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凯帕尔《加尔文主义讲座》

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简介

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔博士是著名的荷兰加尔文主义神学家，哲学家，政治家。他于 1901-1905 当选为荷兰首相，任荷兰议会议员三十多年。凯帕尔博士才华横溢，精力充沛。他以加尔文主义为基础，对他的祖国的社会结构进行全面改革，影响涉及几乎生活的每一个层面。他担任两任基督教杂志的编辑长达四十五年。1880 年他莫立了阿姆斯特丹自由大学并亲自任教，任职。此外他出版了两百多卷著作，其中包括著名的《圣洁神学百科全书》，《圣灵的工作》，《靠近神》等。在他七十岁生日的庆祝会上，有人这样说：“四十年来，荷兰的教会，政府，出版业，教育界和科学界的历史上，每一页几乎都有他的名字”。此系列讲座是凯帕尔博士于 1898 年在美国普林斯顿大学作的，共分六个专题。凯帕尔博士在这个系列讲座中展示了加尔文主义不仅是神学教义的丰富宝藏，更是一个世界观的全面基础。本中译版已译出前五个专题，即以下五讲：

《加尔文主义讲座》第 1 讲

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔 (Abraham Kuyper) 著 (1898 年) 王兆丰译

第一讲：论加尔文主义作为一个生活体系

在开始之前，我想我们应该先给“加尔文主义”这个名词从历史的角度上下一个定义。在不同的国家，不同的人群中“加尔文主义”这个概念的用法截然不同。我把它们大致分为四类。

第一类：在我们生活的时代，加尔文主义代表一种信仰告白的类型。在很多罗马天主教国家里，加尔文主义被用来嘲笑所有属于改革宗教会的人，无论他是否真正有信仰。在法国，有人甚至称犹太人和加尔文主义者是危害国家利益的，是对道德生活具有危险性的人。

第二类：与第一类相反，加尔文主义被称为是信仰告白派，尤其是指公开宣告他们相信预定论教义的人们。他们被贴上狭窄教义牺牲品的标签。这种攻击是如此咄咄逼人，以至于那些完全相信，也公开捍卫预定论并以加尔文主义者为荣的神学家诸如赫治，有时也不得不以奥古斯汀主义来代替加尔文主义。（译注：关于信仰告白，十六世纪宗教改革之后的二百年里，几乎所有改革宗教会的正式信仰告白，从瑞士的海尔凡帝克信仰告白，苏格兰信仰告白，荷兰的多特大会决议，英格兰教会的三十九条，到德国的海德堡信条，一直到著名的威敏斯特信仰告白，伦敦浸信会信仰告白都是以加尔文主义神学为基础的）。

第三类：其他基督教宗派如浸信会和循道会中一部分人也使用“加尔文主义”这个称号，最著名的就是英国的司布真等称自己为加尔文主义浸信会，威尔士的怀特菲称自己为加尔文主义循道会者。这也属于信仰告白的一种，只不过是应用在特定的一个宗派之上。毫无疑问，这种事情一定会遭到加尔文本人严厉的批评。加尔文活着的时候，没有一个改革宗教会会以一个人的名字来称呼基督的教会。只有路德宗这样做过。

第四类：除了上述三种用法之外，“加尔文主义”的第四个用法是科学名称。这无论从历史上，哲学上，政治上都可以来证明。历史上，除了路德宗、重洗派和反对三位一体的索西尼派之外，加尔文主义指的就是宗教改革的方向。哲学上，我们知道这是一个在约翰加尔文影响之下所形成的一个思想体系，并且成为在生活的多个方面占主导地位的思想体系。作为一个政治名称，加尔文主义代表了一种政治运动，在民主立宪制下保障各国的自由。首先在荷兰，接着在英格兰，从十八世纪末以来在美国。在科学的概念上，时下德国的学者们中正盛行加尔文主义者一个名字。不仅是那些本身同情加尔文主义的人，就连那些弃决了正统基督教信仰告白的学者们也不否认加尔文思想的重要性。这点，可以从当代最权威的三位科学家的话中看到：富鲁英博士这样宣告：“加尔文主义给荷兰带来了由民主的教会机制，严格的道德准则以及怀着改革人类宗教道德的热情所组成的神圣的逻辑体系”。另一位历史学家怀着理性的同情心这样写到：“加尔文主义是十六世纪宗教与政治原则发展而成的最高形式”。第三位科学家不讳地承认加尔文主义解放了瑞士、荷兰、英国，也为清教徒先人们发展美国的繁荣提供了动力”。同样，你们美国的著名历史学家

班克罗夫也认为加尔文主义是一个具有”哲学实体、伦理道德、社会福祉和人类自由的体系，而所有这一切都来自神“。

我所要讲的正是这最后一种，从严格的科学概念上定义的加尔文主义，这是一个已经在西欧、美国、南非发展形成了我们在生活中、在思想上具有其本身原则的独立的体系。加尔文主义的范畴应该比我们所想象的狭窄的信仰解释要宽广的多。由于对用一个人的名字来命名教会的反感而使各国抗罗宗产生了不同的称呼：法国的“胡格诺”派，荷兰的“拜格斯”，英国的“清教徒”和“长老会”，北美的“清教徒移民先父”等等。但所有这些宗教改革的果实在欧洲和北美大陆所产生的特定的改革宗教会的形成，都出于加尔文主义这个源头。加尔文主义的范畴不应只限制在这些更为纯洁的启示。没有人将这种排斥性的规则应用在基督教这个概念上。在基督教的界限之内，我们不仅接受西欧各国，也欣然接受俄国、巴尔干各国、亚美尼亚、埃塞俄比亚等的教会。同样，我们也应将各地从更纯洁的加尔文主义分离出去的各改革宗教会归在一起。

英国国教圣公会的三十九条遵照严格的加尔文主义，尽管她那等级森严的管理机制与敬拜程序上已经离开了加尔文的正道，并且已经招致了严重的牛津运动(译注：十九世纪以牛津大学为中心的英国圣公会内兴起的运动，旨在反对圣公会内的改革宗倾向，标榜恢复传统的罗马天主教教义与礼仪)。独立派的信仰告白同样是加尔文主义的，虽然他们的教会组织形式被打破变成为各自独立的形式。(译注：独立派是十六十七世纪英国清教徒中主张各教堂独立自主的一派，主要包括公理会，浸信会)。如果说在卫斯理的领导之下大部分遁道会的人反对加尔文主义的神学解释，那么恰恰是加尔文主义的精神本身产生了这种反对当时死板的教会生活的精神。因此可以这样说，在整个宗教改革所涵盖的领域之内，只要不是路德宗或索西尼派，都是由加尔文主义所主导的。包括浸信会主义者们也把自己归列加尔文主义的帐篷之下。正是加尔文主义的自由特征才使这些阴影和不同观点，以及对这些极端倾向的反对得以兴起。罗马天主教基于其等级森严的体制，至今仍然能维持一个整体。路德宗教会的整体性则来自德意志各州王子的权力。(译注：德国的路德宗教会都以各自所在的省的王子为领袖)。

