motives, all united to expand the personal dispute into the great schism which distracted the church of Africa for a century. The African church was really split in two (in A.D. 330 there were 270 Donatistic bishops at a council, and in A.D. 311, at Carthage, 266). Outside of Africa, Donatism secured no following worthy of mention (a bishop in Spain and another in Rome are spoken of, gesta collationis i. 157), only Caecilian and his followers being recognized.

君士坦丁:Caecilian(缓和派)无过;多纳徒派=毁誉者

Arles会议(316):“traditor”(曾妥协者)主持的按立礼=有效;

异端奉圣父,圣子,圣灵所施行的洗礼有效;按立,洗礼之有效不靠施礼者配不配

CONSTANTINE: CAECILIAN (MILD) = INNOCENT; DONATISTS = SLANDERERS

COUNCIL OF ARLES (A.D. 316): ORDINATION BY “TRADITOR” = VALID;

BAPTISMS BY HERETICS IN NAME OF TRIUNE GOD = VALID

ORDINATION, BAPTISM = NOT DEPENDENT ON PRIEST'S WORTHINESS

君士坦丁皇帝被多纳徒派人士卷入旋涡里,也采取类似的态度。他下令调查此案件,然后亲自审核。他判决Caecilian与Felix没有犯错,而攻击他们的人士乃无理毁誉者;并订严谨的法律管理该派,但是无效,很快就收回那些律法。但是所采取的最重要措施,乃是在Arles的会议(316)上,在皇帝影响之下决定的:肯定了缓和派的原则。

The emperor, Constantine, after being drawn into the matter by the Donatists, assumed a similar attitude. He ordered an investigation of the subject; then examined it himself, deciding that Caecilian and Felix were innocent, but that their assailants were contemptible slanderers. Stringent laws were enacted against the latter, but, proving ineffectual they were soon revoked. But the most important measure was that adopted, under the influence of Constantine, at the council of Arles (A.D. 316, according to Seeck, l.c., p. 508 f.; cf. Eus. v. C. 44, 45), i.e., the establishment of the milder view on the ground of principle.

该会议决定,连一个「妥协者」(traditor)所施行的按立礼都有效,只要被按立者「大体上讲理」;再者,接纳由异端者施行的洗礼者,只须要被查问《使徒信经》;若确定他们是奉圣父,圣子,圣灵之名受洗的,他们只须要按手礼(被接纳为教会会友)。从这些措施看来,按立礼与洗礼的有效性不在于施礼者配与不配。因此教义上的分歧,与个人与历史上的纷争是平衡的。

It was here decreed that even the ordination administered by a “traditor” is valid, provided only that the persons so ordained “remain reasonable” (can. 13); also, that persons who had been baptized by heretics should be questioned only upon the Creed, and that, if it be found that they have been baptized in the name of the Triune God, only the laying on of hands shall be further administered to them (can. 8). According to this, ordination and baptism are not dependent upon the worthiness of the ministrant. Thus a doctrinal difference runs parallel with the personal and historical conflict.

多纳徒派人士发动动乱;皇帝无力镇压;多纳徒内部分成党派

DONATISTS: SOCIAL UNREST; EMPERORS = POWERLESS TO SUPPRESS

DONATISTS = INTO FACTIONS

多纳徒派运动发展迅速，特别在社会的低下阶层。「圣徒的教会」的特征，包括社会主义的财产观，放纵的狂热主义，外表上完全（与大公教会）分离，恐怖的暴力行为，对生命的漠视等。面对这种的动乱，教会与政权都束手无策。几位皇帝都不能镇压此运动。而运动中最大的障碍，就是自己分党结派，彼此对立：这是所有分离派的命运。

The agitation spread with great rapidity, especially among the lower ranks of society. Socialistic ideas as to property and a reckless fanaticism, leading to a complete outward separation, to frightful deeds of violence, and to wanton and contemptuous surrender of life, became distinguishing marks of the church of the saints (Circumcelliones, Agonistici, vid. Opt. ii. 18 f. 21; vi. 1 f.; iii. 4. Aug. unit. eccl. 19. 50; c. ep. Parm. ii. 3. 6; c. Crescon. iii. 42. 46; brev. iii. 11). Against this, church and state were alike powerless. Restrictive measures under **Constans** and **Constantius**, as under **Jovian**, **Valentinian**, **Gratian**, and **Honorius**, were unable to suppress the movement. The most serious obstacle encountered by the party was its division into mutually antagonistic groups (Rogatus, Tyconius, Maximian, and Primian) – the fate of all separatists.

奥古斯丁试图和解；迦大基会议 (411) Marcellin 皇帝代表：大公（天主）教派获胜

多纳徒派教会被禁，财产送大公（天主）教会派

AUGUSTINE WORKS TO RECONCILE; CARTHAGE A.D. 411 MARCELLIN, IMPERIAL OFFICER, GAVE CATHOLICS VICTORY

DONATISTS = BANNED, PROPERTY GIVEN TO CATHOLICS

奥古斯丁作了主教不久，就尽力鼓励彼此攻击的党派和好。结果，411年六月在迦大基举行了一次三天会议。历史问题与教义问题都讨论了。研读该次会议记录者，不能逃避一个结论：多纳徒派人士给人的印象，乃是充满苦毒的狂热派，能干不足却自高自大，专门为微不足道的枝节问题与规条争吵，背后玩弄手段，不断妨碍会议议程的进展。皇帝派来的主席 Marcellin 宣告大公（天主）教会派在历史与教义问题上都获胜。他的判断公正。奥古斯丁继续努力使多方和好。皇帝下令，禁止多纳徒派聚会，违者判死刑。他们的教会与产业归大公（天主）教会派。多纳徒派力量粉碎，不久就从教会历史上消失了。

Augustine, soon after entering upon the episcopacy, addressed all his energy to the work of reconciling the opposing factions. This resulted in the three-day conference at Carthage in June, 411 (vid. gesta collationis in M. iv. and Aug. brevic. coll.). Both the historical and the doctrinal questions were here discussed. No reader of the proceedings of this assembly can escape the impression that the Donatists here appear in the light of embittered fanatics, incompetent but vain, adepts in the most trifling legal quibbles, in questions of formality and in intrigue, always seeking to impede the progress of the proceedings. The imperial presiding officer (Marcellin) accorded the victory to the Catholics upon both points of dispute. His decision was a just one. Augustine continued to labor in the same spirit. Strict imperial edicts forbade the assemblage of the Donatists upon penalty of death, and their churches and church property were given over to the Catholics. The power of Donatism was broken, and it soon after disappears from church history.

多纳徒派：主教必须圣洁，圣礼才有效；诉诸居普良 Cyprian；他们乃唯一真教会

天主教不是教会，是压迫者；「大公」“Catholic”一词 = 「充满圣礼」的意思

不要与普世派来往；他们是异教徒

DONATISM: BISHOPS MUST BE HOLY, THEN SACRAMENTS = VALID

APPEAL TO CYPRIAN; THEY = ONLY TRUE CATHOLIC CHURCH

CATHOLICS = NOT CHURCH, OPPRESSORS;

NAME “CATHOLIC” = “FILLED WITH SACRAMENTS”

DO NOT FELLOWSHIP WITH “CATHOLICS” – CATHOLICS = HEATHEN

我们可以简短地述说多纳徒派与大公教会派之间教义上的分歧。多纳徒派并不否认教会是建立在主

教的基础上，他们只要求主教必须圣洁，坚持主教是圣洁的时候，他们所施行的圣礼才有效。他们在这一点与其他问题上都诉诸居普良。众所周知，居普良不承认异端所施行的洗礼（参：本书，页 184），他教导说，堕落的神父所献献的祭，所作的祷告是无效的，同时警告人，不要被这些神父摸到而污染。多纳徒派诉诸他们的主教会行神迹，诉诸异象，异蒙；他们这样作，只步居普良的后尘。不单如此，他们坚持说他们是唯一真的、大公的教会；圣洁的，被逼迫的，殉道者的教会。大公派不是教会，乃是 Caecilian、妥协派 traditors，和压迫者的跟随者。多纳徒派的教会实在是基督的新妇，没有瑕疵，因为他们要求他们的主教与会友圣洁。他们使用「大公」这词，不是指君王或民族，而是：「大公这名字，就是充满着圣礼的意思」；或：「你应该解释大公此词，不是从普世性的团契的角度，而是从遵守所有上帝的吩咐和圣礼。」根据教会这种的圣洁，会友必须谨慎避免与步在此团契内的人相交，因为后者与异教徒没有什么两样。教会若与政府有任何挂钩，都是可憎的：「基督徒与君王，主教与宫廷有什么关系？」

(a) The doctrinal difference between Donatists and Catholics may be briefly expressed. Donatism does not question the episcopal foundation of the church. It demands only that the bishops be holy men, and maintains that only when they are such are the sacraments administered by them effectual. In this, as at other points, it could appeal to Cyprian. It was well known that Cyprian denied the validity of heretic baptism (p. 184). He taught that there as no virtue in the sacrifices or prayers of fallen priests (referring to Jn. 9. 31), and warned against the contamination of their touch (p. 181, n. 1). When the Donatists appealed to the miracles performed by their bishops, to visions and dreams (Aug. unit. eccl. 19. 49), they had in this also a precedent in Cyprian (p. 181, n. 3). They maintained, further, that they were the only true and real Catholic church (gesta coll. i. 148, 202; iii. 22, 91, 165), the holy, persecuted church of the martyrs (ib. i. 45; iii. 116). The Catholics are not a church, but adherents of Caecilian, traditors, and blood-thirty oppressors (Optat. ii. 14, 18; gest. i. 148; iii. 14, 29, 258). The Donatist church is in reality the holy bride of Christ, without spot or wrinkle, because it requires holiness of its bishops and its members (ib. iii. 75, 249, 258. Optat. ii. 20; vii. 2). They apply the term, Catholic, “not to princes or races,” but: “the name Catholic is that which is filled with the sacraments” (*sacramentis plenum*, gest. iii. 10o2, cf. Aug. brev. iii. 3), or, “thou shouldst interpret the name Catholic, not from the fellowship of the whole world, but from the observance of all the divine commandments and of all the sacraments” (Aug. ep. 93. 7. 23). In accordance with the holiness of this church, its members are to carefully avoid association with all who are not in its fellowship, all such being regarded as no better than heathen. Any connection whatever of the church with the civil government is regarded with abhorrence: “What have Christians to do with kings, bishops with the palace?” (Opt. i. 22; Aug. c. litt. Petil. 92. 202).

大公教会之圣礼无效；不过，第二次洗礼并不是多纳徒派的特征

CATHOLIC SACRAMENTS = INVALID;

BUT SECOND BAPTISM = NOT NECESSARY MARK OF DONATISM

这分离主义的教义基础，乃是大公教会的圣礼无效。妥协派教会的主教们不配施圣礼，他们使圣礼无效：「无所施予之人，怎能施予呢？」因此必须重复行圣礼，行第二次的洗礼，和临终摸油。可是，若视「重洗」为多纳徒派的特征，则嫌过分。多纳徒派的 Tyconius 主张大公教会的圣礼有效，也坚持此乃多纳徒的观点：从其他来源的历史证据，可以支持这一点。可是，多纳徒派既然完全遵守圣礼，他们就是大公的教会。因此：只有在他们中间，才有基督（的同在）和真正的洗礼：「因为，教会若是一个，基督若不是分开的，在教会以外的人，怎能获得洗礼呢？」

The dogmatic reason for this separateness lies in the invalidity of the Catholic sacraments. The moral unworthiness of the bishops of the traditor-church robs their sacraments of value: “How can he give who has nothing to give?” (Opt. v. 6; cf. gest. iii. 258). Hence the repetition of the sacraments, the second baptism, and the repetition of extreme unction are necessary (Opt. i. 5; iii. 2; iv. 4; v. 1. 3 f.; vii. 4). Yet it is going too far to regard re-baptism as, without any modification, a characteristic mark of Donatism. The Donatist Tyconius advocated the validity of the Catholic sacraments, and maintained that this was the genuine Donatist view – a

position that is supported by historical evidences from other sources (Aug. ep. 93. 43; cf. Hahn, Tyconius-Studien, p. 102 ff.). But, since the Donatists have the full observance of the sacraments, they are the Catholic church. Hence, Christ and true baptism are to be found only among them: “For how can it be, if the church is one and Christ undivided, that anyone located without may obtain baptism (gest. iii. 258)?”

大公（天主）教会派：多纳徒派 = 正统信仰，他们的洗礼有效

同一生命、圣经、信仰、圣礼；三一上帝在圣礼赐恩典，

上帝 = 不变；施礼者 = 变素

多纳徒派：不完整的教会，缺乏教会的普世性；他们筑墙，不是筑教会

CATHOLICS: DONATISTS = ORTHODOX, SACRAMENTS = VALID

ONE LIFE, SAME TEXTS, ONE FAITH, SAME SACRAMENTS

TRINITY BESTOWS GIFT, = UNCHANGEABLE; ADMINISTRANT = VARIABLE

DONATISTS = QUASI-CHURCH, LACK CATHOLICITY

THEY BUILD RUINOUS WALL, NOT CHURCH

CATHOLICS HAVE HOUSE OF GOD, ONE CATHOLIC CHURCH

大公教会的立场则如下：承认多纳徒派是信仰正统的；他们的圣礼是有效的；他们是基督徒，主内弟兄：「在你们中间，和我们中间，都有同一的教会生活，同一的圣书，同一信仰，和信仰的同一圣礼，同一奥秘。」连他们的洗礼也无可厚非，因为洗礼就是洗礼，虽然由贼或强盗施行；因为施行恩赐的不是人，乃是三一上帝。洗礼必须有三一上帝，和领受洗礼者的信心。这些因素是不变的，可是施行圣礼者是变量。「施行圣礼者可以改变，可是圣礼不能改变。因此，你若考虑所有施行圣礼者，他们是执行者，不是主人；圣礼本身是圣洁的，不藉着他们而圣洁。」

The Catholic position, on the contrary, is as follows: The orthodoxy of the Donatists is acknowledged, as well as the validity of their sacraments, and they are regarded as Christian brethren (gest. i. 16, 55, 62; ii. 50. Opt. i. 4 f.; iv. 2): “Both among you and among us there is one ecclesiastical life (*conversatio*), common texts, the same faith, the same sacraments of the faith, the same mysteries” (Opt. v. 1). Even their baptism is unassailable, for baptism is baptism, even though administered by thieves and robbers (gest. i. 62); for it is not a man, but the holy Trinity, which here bestows a gift (Op. v. 7). The Trinity is necessary in baptism, and also the faith of the recipient. These elements are unchangeable; but the ministrant is a variable element. “Administrants may be changed, but the sacraments cannot be changed. If, therefore, you consider all who baptize, they are ministrants, not lords; and the sacraments are holy in themselves and not through men” (Opt. iv. 4, 1).

这样看来，多纳徒派人士是教会的一部份。不过他们不完全是，因为他们缺乏教会的大公性，他们只是一部份（残缺）的教会 (*quasi ecclesia*)。他们建筑了一道必毁坏的墙。「上帝的家以外，没有别的家。他们所建筑的只是一道墙，连这道墙也不是建在房角石上：你们的部份是一个残缺的教会，不是大公的。他们炫耀新颖的，抵挡老旧的，从根把自己拔起。反之，大公派人士中，有上帝的家，有合一、大公的教会。后者是大公教会，因为，跟着基督的应许，此教会延伸到万国中，不仅仅限于非洲一小角落或一区的小领域。」

Thus regarded, the Donatists are also a part of the church. But they are not so in the full sense of the word, since they lack catholicity and are only *quasi ecclesia*. They build a “ruinous wall” (Ez. 13. 10). “There is no other house beside the house of God. What they build is only a wall, and that not even resting upon the cornerstone: “your part is a quasi-church, but is not Catholic.” (Opt. iii. 10). They array “novelty against antiquity” (ib. iii. 2), and cut themselves off from the root (iii. 7). Among the Catholics, on the contrary, is found the house of God and the one Catholic church. It is the latter, because, according to the promise of Christ, it spreads abroad over all nations and is not confined “to a small part of Africa, to the corner of a little region” (Op. ii. 1, 5; iii. 2, 3).

大公教会 = 圣洁，不因人的品格，乃因教会有三一上帝，教皇，信仰...与圣礼

不圣洁的人在教会礼；我们不可赶逐他们；无混杂圣洁的教会 = 最后状态；  
现今的教会 = 圣洁，因有圣礼

CATHOLIC CHURCH = HOLY, NOT FROM MEN'S CHARACTER,  
BUT BECAUSE CHURCH HAS TRINITY, POPE, FAITH... & SACRAMENTS

UNHOLY MEN = IN CHURCH; WE MUST NOT CAST THEM OUT

UNMIXED HOLY CHURCH = FINAL STATE;

TODAY CHURCH = HOLY BECAUSE OF SACRAMENTS

可是大公教会也是圣洁的教会，这并不是因为属此教会的人是圣洁的，而是因为教会有三一真神的象征（信条），彼得的职分，信众的信心，和基督救赎的吩咐，特别是有圣礼：「（她的）圣洁是从圣礼而来的，不是从人的尊贵而来。」

But it is also the *holy* church, and this not because of the character of the men belonging to it, but because it has the “symbol of the Trinity, the chair of Peter, the faith of believers, the salutary precepts of Christ” (ib. ii. 9, 10; vii. 2), and, above all, the sacraments: “whose holiness is derived from the sacraments, not measured by the loftiness of persons” (ib. ii. 1).

当多纳徒派因为有些（大公教会）的主教在逼迫的时候妥协，而认为教会是不圣洁，他们把无关的事夸大（就算这些事是真的），而且这些事，是没有历史根据的。诚然，教会里有不圣洁的人，可是我们万不可在时间未到赶逐他们，因为主的比喻论到麦子与稗子，和网中的鱼，有好的，有没有价值的。有些经文论到教会毫无瑕疵的圣洁状态，我们应该理解这是指她最后蒙福的状态。因此，今天的教会大体来说是圣洁的，因为上帝在教会里透过圣礼作工，有一天，教会每一位成员都要成为圣洁。

When the Donatists refuse to accord holiness to the church because some bishops at the time of the Diocletian persecution became traditors, they magnify what is irrelevant, if true, and what is, moreover, historically incorrect (gest. i. 16, 55. Aug. brev. iii. 19 ff.). There are, indeed, unholy persons in the church, but we are forbidden to cast these out before the time by the parables of the tares and of the net in which are gathered good and worthless fishes (gest. i. 18, 55. Opt. vii. 2). Those passages of Scripture which speak of a state of unmixed holiness in the church are to be understood as referring to her condition of final blessedness (Aug. brev. iii. 9. Opt. ii. 20). The church, therefore, as a whole, is holy in the present day by virtue of the divine agency exerted within its bounds in the sacraments, and it will one day be holy in all its members.

多纳徒派错误乃是，他们要在时候未到之前实现至终的状态。从教义角度来看，大公教会的立场当然比较正确；不过他们获胜，并不等于进步。一个原始的观念：上帝的子民必须是圣洁的儿女，又后退了一步。

The error of the Donatists consists in seeking to realize this final state before the time. It is certain that, viewed dogmatically, the Catholic position was the more correct, yet its victory was not a clear step in advance. The ancient idea, that the people of God should consist of holy children of God, was forced another step backward.

## 2. 奥古斯丁论教会，圣礼，和政教关系

### Augustine's Doctrine of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Relation of Church and State

[Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 317-328.]

奥古斯丁的教会论：与多纳徒派冲突；民间教会观；恩典论；多纳徒派思想(!)

AUGUSTINE'S DOCTRINE OF CHURCH: CONFLICT WITH DONATISM;

POPULAR CONCEPTS OF CHURCH; DOCTRINE OF GRACE; DONATISM (!)

A. 奥古斯丁的教会论是一个复杂的结构。他的思想从与多纳徒派的冲突而演变；民间对于教会的观念；他个人的恩典论；还有一些多纳徒派的倾向都由他结合起来。奥氏特别受 Tyconius 的教会观的影

响。这位多纳徒派人士坚持教会仅由圣徒所组成，可是也教导说，目前有形的教会包括了邪恶的人和行善的人，这是上帝所定下的。不错，他的观点乃是，教会这种混杂的情况很快就将结束；多纳徒派就是朝着这目标的一个开始。

Augustine's doctrine of the church is a complicated structure. Ideas evolved in the conflict with the Donatists, the popular conception of the church, his own doctrine of grace, and certain Donatistic tendencies here brought into combination. Augustine was influenced especially by Tyconius' conception of the church. This Donatist maintained, indeed, that the church is composed of saints only, but he also taught that empirically the church for the present embraces evil as well as good persons, and that this is so by divine ordering. True, this mixed condition of the church is, according to his view, soon to be terminated, and to this end Donatism is a beginning (vid. Hahn, Tyconius-Studien, p. 80ff.).

奥古斯丁：教会在那里？伟大教会就是大公教会；傲慢无爱者破坏教会合一

WHERE IS CHURCH? GREAT CHURCH = ONE CATHOLIC CHURCH;

ARROGANT, UNLOVING SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM UNITY OF CHURCH

奥古斯丁反对多纳徒派，就此问题这样宣称：「我们之间讨论的问题的确是：教会在那里？在我们中间？还是在他们中间？」奥氏同意 Optatus 的看法，认为伟大的教会就是唯一大公（天主）教会，因为教会分布在世界各地，也与使徒们的教会相连，主教们乃是使徒的继承人。在这大公（天主）教会，基督的身体以外，没有真理，没有救恩。与教会分离，乃是亵渎。只有糠秕用扇吹走；唯有傲慢与缺乏爱，才会使基督徒破坏教会的合一。可是奥古斯丁的宣告并不是由于教会权力架构的考虑，而建立在这个思想上；圣灵与爱，唯有在大公（天主）教会里赐给人。圣徒唯有在大公（天主）教会中找到。

As opposed to Donatism, Augustine thus formulates the point at issue: "The question is, indeed, discussed between us, Where is the church, whether among us or among them?" (de unit. Eccl. 2.2). With Optatus, Augustine holds that the great church is the *one Catholic* church by virtue of the distribution of the latter throughout the whole world (c. litt. Peltil. ii. 38. 91; iii. 2. 3; de unit. Eccl. 6. 11ff.) and by virtue of its connection with the church of the apostles, whose successors the bishops are (c. Cresc. Iii. 18. 21; de unit. eccl. 11. 30, cf. in John. tr. 37. 6). Outside of this one Catholic church, the body of Christ, there is no truth, no salvation (ep. 141. 5; de unit. 2. 2). Separation from it is a *sacrilegium* (c. ep. Parm. 21. 29). Only chaff is blown off by the fan (bapt. V. 21. 29); only pride and lack of love can impel a Christian to split the unity of the church (c. Cresc. Iv. 59. 71; c. litt. Petil. ii. 77. 172). The declaration of Augustine is not, however, inspired by hierarchial motive, but rests ultimately upon the thought that it is only in the Catholic church that the Spirit and love are bestowed upon man. But the saints are to be found only in the Catholic church.

教会以外无救恩

NO SALVATION OUTSIDE CHURCH

从这重意义上，奥古斯丁高举这口号：「教会之外无救恩」，并不亚于居普良；可是与此同时，因为对方的特质，奥氏没有像居普良那样高举教会的权力架构。

In this connection, Augustine championed the motto, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, no less positively than Cyprian; but, at the same time – as a result of the different character of the opposition – displayed less of hierarchial interest than the latter (cf. Reuter, l. c., p. 253 ff.).

罗马主教的权威：不清楚

NOT CLEAR ON PRIMACY OF ROME AND AUTHORITY OF CHURCH

B. 「罗马（主教）无上权威」的观念，在奥古斯丁的著作中也没有清楚解释。我们读到他承认「使徒职位的无上权威」，但他并没有承认彼得或彼得的继承人身上有什么特殊权威。彼得是教会的代表性人物，是良善牧师们的代表，他代表教会的合一性。彼得和他的继承人的地位的重要性，就仅如此。正如所有的主教都会犯错（唯独圣经不会错误），罗马教会的主教也会犯错。这观点可以从奥古斯丁和他的同道们在与伯拉纠主义争辩清楚看出。教皇在教会里的无误权威，是只有教皇才相信的教义 (dogma)。在教义方面，自从居普良以来没有进展。非洲的教会与罗马教会的关系，有像后来

Gallicanism 所扮演的角色。

The idea of the Roman Primacy likewise receives no special elucidation at the hands of Augustine. We find a general acknowledgment of the “primacy of the apostolic chair” (e.g., ep. 43. 7), but Augustine knows nothing of any special authority vested in Peter or his successors. Peter is a “figure of the church” or of the “good pastors,” and represents the unity of the church (serm. 295. 2; 147.2). In this consists the significance of his position and that of his successors (thus also Cyprian, p. 183). As all bishops (in contradistinction from the Scriptures) may err (unit. eccl. 11. 28), so also the Roman bishop. This view is plainly manifest from the bearing of Augustine and his colleagues in the Pelagian controversy (vid. p. 355 f.; cf. ep. 177, 191; pecc. orig. 21. 24, cf. 8. 9). The infallible authority of the pope in the church at large was a dogma in which only the popes believed (vid. the letters of Innocent, p. 355; cf. as to Leo, p. 268, and Callistus, p. 177). Dogmatically, there had been no advance from the position of Cyprian. The Africans, in their relations with Rome, played somewhat the role of the Gallicanism of a later period (cf. Reuter, p. 291 ff.).

不配者主持圣餐或按立：有效否？主礼者道德状况不影响圣礼之价值

COMMUNION OR ORDINATION ADMINISTERED BY UNWORTHY: VALID?

ADMINISTRATOR’S MORAL STATE: NO EFFECT ON SACRAMENT’S VALUE

C. 多纳徒派与大公（天主）教会 (Catholics)之间的斗争，是因为他们对圣礼持不同的看法。自从 Arles 会议以来，所争论的要点乃是：由一位不配的人所主持的洗礼或按立典礼是否有效。奥古斯丁的圣礼观决定他对这问题的看法；这有着内在的必须性。圣礼乃是上帝的礼物；主礼人的道德状态不能影响所赐予之恩惠的价值：「他所赐予的，还是真的，若他所赐的不是出于自己，乃是出于上帝。」

The opposition between the Donatistic and Catholic churches was based upon their different conceptions of the sacraments. From the time of the Council of Arles (p. 314), the great point of discussion was whether baptism and ordination administered by an unworthy person retained their validity. Augustine’s views concerning the sacraments, by an inner necessity, determined his attitude upon this question (cf. Reuter, p. 278). The sacraments are gifts of God, and the moral condition of the administrator cannot detract from the value of the gift conveyed: “What he gives is, nevertheless, real (*verum*), if he gives not what is his own, but God’s” (c. litt. Pet. ii. 30. 69; unit. eccl. 21. 58).

人不会失去圣礼的功效，包括按立礼

MAN CANNOT LOSE BAPTISM / ORDINATION

只有这样才能确保结果；只有这样，救恩才是靠上帝，不是靠人。不是人的祷告，乃是基督的代求，才能帮助我们。「人既然不会失去洗礼（的功效），没有理由会失去主持圣礼的权力。每一样都是圣礼，每一样都是透过奉献，分别为圣而赐给人的：就是当人领受洗礼，和被按理的时候：因此，没有人在大公（天主）教会里会敢重复这些圣礼。」

Only thus is the result certain, and salvation dependent upon God, not upon men. It is not the intercession of men, but that of Christ, which helps us (c. litt. Pet. i. 3. 4; c. ep. Parm. i. 8. 16). “No reason is shown why he who cannot lose baptism itself can forfeit the right of administering it. For each is a sacrament, and each is given to man by the same consecration – the one when he is baptized, and the other when he is ordained: therefore, in the Catholic church neither dare be repeated” (c. ep. Parm. ii. 12. 28).

圣礼赐领圣礼者「永久的性格」，「印记」

SACRAMENT GIVES RECIPIENT “PERMANENT CHARACTER,” “BRAND”

对这一点的解释是：圣礼赐给领圣礼者一个永久的性格：「正如洗礼一样，按立是完整的留在他们里面」。洗礼和按立礼在人身上留下一个固定的「主的性格」。[奥古斯丁是第一位用这词的神学家。...] 这是军用名词，涵义是：正如军队中有印记 (*brand, nota militaris*)，终生影响一个人，同样，洗礼与按立礼为领受者留下一个永久的，不能挪走的印记。一个「圣洁的东西」 (*sanctum*) 留在他里面。圣灵保存在他里面，不仅是道德方面（译注：使他圣洁），而是赐他职位的装备。

This is explained by the fact that these sacraments impart to the recipient a permanent character: “just as



baptism, so ordination *remains whole* in them” (ib.). Baptism and ordination impress upon man a fixed “dominical character.” [Augustine introduced this term into theology. He was also the first to use the expression *obicem opponere* (ep. 98. 9).] This military form of expression implies that, as there is a military brand (*nota militaris*) whose significance continues through the whole life, so also baptism and ordination have a perpetual and indelible (the term employed in the Middle Ages) force for the recipient (c. ep. Parm. ii. 13.29). There remains in him something sacred, a *sanctum*. The spirit is preserved to him, not in a moral sense, but in the sense of an official equipment.

他可能犯了大罪，可能与教会分离，可是在他身上一次赐下的印记还存留着，他所施行的洗礼也继续有效。他若回转，无须重复领受圣礼（「那些被按立的，按立圣礼还存留」）。

He may have committed heinous crimes – may have severed himself from the church, yet this character once impressed upon him remains, and the sacraments administered by him retain their force. If he be converted, there is no need for a repetition of the sacrament (c. ep. Parm. ii. 11. 24; 13. 28 f.; bapt. iv. 12. 18; vi. 1. 1; de symbol. 8. 15; de bon. Conjug. 24. 32: “in those ordained, the sacrament of ordination remains;” bapt. vi. 5. 7; in I Joh. tract. 5. 7).

难题：圣礼既然还有功效，那么对多纳徒派有什么话说？

PROBLEM: IF SACRAMENT = VALID, WHAT TO SAY TO DONATISM?

很明显地，这个「不能挪走的性格」可以用来驳斥多纳徒派；可是也为奥古斯丁带来难题。圣礼若赐予这样的性格，还能对多纳徒派的教会提出异议吗？因此，必须坚持多纳徒派信徒的圣礼是有效的，但同时定他们的罪，说他们的圣礼有所缺欠。

It is evident that this *character indelebilis* may be employed as the most telling argument against Donatism; but it also brought Augustine into new difficulties. If the sacraments have bestowed such a character, how can objection be brought against the Donatist church? It was necessary, therefore, to maintain the validity of the Donatist sacraments, and yet to condemn them as seriously defective.

分辨圣礼本身与其效用

DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SACRAMENT AND ITS EFFECT/USE

这透过分辨圣礼本身和圣礼的效用 (*effectus* 或 *usus*) 而作成。居普良等人因为没有作这样的分辨，而主张：「基督的洗礼不可能在异端或分裂份子中存在」。不是的；我们若承认这种分辨，我们就可以说：「洗礼的效用 (*effect* 或 *use*)，即从罪中释放人，给人正直的心，是不可能从异端份子中找到的」。洗礼给领受圣礼者一个长存的性格；可是他若不生活在教会中，则没有罪的赦免的「效用」(*effect*)。

This was accomplished by discriminating between the sacrament itself and the *effectus* or *usus sacramenti*. By failing to observe this distinction, Cyprian and others were led to the view “that the baptism of Christ cannot exist among heretics or schismatics.” By observing it, we may say: “its effect or use, in liberation from sin and in rectitude of heart, could not be found among heretics” (bapt. vi. 1. 1). Baptism imparts to the recipient an abiding character, but if he do not live in the church, the “effect” in the forgiveness of sin does not follow.

当分裂份子回到教会的合一时，洗礼再次生效

BAPTISM = VALID, ONCE SCHISMATIC RETURNS TO CHURCH’S UNITY

不错，洗礼不可重复；但只当人回转归到教会的合一时，洗礼才生效：「领过基督的洗礼的人，虽然与教会分离，但没有失去洗礼（的功效）...不论是什么异端或分裂运动，使他褻渎的罪不得赦免；当他改过自新，回到教会的相交与合一时，他不应再领洗礼，因为当他与教会再次和好，得到教会给他的和睦的时候，他在分裂时所领的圣礼（那时对他没有好处）现在在教会的合一中开始对他发生效用，使他的罪得赦免。」

The baptism cannot, indeed, be repeated; but only when the individual is converted to the *unity* of the true church does it become effectual: “He who has received the baptism of Christ, which they have not lost who have separated themselves ... in any heresy or schism, in which sacrilegious crime his sins were not remitted, when he shall have reformed and come to the fellowship and unity of the church, is not to be again baptized, because in

this very reconciliation and peace it is offered to him, that the sacrament which, when received in schism, could not benefit, shall now in the unity (of the church) begin to benefit him for the remission of his sins” (bapt. i. 12. 18; v. 8. 9; vi. 5. 7).

性格存留，不过不一定带来祝福

#### CHARACTER REMAINS, BUT DOES NOT ALWAYS BRING BLESSING

关于按立礼，奥古斯丁的立场是：「性格」是存留的，可是并不带给人福份；相反地：「圣灵...不作成救赎...可是并没有放弃祂的工作：就是祂所作的，藉着此人作成他人的救赎。」奥氏用这方法驳斥多纳徒派的理论，同时说明，多纳徒派的追随着必须回到大公（天主）教会。

In the case of ordination, it was held that the *character* remains, bringing, however, to the individual himself not blessing, but the contrary: “the Holy Spirit ... fails, indeed, to effect his salvation ... yet does not desert his ministry, by which he works through him the salvation of others” (c. Parm. ii. 11. 24; de bon. conjug. 24. 32). By this means the Donatist theory is discountenanced and, at the same time, the necessity of the return of its adherents to the Catholic church is made evident.

圣礼与圣言建立教会，生出上帝的儿女们

#### SACRAMENT AND WORD BUILDS UP CHURCH, BIRTHS GOD’S PEOPLE

D. 教会藉着圣礼被建立，特别是洗礼和主餐，还有圣言。「血与水流出（约 19：34），我们知道这些是圣礼，教会藉着它们被建立。」「上帝从教会生出祂的儿子...所以我们是灵而生的，我们在圣灵中，藉着圣言与圣礼而圣。圣灵临在，以致我们生出。」

The means by which the church is built up are the sacraments, especially baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and also the Word. “Blood and water flowed (Jn. 19.34), which we know to be the sacraments by which the church is built up” (civ. dei, xxii. 17). “God begets sons from the church ... we are, therefore, spiritually born, and we are born in the Spirit by word and sacrament. The Spirit is present, that we may be born” (in Joh. tract. 12. 5; serm. 88. 5; ep. 21. 3).

圣礼一词 = 奥秘；两个正式的圣礼

#### SACRAMENTUM = MYSTERION; 2 SACRAMENTS PROPER

圣礼一词：*sacramentum*（拉丁语）等于希腊语的（此词有「奥秘」的意思）；这词也用在其他教会礼仪上，如坚信礼，颁发祝圣过的盐给学道者 (*catechumens*)，按立礼，赶鬼。可是正式的圣礼就是从基督肋旁而出的两种，再加上按立礼。上帝能力的运行 (*divine agency*)，不论是由圣言或圣礼代表的，是一样的。[连圣言也被包括在「记号」(*signa*)中。]人间的交换，同时有上帝的，内在的，有功效的行动。

The term, *sacramentum* – corresponding exactly to – is applied also to the other ecclesiastical acts, such as confirmation (bapt. v. 20. 28; c. Faustum xix. 14), the presentation of the consecrated salt to catechumens (de catechizandis rudibus, 26.50), ordination (bon. conjug. 24; 32; c. ep. Parm. ii. 13. 28; cf. supra), exorcism (serm. 27). But the proper sacraments are the two which proceeded from the side of Christ (civ. dei, xv. 26. 1); in Joh. tract. 15. 8; 120. 2; 50. 12; doct. Christ. iii. 9. 13), to which is to be added ordination. The representation of the divine agency exerted is essentially the same in the word and in the sacraments. [Even the word is included among the signs (*signa*), doct. Christ. ii. 3.] The human transaction is accompanied by a divine, inwardly effectual act.

圣言乃恩具（奥古斯丁首创）

#### WORD = MEANS OF GRACE (AUGUSTINIAN 1<sup>ST</sup>)

圣言读出，人能听到；讲道宣告圣言，唱诗和颂歌唱出圣言：「我们喜悦聆听圣言，真理在我们礼面无声地向我们说话。」因此奥古斯丁乃是第一位界定「圣言为恩具」的教义。这里所处理的问题乃是，人口中说的话，怎能是圣灵运行的媒介呢？不论是圣言或是圣礼，人在外工作，圣灵在内里工作（「水在外表明了恩典的圣礼；而圣灵在内里作成了恩典的益处」）。可是在这里我们必须注意，外在

领受圣礼，和内在恩典的工作，不一定是同时发生的。

The word is read in the hearing of others, preached, sung, and chanted by men: “we enjoy the hearing of it, the truth speaking to us without sound inwardly” (in Joh. tr. 57. 3; 40. 5; 71.1; 77.2; bapt. v. 11. 23). Augustine is thus the first to formulate a doctrine of the word as a means of grace. The problem is here presented, how the spoken human word can be the medium through which the divine Spirit operates. In the same way in the sacraments as in the word, men work outwardly, God inwardly (c. ep. Parm. ii. 11; bapt. v. 21. 29; ep. 98. 2: “the water, therefore, presenting the sacrament of grace outwardly, and the Spirit inwardly effecting the benefit of grace”). It is to be, however, here noted that the outward observance of the sacrament and the inner work of grace do not always correspond (bapt. iv. 25. 32; in Lev. iii.; quaest. 84; enarr. in ps. 77. 2).

奥古斯丁对「圣礼」的定义：圣事的记号

#### DEFINITION OF SACRAMENT: VISIBLE SIGN OF DIVINE THINGS

现在我们可以说明奥古斯丁对圣礼的定义。首先，我们必须谨慎地分辨外在的记号与内在的能力与效用 (efficacy)：「圣礼是一件事，圣礼的能力 (virtue) 是另外一件事。」从第一个角度来看，圣礼是纯粹象征性的。奥古斯丁说，在宗教团体中须要有「记号，即能见的圣礼」（他这样说，表达了真正的新柏拉图主义精神）。能见的记号，乃是不能见的内容的象征：「它们的确是神圣事物的能见记号，可是，我们在它们里面尊崇神圣的事物。」「它们被称为圣礼，因为在它们里面，我们看见一件事，理解另一件事。」

We are now in a position to define Augustine’s conception of a sacrament. We must, first of all, discriminate carefully between the outward sign and the inward power and efficacy: “the sacrament is one thing, the virtue of the sacrament another” (in Joh. tr. 26. 11). Viewed in the first aspect, the sacrament is purely symbolical. There are needed, says Augustine, in genuine Neo-Platonic spirit, in religious associations “signs (*signacula*) or visible sacraments” (c. Faust. xix. 11). The visible signs are symbols of an invisible content: “They are, indeed, visible signs of divine things, but in them are to be honored the invisible things themselves” (de cat. rud. 26. 50). “They are called sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, another thing understood” (serm. 272).

记号像似实体，代表实体，「道」解释实体

#### SIGN RESEMBLES, REPRESENTS REALITY; WORD INTERPRETS IT

记号本身像似它所代表的。因此，能见的记号，透过解释记号的「道」(word)，成为圣礼：「道临到记号；它就成为圣礼：它也是能见的「道」。」「成为」是主观的，不是客观的「成为」：「水那里来能力能触摸身体，洗净心灵，除非圣言作出这功效？：不是因道被说出，而是因为道被相信。」

The symbol has at the same time a certain resemblance to that which it represents (ep. 98. 9). Accordingly, the visible symbols become what they are through the interpreting word: “the word comes to (*accedit*) the element and it becomes (*fit*) a sacrament – itself also, as it were, a visible word.” The “*fit*” is used here not in the objective, but purely in the subjective sense: “Whence is there in the water such virtue that it can touch the body and purify the heart, unless the word effects this? – *not because it is spoken, but because it is believed*” (in Joh. tr. 80. 3).

上帝能力真实在圣礼中运行；主真实喂养信徒

#### EXERTION OF GOD’S ENERGY IS ACTUAL WITH SACRAMENTS;

#### THERE IS ACTUAL FEEDING (REFRESHING)

从这解释来看，奥古斯丁似乎相信圣里纯粹是记号；无疑地，奥氏的新柏拉图思想模式，至少使他有这方面的趋向。可是我们不可忽略一事实：一般来说，上帝的能力真实地陪伴着圣礼施行。上帝真实地在洗礼时赦罪，在洗礼中刻下印记在领受洗礼者身上。在圣餐中，主的肉体与血真正有效地喂养 (refresh, *refectio*) 人。因此喝（圣餐的杯）就是领受生命；属灵的吃与喝，与领受能见的圣礼同时发生。

In the light of this explanation, Augustine would seem to have a purely symbolical view of the sacrament; and it is beyond doubt that the Neo-Platonic caste of his thought at least inclined him in this direction. But we

must not overlook the fact, that an actual exertion of divine energy, as a rule, accompanies the sacrament. God really forgives sins in baptism, in it, as in ordination, imprinting a character upon the recipient. In the Lord's Supper there is really an effectual refreshment (*salubris refectio*) in the Lord's flesh and blood. Thus to drink is to live; a spiritual eating and drinking accompanies the visible reception (serm. 131. 1).

早期教会的圣礼论非常突出：圣礼纯粹是象征（记号），不过领受圣礼带来上帝能力的运行，是真实、客观的。因此奥古斯丁的圣礼观是摇摆不定的，因为圣礼与上帝恩典能力的运行没有固定的连接。在这一点上，我们也看到他的预定论的影响。

The two-fold aspect of the sacramental theory of the ancient church here comes into distinct prominence: The sacraments are purely symbols, but the reception of the sacraments brings real, objective exertions of divine energy. In Augustine, indeed, the whole conception is wavering, since there is no fixed connection between the sacrament and the gracious divine energy. Here, too, is felt the influence of his theory of predestination. As to the sacramental *character*, see p. 319 [i.e., (c.) above – ed.].

E. 现在我们可以简短的归纳奥氏对洗礼和圣餐个别的圣礼的看法。

The peculiarities of the separate sacraments may be briefly stated.

上帝在洗礼中真正赦罪 THERE IS ACTUAL FORGIVENESS OF SIN IN BAPTISM

[ ] 洗礼是「赦罪的圣礼」(*sacramentum remissionis peccatorum*)；上帝藉洗礼作成赦罪之工，主要是赦免原罪（情欲）的罪孽。这是洗礼主要的功效 (efficacy)。奥古斯丁常常说到涂抹罪（罪藉洗礼被破除）。我们须分辨这种一次赐予的赦免，和上帝应允人献上主祷文第五祈求而不断赦免每天所犯的罪。

Baptism, as the *sacramentum remissionis peccatorum*, (bapt. vi. 29) works the forgiveness of sins, primarily the forgiveness of the guilt of original concupiscence; in this consists its chief efficacy (cf. p. 314 [i.e. (a) above - ed.]). Augustine frequently speaks of a blotting out of sins (e.g., by baptism ... sins are destroyed, *delentur*, in ps. 106. 3). Discrimination is to be made between this forgiveness once granted and the recurring forgiveness of daily sins in response to the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer (e.g., serm. 58. 5. 6).

每天罪的赦免，靠洗礼的赦免

DAILY FORGIVENESS DEPENDS ON FORGIVENESS IN BAPTISM

可是，奥氏认为后者乃靠前者：「藉着一次赐予的，上帝对一切罪的赦免，不论是洗礼之前或之后，都赐给信徒们。」基督徒若没有领受洗礼，他的祷告，施舍，与好行为都不能带来赦罪。不过，忏悔的操练遮盖了这观点；还有，奥古斯丁的意识里，罪得赦免并没有那么重要。

Augustine, however, made the latter dependent upon the former: "by that which is given once it comes to pass that pardon of any sins whatsoever, not only before but also afterward, is granted to believers." Prayer, alms, and good works would bring no forgiveness to the Christian if he were not baptized (nupt. et. conc. i. 33. 38). But this idea was obscured by the penitential discipline (vid. sub) and by the relatively unimportant place of the forgiveness of sins in the consciousness of Augustine (p. 346 f.). (Compare Dieckhoff, 1. c., p. 536 f.).

安波罗修：祝圣之后变质；奥古斯丁：饼与杯是记号（象征）

AMBROSE: AFTER PRAYER, ELEMENTS ARE TRANSFIGURED;

AUGUSTINE: ELEMENTS = SYMBOLS

[ ] 奥古斯丁与安波罗修很不同；后者说：「透过圣洁祷告的奥秘，它们被变相，成为肉和血」。奥氏的立场是圣礼是象征：「当主给他身体的记号的时候，并不迟疑的说：这是我的身体。」圣礼的祝福，或恩赐 (gift) 的观念与这一点吻合。

In contradistinction from Ambrose (e.g., de fide iv. 10. 124: "through the mystery of the sacred prayer they are transfigured into flesh and blood"), the symbolical character of the sacraments comes in Augustine into distinct prominence: "The Lord did not hesitate to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body" (c. Adimantum Manich. 12. 3; in ps. 3. 1). The blessing, or gift, of the sacrament is conceived in harmony with this. 吃喝乃是与教会交通

EATING AND DRINKING = FELLOWSHIP WITH THE CHURCH

主的身体乃是奥秘的身体，或说就是教会；「因此祂愿意我们理解食物与饮品为与祂的身体与肢体的交通 (*societas*)，即是与教会交通。」或说：「吃与喝的意思是：常住在基督里，常有主住在我们里。」

The body of the Lord is the mystic body, or the church; “hence he wishes the food and drink to be understood as the fellowship (*societas*) of his body and of his members, which is the holy church” (in Joh. tr. 26. 15, 14; serm. 272; civ. dei, xxi. 25. 2); or, “this is, therefore, to eat that food and to drink that drink – to remain in Christ and to have him remaining in us” (in Joh. tr. 26. 18; civ. dei, xxi. 25. 4).

信，就是吃喝

#### TO BELIEVE IS TO EAT

奥古斯丁甚至说，吃主的身体的意思是：「在我们的记忆中藏着这甜蜜的回忆，祂为我们受伤，钉十字架：这个回忆对我们有益。」（我特别在这里不提奥氏一些名句，如：「为什么要准备你的牙齿与肠胃呢？要信；你就已经吃了」；或若考虑这句话的上下文，奥氏可能不在讨论圣餐。奥氏指的食物是上帝颁布的诫命，要信基督；若要领受（吃）此诫命，不须牙齿，须要信心。还有类似的说法：「信靠祂，就是吃生命粮食」；「信的人就吃了」；「用心思，不是用肠胃」。）

Augustine can even say that the eating of the body of the Lord is “delightfully and profitably to store away in memory that his flesh was wounded and crucified for us” (doctr. Christ. iii. 16. 24). [I purposely omit the famous passage which is usually cited in this connection (by Loescher already, in the Weimar edition, ii. 742): “Why preparest thou the teeth and the stomach? Believe, thou hast eaten” (in Joh. tr. 25. 12), or, in the context in which this occurs, the author has not the Lord’s Supper in mind. The food to which he refers is the God-given commandment, to believe on Christ; and in order to receive (eat) this, the teeth are not needed, but faith. Compare the similar statements (ib. 26. 1): “for to believe in him, this is to eat living bread;” “he who believes eats,” and 35. 3: “with the mind, not with the stomach.”]

宗教性的圣餐观：人亲自与上帝相交

#### RELIGIOUS VIEW OF SACRAMENTS: PERSONAL FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD

不错，还有很多地方，奥氏用其他方法，更完备的表达他对「领受基督身体」的观点；可是，就算在这些地方，他真正的思想不是字意方面，虽然他还考虑到一个真正恩赐（礼物）的赐予与领受。因此，奥古斯丁的圣餐论，比较他的洗礼观与恩典观更具宗教性，因为在圣餐观中承认人亲自与上帝相交。

It is true, there are not wanting passages in which Augustine expresses himself differently and more fully, speaking of the reception of the body of Christ, etc. (e.g., serm. 131. 1; bapt. v. 8. 9); but his real thought is even here not that which the words seem to convey, although he still has in mind the bestowal and reception of a real gift. Thus Augustine’s theory of the Lord’s Supper has more of a really religious character than his doctrines of baptism and grace, since the personal nature of fellowship with God here finds due recognition.

再者，根据奥古斯丁的看法，基督按照祂的神性是无所不在的，可是按照祂的人性，祂在一个地方，在天上。在这一点上我们又看见中古时期理论所跟循的模式。

It is to be observed, further, that in the view of Augustine, Christ is, indeed, omnipresent according to his divine nature, but according to his human nature he is in one place in heaven (*ubique totum praesentem esse non dubites tanquam deum ... et in loco aliquot caeli propter veri corporis modum*, ep. 187. 12. 41). In this again we see the model after which the medieval theories were patterned.

教会在基督下献上自己为祭

#### CHURCH OFFERS HERSELF AS SACRIFICE, UNDER CHRIST, HER HEAD

奥古斯丁的天才，在他解释弥撒的献祭上看出：圣洁的会众透过善行，在她的元首基督之下，献上自己给上帝。「这是基督徒的祭：众多，而在基督里是一体。」他愿意基督的祭是每天献上的祭：教会是祂的身体，祂是元首；因此教会透过基督献上自己。

The genius of Augustine is manifest in his interpretation of the sacrifice of the mass: the *congregatio*

*sanctorum* presents itself to God in good works under its head, Christ. “This is the sacrifice of Christians: Many one body in Christ” (civ. dei, x. 6). Of which thing [the sacrifice of Christ] he wished the sacrifice of the church (which, since it is the body of him, the Head, teaches that it offers itself through him) to be a daily sacrament [symbolical imitation] (ib. x. 20).

关于按立的圣礼，参页 319。

[ ] As to the sacrament of ordination, see p. 319 f. [i.e., (c.) above – ed.], and cf. Reuter l. c., 253, 264 ff.

圣灵与爱施行救恩

#### HOLY SPIRIT AND LOVE INFUSE GRACE

F. 到目前为止，我们只看到奥古斯丁教会观的一面。当我们记得，圣灵与爱的浇灌使人成为基督徒的时候，我们就看到奥氏思想的另一条路线。

But we have thus far seen but one side of Augustine’s conception of the church. When we remember that the infusion of the Spirit and of love makes the Christian (p. 347 f.), we realize that we are brought to face another line of thought.

真正圣徒的相通

#### COMMUNION OF THE SAINTS

良善的人有圣灵，有爱，他们组成一个相交体（*communion, congregatio*）。这些圣徒就是基督毫无瑕疵的新妇，祂的鸽子，上帝的家，主用来建造教会的磐石，拥有权柄在地上捆绑或释放的教会。

[ ] The good, who have the Spirit and love, constitute among themselves a communion (*congregatio, compages*). These saints are the unspotted bride of Christ, his dove, and the house of God, the rock upon which the Lord builds his church, the church which possesses the power to loose and bind (unit. eccl. 21. 60; c. litt. Pet. ii. 58. 246; bapt. vii. 51. 99).

是否教会成员，不在乎参加圣礼

#### CHURCH MEMBERSHIP DOES NOT CONSIST OF PARTAKING SACRAMENTS

一个人是否属于教会，不在于是否在外表属于教会或参加圣礼：「同样地，物质上参与圣礼的人，不一定属于基督的身体...他们不在教会的联合（*compages*）里；在教会（真正）会友的生命中，他们与上帝的连接是越来越亲密的。」这个「圣徒的相通」乃由圣灵与爱所联接，透过它的代祷，罪得赦免；透过它作中保，救恩的恩赐被赐下。上帝伟大的应许乃是赐给它，并不是赐给教会的职员。

It is not being outwardly in the church, nor partaking of the sacraments, that decides, but belonging to the church in this sense: “Nor are they to be thought to be in the body of Christ, which is the church, because they become corporeally participants in its sacraments ... they are not in the union (*compages*) of the church, which, in the members of Christ, grows through connection and contact to the increase of God” (c. litt. Pet. 1. c.). It is this communion of the saints, united by the Spirit and love, through whose intercession sins are forgiven, and through whose mediation the gifts of grace are bestowed. To it, and not to the officials of the church, are given these great promises.

圣徒有真正的相通：仅存于大公（天主）教会内

#### SAINTS HAVE TRUE COMMUNION:

#### IT EXISTS ONLY IN CATHOLIC CHURCH

「不错，上帝是透过邪恶的人赐予恩典的圣礼；但是上帝赐下恩典（救恩），乃藉着自己，透过圣徒们。因此，基督藉着自己或透过那鸽子的成员成就赦罪之工，祂对他们说：你们（在地上）赦免的，就是被赦免了。」「圣礼成就伟大之工，施行上帝奥秘的怜悯，岂不是透过在教会里的属灵圣徒们的祷告，就好像鸽子不断地呼召，甚至已经领受洗礼的人的罪，都被鸽子赦免？不是被老鹰赦免的！」

“God gives the sacrament of grace, indeed, through evil men, but not grace itself except through himself or through his saints. And, therefore, he effects remission of sins either through himself or through the members of that dove, to whom he says: If to anyone ye remit, they are remitted” (bapt. v. 21. 29). “Or does the sacrament and a secret dispensation of the mercy of God, perhaps, through the prayers of the spiritual saints who are in the

church, as through the continuous cooing of the dove, accomplish the great thing, that even the sins of those who have been baptized, not by the dove but by the hawk, are remitted?” (ib. iii. 17. 22; 18. 23).

这就是良善、虔诚的人的相通的意义：他们爱上帝，也彼此相爱；他们也为教会祷告。这就是「眼看不见的爱的联合」，这爱是眼看不见地被浇灌的。

This is the essence of the communion of the good and pious: They love God and one another, and they pray for the church. This is the “invisible union (*compages*) of love” (bapt. iii. 19. 26; de unit. eccl. 21. 60) with the invisible anointing of love (*unctio caritatis*, c. litt. Petil. ii. 104. 239).

不过这相通只在大公（天主）教会存在，也只可能在她里面存在；与教会分离，就是不认圣灵，不认爱。爱的灵，只在大公（天主）教会里存在。不过奥古斯丁在这里想到的，不仅仅是圣礼有效的运作，而是藉着信徒（圣徒）之间的交通，圣灵在他们属灵生命中动工。因此，奥氏还没有达到中古时期天主教会的立场。

But this exists, and is conceivable, only within the Catholic church, separation from which is at once a renunciation of the Spirit and of love (ep. 141.5, and citations on p. 318). Only in the Catholic church is the spirit of love thus present. But Augustine here thinks not only of the efficacious working of the sacrament, but also, and particularly, of the working of the Spirit upon the spiritual life through the personal fellowship of the believing and holy with one another. He has not, therefore, yet reached the position of medieval Catholicism.

是否有两个教会？奥氏用比喻回答

#### ARE THERE TWO CHURCHES? AUGUSTINE GIVES ILLUSTRATIONS

不过，教会岂不被分为两个教会：现今混杂的教会，和将来纯洁的教会？奥古斯丁用一系列的比喻回答此异议。这里牵涉的问题，仅是一个当今的关系。教会里，善与恶是混杂并存的。根据基督的指示，邪恶不可完全在外界被剪除，虽然他们完全在内里与敬虔者分隔。异端者也同样地与敬虔者分隔：「不论他们好像在（教会）里面或外面生活，由肉体而来的就是肉体... 甚至属肉体的人与圣徒的会众混杂，他们永远与没有瑕疵的合一教会分离。」

[ ] But is not the church then split into two churches, the mixed church of the present and the pure church of the future (Donatist, criticism, brev. iii. 10.19)? Augustine meets this objection with a variety of illustrations. The question is one solely of a present relationship. Good and evil are commingled in the church. According to the instructions of Christ, the latter cannot be outwardly excluded, although they are inwardly entirely separated from the pious (c. ep. Parm. iii. 2. 12; c. Cresc. Iii. 65. 73; bapt. vi. 3. 5; vii. 51. 99), just as are heretics: “Whether they seem to live within or are openly without, that which is flesh is flesh. ... And even he who in carnal obduracy is mingled with the congregation of the saints is always separated from the unity of that church which is without spot or wrinkle” (bapt. i. 17.26; also vii. 51.99 exr.).

