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AROUND the middle of the 19th century, religion progressed much more rapidly in its internal secularization, due to the unprecedented intensification of all kinds of social contradictions and conflicts.⁽¹⁾ First of all, religious reformers initiated reformation through various theological research and instruction centres. Second, they gave greater attention to secular social problems, especially those of morality, and they also emphasized the propagation and participation in religious ethics. The 19th century Christian ethics explained once again the traditional values such as *love* and *mercy* both in content and in form.

The early Romantic's spiritual battle against the atheism of the French Revolution was led essentially against the new totalitarian materialism and iconoclastic thoughts, which reoriented the life of citizens. During this period some new philosophical trends such as Hegelianism in Germany, utilitarianism in England, and scientism and positivism in France appeared. Their popularity was more often than not at the expense of Christianity.

The idea of God as the Infinite came to be the source of Romantic imagination. With this imagination as a medium, Romanticists' dreams of fraternity and liberty made a further impact on the arts and national cultures.

Vauvenargues (1715-1747) says: "Great thoughts come from the heart" and Keats (1795-1821) follows in his letter on 22nd December, 1817: "Oh, may I live a life of sensations rather than a life of thoughts". These two quotations both can be viewed

as feedback from the related statement in *Emile: or, On Education* (1762), J. J. Rousseau's (1712-1778) early work. "We were all born sensitive." Rousseau's statement claims the birth of the religion of sentiment and liberates humankind from original sin at the same time. Contrary to Montesquieu, Rousseau places religion in the human freedom of religious emotions and beliefs, but at the same time he dispossesses man of his civic rights for the good of the community (premises of communism in Rousseau's *The Social Contract Or Principles Of Political Right*, 1763). Subsequently, the development of the natural sciences contributed to the creation of the myth of the "good savage". Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's (1737-1814) thought and his *Paul et Virginie* (1787) expressed man's nostalgia for primitive nature.

At a time of violent attacks against Christianity and its institutions, there were some apologetic defenders of the Catholic faith, represented by Fr. Nicolas S. Bergier (1718-1790) in France and George Berkeley (1685-1753) in Ireland. They came to explore the church's tradition from the philosophical and biblical perspectives, trying to formulate evidence of God's existence. But in this confrontation between reason and faith, the latter always lost.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) also tried to save God from empiricism. As a result, he formulated a moral rather than a religious apologetic. Lacordaire (1802-1861) pointed out in his "Notre-Dame Conferences" (1835) that instead of following a revolutionary iconoclasm, the construction of the Church in Roman times did not bring any destruction to its civilization, but the French Revolution did. He warned his audience not to bury the Church together with Christian civilization. In addition, Lacordaire also collaborated with the daily *L'Avenir*, founded in 1830, the motto of which was "God and Liberty" and the purpose to encourage the clergy to pay attention to social and political issues and to promote the Church in the modern

1. This text is a paper presented at the International Conference on Theology and Aesthetics held at Xiangfan University, Hubei Province in 2006. While making the presentation, the author projected on the multi-media screen "The Allegory of Secular Music", a painting by Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840). In the painting, there are two women, one playing the harp, the other the lute. Both of them are standing in the weed-ridden courtyard of a Gothic church. A stream of sunshine penetrates the clouds to reach the harp, as if playing a piece of music of nature. The author reminded the audience of three main elements in the painting: the Gothic building representing the spiritual world, the weeds and trees on the ground and the sun in the sky. All signify a supreme state of harmony among the things created. —Translator.



基督宗教精神 还是骑士精神？

十九世纪欧洲浪漫主义文学艺术
发明的人文信仰

Genius of Christianity or Genius of Chivalry?

Human Belief Invented by Romantic
Literature and Art in 19th Century Europe

Artur K. Wardega • 万德化

十九世纪中叶的欧洲，各种社会矛盾和冲突呈现出前所未有的激化局面，这使得宗教也步入了一个从其自身内部开始迅速世俗化的进程。^①首先，宗教改革者们通过各种神学研究教育机构发动了改革。其次，他们对社会现实问题给予了更多的关注，尤其是道德生活方面。另外，它们还特别强调宗教伦理的宣传与实践。十九世纪基督宗教伦理学重新诠释了诸如“爱”与“怜悯”这样的传统价值观。