与此二体系不同的是，加尔文主义约束教会的等级制度，反对政府干涉教会，因此也就发展出各种不同的形式，当然也就存在着分裂的危险，容易产生各种各样一边倒的倾向。加尔文主义的这种促使生活自由发展的体系，除了产生出全面的、纯洁的、充满活力的核心之外，也会产生倾向

于反叛的各种边缘力量。但就在这种较纯洁的核心与不太纯洁的边缘之间的冲突之中加尔文主义精神本身就保证了其稳定运作。

我们知道加尔文主义立足于其特有的信仰形式。正是出于这种信仰的良心，加尔文主义发展了其特有的神学，其特有的教会秩序与制度，并且也发展起了政治与社会生活、道德观念、自然与恩典之间的关系、基督教与世界的关系，教会与政府之间的关系以及与艺术、与科学的关系。在这些诸多的关系中，只要这些发展是自动自发的出自于加尔文主义最深刻的生命原则，加尔文主义就永远是那完全相同的加尔文主义。因此在这个意义上，加尔文主义屹立于人类其它三个庞大复杂的生活系统之列。它们分别是：外邦多神论主义，伊斯兰教和罗马天主教。因此我们将人类归纳成为四个完全不同的世界。

准确地说，应该以基督教而不是以加尔文主义来与外邦文化、伊斯兰文化相比。但是以加尔文主义来作此对比更好。因为加尔文主义比罗马天主教、比路德宗更纯洁、更准确地体现了基督教。在受希腊东正教影响下的俄国和巴尔干各国，基督教没有能够从他们国家的神秘主义传统下产生出一个自己的生活形式。在路德宗国家里，政权的介入与干预阻碍了属灵原则的自由运行。罗马天主教的世界观和人生观及其具体表现只能说完全是他们自己的一套。与罗马天主教相反，加尔文主义的出现不仅仅是建立起一个不同的教会体系，这也是一个完全不同的生活体系，为人类社会提供了一个不同的存在方式，为人心世界提供了不同的观念、理想。

但这一切直到我们的时代才得以实现。只要认真学习一下历史，无论是朋友还是敌人都承认这点。这是不足为奇的。假如加尔文主义是以一个完全成熟、研究透彻的系统进入生活，情况就不会是这样了。但加尔文主义的源头却是以一个完全不同的方式出现的。在存在的顺序上，首先是生活。对于加尔文主义来说，第一件事情就是生活本身，是实践。并且，在加尔文主义成功的国家里如瑞士、荷兰、英格兰和苏格兰等，历史上没有多少哲学的背景。特别是在开始的时候，生活是自发的，也缺乏那种分析计算、深思熟虑。历史学家、神学家们把加尔文主义现象与其原则之间一致性的关系作为专题来研究还是后来的事情。甚至可以说，要对这样一个深刻而又广泛的生命现象进行理论上、系统上的研究、学习，只能在其最初的生命火花消失之后才有可能。然而，为了此系统的未来，有必要为此系统定出明确的界限。此外，还必须加上一条：在我们自己意识的镜子里，尤其是处在这个哲学盛行的年代里，以一个统一的体系来回顾思考我们的存在实在不是一件容易的事情。因此，深刻的分析、研究加尔文主义不仅为今天所需也同样有益于将来。

在罗马天主教里，人人都知道他为何而活，人人都清楚他们是生活在罗马天主教生活体系的一致性之中。即使是在伊斯兰教国家里，人们的生活也被同一种原则所主宰。而只有抗罗宗主义在旷野里无目的、无方向的游荡，没有什么发展。我们之所以如此是基于这样一个事实：在抗罗宗国家里，泛神论主义出生于现代德国的哲学，成形于达尔文的进化论并且在生活的每一个层面上日益地宣告自己的权威。甚至在神学上也以各种各样的名称试图要推翻基督教传统，想要以我们父辈的遗产来换取那毫无希望的现代佛教主义。这些思想起源于十八世纪末的法国革命和眼下盛行的德国哲学并且形成了一个生活体系要与我们父辈们所建立起来的直接对抗。我们的父辈所致力奋斗的，是为了荣耀神的名，为了基督教的纯洁。而现今的运动打的则是一场荣耀人的战争。激发他们的不是各各他的谦卑之心，而是英雄崇拜式的骄傲。那么我们基督徒站在此现代主义面前为什么如此软弱无力？我们为什么一直在丧失地盘？原因很简单，我们缺少一个具有一致性的关于生活的概念。这种概念，这个体系可以赋予我们不可抗拒的能量，在前线击退敌人。但此生活概念的统一性在抗罗宗所走的弯弯曲曲、多种多样的道路上，在含糊不清的概念中是找不到的。在过去的伟大历史进程中，加尔文主义为自己开挖出一条生命河流的通道。正是立足在加尔文主义生活概念的统一性上，你们在美国、我们在欧洲能够站立得稳、与罗马天主教并列，反对现代主义。没有这样一种统一性作为出发点，作为生活体系，我们就没有能力保持我们的独立地位，必定会衰弱下去。

在此，至关重要的是，我们在接受加尔文主义之前一定要有更充足的证据，证明这个体系不是一个偏面的，短暂的现象而是一个有根有基的，全面的体系。它不但能够在今天坚固我们也能够让我们对未来充满信心。

我们接着要问的是，作为一个体系，象泛神论或无神论主义、伊斯兰主义、罗马天主教和现代主义这样的生活体系，需要满足哪些条件？

首先要求的是，在所有人类生活中三个基本关系

- (1) (1) 我们与神的关系
- (2) (2) 我们与人的关系
- (3) (3) 我们与世界的关系

上有一个特定的原则，有一个特有的见解。因此，作为一个生活体系而言，我们的出发点就是要在对神的关系上有特别的解释。这点不是偶而是必然的。若要让与神的关系这件事在我们整个生活中打上烙印，它就必须从我们的良心开始，在此良心里，我们的生活是不可分割的，生活的一致性就存在于此。它不是生长出去的枝子叶子，而是枝子叶子赖以生长的根基。这里所说的当然是在我们人类的有限与超出我们以外的无限之间的对照。唯在此点上我们可以找到人类生活的各种不同支流的共同点。就个人而言，这是在我们心灵最深处的不断重复的经验，是我们接近那位永恒者的地方。我们生命的所有光束都聚焦在此点上。也唯有在此，我们才能找到那痛苦地失落在每天的压力烦恼之中的和谐性。在我们的祷告中，不仅有我们与神的合一，也有我们个人生活的合一。历史上，无论哪一种运动，只要不是源于此最深的源泉就永远是片面的、短暂的。唯有那些出自个人经验最深处的行动，才具有生活的全面性，才能够长存。