可是：「祂容忍邪恶的人在圣洁的团契里。」这种关系就像麦子与稗子共存在打麦场上；属一个家庭与住在家里；内里的人与外在的人的关系一样。甚至这样说：「在基督的身体里有一些邪恶的血液。」因此我们可以说：「基督真正的身体，和混杂的，假冒的基督身体」，或「混杂的教会」。

But: “he tolerates the wicked *in communione sanctorum*” (serm. 214.11). It is a relationship like that between the wheat and the tares upon the same threshing-floor (bapt. v. 21. 29); between belonging to a house and being in the house (ib. vii. 51. 99); between the outer and the inner man (brev. iii. 10. 20); or even: “thus there are in the body of Christ in some way evil humors” (in I Joh. tr. 3. 4). We may, therefore, speak of “the true and the commingled, or counterfeited, body of the Lord,” or of a “commingled church.”

因此，严格来说，教会的成员仅有善者与圣者：邪恶与持异端的人只似乎属于教会而已，因为圣礼的团契 (communion of the sacraments) 暂时是混杂的。」

Hence, in the proper sense, the church consists of only the good and holy: the wicked and heretics only apparently belong to it by virtue of the temporal commingling and the communion of the sacraments” (doctr. Christ. iii. 32. 45).

多纳徒派实际上分开的，奥氏在思想上分开

## THAT WHICH DONATISTS SEPARATE IN REALITY, AUGUSTINE SEPARATES IN THOUGHT

我们可以看出，奥古斯丁考虑到多纳徒派的部份要求；可是后者所试图子现实成就的分离，奥氏仅在思想上分辨。「我们从属灵意义上理解这个分离 (*recessio*)；他们则从物质（外在）意义上理解。」从一个批判的角度来看，多纳徒派所提出的异议并不是没有根据的，因为（施行）圣里的教会，和（上帝施行）恩典的教会如何在理性上调和，是非常困难的。

We can see that Augustine takes some account of the demand of the Donatists; but he effects only in thought the separation which they sought to realize in fact. “We understand the departure (*recessio*) spiritually, they corporeally” (serm. 88. 20. 23). From a critical point of view, the Donatistic objection is not without justification, for the church of the sacraments and the church of grace can only with the greatest difficulty be intellectually harmonized.

奥氏的恩典观与预定观影响双重教会观

## AUGUSTINE’S CONCEPTS OF GRACE AND PREDESTINATION AFFECTS HIS TWO-FOLD UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHURCH

这方面的困难，首先与奥古斯丁对恩典的定义有关。当我们考虑到奥氏的预定论的时候，问题就更严重了。「爱的眼不能见的联合」于「上帝预定的人数」并不是完全相同的。后者可能延伸到有形教会以外；因此，反面来看，有些人可能属于有形的教会，而不在被预定的人数内，因此，没有「坚忍的恩典」。

[ ] This difficulty is intimately connected with Augustine’s definition of grace, and it becomes still more serious when the doctrine of predestination is taken into account. “The invisible union of love” is not identical with the “number of the predestinated.” As the latter may extend beyond the bounds of the church (p. 351), so, on the contrary, some may belong to the church who are not in the number of the predestinated, and, therefore, do not have the “gift of perseverance” (corr. et grat. 9. 22; don. pers. 2. 2).

不错，从实际层面来看，奥氏并没有严肃正视这空隙，仅认为是内在教会与外在教会之分。可是这空隙是存在的，不可否认的，虽然有时候奥氏将两个观念－教会与预定－连成一体。[奥氏会这样说：教会是被围住的花园，乐园，成员就是圣者和义者。又会这样来等同教会：「肯定被预定的圣徒们」，或：「义者的人数」。可是很多被预定的人目前的生活是属肉体的，不配的：他们是异教徒和异端者。可是这些都被认为是在围住的花园，教会里面；教会原来仅包括圣者与义者。]

Practically, indeed, Augustine did not realize this discrepancy any more than that between the inward and the outward church. That it nevertheless exists, cannot be denied, although Augustine only occasionally combines the conceptions, church and predestination. [We read, de bapt. v. 27. 28: The church as an enclosed garden, paradise, etc. consists of the *sancti* and *justi*. Then appears as equivalent: “The certain predestinated number of saints,” and from this again: “the number of the just.” Yet many of the *predestinati* are now living carnally and unworthily – are heathen and heretics. And yet these are all to be considered as included in the enclosed garden, the church, which originally consisted of the holy and righteous. Cf. Seeberg, p. 53.]

因此我们可以说，奥古斯丁对教会的定义是双面的，甚至是三方面的。

We may, accordingly, speak of a two-fold, or even a three-fold, definition of the church in Augustine. Cf. Reuter, l. c., p. 47ff. Seeberg, l. c. 49 ff.

教会是天国

## CHURCH IS KINGDOM

最后我们必须指出，奥古斯丁称教会（目前的教会）为「上帝的国度」，而早期教会（由其他的作者作代表）认为上帝的国是教会发展的结果或目标。后者期待将来的至善。可是奥古斯丁说：「教会目前就是基督的国度，就是天国」。

G. It must be mentioned, finally, that Augustine applied the term, Kingdom of God, also to the church of the present, whereas the ancient church, as represented in other teachers, regarded the kingdom as the result and goal of the church’s development, looking to the future for the highest good. But Augustine says: “The church is



even now the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven” (civ. dei, xx. 9.1; cf. de fid. et op. 7.10; serm. 213.7; 214.11).

H. 这样的说法主要的意思仅是：圣徒们就是基督的国度，他们与基督一同作王。不过，圣徒作王，主要是指教会的领袖们，「透过他们，教会被治理」。因此，对奥古斯丁来说，上帝的国在本质上与敬虔者与圣徒们相同；不过，上帝的国同时也是主教所治理的教会。

I. This utterance means primarily only that the saints are the kingdom of Christ and reign with him. But this dominion is at once attributed to the leaders (*praepositi*) “through whom the church is now governed” (ib. s. 2). The kingdom of God is thus for Augustine essentially identical with the pious and holy; but it is also the episcopally organized church.

世界的城 = 国家？

CITY OF THE WORLD = THE STATE?

对他来说，上帝之城与世界之城（即魔鬼之城）之间的对照，就是基督教与异教之间（《上帝之城》，第一至十章）；即善与恶，包括魔鬼与天使之间；或圣徒与恶人（甚至在教会里）之间；属灵与属肉体（血气）之间，爱上帝与爱自己，恩典与自然，被预定得荣耀或被预定受折磨之间的对照。

The contrast between the city of God (*civitas dei*) and the city of the world (*civitas mundi*), or of the devil, is for him that between Christianity and heathenism (in the first 10 books): between the good and the bad, including the devil and angels (civ. dei., xii. 1; 27. 2), or between the saints and the wicked even within the church; between the spiritual and the carnal, the love of God and self-love, grace and nature, those foreordained to glory or to torment (e.g. xx. 9. 3; xiv. 1; 4.2; 28; xv. 1.2; 16.3).

在奥氏的著作中，从来没有将邪恶的世界与国家等同。不过，上帝的城既与能见的教会等同，读者很自然地就将世界之城 (*civitas mundi*) 具体地与国家等同。另有一因素催使这样的结论：虽然奥古斯丁承认（基督教的）国家和民事法律是必须的，可是所有真正的、永久的善，都在教会那一边。因此，国家的任务就是要执行基督的吩咐，即教会的吩咐。

The evil world is never represented, indeed, as itself equivalent to the state. But since the *civitas dei* may be and is conceived as the empirical church, the reader very naturally thinks of the *civitas mundi* concretely as equivalent to the state (e.g., xiv. 28; xv. 4; i. 35). This is encouraged by the fact that, although Augustine recognizes the necessity of the (Christian) state and the civil law (xv. 4 in Joh. tr. 6. 25 f.), yet everything really and permanently good is found upon the side of the church. From this it follows, that it is the duty of the state to execute the commandments of Christ, or of the church (xv. 2, ep. 138. 2. 14; 105. 3. 11).

从这个观点看来，奥古斯丁一反他早期的信念，盼望国家使用武力镇压多纳徒派与异端者：「要催逼他们进来。」在这一点上（如同在其他很多方面）奥氏随从当时普及基督教的潮流。「上帝之城」的伟大任务可以有不同的解释（目标与方法都可以有两方面的解释，就像柏拉图的「国家」一样），这成为中古时期教会发展的准则。

From this point of view, Augustine – in conflict with his earlier convictions (ep. 93. 5. 17) – desired the state to employ force against Donatists and heretics: “Compel them to come in” (lk. 14. 23; vid. ep. 93 and 183 in Joh. t r. 11. 14). Here, as so frequently, he falls into the current of the popular Christianity of the day. The great work upon the “City of God” – capable of many interpretations (a double line of aims and means running through the work, just as through Plato’s “State”) – became the criterion for the development of the church polity of the Middle Ages. Cf. Reuter, p. 111f.

奥古斯丁教会观：不一致、多元

AUGUSTINE’S CONCEPT OF CHURCH = INCONSISTENT, POLYGLOT

这就是奥古斯丁教会观的大纲。大公（天主）教会传统的权柄，反对多纳徒派，奥氏恩典论的基本路向，预定论，和对历史进程的宽阔视角：织成了一幅图画；在其中，最好的和最坏的并存。奥氏的教会观同时是福音性的，又是大公的；教会超越世界，又与世界妥协的；同时是真的，也是不真的教会。从理论上看来，是一个空前歪曲的形状：从实际层面考虑，显然就是一些庞大观念与意愿 – 并不成为一

个有机体，而是不同因素孕壤的容器。

Such, in outline, was Augustine's conception of the church. The power of the historic Catholic tradition, the opposition of the Donatists, the fundamental tendency of his doctrine of grace, the predestination theory, and a grandly broad view of the course of history – were the threads woven into the texture. In it the best and the worst elements appear side by side. It is Evangelical and Catholic; superior to the world and compromising with the world; at once, true and untrue. Theoretically contemplated, it is a malformation without parallel: practically considered, a redundancy of large conceptions and impulses – not an organism, but a vessel full of fermenting elements.

奥古斯丁为中古时期的教会中心注意铺路；不过他也恢复了一个原始基督教的中心思想：上帝在现今的国度；同时也使这观念在实际层面上生效。他在教会观方面，也保存了「教会是圣徒的团契」这个原始真理，脱离多纳徒派思想的混淆。与此有关的，他肯定强调了「圣灵恩赐」的自然本性。圣灵是创造新生命的那位，是上帝给教会的（施行）恩典的伟大礼物。我们可以说，奥古斯丁乃是保罗以来，第一位屏弃异象，异梦，和内在的灵感等恩赐，因为奥氏认为恩典的本质，就是爱之灵，这灵赐生命给教会。罗马（天主）教会不仅可诉诸奥古斯丁；同时奥氏也是福音派教会论的健将。

Augustine prepared the way for the medieval ecclesiasticism; but he also revived and gave practical efficacy to a central idea of primitive Christianity – the present kingdom of God, and thus made them concrete and historically visible. He also, in his conception of the church, saved from the confusion of the Donatistic ideas the primitive truth of the church as the communion of saints. In connection with this, he definitely asserted the natural character of the *charismata*. The Spirit, who creates new life, is the great gift of divine grace to the church. It may be said that Augustine was the first since Paul to renounce the grace of visions, dreams, and inner suggestions (cf. Cyprian and the Donatists), since he understood grace as consisting in the spirit of love animating the church. Not only could Rome appeal to Augustine, but the Evangelical theory of the church finds in him as well a champion.

### 31. 奥古斯丁与伯拉纠主义争辩而建立的 罪的教义与恩典的教义

#### 31. Establishment of the Doctrine of Sin and Grace in the Conflict with Pelagianism

[Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, pp. 328-338.]

##### 1. 东方与西方教会的分歧

#### Divergences of the Eastern and Western Churches

(Seeberg, Vol. 1, pp. 328-331.)

东方教会注重人的自由，和黑暗

希腊教会：意志是器官，透过理性运作；罗马人：意志是独立的

Eastern Churches Stress Natural Man's Freedom, and Darkness.

Greeks: Will = Organ, Operates Through Reason; Romans: Will = Independent.

我们在上文已经观察到，东方教会十分强调自然（属血气的）人的自由；这特别在道德的劝勉上明显。与此同时，当东方教会处理救赎大工的时候，自然（属血气的）人的状况又被描绘得非常黑暗（例如：阿他拿修）。我们必须记得，希腊人与操拉丁语人士对自由意志问题的态度基本上是不同的。希腊人以人的理性作出发点，意志是从属理性的；意志是一个器官，透过理性运作。人可以想到的东西，他都可以意旨它。反之，罗马人认为意志有它独立的地位。屈梭多模(Chrysostom 金嗓子)这一位注重实际的希腊教师，包含了两方面的观念；可是人的自由还是最突出的：「因为上帝创造我们的人性，是自我控制的 (self-controlling)。」因此，只有人所作的个别动作是邪恶的。没有邪恶的习惯 (habitus)。「你

不应该承认一种本质上的能力，只要承认邪恶的行为 (evil deed)，存在之后又消失；（行为）发生之前（邪恶）并不存在，发生之后又消失了。」

We have had occasion to observe (section 27) that the Eastern church laid great emphasis upon the freedom of the natural man. This is done especially in moral exhortations, while, at the same time, when treating of the work of redemption, the state of the natural man was often depicted in the darkest colors (e.g., by Athanasius). We must bear in mind that the attitude of the Greeks toward the problem of free-will was fundamentally different from that of the Latins. They began with the intellect, to which the will was simply subordinate, as an organ through which it operates. Whatever a man thinks, that he is also able to will. The Romans, on the contrary, assign an independent position to the will. In the utterances of such a practical Greek teacher as Chrysostom, we find indeed both conceptions embodied, but that of human freedom holds the place of prominence: "For God created our nature self-controlling" ( , in Genes. Hom. 19). Accordingly, it is only the separate acts of man that are regarded as evil. There is no sinful *habitus*: "Thou shouldst not acknowledge any substantial ( ) power, but the evil deed, always coming into being and vanishing, not existing before it has occurred, and disappearing again after it has occurred" (in Rom. hom. 12).

亚当被造时所作的是好的，恩典帮助他

In the Beginning, What Man Does = Good; Grace Helps Him

对我们来说，堕落的结果是，亚当既然成为必死的，他的后裔也是必死的。恩典的观念乃与此吻合。起初时人作的都是好的，而恩典来帮助他：「我们首先选择善，这是必须的；而当我们这样选择之后，然后祂作祂的部份。祂并不预知我们的意愿，好叫我们的自由不被破坏。不过当我们选择之后，祂救为我们带来伟大的帮助...我们先选择，先意旨，上帝作的，就是成就这事，把它带到其后果。」这是东方教会的立场，这样说是公允的；在这观念中，恩典的观念与敬拜奥秘之事有所关连而成混杂。

The result of the fall for us is that, as Adam thereby became mortal, so his descendants are also mortal (hom. in ps. 51). The conception of grace is in harmony with this view. Man makes the beginning in that which is good, and grace comes to his aid: "For it is necessary that we first choose the good, and when we have chosen it, then he also brings his part. He does not anticipate our wishes, in order that our freedom may not be destroyed. But when we have chosen, then he brings great help to us ... it is ours to choose beforehand and to will, but it is God's to accomplish and to lead to the result" (in Heb. h. 12; in Rom. h. 16; in Joh. h. 17). This expresses very fairly the position of the Eastern church, in which, moreover, the conception of grace itself becomes confused by its connection with the worship of the mysteries. Cf. Foerster, *Chrysostomus*, 1869, pp. 63 ff., 139 ff. August c. Jul. i. 6. 21 ff.

西方教会：安波罗修：人的自由意志为罪行负责；

可是因为亚当堕落，我们生下来就有罪的属性

Ambrose (West): Man's Free Will=Responsible for Evil Acts

But, Because of Adam's Fall, We Have Sin as Attribute At Birth

与此对照的，我们可以指出一位西方的神学家，安波罗修（397卒），在罪和恩典这些课题上，都是奥古斯丁的先锋。我们可以在安氏对罪的观念上，看到原罪教义开始的痕迹；这是在特土良，Cyprian，和 Commodian 可以发现的。

In contrast with the above, we may place the teaching of a Western theologian, Ambrose (+ A.D. 397), the forerunner of Augustine upon the subject of sin and grace. In his conception of sin we can still trace the beginning of a doctrine of original sin which we discovered in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Commodian (pp. 122 f., 193).

在安波罗修的实用性演说中，有时也会用很重的话来说明，邪恶的行为是由人的自由意志负责的。可是他的思想受一个观念影响，就是：因着亚当的堕落，我们进入世界是已是罪人，我们从在母腹中就具有「罪」的属性；因此，我们既然从开始就是有罪的，我们必需犯罪，虽然有时候我们并不愿意犯罪：

「亚当是；我们都是在他里。亚当灭亡，我们都在他里面灭亡。」「我在亚当里堕落；我在亚当里从乐园里被赶逐；我在亚当里死了。」「在罪中出生的人，没有一个能得救，因为既然承受了有罪的状况，就必然有犯罪的倾向 (constrained to sin)。」

(a) In his practical addresses, Ambrose also occasionally used strong language in placing the responsibility for evil deeds upon the free will of man (e.g., enarr. in ps. 1, sec. 30; de Jac. et vit beata i. 10). But his thought is dominated by the view, that through the fall of Adam we come into the world as sinners, that sin is an attribute which belongs to us from our conception, and that we, therefore, being from the outstart sinful, must sin even when for the time being we do not desire to sin: “Adam was, and in him we all were. Adam perished, and in him we all perished” (in Luc. vii. 234, 164). “I fell in Adam, I was in Adam ejected from paradise, I died in Adam” (de excessu frat. sui Satri ii. 6). “No one at all who has been born under sin can be saved, whom that very inheritance of guilty condition has constrained to sin” (in ps. 38, sec. 29).

我们在母腹中就有罪 We Are Sinners When Conceived

「我们出生之前就受（罪的）传染所污染，我们没有享受光照之前，我们已经领受了我们起源的残缺 (injury)。我们是在罪孽中受孕 (conceived)的。」那么，这句话是指母亲还是指孩子说的，安波罗修这样说：「必须明白，不知道是指谁说的。在母腹中的不是没有罪的，因为他父母亲不是没有过错的。所以，有一天生出来的婴儿不是无罪的话，在母腹中的日子，他更不可能是无罪的了。因此我们是在我们父母亲的罪中受孕的，我们是在他们的过错中出生的。」

“Before we are born we are defiled by contagion, and before we enjoy the light we receive the injury of our very origin; we are conceived in iniquity.” In response to the question, whether this last assertion relates to the mother or to the child, it is said: “But see whether it may not be known which. The one conceived is not without sin, since the parents are not without fault. And, if the infant of one day is not without sin, much more are all the days of maternal conception not without sin. We are conceived, therefore, in the sin (*peccato*) of our parents and in their faults (*delictis*) we are born” (apol. David, 11. 56).

我们不愿意犯罪也会犯罪 We Sin Unwillingly

同样地：「我们不是自愿的，可是被带领到罪孽中」；又：「我们的心与默想都不是我们的能力（控制）范围内。」根据这些话，安波罗修真正教导亚当的罪之繁殖；可是我们并没有发现他在著作中教导亚当的罪孽备归算给他的后裔，人类。安氏承认一个肉体上（繁殖）的原罪，不是一个道德上（归算）的原罪。

Hence also: “We are led unwilling and reluctant into guilt” (*culpam*), and: “For our heart and our meditations are not in our power” (de fuga seculi i. 1; ii. 9). According to these citations, Ambrose really taught the propagation of Adam’s sin; but we do not find in his writings the idea of the imputation of Adam’s guilt to the race sprung from him. He recognizes a physical, but not a moral, original sin. (Cf. Foerster, Ambr., p. 154 f.)  
安波罗修论恩典：上帝预备人的意志

Ambrose on Grace: God Prepares Man’s Will

关于他恩典的教义，我们看见 Ambrose 非常强调恩典的活动，也是并没有教导「唯独靠恩典的活动」：「跟随基督的人，若有人问他为什么决定作基督徒，可以回答：对我来说很好。」「他这样说的时，并没有否认，对上帝很好，因为人的意志是由上帝预备的。一位圣徒会敬拜上帝，都出于上帝的恩典。」可是他又说：「我们因为自由意志的缘故，会倾向美德或恶习。因此，要就是自由情操吸引我们去犯错，不然意志跟随理性，召回我们。」

(b) As to his doctrine of grace, we note that Ambrose very strongly emphasized the activity of grace, but yet knows nothing of its alone-activity. “He who follows Christ, when asked why he resolved to be a Christian, can respond: ‘It seemed good to me’” (Lk. i. 3). “When he says this, he does not deny that it seemed good to God, for *the will of men is prepared by God*. For that God may be worshiped by a saint is from the grace of God” in Luc. i. 10). But also: “By free will we are either disposed toward virtue or inclined toward vice. And, therefore, either free affection draws us toward error, or the will, following reason, recalls us” (Jac. et vit. Beat. i. 1; de

poenit. ii. 9. 80).

洗礼涂抹罪孽；神人合作 Baptism Blots Out Iniquity; God and Man Cooperates

这是基督所作成的 – 祂来到我们中间，进入我们里面。不过，这事主要透过洗礼发生。洗礼的有效性乃在于涂抹罪孽，罪得赦免，并带来属灵恩典的恩赐：「因此，完全的美德毁灭罪孽，赦罪毁灭每一项罪。」

It is Christ, coming to us and into us, who effects this” (in Luc. x. 7). But this occurs chiefly through baptism. The efficacy of the latter is seen in the blotting out of iniquity (*iniquitas*, the sinful *habitus*), the forgiveness of sins, and the bringing of the gift of spiritual grace (*spiritualis gratiae munus*) (apol. Dav. 13. 62): “Thus perfect virtue destroys iniquity, and the remission of sins every sin” (de myst. 4. 20; ep. 7. 20; 41. 7; in Luc. ii. 79).

我们若认为，这里有早期教会的倾向，罪的涂抹乃靠新的属灵能力的赐予，那么，安波罗修也会这样地说：「我不会夸耀自己为义，但我会夸耀我被救赎了。这是我的荣耀，不是因为我的罪被清除，而是因为我得救了。」显然地，这位奥古斯丁的先锋非常熟识保罗。不错，我们在他的言论里看到神人合作论 (synergism)。可是，一方面东方的神学家认为人在获得救恩上作了一个开始，上帝与人同工 (synergia)；但另一方面，（在西方的神学）上帝是开始工作那位，同工 (synergia) 是人所作的部份。东方神学想到上帝的同工；西方神学想到人的同工。

If, indeed, after the manner of the ancient church, room is here found for the blotting out of sin by the endowment with new spiritual power, yet Ambrose could, nevertheless, write: “I will not glory because I am righteous, but I will glory because I have been redeemed. I will glory, not because I am empty of sins, but because my sins have been forgiven me” (Jac. et. vit.; b. i. 6. 21; cf. in ps. 44. 1; ep. 73. 10). It is easily seen that this forerunner of Augustine was not unacquainted with Paul. We find in him, it is true, a certain synergism. But while the Eastern theologians represent man as making the beginning for the attainment of salvation, and then ascribe a *synergia* to God, here it is God who begins the work, and the *synergia* is upon the part of man. The Eastern teachers think of a divine, the Western of a human synergy.

## 2. 伯拉纠与伯拉纠主义。起点：人的道德能力

### Pelagius and Pelagianism. Starting Point: Man’s Moral Ability

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 331-338.)

伯拉纠是一位英国的修士，道德非常严谨，第四世纪末开始，竭力传讲悔改的信息。他似乎受到希腊（神学）的影响。...伯拉纠劝告的起点是人自然的道德能力。当有人向他提到奥古斯丁的看法：「求你（上帝）赐你所吩咐的，求你吩咐你所意旨的」的时候，他的理论只更加的肯定，他越发正面表达他的看法。因此，两个不同的基督教观彼此接触。

Pelagius, a British monk of austere morality, began before the close of the fourth century to preach repentance with great earnestness. He seems to have been under Greek influence (Marius Liber. Subnot. Praef. i. 2). [In the theory of sin, following Theodore of Mopsuestia, through the medium of a Syrian, Rufinus, who, according to Jerome (in Hierem., lib. i. 1 praef.), appears to be identical with Aquileia. Vid. also Aug., De pecc. orig. iii. 3.] The starting-point of his exhortations was the natural moral ability of man. When confronted, as he speedily was, with the Augustinian: “Grant what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt” (Aug. don. pers. 200), it but confirmed him in his theory and led him to express himself the more positively. Two fundamentally different conceptions of Christianity were here brought into contact.

Caelestius, 犹利安传播伯波拉纠的思想

Caelestius, Julian Propagate Pelagius’ Ideas

到此时为止，人的意志与上帝恩典的影响，两者并没有吻合；现在造成严重的问题。伯拉纠很快就成为赢者，他的门徒 Caelestius 巧妙地用一些分辨来释题，主动建构伯氏的理论。当时人们说到伯拉纠

的异端，也称之为 Caelestius 的异端。他们的跟随者众多，影响深远。418 年之后，伯拉纠（比较温和有礼）和 Caelestius（比较激进）的行列又加了 Eclanum 年青的主教犹利安，一位思想聪颖，理性高明的辩论者，他成为新的观念的健将。毫无疑问地，三人成为一个新的进步派运动。伯拉纠的实际观念，又 Caelestius 构成教义理论，犹利安又将之吸收在他的宇宙起源论中。Julian 比其他两位又跨进一步。

The hitherto un-harmonized doctrines of man's free will and the influence of divine grace presented a serious problem. Pelagius soon won, in the eloquent Caelestius, a disciple who stated the problem with keen discrimination and formulated them in a most aggressive way. Contemporaries spoke not without reason of the "Pelagian, or Caelestian,

heresy." Their adherents were not few nor insignificant. After A.D. 418, the diplomatic and prudent Pelagius and the radical Caelestius were reinforced by the young bishop of Eclanum, Julian, a keen-witted but rationalistic disputant, as champion of the new views. That these three men present a progressive development cannot be denied. The practical ideas of Pelagius are followed by the doctrinal formulation of Caelestius, and the conception of Julian, wrought out as component elements in his cosmogony, go beyond them both.

我们在后面会述说这次教义争辩的历史；现在让我们陈述伯拉纠的罪、自由、与恩典观。「每逢我被邀请讲论道德培训与圣洁生活的进程的时候，我习惯首先展示人性的能力与本质，说明人性能成就什么，然后激动听者考虑一些美德；不然，若想到一些美德是不可能达到的话，对人没有益处。」我们从这些话中可清楚看到伯拉纠的道德性向。

As we are in other connections to follow the course of the controversy, we shall here attempt merely to set forth clearly the Pelagian view of Sin, Liberty, and Grace. "Whenever I am called upon to speak upon moral training and the course of holy living, I am accustomed first to display the power and quality of human nature and show what it is able to accomplish, and then from this to incite the mind of the hearer to (some) forms of virtues, lest it profit nothing to summon to those things which it would have thought to be impossible for it." In these words of Pelagius (ad Demetr. 2 init.) we recognize distinctly his moral temperament.

上帝吩咐人行善；因此人有行善能力；人是自由的

人有犯罪或不犯罪的可能性

God Commanded Man to Do Good; Thus Man Can Do Good; Man Is Free

Man Has Possibility – To Sin, Or Not To Sin

上帝吩咐人行善；因此，人必定有行善的能力。意思是，人是自由的；有可能决定行善，或不行善：「我们说，人（无时不）能犯罪，或不犯罪；因此我们承认，我们无时不拥有自由的意志。」「意志的自由...是指：犯罪或不犯罪的可能。」

God has commanded man to do that which is good; he must, therefore, have the ability to do it. That is to say, man is free, i.e., it is possible for him to decide for or against that which is good: "But we say that man is (always) able both to sin and not to sin, so that we confess ourselves to have always a free will" (Pel. in his confession). "Freedom of the will ... consists in the possibility of committing sin or of abstaining from sin" (Jul. in Aug. op. imp. i. 78).

自从创造天地以来，这个「可能性」是人的特征：「因为上帝愿意赐予祂的有理性的被造物有自愿行善的恩赐，和自由意志的能力；上帝在人里面种植了两种可能性，给人，是人自己的（可能性），人可以选择，以致身为本性有能力行善或行恶者。他可以从两者选择其一，他的意志可以倾向一方面或另一方面。」

This "possibility" has distinguished man ever since the creation: "For God, wishing to endow (his) rational creature with the gift of voluntary good and with the power of free will, by implanting in man the possibility of either part, made that to be his own which he may choose, in order that, being by nature capable of good and evil, he might choose either and bend his will to either the one or the other" (Pel. ad Dem. 3, c. de lib. Artb. i., ii., in Aug. de gr. Chr. 18. 19; 4. 5).

因此，这是人性的本质...。我会行善或行恶，是我自由意志的事，可是这自由，「这自由意志的可

能，这行为的可能」，乃从上帝而来：「我不可能没有行善的可能的，绝对不可能。」

It, therefore, constitutes his essential nature, and is accordingly inadmissible. Whether I will do good or do evil is a matter of my free will, but the freedom, “the possibility of this free will and of works,” is from God: “By no means can I be without the possibility of good” (Pel. lib. Arb. Iii. in Aug. de gr. Chr. 4.5).

结论：人的道德发展不存在；善与恶存在在个别行为里

人可以不犯罪，但是人不是无罪

Conclusion: No Moral Development: Good/Evil Exist in Separate Acts

It Is Possible That Man Does Not Sin; But Man Is Not Without Sin

伯拉纠的思想都环绕这「意志的自由」的架构，从宗教与道德观点来看，是一个缺欠的架构。因此可以有这样的结论：个人的道德发展是不存在的。善与恶，都存在在每人个别的行为里。一个人是善人或恶人，至终由这些个别的行为决定。不过一个人有可能，藉着使用行善的「可能」，过一个圣洁的生活。从历史来看，这「自然的善」(*bonum naturae*)，使很多异教的哲学家能活出崇高的美德；基督徒岂不应有更高的期望吗？伯拉纠明显地做了这个推论：一个完全没有罪的生活是可能的：「我说，人可以不犯罪，...不过我没有说人是没有罪的。」虽然伯氏在这里非常谨慎，这是伯拉纠主义者真诚的宣告。

The ideas of Pelagius move within the limits of this scheme of freedom of the will, a scheme alike insufficient as seen from the religious or the moral point of view. It follows from it, that there is no such thing as a moral development of the individual. Good and evil are located in the separate acts of men. The separate works finally decide whether a man is good or evil. But it is possible for one, by a free use of the “possibility” of well-doing, to lead a holy life. This natural goodness (*bonum naturae*), historically regarded, made very many heathen philosophers capable of the most lofty virtues; how much more, then, may Christians expect from it? (Pel. ad Dem. 3.7). There is no shrinking back from the inference, that an entirely sinless life is possible: “I say that man is able to be without sin, ... but I do not say that man is without sin” (Pel. in Aug. nat. et grat. 7-8; de gr. Chr. 4.5). Despite the cautious statement of the passage cited, this declaration was very sincerely interpreted by the Pelagians; see Aug. de gest. Pel. 6. 16; ep. 156 (letter of Hilary from Syracuse to Augustine). Caelest. Definitions in Aug. de perf. Justit., and the Pelagian in Caspari, pp. 5. 114ff. (ep. De possibilitate non peccandi).

伯拉纠论罪：罪 = 意志的个别行为 Pelagius on Sin: Sin = Separate Acts of the Will

从此立场我们可以理解伯拉纠主义的罪观。罪只是指意志的个别行为。一个罪性 (*sinful nature*)，或罪的性格 (*sinful character*) 并不存在。不然的话，罪就不是罪了：就不是一样可以避免的事；上帝也不能将罪归算给我们，成为我们的罪孽，而惩罚我们。

From this position we can understand the doctrinal teaching concerning sin. This consists, as a matter of course, only in the separate acts of the will. There is no such thing as a sinful character or a sinful nature. Otherwise, sin would not be sin – not something which can be avoided; and God could not charge sin to our account as guilt and punish it (Caelest. in Aug. perf. Grat. 2.1; 6. 15).

罪不是上帝创造；不是东西，是行动；是意志的过错，不是人性的过错；

不可论「原罪」；不然得救 = 不可能

Sin = Not Created by God; Not a Thing; Sin = An Act, = Fault of Will, Not of Nature

Don't Speak of Original Sin; Otherwise Salvation = Impossible

罪既然不可能是上帝创造的，它就不是一样东西 (*res*)，而是一个行动 (*actus*)。罪不是人性的过错，乃是意志的过错。人的特殊本性，上帝的公义，和罪的真实，都禁止我们说到「原罪」。罪的本质若是这样（即：若是原罪），那么从罪中被搭救出来就不可能了：「就算我们愿意不能犯罪，我们也不可能不能犯罪，因为没有一个人的意志可以自我释放，脱离那被种植在我们本性里的东西。」「原罪若是从繁殖，出生而传染的话，...就不可能从婴儿身上挪去，因为：与生俱来的，必一生陪伴着人，这是从人的祖先而来的。」

Since sin cannot have been created by God, it is not a thing (*res*), but an act (*actus*) (ib. 2. 4). It is a fault, not of nature, but of the will (in Aug. de pecc. orig. 6. 6; op. imp. i. 48). Man's peculiar nature, the justice of

God, and the reality of sin, alike forbid us to speak of an “original sin.” If such were the nature of sin, a deliverance from it would be impossible: “Even if we should wish not to be able not to sin, we are not able not to be able not to sin, because no will is able to free itself from that which is proved to be inseparably implanted in (its) nature” (Pel. in Aug. nat. et grat. 49, 50, 57, 58). “If original sin be contracted by the generation of original nativity ... it cannot be taken away from infants, since that which is innate continues to be the very end of him to whom it has adhered from the occasion of his ancestors” (Jul. op. imp. i. 61).

罪藉繁殖传播 = 谬论

Propagation of Sin Through Generation = Absurd

罪既然仅是意志个别的行动，罪藉繁殖而传播是一个荒谬的观念。亚当显然是第一位犯罪的人，可是，（像原罪一般）他的罪与我们的罪的关连是不能证实的。父母亲的罪与罪孽，不可能传到儿女身上，正如儿女的罪不能传给父母一样。「他们归回之后，自己的罪若不能伤害父母亲，他们的罪更不能伤害儿女们。」

Inasmuch as sin consists only in separate acts of the will, the idea of its propagation by the act of generation is absurd. Adam was certainly the first sinner, but such a connection between his sin and ours cannot be established. The sins and guilt of parents no more pass over to their children than do those of children to their parents (op. imp. iii. 14, 19 f.). “If their own sins do not harm parents after their conversion, much more can they not through the parents injure their children” (Pel. in Marius Com. 2. 10).

犹利安不理睬奥古斯丁言论，批判奥氏：性欲有罪

犹利安：亚当之罪不顺从，只对自己有影响

Julian Ignores Augustine, Critiques Augustine: Sexual Desire = Sinful;

Julian: Adam’s Sin = Disobedience, Only Significant for Himself

犹利安习惯称奥古斯丁的观点为 Manichaeism（「你的教义与 Manichaeans 的教义没有两样」）；认为奥氏违背上帝的話，宣布婚姻与肉体性交之情欲为有罪。犹利安拒绝承认，奥古斯丁分辨婚姻 (*nuptiae*) 与情欲 (*concupiscence*)：「我们不能宣称人里面本性之罪，而不同时为性交毁誉。」犹利安认为，亚当微小、幼稚的罪是一个不顺服的行动，只有对他自己暂时的重要性，即：直到他悔改回转。对我们完全没有重要性。

The view of Augustine is habitually referred to by Julian as Manichaeism (e.g., op. imp. vi. 10: “Your doctrine differs in nothing from the Manichaeans”). In contravention of God’s Word, it pronounces marriage and the desire for carnal intercourse sinful (de nupt. et. concup. i. 1, 2; ii. 1.2). Julian refuses to recognize Augustine’s distinction between marriage (*nuptiae*) and concupiscence: “Natural sin within cannot be asserted without defamation of sexual intercourse” (op. imp. v. 5). Adam’s little, childish sin (op. imp. vi. 21) is an act of disobedience which has only a temporary significance for him, i.e., until his conversion (op. imp. vi. 11 f.), and none at all for us.

亚当之死不是惩罚；是自然律；新出生婴儿 = 无罪

罪如何传递？只藉模仿

Adam’s Death = Not Punishment, but Law of Nature; Infants = Sinless

Sin Spreads Only Through Imitation

亚当之死不是罪的惩罚，只不过是跟循自然律罢了。因此，新出生的婴儿是无罪的，而洗礼本身也不能有赦罪的功效（「祂按照受礼者的能力赐恩赐给他们」）。《罗马书》5：12 只不过教导「罪从第一个人传到其他的人，不是藉繁殖，而是藉模仿」；或，「众人」（*pantes*，）不是真的指全人类。

Adam’s death was not a punishment for sin, but only conformity to a law of nature (Aug. de gestis Pel. 11. 23 f.; op. imp. ii. 64, 93 f., but also vi. 30). Accordingly, new-born children are sinless, and baptism cannot in their case have any sin-remitting effect (vid. Caelest. In Aug. pecc. orig. 6. 6; Marius Lib. Subnot. Praef. V; also Jul. op. imp. i. 53: “He bestows his gifts according to the capacity to the recipients”). The passage, from Rom.



5.12, merely asserts “that sin has passed from the first man upon other men, not by propagation, but by imitation” (Aug. de peccator. meritis et. remiss. i. 9. 9); or the term does not mean absolutely all (Aug. de nat. et grat. 41. 48).

罪的普世性，因为模仿，习惯，自然情欲；世俗性格；

人只须要努力作出个别的善行

Sin = Universal Because of Imitation, Habit, Natural Sensuality, Worldly Character

All Man Needs = To Perform Separate Good Acts

现在我们来看法拉纠主义如何解释罪的普世性：这是我们所有的经验所见证的。罪的普世性是因为模仿，「就是长久犯罪的实践和恶习的习惯。」「我们行善的困难，没有其他的原因，就是因为长久恶习的习惯，从我们小时就污染我们，逐渐地，日积月累地，就败坏我们，因此使我们后来被捆绑，被辖制，以致好像是我们的本性一样。」另外还加上人自然的情欲和世俗的性格。这方面的思路暴露了希腊教会法拉纠主义者的天真。没有真正的罪人，只有个别邪恶的行为。因此排除了任何宗教性的罪观，人不需要什么，只需要努力作出一些个别的善行就可以了。不过，这样一来，一个宗教性的人类历史观是不可能的，因为其实没有罪人，只有个人邪恶的行为。

This brings us to the Pelagian explanation of the universality of sin, which all experience testifies. It is attributed to imitation, the “long practice (*longus usus*) of sinning and the long habit (*longa consuetudo*) of vices” (Pelag. ad Demetr. 8). “For no other cause occasions for us the difficulty of doing good than the long custom of vices, which has infected us from childhood, and gradually, through many years, corrupted us, and thus holds us afterward bound and addicted to itself, so that it seems in some way to have the force of nature” (ib. cf. 17 fin.). To this must be added the natural sensuous and worldly character of man (Pel. in Aug. de gr. Chr. 10. 11). This line of thought reveals the final conclusion reached by the naïve Pelagianism of the Greeks. There are really no sinners, but only separate wicked acts. A religious conception of sin is hereby excluded, and nothing more is needed than the effort to perform separate good deeds. But just as truly is a religious conception of the history of race impossible, since there are no sinful men, but only wicked acts of individual men.

法拉纠：人需要恩典；Caelestius: 若需恩典，意志则不自由

Pelagius: Man Needs Grace; Caelestius: If Grace = Needed; Will = Not Free

这样来处理这个问题，从宗教上或道德上来看都是肤浅的；这在恩典论上就更清楚看见。法拉纠主义者并没有否认人需要恩典才得救。相反地，法拉纠宣布，恩典是必需的，「不仅每时刻需要，而且在我们每一次行为上都需要」。虽然法拉纠主义这样肯定我们需要「恩典的帮助」，或「上帝的帮助」，Caelestius 宣告，「意志若需要上帝帮助，就不是自由的」，又说，「我们不是从上帝的帮助得胜，而是从我们的自由意志得胜。」这只不过是法拉纠的立场的逻辑推论。

The religious and moral superficiality of this way of regarding the subject is very plainly manifest in the doctrine of grace. The necessity of grace for the attainment of salvation is not denied. On the contrary, Pelagius has declared that grace is needed “not only for every hour or for every moment, but even for every separate act of ours” (Aug. de gr. Chr. 2.2; 7.8;32.36; de gest. Pel. 14.31; Pel. ep. ad Dem.3 fin.; Jul. in op. imp. iii. 106; i. 52). Over against this affirmation of the “help of grace,” or “divine assistance,” Caelestius, indeed, declares in his fashion, “that the will is not free if it needs the aid of God,” and that “our victory is not from the assistance of God, but from (our “free will” (Aug. de gest. Pel. 18. 42).” This is but a blunt statement of the logical inference from the position of Pelagius.

恩典使遵守诫命更容易：恩典=自然之善，不犯罪之可能行

Grace Makes It Easier to Obey God; Grace = Natural Good, Possibility Not to Sin

法拉纠是这样说的：「恩典赐下，好叫上帝所吩咐的，能够更容易遵守」。奥古斯丁从这一点正确地推论说：「就算没有这（恩典），上帝所吩咐的是能够遵守的，虽然这样比较困难。」法拉纠主义者认为「恩典」是什么意思？只不过是「自然（本性）之善」，或天赋之自由意志，即，行善或行恶的可能性。因此，在 Diospolis 会议上，法拉纠这样清楚地表达自己的看法：「这就是被称为上帝之恩典：我

们被造的时候，我们的本性领受了不犯罪的可能性，因为它被造时是具自由意志的。」上帝赋予人理性和自由意志；这主要是出于恩典。

The latter wrote: “grace is given in order that what is commanded by God may be *more easily* fulfilled” (Aug. de gr. Chr. 26. 27), from which Augustine rightly infers: “that even without this, that which is divinely commanded can be done, although less easily.” What do the Pelagians then understand by grace? Really nothing more than the “good of nature,” or the endowment with free will, i.e., the possibility of doing good or evil. So Pelagius distinctly expressed himself at the council at Diospolis: “this he calls the grace of God, that our nature, when it was created, received the possibility of not sinning, since it was created with a free will” (in Aug. de gest. Pel. 10.22). The endowment with reason (Pel. ad Dem. 2) and free will is primarily grace.

人无知，被恶习掌握；上帝赐律法，然后赐基督的教训、榜样

Man Became Ignorant, Habit of Sinning Controls; God Gives Law, Then Christ’s Teachings and Example

这在原始时代是足够的。可是当人间被无知和犯罪的习惯掌握的时候，上帝就赐下律法；然后，当律法明显地太软弱，不能破除恶习的能力的时候，上帝就赐下基督的教训与榜样。伯拉纠的确是这么写的：「我们，就是藉着基督的恩典被教导，被重生成为更好的人，我们被祂的血赎罪、洁净，被祂的榜样激动追求完全公义的人，应该比那些在律法之下的人更良善」；可是，这封信的整个论调 – 其主题就是认识律法，是促进美德的方法 – 和伯氏之宣告：上帝开我们的眼，启示了将来的事，「到时祂要以天上恩典的精彩恩赐光照我们」，都清楚证明，对他来说，「上帝的帮助」仅指祂的教导。

This was sufficient in the primitive age of the race (ib. 4 ff. 8). But when ignorance and the habit of sinning gained the upper hand among men, God gave the law (Pel. ad Dem. 8), and again, when the law proved too weak to break the power of evil habit, he gave the teachings and example of Christ (Aug. pecc. orig. 26. 30). Pelagius, indeed, writes: “We, who have been instructed through the grace of Christ and born again to better manhood, who have been expiated and purified by his blood, and incited by his example to perfect righteousness, ought to be better than those who were under the law” (ad Dem. 8); but the whole argument of this letter, where the topic is simply the knowledge of the law as a means for the promotion of virtue (9, 10, 13, 16, 20, 23), as well as the declaration, that God opens our eyes and reveals the future “when he illuminates us with the multiform and ineffable gift of celestial grace” (Aug. de gr. Chr. 7. 8), proves that for him that the “assistance of God” consists, after all, only in instruction.

奥古斯丁坚持，对伯拉纠来说，除了本性与律法以外，恩典仅是基督的教训与榜样而已；奥氏这样说是正确的。「我扼要的对你回答：基督徒里面有三样事，这些是每一位基督徒都有的：知识，信心，与顺服：藉着知识人认识上帝；透过信心我们相信上帝接纳我们；透过顺服我们向信心的对象奉上遵守的责任。」

Augustine is correct in maintaining that, in addition to nature and the law, it is only the teaching and example of Christ which are thought of by Pelagius as embraced in the term, grace (de gr. Chr. 41. 45; c. duas epp. Pel. iv. 5. 11). “Briefly and summarily I reply to thee: ‘He is a Christian in whom are to be found those three things which ought to be in all Christians: knowledge, faith, and obedience – knowledge, by which God is known; faith, by which (our) acceptance is believed; obedience, by which the compliance of servitude is rendered to the one believed’” (ep. de possibil. non peccandi, 5. 1. Cap., p. 119). Christianity is law, and, as compared with the Old Testament, an enlarged law (ib. p. 71).

人是否好人，由善行决定；克服罪：由自由意志；理性，律法光照自由意志

Is Man Good? Decide by Good Works; Overcome Sin by Free Will

Free Will = Illumined by Reason and Law

所以人是否良善，是由善行决定：「恶人被称为恶人，是从他们的恶行；因此，相反地，好人被称为好人，是因为他们的好行为。」基督徒读「上帝的话」，如律法对待它；上帝要求人不仅认识律法，而且遵守它。因此，他的行为是遵循上帝的话的，他同时尽力一个一个恶习来消灭，因为美德或恶习，都是由习惯培养的。他不再「效法亚当」，掌握着「效法基督的圣洁」。这种恩典论完全符合（伯氏

之) 罪论。克服罪, 是由自由意志; 自由意志被理性光照, 或透过律法的颁布。严格来说, 这就是恩典。伯氏偶尔提到基督的血赎罪, 罪得赦免, 洗礼使人成为新人, 都是不一致的, 这都属伯拉纠主义范围之外。

It is, therefore, good works which decide whether anyone is good: "For the wicked are so called from their wicked works; thus, on the contrary, the good are so named from their good works" (de vit. Chr. 10). The Christian reads the "word of God" as a law, which requires to be not only known, but also fulfilled (Pel. ad Dem. 23). He acts, therefore, in accordance with it, and seeks to "extinguish habit by habit," since "it is habit which nourishes either vices or virtues" (ib. 17. 13). He abandons the "imitation of Adam," and lays hold upon the "imitation of the holiness of Christ" (op. imp. ii. 146). This doctrine of grace is in entire harmony with the theory of sin. Sin is overcome through free will enlightened by the reason, or by the giving of the law. This, properly speaking, is grace. That which is occasionally said of atonement through the blood of Christ, of the forgiveness of sins, and renewal through baptism, is inconsistent, and beyond the range of Pelagian ideas.

伯拉纠教义六条

Pelagian Doctrine: Six Propositions

我们在这里不作归纳。我只引用伯拉纠主义的第一位劲敌, 米兰的 Paulinus, 所提出的伯拉纠主义教义六条: 「亚当出生时是必死的; 不论他犯罪与否, 都会死亡。亚当所犯的罪只伤害自己, 并没有伤害人类。现在出生的儿童的状态, 与亚当堕落前一样。全人类没有因亚当死而死, 因亚当堕落而堕落; 全人类也没有因为基督从死里复活而从死里复活。律法与福音一样, 把人送进天国。人是无罪的, 在主来临之前也是如此。」

Instead of attempting a summary, I cite in conclusion the six propositions into which the first antagonist of Pelagianism, Paulinus of Milan, compressed the Pelagian doctrine: "Adam was born mortal, and would have died, whether he had sinned or not sinned. The sin of Adam injured only himself, and not the human race. Children who are now born are in the state in which Adam was before the fall. Neither does the whole human race (die?) through the death or fall of Adam, nor does the whole human race arise from the dead through the resurrection of Christ. The law sends into the kingdom of heaven in the same way as does the gospel. Men were impeccable, i.e., without sin, even before the coming of the Lord" (in Marius Common. 1. 1; cf. 1 subnot. Praef. 5).

### 3. 奥古斯丁的罪论与恩典论

#### Augustine's Doctrine of Sin and Grace.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 338-357.)

奥古斯丁受西方教会, 《罗马书》影响最深: 全人类免不了有原罪

Augustine = Mostly Influenced by Western Church, Epistle to Romans;

All Mankind Not Free From Original Sin

奥古斯丁恩典论中最重要的因素, 不是他回转信主的经历, 虽然这的确影响他的理论; 不是他必需面对的伯拉纠主义, 虽然后者影响了他所建立的教义的某些细节; 更不是奥氏的教会观。从历史角度来看, 奥古斯丁步安波罗修之后尘, 强调了西方教会的宗教常识, 也受《罗马书》所塑造。他还没有与伯拉纠主义争辩之前, 他的教义在各基本特征方面已经成形。

The controlling factor in giving to Augustine's doctrine of grace its peculiar form was not primarily the nature of his conversion, although this helped to mould his theory; nor the Pelagian doctrine which he was compelled to face, although this gave form to many details in the statement of the doctrine; least of all, the Augustinian conception of the church. Historically considered, Augustine, following Ambrose, gave recognition to the religious common sense of the West, and was moulded by the ideas of the Epistle to the Romans. His doctrine was complete in its essential features before the beginning of the great controversy (cf. the remarks, don.

persev. 20. 52).

奥古斯丁在罪和恩典教义的最早言论，使我们想起安波罗修。其实奥氏比安氏的观点更加缓和。人类乃是「一大堆罪恶」(a mass of sin)。全人类，包括婴儿，都免不了有原罪。情欲，无知，与死亡都掌管了人类（「情欲来自扭曲的意志」），「因为它（注：原罪的赐予）是公义的，我们的人性犯罪之后...我们出生时就有兽性和肉体的本性 (animal, carnal)。』

The first utterances of Augustine upon this subject remind us of the view of Ambrose. Indeed, they are even more moderate than the latter. The human race is a “mass of sin” (l. de 83 quaest. 68. 3, 4). No one, not even new-born children, is free from original sin (*peccatum originale*, conf. i. 7; v. 9; ix. 6). Concupiscence or lust, ignorance, and death, reign in the human race (qu. 66. 1; lib. arb. i. 4. 9 ff.; iii. 20. 55: “lust comes from a perverse will;” conf. viii. 5. 10), “because it was just, that after our nature had sinned ... we should be born animal and carnal” (qu. 66. 3).

我们本性在亚当里犯罪；亚当犯罪是自由的；邪恶是自由的结果；律法无能

Our Nature Sinned in Adam; Adam Sinned As Free Man; Evil = Fruit of Freedom; Law = Powerless

但是我们的本性在亚当里犯罪。而亚当是以一个自由人犯罪的。世界中的邪恶是自由的结果，奥古斯丁常常提醒 Manichaeans 这一点。律法在释放人脱离罪的状态上是无能的，因为律法只叫人扎心知罪。

But our nature sinned in Adam (66. 3-5; lib. arb. iii. 20. 56). Yet Adam sinned as a free man. Evil in the world is a result of freedom, as Augustine very frequently reminds the Manichaeans (vid. esp. de lib. arb.). The law can accomplish nothing toward releasing from the state of sin, since it can only convince of sin (66. 1, 3).

人需要恩典。「人既然没有意志的能力，除非被劝勉，被呼召，不论是在里面的（人不能看见），或在外表的（透过讲道或其他外在的方法），因此上帝具体的在我们里面工作，使我们的意志意旨。」但是，虽然恩典产生（行善的）意志，奥古斯丁认为：「上帝不会施怜悯...除非意志在前头，」也说，上帝为什么施怜悯给一些人，而拒绝其他人，是在于「领受怜悯的人的最隐秘的功劳」，因为上帝不是不义的。

There is need of grace. “And since no one is able to will unless admonished and called, either internally where no man may see, or externally through the spoken sermon or some other visible signs, it comes to pass that God works in us even to will itself” (68. 5).

But, although grace here produces the will (to do good), yet Augustine thinks: “But God would not have mercy ... unless the will had preceded,” and says the reason why God has mercy upon some and rejects others lies “in the most hidden merits” of the former, since God is not unrighteous (ib. 68. 5, 4).

关于堕落的人是这样说的：「上帝不单不应该妨碍，而且应该帮助他的意志」。追求救赎的能力仍然存在人的意志里。他可以靠自己的能力相信，意旨，可是上帝必须先给他行善的能力。

Of fallen man, it is said: “It was fitting that God should not only not hinder, but should even assist him in willing” (lib. arb. iii. 20. 55). The capacity for striving after salvation remained to his will (ib. iii. 22. 65). He is able of himself to believe and to will, but God must give him the power to do good (exposit. quarundum proposit. ex ep. ad Rom. 61; cf. retract. i. 23. 3; de praedest. 3. 7).

我们可以这样归纳奥氏神学观念的形式：因为亚当的堕落，人受无知，情欲，和死亡的辖制。人若回应上帝的呼召 (*vocatio*)，是的确有能力相信、意旨善的事，可是只有恩典在他里面作成能力，叫他能作出这善（注：即：相信，意旨）。

The form of doctrinal conception may here be summarized as follows: Man has, through the fall of Adam, become subject to ignorance, lust, and death. In response to the call (*vocatio*) of God, he is indeed able to believe and to will that which is good, but it is only grace that works in him the power to perform it.

可是，奥古斯丁重新研读《罗马书》时，修订了这理论。《罗马书》讨论的问题（第九章）是雅各被拣选。在这情况，人的行为不可能是上帝拣选的基础（原因）；也不可能是上帝预知雅各「信心的功劳」。根据《罗马书》9：16和《腓立比书》2：13，上帝拯救的决心，完全在于上帝的怜悯和美意。因

此，人得救完全是因为上帝的恩典。

But, under renewed study of the Epistle to the Romans (vid. quaest. ad Simplician. i. quaest. 2), Augustine revised this theory (vid. remarks, praed. sanct. 3. 8). The subject there under discussion is the election of Jacob, according to Rom. 9. Works can in this instance not be the ground of the election, nor can the divine prescience of the “merits of the faith” of Jacob (l. c. qu. 2. 2. ff.). According to Rom. 9.16 and Phil. 2. 13, the resolution to save lies solely in the mercy and good pleasure of God. Hence salvation must be attributed solely to grace.

得救的开端是在人里面，是在信心。就算是这信心也是由恩典作成的：即，透过上帝的呼召。可可是人会提出异议：恩典本身是不足够的，人的意志必须与恩典结合。奥古斯丁回答说：「可是这是明显的：除非上帝开恩；可是我不知道凭什么可以说，上帝施怜悯；可是我不知道为什么可以说：上帝施怜悯是妄然的，除非我们愿意。因为上帝若施怜悯，我们就会愿意；我们的愿意是属于同一个怜悯的。」

It has its beginning in man in faith. Even this faith is a work wrought by grace – namely, through the divine call (10). But to this it might be objected, that grace of itself is not sufficient, but that the human will must be combined with it. To this Augustine replies: “But this is manifest, that we will in vain, unless God have mercy; but I do not know how it can be said, that God has mercy; but I do not know how it can be said, that God has mercy in vain unless we will. *For if God has mercy, we also will; our willing belongs to the same mercy*” (12).

因此，救恩完全倚靠上帝全能的旨意，不论人的意志愿意或不愿意。当此观念与上帝的呼召连接的时候，我们就能分辨两种人：被拣选的 (*electi*)，他们领受了适当的呼召；上帝「用适合他们的方法呼召他们；另外就是那些被召的人(*vocati*)，上帝的呼召的确临到他们，可是「因为这呼召的本质乃是，他们不能受到呼召的感动，他们也不适合接受此呼召，所以我们可以说，他们是被召的，但不是被拣选的 (*electi*)。」

Therefore, it depends solely upon the omnipotent will of God, whether anyone shall will or not will. When this idea is combined with that of the divine call, it results in the discrimination of two classes: The elect (*electi*) who are suitably (*congruenter*) called, whom God calls “in whatever way was suitable for them; and the called (*vocati*), to whom the call indeed came, but “because it was of such a character that they could not be moved by it and were not suitable (*apti!*) to accept it, they could be said to be called indeed, but not chosen” (*electi*) (13).