早期浪漫主义反对法国大革命无神论倾向的精神抗争后来实质上发展成了一场在新的极权体制下反物质主义和反传统的思潮。这一思潮引导了广大市民阶级的生活。这一时期出现了一些新的哲学潮流，例如德国的黑格尔主义(Hegelianism)、英国的功利主义(Utilitarianism)、法国的科学实证派

(Positivism)。它们的流行往往是以牺牲基督宗教为代价。

上帝作为一个无限超越者的观念最终成了浪漫主义者发挥想象力的资源，以他们的想象力作为媒介，浪漫主义者对于友爱与自由的梦想又进而影响了人们的艺术品味和各民族国家的文化风貌。

沃文纳格(Vauvenargues, 1715-1747)说道，“伟大的思想源自于人的心灵”，而济慈(Keats, 1795-1821)却在1817年12月的一封信中写道，“噢，

1. 本文是作者在2006年湖北襄樊国际神学美学学术研讨会上提交的论文。作者演讲时在多媒体屏幕上打出了卡斯帕·大卫·弗里德里克(Caspar David Friedrich, 1774-1840)的绘画：《世俗音乐的寓意》。画上有两个女人，其中一个在弹奏竖琴，另一个在弹鲁特琴。两人都站在一栋哥特式教堂杂草丛生的院落中。阳光穿过云朵间的缝隙投射到竖琴上，好像在演奏天籁之音。作者提示人们留意画面上的三个主要因素：代表属灵世界的哥特式建筑、地上的草木和天上的太阳。所有这些都显示出受造物的高度和谐——译注。

world. After Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) went to America, he noticed that religious life and social freedom coexisted peacefully there. In this spirit, Romanticism tried to show that society needs religion to

was totally impossible under the premise of civic religion advocated by Rousseau.

As early as the end of the 18th century, there was an awakening of religious beliefs in Germany and England. Two great thinkers appeared during this period: Kierkegaard (1813-1855) and John Henry Newman (1801-1890). Kierkegaard was the first to liberate religion from a Hegelian dialectical system and therefore became the first to defend the essential characteristic of religion, which is the "freedom of faith". Newman, a representative figure who converted from Protestantism to the Roman Catholic Church, later appointed a cardinal in England, became a pioneer of the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church in England. He acknowledged that the progress of society does not necessarily mean corruption and that the Church's progress is to carry on and deepen the Church's tradition.

In Italy, from the era of occupation by the Austrian troops to the time of anti-clerical campaign, Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797-1855) can be rated as one of the greatest Italian writers of the Romantic generation. Together with his contemporaries such as Manzoni, a poet and Cavour, a national activist and politician, he led the battle for reformation of the Church's liturgy and invited the lay Catholics to take an active part in the management of Church affairs.

In France, the Revolution brought a wave of persecutions of the clergy and "dechristianisation" of society. In this age of horror, the Christian faith did not provide any hope and any new vision to the population who had lost hope in their actual life (see Chateaubriand, *René*, 1802). However, two main events during this age made a significant impact on social life in France: the signing of the Concordat in 1801 (which established new relations between Church and State) and the publication one year later of *Le Génie du Christianisme* (The Genius of Christianity), a romantic masterpiece by Chateaubriand, which is also an apology of the Church.



Portrait of Chateaubriand © AFP

guarantee its social liberties. In the views of René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Tocqueville and Lacordaire, only when religion was separated from the state was liberty able to be guaranteed. This result



我宁愿过一种感性的而非思索的生活。”这两句引言都应视为对卢梭(J.J.Rousseau, 1712-1778)的早期作品《爱弥儿》中的相关表述所作出的回应。“我们与生俱来都是感性的人”，卢梭的这句话宣告了一种感性宗教的诞生，并将人们从原罪中解救出来。与孟德斯鸠(Montesquieu)相反，卢梭将宗教置于人皆有之的宗教情感与宗教信仰自由的前提下，与此同时却剥夺了人们为了“共同体之善”(good of the community)而行使的公民权(卢梭“社会契约论”的前提)。接下来，自然科学的发展为人们杜撰出一个关于“善良的野蛮人”的神话提供了帮助。伯纳丁·德·圣皮埃尔(Bernardin de Saint-Pierre; 1737-1814)的思想及其作品《保罗和薇吉妮》(Paul and Virginia)表现了人们对于原始本性的怀旧之情。