这点，适用于外邦泛神主义。它凭人的猜测假设认为敬拜神是在被造物之中。在此系统中，无论是最低形式的那种说人的地位与动物无异理论，还是最高层次的佛教都无差别。此系统从未产生过神独立存在于一切被造之物之外，存在于一切被造之物之上的概念。但即使是在这种不完全的形式下，它也有自己的起始点来解释有限与无限的关系。也就是因为有此重要的起始点，它能够产生自己的一整套的人类社会的存在。

我们再来看一看伊斯兰教。它全然反对外邦泛神论，切断被造之物与神之间的一切接触。默罕默德、可兰经虽是历史名词，但在本质上，奥斯曼帝国(注：伊斯兰教全盛时期)是外邦泛神论主义的绝对对立面。为了防止任何混杂，伊斯兰教也同样产生出一个特殊的人类生活的世界。

罗马天主教也不例外。这个以教皇、等阶森严的神职系统、弥撒等等所组成的体系源于一个基本思想：神与被造物之间的交往要通过一个神秘的中间环节——教会来实现。这里所说的神秘是指一个有形的，以教皇为最高权威的组织。在这里，教会站在神与世界之间。由此，罗马天主教也激发了、产生了一个自己的人类社会。

与上述三者共同站立而又对立的加尔文主义立足于自己的，也同样是根本的思想之上。它不象外邦泛神主义那样在被造之物中寻找神，不象伊斯兰教那样将神与人隔绝开，也不象罗马天主教那样在神与人之间设立一套中间组织，加尔文主义的崇高概念是：神虽高于一切被造之物，但却以圣灵与人直接交流。这也是加尔文主义预定论的核心所在。人与神的交流完全出于神在永恒里的

美好旨意。因此恩典只有直接来自神。我们存在的每时每刻，我们的属灵生命完全依赖于神自己。

“荣耀单单归于神”不是出发点而是结果(注：宗教改革时期的五个伟大主题之一。即：唯独圣经是权威；唯独基督是救主；恩典单单来自神；得救单单通过信；荣耀单单归于神)

神的预定是永远不会改变的。预定论不是为了把人分开，也不是出于人的骄傲。而是为了保障从永远到永远，我们内在的自我与永生神的交流。加尔文主义者反对罗马天主教的第一个理由是人为地把教会本身置于灵魂与上帝之间。教会不是一个由各种职位所组成的，独立的机构。只要信徒们的信心与神接触，他们本身就是教会。

正如上述三个体系一样，加尔文主义也找到了关于人与神之间关系的明确解释。这也是一个真正的生活体系所必须具备的第一条件。

这里，我能看到两种反对意见。首先有人会问，我是否将本应属于抗罗宗的荣誉归给了加尔文主义？对这个问题，我的回答是，否。当我说加尔文主义重新建立起了与神的直接交流，我并非贬低抗罗宗的重要性。在抗罗宗的范畴之内，历史上唯有路德宗与加尔文主义并肩而立。马丁·路德发起抗罗运动应该得到最高的称赞。在他心里，而不是在加尔文心里，经过痛苦挣扎之后，路德领导了震惊世界的历史运动。解释路德不需要加尔文。但解释加尔文就离不开路德。在很大程度上，加尔文进入的收获来自威登堡的英雄在德国境内外撒下的种子(注：威登堡是路德发起抗罗运动的地方)。

但是，当我们问谁对宗教改革的原则有着最深刻的见解，在最广泛的范围内，最全面的将这些原则付诸实践，历史就会指向日内瓦的思想家而不是威登堡的英雄。路德和加尔文都竭力要找到与神的直接交流。路德从主观的、人类的一边开始，而加尔文则是从客观的、宇宙的一边开始。路德的出发点是教会概念上称义的信心；而加尔文的出发点则宽广的多，他的出发点是神的全能在宇宙里的统一原则。这样，自然的结果是，路德仍然将教会看作是站在信徒和神之间的代表，是具有权威的教师；而加尔文则是在信徒们本身之中寻找教会的第一人。路德以他的能力所及在圣餐的观点上，在教会敬拜的礼仪上仍依靠罗马天主教会的观点；而加尔文则是第一位划出一条线从神直接到人，从人直接到神之人。在路德宗的国家里，宗教改革从王子们而不是从人民开始，因而也就从属于政府的权力之下，王子们成了教会里最高的大主教。在这种原则之下，也就既不能改变社会生活，也不能改变政治生活。因此，从来就没有过路德宗创造出一个特殊的生活形态

这种说法，甚至连“路德主义”这个名词都极少有人提过；而学历史的人越来越承认，加尔文主义创造出一个是它自己的人类生活系统。

我们听到的第二条反对意见是：假如每一个生活系统都必须以人与神的关系的解释来作为起始点，那么你怎么解释现代主义呢？因为现代主义源自与一切宗教决裂的法国革命。

这是个不问自答的问题。假如你把所有关于永生神的概念统统摈弃掉，正如罗素那样高喊“不要上帝！不要主宰！”口号（译注：罗素是十八世纪启蒙运动及后来的法国革命的奠基人），那么你恰恰是为你对上帝的解释下了一个最明确的定义。我们可以用以下的例子作比喻。一国政府召回了驻另一国大使，断绝一切正常关系，与那国的关系就处于紧张状态，最后结果便导致战争。法国革命的领袖们除了当时法国的天主教之外，对神毫无关系可言。他们窒息了所有与神的关系，因为他们想要窒息教会的一切权力。结果，他们向一切信仰告白宣战。这，实际上也就意味着将上帝视为一个敌对的势力。不，是将上帝视为死了，假如不是在心里的话至少也是在社会上，在科学上。我们可以肯定的说，现代主义从法国转到德国，并不满足于仅仅否认上帝。它自从披上了泛神论或不可知论的外衣之后，以各种名目要将上帝从神学上从实践中驱逐出去。于是它与三位一体神为敌就达到了顶峰。