所以，以扫不是被拣选的，因为上帝没有施怜悯给他，没有赐他有效的呼召。这里完全没有「上帝不公义」的观念，因为没有人有权从「人类大堆的罪（罪的实体）」被救出。可是，上帝的判与道路是无可测度的（罗 11：23）。因此，上帝「以祂的公义与怜悯哀叹」。

That Esau was not chosen is, therefore, because God did not have mercy upon him, and did not effectually call him (14). There can be no thought here of any unrighteousness in God, since no one has a right to be delivered from the “mass of sin.” But the judgments and ways of God are inscrutable (Rom. 11. 23). God “therefore laments with justice and mercy” (16).

因此，不是人的愿意和行为导致他得救，而是唯独因着上帝的恩典，上帝的恩典怜悯一些人，有效地呼召他们，可是弃绝其他人，叫他们领受所配得的命运。这里很有意思的是，恩典的独特效果，不是人的醒觉，或人的信心，而是一个正直的生命：「恩典使人称义，好叫被称义的人能够正直地（公义地）生活：因此，首是恩典；然后，好行为」（「光是人的意志，使我们正直生活是不够的。」）。

It is, hence, not the willing and the conduct of man which lead to salvation, but solely the grace of God, which has mercy upon some and effectually calls them, but leaves others to their merited fate. It is interesting to observe here that the peculiar effect of grace is held to be, not the awakening of faith, but an upright life: “But grace justifies, in order that the justified man may be able to live justly (righteously): the first thing, therefore, is grace; the second, good works” (3, cf. 12: “the will of man alone does not suffice, that we may live righteously and rightly”).

我们可以从奥古斯丁的个人经验看出。他学到要握住上帝的恩典，不是因为恩典在他里面唤醒了信心的确据 – 好像在路德的生命中那样 – 而是因为恩典胜过了他不愿意过一个基督徒生活的意志。他读到《罗马书》13：13-14，劝勉他要过一个道德的生活，就觉悟了：「我既不愿意继续读下去，也没有这个

需要；因为，读完这一句的时候，确据的光马上倾倒在我的心，所有怀疑的阴影都消除了。」「你亲自使我回转，归回到你自己那里，好叫我不再追求我的妻子或任何今世的盼望。」

This may be understood in the light of Augustine's personal Christian experience. He learned to lay hold upon the grace of God, not because it awakened in him, as in Luther, the assurance of faith, but because it overcame his unwillingness to lead a Christian life. He apprehended it as he read the exhortation to moral conduct in Rom. 13. 13 f.: "Neither did I wish to read any further, nor was there any need; for immediately with the end of this sentence, the light of assurance being, as it were, poured into my hart, all the shades of doubt were dissipated" (conf. viii. 12. 29; cf. 30: "Thou didst convert me to Thyself, that I might desire neither wife nor any other hope of this world;" also the prayer x. 1).

但是我们也在这里注意到奥古斯丁的上帝观的影响。他深刻地、充分地体会有位格的上帝，与人交往，然而在他的上帝观里还有一个外来的观念。他认为上帝是纯存有，完全简一，不辩，不朽。这绝对的存在形式 (*substantia*) 就是「善」。所有存在物，都在这「存在形式」里存在，或从它引伸而存在。因此，所有存在物都是善的。「因此所有存在的，要就是上帝，或从上帝而来，因为所有的善都是上帝，或从上帝而来。」

But we notice also in this connection the influence of the conception of God entertained by Augustine. Profoundly and fully as he recognizes the personal God holding intercourse with man, yet there is also a foreign element in his conception of the Deity. He thinks of God as pure Being, absolutely simple, immutable, and indestructible (e.g., soliloq. i. 1. 4 init.; de trin. vi. 6. 8; in Joh. tr. 13. 5; 1.8). This absolute Subsistence (*substantia*) is the Good. All that exists either in this Subsistence or is derived from it. Hence it follows, that everything that exists is good. "Therefore every subsistence is either God or from God, because all good is either God or from God" (lib. arb. iii. 13. 36).

因此，低贱的和邪恶的是不是存在形式。「我所追问的恶，不是一个存在形式，因为，若是存在形式的话，它就是善的。」邪恶存在的根基不是上帝，而在自由意志里：「我追问，罪孽是什么，我找到了，不是存在形式，而是一个扭曲的意志，从上帝，至高的存在形式转离，转向深渊。邪恶的意志是所有邪恶的起源。」

Hence, the base and the evil are not subsistences. "And that evil of which I inquired whence it was, is not a subsistence, because if it were a subsistence it would be good" (conf. vii. 12. 18). Evil has its basis, not in God, but in free will: "And I inquired what iniquity was, and I found not a subsistence, but the perversity of a will turned away from God, the supreme Subsistence, to the depths (conf. vii. 16. 22). The evil will is the source of all evil (enchirid. 4. 15; civ. dei, xii. 7; op. imp. vi. 5).

可是，邪恶若是这样（按照新柏拉图的结构）来理解，是在人里的不存在物 (*non-entity*)、那么恩典就只能是上帝的创造作为，是不存在的存在，藉着改造邪恶意志的根据，头盖骨呼仅一个好的意志。

But if evil be thought of in this (Neo-Platonic) scheme as a nonentity in man, then grace can be regarded only as a creative act of God, making of the nonentity an entity, by transforming the basis of the former, the *evil will*, through the *inbreathing of a good will*.

我们只有从这观念才能完全理解奥古斯丁的恩典论。他所看到的，主要不是建立一个位格性的相交，而是一个创造的作为。恩典是大能的，创造性的作为。恩典是有效的，因为它是全能创造的意志（上帝）在人里注入一个新的存在形式，就是道德的意志。

It is only from this point of view that we can entirely understand Augustine's doctrine of grace. He has in view primarily, not the establishment of a personal communion, but a creative act. Grace is effectual as the almighty, but a creative act. Grace is effectual as the almighty, creative Will, which infuses into man a new subsistence, the moral will.

要处理奥古斯丁如何反驳伯拉纠主义，必须看到下列的原则是且准则性的。

These principles remained as normative for the exhaustive treatment given to the subject by Augustine in opposition to Pelagianism.

人被造时候是良善的，正直的，自由的；  
身体服从灵魂，理性在人里面治理人；人在自由状况；  
上帝帮助人；人有能力在善中坚忍，但没有被迫

MAN = CREATED GOOD, UPRIGHT, FREE;

BODY SERVES SOUL, REASON REIGNS IN MAN; CONDITION = FREE;

GOD ASSISTS; ABLE/NOT COMPELLED TO PERSEVERE IN GOOD

上帝造人是善的，正直的。人完全不认识情欲。他的意志是正面的善的。既然是善的，人因此是真正自由的。「因此上帝创造（人），正直的，因此有一个好意志。...因此当意志不服事罪恶或恶习的时候，它的决定是真正自由的。」

God created man good and upright. He knew nothing of concupiscence. His will was positively good. Being thus good, he was in consequence truly free. “God made (man) therefore, as it is written, upright, and hence of a good will. ... Therefore the decision of the will is truly free whenever it does not serve vices and sins” (civ. dei, xiv. 11.1; 10; op. imp. v. 61.)

人在这个状况中服事上帝，这样作使人得到至高的满足。与此同时，身体，包括一切的欲望，顺从灵魂，而理性在人里面掌权。可是这是一个自由的状况：「人应该愿意在这（好意志）里，或者他不愿意永远存留在这状况里，而想从它改变到一个邪恶的意志，这样作是没有外来的逼迫的；这都是在人的选择范围里。」

In this condition man served God, and found supreme satisfaction in doing so. The body meanwhile, with all its impulses, served the soul, and reason reigned in man (civ. dei, xiv. 24.1; 26 init.; nupt. et conc. ii. 15.30; pecc. merit. ii.22.36.) But this condition was one of freedom: “It should be within his choice, either that he should always wish to be in this (good will) or that he should not always thus wish, but should change from it to an evil will without compulsion from any source” (op. imp. v. 61).

上帝对人的帮助(*adjutorium*)是在人可以获得的范围里，人因此能够坚持在善里，而不是被迫的。这就是「首先的恩典。」

The divine assistance (*adjutorium*) was within his reach, by means of which he was able, but not compelled, to persevere in the good. This was the “first grace” (corrept. et. grat. 11.31).

「可能不犯罪」；并不是「不可能犯罪」；「可能不死」；并不是「不可能死」

“POSSIBLE NOT TO SIN”, NOT “IMPOSSIBLE TO SIN”;

“POSSIBLE NOT TO DIE”, NOT “IMPOSSIBLE TO DIE”

人有一个「可能不犯罪」，可是没有「不可能犯罪」；与此有关的是「可能不死，」但没有「不可能死」。因此：「人有犯罪的可能，可是没有犯罪的必需性。」因此，人被创造时，有一个倾向善的意志，上帝保守他存留在这好意志里，可是，人透过他的自由是可能使这意志转离到另一个方向的。

There was a *posse non peccare*, but not a *non posse peccare*, and in connection with this, a *posse non mori*, but not a *non posse mori* (ib. 12.33; op. imp. vi. 16), and hence: “He had a possibility, but not a necessity, of sinning” (op. imp. vi.5). Man was, therefore, created with an inclination of the will toward the good and was by God preserved in it, but in such a way that, through his freedom, it was possible for his inclination to be turned in another direction.

人在堕落中失去善；罪行引致：意志 = 邪恶；骄傲 = 成因，人欲作自己的主人；

不顺从导致惩罚：属肉体的，无知的；加上必死

邪恶的意志导致：邪恶的情欲：亚当成为罪人

MAN LOST GOOD WILL IN FALL; TRANSGRESSION -> WILL=EVIL;

PRIDE=CAUSE, MAN'D BE OWN MASTER

DISOBEDIENCE-> PUNISHMENT: FLESHLY, IGNORANT, + MORTALITY

EVIL WILL -> EVIL CONCUPISENCE; ADAM BECAME SINNER

亚当在堕落时失去了这一切。因为他犯了上帝的诫命（其实他要遵守是非常容易的），他的意志就

成为邪恶的。这是因为骄傲的缘故。人不愿意顺从上帝，只愿意作自己的主人。可是，因为人拒绝顺从上帝，上帝就指定人的惩罚：人的肉体不再顺从灵；无知要管制他的魂；而身体与灵魂会死的可能性，现在成为现实（即：人必死）。「先有一个邪恶的意志，这意志听从了蛇的诡计；后有邪恶的情欲，现在邪恶的人只能张开口，面对禁果。」亚当不仅作了一次的罪行；他成了一个罪人。

All of this Adam lost in the fall. Since he transgressed the commandment of God, which he might so easily have fulfilled, his will became evil. Pride was the cause of it. Man was not willing to obey God, but wished to be his own master. But, since man refuses obedience to God, God assigns it as his punishment, that his flesh shall cease to serve the spirit, that ignorance shall take possession of his soul, and the potential mortality of body and soul shall become a reality. “An evil will preceded, by which credence was given to the wile of the serpent, and evil concupiscence followed, by which he stood gaping before the forbidden food” (op. imp. i.71; vid. also civ. dei, xiv.11ff.; xiii.3.13; nat. et grat. 25.28). Adam has not merely done a single act, but has become a sinner. 亚当的性格传给后代：人性改变了

人性变成罪人的人性，繁殖出来的都是罪人：

全人类都在亚当里；所有的人都犯了罪，都在亚当里被定罪

亚当的道德性格（罪性），惩罚，情欲导致：自然都恶化：都忍受情欲的辖制

ADAM’S CHARACTER -> POSTERITY: HUMAN NATURE=CHANGED

NATURE BECAME SINNER, BEGETS SINNERS: LANGUOR=DEFECT

ALL MEN = IN ADAM’S LOINS; ALL SINNED, = CONDEMNED IN ADAM

ADAM’S MORAL CHARACTER, PUNISHMENT, CONCUPISCENCE -> ALL

NATURE = WORSE: MUST ENDURE CONCUPISCENCE

亚当这个性格，现已传到他的后代。因着上帝惩罚的预旨，亚当变成一个不同的人，因而人性也改变了：「人性因罪而受影响：我们的本性变的更坏，我们不仅成为罪人，我们所生的后代也是罪人；而不能过正直生命的败坏，不是本性，乃是缺欠。」

This character of Adam has now passed over to his posterity. Through the punitive decree of God, Adam has become a different man, and human nature has thereby been changed: “Nature (was) vitiated by sin: our nature, there transformed for the worse, not only became a sinner, but also begets sinners; and yet that languor in which the power of living aright has been lost is certainly not nature, but defect” (nup. et. conc. ii.34-57; 8.20; c. Jul. iii.24-53; op. imp. iii.11; ii.163; civ. dei, xiii.3; cf. in Joh. tr. 44.1: “defect grew, *inolevit*, instead of nature”).

同时，全人类都在亚当里：「所有的人，都是那一个人」；因此，按照《罗马书》5：12，「因此在亚当里，众人都犯了罪」。他们诚然都包含在他里面。

But now all men were in Adam: “All men were that one man” (pecc. mer. et. rem. i.10.11); hence, according to Rom. 5:12 (in quo): “In Adam all then sinned” (ib. iii.17.4; nupt. et. conc. ii.5.15; op. imp. ii.176). They were all, indeed, contained in him.

因此：（一）他的道德本性成为他们的本性。（二）在亚当身上所宣布的惩罚（即：受情欲与死亡的辖制），也传到他们（众人）身上。我们犯了他的罪，我们有他罪孽的重担。

From this it follows: (1) That his moral character becomes theirs. (2) That the penalty pronounced upon him (of being subject to concupiscence and death) passes over also upon them. We have his sin, and we are burdened with his guilt.

「因此，按照那罪行大小而订的定罪，使人性（自然）恶化，因而首先在先前犯罪的人身上的惩罚，后来成为他人出生就有的本性。...那位作为祖先之人所是的，生下来的人都是。...在人里面的人性是被污染，被改变到这个程度，人要忍受在自己里面肢体之间情欲的不顺从的争战，也要受死亡的必然性，因此，那从过错而来的，成为惩罚，即是，他所生的人都在罪与死之下。」

“Wherefore condemnation in view of the magnitude of that sin has changed nature for the worse, so that what preceded penally in the first sinning men, follows naturally in other men in birth. ... But what the parent man is, that is also the offspring man ... To such an extent was human nature vitiated and changed in him that it



should have to endure the disobedience of concupiscence warring in its members, and be subject to the necessity of death, and thus that which sprung from fault became penalty, i.e., he should generate those subject to sin and death” (civ. dei, xiii.3,13,14; op. imp. iv.104; vi.22; i.47).

因此，全人类在亚当里都成为「一个灭亡的实体」，都在亚当里被定罪。「因为所有的人的种子，在亚当被定罪的时候都在他的体内，因此，亚当不是在人类以外（抽离人类）而被定罪的。」

Thus, in Adam the whole human race has become a “mass of perdition” and is condemned in him. “For all men were thus seminally in the loins of Adam when he was condemned, and, therefore, he was not condemned without them” (op. imp. v.12).

没有人能在这事上免疫；连新出世的婴儿也不能。上帝指定他们要受苦难，特别是小孩子要受苦；这就是证据。有时候甚至在洗礼的时候也需要赶鬼。因为原罪本身就带来定罪，所以就算在小孩子身上，必定有这样的效果；虽然，在他们身上所施的是「最轻的惩罚。」

From this no one is exempt, not even new-born children (c. Jul. i.6.22; op. imp. i.56; iii.154; cf. the scriptural proof in pecc. mer. et rem. 1.27.40ff.). This is attested by the sufferings which the righteous God appoints for men, and especially by the sufferings of children (pecc. mer. et rem. iii.10.18) and by exorcism at baptism (c. Jul. vi.5.11). As original sin simply as such brings condemnation, it must have this effect even in the case of children, although there is meted out to them “the lightest condemnation of all” (pecc. mer. et rem. i.12.15; 16.21).

从上述我们可以看出，在我们里面有「一个犯罪的必须性」。今生「我不知道是一个必死的生命，还是一个活的死亡。」不过，最须要强调的是，人是不配获得救恩的。奥古斯丁超过了安波罗修，和他理论种的宗教意义乃是，奥氏竭力坚持这观念，把所有人的活动都放在罪和罪孽之下（异教徒的美德，只不过是「灿烂的恶习」）。除了在基督里以外，没有善，没有救赎；这就是奥氏的讨论所留下给教会的影响。

From all the above it follows, that there is in us a “necessity of sinning” (op. imp. i.106; v.61; perf. Just.4.9). Of this life, it is said: “whether mortal life or vital death, I know not” (conf. i.67; cf. civ. dei, xiii.10 init.). But, above all else, the absolute unfitness of man for salvation must be emphasized. It is the energy with which Augustine maintains this idea, embracing all human activity under sin and guilt (the virtues of the heathen being but “splendid vice;” cf. civ. dei, v.12 ff.; xix.25), which marks his advance beyond Ambrose, and constitutes the religious significance of his theory. That nothing good and no salvation can be found except in Christ was the thought impressed upon the church by these discussions.

原罪乃从本罪和罪孽的角度来理解。原罪是罪，也是上帝的惩罚。原罪在人类中蔓延，不藉模仿，乃藉繁殖。「它透过一个人进入世界，它就传到众人。」虽然婚姻是道德的「善」（不过单身更好）；可是繁殖不可能脱离情欲发生；证据是：性交行为必定同时有羞耻感，而这情欲也传给下一代。

Original sin is regarded in the light of real sin, as well of guilt. It is sin, and is a divine penalty. It is propagated among men, not in the way of imitation (c. Jul. vi.24.75), but by generation. “Through one man it entered the world, and it passes through all men”

(pecc. mer. et rem. i. 12. 33). Although marriage is a moral good (pecc. orig. 37. 42; 33. 38; though celibacy is to be preferred, vid op. imp. v. 17), yet generation never occurs without sinful concupiscence, as is proved clearly enough by the sense of shame associated with the act (nupt. et conc. li. 5. 14), and the concupiscence passes over upon the children.

就算父母都是重生的，也是如此，「因为从橄榄种子所生的，不然是野橄榄。」「也是，当我们讨论繁殖的行为的时候，必须承认，被允许的、尊贵的相交也不可能没有欲火攻心而进行；只传递属理性的而不传递属情欲的，是不可能的。...关于这肉体上的情欲－我承认，在重生的人身上是存在的，它不是被归算的罪－不过，在人性（自然）中只可能从罪而存在－关于这情欲，我说：...所有从它出生的后代，都因为它的起源而受罪的捆绑。」

This is the case even when the parents are regenerate, “as from the seed of an olive springs nothing but a

wild olive” (ib. ii. 34. 58). “Yet, when it shall come to the act of generation, it is not possible that allowable and honorable intercourse should occur without the burning of lust, so that what springs from reason might be transmitted, and not what springs from lust. ... Of this concupiscence of the flesh, which I grant is in the regenerate not imputed as sin (previously described as ‘venial sins’), but which is not found in nature except from sin – of this concupiscence of the flesh, I say ... whatever offspring is born is by virtue of its origin (*originaliter*) bound to sin” (nupt. et conc. 1. 24. 27).

「种里有缺欠。」关于灵魂是什么时候被创造的，奥氏没有结论。因此在这点上奥氏的罪论并不清楚。奥氏当然认为罪是透过性交的情欲而传递的，可是这并不意味着，它认为两性之间之性交本身是有罪的，是有损人的尊贵的。奥古斯丁的观念仅是，人，身为一个罪人，只可能用有罪的方法生出后代。

There is “a defect (*vitium*) of the seed” (ib. ii. 8. 20). In the question of Traducianism or Creationism, Augustine could reach no conclusion (de anima et ejus origine, ii. 14. 20; 15.21; retract. i. 1. 3). There is, consequently, at this point a lack of clearness in his theory of sin. He certainly represents sin as propagated by lust in copulation, but this is not to be understood as though he regarded the intercourse of the sexes as in itself sinful or unworthy of man. His idea is only, that man, being a sinner, can generate offspring only in a sinful way.

有罪的状态是在罪行之前。因此，从这观念追溯到 Manichean 的二元论，是不正确的（正如 Eclanum 的犹利安所作的）。我们可以说，「奥古斯丁的修道士情怀」支持这观点，但我们只能说这么多而已。

The sinful state, to his mind, logically precedes the sinful act. It is, therefore, not correct to trace this idea to unvanquished Manichaeism (Harnack, DG iii. 191, note 3), as was done already by Julian of Eclanum. It may be said that the “monastic temper of Augustine favored” it (Loofs, DG., ed. 3, p. 215), but beyond this we cannot go.

我们应该考虑反面的证据：在奥古斯丁思想的背景中有一种信念：罪是没有存在形式 (*subsistence*) 的，罪仅是善的缺乏而已。

In evidence against the suggestion, we may recall that even yet there lies in the background in Augustine’s mind the conviction that sin has no subsistence, but is only a *privatio boni*, a (nat. et. grat. 20. 22; c. Jul. 1. 8. 37; enchir. 11; cf. p. 341).

人个别的罪行，乃从原罪（原罪是必须的）而出；罪行乃是出自「人的自由意志，不出自亚当」。虽然如此，我们仍然可以称它为「自由意志」，甚至在罪人身上还是如此，虽然不是从伯拉纠的 *possibilitas utriusque partis* 意义来看，因为人不可能同时是好树和坏树。

From original sin, which is thus a “necessity,” proceed the individual sins of man, which he adds to the former “of his own free will, not through Adam” (pecc. mer. et rem. i. 15. 20; conf. v. 9. init.). Yet, despite all this, we may speak of a free will (*liberum arbitrium*) even in the case of the sinner, though not in the sense of the Pelagian *possibilitas utriusque partis*, for a man cannot be at the same time both a good and evil tree (grat. Chr. C. 18, 19, sec 19 ff.).

人已经失去乐园里的自由，即：「拥有公义与完全的不朽」；因为这自由（「能过好的，正直的生活的自由」）现在只在「恩典」影响的能力下才能存在。这正是在罪人身上所缺乏的。不过他仍然有出自自己意志犯罪的自由。「我们不是说，因为亚当的罪，自由意志从人的本性消失了；而是说：人的意志能够犯罪，...可是人不可能过良善，敬虔的生活，除非人的意志本身被上帝的恩典释放。」

The *libertas* of paradise has been lost, i.e., “to have with righteousness full immortality;” for this freedom (“free to live well and uprightly”) now exists only by virtue of the influence of “grace,” which is precisely what is lacking in the sinner’s case. But the freedom to sin of his own will has, however, remained to him. “We do not say that by the sin of Adam free will perished from the nature of men, but that it is capable of sinning ... but it is not capable of living well and piously, unless the will of man has itself been liberated by the grace of God” 9C. duas ep. Pel. ii. 5. 9; op. imp. 1. 94). Hence, “we are not such against our will.”

正如我们上文所观察的，上段引用的奥氏的话清楚指出，根据他的观点，公义就是指「过良善，正直的生活」。这给我们一条认识他对原罪本质的观念的线索。奥氏的原罪观不可能好像马丁路德那样，等于不信。原罪最重要的，是邪恶的情欲，或属肉体的情欲，其主体乃是人的灵魂：「因为肉体若没有灵魂是不会发动情欲的，虽然我们所肉体会会有欲念，因为人的灵魂属肉体地发动情欲。」我们在这一点上 – 情欲掌管灵魂 – 看到原罪的惩罚与后果，不是它的成因。「身体的败坏压制灵魂，这不是第一次犯罪的成因，而是它的惩罚；同样地，必朽的肉体并不使灵魂成为罪人，而是有罪的灵魂使肉体败坏。」

In harmony with what we have before observed, the words of Augustine just cited indicate clearly that, in his view, righteousness is a “living well and rightly.” This gives us a clue to his conception of the nature of original sin. It cannot be, as in Luther, unbelief. According to Augustine, it is above all, *evil* or *carnal concupiscence*, which finds its subject, indeed, in the soul: “for the flesh does not lust (*concupiscit*) without the soul, although the flesh is said to lust, because the soul lusts carnally” (perf. Just. 8. 19). In this dominion of sensuality over the spirit we are to recognize the penal consequence of the first sin, but not its cause. “The corruption of the body which oppresses the soul is not the cause, but the penalty, of the first sin; neither does the corruptible flesh make the soul a sinner, but the sinful soul makes the flesh corrupt” (civ. dei, xiv. 3; cf., as to the term, flesh, ib. c. 2).

灵魂的败坏与「无知的恐怖深渊」有密切的关系。这让我们理解，人为什么向他的欲念与虚妄的事投降。「但是这些都是邪恶的人的特征，不过它们的根源乃是错误与扭曲的感情；这是亚当的每一个后裔出生时都有的。」如何解释欲念？欲念来自无知。而两者都来自人扭曲的倾向。

With this degradation of the spirit is intimately connected the “horrible depth of ignorance.” This enables us to understand why man surrenders himself to his passions and to vain things. “But these are all characteristics of wicked men, yet they come from that root of error and perverted affection with which every son of Adam is born” (civ. dei, xxii. 22. 1). Lust finds its explanation in ignorance. And both have their foundation in the perverted inclination of man.

人偏行己意，偏离上帝，转向自己，这样人就向世界投降，让世界胜过他。他愿意爱自己，而弃绝对上帝的爱。人因此向情欲投降；情欲所爱、所追求的是世界的外壳。这「自爱」是罪真正的核心。这显然是奥古斯丁的原罪观，可从他这方面的论述看出：

He turned away from God and toward himself, and in this fell a prey to the world. He wanted to love himself, and abandoned his love to God; he is, in consequence, given over to the lust which loves and pursues the husks of the world. This “love of self” is the real essence of sin. That such is Augustine’s conception is manifest from his magnificent presentation of the subject in *Sermo 96. 2. 2*:

「人最初的自毁就是爱自己。...就是说，他的意志愿意爱自己。...因为人既然离弃了上帝，他就爱自己，又离开自己去爱外界的东西。...你已经开始爱自己：你试试看，可以留在自己里面吗？外面有什么？...你又开始爱外面的东西了；你毁灭了自己。因此，当人的爱从自己转道外面的事物的时候，他就开始在虚妄的东西里失去了自己，像浪子一样，荒废了他的力量。他倒空了自己，被倾倒在出来，完全荒废，只能喂猪。」

“The first ruin of man was the *love of himself*. ... That is, his making it his will that he should will to love himself. ... For, having forsaken God, he begins to love himself and is driven away from himself to the loving of the thing which are without. ... Thou hast begun to love thyself: remain in thyself, if thou canst. What is without? ... Thou hast begun to love what is without thee; thou hast destroyed thyself. Therefore, when a man’s love passes from himself to the things which are without, he begins to lose himself (*evanescere*) in vain things and to squander his strength like the prodigal. He is emptied, poured out, rendered destitute, and feeds swine.”

这就是罪的本质：爱自己，无知，欲念。人从上帝面前堕落，愿意服事自己，他就被卷入世俗的漩涡里。从那时开始，人的生命只不过是死亡。我们的祖先「虽然继续活了很多年岁，但是他们从领受了朽坏死亡之律那天之后，开始死了。」从那时开始，他们面对各种各样的邪恶。

Such is the nature of sin: love of self, ignorance, concupiscence. Man falls away from God, wishing to

serve himself, and he is drawn into the whirlpool of worldliness. Henceforth his existence is but death. Of our first parents, it is said: "Therefore, although they lived many years afterward, yet they began to die in that day in which they received the law by which they should grow into the decay of old age" (pecc. mer. et rem. i. 16. 21). The whole host of evils now overwhelms man.

因此罪改变了在世界中的生活，使之成为地狱一般，只有基督才能搭救人脱离它。可是，奥古斯丁在讨论原始的邪恶的时候，没有忽略「原始的善」。人生人，而上帝容许人的后代，藉着上帝有效的大能，作有理性的「人」，有上帝的形象。「原始的邪恶中有两件事：繁殖与效法。可是人里面还存在着「性格的光」，就是他按照上帝的形象被创造的时候所有的性格。

Thus life in the world was by sin transformed into a hell, from which only Christ was able to deliver (civ. dei, xxii. 22. 4). But, in discussing original evil, Augustine does not forget the *original good*. Men generate men, and God permits the latter through his "efficacious power" to become men, with intellectual likeness to God. "In original evil there are two things, propagation and conformation. Yet there is not entirely extinct within man a certain spark of the character (*scintilla rationis*) in which he was created after the image of God" (civ. dei, xxii. 24. , 2, 3).

这就是奥古斯丁的罪论。罪是从一个纯粹宗教的角度处理，罪就是善的绝对相反，罪是全人类的状况，只有基督才能改变罪这事实。不过在这里，罪乃是人自己的罪，也是全人类的罪；因此承认人的性格是属灵的，这观念本身是一致的；同时也提供一个对人类历史发展的正确观点。奥古斯丁的原罪论不仅有宗教上的意义，而且在心理学和伦理学的知识，和历史的宏观上都跨进一大步。

Such is Augustine's doctrine of sin. Here at length sin is treated from a purely religious point of view, as the absolute opposite of the good, and as the condition of the race, which can be changed only through Christ. But here, too, sin is regarded as the sin of *man* himself and of the *race*. The way is thus opened for the recognition of the spiritual character of man as in itself consistent, and for a proper conception of the historical development of the race. Augustine's doctrine of original sin is not only a matter of religious interest, but it is also a scientific advance in the realms of psychology and ethics, as well as a massive conception in the sphere of history.

与奥古斯丁的罪论符合的是：他认为人得救完全是因为上帝的恩典。恩典开始人里面的善，恩典在释放人的意志之后，继续不断地主动影响人，「当人不愿意的时候，恩典走在他前面，好叫他愿意；当人愿意的时候恩典随着他，好叫他所愿意的不致徒然。」上帝「预备人的意志，上帝开始时候所作的，透过合作完成。他既然在开始的时候工作，好叫我们愿意，就在我们的意志愿意的时候与我们同工，以致完成。」所以，只有因为受上帝恩典的影响，人才达至善，并留在善中。

In harmony with his doctrine of sin, Augustine attributes the salvation of men to grace alone. Grace begins the good in man, and it remains actively influential in him after it has liberated his will. "It goes before him when unwilling, that he may will; it follows him when willing, that he may not will in vain" (enchir. 9. 32). God "prepares the will, and by cooperating completes what he begins by operating. Since he, in beginning, operates that we may will, who, in perfecting, cooperates with us when we will" (grat. Et lib. arb. 17. 33). It is thus only under the gracious influence of God that man comes to the good and remains in it.

我们已经看见，奥古斯丁观念中的恩典是上帝创造作为的力量。因此，我们可以理解恩典被描述为「一个奇妙，不可言喻的能力」，在人里面作成「不仅是真正的启示，而且良善的意志」；恩典的影响是必须的，就算在乐园的正直（无罪）状态也是如此。

We have already observed that Augustine conceives of grace as divine creative power in action. We understand, therefore, how it can be described as a "wonderful and ineffable power" which effects in man "not alone true revelations, but also good wills" (grat. Chr. 24. 25), and how its influence can be pronounced necessary even in the state of integrity in paradise (ep. 186. 11. 37; enchir. 25. 106).

恩典就是上帝不可抗拒的创造能力；恩典在人的心中成就它的影响力，就是「善」的力量。当我们研究奥古斯丁关于「恩典的工作」的论述时，必须记住这点。人不能帮助自己；教义，好榜样，甚至律

法都无能为力。仅有诫命是没有力量压制情欲的。只有靠恩典与信心，才能获得救恩：「好行为的律法用威胁来向人要求的，信心之律透过相信使人得到。」

Grace is simply the resistless creative power of God, which exerts its influence in the hearts of men as the power of the good. This must be kept in view when we follow Augustine's delineation of the work of grace. Not man himself, not doctrine, not example, not the law, can help. The bare commandment is powerless against concupiscence. Only through grace and faith can salvation be attained: "what the law of works demands with threatening, that the law of faith secures by believing."

在这方面有一个口号：一方面，「你所吩咐的，求赐下」，另一方面，「我所吩咐的，你必须遵守。」第一方面的福分乃是罪得赦免，人透过洗礼获得。赦罪乃从更新开始，这里（恩典）就是赦罪的基础。因此藉着洗礼，罪被赦免。不过情欲仍然存在在受过洗的人；不过情欲不再是罪，因为上帝不再算它为罪。

Here the motto is: "Grant what Thou commandest;" there, "Do what I command" (sp. et lit. 13. 22). The first blessing is the *forgiveness of sins*, which man receives through baptism. With it begins *renewal (renovatio)*, which finds here its basis (pecc. mer. et rem. Ii. 7. 9; 27. 43; conf. i. 11). Sin is, therefore, forgiven through baptism. Concupiscence, however, yet remains even in the baptized; but it is no longer sin, because God no longer so accounts it (nupt. et conc. i. 25. 28; 31. 36; pecc. mer. et rem. i. 37. 70).

不过我们必须注意，罪的赦免不像保罗的教导中一样，与信心的关系那么紧凑。基督徒的生命以信心开始，信心是上帝作成的，是「我们信仰（宗教）与生命的始点。」信心就是：「同意所宣讲的是真理」，或：「以同意的心默想」。因此，信心就是对所宣讲的真理的同意 (*assensio*)。这就解释，为什么在信心以上，还有一个更高的层次，即知识 (*cognitio*)，根据《以赛亚书》7：9：「你们若不相信，你们不会知道。」（奥古斯丁也说：「人可以在有知识之前先相信。」）

It is to be noted, however, that the forgiveness of sins is not brought into such unvarying connection with faith as in Paul. The Christian life begins with faith, which is wrought by God (supra, p. 339) as the "beginning of our religion and life." Faith is described as "to agree that what is said is true" (sp. et lit. 31. 54) or "to meditate upon with assent" (praedest. sanct. 2. 5). Faith is, therefore, the *assensio* to the preached truth (cf. enchir. 7. 20; conf. vi. 5; in Joh. tr. 40. 9; 79. 1). This explains why a higher stage is supposed to be reached in knowledge (*cognitio*), according to Isa. 7. 9: "unless you had believed, you would not know" (e.g., sermo 43; in Joh. tr. 27. 7; 22. 5; 29.6; 48.1; 112.1: "he can believe before he can know;" ep. 114.7; 120.3).

奥氏有些言论好像超越这个定义；例如：提供「因信称义」的定义时，或说到人不会完全从罪释放，「除非信心与他的身体联合」；或奥氏分辨「相信基督」(believing Christ) 和「信靠基督」(believing in Christ)。后者乃是基督徒的真信心。

We meet, indeed, statements which appear to lead us beyond this definition, as, for example, when the idea of "justification through faith" is occasionally reproduced (vid. sub), or when it is said that men would not be free from sin, "unless united and joined by faith to his body" (i.e., Christ's, sermo 143. 1), or when a distinction is drawn between "believing Christ" and "believing in Christ," and the latter is described as constituting Christian faith (sermo 144. 2).

奥古斯丁的思想就是在这里显得清楚，他这样解释：「因为信靠基督的人同时以基督为盼望，也爱基督。...对他来说，基督临近他，从某一种意义上说，基督与他联合，成为他身体里的肢体；除非信心同时有盼望和爱心，不然这是不可能的。」在这里我们又看见，信心指向一个更高的层次。不过这次不是知识，而是：爱。（透过爱，知识得到进深。）

But just here the thought becomes clear, as Augustine explains: "For he believes in Christ who both hopes in Christ and loves Christ ... to him Christ comes, and in some way is united to him and is made a member in his body; which cannot occur unless both hope and love are added" (cf. in Joh. tr. 29. 6). Here, again, faith points beyond itself to a higher stage. Instead of knowledge, there is now love. [Through love there is effected also an advance in knowledge, in Joh. tr. 96. 4.]

信心的本质不是心里信靠、掌握恩典的态度，而是一个预备的步骤，前面有一个还未达到的「义」。因此，信心也是为这「义」祈求的能力：「恩典的灵作一件事：使我们有信心，以致我们可以透过信心祈求能力，来作我们被吩咐要作的事。」因此，信心本身，就是相信启示的真实性。可是，信心必须「以爱心运作」，才配称为「基督徒的信心」。

The nature of faith is not that trustful attitude of heart which apprehends present grace, but it is the preparatory step toward a righteousness not yet attained. It is, therefore, also the ability to pray for this righteousness: “the spirit of grace brings it to pass that we have faith, so that through faith we may by praying secure the ability to do what we are commanded” (grat. et lib. arb. 14. 28; sermo 168.5; enchir. 28. 117). Faith in itself is thus the belief of the truth of revelation. But it becomes Christian faith only when it is a “faith which works by love” (fid. et op. 16. 27; serm. 168.2; cf. in Joh. tr. 6. 21).

恩典主要的工作，就是由圣灵灌注爱，或灌注一个新的，善的意志。「有爱的人就是上帝所生的；没有爱的人，就不是上帝所生的。」这不是透过外在的诫命作成的，也不是透过基督的榜样作成；而是「他在人的里面增长，由圣灵以爱充满我们的心。」甚至可以说，有一个「善意志和善行的感化 (*inspiratio*)。」

The chief work of grace is really the *infusion of love*, or of a *new and good will*, by the Holy Spirit. “They who have love are born of God; they who have not, are not born of God” (in Joh. tr. 5. 7). This is not effected by external commandments, nor by the example of Christ; but “he gives an increase internally by shedding abroad love in our hearts by the Holy Spirit” (sp. et lit. 25. 42; pecc. mer. et rem. i. 9,10), or there is even said to be an “*inspiratio* of good will and work” (corr. et grat. 2. 3).

因此邪恶的情欲，被追求上帝与上帝的旨意的愿望挤走了：「圣灵感动人有好的欲望（愿望），不是邪恶的欲望：即：圣灵在我们心中浇灌爱。」（圣灵）赐我们新的道德能力，改变人（「自然由恩典修理」），对奥古斯丁来说，这就是「称义」的意义。

Thus evil desire is crowded out by desire for God and his will: “the Spirit inspiring good *concupiscentia* instead of evil – that is, shedding abroad love in our hearts” (sp. et lit. 4. 6; enchir. 32. 121). The endowing with new moral power, and thus the transforming of the man (“nature repaired by grace,” sp. et lit. 27. 47), is for Augustine the proper meaning of the term, justification.

称义的本质就是：人实在成为义人，因此，能作出义的行为。「因为，称义还有什么意义呢？称义就是成为义，上帝称不敬虔的人为义，好叫他从身为不敬畏上帝的人，成为义人。」「藉着圣灵的恩赐，我们作成义。」因此，人成为一个新的人。以前是不敬虔的，现在是一个义人。以前是死的人，现在是活着的。「祂医治心灵有病者，使死人复活，就是：祂称不敬虔的人为义。」

Its essential nature consists in this, that man becomes actually righteous, and is, hence, able to perform righteous works. “For what else is it to be justified, than to be made righteous (just), i.e., by him who justifies the ungodly man, that from being ungodly he may be made righteous” (ib. 26. 45; grat. et lib. arb. 6. 13). “Through the gift of the Spirit we work righteousness” (sp. et lit. 18. 31). Thus the individual becomes a new man – from being an ungodly, he becomes a righteous man; from being a dead, becomes a living man. “He heals the sick in spirit and revives the dead, i.e., he justifies the ungodly” (nat. et grat. 26. 29).

「当灵魂活在罪中的时候，它是死亡；可是当它成为义的时候，就参与另外一个生命，与以前不一样，因为，灵魂因为上升到上帝那里，吸进上帝，因而被上帝称义。」圣灵这样注入善的，使人称义的意志，是渐进的，是整个基督徒生活过程的特征，因为那些重生了的人，里面还有情欲：「我们被称义（成为义人），可是当我们前进的时候，义本身会增长。」

“When the soul lives in sin, it is its death; but when it becomes righteous, it becomes a participant in another life, which is not the same as before, for, by lifting itself to God and inbreathing God, it is justified by him” (in Joh. tr. 19. 11). This instilling of the good, justifying will by the Spirit is progressive and marks the entire Christian life, since concupiscentia remains even in the regenerate (nupt. et conc. i. 25. 28): “We are justified (have been made righteous), but righteousness itself grows as we go forward” (serm. 158. 5).

虽然称义的本质是「一个善的意志的感化」，可是从广义来看，罪的赦免也是因为称义；可是，所强调的还是感化。「恩典也不仅是罪的赦免...乃是产生效果：律法被成全，人性（自然）被释放。」「因为恩典在两方面帮助：一方面赦免我们所作的邪恶的事；另一方面帮助我们离开邪恶，而行善。」

Although the essential nature of justification lies in the “inspiring of a good will,” yet in a wider sense, the forgiveness of sins may also be ascribed to it; in such a way, however, that the emphasis still rests upon the inspiration. “Nor is this grace only the remission of sins ... but it effects that the law is fulfilled and nature set free” (grat. et lib. arb. 14. 27; cf. op. imp. ii. 165; civ. dei, xii. 22). “For grace assists in both ways – by remitting the evil things that we have done, and by aiding us to depart from the evil and do the good” (op. imp. ii. 227; vi. 15).

我们现在可以清楚理解奥古斯丁的恩典观。恩典是上帝全能的作为，使人的意志成为善，让人能够行善。奥古斯丁的恩典论完全与他的罪论相称。人是无知的，上帝赐予信心胜过无知；人爱自己，心有欲望，（上帝使）人获得善的意志，和爱上帝和上帝律法的心；罪人在死亡的状态中，（上帝作成的）恩典过程使人成为义，得到生命。

We have thus secured a clear conception of Augustine’s doctrine of grace. Grace is the action of divine omnipotence which makes man’s will good, or capable of doing good. The view corresponds exactly with his doctrine of sin. Ignorance is overcome by the bestowal of faith; the love of self, together with lust by the imparting of the good will and of love to God and his law; the sinner’s state of death, by the process of grace through which he is made righteous and live.

[奥古斯丁的救赎次序包括下列：『（预知）预定，呼照，称义，得荣耀』。或：『罪得赦免，软弱得医治，从败坏被救赎，义的冠冕』。或：『律法之前；在律法之下；在恩典之下；在和睦中。』『藉着上帝的恩典我们被重生，被洁净，被称义。』]

[Augustine’s order of salvation (following Rom. 8. 29 f.) includes the following heads: “(Praescience) predestination, vocation, justification, glorification” (in Joh. tr. 26. 15; corr. et grat. 9. 23). Or: “Remission of sins, thine infirmities are healed, redemption from corruption, the crown of righteousness” (serm. 131. 6. 8). Or: “Before the law, under the law, under grace, in peace” (enchir. 31. 118). “By the grace of God we are regenerated, purified, justified” (c. litt. Petil. iii. 50. 62).]

这个教义架构里最突出的，就是奥氏竭力强调，一切都来自上帝的恩典，人毫无行为可以贡献。不过，仔细研读奥氏论恩典的运作，我们会发现这理论并不是很完美的，并不满足奥氏宗教情操的基本要求。

Notable above all else in this doctrinal structure is the energy with which everything is referred to the grace of God, to the exclusion of all human work. But whoever scrutinizes carefully the real character of the operation of grace as thus depicted will observe how imperfectly this theory meets the requirements of the fundamental religious impulse of Augustine.

奥氏的信仰有着浓厚的保罗精神，可是奥氏并没有达到保罗的「因信称义」教义的高峰。奥氏无数次引用了保罗的「因信称义」方程式；可是奥氏的解释乃是，我们获得信念，义是由上帝赐予我们的，我们不能事先作什么行为；信心是使人称义的，因为信心以爱生效。

The Pauline character, which so largely distinguishes the latter, fails, after all, to rise to the height of Paul’s conception of the righteousness of faith. Augustine cites the formula of Paul times without number; but he interprets it as meaning, that we reach the conviction that righteousness is granted to us by God without antecedent works upon our part, or that faith justifies because it works by love.

「这就是出于信心的义，我们藉此信心相信我们被称为义；就是说，藉着上帝在我们主耶稣基督里的恩典，我们成为义，因此我们在祂里面，不是有自己的义（这是出于律法的），而是藉着信靠基督而有的义。出于上帝的义，即藉着信心（在信心里）而得的义，乃是这样地「藉着信心（在信心里）」：我们相信义是由上帝赐予我们地，不是由我们自己的力量成就的。」

“This is the righteousness of (ex) faith, by which we believe that we are justified; that is, made righteous by

the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, so that we may be found in him, not having our own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ. Which righteousness of (ex) God in faith, is in faith in this way, that we by faith believe that righteousness is divinely granted to us, not achieved by us by our own strength” (ep. 186. 3. 8).

「因为我们读到，信靠基督的人，就在基督里被称义，因着恩典奥秘的传递与感化。藉此，紧握主的就是与祂一灵。」因此，我们可以说，就算是这位保罗这位伟大的学生（奥氏），虽然深受保罗的影响，可是在这重要的关头误解了保罗。

“For we read that they are justified in Christ who believe in him, on account of a mysterious secret communication and inspiration of grace, by which whoever clings to the Lord is one spirit” (pecc. mer. et rem. i. 10. 11). Accordingly, it may be said that even this great disciple of Paul, powerfully as he was influenced by the apostle, yet misunderstood him at the crucial point.

[可是奥古斯丁像很多中古时期的敬虔信徒一样，还是因为罪的赦免得到莫大的安慰，例如：「这就是我们的义，虽然它是因为最终目标的真正良善的缘故成为义的，但是在今生这义的本质乃在于罪的赦免，而不在于（达到）道德的完全。见证这真理的有天国的祷告：「免了我们的债。」]

[Yet Augustine – as many of the pious in the Middle Ages – was able to find his chief consolation in the forgiveness of sins, e.g.: “And this our righteousness, although it is a true righteousness on account of the end of real goodness at which it aims, yet is in this life of such a nature that it consists rather in the remission of sins than in the perfection of virtues. A witness to this is the prayer of the whole kingdom of God, ‘Forgive us our debts’” (civ. dei, xix. 27).]对奥古斯丁来说，恩典是不能抗拒的，这恩典是预定的恩典。这名词包含了很多不同的思想：奥氏的上帝观：包括一点柏拉图主义的色彩；他个人的宗教经验；他承认救赎是唯独恩典的工作；还有解释圣经方面的考虑。恩典若得着一个人，人不可能抗拒，因为上帝在人心执行祂全部的旨意，正如祂在自然界所作的一样。

(a) Grace, as being irresistible, is characterized by Augustine as *predestinating* grace. Many lines of thought are concentrated in this term: the Platonic tincture of Augustine’s doctrine of God, his personal religious experience, his recognition of the sole agency of grace, and exegetical considerations (p. 340). If grace lays hold of man, there can be no resistance, for God carries out his will in the human heart no less than in nature.

「因此，我们不可怀疑，人的意志是不可能抗拒上帝的旨意，以致上帝不能执行祂所意旨的；上帝在天上和地上所意旨的，都完全成就，甚至包括人的意志；上帝成就祂所意旨的，按照祂意旨的时间。...不过，上帝这样作，都透过人的意志；上帝无疑地拥有无所不能的力量，完全按照祂的美意来感动人的心。」

“It cannot, therefore, be doubted that human wills are not able to resist the will of God, so that he may not do what he will, who has done all things which he has willed in heaven and in earth, and has done even those things which shall be, since, even with respect to the wills of men themselves, he does what he will when he will ... who nevertheless does not do so except through the wills of men themselves; having beyond doubt omnipotent power of inclining hearts whithersoever it may please him” (corr. et grat. 14. 45, 43; enchir. 21. 95).

恩典与上帝给亚当的「原始恩典」或「帮助」的分别乃是，后者可以按照人的自愿而放弃；但是前者产生意志。若问，人意志的自由性是否因此毁灭，奥古斯丁的答案是：否。相反地，恩典医治自由意志，恢复自由意志，以致意志能够自愿地选择善。

The difference between grace and the “primary grace,” or “assistance,” granted to Adam lies in the fact that the latter could be voluntarily relinquished, whereas the former produces the will (corr. et grat. 11. 31, 38). To the question, whether the freedom of man’s will is hereby destroyed, Augustine replies in the negative. On the contrary, grace heals and restores the free will, so that it is able to freely choose the good (sp. et lit. 30. 52; enchir. 25. 105).

人不能（好像伯拉纠希望我们相信的）用自由来获得恩典（救恩），人乃是透过恩典（救恩）获得自由。



Man does not, as the Pelagians would have us believe, attain grace by freedom, but freedom by grace (corr. et grat. 8. 17).

但是当我们记得，一个新的意志种植在人里面，是不可抗拒的，这新的意志完全被上帝的能力所控制。从这意义上，我们不可质问说：自由是否被妥协？被曲解？我们须这样理解：上帝对待人的方法，与祂如何赐意志给人是一致的；所以人被上帝改造了自己的意志的时候，他仍然是被造者，仍然有一个意志。

But when we remember that a new will is in an irresistible way implanted in man, and this will then “indeclinably and insuperably” controlled by the divine power (*virtus*, corr. et grat. 12. 38), it cannot be open to question that the claim of freedom is here meant to be taken in a very peculiar sense. It can be understood only in the sense that God deals with man in a way consonant with his endowment with a will, so that man survives the transformation of his will as a creature still (formally) possessing the power of willing (see above citation).

这样，人成为自由人，即：从情欲释放而自由。人的自由乃是上帝在他里面所成就的，灵里顺从上帝的状态；人因在这状态中，因此从情欲的动机释放出来。我们若考虑「在恩典中坚忍」的教义，也可得到同样的结论。坚忍是恩典的工作：「坚忍的恩赐（礼物）」。这里用上同样的原则：「上帝的作为，使人会愿意（用意志）。」真正的自由（从形而上学来看），被排除了。（译注：作者用了一个自由的定义：libertarianism.参看：John Frame, *The Doctrine of God* 书中「自由意志」一章，对此定义的十八点批判。）这都是因为奥古斯丁认为恩典是一个创造能力，而不是一个属灵的个人关系。

In this way man becomes free, i.e., from the power of concupiscence. The state of spiritual subjection to God divinely wrought in him, by virtue of which he withdraws himself from the control of sensuous motives, is his freedom. The same result is reached if we consider the doctrine of perseverance in grace. This is a work of grace, the *donum perseverantiae* (don. pers. 1. 1). Here also applies the rule: “God effects that they may will” (corr. et at. 1. c). A real freedom, in the metaphysical sense of the term, is thus excluded. This, again, is a consequence of Augustine’s conception of grace as a creative energy (*virtus*) and not as a personal, spiritual relation.

可是我们必须面对一个事实：不是所有被召的人都被恩典制服。奥古斯丁从预定的基础上来解释。上帝在创世以前，就决定在基督里救赎某些人，也决定向他们施行祂的恩典。「上帝的预定，就是在善者身上的，是一个...为恩典的预备，不过，恩典乃是预定的结果。」

But it is necessary to face the fact, that not all who are called (*vocati*) are subdued by grace. Augustine explains this on the ground of predestination. Before the creation of the world, God formed the resolution to redeem certain men in Christ and to apply to them his grace. “The predestination of God, which is in the good man, is a preparation ... for grace, but grace is the effect of this predestination (praedest. 10. 19; don. persev. 9. 21).”

「上帝有祂的美意，」与人的功劳没有关系，甚至与上帝所预知的（人的功劳）没有关系。相反地，上帝的美意 (*good will*) 愿意给这个人，那个人，都是根据祂的决定 (*determination*)。上帝预定要得到恩典的人数是特定的：「人数是固定的，没有人可以增加或减去。」

There is a “good-pleasure of his (God’s) will,” which has nothing to do with human merits, not even with such as were foreseen by God. On the contrary, the determination (*propositum*) of God is the ground upon which the good will is imparted to this or that one (praed. 18. 37). There is a strictly definite number (as maintained already in de bapt. v. 27. 38) whom God has thus foreordained to grace: “There is a number so fixed, that neither can anyone be added to them nor taken from them” (corr. et grat. 13. 39).

[人数的固定，可以从奥古斯丁下列的观念看出：被拣选的人，乃是代替堕落的天使的数目。]

[The fixity of the number is evident from Augustine’s view that the elect are to form a substitution for the number of the fallen angels (enchir. 9. 29; 15. 62; civ. dei, xxii. 1).]

预定是得救的成因。所有救赎的典章（方法），都是实现上帝预定的方法，因此，都是为了被预定的人和他们的益处。上帝有效地「对选民发出特别的呼召」，仅是临到被拣选的人，好叫后者跟随呼召

他的上帝：其他人并没有这样地被呼召。只有被拣选的人有「坚忍的恩赐」，而被上帝预知的人在最后时刻还可能离弃上帝。

Predestination is the cause of salvation. All saving ordinances are means for realizing it, and therefore really serve and benefit only the predestinated. Only to the *elect* comes the effectual “peculiar calling of the elect” (praed. 18. 37), so that he may follow him who calls: others are not so (*non ita*) called (don. pers. 9. 21). The elect alone has the “gift of perseverance,” whereas the foreknown (*praesciti*) may still fall away even in the last hour (corr. et grat. 9. 22; don. pers. 8. 19).

因此，一切都在上帝的手中，都靠祂的选择：「因此，有谁在上帝的安排中被预知，被预定，被呼召，被称义，被荣耀的，可是还没有出生（我不说还没有重生），他们现在就是上帝的儿子，永远不会灭亡。」

All, therefore, rests in the hands of God, depends upon his choice: “Therefore whoever have in the most provident ordering of God been foreknown, predestinated, called, justified, and glorified, although yet, I will not say unregenerated but even yet unborn, are now the sons of God and can by no means perish” (corr. et grat. 9. 23).

被拣选的人是得救的，他们一般都是教会里被呼召、被称义的成员。可是也有可能，这种人从来没有接触到历史上的基督教会，却得救：因为他被预定。另一方面，那些没有被预定的人，就是被预知的人，都将灭亡，他们就是那「灭亡实体（人群）」的成员。就算他们看来像基督徒，被呼召，被称义，透过洗礼被重生，被更新：他们是不会得救的，因为他们没有被拣选。

The predestinated is saved, commonly becoming a *called* and *justified* member of the church. But it must be held as possible that such an one may not come into contact in any way with historical Christianity, and yet be saved – because he is predestinated (ep. 102 quaest. 2, sec. 12, 14, 15 cf. with praedest. 9, sec. 17-19; also Reuter, Aug. Stud., p. 90 ff.). The unpredestinated, or *foreknown*, on the other hand, under all circumstances, fall into ruin, as parts of the *massa perditionis*. Even if they appear to be true Christians, called, justified, regenerated through baptism, renewed – they will not be saved, because they have not been elected (don. pers. 9. 21).

不可责怪上帝：只可责怪他们自己，因为他们被离弃，得到他们所配得的：「灭亡的人，是因为自己的意志灭亡；站立得住的人，是因为上帝的旨意（意志）而站立。」

No blame attaches to God; they are alone to blame, as they simply remain given over to their just fate: “He who falls, falls by his own will; and he who stands, stands by the will of God” (don. pers. 8. 19).

[奥古斯丁常常会这样说，可是他也提到那些「被预定永死的人」。]

[Augustine commonly expresses himself in this way, but he also speaks of those “predestinated to eternal death” (in Joh. tr. 43. 13, cf. 10. 2; civ. dei, xv. 1. 1; enchir. 26. 100).]

对那些灭亡的人，上帝显示祂的公义，正如在被拣选的人中，上帝显示祂的怜悯。若问，为什么上帝拣选一些人，却弃绝其他的人面对他们的命运的话，唯一的答案是：「我意旨这样」。这时，被造者必须在他的创造者面前恭敬下拜。

In such God reveals his justice, as in the elect his mercy (ib. 8. 16). To the question, Why he chooses some and leaves others to their fate, the only answer is: “I so will,” at which the creature must humbly bow before his Creator (ib. 17).

[奥古斯丁不须面对圣经一些相反意义的经文的涵义，特别是《提摩太前书》2：4，因为他有特别的解法，例如：没有人得救除非上帝意旨他得救；或「所有（众人）」是指被预定的人，「因为全人类的人都在他们里面。」]

[Augustine escapes the force of opposing passages of Scripture, especially Tim. 2.4, by peculiar interpretations, as that no one is saved unless God wills it (enchir. 24. 103), or that “all” means the predestinated, “because the whole race of men is in them” (corr. et grat. 14. 44).]

