

上帝是愛 —— 愛德華茲論靈命追求 與社會政治參與

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1742 年 3 月 16 日正值大覺醒運動火紅之時，愛德華茲帶領北安普敦的教會，重新和上帝訂立了一份信約，呼籲每一個會眾要立誓，在商業交易上誠實和公平，不可在「任何事上苛索或欺騙他們的鄰舍，或有意無意間傷損了別人任何正當的財物或權利」，凡欠債者必須償還，免得有意或無意傷害了別人的權益。¹

一 引言

愛德華茲較為人熟悉的著作，多是和大覺醒運動有關的論述，特別是他的〈屬靈情感〉和講章〈犯罪的人在憤怒上帝的手中〉。上世紀九十年代之前，不少學者仍詬病他將信仰處理得太私人化和內心化，忽

¹ M. Valeri, "The Economic Thought of Jonathan Edwards," *Church History* 60, no.1 (1991): 37.

略了改革宗重視社會政治參與的傳統，² 但其實自八十年代起，當他的一些久被遺忘的講章和筆記重新被編修出版和研究³——包括最具代表性的 *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards*，⁴ 不少學者都重新確認，愛德華茲在生命見證和教導上，都很關心和認識社會政治。⁵

正如上文所顯示，愛德華茲要求被復興的信徒必須關心社會公義和公益，他甚至教導：任何人在奮興聚會中所領受的感性經歷，如果沒有關心窮人的行動表現，都不應認可為真正的屬靈經歷；⁶ 而在他臨終的遺言中，除了感激太太對他的愛之外，還囑咐後人要將喪葬費用之外剩下的財產送給窮人。換言之，愛德華茲的信仰雖然個人化（private），但絕不私人化（privatistic）。⁷

因此，近年一些學者提倡要從較社會性的角度，重新詮釋愛德華茲的神學，⁸ 而本文正要研究他的靈命追求和社會政治教導之關連性，

² Gerald R. McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society: the Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 5; Michael J. McClymond & Gerald R. McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 513.

³ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 94; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 513.

⁴ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, viii; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 513.

⁵ Valeri, "The Economic Thought of Jonathan Edwards;" Jon. Pahl, "Jonathan Edwards and the Aristocracy of Grace," *Fides et Historia* 25 (Winter/Spring, 1993): 62–72; Caleb Henry, "Pride, Property, and Providence: Jonathan Edwards on Property Rights," *Journal of Church & State* 53, no. 3 (2011): 401–20; Ronald Story, *Jonathan Edwards and the Gospel of Love* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*.

⁶ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 519.

⁷ Gerald R. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars: A New Resource for Public Theology and Philosophy," *Pro Ecclesia* IV, no. 3 (1995): 273.

⁸ Peter J. Leithart, "Puritan Covenantalism," *Contra Mundum*, no. 9 (Spring 1993): 1–5; Story, *Jonathan Edwards and the Gospel of Love*; William J., Jr. Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, Columbia Series in Reformed Theology (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004).

嘗試論證兩者皆源出於一個非常一致和連貫慎密的神哲學思想體系，即三一上帝和人、甚至萬物都是關係性的存有；而他對這關係性本質的了解，同時塑造了他對靈命追求和社會政治責任的教導。對他而言，靈性內在修為和社政參與之關係密切，都是同一靈命的兩個面相。

二 愛德華茲的本體論、三一論及人論

愛德華茲的本體論 (ontology) 是他倫理學的形上基礎，是不少學者研究他倫理學的起點。⁹ 李相鉉 (Sang Hyun Lee) 認為愛德華茲的形上學，放棄傳統亞里士多德之存有本質靜態不變說，認為實在界 (reality) 的本質乃是動態和關係性的，即「動態本體論」(Dispositional Ontology)。^{10,11} 但筆者接受克里斯普 (Oliver Crisp)¹² 和霍德 (Joshua Hordern)¹³ 等學者對李相鉉的修正，同意愛德華茲並沒有完全放棄存有

⁹ 例如 McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 529.

¹⁰ "And it is thus and thus only that God delights in their prayers, takes pleasure in their good works, and smells a sweet savor in their sacrifices, even as he delights really and not metaphorically in communications of himself; for it is his essence to incline to communicate himself." (Bold Italic mine) WJEO 13:277-78.

¹¹ Lee wrote, "[For] Edwards, habits and laws function as the permanent and structural principles of being. Being, as shall be seen, is dynamic in three ways: (1) The most basic character of reality is dispositional—that is, an ordered power of tendency, (2) Being is the act of moving from virtuality to full actuality. And (3) reality is in a process of being increased or multiplied in actuality." Lee Sang Hyun, *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 95.