因此，我认为如何看待与神的关系主导着每一个生活系统。对于我们来说，我们要感谢加尔文主义关于神与人，人与神的直接关系的根本教导。我再加上一句：加尔文主义既没有发明也没有构想出此教导。这是神自己将它放在他所造就的英雄们，他所差遣的使者们的心里的。这不是一个聪明智慧的产物，而是神在人心里作工的果子。此点必须强调！加尔文主义从来未曾在天才的祭坛上烧过香，也从来没有为它的英雄们立过纪念碑。事实上，连他们的名字都很少提起过。唯一用来纪念加尔文的是日内瓦的一块石头。他的墓在何处都早已被遗忘。这是忘恩负义吗？决不是。若说加尔文被人尊敬，哪怕是在十六——十七世纪的时候，人人都清楚有一位比加尔文更大的。那就是神自己。这是神自己兴起的工作。没有一个运动有过象加尔文主义那样不同寻常的发展。加尔文主义在西欧国家里兴起，并非是出于哪所名牌大学。不是因为知识分子的带领，也不是因为政府的领导。它的发展出自于人民的心里。无论是工人、农民、还是商人、仆人、女佣，他们身上所具备的是同样的品格。他们心里都有永远得救的确据。这，非但不需要教会的介入，甚至教会的反对也丝毫改变不了人们心里与神永远的和好。并且因着这种神圣的交流，人们在生活的每一个层面、每一个角落都因此而找到自己崇高而神圣的呼召，使他们从事的每一个职业都成为圣洁，每个人以自己的能力所及来荣耀神的名。因此，当这些与圣洁生活有份的男女老少被逼着

放弃他们的信仰，否认他们的主时，他们以行动证明那是不可能的事。他们数以千计、数以万计的走上绞刑架，没有畏惧没有怨言，嘴上唱着诗篇，心里充满喜乐。加尔文不是这一切的作者，是神通过他的圣灵在加尔文心里作工，让他激励起他们的心。加尔文不是站在他们之上，而是作为弟兄与他们并肩站立，和他们共同领受神的祝福。加尔文主义对人与神的直接交流所给出的根本性解释也不是加尔文发明的，而是神自己赐给我们父辈们的一种特权。加尔文不过是第一个清楚地领悟到此恩典的人。圣灵在历史上的伟大作为使加尔文主义分别为圣，这就是加尔文主义那种奇妙能量的来源。

历史上，信仰生命的脉搏有时很微弱，有时很强劲。十六世纪的西欧各国就是一个很好的例子。当年，信仰的主题主导了社会生活的每一个环节。历史也由于此信仰翻开了新的一页，正象今天的新历史是从法国革命的不信开始一样。信仰生活的这种周期性所遵行的是何种规律我们无法明确定义。但是很明显这种规律是存在的。信仰高潮来临时，圣灵在人们心里的工作是不可抗拒的。加尔文主义者，清教徒和先父们所经历的正是神的这种伟大的内在工作。圣灵在每个人心里的工作程度上有所不同，这在任何一个伟大运动中都是如此。那些成为运动中心，推动运动发展的人们在最大程度上经历的就是圣灵的强大能力。他们来自不同的民族，来自社会的每一个阶层。他们被神亲自接纳而永生神交往。因着神在人们心里的工作，一个人的一生都应该活在神面前这个概念便成为加尔文主义思想的根基。此决定性的概念，不应该说此伟大的事实主导了加尔文主义者生活的每一个层面。加尔文主义那充满活力的生活体系也正是在此根基上长成。

现在我们来查看产生一个生活体系所必须具备的第二个条件。那就是对人与人的关系的解释。我们如何站在神的面前是首要的，其次就是如何站在人的面前。这关系到我们怎样决定来建设我们的生活。在人与人之间存在着不是统一性而是无穷无尽的多样性。神在创世的时候就建立起了男人与女人之间的关系。每个人在身体上、属灵上所蒙的恩赐也各不相同。这种关系在每一个生活系统中不是被削弱就是被加强。外邦泛神主义、伊斯兰教、罗马天主教和加尔文主义在看待、解释此关系上都有自己根本的立场。假如上帝象外邦泛神论那样认为是存在于被造物之中，那么神圣性、超然性也就在人的中间。于是他们发明了半人半神，搞起了英雄崇拜，最后导致了向凯撒大帝献祭这样的事。另一方面，那些低贱的人们就被视为草芥一般。因此而产生了象印度和埃及的种姓制度，产生了各国的奴隶制度，将某些人置于其他人之下。在伊斯兰教国家里，在那真主赐给虔信者与之相伴的天国美女的乐园里，权大于法，女人成为男人的奴隶，被征服国的人民成了伊斯兰教国家的奴隶。

罗马天主教虽生长于基督教的土壤里，但却将本来是绝对的视为相对的，而将人与人之间的所有关系都解释成等级式、阶梯式的。在天使中有等级，在教会里有等级，在社会上人与人之间也以等级区分。从而产生了一种完全是贵族特权式的基本概念。

现代主义否认一切差别。非但男女平等，甚至不将男女颠倒誓不罢休。他们将一切差别都置于一个共同的天平之上。在弃决统一性的禁令之下抹杀生活。他们仅允许一种统一，一个观点，一种生活方式。凡超出此规范的就被认为是对公众良心的侮辱。

加尔文主义从人与神之间的根本关系上得出人与人之间关系的特殊解释。也正是这种唯一真实的关系使得十六世纪以来，人变得尊贵。如果加尔文主义将整个人类直接放在神的面前，那么所有的人，男人、女人，富人、穷人，软弱的或强壮的，智慧的还是愚拙的，在神的面前都是被造之物，都是失落的罪人。除了神设立的政权而使有些人比别人在更高的职位上，没有任何人有任何理由作他人之主，凌驾于他人之上。神赐给一些人聪明才智，为的要使这些多得的人能服侍那些少得的人，要使他们从心里服侍神。因此加尔文主义不仅谴责奴隶制、种姓制，也谴责对妇女对穷人的奴役；不仅反对人与人之间的等级制度，也反对一切贵族特权。除非是那些蒙神恩赐，具有特殊才干与品德的个人或家庭，并且他们不是为了自己的荣耀，不是出于个人的野心与骄傲，而是用来服侍神。由此可知，加尔文主义对生活的解释必定是民主的。它提倡各国的自由，致力于在政治上、社会上承认、尊重、公正地对待每一个人。原因是每一个人都是按神的形象所造。这一切，不是出于妒忌，不是低位的要越级登上高位，而是所有的人都曲膝在以色列的圣者面前。这就解释了为什么加尔文主义没有与旧时代发生过突然决裂这个历史事实。即使是在早期阶段，加尔文主义并未直接废除而是通过道德上的审判来削弱奴隶制度。因此，加尔文主义允许了中世纪的等级制度，贵族特权的暂时继续。威廉一世并没有因为他是贵族而遭谴责，相反他正因此而得荣誉（注：威廉一世是十六世纪宗教改革期间领导荷兰反抗西班牙统治的奥伦治亲王）。加尔文主义的社会改革是从人心开始的。如上所述，它不是出于对等级制度的妒忌，也不是出于不正当地拥有财富的企图，而是出于对生活的严肃的解释。中产阶级和劳工阶级通过自己的勤奋工作，通过对高尚品德的不断追求而让贵族与富人产生妒嫉。