奥古斯丁的恩典论到这里达到高峰。恩典与自然（人性），怜悯与公义，在先前的思想（如马吉安）是对立的；奥古斯丁提出了一个吊诡性的方案解决这个问题，是对宗教意识来说不满意的。

In these conceptions, Augustine's doctrine of grace culminates. Grace and nature, mercy and justice, are seen in direct opposition to one another, as formerly in Marcion, and a solution is offered as paradoxical as was his, and as unsatisfactory to the religious sense.

奥古斯丁的虔诚精神是明显的；同时，外来的，非福音性的思路进入他思想的结构里，也是明显的。他对「唯独恩典」忠实；可是他的教义受到损害，因为他不明白「唯独藉信心」：上帝的相交是他的心灵所描绘的，可是对他的理性来说，上帝不是福音的上帝。

The profoundly religious spirit of Augustine is as manifest as is the fact that certain foreign and unevangelical threads have found their way into the texture of his thought. He had learned to present faithfully the *sola gratia*, but his doctrine suffered detriment from the fact that he did not understand the *sola fide* – that the God whose fellowship his heart could so wonderfully portray was yet for his intellect not the God of the gospel.

根据此理论，人不能获得得救的确据（译注：此乃西波尔的意见）。「虽然如此，这是好的：不要自作聪明，乃要敬畏」，说此话的人深深体会到，敬虔（宗教）不仅仅是畏惧破坏一个关系。

Assurance of salvation cannot – according to this theory – be attained (corr. et grat. 13. 40; 9. 22; civ. dei, xi. 12). “Nevertheless, this is good: not to be too wise, but to fear” (don. pers. 8. 19), says the man who yet so well knew that religion is something more than the fear of breaking off a covenant relationship.

不过，无论这伟大的思想架构是多么受当代思想的阴影影响，它的确道出教义史未来须处理的问题。奥氏提醒教会：只有一样事是人必须畏惧的：就是向上帝背叛，或是心中的邪恶；只有一样事是善，是伟大的：就是永活上帝有效的恩典。

But however deeply this mighty intellectual structure may be enshrouded beneath the shadows of the age, yet it stated the problem for the doctrinal history of the future. In tones that can never be forgotten, it taught the church: There is only one thing to be feared – rebellion against God, or evil in the heart; and there is only one thing good and great – the effectual grace of the living God.

#### 4. 争辩的过程 Historical Course of the Controversy

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 353-358.)

奥古斯丁：伯拉纠主义着不理解恩典；恩典拯救人，自由意志不能拯救；

人若是「自由」，基督来世上是枉然的；人不能以己力避免犯罪

AUGUSTINE: PELAGIANISM KNOWS NO GRACE,

GRACE SAVES MAN, NOT FREE WILL,

IF MAN = FREE (PELAGIAN SENSE), CHRIST CAME IN VAIN

MAN CANNOT AVOID SIN BY OWN POWER

明显地，伯拉纠与奥古斯丁的立场是互相对立的。因此，很自然地，一场含有暴力的争论展开了；这场争论中，奥古斯丁扮演了领导的角色。奥古斯丁所反对的观念是不难推论而知的，即：伯拉纠主义完全不理解恩典；拯救人的不是（人的）自由意志，乃是上帝的恩典。人若是自由的（从伯拉纠主义角度去理解自由），那么基督来到世上来是妄然的。问题若仅是教导与好榜样的话，那么为什么敬虔的亚伯不成为义人中的为首者？基督徒的经验，和整个教会为赦罪的祷告都证实，人不可能靠自己的力量避免犯罪。

The direct opposition between the position of Pelagius and Augustine is manifest. It was natural that a violent controversy should ensue, in which the leadership should fall to the lot of Augustine. The ideas with which he confronts his opponents may be readily inferred, i.e., that Pelagianism knows nothing of grace, and that it is not freedom of the will, but the grace of God, which saves man. If man were free in the Pelagian sense, then would Christ have come into the world in vain (nat. et. grat. c. 19 ff., chap. 21 ff.). If it was only a question of teaching and example, then why did not the pious Abel long since become the chief of the righteous? (ib. 9. 10). Christian experience, no less than the prayer of the whole church for the forgiveness of sins, testifies that man

cannot by his own power avoid sin (serm. 181).

公义上帝的惩罚 = 普世性

奥古斯丁论婴孩洗礼：婴儿 = 有罪

RIGHTEOUS GOD'S PENALTIES = UNIVERSAL

AUGUSTINE ON INFANT BAPTISM – INFANTS ARE SINFUL

再者，一个公义的上帝惩罚全人类，连小孩也不免疫；这也是反对伯拉纠主义观点的证据。在这处，奥古斯丁特别强调婴孩洗礼。新出生的婴儿，要就是罪人，要就不是。他们若是无罪，就不须受洗 – 这个结论是伯拉纠主义者极力反对的。Further, the universality of the penalties imposed by a righteous God, from which even children are not exempt, makes against the Pelagian view (op. imp. iii. 154). In this connection, Augustine strongly emphasizes infant baptism. Either new-born children are sinful, or they are not. In the latter case, they need no baptism (pecc. mer. et rem. i. 23. 33; 18. 23; op. imp. ii. 222) – an inference, indeed, against which the Pelagians protested (p. 335, note).

最后，奥古斯丁诉诸好几段经文（罗 5：12；7：14-26；8：26。加 2：7。诗 51，143：2。弗 2：3。约 8：36。）他甚至试图从教会教义发展史来证明婴孩有罪。Thomasius 详细叙述了奥氏对并伯拉纠主义这方面的批判。

Finally, Augustine appeals to a number of passages of Scripture (Rom. 5. 12; 7. 14-26; 8. 26. Gen. 2. 7. Ps. 51; 143. 2. Eph. 2. 3. Joh. 8. 36). He even endeavored to produce a proof from the history of the church's doctrinal development (cf. Jul. i. ii.). **Thomasius** (i. ed. 2, 543 ff.) has treated exhaustively this critique of Pelagianism.

Caelestius 欲任迦大基长老；Paulinus 与 Celestians 争辩：婴儿洗礼不能赦罪

Caelestius 被驱逐；往以弗所任职；伯拉纠到巴勒斯坦；耶柔米驳斥他

西方教会诉诸约翰，请求召开会议：耶路撒冷 415

CAELESTIUS SEEKS CARTHAGE POST

PAULINUS VS. CAELESTIANS: INFANT BAPTISM DOESN'T FORGIVE SINS

CAELESTIUS = EXCOMM'D, SECURED POST IN EPHESUS

PELAGIUS TO PALESTINE; JEROME WROTE AGAINST HIM

WESTERN CHURCH URGES JOHN TO CALL JERUSALEM COUNCIL A.D. 415

争辩的开始，氏由于 Caelestius 试图获得迦大基的长老（即：牧师）一职。首先令人反感的是，Caelestius 的一些跟随者认为，婴孩洗礼并不以赦罪为目标。Paulinus，米兰的一位执事（注：执事是某一等级的传道人），在一次迦大基教会会议中针对他们起诉。Caelestius 被开除离开教会，他到以弗所去，在那里（是希腊教会地区）被指派为长老（牧师）。伯拉纠本来在迦大基，他到巴勒斯坦去。也有人支持他。可是耶柔米著书反对他。从西方教会传来报告，催逼耶路撒冷的约翰召开会议（耶路撒冷会议，415）判断伯拉纠的案件。

The controversy was started when **Caelestius** was endeavoring to secure an appointment as presbyter in Carthage. The first offense appears to have been taken at the claim of the followers of Caelestius, that infant baptism does not aim at the forgiveness of sins (Aug. pecc. mer. et rem. Iii. 6. 12). Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, brought charges against him (vid. the charges in Marius Commonit. 1. 1, supra. p. 337 f.) at a council in Carthage (A.D. 411 or 412). Caelestius was excommunicated and went to Ephesus, where he secured – on Greek territory – appointment as presbyter. Pelagius, who had also been in Carthage, had gone to Palestine. He, too, secured a following. But Jerome wrote against him (ad Ctesiphontem [ep. 133] and dialogues c. Pelagianos II. 3). Reports from the West impelled John of Jerusalem to summon a council (Jerusalem A.D. 415, vid. account of Orosius in Liber apologeticus 3-6) to consider the case of Pelagius.

Orosius：提案到罗马教会！Diospolis/Lyddda 会议，415

伯拉纠使会议满意：人行善只因为有上帝的帮助：伯拉纠在会议上说谎

OROSIUS: TO ROME! DIOSPOLIS/LYDDA COUNCIL, A.D. 415

PELAGIUS SATISFIES COUNCIL: MAN DOES GOOD ONLY W/ GOD'S HELP –  
PELAGIUS LIES AT COUNCIL

可是约翰毫不含糊地为伯拉纠的教义辩护，即：人若有上帝的帮助，遵守祂的诫命是容易的。因此 Orosius 要求，伯拉纠既然是拉丁教会成员，这事应提到罗马，让罗马教会处理。因有高卢（法国）两位主教 Heros 和 Lazarus 被赶逐，事情紧急，因此在 415 年在 Diospolis 或 Lydda 召开了会议。伯拉纠巧妙地使会议上的主教们满意，肯定了人能行所有的善事，不过只因为有上帝地帮助 (*adjutorium*)。别人指出他所说过的话，他宣告是伪造的。他不为 Caelestius 的立场负责，不过他这样说：「可是那些我没有说过的话，我按照圣教会的观点宣告，反对这些观点的人是应被咒诅的。」

But John unequivocally defended the thesis of Pelagius, that man may easily keep the commandments of God, i.e., by divine help. Orosius, therefore, requested that, as Pelagius was a Latin, the matter be referred to Rome. Under the urgency of two exiled Gallic bishops, Heros and Lazarus, another council was called, A.D. 415, at Diospolis, or Lydda (cf. Aug. de gesti Pel.; also Mansi iv. 311 ff.). Pelagius adroitly satisfied the minds of the bishops, affirming that man can indeed do everything good, but only with the divine assistance (*adjutorium*). Assertions ascribed to him he pronounced apocryphal. He disclaimed responsibility for the positions of Caelestius, but with the remark: "But the things which I have declared to be not mine, I, in accordance with the opinion of the holy church, reprobate, pronouncing an anathema against everyone who opposes."

这是畏缩者的谎言。会议宣告伯拉纠的信仰正统。

*This was a cowardly untruth. The council pronounced him orthodox.*

迦大基与 Mileve 会议（416）上五位非洲主教诉诸罗马教会，要求强硬行动

教皇的神学答复：无助，可笑（非洲主教们是对的，因为伯拉纠主义者是对的！）

开除伯拉纠、Caelestius 的会籍

FIVE AFRICAN BISHOPS, AT CARTHAGE/MILEVE COUNCILS (416) APPEAL TO ROME (INNOCENT I), URGING STRONG ACTION

POPE'S THEOLOGICAL ANSWER = COMICALLY HELPLESS

(AFRICANS ARE RIGHT BECAUSE PELAGIANS ARE RIGHT!)

PELAGIUS, CAELESTIUS = EXCOMM'D

可是非洲教会并不满意。在迦大基和 Mileve 召开的会议（两次都在 461 年），致信给罗马的教皇，「圣洁的」伊诺生一世。随后有五位主教（包括奥古斯丁）私下详细的写信指示，谨慎地要求要强力对付。信中形容了教会情况，描述，驳斥了伯拉纠地教义，高举了罗马主教的独特权柄，要求罗马主教处理该事。伯拉纠一直以东方教会神学家的判断为荣；非洲主教们要求他收回他的言论，或必须承认婴孩洗礼有赦罪的本质，并人性不足够获得救恩。

But the Africans did not rest. A council at Carthage and another in Mileve (both A.D. 416) sent letters to his "Holiness," Pope Innocent I, at Rome. Then came an exhaustive and instructive private communication by five bishops (including Augustine – among his letters ep. 175-177), cautiously urging to energetic action. The situation is depicted, the doctrine of Pelagius described and confuted, the unique authority of the Roman bishop extolled (ep. 175. 2 f.; 176. 1; 177. 189), and the latter urged to take the matter in hand. Pelagius, who gloried in the decision of the Eastern theologians (ep. 177. 2), was required to recall his statements or to acknowledge the saving nature of infant baptism and the insufficiency of nature for the attainment of salvation (ep. 175. 6).

教皇马上回信。Curia 的文笔是繁琐的；首先，心中承认，目前全世界的教会所遵守的纪律，即：诉诸罗马教会的判断，是可嘉的，正当的。可是教皇针对教义的讨论，好像前任几位教皇一样，显出自己的神学功力薄弱。

The pope lost no time in answering the letters (vid. in the letters of Aug., ep. 181-183). In the labored style of the Curia, there is, first of all, an acknowledgment of the praiseworthy and proper observance of the discipline – now observed by the whole world – in appealing, as all churches do, to the decision of Rome (ep.

181. 1; 182. 2). But in the discussion of the doctrinal question, this pope, as some of his predecessors, showed himself a poor theologian.

非洲主教们的确把事情全部说清楚了。正统信仰的人，不必再次辩论恩典与自由，因为，显然地，人须要上帝的恩典才能得救。换言之，非洲主教们当然是对的，因为他们的对手的立场是对的！教皇在教义方面没有完整的思想架构，因此显得非常无助、可笑。

The Africans have, indeed, spoken rightly and said all. It is superfluous for any person of orthodox views to dispute concerning grace and freedom (ep. 181. 7, 9; 183. 5), for it is clear that man needs the divine assistance for his salvation (ep. 181. 4-6, 8; 182. 3 f.). In other words – the Africans are of course in the right, because the doctrine of their opponents is correct! The dogmatic helplessness of the pope in this instance, having no finished scheme at his command, is comical.

至于争论的其他层面，也必须马上面对毒害而展开援助。教皇不相信 Paulinus 和 Caelestius 有可能回转：他也怀疑，Diospolis 会议可能已经判决，支持伯拉纠：他们两人都必须从教会赶逐出去。

As to other phases of the difficulty, speedy help must be given against the pestilent poison (181. 2 f., 8). The pope does not believe that Pelagius and Caelestius can be converted (181. 8) – he doubts also if decision was really given in favor of Pelagius at Diospolis – they are both to be excluded from the church (ep. 181. 8; 182. 6).

伯拉纠承认正统信仰：送到罗马教皇

伊诺生亡；Zosimus 满意 Caelestius 之信仰告白

417 罗马会议证明 Caelestius 正统；Zosimus 送伯拉纠信仰告白至非洲，责备教会

非洲教会面对 Zosimus 之挑战，诉诸伊诺生（已死）；教皇重申至高权威

PELAGIUS' ORTHODOX CONFESSION = SENT TO ROME

INNOCENT DIES; ZOSIMUS = SATISFIED WITH CAELESTIUS' CONFESSION

ROME COUNCIL (417) CERTIFIES CAELESTIUS = ORTHODOX;

PELAGIUS' CONFESSION = SENT BY ZOSIMUS TO AFRICANS W/REPROOF

AFRICANS CHALLENGED ZOSIMUS, APPEALS TO INNOCENT (DEAD);

POPE ASSERTS SUPREMACY

在这时，伯拉纠的一份非常正统的信仰告白书被送到罗马。该告白书简略提到争辩的问题，但承认婴孩洗礼、自由意志（不过附带「我们无时不须要上帝的帮助」的声明）、并强调完全顺从教皇。伊诺生一世已于 415 年三月去世，该信仰告白落在继承人 Zosimus 的手上。在此事之前，Caelestius 已去过康斯坦丁堡，也从该城被赶逐，而来到罗马。他承认洗礼是为罪得赦免，和教皇决定的无谬误，不过否认「罪与人一同出生」。

A strictly orthodox confession of Pelagius now found its way to Rome. The questions at issue were but briefly touched upon, infant baptism and the freedom of the will acknowledged (but with the limitation “we are always in need of the help of God”), and emphasis laid upon complete subjection to the pope (Hahn, ed. 3, p. 288 f.). Innocent had died (March, 417), and the confession fell into the hands of his successor, Zosimus. Caelestius, having in the meanwhile gone to Constantinople and been driven thence, had also appeared in Rome. He acknowledged baptism for the remission of sins and the infallibility of the papal decision, but denied that “sin is born with man” (Hahn, ed. 3, p. 292 f.).

教皇 Zosimus 完全满意，他这次的决定也没有与他前任教皇的教义冲突。417 年罗马教会开了一次会议，证明了 Caelestius 的信仰是正统的。不久之后，伯拉纠的信仰告白书出现在罗马，有耶路撒冷主教的支持；此书为教会人士带来欢庆。教皇又糊涂又坦率，把此事的报告写成两封信，送到非洲的众主教，并以使徒继承人的崇高身份来严厉责备他们，不谨慎处理此事。可是 417（或 418 年出）迦大基教会召开会议，向教皇解释，好几方面的步骤都没有足够理由支持，而他们仍然承认伊诺生的定罪宣告事有效的。

Zosimus was entirely satisfied, and in this he did not come into collision with the dogmatics of his predecessor. A council at Rome (A.D. 417) certified to the orthodoxy of Caelestius. The confession of Pelagius,

which appeared soon afterward, to the support of which the bishop of Jerusalem cast his influence, caused jubilation. The pope was imprudent or honest enough to send a report of this in two letters to the African bishops, and to reprove them sharply from the lofty station of the apostolic chair for their lack of due consideration in the matter (vid. Zos. ep. 3, 4). But a council at Carthage (A.D. 417, or early in 418) explained to the pope that good reason had not yet been shown for the various transactions, and that they would still recognize as valid the condemnation pronounced by Innocent (Mansi iv. 376, 378).

教皇在惊恐之下答复：彼得领受了释放与捆绑的权柄，而没有人可敢顶撞教皇；不过，他会与迦大基教会人士们商量此事；不过，当时教皇没有采取什么行动。

The pope, alarmed, replied that Peter received the authority to loose and bind, and that no one dare oppose the pope, but that he would take counsel with the Carthaginians in the matter, in which meanwhile no positive steps had been taken (ep. 15).

418 迦大基非洲教会总会宣判反对伯拉纠观点，418, 419 会议禁止上诉罗马

教皇 Zosimus 让步，发表信件 *Epistola Tractoria*

CARTHAGE GENERAL COUNCIL 418 PRONOUNCES VS. PELAGIAN VIEWS,

BANS APPEALS TO ROME, CARTHAGE 418, CARTHAGE 419

POPE ZOSIMUS YIELDS, PUBLISHES EPISTOLA TRACTORIA

到了此时，非洲众教会于 418 年举行总会议，在迦大基召开，两百人参加，宣判下列教义为异端：亚当被造时之必死，乃与罪无关；小孩并不受亚当承继下来的原罪；恩典并不帮助人避免将来的罪；恩典仅仅在于教义与诫命；恩典只不过使人行善比较容易；圣人用主祷文第五项祈求祷告，不是为自己，乃是因为谦卑的缘故。

At this point the great **African General Council, A.D. 418**, was assembled at **Carthage**, with 200 participants (Mansi iii. 810 ff.; iv. 377 ff.). Condemnation was here pronounced against the doctrines: That Adam was created mortal without respect to sin; that children are not subject to original sin inherited from Adam; that grace does not help with reference to future sins; that grace consists only in doctrines and commandments; that grace only makes it easier to do good; that saints utter the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer not for themselves, or only from humility.

不过，会议同时禁止上诉「海的另一边」的罗马（教皇）。在 419 年召开的迦大基会议再次发出此项禁令（是因为 Zosimus 插入非洲教会内部事端）。418 年，皇帝已经下谕令，敢逐伯拉纠，Caelestius 和他们的跟随者离开罗马，并以严厉惩罚警告之。Zosimus 在这时候让步，颁发了 *Epistola tractoria*，要求所有主教认同。

But, at the same time, the practice of appealing to Rome, "beyond the sea," was placed under the ban. This interdict was repeated A.D. 419 at Carthage (occasioned by the meddling of Zosimus in African affairs). The emperor had (A.D. 418) issued an edict against Pelagius, Caelestius, and their followers, which expelled them from Rome and threatened more serious measures (Aug. opp. xvii. 2720 ff.). Zosimus now yielded and published the *epistola tractoria* (frg. Vid. Coustant-Schoenemann, pontiff. Rom. epp. i. 709), which he requested all bishops to subscribe.

18 位主教拒绝认同教皇的 *Epistola tractoria*;

犹太利安等人致教皇两封信：轻微伯拉纠主义

犹太利安：奥古斯丁的最多产，最敌意的对手；

称奥古斯丁为 *Manichaen*，反对婚姻这，反对科学、理性者

犹太利安：理性的权威 = 高乎任何权威

圣经，理性皆不承认原罪；罪 = 在意志里

婴孩没有意志；模仿导致犯罪

基督是救贖主：为我们带来我们的本性和祂的意志

18 BISHOPS REFUSE TO SUBSCRIBE TO POPE'S EPISTOLA TRACTORIA;

JULIAN ET AL SENDS 2 LETTERS TO POPE – MILD PELAGIANISM

JULIAN – MOST COMBATIVE, VOLUMINOUS OPPONENT OF AUGUSTINE

AUGUSTINE = MANICHAEN, ANTI-MARRIAGE, ANTI-SCIENCE/REASON

JULIAN – REASON = ABOVE AUTHORITY

BIBLE, REASON DON'T RECOGNIZE ORIGINAL SIN; SIN = IN WILL

INFANTS HAVE NO WILL; IMITATION LEADS TO SIN

CHRIST REDEEMS – BROUGHT TO US OUR NATURE AND HIS WILL

十八位主教拒绝教皇的要求，他们的领袖是 Eclanum 的犹太利安，他致教皇两封信，为自己的立场辩护，理由是：给一位不在场的人定罪是不对的；同时这些主教们宣告自己支持一种比较轻微的伯拉纠主义（拒绝 Caelestius 的吊诡）。从此时开始，犹太利安采取攻势，成为奥古斯丁罪有力，敌意最强，最多产的对手。他批评奥古斯丁和其跟随者为异端，他们藐视婚姻，他们持不科学、不尊重理性的精神，因此应被成为 Traduciani。

Eighteen bishops refused to accede to this request (Aug. c. duas ep. Pel. i. 1. 3). The leader of the latter was **Julian of Eclanum**, who in two letters to the pope (in Mar. 1, subnot. 6. 10-13. Aug. pp. xvii. 2728 ff.) defended their course, upon the ground that it was not right to condemn the absent without a hearing, and announced the adherence of these men to a rather mildly-expressed statement of Pelagianism (the paradoxes of Caelestius being rejected). From this time, Julian (having lost his bishopric) assumed the offensive, and proved the most energetic, combative, and voluminous opponent of Augustine, charging Augustine and his adherents, for whom, as heretics, he invented the title *Traduciani*, with Manichaeism, contempt of marriage, unscientific spirit, and unreasonableness (vid. frgg. in Aug. nupt. et. conc. ii; c. Jul.; op. imp.).

犹太利安越来越极端，至终成为一位直接了当的理性主义者：「理性所驳斥的，（教会）权威不可能证明。」判决问题不由神职人员聚集开会，他们连阿利斯多德的范畴（观念）都没有掌握；也不应由没有修养的群众来决定；乃应由那些有文化的少数民族。

He became more and more extreme, reaching at length the boldest rationalism: “What reason disputes authority cannot prove” (op. imp. ii. 1, 137, 144). Questions are to be decided, not by assemblies of clerics who have scarcely mastered the categories of Aristotle, nor by the uncouth populace, but by the small number of the cultured (c. Jul. ii. 10. 35-37, cf. Klasen, *Entwicklung des Pel.*, p. 98 ff.).

犹氏诉诸理性与圣经的见证；两者都不承认原罪。罪是住爱意志里。婴孩没有意志，因此没有罪。模仿导致犯罪。繁殖的行为是纯洁的。奥古斯丁的观点导致 Manichaeism。基督救赎我们，意思是祂把我们的本性和祂的意志带给我们，因此给我们一面镜子，一个准则，即：我们的罪，和我们的义，都在于我们的意志。

He appealed to the testimony of reason and the Scriptures, neither of which recognizes original sin. Sin resides in the will. Infants have no will, and hence no sin (ii. 28). Imitation leads to sin (ii. 48. 209). The generating act is pure (iv. 6). Augustine's view leads to Manichaeism. Christ redeems us, in that he brought to us our nature and his will, and thereby gave to us a mirror and a rule, namely, that our sin, as also our righteousness, consists in the will (iv. 84).

犹太利安领导下的伯拉纠主义 = 世俗化，自足；对教义史没有影响

431 以弗所会议驳斥伯拉纠主义

PELAGIANISM UNDER JULIAN = SECULAR, SELF-SUFFICIENT

NO INFLUENCE IN HISTORY OF DOCTRINE

EPHESUS (A.D. 431) REJECTS PELAGIANISM

伯拉纠主义的教义，在犹太利安的手中变德越来越世俗化，越来越自足。不过这一切并没有在教义史上起什么作用。伯拉纠主义散播的领域非常广大。伯拉纠主义者不仅在罗马，意大利南部，和西西拉，也在 aquileia (Dalmatia) 区，在 Brittany，和 Arles（今法国）。431 年召开的以弗所会议支持拒绝伯拉纠主义的立场，令教皇非常欣慰。



Under his hands the teachings of Pelagianism became more and more secular and self-sufficient. But all of this exerted no influence upon doctrinal history. Pelagianism extended over considerable territory. We meet its adherents not only in Rome, Southern Italy, and Sicily, but also the district of Aquileia (Dalmatia), Brittany, and in the district of Arles. The council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), to the great gratification of the pope, confirmed the rejection of Pelagianism (viv. p. 264 f.).

### 32. 奥古斯丁在 *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 一书中的神学教义与教会观

#### 32. Summary of Augustine's Theological and Ecclesiastical Views in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 1, pp. 357-367.)

我们综览奥古斯丁这本在 421 年完成的教义概论时，令我们想起俄利根 (*De Principiis*) 和他的教义学校，Nyssa 的贵革命利 (*Catech. Magna*)，大马色的约翰 (*De Fide Orth.*)，和 Lactantius (*Institut.*)。

We are reminded of Origen (*de principiis*) and his school, Gregory of Nyssa (*catech. magna*), John of Damascus (*de fide orth.*), Lactantius (*Institut.*), as we undertake to review Augustine's brief general survey of Christianity, written about A.D. 421.

自然真理与启示真理（经院主义的分隔）

理性学习，卫护一些真理；此范围以外的：须相信

相信圣经的见证；圣经是神圣的

这是信心的开始；信心是同意；同意的对象：（使徒）信经

上帝创造了宇宙

NATURAL TRUTH & REVEALED TRUTH (SCHOLASTIC DIVISION)

REASON LEARNS, DEFENDS SOME TRUTHS; BEYOND THESE: BELIEVE

BELIEVE TESTIMONY OF SCRIPTURE; SCRIPTURE = DIVINE

THIS IS BEGINNING OF FAITH; FAITH AS ASSENSUS – OBJECT = THE CREED

GOD CREATED UNIVERSE

这本书的主题乃是：「应以信、望、爱敬拜上帝。问题是：『我们应该信什么？盼望什么？爱什么？』我们本性的聪明可以学到的真理，要由理性卫护。在此范围以外的事，「须要毫无保留地相信，因着圣经的作者们的见证，圣经乃是被称为神圣的，圣经的作者们由上帝的帮助，能够在肉体中或在灵里，看见，甚至预见这些事。」这就是「信心的开始，信心是由爱心作成的」，信心更高的境界乃是异象 (vision)。

“God to be worshipped in faith, hope, and love,” is the theme of the book. The question is: “What ought to be believed, what to be hoped, what to be loved?” Truths which may be learned by our natural intelligence are to be defended by reason. Those which lie beyond this province “are to be believed without any hesitation upon the testimony of the witnesses by whom was composed that Scripture which has hitherto been justly called divine, who, divinely assisted, were enabled, whether through the body or through the spirit, to see, or even to foresee, these things” (4). This is the “beginning of the faith which works by love,” whose higher stage is attained in vision (5).

这是天主教会的信心观：assensio；经院哲学把基督教的教义分隔为自然真理与启示真理。简单的说，信心的对象就是（使徒）信经；盼望与爱心以祷告表达（主祷文）。讨论到这个问题时：「关于宗教（敬虔），我们应该相信什么？」，我们不应该想到宇宙物质的定律：「基督徒相信被造之物的第一因，不论在天或在地...，就是创造主的善...宇宙没有什么「自然」（本性），不是创造主或从创造主而出的。」这位上帝，就是三一真神。

This is the Catholic conception of faith (cf. *assensio*, 7.20, and *supra*. p. 347) and the scholastic division of Christian doctrine into natural and revealed truths. Succinctly stated, faith has its object in the Creed; hope and love find exercise in prayer (the Lord's Prayer, 2. 7). In discussing the question, “What is to be believed

pertaining to religion?” we are not to think of insight into the physical laws of the universe: “It is enough for the Christian to believe that the first cause of created things, whether celestial or terrestrial, ... is nothing other than the goodness of the Creator ... and that there is no nature which is not either the Creator himself, or from him” (3.9). This God is the God of the Trinity.

邪恶 = 善的缺欠；存在的，就是善的；邪恶（若是真的）= 善的

邪恶 = 缺欠，因此预设：善是存在的

EVIL = LACK OF GOOD; THAT WHICH IS, IS GOOD; EVIL (REAL) = GOOD

EVIL = LACK, THUS PRESUPPOSES GOOD EXISTS

宇宙被造的时候是善的，连邪恶都符合宇宙的和谐。邪恶就是善的缺欠。凡是存在的，就是善的，因为是从上帝而来的。连邪恶（从邪恶是存在的角度来看）也是善的：「败坏不能吞灭善，除非吞灭了自然。」邪恶，既然是存在的缺乏，就预设了善的存在：「邪恶不可能存在，除非有善之物。」基督徒须要熟悉善与恶之成因，不仅仅知道宇宙一般的秩序；好叫自己避免错误与苦难。

The world was made good, and even evil fits into its harmony (10). Evil is the lack of good (*privatio boni*, 11). That which is, is good, since it comes from God. Even evil, so far as it really is, is good: “corruption cannot consume the good except by consuming nature” (4. 12). Evil, as a lack of existence, presupposes an existing good: “evil cannot be unless there be something good” (13 ff.). The Christian must be acquainted, not with the general order of the universe, but with the causes of good and evil things, that he may be able to avoid error and misery (5. 16).

犯错 = 接纳虚假为真实；最严重的错误：不相信

不是每一项错误都是罪；学术界的意见 = 虚假，导致 -> 没有信心

ERR = ACCEPT FALSE AS TRUE; WORST ERROR: NOT TO BELIEVE

NOT EVERY ERROR IS SIN; ACADEMY'S OPINION = FALSE, ->NO FAITH

犯错误就是接受虚假的为真实的。最严重的错误，就是一个人不相信带来永生的事，而去相信带来永死的事。不是每一种错误都是罪；而学术界的意见，因为它要求人延迟同意（信心），因此是错误的。这样就没有信心可言了：「同意若被拿走，信心就拿走了；因为若没有同意，我们不能相信任何事。」在那些与我们到上帝面前无关、或与相信基督（以爱心作成的信心）无关的事上，错误不是罪（信心被保存），最多是「最轻微，最小的罪」；就算如此，还是算是「今生的邪恶」的一部份。

To err is to accept the false as true (17). The worst error is for a man not to believe that which leads to eternal life, but to believe that which leads to eternal death (6. 18). Not every error is sin, and the opinion of the Academy, that all assent must be held in suspense, is false. There would then be no faith: “if assent be taken away, faith is taken away; because without assent nothing is believed” (7. 21). In matters not connected with the way which leads us to God, nor with the faith in Christ which works by love, error (faith being preserved) is no sin, or at all events only “the least and lightest sin;” but even then it is to be counted among the “evils (*mala*) of this life” (21).

谎言 = 罪；误用言语 = 欺骗

我们必须知道善与恶的成因

善的成因 = 上帝的善；

恶的成因：人或天使（能变的被造物）离弃善

LIE = SIN; MISUSED WORDS – TO DECEIVE

WE MUST KNOW CAUSE OF GOOD AND EVIL

CAUSE OF GOOD = GOODNESS OF GOD;

CAUSE OF EVIL: WILL OF MAN/ANGEL (MUTABLE) FORSAKING GOOD

可是每一种谎言都是罪，因为「语言被设立，不是叫人藉着它彼此欺骗，而是叫人透过语言使别人知道自己的思想。」因此，我们若不要堕进罪中，必须知道善与恶的成因，就是：「善的成因...没有别的，就是上帝的善，但是邪恶的成因，乃是一个能变的存有的意志：先是一位天使，然后一个人，离弃

不变的善。」

But every lie is a sin, since “words were instituted, not that men might through them deceive one another, but that each might through them bring his thoughts to the knowledge of the other” (22). What we need to know, therefore, in order that we may not fall into sin, is the cause of good and evil, namely: “that the cause of good ... things is nothing else than the goodness of God, but that of evil things is the will of a mutably good being – first of an angel, afterward of a man - forsaking the immutably good”(8. 23).

第一次邪恶：人不愿意顺从上帝；结果：无知，欲望，死亡：

全人类：透过肉体的情欲出生，都有原罪

FIRST EVIL: MAN UNWILLING TO OBEY; BRINGS IGNORANCE, LUST, DEATH

ALL = BEGOTTEN THRU CARNAL CONCUPISCENCE, HAVE ORIGINAL SIN

人类第一次邪恶就是人不愿意遵守上帝的旨意。结果是：「人对应作的事无知，人的欲望追求那些对自己有损的事；」因此：「错误，焦虑，恐惧等，就是人全部的可怜状况，加上身体的死亡。」亚当，因为他的罪，「使他的后裔从根起败坏，使他的后裔受死亡和咒诅的惩罚。」所有「透过肉体的情欲」出生的人都有原罪。

The first evil (*primum malum*) of man is his unwillingness to do (*nolle*) that which God wishes. From this results the “ignorance of things to be done, and the lust of things injurious;” hence “error, distress, fear, i.e., the whole misery of men, as well as the death of the body” (24 f.). Adam by his sin “vitiating his posterity ... at the root, made them subject to the penalty of death and damnation.” All who are begotten “through carnal concupiscence” have original sin (26).

人类服在上帝的忿怒之下；恶人自愿地放纵情欲

天使没有后裔；天使地堕落对善没有影响；人是要代替堕落的天使

得救并非藉自由意志（自由意志已经丧失），乃是透过恩典

MANKIND = UNDER GOD’S WRATH; WICKED WILLINGLY INDULGE LUST

ANGELS – NO DESCENT; FALL – NO EFFECT ON GOOD

MEN TO TAKE PLACE OF FALLEN ANGELS

DELIVERANCE NOT THRU FREE WILL (=LOST), BUT ONLY THRU GRACE

全人类都生活在邪恶中，服在「上帝至公义的忿怒」之下。这是明显的，因为恶人自愿地放纵自己的情欲；还有，他们承受惩罚，这不是自愿的。不过，上帝不仅是公义的，也是怜悯的上帝，因此祂并没有放弃人面对人配得的命运。天使因为没有被后裔联系，因此邪恶的天使堕落对善没有影响。（上帝的设计乃是，人（可能很多人）要代替堕落的天使的位置。不过这些人，就是上帝应许要搭救的人，得救并不是透过行使自己的自由意志，而是完全藉着恩典。

The entire race is thus living in wickedness and subject to the “most just wrath of God.”

This is evident both from the fact that the wicked willingly indulge their concupiscence, and the further fact that they are, against their will, visited with punishment. God is, however, not only just, but also merciful, and he, therefore, does not abandon men to their merited fate (27). Inasmuch as the angels are not bound together by natural descent, the fall of the evil angels had no effect upon the good (9.28). It is designed that men shall (in, perhaps, large numbers) take the place of fallen angels (29). But that portion of the human race to whom God has promised deliverance attains that end not through the exercise of free will, for this has been lost, but only through grace.

上帝的仆人们 = 完全自由；信心 = 上帝的恩赐：叫人意旨，行动

上帝在不愿意的人之前，在愿意的人的后面

上帝成就万事；须要中保平息忿怒

中保成为人（神行没有改变）

上帝的恩典获得两者（不是透过情欲）

SERVANTS OF GOD = TRULY FREE; FAITH = GIFT OF GOD, TO WILL, TO DO

GOD PRECEDES UNWILLING, FOLLOWS WILLING

GOD WORKS ALL THINGS; MEDIATOR = NEEDED TO PLACATE WRATH

MEDIATOR BECAME MAN (DIVINITY NOT CHANGED)

GRACE OF GOD SECURED COMBINATION (NOT THRU CONCUPISCENCE)

身为上帝的仆人，他们是成为真的自由人。信心本身是上帝给的恩赐。唯有上帝在

我们里面工作，叫我们意旨，行动（腓 2：13，罗 9：16）。「祂在不愿意的人的前面，好叫他愿意；他在愿意的人后面，好叫他不妄然愿意。」这样说是错的：「只有人的意志是不够的，若同时没有上帝的怜悯」，因为上帝是行作万事的。「当人还因为原罪的缘故在祂的忿怒之下的时候，他们越因为更多犯罪而更肯定面对灭亡，他们就越需要一位中保，使他们与上帝和好，这位中保必须藉着一次献上牺牲而平息上帝的忿怒。」

As servants of God, they become truly free (30). Faith itself is a gift of God (31). God alone works in us to will and to do (Phil. 2. 13. Rom. 9.16). “He precedes him who is unwilling, that he may will; he follows him who is willing, that he may not will in vain.” It is false to say: “the will of man alone is not sufficient, if there be not also the mercy of God,” for God works all things (32). “When men were, through original sin, under this wrath, the more seriously and ruinously they had added to this more and greater (offenses), the more necessary was a mediator, that is, a reconciler, who *should placate this wrath by the offering of one sacrifice.*”

上帝的忿怒不是「好像一个心中发怒的人一样的激动」，而是「祂的意怒，完全正直」。这位中保成为人（祂的神性并没有改变成为肉体），无罪，「不像男女两性透过肉体的情欲生下的人，后者必定犯错」，而是由童贞女所生，他的「正直」在出生的时候并没有损害。基督是上帝，是人。基督的神人两性不是因为耶稣这个人的功劳而赚得的，乃是完全出自上帝的恩典。

The wrath of God is not a “disturbance, such as that in the heart of an angry man,” but it is “his vengeance, which is nothing but just” (10. 33). The mediator became man (his divinity not being changed into flesh), sinless, “not such as is born from the two sexes through the concupiscence of the flesh with inevitable tendency to wrongdoing,” but of the Virgin, whose “integrity” was not impaired at his birth (34). Christ was God and man (35). It was no merit of the man Jesus which secured this combination, but only the grace of God (11. 36).

基督的出生 = 圣灵的工作，不过基督 = 父的儿子

无罪的基督 = 被宣称为罪（赎罪祭） -> 神人和好

基督 = 为罪的牺牲（祭），我们的代表

CHRIST'S BIRTH = HOLY SPIRIT'S WORK, BUT CHRIST = SON OF FATHER

SINLESS CHRIST = PRONOUNCED SIN (SIN-OFFERING) -> RECONCILIATION

CHRIST = SACRIFICE FOR SIN, OUR REPRESENTATIVE

基督为人的出生，本身是圣灵的工作。不过基督并不因此在人性是圣灵的儿子，好像他在神性是圣父的儿子一样。不过上帝的恩典在道成肉身中显明，「藉此人，毫无现存的功劳地，与上帝的道结合，位格有着这样的合一，以致身为人子的那位，就是上帝的儿子那位，而身为上帝的儿子那位就是人子。」

His human birth itself was a work of the Holy Spirit (37). But Christ is not, therefore, according to his human nature a Son of the Spirit, as he is according to his divine nature a Son of the Father (12. 38 f.). But the grace of God is manifested in the incarnation “by which man, no merits preceding ... was joined with the Word of God in such unity of person, that the very same who was the son of man was the Son of God, and the very same who was the Son of God was the son of man” (40).

那位绝对无罪的基督现在被宣告为「罪」（林后 5 章），因为《旧约圣经》是这样称「赎罪祭」。因此，基督乃是「为罪而献的祭，我们藉着它能够和好。」祂成为「罪，成为罪身的模样，好叫 ... 祂这样向罪死，当祂在肉身里（向肉身）死，罪身的模样是在这肉身里的 ... 也好叫透过祂的复活，是我们的新生命得到印记，我们从旧的死（本来我们要在罪中经历此死的）出来。」因此，基督作为赎罪祭为罪死了，祂做了我们的代表，祂复活，作为祂为我们带来的新生命的证据。

The absolutely sinless Christ has now been pronounced “sin” (2 Cor. v.), since in the Old Testament the sin-offering was thus designated. Christ is, therefore: “a sacrifice for sins, through which we might be able to be reconciled.” He became “sin in the likeness of sin of the flesh, in order that ... he might thus, in a manner, die to sin, when he dies to the flesh in which was the likeness of sin ... and might by his resurrection seal our new reviving life from the old death in which we would have died in sin” (13. 41). Hence, Christ died as a sacrifice for sin, as our representative, and he arose as an evidence of the new life brought to us by him.

洗礼反映死，复活

#### BAPTISM – REFLECTION OF DYING/LIVING

这在洗礼中反映出来：我们向罪死，藉着重生的洗而活。因此，每人都需要受洗。小孩藉洗礼向原罪死，成人向出生之后的罪行死。洗礼的目标是「罪得赦免」。有这样的说法，不无根据：小孩也受他们父母亲的罪所捆绑，不仅仅是人类第一对父母，还有亲生的父母亲。

We have a reflection of this in baptism, as we die to sin and live through the washing of regeneration (42). All, therefore, have need of baptism. Children thereby die to original sin, and adults also to the further sins actually committed (43). The aim of baptism is the “remission of sins” (44 and 51; cf. supra pp. 322, 349). It is asserted, not without probability, that children are bound also by the sins of their parents – not alone of the first human beings, but also their own parents of whom they were born (cf. Ezek. 18. 2).

不过，洗礼主要是从原罪得到释放，因为罪行（本罪）需要悔改来补赎的。原罪是所有罪之根，只有透过唯一中保，耶稣，才得消除灭绝。基督的洗礼使重要的，不是对祂重要，乃是为我们：「好向我们推荐祂伟大的谦卑。」祂的死也是一样：「好叫魔鬼，藉公义的真理（不是透过暴力）被击败，因为祂不义地杀了没有罪的那位，失去那些因为罪的缘故被祂掌管，捆绑的：这是公义的。」

But baptism has essentially to do with deliverance from original sin, as individual sins may also be atoned for through repentance (46). Original sin, as the root of all sins, is removed and destroyed only through the one mediator, the man Jesus (14. 48). The baptism of Christ was significant, not for him, but for us: “in order that his great humility might be commended.” The same is to be said of his death: “in order that the devil, overcome and vanquished by the truth of justice, not by the violence of power, since he had most unjustly slain him who was without any desert of sin, might most justly lose those whom he for desert of sin held in his power” (49).

全人类都透过亚当被定罪。我们必须成为在基督里新生的人，才能从定罪中释放。这是如何成就的？「正如他真正的死了，同样地，在我们里面罪真正的被赦免；正如在祂真正地复活，我们真正地被称义。」前者在洗礼发生；可是后者乃是目标。

It is only as new-born in Christ that we can become free from the condemnation which rests upon all through Adam (51). As to the way in which this is accomplished; “just as true death has occurred in him, so true remission of sins in us; and just as true resurrection in him, so true justification in us.” The former takes place in baptism, which, however, has the latter as its goal (52, cf. supra, p. 322).

基督既然是我们在洗礼中的模样，同样地，祂全部的历史是我们的模样，「好叫我们不仅在奥秘中，而在地上的生活，可以效法祂。」基督再来的审判乃是例外。我们所指的「基督工作的教义」，奥古斯丁以三个观念处理：赎罪之祭，我们因它的缘故，在洗礼获得赦罪；从魔鬼释放；和信徒的模样与榜样。

As Christ is in this our pattern, so also in his whole history “in order that to these things, not only mystically spoken, but also done, the Christian life which is lived here might be conformed” (53). The coming of Christ to judgment is here excepted (54). That which we designate the doctrine of the Work of Christ is treated by Augustine under three aspects: as the sacrifice for sin, by virtue of which we receive the forgiveness of sins in baptism; as deliverance from the devil; and as a pattern and example for believers.

奥古斯丁处理了上帝，创造，罪，恩典，与基督之后，讲论圣灵。教会依靠三一真神：「承认信仰的正确次序，要求教会顺从三一真神，正如租客与房子，上帝与祂的圣殿，城市与城市的创始人的关系一样。」我们须看出，这里不仅指在地上寄居的基督徒，也指已被荣耀的圣徒与天使们。奥氏讨论

了天使：他承认自己不知道天使的次序，也不知道应否把他们与太阳，月亮并列；或讨论地上好像天使的有形体者与天使之间的关系。更重要的是要分辨，撒但变相，成为光明的天使，好叫我们不跟随牠错误的道路。

After thus treating of God, creation, sin, grace, and of Christ, Augustine, following the order of the Creed, comes to speak of the Holy Spirit. The church depends upon the Trinity: “The proper order of confession requires that the church be subordinated to the Trinity, just as to the tenant his house, to God his temple, and to the founder his city.” In this we are to have in view, not only the Christians yet sojourning on earth, but also glorified saints and angels (15. 56). There is then a discussion of angels, in which the author confesses his ignorance as to the orders of celestial beings, and the propriety of numbering among them the sun and the moon (Orig., supra, p. 151), or the kind of corporeality involved in the appearances of angels on earth (58 f.). It is more important to discriminate when Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, in order that we may not follow him upon his paths of error (60).

因此，教会可分为地上的与天上的教会。基督成就的救赎，在某程度上延伸到天使身上，因为透过祂的救赎，天使与罪人之间不再为仇，而堕落天使的地位，由信徒补上。因此，正如《以弗所书》1：10所宣告的，天上的与地上的，在基督里和好联合，地上的也与天上的联合。

The church is thus to be divided into the earthly and the heavenly. The redemption wrought by Christ extends also, in a certain measure, to the angels, inasmuch as by it the enmity between them and sinful men is removed, and the places vacated by the fallen angels are filled. Hence, as affirmed in Eph. 1. 10, the heavenly is by Christ united in peace with the earthly, and the earthly with the heavenly (61, 62).

我们要到未来世界的完全异象中，才能得到完全的和平，可是现在透过罪得赦免已经开始了。因此，《使徒信经》下面一项，就是我信罪得赦免。更新，从洗礼中除去原罪开始，可是，在此以外，每人还需要（本）罪的赦免，因为他虽然没有犯法，可是不是无罪的。就算是犯法，我们也不需无望，上帝还是施怜悯的。教会会开除罪犯的会籍，但是让他悔改。在这事上，最重要的不是时间多长，而是忧伤多深。

This peace shall be complete for us only in the full vision of the future world, but it exists here already through the forgiveness of sins. Hence, the next item in the Creed is the forgiveness of sins. Renewal begins (*incipit renovatio*) with the blotting out of original sin in baptism, yet everyone needs beyond this the forgiveness of sins, since he is, though perhaps without crime (*crimen*), not without sin (64). But even in regard to crimes, we dare not despair of the mercy of God. The church excommunicates the criminal; but let him repent. In this, not the extent of time, but that of the sorrow, is important.

因为罪在现时只有在教会里能得赦免，因此有「指定的悔改时间，好叫人的悔改能令教会也满意。」重生的人也须受今生的惩罚，好叫他们不须在永恒里承担自己的罪孽。不过有些大公（天主）教会的信徒坚持，已经受洗的信徒，即，没有背负（不认）基督的人，虽然犯了大罪，也会得救；这些罪「他们不能透过悔改洗净，也不能以施舍补赎」，因为「他们将被火拯救：肯定是按照所犯的罪的大小而受惩罚，惩罚的长短也按照他们羞耻的行为，不过，他们不用受永火。」

Since now it is only in the church that sins are forgiven, there are fixed “times of repentance, in order that it may be exercised to the satisfaction of the church as well” (65). The regenerate are also subjected to temporal penalties, in order that their guilt may not be charged against them for eternity (66). But there are Catholic Christians who hold that, if they have been baptized and believe, i.e., do not renounce the name of Christ, they will be saved despite the most grievous sins, “which they neither wash away by repenting nor atone for by alms,” that “they will be saved by fire – punished, doubtless, in proportion to the magnitude of their offenses and the duration of their shameful deeds, yet not with eternal fire” (cf. I Cor. 3. 11 ff.).

只有信心，以行为表现的信心，使人得救：信心没有行为是不能使人得救的。所讨论的经文提到的火，是指放弃那些人们热爱的事物的痛苦。奥古斯丁没有回答一个问题：今生以后还有没有使这些人洁净的火，就像悔改与施舍带来的赦罪：问题亦即：「是否有些信徒比较早得救，有些比较迟；后者要经

过炼狱的火，就按照他们今生多么地爱必朽的事物。」奥氏这样附加解释：一个人是不能透过每天施舍来为自己赎罪，叫自己不被置于天国以外；人不能为自己买来未来犯罪的权利。

Only faith manifesting itself in works saves: faith without works does not save (67). The fire in the scriptural passages under discussion refers to the pain endured in the giving up of that which is fervently desired (68). Augustine leaves it an open question whether a purifying fire does not exist also after this life for such as through repentance, and especially through almsgiving, have secured for themselves forgiveness – whether “some believers are not saved more tardily or more speedily, through a certain purgatorial fire, in proportion as they have more or less loved the things that perish” (69). He adds, in explanation, that one cannot indeed daily atone by alms for sins which exclude from the kingdom of God, nor, forsooth, by them purchase for himself the right to sin in the future (16.70).

奥古斯丁现在讨论悔改的实践：「不过，为那些短暂，轻微的日常罪行，...信徒每天的祷告就能满足（上帝）」；这是指主祷文的第五项祈求。不过这项祈求也涂抹重罪，若信徒离弃此罪，也饶恕那些犯罪得罪他的人。因为，饶恕也是一项施舍，正如所有向有需要的人所作的善行，都是施舍。「因此有很多不同种类的施舍，当我们这样作来获得赦罪的时候。」

Turning now to the practice of repentance, Augustine declares: “But for brief and light daily sins ... the daily prayer of believers makes satisfaction” (*satisfacit*), i.e., the fifth petition of the Lord’s Prayer. But this prayer also blots out grave offenses, when the believer forsakes them – and when he also forgives those who trespass against him. For forgiveness is also an *alms*, just as are all good works done for those in need. “There are thus many kinds of alms, when we perform which we help to secure the remission of our own sins” (71, 72).

饶恕别人和爱仇敌，是最好的施舍。只有愿意饶恕他人的人，才获得赦免。只有生命改造的人，才能透过施舍成为纯洁。其实，从某一个角度来看，施舍包括了一切的事，我们若自己给自己定罪：我们若靠上帝的怜悯在我们的可怜状态中寻求自己的话。把罪判断重或轻，不是我们能力以内之法可以做到的；可是圣经在林前 7：5-6，6：1 等几处指出此事实。

Forgiveness of others and the love of enemies are the best alms (73). Only he who is ready to forgive receives forgiveness (74). Only he who also reforms his life becomes pure through alms (17. 75). Indeed, in a certain sense, everything is included in alms, if we give to ourselves the alms of charging guilt upon ourselves, i.e., if we by the mercy of God seek out ourselves in our misery (76; also serm. 87. 9. 10). The division of sins into *peccata levia* and *gravia* cannot be carried out fully by any means in our power; but it is established by such passages as I Cor. 7. 5 f.; 6. 1 ff. (78).

有些我们认为是轻罪（「你是笨人」）在圣经看来是重罪，很多圣经认为是重罪，因为我们习惯了而认为是轻罪。我们不能抗拒犯罪，不论是因为无知或是软弱，「除非我们有上帝的帮助」。上帝的怜悯也催逼我们悔改。不相信（或藐视）在教会里罪得赦免的人，就是犯了亵渎圣灵的罪，是不能赦免的罪。

Some which seem light to us (“thou fool”) are grievous according to the Scriptures (79), while many which are really grievous are from force of habit regarded by us as light (80). We cannot resist sins, whether arising from ignorance or from infirmity, “unless we are divinely assisted” (19. 81). The mercy of God also impels us to repentance (82). He who does not believe, or despises, the forgiveness of sins in the church is guilty of the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost (83).

最后，奥古斯丁讨论复活。经过讨论堕胎的胎和畸形的人之身体复活之后，奥古斯丁宣告，对上帝来说，人的物质身体并没有失落；到复活的时候，上帝会恢复整个身体；不过这里并不暗示，肢体的每一个细胞都重新回到那肢体中。身体不都一样（就像乐曲中的音符），他们也不令人憎恶。他们乃是属灵的身体，不过在本质上还是肉体，虽然凡事上服事灵。

Augustine treats, finally, of the Resurrection. After some remarks in regard to the resurrection body of the abortive foetus (20. 85 f.) and of monstrosities (87), he declares that the material of the human body is for God not lost (88); that in the resurrection God will restore the entire body, it being not implied, however, that

every particle of the matter shall become a portion of that member to which it once belonged (89). The bodies will not be all alike (e.g., the notes of an anthem), nor will they be repulsive (want or corpulent). They will be spiritual bodies, but in substance still flesh (*caro*), although serving the spirit in all things (90, 91; cf. *civ. dei*, xxii. 12 ff., 19 ff.).

失落的人也有身体；他们的命运乃是不断地死，不断败坏。这就是第二次的死。上帝定罪乃是按照罪的大小，儿童的罪乃最轻。「最轻的罪肯定是那些除了承受祖先的罪以外，没有加上自己的罪的人。」

The lost have also a body; a continual dying and decaying is their fate (92). This is the second death. Condemnation (*damnatio*) is graded according to the measure of guilt, being lightest for children. “Certainly the lightest punishment of all will be that of those, who, beyond the sin which they have inherited from their ancestry, have superadded none” (93).

我们只因为人生有双重的命运，而知道为什么一人得救，另一人被定罪。有一天，上帝的旨意是多么的肯定，不变，完全有效，将会显明。上帝既然容许邪恶，邪恶的存在一定是善的；不然，全能的上帝不会容许它。上帝所意旨的，祂必作成。可是上帝的旨意乃是要所有的人得救（提前 2：14），而人类绝大多数的人不得救。怜悯人的上帝转化一些人的邪恶旨意成为善的旨意，并不考虑他们未来的行为。对其他人，上帝只不过以公义对待他们。上帝的旨意掌管所有的人，包括邪恶的人：「好叫...那些违背祂的旨意的事，都不会没有祂的旨意而发生。」

It is only in the twofold outcome of human life that we shall learn why one was saved and another left to condemnation. It will become clear how certain, immutable, and most efficacious is the will of God (21. 94, 95). Since God permits evil, its existence must be good; otherwise the almighty will would not allow it (96). What God wills, that he does. But he wills that all men be saved (I Tim. 2. 4; cf. 23. 27), and yet by far the greater number are not saved (97). God in mercy turns the evil will of some into a good will, without any regard to future works. To others he is simply just (22. 98 f.). The will of God rules in all, even in the wicked: “so that ... even that which is contrary to his will does not occur without his will” (23. 100 f.).

因此：「上帝不作任何邪恶的事，除非祂定意要作一件事，不然祂不会去作；祂所作的都是祂所定意要作的。」在这里奥古斯丁讨论《提摩太前书》2：4，试图勉强地解释该段经文来吻合上述一点。人的意志一直是自由的，甚至（特别是）当它不再能意旨作恶的时候。可是，就算在乐园里，自由意志不够功劳赚得不朽：就算在那时候，上帝的帮助是必须的，何况堕落之后！因此，严格来说，永生不是奖赏，乃是恩典。

Therefore; “he does not do anything wicked, nor does he do anything unless he wills to do it, and he does all things whatsoever which he wills to do” (102). At this point Augustine takes up I Tim. 2. 4 (103) and endeavors by a forced interpretation to bring it into harmony with the above (*supra*, p. 352). The will of man is always free, even and particularly when it can no longer will to do evil (25.105). But free will would not have sufficed even in paradise to merit immortality: even there the divine assistance (*adjutorium*) was needed – how much more since the fall! (106). Hence, strictly speaking, eternal life is a matter, not of reward, but of grace.