在人们猛烈攻击基督宗教及其制度之际，也曾出现过一些天主教信仰的护教士，其中的代表人物有法国的伯杰尔(Fr. Nicolas S. Bergier, 1718-1790)和爱尔兰的贝克莱(George Berkeley, 1685-1753)。他们从哲学和神学两个方面探索教会传统，试图为上帝的存在罗列证据。不过，在这场理性与宗教的对垒中，败北的总是后者。

此外还有康德(Immanuel Kant, 1724-1804)，他试图在经验主义之外为上帝保留一块地盘，于是他提供了一套道德的，而非宗教的护教学理论。拉科代尔(Lacordaire, 1802-1861)在他的《圣母会谈》(1835)中指出，基督宗教教会在罗马时代建立起来的时候也曾开展过革命性的破除偶像运动，但是它并没有破坏古代文明，法国大革命却不然。他警告人们，不要在反对基督宗教的同时，将基督宗教文明也埋葬了。此外，拉科代尔还与创办于1830年的《未来日报》社合作，确定该份报刊的主题词为“上

帝与自由”，其宗旨是鼓励神职人员关心社会及政治问题，寻求在现代世界中推进教会事业。托克维尔(Tocqueville, 1805-1859)来到美国后发现，宗教生活与社会自由在这里是和谐共存的。基于这一精神原则，浪漫主义试图表明，社会需要宗教以保障其应有的自由。在夏多布里昂(Chateaubriand)、托克维尔和拉科代尔看来，只有将宗教从国家权力中分离开来，自由才有可能得到保障，在卢梭的公民宗教(civic religion)前提下则不会出现这样的结果。

早在十八世纪末，一股宗教觉醒的潮流开始在德国和英国兴起。这个时代的思想界出现了两位伟人：一位是克尔凯戈尔(Kierkegaard, 1813-1855)，另一位是纽曼(John Henry Newman, 1801-1890)。克尔凯戈尔首次将宗教从黑格尔的辩证法体系中解放出来，因此他成为捍卫宗教的本质特征即“信仰自由”原则的第一人。纽曼是一位从新教改宗回归罗马教会的代表性人物，后来还被委任为红衣主教，成为领导英格兰天主教会革新的先锋人物。他承认，社会的进步并不必然地导致腐败，而教会的进步也要求继承并深化教会传统。

在意大利，从奥地利军队占领时期到后来的反教权运动时期，安东尼奥·罗斯明尼-塞巴提(Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, 1797-1855)堪称当时最伟大的意大利浪漫主义作家之一。他与同时代的诗人曼佐尼(Manzoni)和激进的民族主义者兼政治家卡沃尔(Cavour)一起领导了改革教会礼仪的斗争，倡导平信徒参与教会事务的管理工作。

在法国，大革命引发了一场迫害神职人员并在全社会实现“去基督宗教化”(dechristianization)的浪潮。在那一段恐怖岁月里，基督宗教信仰并不能为那些对现实生活失去希望的广大市民提供任何希望与寄托(夏多布里昂的《勒

“The Genius of Christianity” and the Invention of Human Belief⁽²⁾

Chateaubriand, an inventor of Romanticism, a conservative writer and politician, wrote his “The Genius of Christianity”, *Atala* and *René* (1802), an apology of the Christian faith. He initiated the definition of the Romantic way of “*Sentire cum Ecclesia*”, believing that “the Christian religion is the most poetical (lyrical), the most human and the most favourable to the liberty of mankind, to arts and to literature. The contemporary world owes all to her, starting from agriculture up to the abstract sciences. She favours brilliant ideas, refines the taste, promotes virtues, shapes thoughts, proposes noble forms to writers and perfect moulds to artists. Is she afraid of light? Not at all, because she comes down from Heaven.”

However, Chateaubriand defends only the beauty of religious affection (sentiment) and slips away from any theological and philosophical questions. He praises the beauty of God’s creation, the Middle Ages’ art style, the “Nazarenes”⁽³⁾ and the missionary work of the Church, but he says almost nothing about the understanding of faith. However, he can still be called “father of Romantic apologetic”. We have to keep in mind that he wrote “The Genius of Christianity” not like a good and conscious Christian for whom the good of the Church was placed at the top priority but rather like a politician and a man of worldly career for whom a sentimental and aesthetic Christianity served his own political ambitions and literary goals. In a certain sense, his faith and interest in Christianity and Christian art were a kind of continuation of the “Nazarenes”, a group of young, idealistic painters representing the German Romantic art current. They believed that art

should have a religious or moral purpose and desired to return to the spiritual world of the Middle Ages. The six artists were headed by Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869). Under his leadership, they formed a small association called the Brotherhood of St Luke. The name “Nazarenes” was given to them because of their affectation of Christian dress and hairstyles. The basic idea of that group was Overbeck’s declaration that “an art practised by Christians and with Christians can be nothing else but Christian.” The experience of the “Nazarenes” gave an inspiration to Lacordaire (1840), who united the French Christian artists into a similar association. The figure of Christ became a subject matter which fascinated more artists.