凡事首先仰望神然后再看待邻舍，就是加尔文主义为头脑与心灵提供的驱动力。民主的概念就是在这种对神的敬畏、在神面前的一致性的基础上发展起来的。此民主概念也不断地赢得人心。埃格蒙特公爵遭逼受难就是一个很好的例子。（注：宗教改革时期荷兰名将，因反对西班牙对抗罗

宗的镇压而被以叛逆砍头)。他为了更纯洁的信仰与纺织厂工人和其他平民一起走上断头台,以死来使完全不同阶级的贵族与平民和好。也可以说,阿尔瓦则以他血腥的镇压促进了民主精神的蓬勃发展(注:阿尔瓦是当时血腥镇压荷兰抗罗宗的西班牙将军)。哪怕是从人的利益考虑,将每个人都置于平等地位这个永垂不朽的荣誉,也无可争议地属于加尔文主义。这种平等与法国革命所梦想的那种不着边际的平等完全不同。后者是同心协力地反对神。而前者是没有贫富之别,人人都跪在神面前被同一种热情所燃烧,那就是为了荣耀神的名。

决定一个体系对生活的解释的第三个基本关系是我们与世界的关系。我们已经回顾了加尔文主义在人与神、人与人的关系上的思想。下面我们来看最后一条:我们与世界的关系。一般说来,外邦多神论对世界的估计过高。一方面对世界具有恐惧之心,另一方面又迷失在其中。

伊斯兰教正好相反,把世界看得太低。他们常常以那所谓的感官享受的乐园为目标而嘲笑藐视世界。这里我们就不再赘述。

在基督教的欧洲和美国,比较重视教会与世界的关系而忽视人与世界的关系。这种情况源于中世纪。在罗马天主教的等级观念下,教会与世界互相排斥。前者被看为圣洁的,后者则被视为在咒诅之下。教会之外的一切都被看作是在魔鬼的影响之下。因此在基督教国家里,整个社会生活都必须在教会的翅膀底下。政府必须由教会指定,也必须遵守信仰告白。艺术和科学必须经过教会的审查、控制。工商业活动也必须唯教会的马头是瞻。人从出身到死亡,人的家庭生活也必须在教会的监护之下。所有这一切是要使世界从属于基督之下的巨大努力。但,这也不可避免的带来一个严重的后果:把不同的生活倾向不是视为异端就是看作巫术而施以严酷审判,推上绞刑架。这种要命的理论是以铁的逻辑执行的。它不是出于残酷,也不是出于野心,却是要拯救基督化的世界这个伟大目标为目的。于是,世界就附属在教会的阴影之下,逃离世界不仅是修道院甚至神职也不例外。但是,让教会来掌管世界已经被证明对生活的自由发展起了阻碍作用。

加尔文主义以它双重的社会地位在思想上、概念上进行了一场完全不同的改革。加尔文主义将自己放在神面前,不仅因着人按神形被造而尊重人,而且将世界视为神圣的创造,旗帜鲜明地指出,救恩是神的特殊恩典,神也有一般恩典,维持、供应世上的一切生命,放缓对地的诅咒,限制世界的破坏。这就给了我们生活的自由发展以空间,让我们在生活中荣耀他的名。因此,教会作为基督徒聚会的所在。我们生活的世界,生活的每一个角落不是要脱离神而是脱离教会的控制。从

而，家庭生活恢复了独立、工商业在自由中得以发展，艺术与科学也从教会的束缚、限制下获得活力。人开始理解，管理自然界和一切被造物是他的神圣职责，这正是神在创世之初所吩咐人要做的。咒诅并不在这个世界本身，而在罪上。不是从世界逃进修道院，人的责任应该是在世界上，在生活的每一个层面事奉神。因此，加尔文主义以清教徒的严肃，不仅敢于面对世界，自己又不被这世界的毒酒所击倒，并且也为生活的发展提供动力，征服生活的每一个方面。

加尔文主义在反对重洗派的一事上尤其展现出其信仰之勇敢。因为重洗派采取了反对罗马天主教的形式，试图从禁欲主义出发，推销给世界，要求所有信徒都必须遵守。后来在西欧抗罗宗里出现的阿考斯姆主义活动就是建立在重洗派而不是加尔文主义的原则上的。事实上，重洗主义所采纳的是罗马天主教的那套理论，所不同的是：

- (1) (1) 将神的国代替教会，废除了神职人员与一般信徒之间在道德标准上的双重标准。
- (2) (2) 未受洗的世界在诅咒之下，因此信徒应该退出所有的社会、政府机构。
- (3) (3) 以神国之名，要将所有的社会生活置于神国的护卫之下，加以重新模塑。因此一个叫做雷登约翰的人在爱尔兰的芒斯特省，一度以暴力建立起一个他们称为新锡安王国的政权，效忠他的人甚至在阿姆斯特丹街头裸行。
- (4) (4)

因此，正如否定罗马天主教的理论一样，加尔文主义也否定重洗派的理论，宣告说教会必须将自己的权力限止在属灵的范畴之内，在世界上我们应承认神普遍恩典的力量。

至此为止，我们证明了加尔文主义在人类生存的三个基本关系上，有其明确定义的起始点。即：我们与神、与人、与世界的关系：

- (1) (1) 人与永恒者之间的直接交往而不需要借助教会。
- (2) (2) 承认每个人的价值，即：每个人都是按神的形象被造。因此，每个人在神，在政府的眼里有尊严。
- (3) (3) 承认整个世界所爱的咒诅被神的普通恩典所约束，尊重世界上的生活以及其独立性。并且我们必须在每一个领域里开发神藏于自然界和人类生活中的潜能。

以上所证明的加尔文主义在此三种基本关系上的立场，完全有权力与外邦泛神主义、伊斯兰教、罗马天主教和现代主义一样坚立，无可置疑地为自己赢得一个立场鲜明的，全面的生活体系。事