¹² "Edwards did have some interesting things to say about dispositions and habit, particularly when applied to the divine nature. And he does appear to have moved away from an Aristotelian essentialism to the extent that he rejects the notion of substantial forms, replacing them with some sort of bundle theory. But he did not effectively replace the notion of substance with that of disposition, as Lee suggests." Oliver D. Crisp, "Jonathan Edwards's Ontology: a Critique of Sang Hyun Lee's Dispositional Account of Edwardsean Metaphysics," *Religious Studies* 46 (2010): 1.

¹³ "To my mind, Stephen Holmes has persuasively refuted Lee's exegesis, arguing that such an unorthodox statement cannot be derived from Edwards's writings... Holmes's corrective still allows for a relational social ontology in creation towards which people are drawn, which is what is at stake politically." Joshua Hordern, "Loyalty, Conscience and Tense Communion: Jonathan Edwards Meets Martha Nussbaum," *Studies in Christian Ethics* 27, no.2 (2014): 173 n.23.

本質不變說，而只是強調各存有的本質中，部分屬性中乃是動態性和關係性的取向（dispositional），¹⁴ 原因是：

（一） 克里斯普認為李相鉉對愛德華茲論述的詮解以偏概全，愛德華茲強調各存有動態的取向性，並非等同各存有的所有屬性皆為動態而沒有不變的本質，例如上帝有建立關係的動態屬性，不等於祂沒有自有永有的靜態屬性，後者在本體論上是奇怪和難以理解的；¹⁵ 相反，克里斯普認為愛德華茲相信各存有具有不變的本質，而其中部分屬性是動態的。¹⁶

（二） 「神具有不變的本質」的詮釋不但更合乎愛德華茲持守的傳統改革宗神論和有關「神」的「本質」的論述，¹⁷ 並且他自覺正統教義先於哲學論述，即哲學只是辯護和解說教義之工具，而非建構教義的材料。¹⁸

對愛德華茲來說，神透過（through）三一內在的關係、也在其中（in）已經充分實現了祂具有動態的本質，故祂在創造前已經是一個完美的實體；而祂創造和護理世界，乃是祂選擇在時空中重複彰顯自己這完美的實體；¹⁹ 換言之，愛德華茲並不如李相鉉所言，拒絕相信神有不變的本質。

¹⁴ Cf. McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 530.

¹⁵ Crisp, "Jonathan Edwards's Ontology," 4.

¹⁶ Crisp, "Jonathan Edwards's Ontology," 8-9.

¹⁷ 參 "How God is as it were the only substance, or rather, the perfection and steadfastness of his knowledge, wisdom, power and will." WJEO 6:398.

¹⁸ 據 Wallace E. Anderson 的研究，愛德華茲早期的本體論的表達或有點含混，但後期的愛德華茲觀點已較清晰了："They are of particular interest in showing how, at this late date, Edwards was ready to reaffirm that idealistic phenomenalism and the principles underlying it that he had explored so long before in "The Mind" and other manuscript writings. The piece also contains an important and illuminating comment upon immaterial substance and its relation to bodies." WJEO 6:37, Bold Italic mine. Crisp, "Jonathan Edwards's Ontology," 15; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 115, 546; Leithar, "Puritan Covenantalism," 5.

¹⁹ "God's essence is a constantly exercised inclination to repeat his already perfect actuality [within his inner-Trinitarian relationships] through further exercises... God's action in the world us therefore the spatio-temporal repetition of God's already-realized actuality." McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 529; McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 97.

愛德華茲相信神是一個完美的實體，同時繼續將自我的豐盛延伸，²⁰ 透過創造及維護，與受造物建立新的關係。²¹ 他突破了亞里士多德（Aristotle）看本質是靜態的本體論：即活動的原則不是本質，乃是各存有偶然（accidental）的狀態，相反，愛德華茲看活動是構成存有之本質的屬性。²²

神按照自己的形象造人，因此人的本質也具有動態的屬性和關係性，愛德華茲參照當時牛頓發表的萬有引力理論，認為既然神所造沒有生命的物質界也是關係性的，它也成為了人類彼此相屬相愛的理型（type）。²³

像三位一體的上帝一樣，人在相愛的關係中才能生命圓滿並喜樂滿足，重生的人會被更新，從自我中心釋放出來，從愛上帝、即萬有的根基（being-in-general），漸漸伸延到愛普世的各民族和所有存有（being-in-general），特徵是愛護和擴充（embracing and expansive），而未重生

²⁰ Lee, *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 6

²¹ "In other words, the divine disposition is ontologically productive and relational. Although he does not add to his actuality, God is continually involved in a process of self-extension by creating, and then relating to, other beings." McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 9; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 529.