“The Literary Absolute” Dethrones “the Literature of Absolute”, Creation Replaces Traditional Imitation and Poetry Becomes (a Non-figurative Text of) Music

Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), a poet and a politician, was also a zealous convert from Protestantism to Catholicism. His representative work “*Meditations Poétiques*” (Poetical Meditations, 1820) collected in *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses* (Poetical and Religious Harmonies, 1830) is a poem reflecting his religious devotion and nationalistic sentiment. For him poems could take the place of prayer. In Lamartine’s early poetry, God was synonymous with Truth. After his tragic separation from the Church (1832), God became the “God of the tomb” in his poetry (after 1835). As a result, his poetry became a kind of free association between pantheism, the cult of reason and Catholic doctrine (for this reason, his name was often in the Index⁽⁴⁾). In his foreword to “*Poetical Meditations*”, he wrote (1849): “I am the first who brought down Poetry from Parnassus,⁽⁵⁾ instead of the conventional seven-string lyre, there are the fibres of every human heart, shivers of Soul and Nature.”

In another collection of his poetry entitled *Destiny of Poetry* (1834), he wrote: “Poetry should be a sung reason, should be philosophical and religious, political and

2. A mixture of reality and fiction.

3. The Nazarenes were participating in an art campaign against the Neo-classicism of the 18th century and launched by a group of young German artists, who upheld the concept that all forms of art should serve the purposes of morality and religion. —Translator.

4. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of publications censored by the Catholic Church.

5. Parnassus, located in the middle part of Greece, was regarded in ancient times as a holy place of Apollo and the Muses. —Translator.



内》)。然而，这期间有两大事件给法国社会留下了深远的影响。一件是《1801年协定》的签订，它在教会和国家之间建立了一种新的关系；另一件是《基督宗教真谛》一书在次年出版，该书是夏多布里昂的浪漫主义代表作，同时也是一部护教作品。

基督宗教真谛与人文信仰⁽²⁾的发明

夏多布里昂(René de Chateaubriand, 1768-1848)是浪漫主义的开山人物之一，同时也是一位保守派作家和政治家，其护教作品有《基督宗教真谛》、《阿塔拉》和《勒内》(1802)。他提出了“与教会同感规则”(Sentire cum Ecclesia)的浪漫主义释义：“基督宗教是最具诗意的(lyric)，最人性的，也是最有益于人类追求自由，最有益于艺术与文化进步的宗教。从农业文明到抽象的科学文明，现代世界的一切成就都应归功于她。她推行光明理念，提炼文化品质，擢升德行，襄赞思想，为文学家提供高尚的艺术风格，为艺术家提供完美的形象。她还会惧怕光明吗？绝不会，因为她来自于天国。”

然而，夏多布里昂只是捍卫了宗教的感性美，避而不谈任何神学与哲学问题。他赞美上帝的创造之美：中世纪艺术风格，“拿撒勒画派”⁽³⁾，颂扬教会的传道工作，但对信仰的认知问题却鲜有论及。尽管这样，他仍然堪称浪漫主义护教学之父。我们一定不要忘记，他在写作《基督宗教真谛》的时候，并不是象一位良善的基督徒那样，将教会的利益放在首要地位来写作，而是以一位政治家，一个以全世界为己任的人来写作的。对他而言，一种感性的和审美的基督宗教才有助于实现他的政治理想和文学抱负。从一定意义上来讲，他在基督宗教信仰和基督宗教艺术方面的旨趣是“拿撒勒画派”(“Nazarenes”)的延伸。该画派由一群年轻的理想主义画

家组成，是德国浪漫主义艺术流派的代表。他们相信，艺术应有宗教和道德的合目的性，而且他们还渴望着重新回到中世纪的灵性世界中去。这六位艺术家中为首的是弗里德利希·奥弗贝克(Friedrich Overbeck, 1789-1869)，而且在他的领导下，这六位画家组成了一个名为“圣路加兄弟会”(Brotherhood of St Luke)的小团契。人们之所以称他们为“拿撒勒画派”是因为他们爱好基督的服饰和发型。这群艺术家的基本理念就是奥弗贝克所宣称的：“只有通过基督徒实践出来并且活在基督徒当中的艺术才算得上基督宗教的艺术。”他们的这一经验启发了拉科代尔(Lacordaire, 1840)，后者又联合法国艺术家们组成了类似团契。基督形象成了更多艺术家们所钟爱的题材。