「因此我们必须理解，就算是人善行的功劳，也是上帝的恩赐，为此上帝赐永生；那么，恩典岂不因恩典（与恩典交换）而赐吗？」上帝的怜悯乃是救赎的基础；因此，没有人可以夸什么。连赚得救恩的中保，也不仅仅是人，乃是上帝。祂的工作：「我们必须与上帝和好，好叫我们身体可以复活，达致永生。」藉着基督复活展开了，魔鬼被战胜。不仅如此，「在不顺从的人面前，这位神人显示了顺从的榜样。」祂的位格显示给人看，人如何偏离了上帝。

“It is to be understood, therefore, that even the good merits of man themselves are gifts of God, to which when eternal life is given, how is grace given except (in exchange) for grace?” God’s mercy is the ground of salvation; therefore let no one boast (107). Even the Mediator through whom salvation is secured is not only man but God. In description of his work, it is declared: “It was necessary for us to be reconciled to God in order to the resurrection of the flesh unto eternal life.” Through him the resurrection is set forth, the devil conquered.



Further, “an example of obedience is by the divine man set before contumacious man.” He showed to men also in his person how far they had departed from God (108).

死亡之后，复活之前，人的灵魂活在隐秘的退隐中；在这里的命运，乃根据人的善恶。要缓助人的困境，他们的朋友们可以使用弥撒与施舍的献祭。不过，这些献祭只生效与那些在地上已经满足条件，好叫现在配享受这些好处的人身上。

After death and before the resurrection, the souls of men are in a secret retreat (*abita receptacula*), where it goes well or ill with them according to their deserts. For the alleviation of their condition, their friends may avail themselves of the sacrifice of the mass and of alms. But the latter avail as “*propitiaciones*” only for those who on earth have deserved that the benefits of these things should now be enjoyed (those who were “not very wicked,” 20. 110; vid. also serm. 172. 2; civ. dei, xxi. 27. 6).

「上帝的城」与「魔鬼的城」，两者都包含人与天使，在永恒中还继续并存。无疑地，地狱中有永远咒诅的惩罚。我们最多从《诗篇》76：10可以推论的是，有暂时的舒缓或中断。那里的情况乃是恐怖的折磨：「远离上帝的过，从上帝之城被放逐，与上帝的生命隔绝，被拒绝参加那群众与上帝喜乐的团契。」

The *civitas dei* and the *civitas diaboli*, both of which include men and angels, will continue to exist in eternity (111). There can be no doubt of the eternal duration of the punishments of hell. The most that could be deduced from Ps. 76. 10 would be a temporary alleviation or interruption. That condition itself is one of dreadful torment: “to depart from the kingdom of God, to be an exile from the city of God, to be alienated from the life of God, to be deprived, with so great a multitude, of the delightful fellowship of God” (112 f.).

这些就是「藉信心相信的教义。」信生出望与爱。主祷文表达我们的盼望。我们的希望在于上帝，不在自己或别人。「因此，我们所盼望的，不论是求顺利或得到什么（因善行而能交换什么），我们只应该指望主上帝。」然后奥古斯丁简略地解释了主祷文，根据《马太福音》与《路加福音》的记载。

These are the doctrines “which are to be faithfully believed.” Out of faith spring hope and love. What we hope is shown by the Lord’s Prayer. We hope only in God, not in men nor in ourselves. “Therefore only from the Lord God ought we to seek whatever we hope either to do well or to receive (in exchange for good works)” (27. 114). Then follows a short exposition of the Lord’s Prayer, as given in Matthew and Luke (115 f.).

然后奥古斯丁讨论爱心。「当我们问，某某人是否好人，我们不是问他是否相信，或盼望，而是问，他是否爱。...没有爱心的人，他的信心是枉然的，索然他所相信的事是真理。「真正的信心乃是藉爱心作成的。圣灵在我们里面浇灌爱；爱消灭情欲，完成律法。」然后奥氏勾画出道德进展的过程：

Then comes Love. “When it is asked whether anyone is a good man, it is not asked what he believes or hopes, but what he love ... he who does not love, believes in vain, even though the things which he believes are true.” True faith is that which works in love. Love is shed abroad in us by the Holy Spirit; it annihilates concupiscence and fulfills the law” (28. 117; cf. supra, p. 348). The course of moral development is then sketched:

(一) 「靠肉体生活，理性不抗拒：这是人的第一状态。」

(1) “Living according to the flesh, reason making no resistance – this is the first state (*haec sunt prima*) of man.”

(二) 「藉着律法认识罪」，可是「明知而犯罪... 这是人的第二状态。」

(2) “Recognition of sin through the law,” but “sinning knowingly ... this is the second state of man.”

(三) 相信上帝的帮助：「人开始被上帝的灵感动，他以更有能力的爱，来抗拒情欲... 他的软弱还没有完全被医治，他敬虔的持续：这是有盼望的人的第三状态。」

(3) Faith in the help of God: “and that the man has begun to be moved by the Spirit of God, he lusts against the flesh by the stronger power of love ... his whole infirmity not yet being healed, pious perseverance – this is the third state of the man of good hope.”

(四)「最后的盼望乃是在今生之后。这四个阶段中，第一是在律法之前，第二是在律法之下，第三是在恩典之下，第四乃是在完全平安中。」

(4) “Final peace remains – after this life. Of these four different stages, the first is before the law, the second under the law, the third under grace, the fourth in full and perfect peace.”

救赎历史也跟着这个进程。不过恩典带来罪的赦免，也除去罪孽。上帝的每一条诫命，都以爱为目标。「因此，人若因惧怕惩罚，或以任何属肉体的目的作什么事，这都不出自圣灵在我们心中浇灌的爱，那么，人所作的，还不是他应当作的，虽然外表很像。」

The history of salvation has followed the same course (118). But grace brings the forgiveness of sins and removal of guilt (*reatus*, 119). Every commandment of God has love as its aim. “Therefore, that which is done either from fear of punishment or with any carnal aim, so that it cannot be traced to that love which the Holy Spirit sheds abroad in our hearts, is not yet, although it may seem to be, done as it ought to be done” (121).

该书没有提供一个教义「系统」的大纲，不过提出了奥古斯丁认为最基要的基督教教训。整本书流露出他的基本思路。书中贯穿着他对最，恩典，与预定的最深奥观念。

The treatise does not furnish the outlines of a doctrinal “system,” but a connected presentation of that which Augustine regarded as essential in Christian teaching. The great underlying current of his thought runs through the composition. Into it he has interwoven his profoundest ideas upon sin, grace, and predestination.

他的上帝论流露他的形而上学背景；架构方面的要素被遮盖了。他有技巧地排列了他的观念，与《使徒信经》的次序吻合；可是，正如在他所有的教导中，同样地在这本小书中，他介入了当时天主教教会的所有普及（民间）因素（功德的观念，禁食，施舍，教会的权力架构，圣礼的魔力，敬拜圣人，崇敬遗物，禁欲生活的理想等）。

The metaphysical background is clearly traceable in his doctrine concerning God; and the distinctively hierarchical elements are to a remarkable degree overshadowed. He skillfully arranged his ideas in harmony with the orderly statements of the Creed; but, as in all his teaching, so even in this brief epitome, he has introduced nearly all the elements of the popular Catholicism of the day (ideas of merit, fastings, alms, together with hierarchism, sacramental magic, saint worship, veneration of relics, and the ascetic ideal of life).

他所脚踏的地方，都柳暗花明又一村。他能用最外在的事物来讨论最深奥的真理（例如，对功德与施舍的解释）。石头在他手中变为饼。他对教会的深远影响，其中一个因素就是这归纳、美化真理的奇妙能力。

Wherever he stepped, the scene became one of verdure and flowers. He could attach the profoundest ideas to the most external things (e.g., his exposition of merit and alms). Stones under his hand became bread. His influence upon the church is explained – in part, at least – by this wonderful power of assimilating and glorifying.

不过我们也须同时认识到，也是因为这能力，这些松散地凑起来的观念，只因为他的宗教天才而整合，并不能在教会教义的发展史上作出透彻改革的影响。他有改革家的创造力，可是他没有改革所需要的拆毁能力。从这特征看来，我们可以解释他的教导中无数的矛盾倾向（例如：预定与教会，教会与教会，基督与恩典，恩典与圣礼，认识上帝与上帝的定义，信与爱，等等）。

But it may also be readily understood, in view of this same trait, that the loosely-connected elements of his general view, harmonized in him only by the power of his religious genius, were unable to exert a thoroughgoing reformatory influence upon the entire scope of ecclesiastical doctrine. He possessed the creative power of the reformer, but he lacked the talent required for tearing down. From this characteristic we may explain also the multitude of inconsistencies and self-contradictory tendencies in his teachings (e.g., predestination and church, church and church, Christ and grace, grace and sacraments, the knowledge of God and the definition of God, faith and love, etc.).

然而，他的观念提供了一千多年基督教敬虔与神学的题材。没有人拥有「整个」奥古斯丁，不过所有人的生命都承继了他精神的一些片断；从这些片断，每人领受了，理解了，然后因着自己的需要又「调整」了。

And yet the ideas of this man furnished the themes for the piety and theology of more than a thousand years. No one possessed the “whole” Augustine, but all lived upon the fragments of his spirit, from which each appropriated and understood what was “adapted” to his own wants.

### 经院主义时期的教义史

## HISTORY OF DOCTRINES IN THE SCHOLASTIC AGE

### 第一章 教会权力架构，敬虔生活，和经院神学的根基

#### Chapter 1: Foundations of Hierarchical and Religious Ideals and of Scholastic Theology

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. 2, pp. 49-87.)

#### 44. 教会与世界

### THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. 2, pp. 49-52.)

克吕尼，道德改革观念的中心，控制教会

目标：限制修道院世俗化、神职人员不道德行为等

真正的改革 = 透过敬虔，不透过政权：修院中严格纪律，神父单身制，不高利贷

CLUNY, CENTER OF IDEAS OF ETHICAL REFORM, BRINGS CHURCH UNDER THEIR CONTROL

CHECK SECULARIZATION OF CLOISTERS, IMMORALITY OF CLERGY, ETC.

GENUINE REFORM = TO BE THRU PIOUS MEANS, NOT THE “STATE”:

SEVERE CLOISTER DISCIPLINE, CELIBACY OF PRIESTHOOD, NO SIMONY

The historical result of the movements and tendencies within the church from the end of the tenth to the close of the thirteenth century is found in the reformatory ideas which centered at Cluny, and which gradually brought the church under their control. It was an ethical reformation which was sought. A check was to be placed upon the secularizing of the cloisters, the rudeness and immorality of the clergy, and the anarchy which marked the social life, especially under the domination of the robber-nobility. It was a genuinely reformatory idea – the world was to adopt the principles of the church, and the church was to be free from the world. But both objects were sought in the spirit, and by the means, of the prevalent type of piety. The conception of the “City of God” (*civitas dei*) began to be regarded in a practical way, and the “State” of Charlemagne was abandoned. Many measures were employed, such as the revival of the religious practices of Mysticism, increased severity in cloister discipline, celibacy of the priesthood, repression of simony, i.e., investiture by civil authorities, the complete independence of church property.

But the movement was soon combined with the effort to realize the pseudo-Isidorian ideals (p. 41), which were interpreted entirely in the interest of the papal power. The mystical piety of the ancient Monasticism, the pseudo-Isidorian writings, and the church property were the ruling motives in the attempted Reformation. The church was actually reformed by it; but in the line, of course, of the motives indicated. It promote the religious life of the individual, partly by giving a marked impulse to the worship of saints and relics, the craving for miracles, superstition, asceticism, pilgrimages, etc., but also by a real deepening of the religious sensibility. Cf. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchl. u. allgemeinesch. Wirksamkeit*, 2 vols., 1892-94; Hauck, *KG. Deutsch.* iii. 445 ff., 459 ff.

教皇：假伊西多尔名的理想观念；例如：宏伯特红衣主教

教会，神职人员，教会财产 = 独立于政权

贵格利七世终身致力达致这些目标；即中古时期的理想

PAPACY: PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN IDEALS e.g. CARDINAL HUMBERT

CHURCH, OFFICIALS, PROPERTY = INDEPENDENT OF CIVIL AUTHORITY

GREGORY VII'S LIFETIME WORK = THESE; MEDIEVAL IDEALS

The movement for reform opened and smoothed the path to the realization of the pseudo-Isidorian ideals by the papacy. This can be studied to advantage in the work of Cardinal Humbert: *Libri tres adv. Simoniacos* (Mi. 143), in which the following line of progress is manifest: Independence of the civil authority on the part of the church, its officials and property (iii. 3, 5, 10), and therefore of the investiture by secular rulers, which is simony (iii. 6, 11 f.); denial of the efficacy of the sacraments when administered by simonists, since simony is heresy and can bring only ruin (ii. 20 ff., 26 ff., 34); summons to insurrection against the civil government (iii. 16). The life-work of Gregory VII aided in the attainment of these ideals. His ideas form the classical expression of the claims of the papacy in the Middle Ages. In the twenty-seven propositions of the *Dictatus* attributed to him, they are presented with precision (cf. especially Ep. ad Herimannum, Registrum viii. 21; Jaffe Monum. Gregoriana, Mi. 148; also in Mirbt, Quellen zur Gesch. d. Papsttums, 1895, pp. 47-64):

罗马教会永不会犯错；同意此点的乃是天主教徒

罗马主教（教皇）有权统治所有其他主教；教会的主宰，世界的主宰

ROMAN CHURCH WILL NEVER ERR; AGREEMENT MAKES ONE A CATHOLIC

ROMAN BISHOP HAS AUTHORITY OVER ALL OTHER BISHOPS

LORD OF THE CHURCH, LORD OF THE WORLD

The Roman church has never erred and never will err. Only he is catholic who agrees with it. Accordingly, only the Roman bishop is *universalis*; he has authority over all other bishops, whom he can appoint and remove; his legates outrank all bishops. The other bishops are only his substitutes (registr. i. 12, 60; iv. 11), and it is their duty to support him even to the extent of furnishing soldiers when required (reg. vi. 17a; ep. collectae 13 fin.). "To him alone it is permissible to establish new laws according to the need of the time." All the graver matters of dispute in any portion of the church are to be brought before his tribunal (cf. reg. i. 17; iv. 27). "No section [of a law] nor book may be regarded as canonical without his authority." The pope alone decides matters at councils (reg. iii. 10). Only his foot is kissed by the princes. He can remove emperors, but can himself be judged by no one. The canonical ordination gives him sanctity: "by the merits of the blessed Peter he is infallibly made holy." He is not only the lord of the church, but universal dominion (*universale regimen*) has been committed to him, and he is "prince (*princeps*) over the kingdoms of the world" (reg. ii. 51, 75; i. 63).

教皇凌驾所有君王，政府之上；政权乃受他之托；离教皇独立 = 骄傲

在属灵的事上，君王依靠神父，在属世的事上，依靠教皇；教皇捆绑、释放

POPE = SUPREME OVER ALL PRINCES, GOVERNMENTS

PRINCE'S AUTHORITY = IN TRUST FROM POPE; INDEPENDENCE = PRIDE

PRINCES DEPEND ON PRIEST FOR SPIRITUAL; ON POPE FOR SECULAR

POPE BINDS AND LOOSES ON EARTH

Upon this is based the supremacy of the pope over civil governments and their princes. The latter are to receive their authority in trust from him (reg. viii. 26, 23; iv. 28). They stand related to him as the moon to the sun (Reg. vii. 25; iv. 24). Independent dominion on their part is based on sinful pride. As they are notoriously dependent upon the priests in spiritual things, since they cannot administer (*conficere*) the communion, and do not have the power of the keys so it is a valid maxim that in secular affairs they are subject to the pope alone. He who can bind and loose in heaven can surely do so on earth (reg. viii. 21). "But if the holy apostolic chair judicially determines spiritual things by the original authority divinely granted to it, why not also secular things?" (reg. iv. 2). The power of the keys is therefore the magic key which opens up to the pope all authority (cf. iii. 10a; vii. 14).

贵格利：政府有相对性的独立；前提：政府顺从教皇，服事教会

反对教皇者 = 异端

教会权力的基础：圣礼（按立神父）的客观有效性

GREGORY: STATE HAS RELATIVE INDEPENDENCE

PRESUPPOSITION: STATE SERVES CHURCH, OBEYS POPE

OPPOSING POPE = A HERETIC

BASIS: OBJECTIVE EFFECT OF SACRAMENT (ORDINATION)

Gregory indeed allows to the state a relative independence (reg. i. 19; vii. 25; cf. Mirbt, *Stellg. Aug. in der Publicist. Des greg. Kirchenstreites*, 1888, p. 91, 94f., 96), but it presupposes the willingness of the state to serve the church and obey the pope. Thus Gregory had given currency to an ideal of the papacy whose assumptions could not be surpassed. The infallible pope has authority over body and soul, the world and the church, time and eternity. To this extreme was the Augustinian idea of the *civitas dei* carried. He who opposes the pope is a heretic (e.g., Henry IV; vid. reg. iv. 7, 12; viii. 21). All these claims rested, in the last analysis, upon the objective effect of the sacrament of ordination. But the hierarchical idea was carried too far by Gregory (cf. Vyprian, Vol. I, p. 184) when, in his struggle against the marriage of priests and simony, he denied the efficacy of the consecration of schismatics and of the sacraments administered by them (vid. reg. vi. 5b; v. 14a; iv. 2 and 11).

结果：教会与世事纠缠不清；教皇的谕令治理教会，最高权柄

教皇律法有伪造部份；教会权柄之上，有理性之自然律为权威

RESULT: CHURCH = MOST INTIMATE WITH SECULAR LIFE

PAPAL DECRETALS RULE CHURCH WITH BINDING AUTHORITY

FRAUDULENT ADDITIONS= MADE ABOVE THIS, NATURAL LAW OF REASON

The reform, as Gregory regarded it, brought the church into the most intimate relations with secular life. He exalted the hierarchical idea as no one before him had done, but at the expense of reducing the church to the position of a political factor in worldly affairs. “The more completely the religious spirit of the Middle Ages subdued the world, the more entirely must the church become the world (vid. Eicken, *Gesch. u. Syst. d. mittelalt. Weltanschauung*, 1887, p. 741). Well did Bernard write to Eugene III: “To evangelize is to pasture; do the work of an evangelist, and thou fulfillst the work of a pastor” (de considerat. iv. 3. 6). Even he acknowledged: “Some are called to the lot of care; thou to plenitude of power” (ib. ii. 8. 16), and this *plenitudo potestatis* was the dominion over church and world. Nowhere is the secularization of the church in this age more clearly seen than in the impress given to the papal canon law. The church is to be governed by the laws of the papal decretals. They have binding authority. Collections of them are made, and they constitute the law of the church. The body of laws which had been historically developed was increased by fraudulent additions. But, in the last resort, above this positive law stood the natural law of reason (vid. supra, Gregory’s argument for the authority of the pope over worldly affairs). The legal manuals (Gratian’s Decretal, etc.) were the controlling authority for the theologians of the day upon the nature and mission of the church. Since the church had become the world, it was to be governed by the “divine ecclesiastical law.” To portray the struggles between the papal and the national conceptions of fundamental law, which continued until the Concordat of Worms (A.D. 1122), is not the province of the History of Doctrines.

#### 45. 圣巴尔拿的基督教信仰

##### THE CHRISTIANITY OF ST. BERNARD

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. 2, pp. 52-54.)

要求教会改革之时期 = 敬虔复兴之时期；从奥古斯丁，圣巴尔拿取材

CRY FOR REFORM = TIME TO REVIVE PIETY;

AUGUSTINE & ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX = INSPIRATION

But the agitation for reform became the occasion also of an actual revival and deepening of personal piety. The best thoughts of Augustine were revitalized. Reverent speculation (Anselm) drew inspiration from his writings, as well as that mystical absorption in Christ which Bernard of Clairvaux (+A.D. 1153) so vividly portrayed to the piously inclined in the Middle Ages. To gain a knowledge of the compass of his religious thought, we must study his homilies upon the Song of Solomon (Mi. 182).

巴尔拿：要默想耶稣的人性，受苦（伤痕）

BERNARD: CONTEMPLATE HUMANITY, PASSION (WOUNDS) OF JESUS

[a] The strongest feature of Bernard is the energy with which he leads the souls of his hearers and readers to immerse themselves in the contemplation of the humanity of Jesus, particularly his passion. “For what is so efficacious for the curing of the wounds of conscience, and for the clarifying of the vision of the mind as sedulous meditation upon the wounds of Christ?” (sermo. 62. 7). We should allow the contemplation of his passion to lie upon our breast like a bundle of myrrh (43. 1. ff.). Thus God draws near to us in the man Jesus, and his love is revealed to us (61. 4; 20.2;11.9).

（雅歌：）基督的爱唤醒我们的爱；我们与祂的神性联合

我们的心意上升到上帝里面；上帝降临在我们的心灵中

灵魂不可言喻的拥抱：与所爱的（基督）

天开了；泉源涌进心中；新郎临在

CHRIST’S LOVE AWAKENS OUR AFFECTION, WE UNITE WITH HIS DIVINITY

OUR MINDS GOES INTO GOD, GOD DESCENDS INTO OUR SOUL

ECSTATIC CONTEMPLATION: SOUL EMBRACES ITS BELOVED

HEAVEN OPENS; FOUNTAIN POURS INTO HEART; GROOM IS HERE

[b] This love now awakens a responsive affection in our hearts (20. 7; 11. 7). Devout contemplation of the man Jesus leads us, further, to a blessed union with his divinity. It is the “outgoing of a pure mind into God, or a pious descent of God into the soul. Let it receive him, gliding from heaven, with the deepest emotions and with the very marrow of the heart” (31. 6). Ecstatic contemplation is the personal experience (*proprium experimentum*) (3. 1.) of the soul. It is a blessed and delightful embrace between the loving soul and its beloved (7. 2; 73. 10; 75. 1; 74. 4.). The heavens are opened, new ideas flow down from above into the heart, which, like a fountain, pours forth from within the words of wisdom. There is the bridegroom present (74. 5; 69. 6).

首先：结出悔改的果子（敬虔的善行）；跟随耶稣与苦难；祂赐力量

FIRST: PRODUCE REPENTANCE’S FRUIT IN PIOUS WORKS

FOLLOW JESUS & HIS SUFFERINGS; JESUS SUPPLIES POWER

[c] But only he can obtain this goal who produces the fruits of repentance in pious works (3. 2-4; 18. 5f.; 67. 8; 11. 2), who follows Jesus as his teacher, and seeks to follow his example beneath sufferings and the cross (22. 7; 21. 2; 61. 7; 47.6; 20. 7). He himself gives the needful power to this end: “I thus receive examples for myself from the man and aid from the Mighty One” (15. 6). “If I with the name call to mind Jesus the man, meek and lowly of heart, kind, sober, chaste, merciful, and conspicuous for everything honorable and holy, and the same as the omnipotent God, who both restores me by his example and strengthens me by his aid.”

默想转为贫穷生活：奋斗的生活 = 必需的；爱的善行 = 必需，乃恩典所赐

紧抓注基督的双脚：怜悯，审判

CONTEMPLATION TURNS TO POVERTY: ACTIVE LIFE = NEEDED

GOOD WORKS OF LOVE = NEEDED; GIFT OF GRACE

GRASP BOTH CHRIST’S FEET: MERCY, JUDGMENT

[d] But Bernard does not himself attain to a regular constant life with Christ. The enchanting blessedness of pious contemplation gives place to hours of poverty, vacuity, and obtuseness of spirit (9. 3; 14. 6; 32. 2, 4; 74. 4). From this Bernard did not draw the inference of Quietism, but emphasizes the truth that, in addition to the

contemplative life, the active life with the good works of love is also necessary (58. 3; 85. 13; cf. de diligendo deo 10); Martha is the sister of Mary (51. 2). This is all purely a gift of grace. “Grace restores me to myself, justified freely and thus liberated from the service of sin” (67. 10; cf. Ritschl, Rechtf. u. Vers. i. 111 ff.). But Christ has two feet, mercy and judgment. If we were to cling only to the first or to the second, the result would be most injurious security or despair. We should, therefore, grasp both feet at once (6. 8, 9).

基督的人性 = 达至祂神性之路 (奥古斯丁)

认识上帝 = 全靠默想基督在地上的善行; 基督教的全部 = 效法 (历史的) 基督

默想 = 途径, 目标 = 与基督不可言喻的合一 (神秘主义)

JESUS' HUMANITY = WAY TO HIS DIVINITY (AUGUSTINE)

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD = ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON CONTEMPLATING GOOD DEEDS OF HISTORICAL CHRIST

WHOLE OF CHRISTIANITY = IMITATION OF (HUMAN) CHRIST

CONTEMPLATION = BRIDGE TO ECSTATIC UNION WITH CHRIST (MYSTIC)

[e] Bernard here follows a suggestion found in Augustine: “The humanity of Jesus is a way to (his) divinity” (vid. Vol. I, p. 361 n.); but when he, the preacher of Crusades, makes the entire practical knowledge of God dependent upon the contemplation of the good deeds of the historical Christ, he goes beyond Augustine. For him – and in this he fixes the type of piety for the Middle Ages – the whole of Christianity is an imitation of Christ. His Christ is not merely a dogmatic formula, not only the eternal judge of the world, but the actual historical Christ, the personal revelation of God, and he led the way in apprehending this Christ in a religious way. But these ideas were interspersed with the demands of the Areopagite Mysticism. Communion with Christ is at best attainable only in the ecstatic state. Hence, in the contemplation of the historical Christ, the soul does not after all experience a revelation of the living and present Lord, and such contemplation is only the bridge by which to reach the ecstatic union.

#### 46. 从安瑟伦到伦巴德的彼得的神学历史

##### 46. HISTORY OF THEOLOGY

##### FROM ANSELM TO PETER THE LOMBARD

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. 2, pp. 54-64.)

一些定义, 根源

##### DEFINITION, ROOTS

经院主义: 先前教义的逻辑性, 辩证性处理

SCHOLASTICISM: LOGICAL, DIALECTICAL, RE-WORKS EARLIER DOGMA

[1] The term, Scholasticism, is used to designate the theology of the period from Anselm and Abelard to the Reformation, i.e., the theology of the Later Middle Ages. Its peculiarity, briefly stated, consists in the logical and dialectical working over of the doctrine inherited from the earlier ages. ... It is our task simply to trace the scholastic theology in so far as it was influential in the creation of new dogmas (the sacraments) or in the modification of the traditional dogma (Augustinianism). ...

历史根源: 修道院学校, 大学

哲学, 辩证学, 阿理斯多德的复兴

神学家透过阿拉伯人认识, 研究阿理斯多德的哲学

ROOTS: CLOISTER SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES:

REVIVAL OF PHILOSOPHY, DIALECTICS, ARISTOTLE

THEOLOGIAN KNOW, STUDY ARISTOTLE THRU ARABS

[2] The beginnings of Scholasticism were closely associated with the pedantic methods employed in the

study of theology in the cloister schools (the schools of Tours and of Bec were of great importance) and in the universities, which began to appear in the early part of the thirteenth century. It received an impulse from the revival of interest in philosophy, and particularly in dialectics, which was enkindled and sustained by the study of Aristotle, as from the middle of the twelfth century onward, and especially since the thirteenth century, theologians became, partly through Arabian literature, better acquainted with all the works of Aristotle.

处境：教会的教义不可违背，可是：文化寻求教义与理性之间的吻合

反对教义者都诉诸理性

CONTEXT: DOGMA = INVIOLEABLE, BUT

CULTURE SEEKS HARMONY OF DOGMA W/ REASON

BERENGER, LANFRANC: OPPONENTS, BOTH APPEAL TO REASON

But it was also in no small degree the natural logic of the situation which led to Scholasticism. If the traditional dogma was an inviolable legacy, the spirit of the age could be exercised upon it in no other way than in presenting by dialectic methods the evidence of its harmony with sound reason. This tendency first arrested the attention of the church at large in the controversy of BERENGER (+A.D. 1088). He appealed in arguing to the *ratio*, and denounced the senselessness (*vecordia*) of his opponents; but the latter met him with arguments based likewise upon reason (e.g. LANFRANC). There was an ever-widening circle of disputants who either depended solely upon rational arguments or held that faith should at least find confirmation in the deductions of reason. And although there may have been some theologians who were content to simply accept the doctrines received by tradition, theirs was not the future.

经院神学的创始人：安瑟伦，亚伯拉德

FOUNDERS OF SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY: ANSELM, ABELARD

Two theologians are to be considered as the founders of Scholasticism, ANSELM of Canterbury (+A.D. 1109) and PETER ABELARD (+A.D. 1142).

**安瑟伦：共相是真实的**

**ANSELM: UNIVERSALS = REAL**

安瑟伦的贡献：共相是真实的

波伊丢斯：共相真的客观存在吗？

唯名主义：否：共相不真实存在，只是名字（声音）

从波伊丢斯：现实 = 理性所理解，由声音表达

ANSELM'S CONTRIBUTION: UNIVERSALS' REALISM

BOETIUS: DO UNIVERSALIA EXIST OBJECTIVELY?

NOMINALISM: NO – UNIVERSALS NOT REALITIES, ONLY SOUNDS/NAMES

FROM BOETIUS:

REALITY = APPREHENDED BY MIND, EXPRESSED BY VOICE

The contributions of Anselm to the general history of Scholasticism consist in the following particulars: [a] He possessed a great talent for formulation, having the ability to express the traditional ideas in forms which would arrest the attention of his own age. His work, *Cur dues homo?* is, e.g., a masterpiece in this respect, since Anselm here taught his contemporaries to apprehend the meaning of redemption under the conceptions of the then prevalent *penitential praxis* (satisfaction). [b] He maintained the *realism of universals*. Boetius had, in the commentary accompanying his translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, left the objective existence of *universalia*, or *genera* and *species*, an open question; but in the commentary accompanying his translation of Victorin he pronounced in its favor. The so-called Nominalistic view, according to which the general conceptions are not realities (*res*), but only sounds (*voces*) and names (*nomina*), was derived also from a passage in Boetius, in



which the latter asserts that the reality (*res*) is apprehended by the mind (*intellectus*), and given expression by means of the voice (*vox*). These problems were discussed at an early period.

罗瑟林 = 唯名主义者；共相 = 主观的观念；应用在三位一体：三神论

安瑟伦：共相呈现真理，现实；个别显明共相；若看共相，思想 = 可靠

ROSCELLIN = NOMINALIST: UNIVERSALS = SUBJECTIVE CONCEPTIONS;

APPLIED TO TRINITY -> TRI-THEISM

ANSELM: UNIVERSALS PRESENT TRUTH, REALITY;

INDIVIDUAL SPECIES MANIFEST *GENERA*;

THOUGHT IS TRUSTWORTHY IF LOOKS TO UNIVERSAL

Anselm became involved in the controversy through ROSCELLIN of Compiegne, who applied the Nominalist theory, that universals are merely subjective conceptions (breaths – *flatus voci*), to the Trinity, and thus approached Tritheism. ... This Anselm considered simply foolishness. To him universal conceptions appear as presenting truth and reality, and the individual species as simply manifestations of the *genera*. Thought is trustworthy only as it looks to the universal. But Anselm did not further develop these ideas.

安瑟伦之《论证》：从本体论证明上帝的存在：上帝存在，因为有上帝的理念

最高的 = 必定被思想为真实存在的；「存在」是最高存有所拥有的

ANSELM'S *PROSLOGIUM*: ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT:

GOD EXISTS <- IDEA OF GOD

HIGHEST = THOUGHT OF ONLY AS EXISTENCE

EXISTENCE BELONGS TO HIGHEST BEING

We have an evidence of his view in the *Proslogium* (cf. c. Gannilanum), which presents the ontological proof of the existence of God, i.e., from the idea of God his real existence is inferred. The highest can be thought of only as existent; therefore God cannot be imagined as non-existent. Existence belongs absolutely to the highest being.

信心追求、达致知识；不要透过知识达致信心；信心是知识开端所必须的

掌握信心的对象；经历它，认识它

FAITH STRIVES AFTER, ADVANCES TO KNOWLEDGE

DO NOT COME THROUGH KNOWLEDGE TO FAITH

FAITH IS ALWAYS NECESSARY BEGINNING OF KNOWLEDGE

GRASP OBJECT AS SUCH -> EXPERIENCE IT -> KNOW IT

[c] The object of theological research is faith, of which Anselm has a two-fold conception. He first interjects into subjective faith the idea of a striving after knowledge, which leads to the rule: "The Christian ought to advance through faith to knowledge, not to come through knowledge to faith, nor, if he cannot know, recede from faith. But when he is able to attain to knowledge he rejoices; and when unable he reveres that which he is unable to grasp." (ep. ii. 41.) Faith is always the necessary beginning of knowledge. We must always first of all grasp the object as such. Only then can an experience (*experientia*) of it be attained, and this then leads to a knowledge (*intelligere*) of it (de fide trinity. 2). This is the familiar "faith seeks knowledge: I believe, in order that I may know" (proslog. 1; meditate. 21; curs dues homo? 1.2). It is a tending toward God (tendere in deum, monolog. 75 f.).

信心须要接受教会的信条：使徒信经，尼西亚信经，阿他拿修信经

信心更高的层次：接受教会的教导（默信）；默信倾向上帝 = 爱，颠峰

FAITH REQUIRES ACCEPTING CHURCH'S CREEDS: APOSTLES' CREED,

CONSTANTINOPLE (NICEA), ATHANASIAN CREED –

HIGHER STAGE OF FAITH: ACCEPT CHURCH'S TEACHING (IMPLICIT FAITH)

IMPLICIT FAITH = TENDING TOWARDS GOD = LOVE, SUMMIT

Just what Anselm meant by this faith becomes evident when we consider the other requirement associated with the above, that the faith of the Catholic church, i.e., the faith of the three symbols (Apostolic, Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian, vid. ep. ii. 41), is to be maintained (de fide trinity. 2 in.), and this even through knowledge (the *intelligere*) in the matter be denied to the intellect (monolog. 64). This faith, accordingly, which reaches a higher stage in knowledge, is the acceptance of the teachings of the church as true, which is at the same time a “tending toward God,” and, just on this account, attains its summit in love (monolog. 76 f.). This is the Catholic conception.

教会的信仰 = 由理性和必须而设立；道成肉身的必须性：仅用理性就可证明

FAITH OF CHURCH = ESTABLISHED BY REASON/NECESSITY;

NECESSITY OF INCARNATION = PROVED BY REASON ALONE

[d] With this conception of faith, it is easy to comprehend how Anselm could undertake (*cur dues homo?* i. 1 f., 10, 20, 25; ii. 9, 11, 15; de fide trinity. 4) to establish the faith of the church (incarnation, existence of God, Trinity) “by reason or necessity,” and could believe that he had “by reason alone made manifest not only to Jews but even to pagans” (ib. ii. 23) the necessity for the incarnation. The speculative, rationalistic character of Scholasticism is here betrayed. The intellectual independence of the system, the energetic penetration into the nature of things which we observe, for example, in Duns Scotus, has its first great representative in Anselm. (references)

亚伯拉德：经院主义者，信心加上理性

**ABELARD: SCHOLASTIC, FAITH W/ REASON**

亚伯拉德：名副其实的「经院主义之父」

ABELARD – TRUE FATHER OF SCHOLASTICISM

[3] Anselm is commonly called the father of Scholasticism, but if we regard the entire movement, the title of honor belongs rather more fully to Abelard. This wide-awake, richly endowed, and keen spirit furnished a wealth of suggestions, both positive and negative, which continue to exert a marked influence upon the development of Scholasticism, whereas Anselm’s views upon particular points, even his discussions of the atonement, seldom find an echo in the subsequent periods. At one time, indeed, in the history of English theology, the spirit of Anselm exerted an important influence.

亚伯拉德：经院主义的方法能解决圣经的矛盾

ABELARD: SCHOLASTIC METHOD SOLVES BIBLE’S DISCREPANCIES

[a] When Abelard in his *Sic et Non* (ed. Henke et Linden Kohl, 1851) collected a number of mutually contradictory passages from the Bible and patristic literature, he introduced the method by which Scholastic dialectics sought to reconcile these discrepancies (*Sic et Non*, prol. P. 1349, Mi.)

信心还要加上理性：假辩证家不能证明任何事

亚伯拉德：信心 = 根基；而信心不能被证明，只能澄清事物，使之更可能

REASON BESIDES FAITH –

PSEUDO-DIALECTICIANS CANNOT PROVE EVERYTHING

ABELARD: FAITH IS FOUNDATION –

FAITH CANNOT BE PROVED, ONLY CLARIFIED AND MADE PROBABLE

[b] He, too, placed *ratio* beside *fides*. He opposes as well the “pseudo-dialecticians” who think that they can prove everything (theol. Christ. iii., p. 1226 f., 1212 f., 1218) as the mere authority-faith, which makes faith rest only in the mouth and not in the heart. “Not because God said anything is it believed, but because it has been proved to be so it is accepted (*introductio ad theol.* ii. 3, p.1050). Faith is the foundation. Faith, particularly the Trinitarian faith, is, according to Athanasius, necessary to salvation (ib. i. 4 ff.). Faith is not to

be, properly speaking, proved, but only made clear and probable to reason (ib. ii. 2, p. 1040; theol. Christ. iii., p. 1227).

亚伯拉德对传统持独立姿态：自由批判教父：不必相信他们

BUT ABELARD = INDEPENDENT RE. TRADITION:

FREELY JUDGE CHURCH FATHERS – NOT NECESSARY TO BELIEVE THEM

Yet there was in this thinker an independent attitude toward tradition which was foreign to his age. The writings of the fathers are to be read “not with the necessity of believing, but with the liberty of judging.”

知识之钥：探索；面对《新旧约圣经》时要停止探索

圣经 = 无误；若似乎有误，文本或解释 = 有缺欠；

所有其他作者，都由正点（圣经）与理性来判断

INQUIRY = KEY TO KNOWLEDGE;

STOP INQUIRY WHEN FACED WITH OT/NT BIBLE;

BIBLE = INERRANT; IF APPEARS SO,

CODEX OR INTERPRETATION = DEFECTIVE;

ALL OTHER WRITERS = JUDGED BY CANON AND REASON

Inquiry is the chief key of knowledge, “for by doubting we come to inquiry, and by inquiring we discover the truth.” He halts only when brought face to face with “the excellency of the canonical authority of the Old and New Testaments.” Here no error is possible. If it appears so, either the codex or the interpretation must be defective. The opinions of later writers may be erroneous “unless it can be defended either by sure reason (*certain ratione*) or that canonical authority” (Sic et Non, prol. Mi., p. 1347).

亚伯拉德对自己的原则并不一致：

三位一体：能力 = 父；智慧 = 子，良善 = 灵

ABELARD – NOT CONSISTENT TO HIS PRINCIPLES – TRINITY:

POWER – FATHER, WISDOM – SON, GOODNESS – SPIRIT

These principles are not, however, always adhered to. In his expositions of the Trinity, as well as in his theory of the atonement, there is a very prominent rationalistic tendency, as judged by the prevailing view of the age. An illustration of his intellectual independence is seen in his expositions of the Trinity. He maintains the unity of substance and the personal trinity. He teaches, in full harmony with Augustine, “each one of the three persons is the same substance” (de un. et trin. 32, 36, 76), and he rejects Sabellianism; but he thinks that, although the divine attributes and works belong without division to the entire Godhead, yet in a special and peculiar way (*specialiter et proprie*) power pertains to the Father, wisdom to the Son, goodness to the Spirit. That this attempt to interpret the Trinitarian idea was essentially inferior to the method inherited from Augustine will scarcely be affirmed.

系统神学新分法：信仰，圣礼，爱；四本着作根据亚伯拉德的分法

NEW DIVISION OF SYST. THEO.: FAITH, SACRAMENTS, LOVE;

4 WORKS = DEPENDENT ON ABELARD’S DIVISION

[c] It is to be remarked, further, that Abelard proposed a new method of dividing systematic theology. In the *Introductio ad theologiam* has been preserved for us only a fragment of his dogmatic scheme. This great work was arranged under the headings: *fides, sacramentum, caritas* (introd. i. init.). Four works have been preserved whose intimate dependence upon Abelard is evident from the adoption of this scheme and from many internal indications: The *Epitome theol. Christ.* (first edited by Rheinwald in 1835); the anonymous *Sentences of the Convent Library at St. Florian*, preserved only in manuscript; the *Sentences of Magister Omnibene*, likewise only in manuscript; and the *Sentences of Roland* (afterward Pope Alex. III., ed. GIETL, 1891; cf. DENIFLE, Ab. Sentenzen u. die Bearbeitungen seiner Theol. in Archiv. F. Litt. U. KG. d. MA. i., 402 ff., 584 ff., especially 419 ff., 603 ff.). Among the disciples of Abelard was Peter the Lombard, of whom further notice must be taken.

亚伯拉德编排题目：圣礼占重要地位

#### ABELARD'S ARRANGEMENT: SACRAMENTS – IMPORTANT POSITION

Abelard's arrangement of topics preserved in a very marked way for the doctrine of the sacraments the position which that doctrine held in the religious life of the Middle Ages. In correcting the scheme of Augustine's *Enchiridion* by substituting the sacraments for the second heading of the latter, i.e., hope, he proves his dogmatic talent. It is this, too, which, to a great extent has given him such an important influence upon the development of Christian doctrine.

亚伯拉德的认知论：

事物 = 主观的，仅在主体中存在

事物 = 客观的，因为客观事物而生

#### ABELARD'S THEORY OF PERCEPTION:

THINGS ARE OBJECTIVE – BY NATURE OF THINGS, BEGOTTEN OF OBJECTIVE THINGS;

THINGS ARE SUBJECTIVE – EXISTING ONLY IN THE SUBJECT

[d] We must note, finally, the place of Abelard in discussions of the theory of perception. His teacher, WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX, had advocated an extreme Realism, maintaining that universals are the true realities, which are present entire and undivided in all individuals, so that the latter do not differ essentially, but their differences are produced simply by the variety of their accidents (Abal., *hist. calamitatum*, 2, Mi. 178, 119). Abelard forced his instructor to a modification of this view (vid. Deutsch, p. 103 f., n.). His own utterances upon the question are not entirely clear. On the one hand, general conceptions not only have a subjective existence, but they are called into being as thus subjective by virtue of the nature of things. They are thus objective in so far as begotten of objective things and subjective in so far as existing only in the subject (cf. *Glossulae super Porphy.* Opp. ed. Cousin ii. 761).

但是，透过形式的影响，species 从 genus（殊相从共相）：现实主义

可是：不信共相：一个有限度的现实主义

BUT: THROUGH FORM, SPECIES = FROM GENUS – REALISM

BUT: SOME MISTRUST OF UNIVERSALS – LIMITS REALISM

Yet, on the other hand, Abelard deduces the species from the genus through the influence of the form, according to the common realistic theory. ... There are not wanting in his writings, however, utterances which betray a certain mistrust of the conception of universals. ... His view cannot now be reproduced with certainty, but his limitations of Realism were not lost upon succeeding ages.

十二世纪辩证学家：藐视普世性的权威，以理性理解一切事；

反对亚伯拉德：他以理性破坏信仰

12<sup>th</sup> CENT. DIALECTICIANS: DESPISE UNIVERSAL AUTHORITIES,

COMPREHEND ALL THINGS BY REASONINGS

OPPOSITION TO ABELARD – THAT HE DESTROYS FAITH WITH REASON

[4] The first half of the twelfth century witnessed a remarkable intellectual activity. On the one hand were those *professores dialecticae*, whose arrogance was so great that, “despising the universal authorities,” they thought themselves able to comprehend everything by their little reasonings (*rationculis*) ...; on the other hand, the theology of Abelard and his widespread following. A storm of opposition now arose against the Master. It was charged that the faith of simple believers was ridiculed by him, the mysteries of God emptied of their meaning, the Fathers scorned – that “human genius was usurping all things to itself,” that Abelard proclaimed a new “fifth Gospel”. ... Dialectics was declared to be useless and foolish, ridiculous, and even Satanic ... Similarly spoke GERHOH and ARNO of Reichersberg. The former especially charges Nestorianism upon the dialectics of his time ... Abelard was confessedly vanquished by his opponents at Soissons (A.D. 1121) and Sens (A.D. 1141).

笏哥：圣经述说人的恢复；救赎论符合安瑟伦

HUGO OF VICTOR: BIBLE TELLS OF HUMAN RESTORATION  
WORK OF REDEMPTION – HARMONIOUS WITH ANSELM

The agitation led to various attempts to present the “positive theology” in systematic form. The work of HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS (Augsburg or Autun), in which he undertakes to embrace in a short compass the entire Christian doctrine, seems to have appeared even before the outbreak of the controversy, i.e., about A.D. 1120. Then came HUGO OF ST. VICTOR (+ 1141) with his great work, *De sacramentis* and the *Summa sententiarum*. The chief content of the Holy Scriptures consists of the works of human restoration (*opera restaurationis humanae*), but for the proper understanding of these the work of the natural state (*opus conditionis*) must first be presented. From this soteriological point of view are the doctrines of Christianity presented for the purpose of promoting a right understanding of the Scriptures. Having first treated of creation, the fall, original sin, etc., he comes to *reparatio*, and presents the work of redemption in harmony with the ideas of Anselm.

圣礼为神学提供架构；不重视理性

SACRAMENTS PROVIDE STRUCTURE FOR THEOLOGY;  
LITTLE REGARD FOR REASON

The great Physician has appointed the sacraments as means of healing. These therefore constitute the chief part of the work. The principal sacraments are baptism and the Lord’s Supper. But since the sacraments are *sacramenta fidei*, and since *fides* belongs to salvation, part 10 treats of faith; then part 11 of natural law, and part 12 of the written law. The Second Book begins with a discussion of Christology, followed by a section upon the church, the *ecclesiastici ordines*, etc. The author then turns to the sacraments, “baptism, confirmation, body and blood, and the minor sacraments and sacred things,” simony, marriage, vows, vices and virtues; then treats of confession and repentance and remission of sins, and finally of the anointing of the sick and of eschatology. Hugo professes to be guided throughout only by the authority of the Scriptures.

唯有信心，没有经验，理性的信心，才有功劳

ONLY FAITH WITHOUT EXPERIENCE /REASON = MERITORIOUS

Only the faith that has no experience (*experimentum*), and no reason (*ratio*), is meritorious. However little we may be impressed with the systematic arrangement of this great work, it is very instructive to observe the subordination of the entire structure to the sacramental idea and the disregard of the *ratio*.

罗伯：理性与（教会）权威同有权威；现代精神获胜

ROBERT PULLUS: REASON CLAIMS ALONG AUTHORITY:  
MODERN SPIRIT CARRIES DAY

But already in the Sentences of ROBERT PULLUS, which were accepted by Bernard, the *ratio* asserts its claim along with the *auctoritas*, and dialectic investigation begins to appear in the midst of the positive presentation of traditional doctrine. The modern spirit carries the day, but it does so only by making concessions to the ancient spirit.

伦巴德的彼得：受亚伯拉德的影响，结束了经院哲学的第一阶段

**PETER THE LOMBARD: ABELARD’S INFLUENCE, ENDS SCHOLASTICISM’S 1<sup>st</sup> PERIOD**

伦巴得彼得的《四部教义》：

材料丰富，多方引用古代教父著作；

但符合当代精神（理性），以辩论处理问题；

方法：提出问题，引用教父，以辩论方式处理问题，作者本身并不提出正面答案

受 Abelard 的影响：彼得结束了经院哲学的第一阶段

PETER THE LOMBARD'S *FOUR BOOKS OF SENTENCES*:

WEALTH OF MATERIAL, COLLECTION OF CITATIONS FROM FATHERS;

BUT ADAPTS TO TIMES (REASON), USES DIALECTIC TO TREAT QUESTIONS;

RAISES QUESTIONS, CITE AUTHORITIES, RESULTS REACHED THRU DIALECTIC TREATMENT,  
AUTHOR REFRAINS FROM POSITIVE SOLUTION

SHOWS INFLUENCE OF ABELARD –

PETER THE LOMBARD = END OF 1<sup>st</sup> PERIOD OF SCHOLASTICISM

[5] This is most plainly evident in the compendium of a disciple of Abelard, which became the manual of dogmatic study in the Middle Ages. PETER THE LOMBARD (+ 1160; according to some authorities, 1164) in his *Quatuor libri sententiarum* furnished a work which, by virtue of its wealth of materials, its adaptation to the times, and the prudent withholding of the author's own opinions, was admirably fitted to become the basis of further dogmatic labors. The author proposes to set forth faith and the sacraments of the church. He rejects the ... *garruli ratiocinators* (i. dist. 4 B)

And a "new dogma of their own desiring." He says in the prologue: "We have by the aid of God brought together this volume, in which thou wilt find examples and the doctrine of the greater teachers." His book is, accordingly, a great collection of citations from the Fathers. None the less, however, it is dominated by the *ratio* and the dialectic method. Reason is recognized along with authority (e.g., iv. Dist. 4 E; 15 B). Questions are raised, authorities collected, and a result reached by dialectic treatment; but in the end the author refrains from a positive solution of the problem in hand (e.g., i. dist. 190, iii. D. 7 N). He crosses swords with Abelard, yet constantly reveals the influence of his method and his teaching. In his positive presentations the Lombard frequently, often in the very terms employed, avails himself of the writings of Hugo of St. Victor and Gratian. Between the Sentences of a certain Master Gendulph and those of the Lombard, there is a manifest relationship. Already in the Middle Ages the Lombard was declared to be the borrower – whether justly or not, cannot be certainly known until the appearance of the work of Gendulph, which is still preserved in manuscript. The Lombard closes the first period of Scholasticism. His dogmatic system is that of the future i.e., Abelard's method combined with the traditional reverence for authorities.

彼得：使用大马色的约翰，奥古斯丁；排列题目；

半伯拉纠主义者；发展圣礼观

PETER OF LOMBARD: USES JOHN OF DAMASCUS & AUGUSTINE;

ARRANGEMENT OF TOPICS; SEMI-PELAGIAN;

CONSTANTLY DEVELOPED DOCTRINE OF SACRAMENTS: <- GRATIAN

The Lombard was familiar with the dogmatic works of the Damascene and made use of them. The arrangement of the latter had great influence upon him (Vol. I, p. 285 f.), but he labored also with the Augustinian problems, and treated exhaustively the doctrine of the sacraments. His arrangement, briefly stated, was as follows:

第一卷。上帝，祂的存在，三位一体，上帝的属性。

第二卷。创造，人，罪，自由，恩典。

第三卷。基督论。救赎工作。基督有否信望爱。圣灵的恩赐。诫命。

第四卷。七圣礼。末世论。

Book I. treats of God, his existence, trinity, and attributes;

Book II., of the creation, man, sin, liberty, and grace;

Book III, of Christology, the work of redemption – and, incidentally, whether Christ had faith and hope as well as love – of the cardinal virtues, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the commandments;

Book IV., of the seven sacraments and eschatology.

If we take a general view of this scheme, its similarity to that of the Damascene will be as evident as its

variations from the latter are characteristic. Imperfect as is the plan, defective as its development, and loose its structure, there is yet a decided advance upon the dogmatic system of the Damascene. True, we will seek in vain in either for a real comprehension of the gospel. The Augustinian elements are presented with the Semi-pelagian interpretation of the Middle Ages. Really, the only feature which challenges our admiration is the consistent development of the doctrine of the sacraments, and here Gratian had already led the way.

《四部教义》的缺点，在历史上是独特的

#### EVEN FAULTS OF SENTENCES = UNIQUE IN HISTORY

But it was not only the commendable features of the work, but in even greater degree its faults, that won for it the unique historical position which it came to occupy. It has been printed times without number. The Franciscans have furnished a critical edition in the publications of the works of Bonaventura, vid. Vols. i., iv., Quarrachi, 1882 ff. Cf. R. Seeberg, PRE. xi. 630 ff.; O. Baltzer, Die Sentenzen des Petrus Lombardus (in Bonwetsch-Seeberg, Studien zur Gresh. Der Theol. u. der Kirche, viii, 19902. Protois, Pierre Lombard, 1881. Vid. also the Sentences of PETRUS PICTAVIENSIS (+ 1205) in Mi. 11).

The separate doctrines of the period under review must now be examined in so far as they exerted an influence in moulding the forms of doctrinal statement. Such are the following:

1. Christology.
2. Doctrine of the Atonement.
3. Berenger's theory of the Lord's Supper and the fixing of the church's doctrine upon that subject.
4. Doctrine of the Sacraments.
5. Conception of the Church.

A few further doctrines will be reserved for treatment in another connection, i.e., Sin, Grace, Liberty, Faith, Works. It is proper for us at this point to call attention to the fact, that the real theological work of the church in the Middle Ages was not performed by the masters of dialectics who followed Thomas Aquinas, but was done in the present period by Anselm, Abelard, Hugo, and the Lombard.

#### 47. 亚伯拉德与伦巴德彼得的基督论；Gerhoh 的异议

#### CHRISTOLOGY OF ABELARD AND THE LOMBARD. OPPOSITION OF GERHOH.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. 2, pp. 64-66.)

#### 亚伯拉德 ABELARD

亚伯拉德的基督论：奥古斯丁的：一位格，两个本质（本性），不变  
道成肉身：没有新的因素；神性没有改变；永恒意志的新果效

ABELARD'S CHRISTOLOGY: AUGUSTINIAN

ONE PERSON, TWO SUBSTANCES (NATURES), IMMUTABLE

INCARNATION: NO NEW ELEMENT; NO CHANGE IN DIVINE NATURE;

NEW EFFECT OF ETERNAL WILL

[1] The Christology of Abelard follows the Western, or Augustinian, type (vid. Vol. I., p. 259 f.). Its fixed premise is: One person in two substances, or natures (*una in duabus substantis vel naturis persona*). In connection with this, it is maintained with special emphasis, that the immutability of God remains unimpaired. The incarnation does not involve for God the introduction of a new element, "but we indicate a certain new effect of his eternal will" (introd. ad theol. iii. 6, p. 1104 f., Mi.). So also the becoming, in his becoming man, is not to be understood in the strict sense of the word. There is in the incarnation no *mutatio* of the divine nature, and the proposition, God is man, can be understood only in a unilateral sense: *nec homo esse proprie dicendus est* (ib., p. 1107 f., 1106).

基督是「道」所取的人；基督所作一切的事都为上帝喜悦；

新的因素：神人二性的联合 = 在意志（位个）中；是否涅斯多留主义？

CHRIST IS MAN ASSUMED BY WORD; CHRIST DOES ALL TO PLEASE GOD;

NEW: UNION OF 2 NATURES = LOCATED IN WILL/PERSON; NESTORIAN?

As to the mode of union of the divine and the human natures in Christ, Abelard reproduced the orthodox formulas, but yet gave a peculiar turn to the thought. Christ is the man assumed by the Word (*assumptus a verbo*); this man now fulfills in all things the divinity dwelling within him. “That this assumed man never sought to do anything because he hoped that it would be agreeable to himself, but because he believed that it would be pleasing to God (expos. of Rom. v. 15, p. 963). Thus, at this point also, the keen-witted man indicated a needed modification of the church’s teaching by locating the union of the divine and human natures in the sphere of the will or person. Yet he might, not without reason, be charged with Nestorianism.

### 伦巴德的彼得 PETER THE LOMBARD

神格中的第二位格取了非位格的人性：肉体，灵魂，而不是一个人的位格

耶稣的人性 = 位格？不是；因为：

道取人性第时候，身体与灵魂还没有结合成为一位格

2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON OF GODHEAD ASSUMES IMPERSONAL HUMAN NATURE:

FLESH, SOUL, NOT PERSON OF A MAN –

HUMANITY OF JESUS = PERSON? NO; BECAUSE

AT ASSUMPTION, BODY AND SOUL = NOT COMBINED INTO 1 PERSON YET

[2] The Lombard, of course, adopts the formulas of the church. The second person of the Godhead assumed the impersonal human nature (sent. iii. dist. 5 C): “he assumed the flesh (*carnem*) and soul (*animam*), but not the person (*personam*), of a man.” But he was greatly exercised over the question, whether the humanity of Jesus was not, after all, to be conceived of as a *persona*, deciding in the negative, because at the time of the assumption body and soul had not yet been combined into one person (*in unam personam*), (iii. D. 5, A, D, E; d. 10 C). “The intellectual development of Jesus was, accordingly, only apparent,” not, indeed, in himself, but in others (*in aliis*) (iii. D. 13 B).