²² "Since Edwards's ontology pictures a world of constant movement and action, it presents a startling contrast to Aristotle's world of essentially static substances. Aristotle, who was probably the first to give "habit" (or hexis, as he called it) a philosophical usage, conceived of habit as a principle of operation, accidental to the being of a substance. Edwards's habit, on the other hand, is a principle of being, constitutive of an entity's essence. While Aristotle taught that substances are possessors of properties, Edwards suggested that substances are doers of deeds." McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 530.

²³ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 99; "[T]he essence of all being is disposition or habit [and] ... inherently dynamic ... every entity was necessarily in relation to other ... intelligent being achieve through a conscious, volitional, affective union of mutual consent ... [according to] Newton's discovery of the law of universal gravitation, even inanimate being is directional in its disposition, and thereby functions as symbol of the coming union of intelligent beings." McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 530 ; Leithart, "Puritan Covenantalism," 5.

的人仍被罪性支配，只能因為愛自己而愛自己之家庭、社會和國家，特徵是自我中心和抓緊利益（self-reducing and grasping）。²⁴

愛德華茲在 *In The Nature of True Virtue* (1755) 中論述，各存有被造在一個相互關係的網絡結構之中，「每一個有智慧的生命在某方面都和萬有（being-in-general）有所關連，也是整個存有系統的一部分，因此也和整體存有有所關連。²⁵ 愛德華茲是從實然（is）推論出應然（ought）來的：一個有智慧的生命都應該承認他／她在這整體存在結構中的位置，並且應該熱衷於與萬物和諧並存（cordial agreement），一個有德行的人在心底裏會有對其他存有的情感或傾向，促使他關心其他存有的福祉，或是渴望其他存有快樂，並以此成為自己的快樂。²⁶ 上帝是萬有存在的基礎與總和，也是每時每刻賜予萬有繼續存在的泉源，因此真正的愛心，首要必定是愛上帝。²⁷

²⁴ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 103; "Because of Adam's Fall 'the mind of man shrunk from its primitive greatness and extensiveness into an exceeding diminution and confinedness... Yet the saints have divine love and... '[t]heir souls are 'enlarged and multiplied.' 'Love enlarges' their souls and 'extends' them to others." McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 541.

²⁵ "Beauty does not consist in discord and dissent, but in consent and agreement. And if every intelligent being is some way related to Being in general, and is a part of the universal system of existence; and so stands in connection with the whole; what can its general and true beauty be, but its union and consent with the great whole?" WJEO 8:541.

²⁶ "Love of benevolence is that affection or propensity of the heart to any being, which causes it to incline to its well-being, or disposes it to desire and take pleasure in its happiness. And if I mistake not, 'tis agreeable to the common opinion that beauty in the object is not always the ground of this propensity: but that there may be such a thing as benevolence, or a disposition to the welfare of those that are not considered as beautiful; unless mere existence be accounted a beauty." WJEO 5:542.

²⁷ "Therefore he that has true virtue, consisting in benevolence to Being in general, and in that complacency in virtue, or moral beauty, and benevolence to virtuous being, must necessarily have a supreme love to God, both of benevolence and complacency. And all true virtue must radically and essentially, and as it were summarily, consist in this. Because God is not only infinitely greater and more excellent than all other being, but he is the head of the universal system of existence; the foundation and fountain of all being and all beauty; from whom all is perfectly derived, and on whom all is most absolutely and perfectly dependent." WJEO 8:551.

三 愛德華茲倫理和靈命進求的基礎：愛的教義

除了三位一體的創造神學之外，麥達莫（Gerald R. McDermott）認為愛德華茲的社會倫理也建基在基督道成肉身的救贖神學之上。²⁸

上帝能力和道德的榮美使人有被吸引之愛（love of complacency），而基督十架犧牲則是所有愛的行動的高峰，也是聖父與聖子之間的愛的彰顯，²⁹ 因此神賜給重生者的愛，既是以神為中心，也是同時以基督為中心。³⁰ 換言之，神賜我們信徒的愛，既是吸引的愛，也是犧牲的愛。³¹

愛德華茲認為，愛是得救信心的必要成分（ingredient）和本質，而重生者和魔鬼的信心最不同之處就是愛：魔鬼也相信神，但在神面前卻是戰兢（雅二 19），而他們最後都要下到地獄，因為他們沒有愛。能使萬事萬物能活動的性質就是萬事萬物的生命所在，同樣，使信心能活動的性質就是愛。³²

愛德華茲教導愛是一切美德的總和，³³ 也是上帝對我們道德要求的總和；真正的美德就像音樂中的和聲一樣，不同背景性格的人可以有多元中合一的美麗，這合一就是愛。³⁴ 但另一方面，愛德華茲不像啟蒙時期的倫理學者一樣，將各種不同的美德都約化為愛，他認為不同的美德雖然都必有愛的成分，但也有它個別的特色，例如長久忍耐、恩慈、謙卑、寬

²⁸ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 107.