实还远不止这些。在一些地区，加尔文主义以其对生活的独特解释，在属灵和世俗的两个范畴内，形成一个包括家庭、社会生活在内的独立的生活体系。但加尔文主义尚未获得带领人类走向更高的发展阶段之声誉。按我们的观点，加尔文主义的生活体系的确对我们的的心灵提供动力与奉献精神这一荣誉受之无愧。在中国，孔孟之道有权说它在那片土地上形成了一个自己的生活体系。蒙古人也同样按他们的理论形成他们自己的生活体系。但中国并未对整个人类作出过很大贡献。就他们自己的生活而言，他们的水是清澈的，但他们所形成的不过是一个孤立的湖泊。以古老文明著称的印度文明、墨西哥玛亚文明、秘鲁的印加文明也都类似。在这些国家与地区，社会文明达到了一个很高的阶段，但随后却停留在那里，并且至今仍处于那种封闭状况，对整个人类并未带来什么益处(注：此演讲的时间是在1898年)。此一概念若应用在非洲大陆那些文明发展还处于低级阶段的各民族上会更有力量，他们所形成的最多也就是池塘和沼泽地，世界上只有一股宽广、充满活力的河流，从一开始就承受了未来的应许。这股河流起源于中东，稳定不断地从东流向西。从西欧又来到北美大陆，从你们的东海岸各州又流到西海岸的加利福尼亚。这条河流发源于巴比伦和尼罗河流域，从那里流向希腊，从希腊流到了罗马帝国，从罗马天主教各国又流向西、北欧各国，又从荷兰从英格兰流到你们美洲。目前此河流在这里伫立等待。她向西的途中有中国和日本阻拦：此外，现在也没人能看得出将来东欧、斯洛伐克各民族会发生什么，但至今为止他们还未产生任何进展。

尽管未来的面纱尚未揭开，这股从东方到西方的流动之河的历程是不可否认的。因此，我可以有把握的说，外邦泛神主义、伊斯兰教、罗马天主教是上述已经完成的三个阶段，未来方向的接力棒已经传到加尔文主义的手中，但今天法国革命的女儿——现代主义则拒绝加尔文主义的这种领导作用。

上述这四个发展阶段并非机械地发生。每个阶段里也都包含着冲突和分裂。生活的这种发展是有机的，因此每一阶段都与其前身有着密切的联系。加尔文主义的严格逻辑性早已为奥古斯汀所悟。早在奥古斯汀之前，保罗在给罗马教会的信里就已经宣告了。从保罗又可追溯到以色列和她的先知们，是啊，可以一直追溯到列祖的帐篷里。同样，罗马天主教的出现也并非偶然，它是以色列的祭司制度、各各他的十字架和罗马帝国的世界性组织结构的混合。伊斯兰教也不例外，是希伯来一神论，拿撒勒的先知(注：伊斯兰教承认耶稣，但只视为先知。穆罕默德早年曾接触犹太教和基督教并受影响)和什叶派的大杂烩。甚至在外邦泛神论中，一方面是巴比伦和埃及，另一方面是希腊与罗马，也都是建立在他们祖先丰富的物质基础之上。众所周知，人类发展的最强有力的力量是成功的从巴比伦到埃及到希腊到罗马，然后又发展到了罗马天主教的国家与地区，最后

发展到西欧的加尔文主义国家。如果说以色列在巴比伦和埃及时代曾经昌盛过，无论他们当时达到了什么样的标准，人类发展的接力棒却不在亚伯拉罕子孙手里，而在伯沙撒们(注：巴比伦王，见但以理书第五章)和法老们的手中。并且此领导地位的接力棒没有从巴比伦、埃及传到以色列，而传到了希腊和罗马。无论基督教的河流曾如何高涨过，当第8~9世纪伊斯兰教出现的时候，默罕默德的追随者们曾经是我们的老师，世界上许多重大事件也都与他们有关。尽管罗马教庭在明斯特和约之后又将他们的统治权维持了一段时间，无人怀疑眼下我们所获得的前所未有的发展即不是西班牙(注：十六世纪之前欧洲最强大国家，属罗马教庭)也不是奥匈帝国，甚至也与当时的日耳曼各省无关，而完全是来自于加尔文主义的荷兰和十六世纪的英国。在路易十四(注：法国皇帝)点头之下，罗马教庭在法国扑灭了其最高的发展，只有到法国革命的时候，影子般表现出一种完全走样、变形的加尔文主义，不幸地从内部破坏了法兰西的民族力量，削弱了法国在国际上的重要性。加尔文主义的基本思想被从荷兰移植到了英国，又来到美国，并成为向西发展的驱动力。今天她已经伫立在太平洋的东岸，以敬畏之心等待神预旨所定的下一步。虽然我们无法得知未来，但上述人类发展的这几个阶段一直到加尔文主义，的确是一个历史事实。目前正在欧洲和美国所发生的冲突双方，一方是加尔文主义那出自神，出自神话语的力量，人们生活的每一个层面都来荣耀神，另一方则是法国革命的产物，高呼着“不要神，没有主！”；其眼下的代表形式就是德国的泛神主义，她正日益走向现代外神主义或无神论。

根据上述的论证，我想我把既不是宗教上的，也不是神学上的，更不是世俗的概念，而是至今为止人类发展的几个主要阶段中最年轻的，蒙神呼召来影响人类生活进程的一个阶段这个荣誉加给加尔文主义应该不算过份。

各国从不成熟向成熟的发展过程有点类似家庭生活，人小的时候，一切决定都由家长所做。在各国的发展中也一样，首先是从小亚细亚的专制暴君，然后是君主制，接着有祭司制度，最后发展到祭司制与政权并存领导每一个运动。历史上巴比伦和埃及，希腊与罗马，伊斯兰教统治与罗马天主教统治都证实了这种发展进程。但有一点是明显的，即：这并不是一个永恒的状态。正如这些国家经过长期的发展最后都会达到一个阶段，各地的人民觉醒过来，为他们自己的权力站起来，并引导运动的方向。加尔文主义的兴起就达到了这个阶段。至今为止，推动社会发展的各种运动不是来自于国家权力，就是教会或是科学，都是从上到下的。但在加尔文主义里，运动源于社会各阶层人民的自发性，它推动社会生活朝着更高阶段发展。加尔文主义是从民众中开始的。在路德宗国家里，政府仍然对社会发展起领导作用。但在瑞士，在法国抗罗宗地区的胡格诺派；在比利时，在荷兰，在苏格兰，在英国，人民自己成为社会发展的推动力。并且他们已经成熟起来，

成为时代的佼佼者。即使是在某些情况下，就如当年在荷兰，贵族曾勇敢地为那些被压迫的人们站出来，但他们并没有真正成就什么。而人民却以惊人的能力，打破障碍，获得自由，正如“沉默的威廉”自己说的，普通百姓自发的英勇行为才是成功的原因。