道成肉身的子成为什么？彼得沉默（受亚伯拉德的影响）：

道取人性（穿衣）好叫能被看见；上帝成为人，因为上帝「有一个人性」；

道位格仍是一，没有改变

DID THE INCARNATE SON BECOME ANYTHING? SILENT (<- ABELARD):

LOGOS ASSUMED HUMAN NATURE (GARMENT) TO BE VISIBLE TO MEN;

GOD HAS BECOME MAN, BECAUSE GOD “HAS A HUMAN NATURE”;

LOGOS-PERSON REMAINS ONE, UNCHANGED

In treating of the question, whether the Son in the incarnation *became* anything, the Lombard betrays his affiliation with Abelard, since he, though only by silence, indicates his preference for the view, that the Logos merely assumed human nature like a garment in order that he might be visible to human eyes. Thus the Logos-person remains “one and the same unchanged (iii. D. 6 F; d. 10). God has become man, because he “has a human nature” (est habens hominem, iii. 7 K).

对彼得观点的批判：

人性既不是位个，基督的人性不是位格，什么都不是；不是敬拜对象；

而基督的受苦只限于祂的人性

伦巴德的彼得被称为「虚无主义者」

CRITIQUES OF PETER OF LOMBARD’S VIEW:



CHRIST'S HUMAN NATURE = NOT PERSONAL, NOTHING; NOT OBJECT OF WORSHIP; SUFFERING  
– LIMITED TO HUMAN NATURE  
PETER CHARGED WITH “NIHILIANISM”

Since, in this case, the human nature is not to be conceived as personal, it was inferred by some that “Christ, according to his human nature, is not a person nor anything” (iii. 10 A, see also GIETL, p. 179), but not a word can be cited from the Lombard in support of this absurd proposition. The view, which was called Nihilianism, was disapproved by Alexander III., A.D. 1163 and 1179. As a consequence of the sharp discrimination between the divinity and humanity, it was held that divine worship (*latría*) was not to be rendered to the human nature of Christ, but only servitude (*dulia*) (iii. d. 7), and that the sufferings of Christ were, as to substance, limited to his human nature (iii. d. 15 D). This formally orthodox conception of the subject receives its peculiar coloring on the one hand from the difficulty of a rational combination of the divine and the human, and on the other hand from the influence of the Augustinian Christology.

### Gerhoh: 批判 GERHOH: CRITIQUE

当时的批判：「理性主义，嗣子说」

Gerhoh：以神人为出发点，两性在本性与位格上都联合；

联合是可能的，有限的是可能包含无限的

CONTEMPORARY CRITIQUE BY GERHOH: “RATIONALISM, ADOPTIONISM”

GERHOH: STARTS WITH GOD-MAN, TWO NATURES = UNITED IN NATURE AND IN PERSON;  
UNION IS POSSIBLE, FINITE CAN COMPREHEND INFINITE

[3] But contemporaries felt bound to condemn these views as Rationalism and Adoptionism. The most elaborate presentation of the subject in opposition was made by GERHOH of Reichersberg. He follows in the path of Cyril. He starts with the concrete God-man, in whom divinity and humanity are united, in nature as well as in person. This union is not impossible, since the finite is capable of comprehending the infinite.

上帝既然成为人，人性 = 被高举到上帝的右边；火进入人性，灭绝罪

身为上帝，神人是道路，榜样；

身为上帝，神人是真理与生命

SINCE GOD BECAME MAN, HUMAN NATURE = RAISED TO GOD'S RIGHT HAND; FIRE ENTERED  
HUMAN NATURE, DESTROYS SIN

AS MAN, GOD-MAN IS WAY, EXAMPLE; AS GOD, TRUTH AND THE LIFE

Gerhoh proves the importance of his view by its practical bearing upon the doctrine of salvation. Since God became man, human nature has been raised to the right hand of God, and a fire has entered human nature which destroys sin. The God-man is as man our way and example, and as God the truth and the life (e.g., de investig. antichr. ii. 1, p. 190 f.)

涅斯多留主义应被咒诅；应以「同一」的敬拜敬拜神人基督

论圣餐：基督的身体无所不在，属灵的身体 = 复活，生活所有时间空间之限制

NESTORIANISM = CURSE;

CHRIST, GOD-MAN TO BE ADORED WITH ONE ADORATION

LORD'S SUPPER: CHRIST'S BODY OMNIPRESENT,

SPIRITUAL BODY = RISEN ABOVE LIMITATIONS

According to this view, the Nestorianism of the age is a curse. Christ, the one God-man, is “to be adored with one adoration” (de glor. et honore fil. hom. 12. 3, Mi. 194. 1114). Another inference relates to the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Christ can at the same moment be in a thousand places at once. “And whence this unless because the same spiritual body has risen above all limitation of places and times. ... For neither is

Christ, who, just as he wishes, is everywhere, to be thought of as corporeally in one place, however beautiful or desirable” (de invest. ii. 51, p. 299 f. Similarly, ARNO of Reichersberg, vid. Bach, ii. 685).

因此：早期经院神学由古旧亚力山大的基督论驳斥

CONCLUSION: EARLY SCHOLASTICISM = OPPOSED BY  
ANCIENT ALEXANDRIN CHRISTOLOGY

Thus the balder Western theory was in the early stages of Scholasticism opposed by the ancient Alexandrian Christology. See the writings of Gerhoh cited p. 60, and Mi. 194. Cf. BACH, DG. ii. 390 ff.

#### 48. 赎罪论：安瑟伦，亚伯拉德

##### DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT. ANSELM AND ABELARD.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 66-74.)

安瑟伦，《上帝为什么成为人？》 = 第一本完整的赎罪论

道成肉身，救赎之必须性 = 有其理性根据，论证

魔鬼在人身上无权无份；人若能得救，罪必须被赦免

ANSELM'S *CUR DEUS HOMO?* = FIRST HARMONIOUS SOTERIOLOGY

NECESSITY OF INCARNATION & REDEMPTION = ON RATIONAL GROUNDS

DEVIL: NO CLAIM; MAN CAN BE SAVED ONLY THRU FORGIVENESS

[1] In his work, *Cur deus homo?* Anselm, made the first attempt to represent in a harmonious and consistent way the doctrine of the work of redemption (salvation). He seeks to prove upon rational grounds the necessity of the incarnation and redemption, although the omnipotence of God could have stood in no need of these (i. 6). Of any claim of the devil upon man, he knows nothing (i. 7; cf. medit. ii). In addressing himself to the solution of the problem, he proceeds upon the assumption that man can attain salvation only through the forgiveness of sins (i. 10, extr.).

罪：被造物欠上帝祂应得的尊荣，抢夺上帝祂应得的尊荣

人违反了应尽之义务；罪若不惩罚，上帝国度必无秩序

而秩序乃由公义维持的；上帝统治的秩序，与祂所应得的尊荣 -> 推论：将尊荣归上帝，或惩罚

SIN = CREATURE WITHHOLDS FROM GOD, ROBS GOD OF DUE HONOR

MAN VIOLATES OBLIGATION; IF SIN UNPUNISHED, KINGDOM = DISORDER

ORDER = PRESERVED BY RIGHTEOUSNESS

ORDER OF GOD'S GOVERNEMENT & DUE HONOR -> INFERENCE:

HONOR BE RENDERED, OR PUNISHMENT

Sin consists in the creature's withholding from God the honor which is his due. "He who does not render to God the honor due, robs God of that which is his and dishonors God, and this is to sin" (i. 11). Man has thus violated the obligation laid upon him as a rational being. The expectation sometimes cherished, that the divine mercy will remit sins, cannot be met, because the non-punishment of sin unatoned for would bring disorder into the kingdom of God, "but it is not proper that God should overlook anything disorderly in his kingdom" (i. 12). But order is preserved by righteousness. "Nothing is less to be tolerated in the order of things than that the creature should withhold the honor due to the Creator – should not render that which he withholds" ... "God therefore preserves nothing with more just cause than the honor of his majesty." From the necessity of maintaining the order of the divine government and the honor of God is deduced the rule: "It is therefore necessary, either that the honor withheld be rendered, or that punishment follow" (i. 13).

两者（归荣耀给上帝，或受惩罚）其一都可卫护上帝的尊荣

甘心愿意承受的惩罚满足上帝的要求，重建秩序

因此：满足或惩罚，是每一项罪的必然后果

上帝选用满足之路；人要满足堕落天使的数目

EITHER MEANS VINDICATES GOD'S HONOR

WILLING SATISFACTION FOR OFFENSE RE-ESTABLISHES ORDER

THUS: SATISFACTION OR PUNISHMENT MUST FOLLOW EVERY SIN

GOD CHOOSES SATISFACTION OPTION: MAN TO FILL UP ANGELS' NUMBER

By either means the divine honor is vindicated – in the one case, since God thus displays himself as the Lord of the rebellious man (i. 14); in the other, in that the guilty one by a willing satisfaction for his offense re-establishes the violated order. Thus the above-cited rule assumes the form: It is necessary that satisfaction or punishment follow every sin (i. 15). But God has not pursued the way of punishment, or man would have gone to ruin and God would not have accomplished his purpose (ii. 4). God chose the way of satisfaction. Since men are to fill up the number of the angels who fell (i. 16 ff.), God cannot accept them as sinners (i. 19).

满足必须多过于所亏欠的，但罪轻微的罪也重过全世界

因此，所须的满足，必须大过所有在上帝以外之一切

人不可能满足上帝；因为他还有目前应尽的义务

SATISFACTION – NOT JUST RESTORES WHAT WAS WITHHELD, BUT MORE

BUT SLIGHTEST SIN = HEAVIER THAN WHOLE WORLD

SATISFACTION MUST BE MORE THAN ALL THINGS OUTSIDE GOD

MAN ABSOLUTELY INCAPABLE; HE STILL HAS OBLIGATION BEFORE GOD

Satisfaction must however be subject to the rule: “It does not suffice merely to restore that which was withheld; but, for the contumely inflicted, he ought to restore more than he withheld” (i. 11). But since the most trifling sin, as an improper glance, weighs more than the whole world, a satisfaction must be rendered to God which is more than all things outside of God (i. 20; ii. 6). And since man dishonored God by submitting to the devil, satisfaction in this case must include the conquest of the devil by man – under more trying circumstances (i. 22 f.; ii. 11). As, on the one hand, the satisfaction required is so great and comprehensive, so, on the other hand, man is absolutely incapable of rendering it, for whatever good he may do he is already under obligation to render to God, and it cannot therefore be taken into consideration as *satisfactio* (i. 20).

所须的满足，只有上帝能提供；由一个与人类有关系者来提供

因此，必须由神人来提供

SATISFACTION DEMANDED – ONLY GOD CAN GIVE

A MAN MUST GIVE IT, OF SAME KINDRED WITH MANKIND

GOD-MAN MUST RENDER IT

Satisfaction of the character demanded only God can render. But a man must render it, one who is of the same race, in kindredship with humanity (ii. 8): (Unless there be a satisfaction), “which no one except God can render and no one but man owes: it is necessary that the God-man render it.” The God-man must do for the honor of God something which he is not already under obligation to do.

这满足不仅是遵守上帝的旨意（人本来就有这方面的义务）

甘心舍弃生命，以致于死 = 足够满足上帝，不只足够

SATISFACTION = NOT MERE OBEDIENT FULFILLING GOD'S WILL

FREE SURRENDER OF PRECIOUS LIFE, TO DEATH = SUFFICIENT & MORE

This cannot be the obedient fulfilling of the will of God, since this very rational creature is under obligation to render. But the free surrender of his infinitely precious life to death will suffice (ii. 11). The infinite value of this life is more than sufficient as a payment of all the sins of the whole world (ii. 14 fin.; 17). Thus the incarnation and sufferings of the God-man are necessary as a satisfaction rendered to the divine honor.

安瑟伦只略略提到基督与人性（人类）的关系

因此，没有说清楚基督的工作如何使人受益

基督功劳赚来的奖赏，不归自己，乃归祂救赎的人  
我们参与祂的功劳，罪得赦免；上帝同时彰显公义与怜悯

ANSELM INCIDENTALLY INDICATES CHRIST = CONNECTED W/ HUMANITY  
THUS, NOT CLEAR ON BENEFITS OF WORK OF CHRIST TO MANKIND  
REWARD MERITED BY SON GOES, NOT TO SON, BUT TO THE SAVED  
WE PARTAKE HIS MERIT; SINS = REMITTED; JUSTICE & MERCY SERVED

Only incidentally does Anselm indicate a connection of Christ with humanity, speaking (ii. 11 fin.; 19 init.) of the instruction and example which Christ was able and desired to give to men; but the two points of view are not expressly and clearly combined. This oversight explains why Anselm is so lacking in clearness when he attempts to show how the result of the work of Christ inures to the benefit of mankind. The Father cannot suffer the *meritum* of Christ to go unrewarded, or he would be either unjust or impotent. Since he cannot give anything to the Son, who needs nothing, the reward accrues to the advantage of those for whom the Son died. “To whom should he more appropriately attribute the fruit and reward of his death than to those for whose salvation ... he made himself man and to whom by dying ... he gave an example of dying for righteousness; for in vain will they be imitators of him if they shall not be participants in his merit?” (ii. 20). “Thus the sins of mankind are remitted” (ib.). In this way the divine justice is preserved as well as mercy (ii. 21). And thus also the doctrine of the Scriptures is proved “by reason alone” (*sola ratione*, ii. 23).

教会历史上第一次完整地处理基督工作的教义：杰作！  
清楚表达：十字架乃得救之法；后来发展为经院神学  
安瑟伦：结合了逻辑论证与法律原则

FIRST ATTEMPT AT DOCTRINE OF WORK OF CHRIST  
CLEAR: CROSS = MEANS TO SALVATION; ANTICIPATES -> SCHOLASTICISM  
ANSELM: COMBINES LOGICAL DEMONSTRATION W/ LEGAL PRINCIPLES

This discussion is of importance as the first attempt to present a connected view of the work of Christ. It is a masterpiece, because the author really understands the subject under discussion and makes it intelligible to others. The cross of Christ, which was so often mentioned in pretentious phrases, was here recognized in clearly defined language as a means of salvation. Anselm anticipates the scholastic method, combining logical demonstration with juristic principles.

德国法律原则：惩罚或满足  
安瑟伦：基督的神性，由祂救赎大功（受苦，舍命）推论；  
而早期教父：基督的作为使人「神化」

GERMAN LEGAL MAXIM: PUNISHMENT OR SATISFACTION  
ALSO: CHRIST'S DIVINITY = DEDUCED FROM HIS WORK (SUFFERING)  
WHEREAS EARLY CHURCH: CHRIST'S ACTIVITIES “DEIFY”

The argument is based upon the (Germanic) legal maxim, which dominates the book: punishment or satisfaction (*poena aut satisfactio*). Of special interest is the attempt of Anselm to deduce the divinity of Christ from his work. Whereas the ancient Greek theology, when speaking of the work of Christ in such connections, had in mind his “deifying” activities, Anselm sought to prove the necessity of his divinity from his sufferings and death. At all events, a proper recognition must be given to the effort of Anselm, not simply to accept the divinity of Christ in a merely external way as a dogma, but to understand it in its inner necessity, and none the less to his tact in bringing the matter home to the hearts of his generation by connecting it with the penitential practices of the day.

安瑟伦的缺点：上帝与人之间只有律法上的关系：统治者与下属  
基督的死，是「物质上」的贡献，为了满足

FAULTS IN ANSELM: ONLY LEGAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOD & MAN

## CHRIST'S DEATH = MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION FOR SATISFACTION

On the other hand, the serious faults of the treatment of the subject are very apparent:

[a] Anselm recognizes only a legal relationship between God and man – not, indeed, a personal legal relationship, but that of a subject to his legal ruler.

[b] Redemption is based in a very one-sided way upon the death of Christ, the latter being, under the influence of the juristic conception of the *satisfactio*, regarded as a material contribution.

基督积极的生命，与受苦何关？

基督大工的好处，如何转给教会？

上帝的态度有转变吗？

## CHRIST'S ACTIVE LIFE = CONNECTED W/ SUFFERING?

### HOW ARE BENEFITS OF CHRIST'S WORK TRANSFERRED TO CHURCH?

### WHAT IS GOD'S ATTITUDE CHANGE?

[c] The connection between the active life and the sufferings of Christ is not made clear.

[d] The transfer of the benefits of the work of Christ to the church is not intelligibly stated.

[e] Above all, the change in the attitude of God toward the sinner which Anselm maintains cannot be made intelligible from a religious point of view by the means which he employs, etc.

Cf. Baur, D. chr. Lehre v. d. Versoeng., p. 155 ff. Hasse, Ans. ii. 485 ff. Cremer, l. c. Ritschl, Rechtfertigung, u. Versoening. i. ed. 2, 33 ff. Harnack, iii. 341 ff., as also the presentation of the subject by Duns Scot. In Sent. iii. dist. 20 qu. Un.

另类的基督论：基督的启示上帝的爱，祂的榜样，带领人以爱，敬虔回应

亚伯拉德：反对安瑟伦

## ANOTHER TYPE OF CHRISTOLOGY: CHRIST REVEALS GOD'S LOVE,

### HIS EXAMPLE AND LEADING -> MAN'S RESPONSE IN LOVE AND PIETY

### ABELARD: IN OPPOSITION TO ANSELM

If we leave out of the account the theory of redemption as a ransoming from the devil, which Anselm rightly disowned, we will find in the theological contributions of the West, in addition to the soteriological construction of Anselm, especially that conception of the divinity of Christ in which he appears as revealing the love of God, and, by teaching and example, leading to responsive love and piety. It was perfectly natural that this view should soon assert itself in opposition to the theory of Anselm, as it did in the person of Abelard (vid. Ritschl, l.c., i., ed. 2, 48 ff. Seeberg, Die Versoengungslehre Ab. u. ihre Bekaempfung durch Bernh. in Mitteil. u. Nachr. f. d. ev. K. in Russl. 1888, 121 ff.; also in Thomas ii., ed. 2, 124 ff. Mourier, Abel. et la redemption, these Montaub. 1892).

《罗马书》注释：上帝不是为满足魔鬼而救赎；

魔鬼在选民身上没有权力；救赎=只为选民

上帝在基督死之前，也可以赦免人的罪

亚伯拉德推翻安瑟伦的「上帝与人和好」的理论

## COMMENTARY ON ROMANS: NO MEETING DEVIL'S CLAIMS

### DEVIL HAS NO POWER OVER ELECT; REDEMPTION = FOR ELECT ONLY

### GOD COULD FORGIVE MEN'S SINS BEFORE CHRIST'S DEATH

### ABELARD DISPROVES ANSELM'S THEORY THAT GOD = RECONCILED

In his commentary upon Romans (under Rom. 3. 22 ff.), Abelard develops his doctrine of the atonement. He, too, rejects the theory of a meeting of the claims of the devil. Redemption has to do only with the elect, over whom the devil never had any power. Furthermore, the devil cannot by the wrong perpetrated upon mankind have gained any right over them. He can be regarded only a jailer and torturer, to whose power God commits men. God could before the death of Christ forgive the sins of men, as he did in the case of the Virgin Mary. To

what end then did the Son of God take upon himself the burden of his sufferings? If Adam's slight offense required so great an atonement, what atonement will the slaying of Christ demand? Shall we think that God was pleased by the death of his Son, that he on account of this greater sin forgave the less? And to whom should the ransom of the blood of Christ be paid? Not to the devil; hence, to God. But is it not improper that the blood of the innocent should be demanded as a ransom? Can God have pleasure in the death of his Son, so that through it he should be reconciled to the whole world? (Mi. 178. 833-36). Therefore the opinion of Anselm, that God is reconciled by the death of Christ, is disproved.

上帝藉基督，我们的教师、榜样，彰显祂的爱

上帝的爱劝勉我们以爱回应，唤醒我们的爱

我们藉着相信上帝的爱，与基督联合；在我们里面唤醒的爱，是赦罪的根据

GOD MANIFESTS HIS LOVE IN CHRIST – TEACHER, EXAMPLE

GOD'S LOVE ADMONISHES US TO ANSWER IN LOVE, AWAKENS OUR LOVE

BY VIRTUE OF OUR FAITH IN GOD'S LOVE, WE UNITE WITH CHRIST

OUR LOVE, AWAKENED IN US, IS GROUND OF FORGIVENESS

Abelard's positive statement of the doctrine is as follows: Through the works of the law no one could have become righteous. But in Christ the love of God was made manifest, in that he assumed our nature, and, as our teacher and example, remained faithful unto death. This love of God admonishes us to an answering love toward God and awakens it in us. By virtue of our faith in the love of God made manifest in Christ, we are united with Christ, as with our neighbor, by an indissoluble bond of love. The love thus awakened in our hearts is the ground of the forgiveness of sins, according to Lk. 7. 47.

《罗马书》第三章：上帝赐我们祂的义；爱使我们成为义

基督在我们里面成就爱，因此救我们脱离罪与惧怕

ROMANS 3: GOD'S RIGHTEOUSNESS = IMPARTED; LOVE JUSTIFIES US

CHRIST WORKS LOVE IN US, THUS REDEEMS US FROM SIN AND FEAR

The phrase in Rom. 3. 25, "for the display of his righteousness," Abelard understands as referring to the righteousness imparted to men, that is, "of the love which justifies us before him" (p. 833). Thus we are redeemed from sin and from fear, since Christ works love in us. "Our redemption, therefore, is that supreme love in us, through the sufferings of Christ, which not only liberates from the servitude of sin, but acquires for us the true liberty of the sons of God, so that we fulfill all things from love rather than from fear of him who has shown to us such grace that, as he himself declares, no greater can be conceived" (pp. 836, 832 f.).

《罗马书》第五章：基督为我们缘故服在爱的诫命之下

基督教导我们，为我们祷告；因为祂为义，祂为我们祷告有功劳

ROMANS 5: CHRIST SUBJECTS SELF TO COMMANDMENT OF LOVE FOR US

CHRIST TEACHES US, PRAYS FOR US;

BECAUSE HE IS RIGHTEOUS, CHRIST'S PRAYERS FOR US HAVE MERIT

Side by side with this line of thought we find another. Under Rom. 5. 12 ff., Abelard declares that Christ, in becoming man, subjected himself to the commandment of love for others. This law he fulfilled "both by instructing us and by praying for us." It is in this way, since his prayers must on account of his righteousness be heard, that Christ "supplements from his merits what was lacking in ours" (p. 865). As instruction is still given by Christ (p. 859), so also his mediation through prayer in behalf of his followers continues (cf. serm. 10, p. 449). We are, therefore, redeemed through Christ, "dying once for us and very frequently praying and diligently instructing us" (p. 861).

上帝差祂儿子作教师、榜样；唤醒人的信心，爱心

基督因为爱，继续教导、为我们代求，满足人所缺欠的功劳

GOD SENDS SON AS TEACHER, EXAMPLE, AROUSES MEN'S FAITH, LOVE

BECAUSE OF CHRIST'S LOVE, HE CONTINUES TO TEACH, INTERCEDE;  
THUS COMPLETES MEN'S INSUFFICIENT MERIT

The view of Abelard is thus evidently: God sent his Son to the sinful human race as a revelation of his love, and as a teacher and example. By this means faith and love are aroused in sinful men. This love becomes the ground of the forgiveness of their sins. On the other hand, the love of Christ leads him to continue to teach men and to intercede for them before God. Thus their insufficient merits are completed.

为什么圣子（不是圣父）成为人？

圣子，神圣智慧，成为人，为要教导，作榜样

亚伯拉德受中古敬虔影响：敬虔的爱心生活 = 救赎的目标

亚氏没有看到基督死的重要性

WHY THE SON, NOT FATHER, BECAME MAN?

SON, DIVINE WISDOM, BECAME MAN TO TEACH US BY WORD, EXAMPLE

MEDIEVAL PIETY->ABELARD: PIOUS LOVE = AIM OF REDEMPTION

ABELARD ATTACHES NO IMPORTANCE TO DEATH OF CHRIST

But when Abelard now, in response to the inquiry, why it was the Son and not the Father who became man, declares that the Son, or the divine Wisdom (*supra*, p. 59), became man, in order to instruct us by word and example (*theol. Christ. iv. p. 1278 f. Cf. serm. 5, p. 423*), it would seem that the former line of thought was the dominating one in his theology (*cf. Seeberg, l. c., p. 136 ff.*) This theory derives from the treasures reserved in the traditional theology of the church certain views which serve to counterbalance the one-sidedness of Anselm. It was in harmony with the medieval form of piety, since it represented the pious walk of love as the aim of redemption. There is lacking, indeed, as in Anselm, the association of the work of Christ with the institution of the sacraments. If the latter were, in the medieval conception, the vehicles of salvation for the regenerate, then must they be expressly made intelligible as a product of the work of salvation. But as, in Abelard's expositions of the subject, no specific importance attached to the death of Christ, he fell into the error of one-sidedness in the opposite direction.

巴尔拿批判亚伯拉德：基督仅是教师

基督带来赦罪，称义，释放我们脱离邪恶的捆绑

基督的榜样不足够救赎我们

BERNARD ATTACKS ABELARD ON ATONEMENT: CHRIST ONLY TEACHER

CHRIST BRINGS FORGIVENESS, JUSTIFICATION, RELEASE FROM EVIL

CHRIST'S EXAMPLE = INSUFFICIENT FOR OUR REDEMPTION

Abelard's doctrine of the atonement was in turn assailed by ST. BERNARD (*vid. ep. 190, and Seeberg, l. c., p. 143 ff.*). Abelard, he contended, curtails Christianity, making Christ only a teacher. In reality, Christ brings the forgiveness of sins and justification, and releases from the bonds of the evil (7.17; 8. 20). Just as little as the example of Adam made us sinners does the example of Christ suffice for our redemption (8.22; 9. 23). No place, he holds, is reserved for the blood and the cross of Christ in the system of Abelard, "who attributes everything pertaining to salvation to devotion (*devotione*), nothing to regeneration, ... he locates the glory of redemption, ... not in the value of the blood, but in its effects in our walk and conversation" (9. 24). It is certain, indeed, that the example of the love of Christ is great and important, "but they have no foundation, and hence no tenable position, if the foundation of redemption be wanting. ...

谦卑、爱心的榜样不足够，若没有救赎之圣礼

巴尔拿有教导必须默想基督的爱；可是，基督的宝血是我们救赎的代价

基督受苦，平息了父上帝的忿怒

巴尔拿两方面的赎罪论，中古时期最普遍

HUMILITY, LOVE INSUFFICIENT W/O REDEMPTION'S SACRAMENT

BERNARD DOES TEACH MEDITATION ON LOVE OF CHRIST; BUT,  
BLOOD OF CHRIST IS PRICE OF OUR REDEMPTION  
CHRIST SUFFERED TO APPEASE THE OFFENDED FATHER  
BERNARD'S TWO-SIDED SOTERIOLOGY PREVAILS IN MIDDLE AGES

Therefore neither examples of humility nor proofs of love are anything without the sacrament of redemption" (9. 25). Instruction (*institutio*) or restoration (*restitutio*), that is the question (9. 23). Bernard made practical use, perhaps to a greater extent than Abelard himself, of the latter's method, maintaining that we should meditate upon the love of Christ in order to be incited to a responsive love toward him (in Cant. Serm. 16. 5; 43. 1-3). He is our teacher and example (ib. serm. 15. 6; 43. 4; 22. 7; 21. 2; 61. 7; 47. 6; 20. 7; 24. 8). But the other aspect of the doctrine is also made prominent. The blood of Christ is the "price of our redemption. Unless he had tenderly loved, his majesty would not have sought me in prison. But to affection he joined wisdom, by which he might ensnare the tyrant, and suffering, by which he might appease the offended God the Father" (vid. 20. 2). Bernard constructed no theory; but the association of the two conceptions – the love of Christ begets love in response, he is teacher and example; the blood of Christ redeems us from sin, death, and the devil, and effects the reconciliation of the Father – presents the general view of the subject which prevailed in the Middle Ages.

亚伯拉德的后人：基督成为人，为了爱，为作榜样

ABELARD'S FOLLOWERS: CHRIST BECAME MAN – FOR LOVE, EXAMPLE

The central thought of Abelard was perpetuated in his followers. Thus, the author of the *Epitome* answers the question, *Cur duos homo?* with a reference to true love and a good example (chap. 23, p. 1731, Mi.). And the Sentences of St. Florian assert that redemption was wrought "in the person of the Son" in order that, as often as we should recall the love which he has shown for us, we might abstain from sin. We have ourselves, "on account of the wonderful love which he has shown toward us," freed ourselves from our subjection to the devil (*denifle*, archive. i. 431).

另外如 Honorius, 罗伯等跟随安瑟伦，巴尔拿

OTHERS, e.g. HONORIUS, ROBERT <- ANSELM, BERNARD

But the other contemporary theologians share the attitude of Bernard, i.e., of Anselm. HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS repeats the thoughts of Anselm (elucidar. i. 8, 16, 17, 21). Hugo likewise reproduces him. It is necessary to "appease God," and this is accomplished by making good the damage (*damnum restaurare*) and making satisfaction for the insult (*de contemptu satisfacere*). This the God-man does. Even if this method of redemption cannot be shown to be necessary, yet it is the most appropriate, inasmuch as the magnitude of our guilt and of the future glory is thus set forth (de sacr. i. 8, 4, 6, 7, 10; ii. 1. 6). ROBERT presents both views. Christ has freed us by his sacrifice rendered to God, not to the devil (sent. iv. 14). This was the most appropriate, though not the only possible, way of effecting redemption (iv. 15). It is an appropriate way, because it makes known to us the magnitude of our sin and of the divine love (iv. 13). The work of redemption is, here too, presented under the aspect of instruction and example (iii. 28).

伦巴特彼得：受亚伯拉德影响：以基督的功劳作起点

基督的虔诚赚得荣耀，和从受苦释放；为人的基督足够作完全的被囚者，带来和好  
基督的死启示上帝的爱，感动我们爱上帝的爱，因此我们称义，成义，从罪释放

PETER LOMBARD DEPENDS ON ABELARD; STARTS WITH CHRIST'S MERIT  
CHRIST'S PIETY MERITS GLORIFICATION & FREEDOM FROM SUFFERING  
CHRIST THE MAN = SUFFICIENT, PERFECT HOSTAGE FOR RECONCILIATION  
CHRIST'S DEATH REVEALS GOD'S LOVE, MOVES US TO LOVE GOD,  
SO WE ARE JUSTIFIED, RELEASED FROM SIN, MADE RIGHTEOUS

PETER LOMBARD, in his discussion of the problem in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> *Distinctions* of his third book, betrays as well his dependence upon Abelard as his correctness from the ecclesiastical point of view. His



starting point is the *merit of Christ*. By his pious life Christ merited for himself glorification and freedom from suffering (18 A, B). His death occurred therefore “for thee, not or himself” (18 E). And by it he merited for us admittance to paradise and redemption from sin, punishment, and the devil. “Christ the man was a sufficient and perfect hostage,” i.e., for our *reconciliatio* (18E). According to this, it may be asked *how* this deliverance from the devil, sin, and punishment is effected by his death. To this it is replied, first of all, with Abelard, that the death of Christ reveals to us the love of God. “But so great a pledge of love toward us being displayed, we also are moved and inflamed to love God ... and through this we are justified, i.e., being released from sins are made righteous. *Therefore the death of Christ justifies us, since through it love is excited in our hearts.*” But this occurs also, according to Paul, through faith in the Crucified. When we are thus freed from sin, we become free also from the devil. But this thought is defaced by the reminiscence from an earlier age, that the cross became a mousetrap and the blood a bit for the devil (19A). The fundamentally Abelardian tendency of the author is revealed also in the remark (19F), that we are reconciled to God, who has *always* loved us, by the removal of our sins and hostility toward God.

救赎有客观一面：上帝胜过魔鬼；基督为我们付债，因此释放我们脱离惩罚

REDEMPTION HAS OBJECTIVE SIDE: GOD OVERCOMES DEVIL,  
CHRIST REMITS OUR DEBT, THUS DELIVERS US FROM PUNISHMENT

Prominence is also given to the objective aspects of redemption. God became man in order to overcome the devil, because a man or an angel might easily have himself fallen into sin (B). It is further held that Christ delivers us from everlasting punishment by remitting our debt (*relaxando debitum*) (C), and also from temporal punishment, which is remitted in baptism and ameliorated in repentance: “For that penalty could not suffice by which the church binds penitents, unless the penalty of Christ, who absolves for us, co-operates” (D). Thus, according to the Lombard:

基督死，赚得功劳释放我们；基督胜过魔鬼；

基督的死唤醒我们的爱，因此使我们成为义，释放我们

CHRIST MERITS THROUGH DEATH, DELIVERANCE; CHRIST OVERCOMES DEVIL; CHRIST’S  
DEATH AWAKENS US TO LOVE, THUS MAKES US RIGHTEOUS, DELIVERS US

[a] Christ has merited deliverance for us through the *meritum* of his death, since the suffering endured by him works for our deliverance.

[b] He has overcome, i.e., captured the devil.

[c] His death has awakened us to love and thereby made us righteous and delivered us.

彼得强调基督的功劳

PETER EMPHASIZES CHRIST’S MERIT

Of special interest for us is the prominent introduction of the conception of the *merit of Christ* and of his endurance of punishment, and we are particularly impressed by the lack of clearness in the adjustment of the ideas presented in their mutual relations. Thus the idea of redemption did not attain a fixed or complete form in the present period, but the component elements were distinctly wrought out.

### 经院主义第二阶段基督教教义的发展

#### DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

#### DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF SCHOLASTICISM

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 87-124.)

### 52. 教会的目标；敬虔生活；教会内部的改革

#### 52. Aims of the Church. Religious Life. Efforts at Reform.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*. Vol. 2, pp. 87-95.)

中古时期的高潮：13 世纪；基础：11，12 世纪（神学，教会，改革）

SUMMIT OF MIDDLE AGES: 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY;

CORNERSTONE: 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES: THEOLOGY, CHURCH, REFORM

We are now standing upon the summit of the Middle Ages. The cornerstone and foundation of their theological structure were laid in the former period, its scope and tendency determined. The decisive work was not done by the leaders of the thirteenth century, but by their forerunners in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is true of the theologians no less than of the ecclesiastics and the reformers of the church's devotional life.

印诺生三世：教皇 = 基督地上的代表；全教会，全世界服在教皇之下

雅各让彼得统治全教会，全世界；教皇 = 太阳；王帝 = 月亮，光从太阳来

INNOCENT III: POPE = VICAR OF CHRIST; ABOVE MAN/JUDGMENT

WHOLE CHURCH, WHOLE WORLD = SUBJECT TO POPE

JAMES LEAVES PETER TO RULE WHOLE CHURCH, WHOLE WORLD

POPE = SUN, KINGS = MOON, RECEIVES LIGHT FROM SUN

We must first of all trace the development of the hierarchical ideas and the religious ideas, whose introduction was noted in Sections 44 and 45. We recall the firm adherence of the later popes to the principles of Gregory VII. **Innocent III** claims special attention. He held that "The pope is the vicar (*vicarius*) of Christ, placed midway between God and man, beneath God and beyond man, less than God and greater than man, who judges concerning all and is judged by none (Mi. 217. 658). Thus Aristotle once spoke of the genie as "O, thou to men divine!" (Pol. iii. 13. 8). Not only the whole church, but the whole world, is subject to the sway of the pope: "James, the brother of the Lord ... left to Peter not only the whole church, but the whole world, to be governed" (registr. ii. 209). Innocent accordingly sought to administer the affairs of the church as its sole ruler (cf. the confirmation of bishops, their oath of obedience, their being called to the duty of *solicitudo*, appellation to Rome, the Roman land titles, etc. Vid. the bull of Eger., A.D. 1213, in MG. leg. ii. 224 f.; reg. i. 495, 496), and claimed also supremacy over states. As the moon receives its light from the sun, "so the royal power receives the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical authority" (reg. i. 401, Mi. 217. 1180. Cf. Dollinger, *Papsttum*, p. 401 f.)

波尼法修八世：教会唯一的元首 = 基督与基督的代表

教会吩咐王帝，容许王帝佩剑；属灵权柄比属世界的更崇高，尊贵

若要得救，顺从教皇是必须的

BONIFACE VIII: CHURCH'S ONE HEAD = CHRIST + CHRIST'S VICAR

CHURCH COMMANDS, PERMITS KING TO WIELD SWORD

SPIRITUAL POWER = MORE NOBLE, DIGNIFIED THAN TEMPORAL POWER

SUBMISSION TO POPE = ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR SALVATION

These ideas most abruptly expressed in the bull "Unam Sanctam," issued by **Boniface VIII**, A.D. 1302, whose leading declarations are as follows: "We are compelled by the faith to believe ... one holy catholic church ... outside of which there is neither salvation nor the remission of sins. ... In which there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. ... Therefore of this one and only church there is one body and one head, not two bodies, as though it were a monster, viz.: Christ and the vicar of Christ, Peter and the successor of Peter. ... That in this and in its power are two swords, viz., the spiritual and the temporal. ... Therefore both are in the power of the church, viz., the spiritual and the material sword; but the latter to be exercised for the church, the former by the church. The one is in the hand of the priest; the other in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the command and permission (*ad nutum et patientiam*) of the priest. But it is fitting that sword be under sword, and that the temporal authority be subject to the spiritual. ... But that the spiritual power excels both in dignity and nobility any earthly power whatsoever. ... For, truth being the witness, the spiritual power has (the right) to establish the

earthly, and, if it have not been good, to judge it. ... Whosoever, therefore, resists this power thus ordained of God resists the ordinance of God, unless, like Manichaeus, thou dreamest that there are two principles. ... Moreover, to every human creature we declare, say, define and pronounce, that to be subject to the Roman pontiff is absolutely necessary to salvation” (*de necessitate salutis*).

基督贫穷生命弟兄会：对教会世俗化的抗议；圣法兰西：贫穷生活释放人

BRETHREN OF POOR LIFE OF CHRIST: PROTESTS SECULARIZATION

FRANCIS OF ASSISI: POVERTY LIBERATES

The writings of St. Bernard exerted a profound influence upon the devout speculation of the following period, but it does not lie within the province of the History of Doctrines to follow them in detail. We must now, however, overlook the protest against the secularization of the church which, at the time when the hierarchy was at the summit of its power, and when even ideas of reform had become merely a means for further secularization, was raised by the Brethren of the Poor Life of Christ. The power of love was revealed in Christ to **Francis of Assisi**. The poor life of Christ overwhelmed his soul; the imitation of Christ became his ideal. He became the knight of “holy poverty.” Poverty set him free from the world. As he, surfeited with the old life, shook off his relations with the world, he soon found something else and more than his ideal had promised – he found himself and individuality.

基督的爱 = 喜乐；全宇宙见证上帝的爱，要求我们用爱回应

今世的事物 = 灵魂的形象；灵魂属于上帝；全宇宙，生命全部 = 赞美诗

LOVE OF CHRIST = JOY WHOLE CREATION TESTIFIES OF LOVE OF GOD, DEMANDS LOVE

TEMPORAL = IMAGE OF SOUL – SOUL BELONGS TO GOD

WHOLE LIFE & WHOLE CREATION = HYMN OF PRAISE

He did not clothe his thoughts in doctrinal statements. The gospel frame of mind was everything to him. The love of Christ kept his tears of joy ever flowing and taught him to perform miracles of love. The whole creation testified to him of the love of God, and all living things demanded of him love. “Everything temporal” was to him “only an image,” the image of the soul, which belongs to its God. Thus his life, and with it the whole creation, became a hymn of praise to God, for the service of free love. “Praise and bless the Lord, and render thanks, and serve him with grand humility” (Song of the Sun). “My God and all, who art thou, sweetest Lord, my God; and who am I, an insignificant worm, thy servant? Most Holy Lord, that I might love thee!” (opp. Fanc. Ed. v. d. Burg, 1849, p. 44). “May the glowing and mellifluous power of thy love absorb, I pray, O Lord, my mind from all things which are under heaven, that I may die from love of thy love, who hast deigned to die from love of my love” (ib. p. 43). Or, as Jacopone sings: “Make me truly to rejoice with – cling to Jesuline; then at length shall I have lived.” Francis was made the founder of an order by the church of his age. But he sought and attained more than this. He discovered human individuality and opened to it an immediate intercourse with God. It may, perhaps, be correct to say that he wished to make all men monks; but he did certainly also teach the children of men to become Christians and men. As he found God and love in the Jesus of the gospels, and attained liberation from the world in the following of Jesus, he exerted a powerful stimulus upon his contemporaries.

不用教义的视角看世界；法兰西高举贫穷、爱心

LOOK AT WORLD WITHOUT DOGMATIC SPECTACLES – POVERTY, LOVE = GLORIFIED

He taught the world the directly individual character and the present blessedness of the religious life, and he led men to look upon the world and mankind simply and without dogmatic spectacles. He glorified poverty and love, and taught men to realize in them the sense of personal *perfection*. His influence can be easily traced in the religious life, as well as in the art and literature, of the following period. This is especially true with reference to the direct and loving appreciation of the human life of Jesus which was manifested in the ensuing age. The one precious pearl of the church’s tradition was thus found anew.

耶稣的人格：榜样 HUMAN LIFE OF JESUS = EXAMPLE

How exhaustively and how lovingly have not **Bonaventura** (*Meditationes vitae Chr. Opp. vi.*) and **Ludolf of Saxony** (*Vita Christi*; also *De vita et beneficiis salvatoris Jesu Chr. Devotissimae meditationes*) portrayed the human life of Jesus: “in order that in all places and deeds thou mayest be in mind, as though thou wast present in body” (Bonav. c. 88 fin.). Into the heart of him who thus regards the life of Jesus there comes a certain “familiarity, confidence and love” for the Lord (*ib. proem.*). He is, as is constantly emphasized, for us the good example: “Who to this end was sent from heaven to us in order that he might go before us in the path of virtues, and might give to us in his example a law of life and discipline” (Ludolf, prolog.). This is the way “to behold him in spirit” (*ib. ii. c. 89*). Upon this point cf. Seeberg, in *Ztschr. f. K. Wiss.*, 1888, p. 163 ff. The lessons taught by St. Francis were, thanks to his monastic order and despite it, not lost upon the Christian world. He was a “pioneer of the reformers.”

改革运动影响平信徒：忏悔弟兄会

普及敬虔：上帝，基督，童贞女马利亚，圣徒，默信；

印诺生四世：「大公（天主）教会所相信的一切，都是真的」

REFORM MOVEMENT INFLUENCES LAITY: PENITENTIAL BROTHERHOODS

POPULAR PIETY: GOD, CHRIST, VIRGIN, SAINTS, IMPLICIT FAITH;

INNOCENT IV: “EVERYTHING UNIVERSAL CHURCH BELIEVES IS TRUE”

The reformatory agitations very naturally exerted a marked influence upon the piety of the laity. This was especially true in regard to the penitential brotherhoods attaching themselves to the third order of St. Francis. But it must be acknowledged, further, that among the great masses of the population an external ecclesiastical religious life was perpetuated. The people believed in God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. They believed just “what the church believes.” “There is a certain body of the faith to which everyone is bound, and which is sufficient for the simple and, perhaps, for all laymen, i.e., that every adult believe that God is, and that he is a rewarder of all the good. Likewise must all believe the other articles *implicitly*, i.e., that everything which the universal church believes is true.”

基督胜过魔鬼；是美德，谦卑，贫穷的榜样

圣徒代求，尤其是马利亚；遗物；救济穷人；不断注目来世

CHRIST OVERCAME DEVIL; EXAMPLE OF VIRTUE, HUMILITY, POVERTY

SAINTS INTERCEDE, ESP. VIRGIN; RELICS, ALMSGIVING

FUTURE WORLD = IN VIEW CONSTANTLY

These words of Innocent IV justly represent the actual state of things. Faith in God consists in the conviction that he guides the fortunes of men, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. Christ by his death overcame the devil (e.g., Schoenbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, iii. 76, 174). He became for us an example of virtue, humility, and poverty (*ib. iii. 7, 238, 252, 40*). He is “the heavenly King” (*ib. iii. 6*). By faithful fulfillment of one’s duties in the church the favor of God may be secured. Then comes the intercession of the saints, particularly of the Virgin Mary, and the protective influence of relics, and, finally, almsgiving. Life should be spent in constant view of the future world. Every act of the Christian has reference to reward or punishment there. And as he thus stands in constant touch with the other world, so its wonders are constantly injected into the present life. The providence of God, implicit faith, Christ the vanquisher of the devil and the teacher of virtue, ecclesiasticism, alms, saints, relics, and the future world constitute the chief articles of practical Christianity. But in the most cultivated circles of the age even the utterance attributed to Frederick II concerning the three deceivers (Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed) found currency (cf. Reuter, *Gesch. D. rel. Aufklaerung*, ii. 276 ff.).

教会如何影响敬虔生活：讲道 HOW CHURCH INFLUENCES PIETY: PREACHING

The means by which the church influenced the religious life of the age were chiefly the following:

*Preaching*, which consisted mainly of admonitions to a moral life, in connection with which doctrine was presented only in general outlines, the liturgy explained, and the history of Christ and of the saints repeated.

忏悔的圣礼（告解）：忏悔本身足够吗？还须要到神父面前告解？

SACRAMENT OF REPENTANCE: CONTRITION SUFFICIENT? CONFESSION?

Then came *the Sacrament of Repentance*. The transformation of the church's teaching upon this point in the twelfth century (*supra*, p. 45) gave rise to a number of new questions, as: Whether contrition is sufficient in itself, or if it requires also confession before a priest. Gratian still leaves it an open question, whether "sins are remitted upon contrition of the heart, not upon confession of the mouth," or whether "without confession no pardon can be merited" (*decret. Par ii.; causa 33; quaest. 3 can. 30, 60, 89*).

神学家们：必须告解，才能得赦免；从此教会颁发赦罪

THEOLOGIANS: CONFESSION NECESSARY FOR PARDON; HENCEFORTH, CHURCH GRANTS ABSOLUTION

The theologians finally decided for the latter position (*vid. sub*). Inasmuch as confession before the priest thus became the controlling factor of the sacrament, the indicative form of absolution gradually supplanted to the optative. It is, therefore, now the church which, through its representatives, grants "absolution from penalty and guilt." Again, it was asked whether all sins, or only mortal sins, were to be confessed. In general, it was the rule that for a multitude of lighter sins the "general repentance in the church, the Lord's Prayer, fasting, and giving alms to the poor, and, at most, the salutary host of the altar," were sufficient (*Hug, de sacr. Ii. 14. 1; Lombard. Sent. iv. dist. 21 E; an anonymous tract of the twelfth century, de poenit., Migne 213. 880. Cf. Die taegeliche booze, Schoeb. altd. pred. iii. 34*).

补罪的善行，由赎罪卷（捐款）代替；各式各样节期，建堂，祝圣等

「有悔改则必有补赎（赎罪卷）」；为公开罪而公开忏悔之式微

INDULGENCES = SUBSTITUTED FOR PERFORMING WORKS OF SATISFACTION:

FESTIVALS (Corpus Christi, Virgin Mary), CANONIZATION, BUILDING CHURCHES, CRUCIFIXES, ETC.

"WHERE THERE IS REPENTANCE, THERE IS ALSO INDULGENCE"

PUBLIC REPENTANCE FOR PUBLIC OFFENSES FELL INTO DISUSE

There was a constantly growing tendency to substitute indulgences for the actual performance of works of satisfaction, and for this purpose various occasions and forms were devised (opposing heretics, jubilee celebrations, the building of churches, feasts of dedication, festivals of Corpus Christi and the Virgin Mary, canonization of saints, brotherhoods, garlands, crucifixes, etc. *Vid. Wildt in Kirchenlex. i., ed. 2, 102 ff.*) Thus repentance came to be regarded as the chief sacrament: "Where there is repentance (*poenitentia*) there is also indulgence. ... As often, therefore, a God gives to a man repentance, so often does he give also indulgence" (*Mi. 213. 873*). The rule, that for public offenses there must be also public repentance, is still maintained in theory, but, in point of act, public repentance fell rapidly into disuse. Honorius Augustodunensis already speaks of those performing public penance as ridiculing God (*deum irridentes, elucidar. ii. 18*). In the fourteenth century it had been in many places entirely abandoned. "In such things, according to the course of the present age, there is seen rather a scandal than edification" (*Durand. sent. iv. dist. 14 qu. 4 a. 3*).

印诺生三世，拉特兰会议(1215)：每年至少一次告解；至少一次领圣体

INNOCENT III, FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL (A.D. 1215):

CONFESS ONCE A YEAR, EUCHARIST AT EASTER

Innocent III established the following rule at the Fourth Lateran council (A.D. 1215): "Let every believer of either sex, after arriving at years of discretion, faithfully confess all his sins alone at least once a year to his own priest, and endeavor with all his strength to observe the penance enjoined upon him, receiving at least at Easter the sacrament of the eucharist. ... Let the priest be discreet and cautious ... inquiring diligently as to the circumstances of both the sinner and the sin, from which he may prudently judge what counsel he ought to give

to him, and what kind of remedy he ought to impose” (c. 21, Mansi xxii. 1007). This law was very often emphasized and observed (Councils of Narbonne, A.D. 1227, c. 7; Treves, A.D. 1227, c. 3 and 4; Canterbury, A.D. 1236, c. 18; Toulouse, A.D. 1229, c. 13, where confession three times annually is recommended. Vid Hefele, v. 943, 946, 1052, 982).

#### 七种圣礼 SEVEN SACRAMENTS

The other sacraments must also be mentioned. “And to them (the priests) the almighty God has committed the seven sacraments in order that they might with these sanctify Christians to the world, as they journey into the world, and as they journey through the world, and as they journey out of the world, with holy baptism, and with holy marriage, and with holy confirmation, and with holy confession of penance, and with the holy body of God, and with holy oil, and with the judgments” (Berthold of Regensb. ed. Pfeiffer, i. 142). We postpone for the present the further discussion of these, stopping at present only to observe how closely the whole course of the Christian life has been bound to the church, i.e., the hierarchy.

#### 异端运动 HERETICAL MOVEMENTS

Finally, brief mention must be made of the heretical movements which assumed such large proportions after the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The controlling aim of Western Christianity was the salvation of souls (*salus animarum*) through the church (Vol. I, p. 192). It was in consistency with this that the church of the Middle Ages expressed its characteristic thought in its theory of the church and the sacraments, especially the sacrament of repentance (penance). The same controlling aim, however, gave impulse also to the heresies and schisms (Novatianism and Donatism) which arose in the Eastern church. Even the great heretical groups of the Middle Ages display their essential characteristics, not in their divergence from the accepted theological views, but in the practical desire to secure liberation from sin and, at least in the conception of their leaders, to reinstate the holy apostolic church.

迦他利派：两位神，诺斯底主义的基督，二元论；

迦他利派 = 唯一教会；罗马（天主教会）= 巴比伦大淫妇

CATHARI: TWO GODS, GNOSTIC CHRIST, DUALISM

CATHARI = ONLY CHURCH; ROME = WHORE BABYLON

We have to do with the two great branches of medieval heresy – the *Cathari* and the *Waldenses*. The *Cathari*, indeed, in keeping with their Oriental origin, revived, with various modifications, almost the entire Gnostic system, i.e., Manichaeism (two Gods, Gnostic Christology, Dualism, etc.). But even these agitations culminated practically in the ideas that the Romish church was the whore Babylon, her hierarchs Pharisees, and her sacraments invalid; whereas the *Cathari* were the only holy church, with the true and holy hierarchy and effectual sacraments. The “good Christians” and “the true imitators of Christ” are persecuted by the church which is not a church; but only they can actually release from sin by their baptism and penance (*consolamentum, melioramentum*).

瓦勒度派：教义方面分歧不明显；实际生活上摒弃罗马天主教会

WALDENSES: DOCTRINAL DIVERGENCES NOT PROMINENT;

BUT PRACTICALLY REJECTED ROME

Among the *Waldenses* the doctrinal divergence (denial of purgatory, opposition to the worship of saints and images) was given comparatively little prominence; but practically these preachers of apostolic poverty rejected finally Rome and its hierarchy (especially the Lombards), opposed their own hierarchy to that of Rome, and offered the true sacrament of repentance to their followers. Neither of these parties overstepped the bounds of medieval Christianity. For them, as in the church at large, Christianity consisted in purification through the sacraments, obedience to the hierarchy, and good works in imitation of Christ. The church, from her point of view, rightly charged upon them: “they annulled the sacraments and made void the priesthood.”

异端重新强调基督教的本质：教会，圣礼

## HERESIES RE-ASSERTED ECCLESIASTICAL, SACRAMENTAL CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY

The immediate result of these agitations, constituting as they did the most energetic assault upon the church since the days of Gnosticism, was only a more distinct assertion of the ecclesiastical and sacramental character of Christianity (vid. especially chapters 1, 3, and 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, Hefele, v. 878 ff., 881 f., 888). More and more, for faith in God was substituted the summons to “obey the mandates of the Roman church.” On the other hand, the “free thinking” heresy of the **Begards**, which from the middle of the twelfth century was propagated in Germany, presents – with its pantheism, its ethical indifferentism, and its essentially anti-ecclesiastical spirit – a symptom of the growing independence and discontent as against the church and her institutions. This is true of the radical Franciscanism and of the apocalyptic speculations (the “everlasting gospel”), which from the time of Joachim of Floris (+1202) agitated and disturbed the church.

### 53. 十三世纪的历史和神学的特征

#### 53. History and Characteristics of the Theology of the Thirteenth Century.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 96-106.)

三位领袖：印诺生三世，法兰西，阿奎那；教会权力达到颠峰；科学，哲学发达；

权柄：古代哲学，阿理斯多德（透过阿拉伯人传回西方）

THREE LEADERS: INNOCENT III, FRANCIS, THOMAS AQUINAS

CHURCH POWER AT ZENITH; ALSO DEV. OF SCIENCE AND THOUGHT;

TEACHER = ANTIQUITY: ARISTOTLE THRU ARABS

The history of the church's intellectual life from the middle of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century may be depicted in the lives of three men – Pope Gregory VII, St. Bernard, and Abelard. The thirteenth century was likewise characterized by the activities of three great leaders – Pope Innocent III (ch. 52, 1), **St. Francis** (Ch. 52, 2), and **Thomas of Aquino**. The hierarchy had reached the zenith of its power, and maintained its position as against the world and the encroachments of heresy. But at the same time there was quietly inaugurated a process of liberation and refinement of the inner life, and, simultaneously, a fuller and more vigorous development of scientific study than had been previously known in medieval history. Antiquity was again the teacher. Hitherto only the dialectic writings of Aristotle had been known, but to them were now added his metaphysics, physics, psychology, and ethics. Their study was pursued with eager interest and enthusiasm. Men like Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino wrote commentaries upon them.

亚理斯多德的重要性：不仅辩证法；扩大世界，思想之视野；亚理斯多德：基督的先锋；方法论的权威

ARISTOTLE: BEYOND DIALECTICS; LARGER WORLD, SPHERE OF THOUGHT;

ARISTOTLE – PRECURSOR OF CHRIST IN NATURE – AUTHORITY IN METHOD

There was a larger conception of the universe, and the sphere of thought was refined and more accurately delineated. **Aristotle**, the “*praecursor Christi in naturalibus*,” became the regulating authority and the master of method. The effect of the knowledge of Arabic philosophy was also manifest. The materials and the problems of knowledge were rapidly multiplied.

可是：教义须服事教会；宗教与知识 = 合一；教义系统兴起；伦巴德的注释

用辩证法辩论；论据，引用权威作者

DOGMA/KNOWLEDGE MUST SERVE CHURCH; RELIGION, LEARNING = ONE

DOGMATIC SYSTEMS GROW; COMMENTARIES ON SENTENCES

DIALECTIC METHOD = USED; PROOFS, AUTHORITIES MULTIPLY

But all knowledge must in the end serve the church. Religion and secular learning are not yet separated. Thus the dogmatic systems continue to grow apace, begin presented partly in commentaries upon the Sentences

of Lombard, and partly in independent works (summa theologiae). [The title, "Summa," was employed before the times of the Lombard. Vid. Denile, Gesch. D. Univ. i. 46.] The ancient dialectic method is still followed, and the wider the range of material becomes, the greater becomes the number of proofs and authorities pro and con, the keener the logical distinctions, and the more complicated the lines of dialectical discussion.