“文学的绝对”取代“绝对的文学”，生成代替传统的模拟，诗歌成为音乐(的一种非形象化的文本)

阿尔封斯·德·拉马丁(Alphonse de Lamartine, 1790-1869, 诗人兼政治家)也是一位从新教改宗过来的激进的天主教徒。他的代表作《诗人的沉思》(收入《诗意与宗教的交响曲》，1820年)是一首集宗教敬虔与民族主义情感于一体的诗篇。对他而言，诗歌可以代替祈祷。在他早期的诗歌中，上帝是“真理”的同义词。在他与教会悲剧性地决裂(1832年)之后，上帝在他的诗里又进而成了“坟墓中的上帝”(1835年以后)。于是，他的诗歌终于变成了一种在泛神论(Pantheism)、理性崇拜和天主教教义之间任意联想的文字作品(因此拉马丁的名字也常常被例入教义手册的索引中)。

2. 一种真实与虚构相结合的混合体。

3. 拿撒勒画派(Nazarenes)，德国一些青年画家于1809年发起的一个反对18世纪新古典主义的艺术运动，主张一切艺术都应当为道德或宗教目的服务——译注。

social. It should be particularly intimate in order to express the mysterious impressions of the Soul." And in the Romantic dictionary, "soul" means "dream", and is a kind of product of religious syncretism.

Poetry in Romantic times plays, to some degree, a certain political role. Like an instigator, it promotes equality of people and upholds the idea that a simple, common language comprehensive to all should be used in literary creation. At that time,



Andrea Mantegna, "Agony in the Garden", 1455.

poetry became a song, which lived among the people. Lamartine delivered poetry from the classical "exercise of versed stanzas" and re-established the principle that poetry should be based on inspiration. Thanks to Lamartine's outstanding lyrical talent, poetry became a melody, even some kind of music, a song and the breath of the Soul (see Ronsard). Though Lamartine's poetry was Neo-classical in form, its content was Romantic.

Meditation (Lamartine) and contemplation (Victor Hugo) which are full of religious connotation, are two keywords of the Romantic vocabulary. Each of them expressed an untiring, active search for God. Romanticists often said that "Dogmatic faith is good, but the immediate one is better."

The magic and religious idealism of Novalis (1772-1801) gave proper expression to the figure of the "exalted poet", who was somehow like a clairvoyant magus who sees an invisible world. For him poetry was a real absolute and so the maxim he liked most was that "the more something was lyrical, the more it was true." Novalis believed that the features of good poetry were their eternal and infinite characters. In his eyes, art was religion. Novalis even thought that the spirit of history could only be detected by those poets entrusted with a prophetic mission.

Victor Hugo, the greatest French religious poet during this period, wrote at the age of fourteen a tragedy in five acts. And as early as that time Hugo claimed to himself: "Be Chateaubriand or nothing!" He shaped for his contemporaries an image of God the Father, who promulgated a Universal Republican system and called on all nations to coexist equally like brothers.

The Atheism of Romanticism

In his novel *Siebenkas*, Jean Paul Richter (1763-1825) arranged a plot in which a cosmic Christ proclaims the absence of God the Father. The main purpose of the novel was to show to the world how horrible atheism was. The narrator himself wept for joy after he realized that it had only been a nightmarish vision. However, when the novel was translated into French by Mme de Staël, its publication attracted a strong response from some Romantic poets, who saw the passage as some kind of manifesto of atheism:

God died, the Heavens are empty.
Weep my children, you haven't a Father
any more!