²⁹ WJEO 2:273.

³⁰ Story, *Jonathan Edwards and the Gospel of Love*, 100.

³¹ Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 133, 253; Story, *Jonathan Edwards and the Gospel of Love*, 100.

³² "So love is implied in a gracious faith. It is an ingredient in it, and belongs to its essence... the working and operative nature of faith is love. For the apostle Paul tells us that faith worketh by love, Galatians 5:6. And the apostle James tells us that faith, without its working nature, is dead, as the body without the spirit is dead, James 2:26." WJEO, 8:330-331; cf. McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 538.

³³ WJEO 8:129 ff.

³⁴ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 536-37.

恕、為主受苦、勇敢、敬畏神和在逆境中堅毅不屈等等，不同的美德放在一起會呈現美麗的對稱和比例。³⁵ 他教導基督徒的愛應該表現像上帝一般，有各種美德之對稱和平衡，例如喜樂與敬畏、屬靈安慰與為罪憂愁、愛神與愛人、愛朋友與愛仇敵、關心身體和關心靈魂、留心自己的罪和留心別人的罪、私下禱告與公開見證、順境與逆境中屬靈的情感等等。愛德華茲相信，真正的救恩會為重生者帶來所有的美德，而虛假的屬靈經歷只會帶來美德的外表，並且只有部分的美德，缺乏應有的對稱和比例。³⁶

愛德華茲認為愛比超自然恩賜，例如方言、預言、直接啟示和神蹟等更重要，他舉例很多惡人，例如巴蘭先知、掃羅王和猶大都曾經被賜予超自然的恩賜，但是他們都得不到上帝神聖的愛。³⁷

丹納埃（William Danaher）認為愛德華茲用心理類比（Psychological analogy）表達三一上帝，重點在於強調神的形象，乃是人擁有像上帝的心靈結構：有自我意識，對真理有理解和愛慕的能力，且兩者運作上不可分割；但人若要認識真正的自我，必須先被上帝所認識，透過聖靈明白真理。³⁸ 丹納埃強調愛德華茲所使用的三位一體心理類比（psychological analogy）之中的聖子（神的道）和聖靈（神的愛）互為內在的關係，使人從聖靈所認知的基督真理，不可能沒有屬靈情感。³⁹

另一方面丹納埃認為愛德華茲也用社羣類比表達三一神，重點則是人也是關係性的存有，人格的成全在乎個人在人際關係中的良性互動和自我奉獻，因此人透過信心參與三一上帝團契，決定了人的基本取向：

³⁵ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 538, 540.

³⁶ "Another thing wherein those affections that are truly gracious and holy, differ from those that are false, is beautiful symmetry and proportion." WJEO 2:365

³⁷ "That [sanctifying] grace which is the effect of the ordinary influence of the Spirit of God is a privilege which God bestows only on his own favorites and children. But the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are not so. ... They have been common to both godly and ungodly. Balaam is stigmatized in Scripture as a wicked man ... yet he had extraordinary gifts of the Spirit of God for a time." WJEO 8:159-60; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 537-38.

³⁸ Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 251.

³⁹ Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 123-24, 118-19.

人有三一上帝救贖更新的愛，便會得着上帝向外開放性與伸延性的愛，這也是愛德華茲公共神學的道德動力和基礎。⁴⁰

丹納埃使用兩個類比說明了人本質的兩方面，神個別獨特性和羣體關係性：人需要在獨處反思真理中經歷上帝，也需要在羣體交往中實踐在相愛中經歷上帝；人是在愛中成長的，人需要個別地、也透過教會集體地將愛延伸出去，關心社會大眾的福祉。⁴¹

愛德華茲承傳清教徒傳統，教導北安普敦和新英格蘭與上帝有國家性的恩約（National Covenant），但他理解北美並不享有像以色列一般獨特和不可改變的地位，因上帝同樣與其他一些國家立約。他認為當時社會充滿敗壞，不斷警告上帝會以烈怒審判他們，甚至取去他們約民的地位。⁴² 在愛德華茲的教導裏，國家恩約的功能不是鼓勵大北美主義，反只是提醒新英格蘭，既然自稱為基督徒的社會，便應負起基督徒靈性和道德上的社會責任，向神問責。他其實相信新英格蘭人中大部分都是未重生的人，就是重生的人，也有不少活在敗壞之中。⁴³

⁴⁰ "Mutuality and self-giving are normative in all human relationship...to grow in love with God through the church is a relationship of deepening intimacy and personal discovery, for God's love 'flows out' to 'every individual member' of the 'whole church'." Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 254.