教义 = 伟大哲学系统；引进哲学，靠教会权力；但不可失去信仰准则，教会教义

DOGMATICS: GREAT PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM,  
APPROPRIATES PHILOSOPHY, WITH POWER OF CHURCH'S INSTITUTIONS,  
BUT MUST NOT LOSE RULE OF FAITH AND CHURCH'S DOGMA

Dogmatics again became, as with the Alexandrines of the second and third centuries, a great system of the philosophy of religion, appropriating for itself all the learning of metaphysics and physics, with all the power of the church and her institutions, and which must never lose from beneath it the basis of the rule of faith and the accredited dogmas of the church.

这系统必定倒塌：其中因素互相抵销；教会，神学不追求福音：世俗化，必定失败  
失去福音，也失去世界；教皇无上论从此不断有人反对

STRUCTURE MUST FALL: ELEMENTS = IRRECONCILABLE  
CHURCH/THEOLOGY SEEKS NOT GOSPEL -> SECULARIZED; MUST FAIL  
THEY MISS THE GOSPEL, THEY MISS THE WORLD  
PAPAL SUPREMACY THEORY AROUSES OPPOSITION EVER SINCE

And yet it was evident that the structure thus reared must fall by its own weight, for during the very period of its construction it was discovered that the elements here joined together were mutually irreconcilable. The secularized church had a secular theology. Every church is secularized which strives toward any other goal than the kingdom of God and its gospel; and every theology is secularized which seeks anything further than a true understanding of the gospel. And both alike must come to grief – missing the gospel, which they do not seek, and no less the world, which they seek. This was the sad experience of the medieval church. **Boniface VIII** and **Duns Scotus** were contemporaries. The pope, who made the most audacious claims for papal supremacy (vid. Chap. 52. 1), aroused against that theory the opposition which has never since been allayed; and the theologian who carried the dialectic presentation of the doctrines of the church to the greatest extreme himself fell into error as to the proper relation of faith and philosophy, and gave the final occasion for the severance of the two (vid. sub).

道明会与方济会形式上都是阿理斯多德主义者，可是：真理观 = 柏拉图，奥古斯丁主义

DOMINICANS & FRANCISCANS = FORMALLY ARISTOTELIANS  
CONCEPT OF TRUTH = PLATONIC-AUGUSTINIAN IDEALISM

Taking a general view of the history of Scholasticism in the Second Period, we observe that nearly all the theologians claiming our attention belong to the Dominican or Franciscan orders. A few remarks may be necessary to insure a proper understanding of the historical course of events before entering upon the study of the leading theologians of the age. It is well known that there were sharp lines of contrast between the great leaders (as, e.g. Thomas and Duns). These find their explanation in the historical development. All received their inspiration from Aristotle. But this was in the first instance mainly formal. In the general conceptions of truth, the predominant influence was chiefly that of Platonic-Augustinian Idealism.

柏拉图：理念是真的；奥古斯丁：意志 = 至上；圣礼 = 象征

IDEAS ARE REAL (PLATO); THE WILL = PRIMARY (AUGUSTINE)  
SACRAMENTS = SYMBOLS (AUGUSTINE)

The reality of ideas was acknowledged, and they were regarded from a religious point of view. From Augustine was borrowed the view of the primacy of the will, in contrast with the reason. The symbolic conception of the sacraments is also Augustinian. Thus, for example, taught both Alexander of Hales and



William of Auverne.

亚里斯多德兴起：向理念的真实性挑战；理性至上

不同的教义 = 分隔，用阿里斯多德的辩论法建立；神学 = 「现代化」

ARISTOTLE: REALITY OF IDEAS = CHALLENGED; INTELLECT = PRIMARY  
DOCTRINES = SEPARATED/DIVIDED, BUILT ON ARISTOTLE'S DIALECTIC  
THEOLOGY = "MODERN"!

But Aristotelianism gained ground. The reality of ideas began to be questioned. The Greek primacy of the intellect was reasserted. Separate doctrines were more and more subdivided and established upon the basis of Aristotelian dialectics. It appeared to be a "modern" theology which was advanced by Albert and **Thomas of Aquino**.

起初教会责备阿奎那：阿奎那与奥古斯丁矛盾！

可是教会（波拿文土拉）用亚里斯多德的方法自我卫护

CHURCH FIRST CENSURES AQUINAS: CONTRADICTS AUGUSTINE!  
BUT CHURCH (BONAVENTURA) DEFENDS ITSELF W/ ARISTOTLE'S METHOD

The ecclesiastical authorities at first met these "innovations" with severe censure (Stephen, bishop of Paris, Robert Kilwardby and John Peckham, archbishops of Canterbury, vid. Chartularium university. Parisiensis, i. 543 ff., 558 ff., 624 ff.). The Thomistic doctrine is charged with contradiction of Augustine. On the other hand, Alexander and Bonaventura are lauded (chart. Univ. Paris. i. 634). This accounts in part for the attempt of the older theology to maintain itself, not hesitating to employ to that end the scientific means furnished by the age, i.e., Aristotelianism. In this attempt Henry of Ghent and Bonaventura were most prominent.

英国神学营救教会：安瑟伦的影响

奥古斯丁，安瑟伦的现实主义 + 实验主义哲学的现实主义

敦斯苏格徒，罗杰培根：个别（殊相）= 真实的

ENGLISH THEOLOGY HELPS: ANSELM = INFLUENTIAL  
AUGUSTINE/ANSELM'S REALISM + REALISM OF EMPIRICAL PHILOSOPHY  
DUNS SCOTUS, ROGER BACON: INDIVIDUALS = REAL

But English theology brought important aid to this tendency. The traditions of Anselm were still influential in England. To these was added the stimulus of the important work of Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln (+ 1253), who combined the Augustinian Realism with a Realism of empirical philosophy as applied to individuals. Such men as Richard of Middleton, and, above all, Duns Scotus, as also Roger Bacon, continued to promote this tendency.

柏拉图，奥古斯丁主义反对亚里斯多德的辩证神学；

可是用阿里斯多德的科学来反对阿里斯多德主义者

两者（柏拉图主义与亚里斯多德主义）= 理性主义，批判性，猜测性

PLATONIC-AUGUSTINIAN OPPOSED ARISTOTELIAN DIALECTIC THEOLOGY,  
BUT TURNED ARISTOTELIAN SCIENCE AGAINST ARISTOTELIANS  
BOTH = RATIONAL-CRITICAL + SPECULATIVE (<-ABELARD, ANSELM)

Thus from various directions the older Platonic-Augustinian theology antagonized the modern Aristotelian dialectic theology, but in such a way as to turn the entire scientific fabric of Aristotle against the Aristotelians.

It may be said that the two tendencies which were once represented by the schools of Tours and Bec, and which then in the first period of Scholasticism found in Abelard and Anselm typical representatives, i.e., the rational-critical and the speculative, have been perpetuated to our own times. Upon one side stood the Aristotelians, and upon the other the Platonizing Augustinians. Both parties were, indeed, dependent upon the scientific method of Aristotle; but the differences which separated them may be rightly traced as above to their source.

13 世纪领袖：Hales 的亚历山大：亚里斯多德的影响

阿尔伯特：使用阿里斯多德的整个系统；其形而上学，知识论影响阿奎那

LEADERS: ALEXANDER OF HALES – ARISTOTLE’S INFLUENCE

ALBERT THE GREAT – USES ARISTOTLE’S SYSTEM COMPREHENSIVELY

ALBERT’S METAPHYSICS AND EPISTEMOLOGY SHAPES AQUINAS

We now, having gained a general view of the situation, turn to note the individual theological leaders of the period.

At the head of the list we place **Alexander of Hales** (*doctor irrefragabilis*, +1245). He composed a *Summa universae theologiae*. He already betrays the influence of Aristotle. In his great work, the problems and methods of the later Scholasticism distinctly appear, and he exerted a controlling influence upon his successors, particularly in the doctrine of the sacraments. The new spirit is yet more plainly manifest in **Albert the Great** (*doctor universalis*, +1280). It was he who first employed the system of Aristotle in a comprehensive way in the construction of theology. His discussions upon metaphysics and the theory of knowledge moulded the thought of Thomas. Besides his *Paraphrases* upon Aristotle, special mention must be made of his Commentary upon the Sentences of the Lombard, a (not completed) *Summa*, and a *Summa de creaturis* (Opp. 21 vols., ed. Jammy, Lyons, 1651; cf. Bach, Alb. Mag. 1881).

阿奎那：亚里斯多德 + 教会传统 + 敬虔精神；善于辩论，整理系统

THOMAS AQUINAS: ARISTOTLE(AREOPAGITE)+CHURCH TRADITION+RELIGIOUS SPIRIT;

GREAT IN DIALECTIC, GREAT SYSTEMATIZER

In the spirit of Albert, his greater disciple, Thomas of Aquino (*angelus ecclesiae*, +1274), toiled on. In him, with a comprehensive acquaintance with Aristotle and the ecclesiastical writers (the Areopagite now comes into prominence), were combined complete harmony with the teachings of the church and a genuinely religious spirit, together with pre-eminent dialectic talent. Thomas can scarcely be called a man of genius, but he was as great in systematizing as Albert in collecting. Among his writings we may mention the *Commentary* on the Sentences of the Lombard, the *Summa totius theologiae*, the *Summa de veritate cath. Fidei contra gentiles*, the *Expositio symboli*, and the *Compendium theologiae*.

阿奎那，《神学大全》：上帝，人如何来到上帝面前，基督

AQUINAS’ SUMMA: GOD, MAN’S APPROACH TO GOD, CHRIST

The systematic talent of Thomas is at once manifest in the simple arrangement of the material in his *Summa*: (1) Concerning God. (2) Concerning the approach of the rational creature toward God, or of man. (3) Concerning Christ, who, on account of his being man, is for us the way of approach to God – under which he treats of Christ, redemption, and the sacraments. From God – to God – through Christ: this is the simple foundation thought. The work is confessedly unfinished, closing abruptly at the doctrine of repentance; but it was completed by the disciples of Thomas from his other writings.

结构：问题，反对的论调，正面说的论调，决定（结论）

SCHEME: QUESTION, OPPOSING ARGUMENTS, AFFIRMATIVE COUNTER-ARGUMENTS, DECISION

The scheme of the work is as follows; A question (*quaestio*) is stated, and then divided into a series of articles, each of which is presented in an interrogative form. Then, with the introductory formula, *videtur quod non*, a number of arguments, perhaps from the Bible, the Fathers, or Aristotle, are presented against the question. Then are given, introduced by a *sed contra est*, a number of other arguments on the affirmative side. Upon this follows the decision, beginning with *Respondeo dicendum*, and usually answering the question in the affirmative. The supposed counter-arguments are then answered under the captions: *Ad primum*, *Ad secundum*, etc., *dicendum*. We cite an illustration. In the First Part of the *Summa* the fourth article under the eighth question reads: “Whether to be everywhere is an attribute of God? (1) It appears that to be everywhere is not an attribute of

God.” Four philosophical arguments are adduced for this position, partly from Aristotle, and then are added two arguments from Augustine. (2) “But upon the opposite side is what Ambrose says.” (3) Here follows the answer: “I reply: It is to be said, that to be everywhere is, from the beginning and essentially, an attribute of God.” Then we have the establishment of this proposition, and afterward a refutation of the six arguments for the negative: “To the first, second, etc., it is to be said.”

波拿文土拉：维持奥古斯丁、柏拉图的理论：神秘主义比较强

BONAVENTURA: MAINTAINS AUGUSTINIAN-PLATONIC THEORIES –  
GREATER MYSTIC ELEMENT

With Thomas, the Aristotelian, we here mention his friend, the Franciscan, Bonaventura (*doctor seraphicus*, +1274), who, however, in theology maintained the old Augustinian-Platonic theories. Bonaventura attached a greater importance to the mystic element in his theology than his predecessors. It is not to be inferred, however, that he pursued with any less energy the dogmatic and philosophic problems of his age. He declared himself, in comparison with Alexander, a “poor and lean compiler” (in sent. II. declaratio). Of his writings, we mention his *Commentary* upon the Sentences, his dogmatic *Compendium breviloquium*, and also his *Compendium theol. Veritatis*, the *Declaratio terminorum theologiae*, and the mystical *Compendium itinerarium mentis in deum*.

阿奎那的方法，目标：信心的对象：上帝所启示

自然理性不能认识上帝的本性（三位一体），但理性能发现启示的部份

宗教知识来自启示，因此可以是确定的知识

AQUINAS' METHOD AND AIM: OBJECT OF FAITH = REVEALED BY GOD

NATURAL REASON CANNOT KNOW NATURE OF GOD (TRINITY)

BUT REASON CAN DISCOVER PART OF REVELATION

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE COMES FROM REVELATION, THUS = CERTAIN

Before scrutinizing the teachings of the age upon separate doctrines, it will be well for us to observe, in the case of Thomas, who was so influential in determining them, the method and aim of scholastic labors. (a) The Object of faith, and therefore also of theology, is supernaturally revealed by God. The necessity of revelation grows out of the fact that human reason cannot by the power of nature recognize the nature of God, e.g., the Trinity. But revelation extends also to such matters as reason might perhaps by itself discover, but only slowly and at a late period (c. gentil. i. 3 ff.; sum. i. qu. 1, art. 1). In this way man becomes absolutely certain in regard to his religious knowledge, since it comes “immediately from God through revelation” (sum. i. q. 1, art. 5).

圣经真正的作者 = 上帝；上帝默示先知，透过暂时的印象（教导）

上帝证实启示：散播信心，神迹；因此：真理的教师 = 领受不能见的默示

REAL AUTHOR OF SCRIPTURE = GOD

GOD INSPIRED PROPHETS THRU TRANSIENT IMPRESSION/INSTRUCTION

GOD CONFIRMS REVELATION BY DIFFUSING FAITH, & MIRACLES

THUS: TEACHER OF TRUTH = INVISIBLY INSPIRED

But revelation is contained in the Holy Scriptures. Their real author is God: *auctor sacrae scripturae est* due (ib. i. 1. 1, a. 10). By inspiration God imparted to the prophets definite items of knowledge by the way of transient impression (*impressionis transeuntis*). “Prophecy is a certain knowledge (*quaedam cognitio*) impressed upon the mind of a prophet by divine revelation through some manner of instruction (*per modum cujusdam doctrinae*) (cf. ii. ii. q. 171, a. 2, 6; 1. 172, q. 3). God has immediately confirmed this by the history of the diffusion of faith, as well as by miracles and signs. And thus he shows the teacher of the truth [to be] invisibly inspired (c. gent. i. 6). It must therefore be said: “The authority of those should be believed to whom revelation has been made” (sum. i. q. 1, a. 8).

圣经= 唯一权威：用圣经作的论证 = 具必须性

从其他教师论证：具或然性；信心不建立在这些其他教师上

SCRIPTURE = ONLY AUTHORITY – USE BIBLE TO ARGUE FROM NECESSITY

USE OTHER TEACHERS TO ARGUE WITH PROBABILITY

FAITH DOES NOT REST ON OTHER TEACHERS

As the Scripture must, on the one hand, be believed because of their origin, they are, on the other hand, the only sure and binding authority. “But one uses the authorities of the canonical scripture properly and in arguing from necessity; the authorities of other teachers of the church in arguing, as it were, from one’s own resources, but with probability. For our faith rests upon the revelation given to be apostles and prophets who wrote the canonical books, but not upon revelation, if such there were, given to other teachers” (ib.). Thus did Thomas distinctly proclaim the Holy Scriptures as the revelation of God – as the source and absolute authority of Christian doctrine.

波拿文土拉：指导信心的权威，主要是圣经

BONAVENTURA: AUTHORITY TO DIRECT FAITH = PRIMARILY SCRIPTURE

Precisely so did Bonaventura teach: “Authority resides primarily in the Holy Scriptures, which have been wholly established (*condita tota*) through the Holy Spirit for the directing of the catholic faith” (brevil. 5. 7).

启示 = 教义：上帝启示了「首要真理」；所有其他教义必须指导我们到上帝

REVELATION = DOCTRINE:

GOD REVEALED “FIRST TRUTH”; ALL ELSE MUST DIRECT US TO GOD

But revelation is doctrine. [The proper object of revelation, i.e., of faith, is the “first truth,” or God. Everything else (as the divinity of Christ, the sacraments) is entitled to consideration “in so far as through these things we are directed toward God, and we assent to them also on account of the divine truth” (summa ii. ii. 1. q. a. 1).]

启示的必须性：因为理性 = 残缺（不是因为罪）

圣经的内容须要有连贯性的论述，为了信心的缘故

使徒信经：基督教信仰核心；异端兴起：因此尼西亚信经，其他大公会议，教父

REVELATION IS NEEDED: FOR INTELLECT = DISABLED (NOT DUE TO SIN)

WHAT BIBLE CONTAINS NEED CONNECTED STATEMENT, FOR BELIEF

APOSTLES’ CREED: ESSENCE OF CHRISTIAN FAITH

HERESIES -> NICENE CREED, OTHER COUNCILS, CHURCH FATHERS

Its necessity is deduced, not from the existence of sin, but from the *debilitas* of the human intellect (sum. 1 q. 1, a. 5). The lines of thought presented in the Scriptures must, it was further held, be supplemented. It had been felt necessary in the church from the beginning, that what was contained in the Scriptures “diffusedly and in various forms and in some cases obscurely” should be plainly and briefly stated in a connected way, i.e., “what should be proposed to all to be believed.” This is furnished in the *symbolum apostolorum*, which contains the essence of the Christian faith (cf. also Bonav. Breviloq. 5. 7). But since the heretics introduced false doctrines, it became necessary to enlarge and explain this symbol, which was done by the Nicene Creed, the deliverances of other councils, and the Fathers.

使徒信经，尼西亚信经 + 阿他那修信经或君士坦丁堡信经

APOSTLES’ CREED, NICENE CREED, +

ATHANASIAN/CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED

[In the twelve, or as the Scholastics commonly enumerate, the fourteen articles, “are contained those things which are chiefly to be believed (Bonav. in sent. iii., d. 25, a. 1, q. 1). Three symbols are uniformly acknowledged: the first is for the teaching of the faith; the second, for the explanation of the faith; the third, for the defense of the faith” (Bonv. Compend. Theo. Verity. V. 21; Centiloq., p. e, sect. 38. Anselm, ep. ii. 41. Alex. Hales, sum. Iv. Q. 37, sect. 9, names four, but enumerates only three: Apostolic, Athanasian, Constantinopolitan, for which Bonaventura names the Nicene. So also Richard, sent. ii. d. 25, principale 2, q. 1 and 2. Duns, sent. i.

d. 26, q. 1, 25. Durand, sent. iii. d. 36, q. 2. Biel, iii. 25, qu. un. Duns, sent. iv. d. 43, q. 1. 11). To the Scripture and the symbols are added the works of the teachers (documenta doctorum), of these, Bonaventura enumerates Dionysius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, John of Damascus, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Hilary, Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome (in Hexaem. Vid. 9, p. 36 a).]

需要新的信经？新的大公会议？教皇权柄范围

NEED FOR NEW CREED? NEW GENERAL COUNCIL? PROVINCE OF POPE

The confession is handed down, “as it were, by the personality of the entire church which is united through the faith.” A “new edition of the symbol ... for the shunning of rising errors” may yet be a necessity. Its preparation, in such case, is within the province of the pope. The counsel given in 1 Cor. 1:10 cannot be followed “unless a question of faith arising concerning the faith should be determined by him who presides over the whole church, so that thus his opinion may be firmly held by the whole church. And therefore a new edition of the symbol pertains to the sole authority of the supreme pontiff, just as do all other things which pertain to the whole church, as the assembling of a general council.”

教皇有权柄召开大公会议，会议肯定教皇的意见

事实上：教皇权柄与圣经同等，甚至高过圣经

POPE'S AUTHORITY CALLS COUNCIL, COUNCIL CONFIRMS POPE'S OPINION  
IN REALITY: POPE STANDS BESIDE/ABOVE SCRIPTURE IN AUTHORITY

Hence: “by whose authority a council is assembled and his opinion confirmed” (sum. Ii. ii. q. 1, a. 9 and 10; cf. q. 11, a. 2). Accordingly, revelation is handed down to the Christian world in the symbols and the decrees of councils, and by means of the papal definitions of the faith. It is of course presumed that these are in harmony with the authority of Scripture; but in reality, side by side with the *auctoritas scripturae*, and above it, stands the *sola auctoritas summi pontificis*.

信心接受启示：必须的，不然，信心的功劳 = 无有

阿奎那（奥古斯丁）：相信 = 用「同意」思想

信心的对象说服理性，或理性被意志催使，以致理性同意

FAITH ACCEPTS REVELATION: NECESSARY – OR FAITH'S MERIT = VOID  
AQUINAS/AUGUSTINE: TO BELIEVE = THINK WITH ASSENT  
OBJECT IMPRESSES INTELLECT, OR INTELLECT = INCLINED BY WILL -> ASSENT

(b) Since revelation cannot be comprehended by the reason, it follows that it must be accepted *in faith*. This is necessary, if for no other reason, because otherwise the “merit of faith would be made void” (sum. Ii. ii. q. 2, a. 9, 10). Thomas was the first to make a careful analysis of the conception of faith (vid. quaestio disputata de fide, opp. viii. 804 ff., and sum. ii. ii. qu. 1 ff.). He starts with the Augustinian formula: “To believe is to think with assent.” The *intellectus possibilis*, or thinking faculty, reaches a conclusion in one of two ways, either that the object impresses itself upon this faculty in an intellectual way as true, or that the faculty is, by the will, inclined to assent.

理性回应意志，因为上帝把信心的倾向 (*habitus*) 注入理性内

INTELLECT RESPONDS TO WILL BECAUSE  
GOD INFUSES HABITUS (DISPOSITION) OF FAITH INTO INTELLECT

“And thus also are we moved to believe things said, in so far as the reward of eternal life is promised to us if we shall believe, and the will is moved by this reward to assent to those things which are said, although the intellect be not moved by anything intellectual (de fide, art. 1, p. 805 b). That the intellect in this way responds to the impulse of the will is explained by the disposition (*habitus*) of faith divinely infused,” i.e., infused into the intellect (a. 4, p. 812; cf. Heinrich, quodib. v. q. 21). Faith is thus incited by the will, but it has its seat in the intellect: “The act of faith consists essentially in cognition, and there is its perfection” (a. 2, p. 809).

信心 = 原则上相信超越理性的事；人的理性 = 软弱，因此信心 = 可能；

目标：对上帝完全的知识，在永生里

FAITH = INCIPIENT KNOWLEDGE OF THINGS ABOVE REASON;

HUMAN REASON = WEAK; THUS, FAITH = POSSIBLE;

GOAL = PERFECT KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, IN ETERNAL LIFE

Faith is therefore an incipient knowledge of divine things “which are above reason,” dependent upon practical motives. It is because of the infirmity of human reason that faith alone is possible in this life. But the goal consists “in perfect knowledge (*cognitio*) of God” 9a. 10, p. 820, c. gent. iii. 25, 8; 26; 50, 6; iv. 42, 1), and “eternal life will afford perfect knowledge of God.”

信心在知识（认识上帝）里成全；信心来自意志；因此，信心有功劳

信心的道德性：从意志，从爱：爱使信心成形

FAITH = CONSUMMATED IN KNOWLEDGE; ALSO:

FAITH = FROM WILL, THUS = MERITORIOUS

FAITH'S MORAL CHARACTER = FROM WILL/LOVE: LOVE FORMS FAITH

Upon these principles it can be understood, on the one hand, that faith should be regarded as reaching its consummation in knowledge, and on the other hand, that faith, since it proceeds from the will, should be held to be meritorious (a. 3), and also that it should receive its moral character (*formatio*) from the will or from love: “faith is formed (*informatur*) by love” (a. 5, p. 813 a; cf. summ. ii. ii. q. 4, a. 5, and 3; q. 2, a. 9).

一般信徒的信心 = 默信，不是明信（除三位一体，道成肉身，基督之死，复活）

教会的教师们：信心必须是明信

LAITY'S FAITH = IMPLICIT, NOT EXPLICIT (EXCEPT: TRINITY,

INCARNATION, CHRIST'S DEATH, RESURRECTION)

CHURCH'S TEACHERS: FAITH MUST BE EXPLICIT

The ordinary layman, indeed, never attains an *explicit* faith (*fides explicita*) embracing all the articles of faith. Of him, it is ever to be said: “He believes *implicitly* the separate articles which are contained in the faith of the church.” But Thomas not only expects of all teachers and spiritual advisers an *explicit faith*, but he requires the same form the laity also in regard to the Trinity, the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, and “other (articles) of this kind, concerning which the church appoints festivals” (a. 11, p. 822).

阿奎那：基本上理性取向：最后救赎 = 完全的知识

在地上：用知识来预备；信心 = 默信

人初步对上帝的顺从 = 透过信心

THOMAS: FUNDAMENTALLY INTELLECTUALISTIC

FINAL SALVATION = PERFECT KNOWLEDGE

ON EARTH: PREPARE BY KNOWLEDGE; FAITH = INCIPIENT KNOWLEDGE

MAN'S FIRST SUBJECTION TO GOD = THROUGH FAITH

This demand is in harmony with the fundamentally intellectualistic tendency of Thomas. If final salvation consists in perfect knowledge, then a certain measure of knowledge must be attained on earth as a preparation (p. 822 a). Faith is, therefore, an incipient knowledge of divine revelation begotten of practical motives of the will. But the first subjection of man to God is through faith (sum. ii. ii. q. 16, a. 1).

信心 = 超越离心，不是违背理性

神学不能透过理性证明启示

FAITH = ABOVE REASON, NOT AGAINST REASON

THEOLOGY CANNOT PROVE REVELATION BY REASON

(c.) This knowledge is just as little as revelation itself contrary to reason; it is above reason (de fid. art. 10 ad 7). It cannot, therefore, be the province of theology to prove revelation by human reason (*ratione humana*). This would be impossible, since theology deals with super-reasonable articles of faith, receiving its principles from

God (sum. i. q. 1, a. 5 and 8; cf. q. 32, a. 1).

神学澄清一些哲学家所认识的事物

神学的理由不能证明，只能说明信心不是不可能的

THEOLOGY CLARIFIES SOME THINGS THAT PHILOSOPHERS RECOGNIZE  
THEOLOGY'S REASONS NOT DEMONSTRATIVE,  
ONLY SHOWS FAITH IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE

It can only elucidate somewhat by adducing those things which the philosophers can also recognize. The reasons (*rationes*) of theology are not really “*demonstrative*, but a kind of persuasions, showing that the things which presented in the faith are not impossible” (ii. ii. q. 1, a. 5). They are useful also in refuting opponents (c. gent. i. 9).

可是，神学处理启示；因此：信心=比任何学科的知识更确定

BUT THEOLOGY WORKS WITH REVELATION:

THEREFORE: KNOWLEDGE = MORE CERTAIN THAN ANY SCIENCE

But inasmuch as theology operates with the principles of revelation, its knowledge is more certain and more important than that of all other sciences (i. q. 1, a. 2, 5). This is essentially the position of Abelard. The great scholastics did not possess the naïve confidence of Anselm.

共相：阿奎那，亚尔伯特 跟从亚理斯多德；理性认识的一切 = 透过五官

外界事物成为「形象」；理性转变它成为 *species*

UNIVERSALS: AQUINAS/ALBERT FOLLOWS ARISTOTLE

EVERYTHING IN INTELLECT = IN SENSE

FROM OBJECT, FORM ARISES; INTELLECT TRANSFORMS IT TO SPECIES

(d) This was involved in their relation to the question of Universals. Thomas here, in almost the same degree as Albert before him, follows Aristotle or his Arabian interpreters. Man by means of the senses perceives external things separately. “Nothing is in the intellect which was not in the sense” (sum. i. q. 85, a. 3 and 7). There thus arises from the object a particular form (*forma particularis*). The active intellect (*intellectus agens*) then transforms this in the intellectual faculty (*intellectus possibilis*) into an intelligible species (*species intelligibilis*) (ib. i. q. 79, a. 3; q. 85, a. 2).

理性知道共相：可是不是是一些实在存在的理念；都是演变而来的共相

共相：不是宇宙性的观念，而是在五官（能接触）的事物里

INTELLECT KNOWS UNIVERSAL: BUT NOT ACTUALLY EXISTING IDEAS,

ALWAYS DERIVATIVE UNIVERSAL

UNIVERSAL = NOT GENERAL IDEA, BUT IN SENSE OBJECTS, IN RE

The intellect accordingly has knowledge of the Universal, but by this it is by no means to be understood that it thereby directly cognizes ideas actually existent. The general conception, which we form for ourselves, is always merely derivative, a *universale post rem*. The universal does not exist as a general idea, but it is in the objects of sense under certain criteria (*universale in re*).

原来的样式 = 在上帝的理念里，在永恒里先存；事物的本质依靠上帝的理念

柏拉图 = 对：我们只透过物质的效应认识上帝

可是：启示是我们认识此世界，因此能认识上帝

ORIGINAL TYPE = IN IDEAS OF GOD, ETERNALLY PRE-EXIST

ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THINGS DEPEND ON IDEA OF GOD

PLATO = RIGHT: WE KNOW GOD ONLY THROUGH MATERIAL EFFECTS

BUT REVELATION -> KNOWING THIS WORLD = KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

Its original type is seen in the ideas of God (*universalia ante rem*), which eternally preexist in him, as the artist's ideas exist in him before he executes his work. Thus Albert held, and before him Avicenna. Accordingly, the

essential nature of things is dependent upon the divine idea, and in so far Plato was right (c. gent. iii. 23). Theoretically, this Aristotelian fully accepted the maxim: "For the present we cannot know (*cognoscere*) God except through material effects" (summ. i. q. 86, a. 2, ad. 1). But as revelation now supplies this defect, the knowledge of this world in its connection of causes and effects becomes a knowledge of God (c. gent. iii. 50). The ideas of God are made manifest in the order of the world.

经院主义 = 卫护教会正统; 经院主义 = 理性化; 不合教会的 = 不合理

SCHOLASTICISM = ORTHODOXY FOR CHURCH;

SCHOLASTICISM = RATIONALIZES; UNCHURCHLY = UNREASONABLE

Finally, it may be said that Scholasticism has two aspects. It is orthodoxy, maintaining that the teachings of the church, the declarations of the ecclesiastical canon, the customs and practices of the church, are absolutely and unassailably true. That which actually exists is true, if it be ecclesiastically sanctioned. On the other hand, Scholasticism has a rationalizing tendency. That which is unchurchly is condemned as being unreasonable, and that which is churchly proved to be reasonable, by the intricate methods of dialectics.

伟大的哲学家: 罗杰培根: 经验重要

卢勒: 基督徒信仰必须由理由来证明: 相信逻辑论证

GREAT PHILOSOPHERS: ROGER BACON – EXPERIENCE IS IMPORTANT

RAYMOND LULL – CHRISTIAN FAITH MUST BE PROVED BY NECESSARY REASONS – CONFIDENT IN LOGICAL DEMONSTRATION

Here may be mentioned two great philosophic minds. **Roger Bacon** (+1294) emphasized the importance of experience and the knowledge derived from it. **Raymundus Lullus** (+1315) demanded, in opposition to the Averroistic illumination, that the positions of the Christian faith be strictly proved: "We propose to prove the articles of faith by necessary reasons." The understanding must follow the faith, and thus they must mount together to the knowledge of the truth, even to the mysteries of revelation. The joyous confidence in the omnipotence of logical demonstration, which marked the early days of Scholasticism, is here revived.

Ghent 的亨利: 事物的样式, 都在上帝里独立存在

唯独恩典给我们看见这些; 同时: 物质是存在的

身体与灵魂有两个形态, 不是一个

五官能接触的实体 = 重要; 同时: 理念真的

亨利: 意志 = 最重要的因素 (奥古斯丁)

HENRY OF GHENT – THINGS' PATTERNS EXIST INDEPENDENTLY IN GOD

ONLY GRACE GIVES US VIEW OF THESE; ALSO: MATTER EXISTS

BODY AND SOUL HAS TWO FORMS (NOT ONE)

EMPIRICAL = IMPORANT; ALSO: IDEAS = REAL

HENRY: WILL = DOMINATING FACTOR (AUGUSTINIAN)

But from the theological point of view, **Henry of Ghent** (+1293) is above all worthy of mention as a sturdy representative of the older theology (he wrote *Quodlibeta*, a *Commentary* upon the Sentences, and a *Summa theologiae*). In this conception of universals, he varies from Thomas. He held that the patterns (*exemplaria*) of things exist as independent entities in God (quodl. vii. q. 1, 2). Only grace can secure for us a view of these (sum. i. q. 2). He also maintained an actual existence of matter, which Thomas, following Aristotle, regarded as a mere potency (quodl. i. q. 10). Body and soul have not one, but two forms (quodl. iii. q. 15). Everywhere we find the emphasis laid upon perception and the empirical, as well as upon the religiously-colored Realism of ideas. In this, as his exaltation of the will above the intellect, Henry betrays his Augustinian character, since the activity of the will is the dominating and controlling factor in life: "The will out-ranks the intellect" (quodl. i. q. 14 and 16).

后期: 敦司苏格徒



Richard of Middleton : 上帝的意志, 人的意志 = 重要

LAST PHASE: DUNS SCOTUS,

RICHARD OF MIDDLETON: WILL IN GOD, MAN = IMPORTANT

As **Duns Scotus** establishes the transition to the last phase of the scholastic theology, we reserve notice of his position for our next chapter. We can here but refer also to his contemporary, **Richard of Middleton**, who likewise strongly emphasized the significance of the will in God and in man. (His commentary on the Sentences was printed, Brixen, 1591.) For the doctrine of Richard, vid. Seeberg, *Theologie des Duns Scots*, p. 16 ff.

## 54. 上帝论, 基督论

### Chapter 54 Doctrine of God and Christology

(Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 106-110.)

早期教会全力投入三位一体之争辩

上帝 = 本质 : 希腊的抽象理念

ANCIENT CHURCH = ABSORBED BY TRINITY PROBLEM,

GOD: "SUBSTANCE," "ESSENCE" – GREEK ABSTRACTION

The doctrine of the Nature of God was not wrought out by the ancient church, as the entire interest of that age was absorbed by the Trinitarian problem. The term "person" was restricted to the Trinitarian formulae, the divine nature being described as "substance" or "essence" (*substantia, essentia*). And even when this was embellished by the predicates of eternity or of superessentiality, it led no further than to the unfruitful abstractions of the conception of God in Greek philosophy.

奥古斯丁 : 上帝 = 本质; 用不同的比喻; 上帝是意志

AUGUSTINE: GOD = ESSENCE; MANY ANALOGIES; GOD AS WILL

Even Augustine defined God as Essence (*essentia*), and the conception of the Areopagite appeared to be in harmony with this (Vol. I, p. 290 f.). This theoretical deficiency was balanced practically by the doctrine of the divine attributes, and theoretically by the wealth of personal analogies, in the Augustinian doctrine of the Trinity, and, still more, by the recognition of God as energetic Will in the Augustinian doctrine of predestination.

安瑟伦的贡献 : 上帝 = 思想的灵魂,

阿奎那 : 上帝 = 至高的存有者; 第一动者 (奥古斯丁)

上帝 = 有思想, 意志, 纯行动; 达到目标;

上帝 = 良善; 由爱所催使; 上帝是祂自己的目标

ANSELM'S STEP: GOD = THINKING SPIRIT,

AQUINAS: GOD = SUPREME EXISTENT, PRIME MOVER (AUGUSTINIAN),

GOD = THINKING, WILLING; PURE ACTION; REALIZES GOAL;

GOD = GOODNESS, MOVED BY LOVE; GOD IS HIS OWN GOAL

But it was a decided step in advance when Anselm expressly maintained that God is a thinking Spirit (monolog. 27. 7 ff.). Here, too, the teaching of Thomas is very significant. He also spoke of God in the Grecian way, as the supremely Existent (*maxime ens*), the prime mover (*primum movens*), and gave the maxim: "We cannot consider concerning God how he is, but rather how he is not" (summa i. q. 2, a. 3; q. 2 init.; compend. 3 ff.). But in such connections he yet always made it clear that the being of God is *thinking* and *willing* (sum. i. q. 19, a. 1). Since now God is the prime Mover, it follows that he is "pure Action (*actus purus*) and without any admixture of potentiality (comp. 4, 11; sum. q. 3, a. 1, u. 7; 9, a. 1; q. 2, a. 1). Since this absolute Activity is *thinking* and willing, it realizes a goal; and since God is goodness, His will is moved only by goodness or – it is *love* (ib. i. q. 19, a. 2; q. 20, a. 1). The final goal commensurate with God is He himself.

基本上, 上帝爱世界; 上帝爱祂自己

祂此世界一切所需的：上帝是公义，上帝是真理

上帝以善克服缺欠：上帝是怜悯

FUNDAMENTALLY, GOD LOVES WORLD; GOD LOVES HIMSELF

HE GIVES WORLD ALL THINGS NEEDED = GOD'S JUSTICE AND TRUTH

GOD OVERCOMES DEFICIENCIES THRU SOME GOOD: GOD = MERCY

Everything occurring in the world must therefore be referred to this goal, since God is the originator of the world. From this it is inferred that the fundamental relationship of God to the world is that of love for it. "When anyone loves another, he wishes good for him, and so treats him as he would treat himself, doing good to him as to himself" (ib. q. 20, a. 1, ad 3). The thought is clear: God always desires himself as the final goal. When he establishes the world, he desires it form eternity as a means to this end; in other words, he is related to it as to himself, i.e., he loves it. This relation of God to the world is manifested in that he gives to the world all things needful and preserves it in its course (this constituting his *justitia* and *veritas*; q. 21, a. 1 and 2), and, further, in that he banishes misery. This is done when deficiencies are overcome "through the perfection of some good." This is the mercy of God (ib. a. 3). God therefore loves the world, since, in every action of his bearing upon it, righteousness and mercy are joined together.

上帝的意志（旨意）= 爱的旨意，救赎 = 达致目标的最好方法；

阿奎那对上帝论有贡献

GOD HAS LOVING WILL: REDEMPTION = BEST WAY GOD ATTAINS END;

AQUINAS ADVANCES IN DOCTRINE OF GOD

This classical argumentation leads to a religious conception of God which necessarily includes the idea of a personal loving will. But instead of resting content in this positive conception, Thomas displays the influence of the Greek apprehension of God, e.g., regarding redemption as merely the best adapted means "through which he better and more appropriately attains his end" (ib. iii. q. 1, a. 2). Yet we cannot fail to note in Thomas a positive advance in the doctrine concerning God.

三位一体：并没有超越奥古斯丁：爱，彼此关系，分清

彼得：父有否生出本质？还是本质生子？没有！

TRINITY: NOT BEYOND AUGUSTINE: LOVE, MUTUAL, SEPARATE

PETER: DID FATHER BEGET ESSENTIA? OR ESSENTIA BEGAT SON? NO!

This cannot be said in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. When the Lombard, Alexander, and Thomas cite the spiritual functions of man as furnishing analogies, or when Richard of St. Victor (ll. 6 de trin.) endeavors to find the solution of the problem in love, which requires a "mutual love" and a separateness (*alietas*) of the three persons, they do not overstep the suggestions of Augustine. Only one point calls for our attention here. The Lombard (i. dist. 5) discusses the questions, whether the Father begat the divine *essentia*, or whether the latter begat the Son or himself. He answers them all in the negative.

上帝的本质 = 三位格都共有的，在每一位格里是完整的

不仅是关系；本质不生，也不受生

DIVINE ESSENCE = COMMON TO 3 PERSONS, ENTIRE IN EACH

NOT MERE RELATIONSHIP; ESSENCE DOES NOT BEGET, IS NOT BEGOTTEN

Since the divine essence, or nature, "is common to the three persons and entire in each," the Father would otherwise have begotten himself, i.e., the essence by virtue of which he exists, which is impossible. Furthermore, the divine essence would thus seem to be degraded to a mere relationship of the Godhead. The Lombard decides that the divine essence, which is identical in the hypostases, neither begets nor is begotten; accordingly, the inter-trinitarian life is a relation subsisting between the hypostases.

约阿喜谟之批判：本质 (substance)若在每一位格不同：撒伯流主义！

三位格组成一体，一个本质，一位上帝，不是「一」

JOACHIM OF FLORIS ATTACKS:

IF SUBSTANCE = DIFFERENT IN PERSONS, = SABELLIAN/ARIAN!

3 PERSONS CONSTITUTE ONE ENTITY/SUBSTANCE/GOD, NOT “ONE”

These ideas, which were based upon the Augustinian premise of the strict unity of God, were assailed by **Joachim of Floris** (+1202), who maintained that the discrimination of the divine substance from the persons leads to Sabellianism or Arianism. He himself, like the Cappadocians, proceeds upon the supposition of the three persons, who together constitute one entity (*unum*), one substance (*una substantia*), or one God (*unus deus*), but not simply one individual (*unus*). Collective terms, such as “one herd, one populace,” are cited in illustration.

第四次拉特兰会议 (1215) : 上帝 = 三位格, 每一位格都是上帝

在上帝里, 任何一位就是上帝的本质

4<sup>TH</sup> LATERAN COUNCIL (1215): GOD = 3 PERSONS, SEPARATELY EITHER ONE

IN GOD, ANY ONE = THAT SUBSTANCE, NATURE

**The Fourth Lateran Council** (A.D. 1215) made the following deliverance: “We believe and confess with Peter Lombard, that there is one certain supreme Entity (*una quaedam summa res*), incomprehensible indeed and ineffable, which truly is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons at once, and separately either one of them. And therefore in God there is a trinity alone, not a quaternity; because anyone of the three persons is that Entity (*res*), viz., substance, essence, or divine nature, which alone is the source of all things, outside of which nothing can be found. And that Entity is not begetting nor begotten, nor proceeding; but is the Father who begets, the Son who is begotten, and the Holy Spirit who proceeds, that there may be distinctions in persons and unity in nature (Hefele, v. 880 f.). The church of the Middle Ages thus explicitly adopted the Augustinian doctrine concerning God.

基督论 : 重复传统说法; 道/位格穿上人性 :

联合 = 不是成为一个「性」, 而是一个位格;

联合 : 两「性」= 都与一个道/位格有关

联合的真实性 : 在人性里, 不在神性里

CHRISTOLOGY: REPRODUCED TRADITION

LOGOS-PERSON TAKES IMPERSONAL HUMAN NATURE:

UNION = NOT ONE NATURE, BUT ONE PERSON

UNION: TWO NATURES = RELATED TO ONE LOGOS-PERSON

UNION = REAL IN HUMAN NATURE, NOT IN DIVINE NATURE

The Christological discussions of the twelfth century were not renewed in the thirteenth. The great Scholastics present in their Christology merely a reproduction of the traditional dogma, in which we note however the failure to emphasize that contemplation of the Man Jesus which inspired the devotional ardor of the *Imitatio Christi*. The fundamental ideas are as follows: the Logos-person, or the divine nature, takes the impersonal human nature into unity with itself. There is not thus originated *one nature*, but the union is consummated in the person. “The divine nature ... united to itself human nature, although not to its very self, but in one person” (Bonav. Iii. d. 5, a. 1, q. 1). “The union was made in the person, not in the nature” (Thom. Sum. iii. q. 2, a. 2). It is the entire human nature which is here involved. But the result is, after all, not a real combination of the two natures. The union consists in their common relation to the Logos-person. The union ... is a certain relation which may be considered between the divine nature and the human, according to which they meet in the one person of the Son of God. The *unio* is real, not in the divine, but only in the human nature (ib. q. 2, a. 7).

道成肉身 = 相对的; 基督的人性 = 在属神的位格 (*hypostasis*)里

对于福音书的基督的描述 = 空谈 : 基督是一个存有者?

INCARNATION = RELATIVE: HUMAN NATURE = IN HYPOSTASIS OF DIVINE

## EMPTY WORDS DEPICT CHRIST OF GOSPELS: ONE BEING IN CHRIST?

Accordingly, the incarnation is to be understood only relatively: “But God became man in this, that human nature began to be in the suppositum ( ) of the divine nature, which preexisted from eternity” (ib. q. 16, a. 6, ad 1). It is the inherited defect of this Christology, that while divinity and humanity are placed in opposition abstractly, as infinite and finite, the Christ of the Gospels is only depicted in empty words. This drift is clearly seen in the discussion by Thomas of the question, whether there is only one being (*esse*) in Christ. He concludes that, as there is no hypostatic being (*Sein*) in the human nature of Christ, the question is to be answered in the affirmative (ib. q. 17, a. 2).

### 属性的传递 COMMUNICATION OF IDIOMS

Finally, the *communicatio idiomatum* is taught, as existing between the concretes, God and man: “They are able to impart to one another the attribute (*idiomata communicare*) of that nature according to which they are spoken of in concrete,” as though it should be said: God is man and man is God (Bonav. iii. d. 6, a. 1, q. 1; Thom. iii. q. 16, a. 5). Upon the two wills and two “operations,” see Thom. iii. q. 18 and 19. The present period displayed no independent interest in questions of Christology. Theologians were content to demonstrate the logical consistency of the traditional teaching of the church. They learned nothing – nor did they forget anything.

## 55. 基督的工作

### 55. The Work of Christ

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 110-114.)

基督的工作：并不新颖；彼得：安瑟伦的客观性+亚伯拉德的主观性

亚历山大：基督透过功劳补罪 = 必须的

波拿文土拉：罪的补偿包括：（1）基督的榜样；（2）赦免罪

补罪者必须又是上帝，又是人

WORK OF CHRIST – NOTHING NEW;

LOMBARD: OBJECTIVE (ANSELM) + SUBJECTIVE (ABELARD) VIEW

ALEXANDER: CHRIST’S SATISFACTION THRU MERIT = NECESSARY

BONAVENTURA: REPARATION INCLUDES (1) EXAMPLE (2) FORGIVENESS

ONE MAKING SATISFACTION MUST BE GOD AND MAN

The present period produced nothing new touching the work of Christ. The attempt was made, as had been done by the Lombard, to combine the objective view, in which the ideas of Anselm were accepted, with Abelard’s subjective interpretations. Thus **Alexander of Hales**, following Anselm, teaches the necessity of the satisfaction which Christ effects through his “merit” (sum. iii. q. 1, memb. 4 ff.; q. 16, memb. 3 and 4). **Bonaventura** states the doctrine with more precision. The work of *reparatio* includes (1) That men through Christ, especially through his innocent sufferings, learn to know, love, and imitate God, and (2) that their sins be forgiven them through a worthy (*condignam*) satisfaction. This makes the incarnation a necessity (breviloq. 4. 1. 9). “Since a simple creature could not make satisfaction for the whole human race, nor would it be proper that a creature of another race be taken for the purpose, it was necessary that the person of the one rendering satisfaction be God and man” (sent. iii. d. 20, a. 1, q. 3).

安瑟伦的影响：基督赚得功劳，透过作为+受苦：

基督的两性在受苦中联合：因此，功劳是完全的

表明了上帝的怜悯与公义；付上尊荣给上帝

(ANSELMIAN): CHRIST WON MERIT, THRU ACTION + SUFFERING –

IN WHICH = CONCURSUS OF 2 NATURES → MERIT = PERFECT

MERCY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD = SHOWN, GOD’S HONOR = PAID

The satisfaction is effected through the merit of Christ (*pro nobis mereri et satisfacere*, iii. d. 18, a. 2, q. 2) which he won “not only in action but also in suffering” (*passione*) (ib. a. 1, q. 3; cf. brevil. 4. 7). Since in the acting and suffering of Christ there was a “*concursus* of both natures” (brevil. 4. 2), there belongs to the “merit of the God-man – the perfection and plenitude of merit” (ib. 4. 7). “But to make satisfaction is to repay the honor due to God” (4.9). This was done by the sufferings of Christ as the most appropriate means “for placating God” (iii. d. 20, a. 1, q. 5). Herein is displayed the mercy as well as the righteousness of God (ib. a. 1, q. 2).

亚伯拉德的影响：基督的受苦挑起人对上帝的爱

基督 = 头，救赎者；教会 = 肢体，被救赎者

补罪 = 透过补偿，补足，和睦

(ABELARDIAN): CHRIST’S PASSION AROUSES MEN LOVE TO GOD

CHRIST = HEAD, REDEEMER; CHURCH = MEMBERS, REDEEMED

REPARATION = BY REMEDYING, SATISFYING, RECONCILING

But with this Anselmian view is combined also the Abelardian idea, that the passion commended itself also as the most appropriate means, because suited to arouse men to a responsive love toward God (ib. a. 1, q. 5). It is to be noted, finally, that Bonaventura, by developing the thought of Christ’s relation to the church as the Head to the members, brought into view the connection between the work of redemption and the redeemed, as Anselm was never able to do. Reparation is accomplished, accordingly, by remedying, satisfying, and reconciling (*remediando, satisfaciendo, et reconciliando*, brevil. 4. 2).

阿奎那：基督的人性有属神的功效（能力，virtue）

因为：基督的人性只有在属神的位格里存在

基督能使人与上帝联合

AQUINAS: CHRIST’S HUMAN NATURE HAS DIVINE EFFICACY (VIRTUE)

BECAUSE: HUMAN NATURE EXISTS ONLY IN DIVINE HYPOSTASIS

CHRIST CAN UNITE MEN TO GOD

The noteworthy discussion of the subject by Thomas follows the same line. Christ as the Redeemer, the human nature comes into prominence; but to it belongs, in consequence of its union with God, a certain divine efficacy (*virtus*) (summ. iii. q. 48, a. 5, ad 1; q. 49, a. 1, ad 1 and 2). This is not incomprehensible, when we remember that the human nature exists only in the divine hypostasis (vid. supra). The work of redemption is thus presented: “Inasmuch as he is also man, it is competent for him to unite men to God by exhibiting the precepts and gifts (of God) to men and by making satisfaction and intercession for men to God” (q. 26, a. 2). In this summary the leading ideas of the discussion are clearly expressed.

基督的人性有一切的恩典：祂使人类的头；秩序（ordo）与完全的美德流到众肢体

头的功劳到肢体，可是肢体必须效法头

基督 = 新人，新人类之酵

ALL GRACE = IN CHRIST’S HUMAN NATURE: HEAD OF HUMAN RACE

FROM HEAD, ORDO, PERFECTION OVERFLOW TO MEMBERS

HEAD’S MERIT -> MEMBERS, BUT MEMBERS MUST CONFORM TO HEAD

CHRIST = NEW MAN, LEAVEN OF NEW HUMAN RACE

In the human nature of Christ dwells the fullness of all grace (ib. q. 7, a. 1). He is now the Head of the human race, or of the church. From the Head, rank (*ordo*), perfection and virtue overflow upon the members (q. 8, a. 1, 3, 4). On the other hand, the *merit* of the Head inures to the good of the members (q. 48, a. 1; q. 49, a. 1) in so far as the latter are willing to belong to the Head. “But the members ought to be conformed to the Head” (q. 49, a. 3, ad 3). This great conception establishes the proposition, that Christ is the new man, who is the leaven and principle of the new humanity.

基督藉着教导，作为，受苦成为教师：

祂受割礼，受洗礼，受试探，祂的教导，神迹：基督活在人间，向人显示神性  
甚至基督的受苦：透过祂受苦，人认识上帝多么爱人：  
基督的受苦：祂的顺从，谦卑，坚决，公义（这些美德）的榜样  
我们获得爱，爱使我们获得赦罪

CHRIST BECAME TEACHER THROUGH TEACHING/ACTS/SUFFERINGS:

CIRCUMCISION, BAPTISM, TEMPTATION, TEACHING, MIRACLES –

CHRIST ASSOCIATED WITH MEN, MANIFESTED DIVINITY TO MEN

EVEN PASSION: BY IT, MEN KNOWS HOW MUCH GOD LOVES MAN –

CHRIST’S PASSION: EXAMPLE OF OBEDIENCE, HUMILITY, CONSTANCY, RIGHTEOUSNESS –  
VIRTUES

WE ATTAIN LOVE (CARITAS), IT SECURES FORGIVENESS OF SINS

The work of redemption is accordingly to be considered primarily from the point of view, that Christ by his teaching, his acts, and his sufferings became the teacher and pattern of our race. This applies to his circumcision (q. 37, a. 1), baptism (q. 39, a. 1), temptation (q. 4, a. 1,3), teaching: “By associating with men ... he manifested to all his divinity by preaching and performing miracles and by dealing innocently and justly among men” (q. 40, a. 1, ad 1), and miracles (q. 44, a. 3). It can neither surprise nor give offense to observe that Thomas applies this thought even to the passion of Christ: “Through this, man recognizes how much God loves man, and through this he is provoked to the loving of God, in which the perfection of human salvation consists,” and “through this he has given to us an example of obedience, humility, constancy, righteousness, and other virtues” (q. 46, a. 3; q. 47, a. 4, ad 2). The love (*caritas*) to which we thus attain serves also (according to Lk. 7. 47) to secure the forgiveness of sins (q. 49, a. 1). Even the resurrection, the ascension, and the session at the right hand of God serve this end of instruction and suggestion, the last-named particularly because the exalted Saviour “sends forth thence divine gifts to men” (q. 53, a. 1; q. 55, a. 3; q. 57, a. 6). This is the first train of thought: The Head of the church reveals God to his followers, teaches them, incites them to good, and bestows his gifts upon them.

阿奎那：补罪 = 不是绝对必须；

可是上帝选择了此方法：是显明祂公义，怜悯的最好方法

AQUINAS: SATISFACTION = NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY;

BUT GOD CHOSE METHOD: BEST SHOWS RIGHTEOUSNESS, MERCY

Then comes the question of satisfaction. The absolute necessity of this Thomas denies. Since there is no one above God, and he is himself the “supreme and common Good of the whole universe,” he could even without satisfaction forgive sin (q. 46, a. 2, ad 3). But the method of satisfaction would most clearly give expression to his righteousness and mercy, and he therefore chose it (ib. a. 1, ad 3).

阿奎那与安瑟伦不同：阿奎那：补罪不仅足够，有剩余

不罪透过基督的受苦：最大的忧伤

VS. ANSELM: SATISFACTION = BEYOND SUFFICIENT; SUPERABUNDANT

SATISFACTION = IN CHRIST’S PASSION – GREATEST POSSIBLE GRIEF

At this point Thomas parts company with the juristic conception of Anselm, a departure which is further emphasized by his view that, on account of the greatness of Christ’s love and the value of his life, “the passion of Christ was not only a sufficient, but also a superabundant satisfaction” (q. 48, a. 2 and 4). Thus both the necessity and the equivalence of the satisfaction are surrendered. The satisfaction consists in the passion of Christ. He bore all sufferings “according to genus” (q. 46, a. 5), and the greatest possible grief (*dolor maximus*, ib. a. 6).

基督的受苦：从个人道德观点来理解，不是从「本质」观点来看

受苦 = 顺从和爱的行动：上帝注入爱在基督里

基督的死 = 祂自由意志的行动，因此是牺牲

基督，透过祂的死，赚得救赎（中古时期的观念）

CHRIST'S PASSION – PERSONAL ETHICAL VIEWPOINT, NOT MATERIAL  
PASSION = ACT OF OBEDIENCE AND LOVE – GOD INFUSES LOVE IN CHRIST  
CHRIST'S DEATH = ACT OF FREE WILL, THUS = SACRIFICE  
THROUGH DEATH, CHRIST MERITED SALVATION (MEDIEVAL CONCEPT)

But the passion of Christ is now to be regarded, not from a material, but from a personal and ethical point of view. It was an act of obedience and love: “He suffered out of love and obedience” (q. 47, a. 2), since God “inspired in him the will to suffer for us by infusing love into him” (ib. a. 3). His death was also a sacrifice only in so far as it was an act of free will (q. 47, a. 2, ad 2; a. 4, ad 2; q. 48, a. 3). If the conception of “merit” forms the basis of man’s ethical conduct, according to the theory of the Middle Ages, it is but consistent that Thomas should regard the passion also from this point of view: “Through his passion he *merited* salvation, not only for himself but also for his members” (q. 48, a. 1); for suffering is meritorious “only in proportion as anyone voluntarily endures it” (ib. ad. 1).

阿奎那并没有说清楚，基督受苦是为了称义，为了（赐）恩典

AQUINAS NOT CLEAR THAT PASSION = FOR JUSTIFICATION, GRACE

The expiatory sufferings of Christ are the fundamental basis of our salvation. But that the aim of these is for our justification and the imparting of grace, is not clearly set forth by Thomas. As the stimulating influence of Christ continues in his state of exaltation, “his representation from human nature,” in heaven is “a kind of intercession (*interpellatio*) for us” (q. 57, a. 6).