The above lines appear in Gérard de Nerval's (1808-1855) five sonnets entitled "Christ in the Olive Garden". They serve as a motto of the poet as well as the main motif of the poem. In his other collections of poems, Nerval was always in the habit of presenting the agony of Christ from the point of view of a faithless man. Thus, such a



他在《诗意的沉思》(1849)前言中写道：“是我首开先河将诗歌从帕纳塞斯山^④带了下来，与传统的七弦琴不同，我的诗歌从人的心弦上弹奏出来，发出灵魂与天性的颤音。”

在拉马丁的另一本诗集——《诗之命运》(1834年)中，他这样写道：“诗应该是一种歌咏中的理性，应该既是哲学的又是宗教的，既是政治的又是社会的。她尤其应该是内在的，惟其如此才能表达出灵魂中神秘的意象。”在浪漫主义的词典中，“灵魂”这个词意味着“梦想”，它代表着一种宗教调和主义的产物。

浪漫主义时代的诗歌在相当程度上扮演着一定的政治角色。就象是一位“鼓动家”，她提倡众人皆平等，又主张文学应采用一种简单的，人人都能明白的通俗语言。在那时，诗变成了一种流传在广大民众当中的歌咏。拉马丁将诗歌从古典“韵体诗”的窠臼解放了出来，重新确立了诗歌应以灵感为基础的原则。由于拉马丁杰出的歌咏天赋，诗句在他那里变成了吟唱，甚至是音乐，成了灵魂的吟咏与呼吸(参见Ronsard)。所以，拉马丁的作品从形式上看是新古典主义的，但其内容却是浪漫主义的。

浪漫主义语汇中的两个关键词都属于宗教意蕴很浓的词语：“沉思”(Meditation, 拉马丁)与“冥想”(Contemplation, 雨果)。这两个词都表达了人们不懈地、积极地寻求上帝的作为。浪漫主义者常常说道：“教义规定的信仰固然好，但直接面对神的信仰更好。”

诺瓦利斯(Novalis, 1772-1801)充满魅力同时又富有宗教敬虔内涵的理想主义性格特征恰如其分地表达了那种“超凡脱俗的诗人”形象。他甚至有点像一位可以洞悉那不可见灵界的通灵巫师。

对他而言，诗是真正的绝对之物，所以他最喜欢的格言是：“越是直抒胸臆的，就越是真实的。”诺瓦利斯认为，好诗的特征就在于它们具有永恒性与无限性的要素特征。所以，在他看来，艺术即宗教。诺瓦利斯甚至认为，人类历史的精神意义只能由那些胸怀先知使命的诗人们探求而得。

维克多·雨果(Victor Hugo)是这一时期法国最伟大的宗教诗人，他在十四岁的时候就完成了一部五幕悲剧的创作，而且早在那时，雨果就曾对自己说：“要么做一个夏多布里昂，要么就什么也别做！”雨果为他同时代的人们塑造了这样一位天父上帝的形象：这位上帝颁赐了一种普世共和的制度，要求各民族平等相处如手足兄弟。

浪漫主义的无神论

简·保罗·里希特尔(Jean Paul Richter, 1763-1825)在其小说《赛班克斯》中安排了这样一个情节，在这里，宇宙的基督宣告了作为天父之上帝的缺席。这部小说的主要目的就是要向世人展示无神论是多么可怕。在认识到这样的情节只不过是一场恶梦中的幻景之后，小说中的叙事者自己竟高兴得哭了。然而，这部小说经斯特尔(Mme de Staël)译成法文出版之后，引起了一些浪漫主义诗人的强烈共鸣。他们将这段内容视为无神论的宣言：

上帝死了，天堂空了，
哭泣吧，我的孩子们！你们再
也没有天父了！

以上出现在杰拉德·德·纳维尔(Gérard de Nerval, 1808-1855)题为《橄

4. 帕纳塞斯山(Parnassus)，位于希腊中部，古时被认作是太阳神和文艺女神们的灵地——译注。

crucified, divineless Christ became a symbol of the tragedy of human life. Christ was also described as a series of mythical figures:

...a foolish, sublime madman/ a forgotten Icarus who climbed to the sky/ a Phaeton lost under the thunderbolt of the gods/ a handsome and dying Atys resuscitated by Cybele (Great Mother of the Gods).

Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863) was also fascinated by the earthly image of Christ at Gethsemane. At the same time he was a Romantic poet deeply influenced by a painting entitled "Agony in the Garden" by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), a Renaissance artist. From 1839 until his death in 1863, the motif used most frequently by Vigny was from his representative work "The Mont of Olives" (1839):

Jesus kneels scrutinizing the dark sky
And calls: My Father! My Father!
But the sky remains black and God does
not answer.

Jesus has no more Father the Almighty
God and man has no more God the Father.
With the death of God, Jesus and mankind
become orphans. The image of the agonizing
and lonely Christ seemed to be omnipresent
in Vigny's work and gave him further inspiration
for creation. In his poem entitled "The Silence",
Vigny focused on God's absence.