⁴¹ "We are obliged to by many particular rules. We are particularly required to be kind to the unthankful and to the evil, therein to follow the example of our heavenly Father, who causes his sun to [rise on the just and the unjust, Matthew 5:45]; not only to be kind to them that are so to us, but to them that abuse us, to love our enemies, [and] do good to them that hate and that despitefully use us." WJEO 17:397; Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 254; McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 109.

⁴² "Edwards reminded his auditors that their covenant was only the most recent in a series of such divine contracts with nations, that it might terminate shortly. For their sins might cause God to transfer his covenantal favors to a more faithful people. Hence American exceptionalism—in the Edwardsean dispensation—could not forestall American destruction." McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 35.

⁴³ Gerald McDermott, "Poverty, Patriotism, and National Covenant: Jonathan Edwards and Public Life," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 31, no. 2 (2003):243; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 212, 526.

愛德華茲有清楚的後千禧年觀的末世論，但他相信千禧年起碼要主後 2000 年之後才會出現。⁴⁴ 他相信人類的愛只可以減少、不能完全除去歷史上的欺壓和爭鬥，那些在墮落的現世希望努力改革社會的人，都要預備付代價，甚至捨命。愛德華茲是一個現實主義者，他相信他當時的復興浪潮乃是千禧年之前的徵兆，而非千禧年本身，而千禧年之前的日子是同時充滿復興和不義的。⁴⁵ 他相信政治作為墮落之人組成之制度，對社會秩序有一定功能，但也不能期望過高，因為只有天堂才有完全關愛的社羣。⁴⁶ 麥達莫認為末世論在愛德華茲的思想中，功能不是將種種復興現象等同千禧年，反而是作為一個理想，批判當時的社會狀況，例如新天新地是各民各族在神面前的合一社羣，愛德華茲以此反對當時狹隘自我中心的民族主義。⁴⁷

愛德華茲並不認為靈命追求和社會參與兩者對立，又或有兩者之間必然的優次，他反對沒有好靈性的社會參與，或沒有社會參與的靈命，兩者都是殘缺不全的。⁴⁸ 一方面，他認為如果在復興運動中有感性經歷，卻沒有社關表現，⁴⁹ 不應看為有真正屬靈的性質；⁵⁰ 另一方面，熱心社會政治參與的動機也不一定是愛上帝，它可以只是自我利益的延伸，例如狹隘的愛國主義等，參與者應時常反省自己。

⁴⁴ "A late very learned and ingenious expositor of the Revelation, viz., Mr. Lowman, sets the fall of Antichrist, and consequently the coming of Christ's kingdom, at a great distance; supposing that the twelve hundred and sixty years of Antichrist's reign did not begin till the year seven hundred and fifty-six; and consequently that it will not end till after the year two thousand, more than two hundred and fifty years hence; and this opinion he confirms by a great variety of arguments." WJEO 5:394; McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 274.

⁴⁵ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 78; WJEO 4:346-47.

⁴⁶ Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 257; McDermott "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 274.

⁴⁷ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 91.

⁴⁸ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 527; McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 273.

⁴⁹ 他甚至認為關心窮人，不能只救濟而忽略監督政府的政策及運作，因為政府在社會中有不可取代的關鍵角色。McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 271, n.9.

⁵⁰ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 519.

但另一方面，愛德華茲雖然曾為女性、⁵¹ 青年人、⁵² 印第安人和黑人⁵³ 等爭取權益，⁵⁴ 但他卻相信聖經容許奴隸制度，而他家中也擁有買賣奴隸的事蹟成為了他思想及生命中的盲點，⁵⁵ 反映一個很深度屬靈經歷的人也可以有嚴重錯誤的教導。⁵⁶

⁵¹ "Edwards was also somewhat progressive in that era in his attitudes toward women. Puritans did not generally believe it was important to educate girls, and "female learning" was ridiculed even in the revolutionary period. In contrast, Edwards urged that Indian girls be given the same educational privileges as boys. Women's testimony in religious meetings was typically condemned in Edwards's day, but he encouraged the practice of female testifying during the religious revivals in the 1730s and 1740s. When other religious leaders wrote that women were more inclined than men to religious delusion, Edwards used women—and not a single man!—as personal illustrations of true religion in his two major accounts of these revivals."

⁵² "This era also included a bias against young people. A man in western Massachusetts without land and wife was considered less than a full and independent member of society—even though it was nearly impossible to get married without land, and land came only by inheritance or purchase at very high prices. Edwards made a special appeal to young men to gain conversion and thus become full members—an unconventional appeal in his time. He made similar entreaties to servants and slaves, welcoming those who converted to full membership in the church."