因此，作为人类发展的一个中心现象，加尔文不仅受之无愧的享有与外邦泛神主义、伊斯兰教、罗马天主教一样作为主宰一个特定生活范围的荣誉，它也满足了达到人类发展更高阶段的要求。若没有事实作依据，这不过是一个可能性而已。假如历史没有证明加尔文主义已经造成人类生活之河流向一条不同的渠道，已经使各国的生活变得更有尊严，那么这一切还都是纸上谈兵。

因此，在此讲结束之际，我要说加尔文主义不仅指出了这一切的可能性，并且也知道怎样付诸实践。有证据吗？只要你问自己一下，假如十六世纪在西欧上空未曾升起过加尔文主义之星，我们还会有今天的欧洲和美国吗？西班牙就会毁灭荷兰，斯图亚特王朝在英国和苏格兰仍然会继续他们的统治。半心半意、不冷不热就会成为瑞士的今天，欧洲各国的政权也会不可避免地走回到老路上去。抗罗宗主义也决不可能有今天这样的地位。罗马教庭，波旁(注：法国王朝)和斯图亚特王朝就可以为所欲为。欧洲各国、美国的自由也就无从谈起，整个美国将仍然在西班牙的统治之下。欧、美大陆的历史也就会是一部令人伤心泪下的历史。莱比锡协议(注：1548年在麦兰松主持下德皇与国会达成的调合德国罗马天主教与抗罗宗的临时协议)的精神或许就会成功，将北欧再一次变为天主教化的抗罗宗、古老的君主制度。十九世纪下半叶最优秀的历史学家们满怀热情、全力以赴地考查、研究荷兰反抗西班牙统治的那段历史的结果证明，当年强大的西班牙若不是被加尔文主义精神武装起来的英雄们所击溃，荷兰的历史、欧洲的历史，世界的历史就会是令人痛心的黑暗与不幸，而不是今天的光明与激动人心。

富鲁英教授公正地评论说：“在瑞士、法国、荷兰、苏格兰、英国，在任何一块抗罗宗主义被刀剑顶着胸膛之下所建立起来的土地上，正是加尔文主义使这一切成为事实”。

在此，我想提醒诸位的是，要不是因为加尔文主义在人心里植入了一个不同的原则，向人们的头脑显示了另外一个世界，上述的世界历史转折是不会发生的。唯有加尔文主义为我们获得了，并以宪法保障了我们的民主权力。当年自发地从欧洲开始的那个伟大运动，促进了科学和艺术的兴起，开创了商业与贸易的繁荣，美化了家庭与社会生活，造就了中产阶级受尊重的地位，促成了慈善事业的蓬勃兴起。并且，在此一切之上，以清教徒的严肃来提倡清洁、尊贵的道德生活。你

自己来作一个判断，看看我们是要将此神赐的加尔文主义存进历史档案，还是相信加尔文主义将会带来的祝福，带来一个尚未显明的未来。

假如我们大西洋两岸的基督徒们想要在十字架的大旗之下，与眼下盛行的无神论和泛神主义争战，唯有加尔文主义才能为我们提供不屈不挠坚定不移的原则，保障我们会赢得那决非容易的胜利。

（第一讲完，译于 2002 年）

《加尔文主义讲座》第 2 讲

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔 (Abraham Kuyper) 著（1898 年） 王兆丰译

第二讲：加尔文主义与宗教信仰

我们在上一讲所得出了如下的结论：

- 1、加尔文主义就意味着抗罗宗主义的成熟，它使人类发展达到了一个更高更丰富的阶段。
- 2、以法国革命为起始点的现代主义世界观，除了模仿加尔文主义所宣告的辉煌的理论之外毫无自夸之处，因此也就不配得那所谓带领我们走向更高阶段的荣誉。
- 3、任何拒绝无神论的人必定会回到加尔文主义上来，不是恢复那老旧的形式，而是再次持定加尔文主义的原则，并且应用这些原则形成抗罗宗思想的统一，来改变今天基督徒那种缺乏能力的实际生活，来面对我们时代的挑战。

在今天这一讲里，我们要谈的是加尔文主义与宗教信仰。首先，我们会来看在敬拜至高神的范畴里，加尔文主义所起的主导作用。在宗教范畴内，加尔文主义所占有那种特殊和感人的地位是无可否认的。

犹如一支神来之笔，加尔文主义创造出了自己的信仰告白，自己的神学，自己的教会组织结构，自己的教会纪律，自己的崇拜方式和自己的道德实践。长期来，历史研究的结果越来越证实我们宗教生活中所有新的加尔文主义形式都是同一种根本的思想，同一种不变的原则所产生的必然逻辑结果。与加尔文主义的能量相比，现代主义在同样范畴内毫无成果的努力所表现出来是一种彻底的无能。自从进入“神秘主义”以来，无论在欧洲还是在美国，现代主义也承认有必要

为我们这个时代创造出一种新的宗教形式。在那曾一度闪闪发光的理性主义出现后仅一个世纪后的今天，唯物主义已完全躲进的科学之中，一种空洞的虔诚又一次在竭尽其诱惑之能，一天比一天更吸引人去一头钻进那神秘主义的温泉之中。此种带给人几乎是愉快感觉的现代神秘主义，正从那只来自不可知无限的琼浆玉露之杯开怀豪饮，饮鸩止渴（译注：此处用的是罗马神话中的一故），有人甚至说：这是有目的地要在一度耸立的清教徒大厦的废墟上建造出一种新宗教，新规矩，并要为其作为宗教生活的更高进化来举行一个宣誓仪式。这二十多年以来，这座新殿的庄严献礼也早已向我们承诺过。那么，她是否产生过什么结果呢？没有，什么也没有带给我们，也从来未产生过任何实际效果，那些五花八门的假设也从来未产生过一个有条有理的原则，甚至连一个稍微相关的运动迹象也看不出来，那棵人们等待已久的花连苗都没有从这片光秃秃的土地上发出来。与此相比，十六世纪伟大的宗教精神，以那大师般的一笔，就在目瞪口呆的世界面前展现出完整的宗教伟业，建立起最符合圣经的无形的信仰大厦。此大厦是以如此惊人的速度建成圣至观众们都忘了去注意她那奇妙的基础，而今天的现代宗教思想，我都不能用“创建”一词来描述，充其量不过是杂乱地堆积而成，就像是出自一个失败的业余作家之手，没有一个国家，没有一个家庭，甚至找不出几个隐居的灵魂曾经在此找到他“破碎心灵”的安慰（注：奥古斯汀语）。