Alfred de Musset (1810-1857) recalled the
tragic disappearance of the Christian faith
in the age of Romanticism in his long poem
"Rolla". He wrote in another poem titled "The
New Poetry":

I don't believe in your holy world, O Christ!
I came too late to a World too old,
Upon a hopeless century grows a century
without fear.
Our comets⁽⁶⁾ depopulated the Heavens.

6. In the original text, the word is "comets" or *hui xing* in Chinese. Since comets are regarded in both Chinese and Western cultures as something unlucky, I here translate it into *sao zhou xing* in Chinese.

Finally Romanticism turned to its reverse side. Romanticist writers not only refused to embrace God the Creator (because it was a badly created World full of sufferings), but also paid little heed to the Church's teaching. And once again Alfred de Vigny wrote in his "Trust in God" (1833):

Love is a sin, happiness is a crime.
My only guide is fear
And my only aim is death. 🌸

Translated from the Chinese by Guo Yidun

万德化，澳门利氏学社社长，在波兰克拉科贾吉龙大学获得法国文学硕士学位，并在耶稣会的巴黎塞佛尔中心获得天主教神学硕士学位。目前，他是巴黎第七大学汉学专业博士生，专攻二十世纪中法文学。他最近的著作有《安德烈·纪德〈伪币制造者〉一书中的纹心结构》（北京中央编译出版社，2007年）。他也在《神州交流》上发表了数篇文章，并且把著名客家作家钟理和的小说《笠山农场》翻译成法文。

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榄园中的基督》的五首十四行诗中的句子。它既是作者的格言，又是该作品的主题所在。在作者其它的诗集中，纳维尔总是习惯于从非基督宗教信仰者的角度表现基督的痛苦。于是，这样一位被钉十字架，同时又毫无神性可言的基督成为了全人类生命悲剧的象征。此外，基督还被刻画成一连串的神话形象：

……一个愚蠢而又高尚的疯子/
一个忘记回到天庭中去的伊卡洛斯(Icarus)/一个在众神的霹雳下丧身的法厄同(Phaeton)/一个英俊而且死后又被西布莉女神(Cybele, 伟大的诸神之母)复活了的阿提斯(Atys)。

阿尔弗雷德·德·维尼(Alfred de Vigny, 1797-1863)是一位浪漫主义作家，也对基督在客西马尼园中所表现出来的尘世形象很着迷，同时又受文艺复兴时期画家安德烈·曼特格尼(Andrea Mantegna, 1431-1506)的作品《花园中的挣扎》(1459)影响很深。从1839年直到1863年他去世，维尼使用最多的就是他的代表性诗作《橄榄山上》(1839)所表现的主题：

耶稣长跪在地，
凝望着黑暗的天空，喊道——
父啊！我的父啊！
但天依然黑暗，上帝没有回答。


从此，耶稣再也没有作为全能上帝的父亲，世人也不再有作为全人类共

同天父的上帝了。伴随上帝之死，耶稣和全人类都变成了孤儿。在维尼的作品里，那个在痛苦中挣扎而又孤立无援的基督形象几乎无处不在，并且总是赋予他更多的创作灵感。在一首标题为《沉默》的作品中，维尼集中表现了“上帝不在场”这一主题。

阿尔弗雷德·德·缪塞(Alfred de Musset, 1810-1857)在其长诗《罗拉》中，对浪漫主义时代基督宗教信仰悲剧性的消失作了回顾。他还在标题为《新诗》的作品中写道：

啊，基督！我不相信你的神圣
天界，
我只是这个衰老的尘世中一位
姗姗来迟者，
从一个绝望的世纪中，又延伸
出了一个无所畏惧的世纪，
我们的扫帚星^⑤捣毁了天国。

于是，浪漫主义最终转向了它的反面。浪漫主义作家不仅不接受一位作为造物主的上帝(因为这是一个造得很拙劣，而且充满了苦难的世界)，而且对教会的教导也不以为然。阿尔弗雷德·德·维尼在一首创作于1833年的作品——《相信上帝》中这样写道：

爱是一种罪，
幸福是一种恶。
唯有恐惧指引着我
我的唯一结局就是死亡。

刘光耀译

5. 原文为“comets”(彗星)。由于东西方文化皆视其为不祥之物，所以此处意译为“扫帚星”。