⁵³ "In some respects, however, Edwards distanced himself from the racism so prevalent in his day. He said that blacks and Indians were not inherently inferior ("we are made of the same human race"), and that in the future "many of the Negroes and Indians will be divines." Blacks and Indians were spiritual equals to whites, he reached. His Northampton, Massachusetts, church admitted nine Africans to full membership during his years there. Edwards worked consistently and courageously to defend Indians against whites (including his own relatives) who wanted to steal their lands. In his defense of the institution of slavery, Edwards nonetheless condemned the African slave trade, saying no nations "have any power or business to disenfranchise all the nations of Africa."

⁵⁴ Gerald McDermott and Ronald Story, *The Other Jonathan Edwards: Selected Writings on Society, Love, and Justice* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), 3-4.

⁵⁵ WJEO 卷 16 之主編 George Claghorn 評論道："Edwards defends the purchase and ownership of slaves provided they fall under the legal definition of a slave, are treated humanely according to law, and are Christianized. He condemns as hypocritical those who denounce slave owning while benefiting from goods produced or imported as a result of the slave trade. Adopting an unusual position, he opposes the extension of the slave trade, that is, enslaving free Africans. He bases his argument on passages taken primarily from the Old Testament regarding God's allowing the Israelites to buy slaves, and, to a lesser extent, on passages in the New Testament. Whereas defenders of the slave trade pointed to it as a means of spreading the gospel, Edwards foresees the opposite effect. The chances that prophecies concerning the spread of the gospel to every nation of the world will come true are diminished, he feels, as a result of the resentment caused by European incursions into Africa. Edwards' position represented a step toward the immediatism of his New Divinity disciples. Samuel Hopkins and Jonathan Edwards, Jr., would build on and extend Edwards' views to advocate the complete abolition of slavery and a plan of colonization to evangelize Africa." WJEO 16:71-72; McDermott & Story, *The Other Jonathan Edwards*, 3.

⁵⁶ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 526-27.

四 愛德華茲的公共神學

（一）商業經濟方面

有學者認為愛德華茲面對十七世紀新英格蘭新興的市場經濟，其教導重點可以分為三個階段：首先早期牧養時期，他較為強調個別基督徒商業經濟中的倫理責任，勸導他們放下私人利益，互利互助，造福社羣；其次在大覺醒運動期間，他鼓勵大量領受復興的會眾，簽署信約，希望集結羣體力量，改革社會商業道德風氣；最後階段當大覺醒運動開始低潮，而社會隨着市場經濟的發展更趨私利合理化，窮人生活愈趨艱難，他開始放下運用由復興而來、教會主導的關愛經濟之影響力，更現實地轉向強調政府不可代替的社會調控責任，並強調教會和牧者監督政府和社會道德的角色。⁵⁷

（二）公共管治方面

愛德華茲成長的新英格蘭仍是英國式貴族統治的階層社會，根據封建時期的「萬有皆以層級形式存在」（Great chain of being）的哲學，社會普遍相信貴族階層的精英主義，認為他們一般在財富與學問都比平民多，因此在管治上應該佔有更多席位。⁵⁸ 麥達莫的分析顯示，愛德華茲因着加爾文全然墮落的教義，並對當時統治階層的認識，對他們基於階級利益之思維非常不信任和批判。⁵⁹ 他教導公眾有需要去監督和制衡管

⁵⁷ Valeri, "The Economic Thought of Jonathan Edwards," 39-40.

⁵⁸ McDermott and Story, *The Other Jonathan Edwards*, 2; cf. McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 119.

⁵⁹ "The Lusts of mens Hearts Prejudicing men in favour of sinfull Practices that these Lusts tend to & delight in this stirs up Carnal Reason & puts men to with all the subtilty they are Capable of to Invent Pleas and Arg. to Justify such Practices . when men are very strongly Inclined to any & tempted to any wicked Practice Rack & Conscience troubles them about it they'll Rack their brains to find out Arguments to stop the mouth of Conscience with & to make them believe that they may Lawfully Go on in that Practice." WJEO 48, #297.

治階層的運作；⁶⁰ 因此麥達莫認為他的政治取向比較傾向當時的國家派系（country party）多過皇室派系。⁶¹

但愛德華茲作為牧者，其終極關懷遠超過政治上的意識形態和具體改革；他經常強調一個人的真正價值地位乃視乎他是否屬神的子民，而非他的財富或社會地位。⁶² 因此他經常批判權貴的操守和不公義，而且他相信政治不能帶來終極的喜樂和平安，因為任何管治體制都是由罪人而組成，不能寄望過高。⁶³ 對他來說，政治最多只是他的次終極關懷，統治階層和人民的靈性道德才是他的終極關注。所以，麥達莫認為他的公共神學沒有無條件擁護任何一種政制形式，我們所看到的，只是他的一般政治取向，大概就是擁護某種更多受人民監管、權力受限制的公共管治制度。⁶⁴

他認為政府應該包括七項主要功能：第一，保護人民財產；第二，保護人民權利；第三，維持公共秩序和公義；⁶⁵ 第四，保護國土；⁶⁶ 第五，建立健全法制、維持公義和社會道德；⁶⁷ 第六，幫助窮人；⁶⁸ 第七，政府對基督教這獨一真實的信仰應該有一定程度上支持，但又需要保持政府和教會制度上適當的分離。⁶⁹

⁶⁰ "In a free nation, such liberty of the press is allowed, that every author takes leave without offense, freely to speak his opinion concerning the management of public affairs, and the duty of the legislature, and those that are at the head of the administration, though vastly his superiors." WJEO 4:291.