救赎的后果：罪得赦免；人从魔鬼，惩罚释放；上帝（忿怒）平息；天堂开放

RESULT OF REDEMPTION: FORGIVENESS OF SIN,  
RELEASE FROM DEVIL, PUNISHMENT; GOD IS PLACATED;  
HEAVEN IS OPENED

The Result of the work of redemption, according to Thomas, embraces the following:

(1) The forgiveness of sins, and this through the love begotten in us (vid. under (a)), as also through *redemptio* (cf. q. 48, a. 4), since the church is “regarded as one person with its Head” (q. 49, a. 1). This applies not only to original, but also to actual sins (b. a. ).

(2) The releasing from sin releases also from the devil (a. 2).

(3) Releasing from the punishment of sin (a. 3).

(4) The sacrifice of Christ has the effect “that on account of this good found in human nature *God is placated* with respect to every offense of the human race” (a. 4).

(5) The opening of the door of heaven on account of the release from sin (a. 5).

This genuinely scholastic analysis of the material obstructs a clear perception of the view of Thomas. But we may, in harmony with his spirit, condense the statement of his view as follows: Christ, the Head of the church, is by virtue of this position our Redeemer.

(1) Because he reveals God to us, and by love overpowers us and incites us to good, and thereby makes us capable of securing the forgiveness of sins.

(2) Because he through his passion reconciles God and renders satisfaction to him, and thereby effects for us salvation and immunity from punishment.

(3) Because he by both these achievements delivers us from the power of the devil and opens for us the door of heaven.

In this classical presentation of the subject are combined the views of Anselm (in a fragmentary way indeed) and of Abelard. The result is evidently that forgiveness is accomplished and secured in a two-fold way. The theory before us is the positive resultant of the discussion concerning the nature of redemption.

## 56. 人原来的状况，与原罪

### 56. Doctrines of the Original State and of Sin.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 114-118.)

亚历山大：原有的义 + 「另加恩典」的恩赐

ALEXANDER: ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS + ADDED GIFT OF GRACE

The doctrine of the original state stands in most intimate relations with that of sin and with the ethical ideal, and hence requires attention at this point. It receives its peculiar scholastic form from **Alexander of Hales**, whose ideas were perpetuated and modified by Bonaventura, Albert, and Thomas. Its chief peculiarity consists in the strict line of discrimination between the original state of the first man and the additional endowment bestowed upon him by grace (Thom. sent. ii. d. 20, q. a. 2. 3).

(a) The inborn, natural ethical state (*habitus*) of man is by some described as original righteousness (*justitia originalis*), by which is meant the harmony of the natural powers and the absence of the concupiscence which now hinders their normal exercise (Bonav. Sent. ii. d. 19, a. 3, q. 1. Thomas 1. c.).

恩典：科学，默想，永生，知识

GRACE: SCIENCES, CONTEMPLATION, IMMORTALITY, KNOWLEDGE

(b) To this is added the *donum superadditum*, or added gift of grace. According to some theologians, as, e.g., Henry (Quod. lib. ii. q. ii; vi. q. ii.) this *bonum superadditum* is the first ground of the original righteousness of man. It embraces, in the first instance, the separate “graces gratuitously given,” such as the bestowal of the sciences, contemplation, and the immortality of the body. Especially was there given to Adam, as the head of the race, such a measure of knowledge, “that he might always be able to instruct and govern others” (Thom. sum. i. q. 94, a. 3). It was a “knowledge (*scientia*) illuminating the intellect for the recognition of itself and its God and this world” (Bonav. Brevil. 2. 11).

最重要：使人在上帝面前被接纳的恩典

上帝内住，注入爱，改变人的感觉去爱上帝：这使人成圣，赚得永生

这恩典的倾向 (*habitus*) = 在灵魂的核心中，而不是在灵魂的官能（能力）中

MOST IMPORTANT: GRACE WHICH MAKES ACCEPTABLE:

GOD INDWELLS, INFUSES LOVE, ADAPTS FEELING TO LOVE GOD –

THIS SANCTIFIES MAN, MERITS ETERNAL LIFE

THIS HABITUS OF GRACE = IN ESSENCE OF SOUL, NOT IN POWERS

(c) Yet the thing of chief importance is other than this, i.e., the gift of “the grace which makes acceptable” (*gratia gratum faciens*). This *supernaturale complementum* (Alex. ii. q. 96, m. 1. Bonav. in sent. ii. d. 29, a. 1, q. 1) consists essentially in an indwelling of God, or an infused love, adapting the feeling (*caritas habilans affectum*) to the loving of God (Bonav. ii. d. 29, a. 1, q. 1; brevil. 2. 11). This grace which sanctifies man is a “universal habitus, moulding (*informans*) both the subject and all his powers and works, through which God, dwelling in all his saints, infuses the power of meriting eternal life” (Alb. Sum. ii. tr. 16, q. 98, m. 4). This habitus of grace has its seat in the “essence of the soul,” not in the separate powers (Thom. i. ii. q. 110, a. 4). According to some, this grace is not imparted to man at the moment of his creation, but at some later point of time; and hence man may and should earn it for himself by a merit of fitness (*meritum congrui*) (Alex. Summ. ii. q. 96, m. 1. Bonav. sent. ii. d. 29, a. 2, q. 2. Alb. l. c., tr. 14, q. 90, m. 1). According to others, it is bestowed upon man together with original righteousness at his creation (Thom. in sent. ii. d. 29, q. 1, a. 2).

这新的教义的动机：奥古斯丁：若要达到目标，必须有相称的能力

DOCTRINE'S MOTIVE: AUGUSTINE:

ATTAIN END, ONLY BY COMMENSURATE POWERS

If the motive of this new doctrine be sought, it is not to be found in the desire to minimize the distance



separating the natural state from the state of sin. Such was an incidental result, but not the ground upon which the doctrine was based. The motive lay in a certain Augustinian tendency. An end can be attained only by the exercise of powers commensurate. “But eternal life is an end exceeding the proportion of human nature.” There is therefore granted to man the supernatural power (*virtus*) commensurate with that high end.

人道德的生活：「功劳」观念最重要

MORAL LIFE RE. “MERIT” IDEA

The moral life, however, is conceived under the dominating idea of “merit.” And, as acts of merit are to be valid before God, they must be wrought by him (vid. Thom. i. ii. q. 109, a. 5 and 6. Bonav. in sent. iii. d. 29, a. 1, q. 1. Alb. ii. tr. 16, q. 98, m. 4). Therefore, man has need of the impelling power of grace before as well as after the fall (Thom. ib. a. 2).

罪，邪恶 = 善的缺乏；原罪 = 缺乏原有的义

人性软弱（彼得），其核心 = 情欲

SIN/EVIL = ABSENCE OF GOOD –

ORIGINAL SIN = LACK OF ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

INFIRMITY OF NATURE (LOMBARD), ESSENCE = CONCUPISCENCE

Anselm already reproduces the Augustinian conception of sin as a nonentity (Nichtsein). Evil is an “absence of good”(dial. De casu diabol. 11). Original sin he defined as “the lack (*nuditas*) of original righteousness, caused by the disobedience of Adam, through which we are all the children of wrath” (de conceptu virginal. 27). The Lombard saw in original sin a tinder (*fomes*) of sin and an infirmity (*languor*) of nature, its essence consisting in concupiscence (ii. d. 30 F, G). The great Scholastics were the first to discuss the subject with thoroughness, and they agreed substantially in their views. Here, as usual, Alexander marked out the path, and Thomas drew the final formulas.

亚历山大：原罪 = 罪孽 + 惩罚；罪孽 = 失去原有的义（自然义+另加恩典 = 失去）

惩罚 = 情欲；阿奎那：原罪的「物质」（体）= 情欲；「形式」= 失去原有的义

ALEXANDER: ORIGINAL SIN = GUILT + PENALTY

GUILT = LACK OF ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

(BOTH NATURAL RIGHTEOUSNESS AND ADDED GRACE = LOST)

PENALTY = CONCUPISCENCE

(THOMAS) MATERIALLY, CONCUPISCENCE, FORMALLY, LOSS OF ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

(a) Alexander presents original sin under two aspects of guilt (*culpa*) and penalty (*poena*). In the former aspect, it is a lack (*carentia*) of original righteousness; in the latter, concupiscence (ii. q. 122, m. 2, a. 1). This *carentia* embraces the loss both of grace and of the natural original righteousness, or order of nature, since nature has been sorely wounded by sin. “The natural powers in us and in the first man ... are weakened and wounded and deteriorated” (Bonav. in sent. ii. d. 24, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2). Accordingly, Thomas defines: “Original sin is materially indeed concupiscence; but formally also a defect (*defectus*) of original righteousness” (i. ii. q. 82, a. 3).

堕落 = 可能，因为人被造 = 缺欠，可能有缺欠

FALL POSSIBLE BECAUSE MAN CREATED DEFECTIVE, CAPABLE OF DEFICIENCY

(b) The possibility of the fall lay in the fact that the creature, “made from nothing and defective, was capable of deficiency in acting according to God” (Bonav. brev. 3. 1); its cause was pride (ib. 3. 9).

阿奎那：原罪的本质 = 灵魂本质里的状态(*habitus*)，人性的软弱

正面：灵魂不同部份的不受管理倾向：物质，恶意，软弱，欲念现在管理灵魂

人性不是完全没有善（例如：理性）；人性的天赋部份存留：不倾向行善；行善的倾向不再是自然的

NATURE OF ORIGINAL SIN (THOMAS):

A CONDITION (HABITUS) IN ESSENCE OF SOUL, A WEAKNESS OF NATURE

POSITIVELY: UNREGULATED DISPOSITION OF PARTS OF SOUL

IGNORANCE, MALICE, WEAKNESS, LUST NOW RULE IN SOUL  
NOT TOTALLY DEPRIVED OF GOOD OF NATURE (E.G. REASON)  
MAN'S NATURAL ENDOWMENT REMAINS – NOT INCLINED TO GOOD  
INCLINATION TO GOOD = NOT NATURAL

(c) Thomas carefully defines the nature of original sin. It is, as sickness in the body, a state or condition (*habitus*) attaching itself to the soul in its essence (*essentia*), and hence a *languor naturae*. From this follows both that it is a negation and that it is something positive, i.e., the lack of the original righteousness and the “unregulated disposition of parts of the soul” (i. ii. q. 82, a. 1; q. 83, a. 2). The powers of the soul are robbed of their original order and wounded, since “ignorance, malice, infirmity, and concupiscence” now rule in it (ib. q. 85, a. 3). But it is not entirely deprived of “the good of nature,” for in that case it would have forfeited reason, and would then be no longer capable of sin (ib. a. 2). Man's natural endowment therefore remains, but it has no more the original inclination toward the good (a. 1). But the latter was, properly speaking, not natural. The conflict of the powers was involved from the beginning in their multiplicity (in sent. ii. d. 32, q. 2, a. 1).

亚当的罪传递给后裔；亚当 = 人类的头，加上：肉体的成孕 = 败坏

TRANSFER OF ADAM'S SIN TO DESCENDANTS:

ADAM = HEAD OF RACE, + CARNAL CONCEPTION = CORRUPTED

(d) Finally, the question as to the manner in which the sin of Adam and of parents is transferred to their children is answered, on the one hand, by a reference to the peculiar position of Adam as the head of the race (Alex. ii. q. 122, m. 3, a. 3. Thom. ib. q. 81, a. 1), and, further, by dwelling upon the corruption of carnal conception (Alex. ib. m. 4).

灵魂的起源：「创造论」 = 唯一正统的理论

灵魂如何成为有罪？波拿文士拉、阿奎那说不清楚

ORIGIN OF SOUL: CREATIONISM = ONLY ORTHODOX THEORY

HOW DID SOUL BECOME SINFUL? BONAV. & AQUINAS = UNCLEAR

Here, however, arises the difficulty, that, as the Scholastics regarded Creationism as the only orthodox theory as to the origin of the soul (Lomb. ii. d. 17 C, H. Bonav. sent. ii. d. 18, a. 2, q. 3. Thom. c. gent. ii. 86. Dus, sent. iv. d. 43, q. 3, 21.), the connection between the nature corporeally propagated and the soul infused by an immediate creative act of God is not clear. Bonav. finds a medium in an inclination of the soul toward union with the corrupted flesh (ii.d. 31,a. 2, q. 3). According to Thomas, the propagated bodily nature is impure (i. ii. 81, a. 1; c. gent. iv. 50. 4). But the nature is propagated by generation, and the existence of the soul begins only in that act; therefore the soul also becomes sinful (i. ii. q. 83, a. 1). But this does not make the matter clear.

罪的结果：罪 = 一种邪恶，本性的扭曲 + 邪恶本身；人要受惩罚

没有受洗礼的婴儿死：缺乏「看见上帝」， = 缺欠

RESULTS OF SIN: SIN = AN EVIL, DISORDERED NATURE + EVIL ITSELF

LIABILITY TO PUNISHMENT

UNBAPTIZED CHILDREN DIES – DEPRIVED VISION OF GOD – “DEFECT”

(e) The results of sin are sin as an evil, i.e., the disordered nature (*natura inordinate*) and the evil itself – above all, the liability to punishment (*reatus poenae*), or eternal death (ib. q. 87; q. 109, a. 7). The punishment of children dying unbaptized is light – they are deprived of the vision of God (*visio dei*, Lomb. ii. 33 E). There is, in their case, not a punishment, but a “defect of nature” (Heinr. quodlib. vi. q. 12). Thus they occupy a median position: “They are without any outward or inward affliction,” but “are deprived of the vision of God and of corporeal light” (Bonav. ii. d. 33, a. 3, q. 2. Thom. in sent. ii. d. 33, q. 2, a. 2).

经院主义 = 奥古斯丁主义，半伯拉纠主义

人，因为罪， = 受无知，情欲，死亡的管制

本性的天赋 = 受损而已，扭曲，并没有消灭

SCHOLASTICS = AUGUSTINIAN, SEMI-PELAGIAN  
MAN, THRU SIN, = SUBJECT TO IGNORANCE, LUST, DEATH  
NATURAL ENDOWMENT = ONLY WOUNDED, DISTORTED, NOT DESTROYED

(f) If we now review the course of thought thus developed, we can find no reason to designate it as un-Augustinian. The Scholastics teach, with Augustine, that through sin man has become subject to ignorance, lust, and death. And that they regard the natural endowment of man as only wounded and distorted, not destroyed, by sin, is also not an un-Augustinian idea. Their Semipelagianism first appears when they attempt to describe the state of the natural man in its relation to the workings of grace. We must therefore suspend judgment until we shall have examined their expositions of grace and human freedom.

## 57. 罪论与人的自由

### 57. Doctrine of Grace and Human Freedom.

(Reinhold Seeberg, *A Text-book of the History of Doctrines*, Vol. 2, pp. 118-124.)

败坏的本性能行一些善；但是善 = 有缺欠  
若要得救，第一动者必须转化人（使人回转）  
基督赚得「第一恩典」的功劳；恩典+人的善 = 从上帝而来  
CORRUPTED NATURE CAN DO SOME GOOD; BUT GOOD = DEFICIENT  
FOR SALVATION, PRIME MOVER MUST TURN/CONVERT MAN  
CHRIST MERITS “FIRST GRACE”; GRACE + MAN’S GOOD = FROM GOD

“Nevertheless, because human nature has not been totally corrupted by sin, i.e., so as to be deprived of the whole good of nature, but is able even in the natural state of corruption by virtue of its nature to do some particular good thing, as to build houses, to plant vineyards, and other things of such sort, it does not follow that everything good is connatural to it so that it is deficient in nothing – just as a sick man may of himself have some motion, but cannot be perfectly moved with the motion of a whole man unless he be made whole by the aid of medicine” (Thom. i. ii. q. 109, a. 2). By this, every thought of self-redemption is excluded. Salvation must be traced back simply to God, for the attainment of the final goal can be secured only through the Prime Mover – in which aspect God is constantly regarded in Thomas’ doctrine of grace: “It is necessary that man be turned (*convertatur*) toward the final goal through a motion of the Prime Mover” (ib.q. 109, a. 6 and 9). If this rule prevailed before the fall, it is thoroughly applied only after the fall (ib. a. 2). This metaphysical rule dominates the doctrine of grace as held by Thomas. Christ is mentioned in this connection only incidentally, as the Head of the church, who was alone in a position to merit the “first grace” for others (q. 114, a. 6; cf. Bonav. brevil. 5. 1 init.). Thus grace, and with it everything good in man, is referred to the divine agency, as indeed everything is the result of his agency as the Prime Mover.

恩典是神秘？在人里创造的新人性：能行善  
上帝的行动 + 此行动的效果：灵魂里被注入的状态 (*habitus*)  
一个更高的本性，势力：更新灵魂的能力  
使人被（上帝）接纳的恩典：人成为像上帝，讨上帝喜悦  
包括所有的美德：信心，爱心  
（西波尔）这完全不是福音，导致中古时期机械性的宗教

WHAT IS GRACE? NEW NATURE CREATED IN MAN -> CAPABLE OF GOOD  
GOD’S MOTION + ITS EFFECT: INFUSED CONDITION (HABITUS) IN SOUL  
A HIGHER NATURE/FORCE RENEWS SOUL’S POWERS  
GRACE MAKES ACCEPTABLE: MAN -> LIKE GOD, PLEASES GOD  
INCLUDES ALL VIRTUES – FAITH, LOVE

(SEEBERG): ALIEN TO GOSPEL, -> MECHANICAL MEDIEVAL RELIGION

But what is Grace? The teachers of this period did not, like Abelard and the Lombard (sent. ii. 7 C, F; iii. 4 a.) understand grace, or love, as being the Holy Ghost himself (e.g. Thom. in sent. i. d. 17, a. 1). The term grace designates, according to Thomas, on the one hand, the gratuitous motion (*motio*) of God (ib. q. 111, a. 2; q. 110, a. 2; q. 109, a. 9, ad 2); on the other hand – and this is the vitally important signification – the effect of this divine act (*gratia increata* and *creata*). “The motion of the moving God is itself an infusion of grace” (q. 113, a. 8). Grace, it is expressly declared, is not only God’s “eternal love” and the “remission of sins” (q. 110, a. 1, ad 1 and 3). It is, in essence, “a certain supernatural thing in man, coming into existence from God” (q. 110, a. 1), an infused condition (*habitus infusus*), which is “in the essence of the soul” (q. 109, a. 9; q. 110, a. 4; cf. Bonav. sent. ii. d. 2, a. 1, q. 5). “A certain gift of inward condition (*habituale donum*) is infused into the soul by God” (q. 110, a. 2). It is “supernatural qualities,” which are infused into the soul, a “higher nature,” which pours forth from God as multifarious force into the “powers of the soul” and renews them (q. 110, a. 2, 3, 4, ad 1; cf. Bonav. brevil. 5.3: *recreare*; and 5.4, upon the *ramification of grace*). This is the grace which makes acceptable (*gratia gratum faciens*) as a divine inflowing, which makes man like God and pleasing to him (Bonav. ii. d. 26, a. 1, q. 2). This supernatural, ethical nature inborn in man embraces in itself all virtues, including faith, but above all love, which alone, as Bonaventura says, infuses life into “the whole spiritual machine” (i. d. 14, dub. 6. Thom. q. 3, a. 4, ad 3). Such is the conception of grace – the new nature created by God in the depths of the soul, which makes man capable of good. This idea may find support in Augustine, but it has no footing in the gospel nor in the moral conception of religion. Here, on the contrary, lies – the doctrine of the sacraments being most intimately associated with it – the deepest source of the process by which a mechanical character was impressed upon the religious life of the Middle Ages.

恩典与人的自由的关系？人的回转 = 藉自由意志；

上帝必须感动自由意志，预备灵魂，在灵魂里预备领受恩典的意愿 (disposition)

上帝「运作的恩典」；但人意志也工作，因此有「合作的恩典」

上帝注入恩典的本质 = 主要的，不是上帝亲自工作

所强调的 = 人的自由，+「功劳」的观念

波拿文土拉：注入的恩典使人能被上帝接纳：只透过自由意志能获得

人作的部份（贡献）= 重要

GRACE ~ MAN' FREEDOM? CONVERSION = THRU FREE WILL,

GOD MUST MOVE FREE WILL, PREPARES SOUL,

ESTABLISHES IN SOUL DISPOSITION TO RECEIVE GRACE

GOD'S "OPERATING" GRACE; BUT WILL MOVES, "CO-OPERATING GRACE"

INFUSED SUBSTANTIAL GRACE = PRIMARY, NOT GOD'S PERSONAL WORK

EMPHASIS = ON MAN'S FREEDOM – PLUS CONCEPT OF MERIT

BONAVENTURA: INFUSED GRACE TO MAKE MAN CAPABLE OF MERIT –

ATTAINABLE ONLY THRU FREE WILL – MAN'S AGENCY = IN FOREFRONT

Since man is involved in this process, however, the old question of the relation of human freedom to grace again comes to view. Thomas maintains that “conversion,” it is true, occurs “through the free will (*liberum arbitrium*), but the free will cannot be converted to (turned toward) God, except when God himself converts it to himself (q. 109, a. 6, ad 11). The will is moved by God. Every supposed preparation for the reception of grace rests upon this “free will moved by God” (ib. a. 7; q. 112, a. 2, 3, 4). God himself establishes in us the disposition toward the reception of grace (q. 113, a. 7). The divine causality alone effects moral impulses of the will (q. 111, a. 3). If we regard grace from the point of view of God as its cause, we must speak of *operating grace*; but if we think concretely of the resultant movements of the will, of the consent of man, the term *co-operating grace* will find its place (q. 111, a. 2). Thomas is strictly Augustinian in his ideas; but, since he

assigns the chief place to the infused substantial gift of grace instead of to the personal divine working, it is necessary – in order not to lose the personal element entirely – to lay the greater emphasis upon human freedom, especially in connection with the conception of merit. This is seen in Bonaventura, who represents the impartation of grace as having for its end to make men capable of merit (brevil. 5. 2), which can be attained however only through the free will (sent. ii. d. 26, a. 1, q. 5). Under this practical view of the matter, despite all emphasizing of the agency of grace, the personal agency of man himself constantly presses to the front, as will hereafter plainly appear.

这不是保罗所讲的称义；灵魂被改变（修补）：上帝使人成为义

称义须要：恩典的注入，自由意志向上帝的行动，自由意志向罪的行动（忏悔），罪的赦免

NOT PAUL'S JUSTIFICATION;

SOUL'S TRANSMUTATION/REPARATION – GOD MAKES MAN RIGHTEOUS

JUSTIFICATION REQUIRES: INFUSED GRACE, FREE WILL MOVES TO GOD,

FREE WILL MOVES TO SIN (CONTRITION), REMISSION OF GUILT

We now turn to the conception of Justification, which in the thought of the period embraces the following points: “Four things are required for the justification of the wicked, i.e., infusion of grace, a movement of the free will toward God through faith, a movement of the free will toward sin, and remission of guilt” (Thom. q. 113, a. 6; cf. Bonav. brevil. 5. 3: “infusion of grace, expulsion of guilt, contrition, and a movement of free will”). It must be clearly understood, first of all, what is the object in view in justification. But this is “a certain transmutation of the human soul” (Thom. q. 113, a. 3, ad 3), or, “the reparation (*reparatio*) of the soul is called justification” (Bonav. iv. d. 17, p. 1, dub. 1). It is therefore not justification in the Pauline sense, which is here altogether excluded by the conception of grace; but the making of man righteous by virtue of the supernatural power infused. A more precise analysis yields the following:

称义的基础：上帝对我们的爱，上帝注入恩典

首要的感念：上帝使人配领受永生；透过称义，人能获得赦罪

JUSTIFICATION'S BASIS: GOD'S LOVE TO US, INFUSES GRACE

DOMINANT IDEA: GOD MAKES MAN WORTHY OF ETERNAL LIFE

THRU JUSTIFICATION, FORGIVENESS = ATTAINED

(a) If we start with the conception of grace as a divine agency, the basis of justification is the “love with which God loves us” and the “not imputing sin to man,” but this presupposes upon his part the infusion of grace (q. 113, a.2, resp. u., ad 2). But it is the other conception of grace which dominates, i.e., a divine agency “by which man is made worthy of eternal life” (ib.), and it is in accordance with this that justification is to be understood. Forgiveness is therefore the object which is attained through this means. Thomas has indeed also designated forgiveness as the means of renewal (*transformation*, q. 113, a. 1), but in this case he evidently uses the former term as expressing the purpose of the divine will which precedes the entire process (vid. Seeberg, Duns Scotus, p. 328, n. 1).

恩典的注入 = 称义里首要的因素

同时，上帝感动意志去领受恩典 (grace, 救恩)的恩赐

INFUSION OF GRACE = CHIEF THING IN JUSTIFICATION

AT SAME TIME, GOD MOVES WILL TO ACCEPT GIFT OF GRACE

(b) The chief thing practically is the infusion of grace. Simultaneously with this, the will is moved to its acceptance. He so infuses the gift of justifying grace, that he also, at the same time with this, moves the free will to the accepting of the gift of grace (ib. a. 3).

恩典振奋灵魂，首先使灵魂有信心（第一回转）；爱使信心成形

信心 = 必须的；人藉信心确信，上帝是使人称义者（信心 = 确据？）

GRACE INCITES SOUL, FIRST TO FAITH (FIRST CONVERSION)

## LOVE GIVES FAITH FORM

FAITH = NECESSARY; BY IT MAN = CONVINCED GOD = JUSTIFIER

(FAITH = ASSURANCE?)

(c) The soul thus incited by grace attains first to faith: “The first conversion to God occurs through faith.” This faith (vid. chap. 3, 3b) would be incomplete unless it were given form (*informatus*) by love (ib. a. 4). But faith is necessary to justification, because man must by it be convinced that “God is the justifier of men through the mystery of Christ.”

称义 = 行动；人必须转离罪，转向上帝

JUSTIFICATION = MOTION; MAN MUST TURN AWAY FROM SIN TO GOD

(d) Since, moreover, “justification is a certain movement (*motus*) by which the human mind is moved by God from the state of sin into the state of righteousness,” the will must in justification turn away from sin and toward God (a. 5).

目标：罪的赦免；靠注入的恩典

END: FORGIVENESS OF SIN – DEPENDENT ON INFUSED GRACE

(e) The end in view is the forgiveness of sins, but in such a way that it is dependent upon the infused grace: “For by the selfsame act God both grants grace and remits guilt” (a. 6, ad 2) – for by far the most important thing is the infusion of grace (a. 7).

称义是一刻发生的事，不是连续的过程

过程中的步骤 = 逻辑上的观念，不是时间上的步骤

JUSTIFICATION HAPPENS IN A MOMENT, NOT CONTINUOUS PROCESS

STAGES OF PROCESS = LOGICAL, NOT TEMPORAL

(f) Thomas conceives, too, of this act of justification as occurring in a moment, and not as a continuous process. “The infusion of grace occurs in an instant without progression,” and hence also: “the justification of the wicked by God occurs in an instant” (a. 7). Accordingly, the succession noted in the various stages of the process is to be regarded, not as temporal, but as logical.

人得救的确据 = 不可能获得；上帝的恩典 = 超越人的体会

人得到恩典（救恩） = 从好行为推论而知

上帝使人成为义，灭绝罪，看罪是被赦免

CERTAINTY OF SALVATION = NOT ATTAINABLE

GRACE OF GOD = BEYOND HUMAN PERCEPTION

POSSESSION OF GRACE = ONLY INFERRED FROM GOOD WORKS

GOD MAKES MAN RIGHTEOUS, DESTROYS SIN, REGARDS SIN REMITTED

(g) An actual certainty of salvation is thus not attainable, since the grace of God lies beyond the sphere of human perception, and hence the possession of grace can only be inferred *conjecturaliter* from good works (q. 112, a. 5). Justification is therefore the making of a sinner righteous. Since sin in him has been in principle destroyed, God regards it as remitted.

称义的目标：不是与上帝相交，而是：人能行善

信心由爱完全；爱透过好行为自我试验

上帝赐律法；人透过守律法成为义

AIM OF JUSTIFICATION: NOT COMMUNION WITH GOD,

BUT: MAN’S CAPABILITY OF DOING GOOD WORKS

FAITH = PERFECTED BY LOVE; LOVE TESTS SELF IN GOOD WORKS

GOD GIVES LAW; MAN BECOMES RIGHTEOUS BY OBEYING LAW

1. This view of righteousness makes its aim not a personal intercourse with God, but the making of man capable of performing good works. Perfect faith, or the *fides formata*, is bound up with love in one: “An act of

faith is perfected and given form (*perficitur ac formatur*) through love” (sum. ii. ii. q. 4, a. 3). But love tests itself in good works, which are good in so far as they are in accordance with the divine commandments. Thus man becomes righteous. “But righteousness consists in conforming one’s self to the rules of the law.” For this purpose God gave the law, that we might obey it (Bonav. brevil. 5. 9).

对人的确据：由可能作有功劳的行为；上帝在伊甸园的目标：人能作有功劳的行为

上帝注入恩典在罪人里的目标 = 帮助人得功劳；恩典 = 一个有功劳的行为的来源

功劳 = 由上帝的指定而施行：上帝会奖赏好行为，上帝给人足够能力行善

功劳须要人自由意志的合作：人也有功劳

所有人的行为，靠恩典，=在上帝面前得功劳

人为自己赚得的功劳 = 恩典增加，得永生

ASSURANCE TO MAN: POSSIBILITY OF MERITORIOUS CONDUCT

GOD’S AIM IN EDEN: ABILITY TO PERFORM MERITORIOUS DEEDS

AIM OF INFUSED GRACE TO SINNER = ASSISTANCE TO MERITING

GRACE = SOURCE/PRINCIPIUM OF A MERITORIOUS WORK

MERIT = APPLIED BY GOD’S APPOINTMENT: GOD WILL REWARD DEED,

GOD GIVES NEEDED POWER FOR DEED

MERIT NEEDS FREE WILL’S COOPERATION: MAN HAS MERIT TOO

ALL MAN’S WORK, BY GRACE, = MERITS BEFORE GOD

MAN MERITS FOR HIMSELF INCREASE OF GRACE, ETERNAL LIFE

But, at the same time, there is assured to man by the obligatory law the possibility of meritorious conduct (Bonav. sent. iii. d. 37, a. 1, q. 1). This brings us to the important conception of “merit.” As it was the aim of the bestowal of grace upon our first parents in paradise to enable them to perform meritorious deeds, this is likewise the chief object of the grace infused into the sinner. “But grace is properly called an assistance divinely given toward meriting, ... for it, as the root of meriting, antedates all merits” (Brevil. 5. 2). Grace is, therefore, “the source (*principium*) of a meritorious work” (Thom. i. ii. q. 109, a. 6). The idea of merit is not to be regarded as really applicable between God and man, but only upon the ground of a divine appointment, that God will reward the deeds for the performance of which he has himself given the needed power (ib. q. 114, a. 1). But, since no merit is conceivable without a co-operation of the free will (ib. a. 4), there is, after all, a merit on the part of man. Therefore, all human works originating in the grace of God are merits in the sight of God. By them man merits for himself eternal life and an increase of grace (q. 114, a. 2, 8, 9. Bonav. ii. d. 27, a. 2, q. 3).

但是人不能赚得功劳获得「第一恩典」：行动 = 藉恩典

使人配得之功劳（恩典）vs. 使人适合的功劳（从自由意志）

人用自己的美德（能力）行动；上帝奖赏人美德（能力）的卓越

BUT MAN CAN’T MERIT FIRST GRACE – CONDUCT = FROM GRACE

MERIT OF WORTHINESS (GRACE) VS. MERIT OF FITNESS (FROM FREE WILL)

MAN ACTS BY HIS VIRTUE; GOD REWARDS EXCELLENCE OF MAN’S VIRTUE

But he can never, according to Thomas, merit the first grace (*prima gratia*, ib. a. 5); for conduct is at any time meritorious only as proceeding from grace (q. 109, a. 6; q. 112, a. 2, ad 1). Discrimination is made between the merit of worthiness (*meritum condigni* or *de condigno*) and the merit of fitness (*meritum congrui* or *de congruo*). The former term describes the conduct in so far as it is purely a product of grace; the second, in so far as it results from the exercise of free-will. Under the former aspect the conduct is, indeed, worthy of eternal life; whilst, regarded under the latter, it is to be said of it: “For it seems fitting that to the man acting according to his virtue God should give recompense according to the excellence of his virtue” (q. 114, a. 3. Bonav. ii. d. 27, a. 2, q. 3).

事实上：在人自由行动中，功劳是存在的

称义之前，功劳 = 不可能；称义之后，人，因配得，能赚功劳得永生

波拿文土拉：所赐的恩典 = 救赎过程的起点：

「使人被上帝接纳的恩典」与「自由意志」的连接点

IN REALITY: MERITS EXIST IN FREE ACTIONS

BEFORE JUSTIFICATION, MERIT = INCONCEIVABLE,

AFTER JUSTIFICATION, MAN, BY WORTHINESS, CAN MERIT ETERNAL LIFE

BONAVENTURA: GRACE GIVEN = BEGINNING OF SALVATION PROCESS –

CONNECTION BETWEEN “GRACE MAKES ACCEPTABLE” & FREE WILL

But this discrimination is, in reality, a mere abstraction; concretely, merits exist only in the form of free actions (Thom. a. 4). The Augustinian idealization of the conception of merit (Vol. I, p. 365), which Thomas follows, can scarcely be maintained in practice. This may be strikingly observed in Bonaventura. According to Thomas, as we have seen, a merit before justification is inconceivable, but afterward man may by worthiness (*de condigno*) merit eternal life. According to Bonaventura, a “grace gratuitously given” constitutes the beginning of the process of salvation, forming a connecting link between the “grace which makes acceptable” and the free will (e.g., servile fear, the piety instilled by education, accidental impressions or words).

圣道呼召人，使人能赚得恩典（救恩）；

但是圣道比起圣礼，则微不足道

使人配得的功劳，只有注入「使人被接纳的恩典」之后才有功劳

THE WORD CALLS MAN, MAKES MAN ABLE TO MERIT GRACE;

BUT WORD – INSIGNIFICANT COMPARED WITH SACRAMENT

ONLY AFTER INFUSION OF GRACE WHICH MAKES ACCEPTABLE ->

MERIT OF WORTHINESS POSSIBLE; FURTHER GRACE – BY FITNESS

This is, therefore, the influencing of the man through the word, or, as Heinrich says, the calling (*vocatio*) through the external or internal word (quodlib. viii. Q. 5). So small, in comparison with the sacrament, is the significance of the word. This general influence makes man capable of meriting by fitness the grace which makes acceptable (*gratia gratum faciens*) (ii. dist. 28, a. 2, q. 1; d. 27, a. 2, q. 2). Only after the infusion of the latter is a merit of worthiness (*condigni*) possible (ii. d. 27, a. 2, q. 3; brevil. 5. 2); but further grace can be merited only by fitness (*de congruo*) (ib. q. 2). Without any grace, no merit at all is possible (d. 27, a. 2, q. 1, concl.), but to the attainment of justification man can, nevertheless, dispose himself by fitness.

其后：人，透过「适合」，能赚功劳得到「使人被接纳的恩典」

人作他应该作的；因为「配得」，所以会赚得救恩

好行为赚得称义的恩典

LATER: MAN MERITS GRACE WHICH MAKES ACCEPTABLE BY FITNESS –

HE DOES WHAT HE SHOULD DO; WILL MERIT SALVATION BY WORTHINESS

GOOD WORKS MERIT GRACE OF JUSTIFICATION

This, however, points already toward the later apprehension of the matter, according to which man merits the grace which makes acceptable even by fitness, in so far as he does what he should do, and, after its reception, merits salvation by worthiness (Biel, in sent. iv. d. 16, q. 2, a. 3, dub. 4: “Good works morally performed without love merit by fitness many spiritual good things; which is evident, because they merit the grace of justification.” Also, ib. dub. 6: “Every act proceeding from love and grace in the pilgrim merits some grade of essential happiness ... He who works, merits such a reward by worthiness”).

注入的恩典 + 功劳 = 经院神学的两大重要观念

奥古斯丁的行而上学 + 西方教会的道德倾向：彼此抵销；彼此制衡，互补

因为诉诸恩典，所以「功劳」 = 可以被接受

透过功劳，与上帝的个人关系 = 引进恩典的架构里



INFUSED GRACE + MERIT = 2 DOMINANT IDEAS IN SCHOLASTICISM  
 AUGUSTINIAN METAPHYSICS + WESTERN MORALISM –  
 THE 2 DESTROY ONE ANOTHER; RESTRAIN, SUPPLEMENT ONE ANOTHER  
 MERIT = TOLERABLE, BY APPEAL TO GRACE; THROUGH “MERIT,”  
 PERSONAL RELATION TO GOD = INTRODUCED INTO SCHEME OF GRACE

There are thus two dominant elements in the scholastic conception of grace: infused grace and merit. The Augustinian metaphysics and religion here woven together with the ancient Western moralism, when strictly interpreted, destroy one another (vid. the *meritum condigni* in Thomas); in reality, they restrained and thereby supplemented one another. The idea of merit was made tolerable by the pious interpretation given to it in the appeal to grace, and into the conception of grace was introduced through the scheme of merits the element which it lacked, i.e., that of personal relation to God. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion that this vulgar conception of merit furnished a kind of corrective of the scholastic Augustinian conception of grace. Cf. H. Schultz, d. sittel. Begr. D. Verdienstes, Sutd. U. Krit. 1894, 273 ff.

功劳的奖赏：永生；人透过「成为适宜」能为他人赚得永生

人能赚得比自己得救所需的更多的功劳

人能顺从福音所有的吩咐，加上福音的劝导：离弃世界，成为修士

「福音的完全」，即理想的基督徒生活：弃绝金钱，情欲，权力

造成剩余善行的「功德库」；圣徒 = （除基督以外的）中保，代求者

MERIT'S REWARD = ETERNAL LIFE

ONE CAN, BY FITNESS, MERIT ETERNAL LIFE FOR ANOTHER

MAN CAN EARN MORE MERIT THAN NEEDED FOR OWN SALVATION

MAN CAN OBEY GOSPEL'S ALL COMMANDMENTS + GOSPELS' COUNSELS

BY RENOUNCING WORLD, BECOMING A MONK

EVANGELICAL PERFECTION RENOUNCES MONEY, SEX, POWER

THIS CREATES TREASURY OF SUPER-ABUNDANT WORKS

SAINTS = MEDIATORS, INTERCESSORS BESIDES CHRIST

2. Merit must in the above system logically have for its correlate the gaining of eternal life as a reward. But as Thomas held it to be possible that one person might by fitness merit eternal life for another (i. ii. q. 114, a. 6), it was also regarded as possible for a man to earn more merit than is necessary to the attainment of salvation. The Christian may not only obey all the commandments of the gospel, but also observe its counsels (*consilia evangelica*). This occurs when he entirely renounces the good things of this world, i.e., property, sensual pleasure and honor, and becomes a monk: “in which three things is founded the whole religion which profess the state of perfection” (i. ii. q. 108, a. 4. Bon. brev. 5. 9). Evangelical perfection, or the ideal Christian life, is thus realized in a monastic life, or one of similar character (ii. ii. q. 184, a. 2, 5 and 4; cf. Bonav. apol. Pauper. Resp. 1, c. 3). This is the *perfectio supererogationis* (Bon., l. c.), the *justitia superabundans* (brev. 5. 9. fin). By this means the treasure of superabundant works is created (vid. sub.), the multitude of saints placed beside Christ as *intercessores* and *mediatores* (Thom. iii. suppl. q. 72, a. 2), and the monastic ideal of life brought within the comprehension of the common people.

消灭旧灵魂，除根：禁欲主义，效法基督；积极生活之余，加上静默生活

ROOT OUT, DESTROY OLD SOUL – ASCETICISM, IMITATE CHRIST

FOLLOW ACTIVE LIFE WITH CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

It is, however, only the one side of the medieval ideal of Christian life which finds explanation in the light of the conception of merit then prevalent. Starting with the conception of grace, we discover another ideal, that of a supernatural “heavenly” life. If the new disposition (*habitus*) of grace in the soul is the true life, it is incumbent to root out and destroy the old soul (heart) with all its powers. It is by the path of an ascetic

“imitation of Christ” that we are to reach the enjoyment of partnership in his divinity. The active life (*vita activa*) is followed by the contemplative (*vita contemplativa*). To give vivid expression to this conception was the task of German Mysticism. We therefore postpone its consideration to the following period. We desire, however, at this point to direct special attention to the connection of this ideal of life with the medieval conception of grace.

## 神预旨的次序：不同神学派别 THE ORDER OF DECREES

### I. 自然主义 Naturalistic

1. 伯拉纠 Pelagian – target of Augustine’s critique (奥古斯丁批判的对象)
2. 抗议派 = 阿米念 Remonstrant (Arminian).

### II. 超自然主义 Supernaturalistic

1. 圣礼主义 Sacerdotal (sacrament – Latin: sacramentum=mystery)
  - A. Greek (Eastern) Orthodox 东正教 (ortho = right; doxy=way)
  - B. Roman Catholic 羅馬天主教
  - C. Anglican (Episcopalian) 圣公会 (High-church; low-church)
2. 福音派 Evangelical
  - A. 普救论 Universalistic (all= saved; Robert Schuller, Timothy Richard)
    - 纯普救论 Pure universalistic
    - 卫斯理派 Wesleyan (英: 循道会; 美: 卫理公会; 美北: 美以美会; 美南: 监理会; 英美联合, 例: 香港循道卫理联合教会)
    - 路德宗 / 信义宗 Lutheran
  - B. 特殊救贖論者 Particularistic
    - 不一致的特殊救贖論者 Inconsistently particularistic
    - Amyraldian
    - 一致的特殊救贖論者 Consistently particularistic (=Reformed)
      - 墮落后論者 Infralapsarian
      - 墮落前論者 Supralapsarian

### I. 自然主义 Naturalistic (man saves himself by his own effort 人靠自己救自己)

1. 伯拉纠 Pelagius (被奥古斯丁批判; 奥古斯丁: 人得救全靠神的恩典)
  - 神赐人自由意志; 人藉自由意志能作行神所要求的一切事。
  - Gift of free will, by virtue of which each may do all that is required of him.
  - (伯拉纠: 自由意志的意思: 人有能力作神要求的事, 如悔改, 信心。自由意志不只是选择而已。)
  - (Pelagius: free will = the ability to do what God requires; free will is not just “free choice.”
  - 神赐律法与福音, 光照人的道路, 劝人走在其中。
  - Gift of the law and gospel, to illuminate the way and to persuade to walk in it.
  - 神赐基督, (为了赎罪和) 给人好榜样。
  - Gift of Christ (to expiate past sin and to) set good example.
  - 对十字架的意义含糊。A vague notion of the meaning of the Cross.
  - 神接纳所有行在正路中的人。Acceptance of all who walk in right way.
  - 人持续在正路中, 靠自己的意愿与努力。Continuance in right-doing by voluntary effort.
2. 阿米念 Remonstrant (Arminian)
  - 神容许堕落: (物质的) 败坏 (然后, 道德的败坏)。
  - Permission of the fall = (physical) deterioration (followed by moral).

神赐基督给人类，叫人有接受“足够的恩典”的可能性。

Gift of Christ to render gift of sufficient grace possible.

神赐足够的（说服人的）恩典给全人类。 Gift of sufficient (suasive) grace to all.

所有与这（足够的）恩典合作的人，都得救。

Salvation of all who freely cooperate with this (sufficient) grace.

人成圣，藉着与恩典合作。 Sanctification by cooperation with grace.

## II. 超自然主义 Supernaturalistic.

### 1. 圣礼主义 Sacerdotal (圣礼 : sacrament; 拉丁文 : sacramentum, =奥秘)

#### A. Greek (Eastern) Orthodox 东正教 (教堂天堂的一部份; 注重敬拜的神秘感)

神容许堕落 : 人失去原本的义, 不再认识神, 有犯罪的倾向。

Permission of fall = loss of original righteousness, involving loss of knowledge of God and proneness to evil.

神赐基督, 让人类能够与神和好。

Gift of Christ to reconcile sinful mankind with God.

神设立教会, 好叫十字架的好处, 能不断供应给人。

Establishment of the Church “for the continual supply of the benefits of the cross.”

教会透过她的典章教导人, 使人称义, 造就人。

Instruction, justification, and edification through the ordinances of the church.

人在恩典中被造就, 成长, 透过七种圣礼。(与天主教同。)

Building up in grace through the 7 sacraments. (same as Catholics.)

#### B. Roman Catholic 羅馬天主教

神容许堕落 : 人失去超自然的义。(阿理斯多德的人性观。)

Permission of fall = loss of supernatural righteousness.

(Aquinas->Aristotle's view of human nature: higher and lower nature.)

基督的恩典 : 为全人类补罪 (献祭)。

Gift of Christ to offer satisfaction for all human sins.

神设立教会与圣礼, 借以运行 (实施) 基督的赎罪恩典。

Institution of the Church and the sacraments, to apply satisfaction of Christ.

基督的赎罪恩典, 透过教会的典章, 即圣礼, 实施予人。

Application of satisfaction of Christ through sacraments, the ordinances of the church.

所有继续领圣礼的人, 都在圣洁生活中成长。

Building up in holy life of all to whom the sacraments are continued.

#### C. Anglican (Episcopal) 圣公会

(High Church, Anglo-Catholic; Anglican; low-church = Evangelical. Majority of Anglican Church after 1660 = Arminian)

神容许罪。 Permission of sin.

基督的恩典; 为全人类补罪。

Gift of Christ to make satisfaction for the sins of all mne.

神设立教会, 为有机体, 以传递神足够的恩典。

Establishment of Church as living agent for communicating God's sufficient grace.

这足够的恩典, 透过圣礼赐予人; 圣礼是不可或缺的管道。

Communication of this grace through the sacraments as indispensable channels.

人得救藉着洗礼 (圣礼), 洗礼赐人生命, 圣餐培育这生命。

Salvation through the sacrament of baptism imparting life and of the Eucharist nourishing it.

## 2. 福音主义者 Evangelical

### A. 普世论者 Universalistic.

#### 纯普世论 Pure universalistic

神容许人堕落。Permission of the fall.

神预定全人类得生命。Predestination of all to life.

神赐基督为全人类赎罪。Gift of Christ to expiate the sin of all.

神赐圣灵，实施基督赎罪之恩给全人类。

Gift of the Spirit to apply the expiation of Christ to all.

全人类得救。Salvation to all.

(Robert Schuller; Karl Barth; Timothy Richard 李提摩太; W.A.P. Martin 丁韪良。)

卫斯理派 Wesleyan (英国：循道会; 美国：卫理公会 United Methodist Church; 以前因南北战争分为：美北：美以美会 Methodist Episcopal Church; 美南：监理会 Methodist Episcopal Church-South; 在香港英美联合：香港循道卫理联合教会; 从卫理公会 / 美以美会分出的有：Wesleyan Church; 那撒勒人会=宣圣会 Church of the Nazarene; 循理会 Free Methodist Church; 救世军 Salvation Army 等。

神容许堕落：罪孽，败坏，完全无能。

Permission of fall = guilt, corruption and total inability.

神赐基督，为全人类赎罪。

Gift of Christ to render satisfaction for sins of the world.

全人类的原罪被除去；神赐全人类足够的恩典。

Remission of original sin to all and gift to all of sufficient grace.

所有利用足够恩典的人，神预定他们得生命。

Predestination to life of those who improve sufficient grace.

所有与足够恩典合作的人可以成圣。

Sanctification of all who cooperate with sufficient grace.

#### 路德宗 / 信义宗 Lutheran

(信义会：Evangelical Lutheran Church of America; 路德会：Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod。另：巴色会=崇真会 The Basel Mission 等。)

神容许堕落：罪孽，败坏，完全无能。

Permission of fall = guilt, corruption and total inability.

神赐基督，为全人类赎罪。

Gift of Christ to render satisfaction for sins of the world.

神赐恩具，以传递使人得救的恩典。

Gift of means of grace, to communicate saving grace.

所有不抗拒神所赐的恩具的人，神预定他们得生命。

Predestination to life of those who do not resist the means of grace.

人成圣是透过恩具。Sanctification through the means of grace.

### B. 特殊救赎论者 Particularistic

#### 不一致的特殊救赎论者 Inconsistently particularistic

##### Amyraldian (4-point Calvinists)

神容许堕落：败坏，罪孽，道德无能。

Permission of fall=corruption, guilt, moral inability.

神赐基督给全人类，好叫人有得救的可能。

Gift of Christ to render salvation possible to all.

神揀選一些人，得道德能力的恩典。

Election of some for gift of moral ability.

神賜選民聖靈，作成道德的能力。

Gift of the Holy Spirit to work moral ability in elect.

人靠圣灵成圣。Sanctification by the Spirit.

一致的特殊救贖論者 Consistently particularistic (=Reformed, Calvinist)

墮落后論者 Infralapsarian (J.I. Packer)

神容許墮落；人有罪孽，敗壞，完全無能。

Permission of fall = guilt, corruption and total inability.

神在基督里揀選一些人得生命。Election of some to life in Christ.

神賜基督，為祂的選民成就救贖，這是福音邀請的根基。

Gift of Christ to redeem his elect and ground offer to all.

神賜聖靈來拯救祂的選民。

Gift of the Holy Spirit to save the redeemed.

所有被救贖的，所有重生的人，都成聖。

Sanctification of all the redeemed and regenerated.

墮落前論者 Supralapsarian

神在基督里揀選一些人得生命。Election of some to life in Christ.

神容許墮落；人有罪孽，敗壞，完全無能。

Permission of fall = guilt, corruption and total inability.

神賜基督，為祂的選民成就救贖，這是福音邀請的根基。

Gift of Christ to redeem his elect and ground offer to all.

神賜聖靈來拯救祂的選民。

Gift of the Holy Spirit to save the redeemed.

所有被救贖的，所有重生的人，都成聖。

Sanctification of all the redeemed and regenerated.

### 教会历史 I : 测验一 CHURCH HISTORY I: Quiz #1

必须回答第 4 题，第 5 题，与第 15 题。另外：选答 7 题。共答 10 题。

Questions #4, #5, and #15 are required. Then choose 7 additional questions. Answer a total of 10 questions.

1. 研究教会历史须持什么态度与观点？

What attitudes and perspectives should we have as we study church history?

2. 早期（第一世纪）教会包括哪四种文化背景的人？

What were the four cultural groups in the early church (1st century)?

3. 早期教会包括哪几个地区和城市？「大公」教会是什么意思？

Which are the cities and regions represented by the early church? What is meant by the “catholic” church?

诺斯底主义教导什么？为什么诺斯底主义是一元论？

What does “Gnosticism” teach? How is it “monistic”?

4. 「罗格斯的教义」指什么？What is the “Logos doctrine”?

5. 列出四个原因，早期教会为什么迅速增长。

What are the four reasons why the early church grew so quickly?

6. 爱任纽是谁？他教导什么？ Briefly: Who is Irenaeus? What did he teach?

7. 特土良是谁？他教导什么？ Briefly: Who is Tertullian? What did he teach?
8. 「主教」（监督）的职分如何演变出来？ How did the office of (monarchical) “bishop” evolve?
9. 马吉安是谁？他教导什么？ Who was Marcion? What did he teach?
10. 孟他奴主义教导什么？ What is “Montanism”?
11. 伊宾尼派是指谁？ What is “Ebionism”?
12. 幻影说是指什么？ What is “Docetism”?
13. 谁是最初为教会护教的护教士？他们试图作什么？  
Who were the earliest “apologists”? What did they try to do?
14. 解释柏拉图与新柏拉图主义对基督教的影响。  
Explain the influence of Plato and Neo-Platonism on Christianity.

### 教会历史一：测验二 CHURCH HISTORY I: QUIZ #2

1. 「形而上学」与「知识论」探讨什么？解释：柏拉图是「理性主义者」。宇宙「至终的现实」在哪里？  
What does metaphysics and epistemology explore? Explain: Plato is a “rationalist.” Where is ultimate reality (the really real)?
2. 简述：斯多亚派哲学的「道」的教义。「道」指什么？  
Briefly describe the Stoics’ “Logos doctrine.” What is the “Logos”?
3. 简述：游斯丁（护教士）「道」的教义。「道」是什么？如何/何时生出？  
Briefly describe Justin Martyr’s, and the apologists’ “Logos doctrine.” What exactly is the Logos? When and how did it “spring forth”?
4. 诺斯底主义相信有几个神？「神性丰满」包括什么？基督是谁？祂是神吗？ How many gods do Gnostics believe? What does the “divine pleroma (fullness)” include? Who is Jesus Christ? Is Christ God?
5. 解释：诺斯底派是抽象（非理性主义）的，一元的，二元的，混杂主义的。  
Explain: Gnosticism is abstract (irrationalist), monistic, dualistic, and syncretistic.
6. 诺斯底主义带来哪两种的道德观？为什么？  
What two kinds of morality does Gnosticism lead to? Why?
7. 评估：爱任纽的基督论。他的护教成功吗？他的信仰正统吗？为什么？  
Evaluate Irenaeus’ doctrine of Christ. Is his faith orthodox? Is his apologetics (defense of the faith) effective? Why?
8. 评估：特土良的三位一体论。他的护教成功吗，还是掺杂了「道」的教义或柏拉图主义在他的教义里？  
Evaluate Tertullian’s doctrine of the Trinity. Is his apologetics successful? Or did he mix in “the Logos doctrine” or Platonism in his theology?
9. 奥利金（俄利根）如何受哲学的影响？他对哲学的态度是什么？  
How was Origen influenced by philosophy? What is his attitude toward philosophy?
10. 简述奥利金的基督论。 Briefly state Origen’s doctrine of Christ.
11. 简述奥利金如何受「道」的教义的影响。  
Briefly explain how Origen was influenced by “the Logos doctrine.”
12. 简述：两种的「神格唯一论」分别指什么？他们试图维护什么？  
Define: the two types of “monarchianism.” What did they try to preserve/defend?
13. 用十五句话（左右）说明三位一体论。 Use about 15 sentences to state the Doctrine of the Trinity.
14. 你在本科中，到目前学到什么？ What have you learned so far, in this course?

### 教会历史（一）：测验三 CHURCH HISTORY I: Quiz #3

1. 阿他拿修最重要的贡献是什么？简述他的教导。

What is the greatest contribution by Athanasius? Briefly summarize his teachings.

2. 亚流（派）最重要的错误在哪里？ What is the major error(s) of Arius (Arianism)?

3. 尼西亚会议分哪三派？关于「基督论」的最后决定是什么？

Which three factions were present at the Council of Nicea? What is the Council's final decision concerning Christology?

4. 尼西亚会议后的「三教父」最重要的贡献是什么？简述他们的教导。

What was the major contribution by the post-Nicene three "Cappadocian Fathers"? Briefly summarize their teachings.

5. 早期教会（第一至三世纪）的敬拜有什么特点，是我们可以参考的？有什么缺点（错误），是我们须要警惕提防的？

What are some features of the worship of the early church (1<sup>ST</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century), which we can learn from?

What are some of their weaknesses/errors which we should avoid?

6. 「主教」制度是如何产生的？ How did the "bishop system" emerge?

7. 简述奥古斯丁的原罪观。包括，他对「情欲」(concupiscence)的定义与看法。

Summarize Augustine's view of "original sin." Include: What is concupiscence?

8. 修道院制度如何产生？ How did monasticism emerge?

9. 列出蛮族的名字，他们的地理分布，和与罗马帝国的关系。

List the names of the barbarian tribes, their geographical distribution, and their relationship with the Roman Empire.

10. 蛮族如何归主？包括修道院运动（修道士）后来的贡献。

How were the barbarian tribes converted? Include the later contribution by monasteries (monks).

11. 简述安波流的重要性。 Briefly: Why is Ambrose important?

12. 简述耶柔米的重要性与贡献。 Briefly: Why is Jerome important? What is his contribution?

13. 简述利奥一世的重要性。 Briefly: Why is Leo I important?

14. 简述查理曼大帝的重要性。 Briefly: Why is Charlemagne important?

15. 教皇如何与帝皇与帝国的政治缠在一起？

How did the Pope get entangled with the politics of the emperor/empire?

16. 列出至少六种早期与中古教会崇拜所用的祷告文或礼仪；解释每一项的意义。

List at least six prayers and liturgical items used in the worship of the early and medieval church. Explain their meanings.