⁶¹ Court Party; McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 136.

⁶² WJEO 17:311.

⁶³ 參 WJEO 17:273-328; cf. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 275.

⁶⁴ McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and the Culture Wars," 272.

⁶⁵ WJEO 25:321.

⁶⁶ WJEO 25:132-33.

⁶⁷ WJEO 14:490-91.

⁶⁸ WJEO 17:403.

⁶⁹ McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 515-17.

愛德華茲跟從了清教徒政教既又相關又相分的教導。⁷⁰ 他和當代人一般，認定人擁有良心和宗教的自由，他不會像加爾文一般要求政府以權力監管正確的教義的執行、懲罰異端，因這是教會而非政府的責任。一般而言，他認為政府應該鼓勵宗教活動，因為宗教是道德的基礎，對維持社會秩序有貢獻。對於唯一真信仰的基督教，他也教導國家的恩約，歡迎政府對基督教的支持。例如在大覺醒期間，他呼籲政府官員舉辦祈禱會，⁷¹ 但他認為政府不應干預教會內部的運作。⁷² 教會也有先知的責任，監督政府和社會的公眾道德，簡言之，他不贊成浸信會式嚴格政教分離的教導。⁷³

（三）公民責任方面

愛德華茲強調基督徒可以和非基督徒在社會政治事務上合作，主要的理據是他有關上帝形象的神學。如上文所述，愛德華茲從創造論及本體論去理解人的關係性，因此未信的人的神的形象雖然破損和扭曲，但仍然擁有一定的關係性本質，他甚至稱之為自然的「美德」（*natural virtues*）⁷⁴：第一，若干藝術感，雖然他們未懂得欣賞上帝屬靈的榮美，

⁷⁰ "The civil authorities' having nothing to do with matters ecclesiastical, with those things which relate to conscience and eternal salvation, or with any matters religious as religious, is reconcilable still with their having to do with some matters that in some sense concern religion. For although they have to [do] with nothing but civil affairs, and although their business extends no further than the civil interest of the people, yet by reason of the profession of religion and the difference that matters religious make in the state and circumstances of a people, many things become civil which otherwise would not." WJEO 13:207.

⁷¹ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 134.

⁷² McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 135; McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 517.

⁷³ 參 McClymond & McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 518.

⁷⁴ McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 104-106; cf. McClymond & McDermott *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 541-45.

但會喜愛對於大自然中的對稱、和諧和秩序；⁷⁵ 第二，若干良心和道德感，或是出於自愛，或是出於天生的本能，未重生的人也知道有若干家庭責任、朋友責任、社會秩序和公義和愛國的責任；⁷⁶ 第三，若干真宗教意識，他認為希臘人、羅馬人和中國人都對「真宗教」有若干認識，縱使其中混雜不少雜質。⁷⁷

愛德華茲認為上帝給予人類若干自然的美德（*natural virtues*），正是祂的管治中的普遍恩典，為墮落後的生活減少痛苦。自然美德嚴格來說不是真的美德，需要重生經歷上帝道德榮美的人，所產生的才是真正屬靈的美德。但未重生的人，因為擁有自然美德，若干程度上能夠理解真正的美德，基督徒與非信徒之間便有合作的基礎；縱使自然美德總帶有自我中心的成分，常常只是自愛的延伸，而非以神的榮耀為目標，但已足夠在追求社會秩序和公義的事上有一定的合作。⁷⁸

⁷⁵ "The cause why secondary [natural] beauty is grateful to men is only a law of nature, which God has fixed, or an instinct he has given to mankind; and not their perception of the same thing which God is pleased to have regard to, as the ground or rule by which he has established such a law of nature." WJEO 8:565-66.

⁷⁶ "There is yet another disposition or principle of great importance, natural to mankind: which, if we consider the consistence and harmony of nature's laws, may also be looked upon as in some sort arising from self-love, or self-union: and that is a disposition in man to be uneasy in a consciousness of being inconsistent with himself and, as it were, against himself in his own actions." WJEO 8:589 ff..

⁷⁷ "All that the Grecians, Romans, and present Chinese know of true religion, they were taught traditionally. As to their corrupt notions, and idolatries, [...] they were of their own invention. [...] The Grecians, who were by far the most knowing people of the three [...], were as gross idolaters as the rest, till Plato's time." WJEO 23:458.

⁷⁸ "The present state of the world is so ordered and constituted by the wisdom and goodness of its supreme Ruler, that these natural principles for the most part tend to the good of the world of mankind. So do natural pity, gratitude, parental affection, etc. Herein they agree with the tendency of general benevolence, which seeks and tends to the general good. But this is no proof that these natural principles have the nature of true virtue. For self-love is a principle that is exceeding useful and necessary in the world of mankind. So are the natural appetites of hunger and thirst, etc. But yet nobody will assert that these have the nature of true virtue." WJEO 4:616.

五 結論及應用

正如丹納埃所言，愛德華茲的社會倫理（ought）乃建立在他對本體論（is）紮實的神學理解之上，⁷⁹ 而基督徒的社會參與，本身就是神自己榮美道德本性的彰顯，上帝的主動性、情感和能力，也就彰顯那些願意接受祂感召，願意被祂使用的人身上。如此社會參與本身就成為了經歷上帝生命力並與神同工的過程，關心和參與社政也就成了靈命追求不可或缺的一個層面了。

基督徒應該個別地和集體地關愛窮人，⁸⁰ 因為服侍窮人就是服侍基督；⁸¹ 對窮人真誠的愛應該包括他們靈性和肉身的需要。⁸² 基督徒在賙濟窮人上要盡力，不可懶散，除非地上已完全沒有窮人，但聖經已經明言這是不可能的。⁸³

基督徒應該支持公權力受監督制約的公共管治模式，也應該在道德層面監察政府和社會；為着普羅大眾最大的福祉，可以，甚至應該盡量和非基督徒在共識的目標上合作，爭取達致更公義及關愛的社會。

基督徒應該知道政治事管理眾人福祉之事非常重要，也是屬靈人應有的表現，但社政參與活動應該在信仰原則中進行；基督徒最終極效忠的對象是上帝，而不是任何政權或國家，要謹慎防範狹隘的國家主義和自大的民族優越感。

最後愛德華茲蓄奴一事反映，就算有豐富屬靈經歷和神學基礎的人，也可以有時代的盲點，在教導上犯錯和偏差。屬靈的人值得尊敬，但只有聖經是無謬誤的。基督徒社會政治參與不但需要有個人屬靈的熱誠，

⁷⁹ Danaher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 258.

⁸⁰ WJEO 17:375.

⁸¹ WJEO 4:526.

⁸² WJEO 2:369.

⁸³ 申十五 11, WJEO 17:374.

也要時刻保持謙卑開放，不能自以為是，倒要接受客觀聖經真理和教會羣體的監察和指導。

附錄：本文引述的愛德華茲原典書目

Edwards, Jonathan. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Yale Online Edition (WJEO). <<http://edwards.yale.edu/research/browse>>，注釋以簡稱列出，例：WJEO 5:542，即 *Apocalyptic Writings* (WJE Online vol. 5)，542。

- Religious Affections (WJE Online vol. 2)
- The Great Awakening (WJE Online vol. 4)
- Apocalyptic Writings (WJE Online vol. 5)
- Scientific and Philosophical Writings (WJE Online vol. 6)
- The Life of David Brainerd (WJE Online vol. 7)
- Ethical Writings (WJE Online vol. 8)
- The "Miscellanies" : (Entry Nos. a-z, aa-zz, 1-500) (WJE Online vol. 13)
- Sermons and Discourses: 1723-1729 (WJE Online vol. 14)
- Letters and Personal Writings (WJE Online vol. 16)
- Sermons and Discourses, 1730-1733 (WJE Online vol. 17)
- The "Miscellanies," (Entry Nos. 501-832) (WJE Online vol. 18)
- Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith (WJE Online vol. 21)
- Sermons and Discourses, 1739-1742 (WJE Online vol. 22)
- The "Miscellanies," (Entry Nos. 1153-1360) (WJE Online vol. 23)
- The "Blank Bible" (WJE Online vol. 24)
- Sermons and Discourses, 1743-1758 (WJE Online vol. 25)
- Sermons, Series II, 1733 (WJE Online vol. 48)

撮 要

近四十年的研究發現，愛德華滋並不是只關心個人靈命，相反，他認為真正的靈命必須包括對社會政治的關心和參與。本文旨在研究愛德華滋的神哲學基礎，如何同時塑造了他對屬靈追求和社會政治參與的觀點及實踐。

ABSTRACT

Recent studies in past 40 years found that Jonathan Edwards' concept of spirituality entailed an essential aspect of socio-political concern and participation. The author argues in this article that Edwards' philosophical-theological ideas shaped simultaneously his concepts and practices of spiritual pursuit and socio-political participation.