而那位日内瓦的改教家则以他那伟大的属灵能力一下子就在五个国家里并在此后的三个世纪中为人提供了生活的指南，将人心向着众灵之父的神提升，让人获得永恒的圣洁平安。

这就自然而然地引出了一个问题：这种奇妙的能量到底是什么？

现在就请允许我来回答这个问题，首先是此宗教信仰本身，然后是在教会生活里所反映出来的此宗教信仰，最后是此宗教信仰给实际生活所带的效果。

那么，我们首先就必须来讨论这种宗教信仰。这里有四个关联的问题：

- 一、一、 宗教信仰的存在到底是为了神还是为了人？
- 二、二、 宗教信仰是直接运作还是必须通过媒介？
- 三、三、 宗教信仰是否能只需成为我们生活中的一个部分，还是关系到我们全部人生和我们的存在本身？
- 四、四、 宗教信仰是否能成为一种正常的，还必须是一个非正常的既：教会的特征是什么？
- 五、五、

对于这些问题，加尔文主义的回答是：

- 1、1、 宗教信仰不应该以自我为中心的，为了人的，而是美好的，是为了神的。
- 2、2、 宗教信仰的运作不应通过媒介的方式，而应是通过人的解释，直接出于人的心灵。
- 3、3、 宗教信仰不应只是与生活并行的，部分的，而必须掌握我们人全部的生存。

4、 4、 宗教信仰的特征应该是救赎性的，它不应出于我们的败坏本性，而是出于我们里面新造的人，是通过重生在恢复人原来的标准。

下面请允许我对这些答案进行一一阐述：

现代宗教哲学视宗教为源自于人的一种潜能，它本身不能产生而仅仅只能支撑和维持宗教，此观点将支撑一棵正在生长的活苗的死的架子，当作了活苗本身。

这里我们必须注意是，人与环绕他周围的势不可挡之能的宇宙之间的强烈反差。宗教信仰被作为一种神秘的能量介绍给人，试图要为他提供一种力量，能够来对抗那引起他死一般恐惧的宇宙之强能。人从自己身上可以知觉的那种不可见的灵魂统治他可见的身体这种经验上，自然而然地联想到，大自然也一定由其本身的一些隐而不见的灵所驱动而运作。于是他就以此种万物有灵论为基础，先是把自然界的现象解释成为一支内在灵军所造成的结果，然后他又试图来抓住它们，控制它们，使它们来为他服务。再接下去，他的个人主义理念又将此发展成为一个更综述性的概念，开始相信有着个性的诸神的存在，并期望这些高于自然的神们会有效地与那可怕的自然力抗争。最后，在认识到灵与物质之间的巨大差别之后，他对那高于一切有形之物的超然之灵开始表示敬意，但他最后还是放弃了相信这样一位超出人世、宇宙间以外的有个性的灵。反过来却以他自己心灵的高傲而沾沾自喜，俯伏在一种无个性的理想之下，将自己视作为值得敬拜的化身。无论在这种以个人为中心的宗教发展的哪一个阶段里，此宗教决不可能克服或超过其自身的主观特性，永远都是为人服务的宗教。人的宗教性是为了要来祈求或利用那些运行在大自然面纱后面的各种精灵，好使自己不再受捉摸不定的宇宙的摆弄。无论是喇嘛教的和尚将邪灵关进瓦坛也好，东方自然诸神们被呼来为抗拒自然之力向人提供避护也罢，抑或是那些被膜拜的希腊众神们，或者是唯心主义哲学将人的灵作为自己的偶像。在所有这种种不同的形式里，宗教仅仅是为了人的原故，为了他的安全，他的自由，他的地位，也部分是为了他战胜死亡而存在。这样的宗教即使是发展到了一神论，这个神与人之间的关系仍然丝毫不会改变，它的存在是为了帮助人，为了保障社会的秩序，为了在人需要协助或拯救的时候祭出来帮忙，要不然就是为了给人心因为罪的原因永远不会停止的挣扎中打上强心针。这样所产生的任何宗教其结果都会在饥荒、瘟疫横行的时候大行其道，在穷人和受压迫的人群中盛行，在卑微与脆弱之辈中得以发展，但却在繁荣盛世之下日渐憔悴；对成功富有的人们缺乏吸引力，也为那些受过良好教育的所唾弃。当那些文明社会享受安逸与舒适，当科学进步，人日益不受自然压力的威胁之时，人们就会扔掉宗教的拐棍，以他们自己可怜的双腿踉跄向前，并对一路上的任何圣洁之物嗤之以鼻。

这就是以人为中心的宗教的必然下场。它只是一种不必要的多余而已，一旦自我兴趣得到满足它便消声匿迹。这就是基督教以外所有民族国家早期的宗教，今天在我们生活的时代，在比我们更富有更文明发达的社会里，所重复的也仍然是此同一种现象。

加尔文主义与以上这一切截然相反。它并不否认宗教具有它人的、主观的一面；它也不反对说当我们在需要帮助的时候，在需要提升属灵热情的时候，宗教可以被我们的意向所推动，所鼓舞并得以加强；但加尔文主义坚持认为，出于上述这些原因的这种人为追求，在宗教的本质与目的上，是一种顺序上的颠倒。并且，加尔文主义者视这些为宗教本身的果子而加以珍惜。这样的宗教当然也为人带来祝福，但它却不是为了人而存在。正如圣经所说：“**神创造万物是为自己而造**”（哥罗西 1：16）

正因为此原因，神甚至在整个无意识的自然界里，在植物上、在动物上、也在孩童身上印上了宗教的表达：“**全地都满了他的荣耀**”（以赛亚 6：2—4）“**耶和华我们的主，你的名在全地何其美！**”（诗 8：1）“**诸天述说神的荣耀；穹苍传扬他的手段。**”（诗 19：1）“**你从婴孩和吃奶的口中完全了赞美的话**”（马太 21：16）冰霜雨雪、飓风、深渊——万物都的确在赞美神。正如人是被造万物中的颠峰，宗教信仰也同样唯有在按神自己的形象被造的人中间得以明确地表达，并且这决非出于人的寻求，而是神自己将信仰的种子（如加尔文所说的）撒在人心里，将真正的基本的宗教信仰表达植于人的本性之中。神自己通过拨动人灵魂的琴弦所产生的神圣感觉使人具有宗教性。由于罪的原故，一个需要的声音打破了此神圣之曲的合谐。在其最初的形式上，在其最自然的状况下，宗教完全是一种钦佩赞赏、崇拜敬意之情，它所产生的的是升华与合一，而不是一种奴仆与受压者的依靠情绪。正如天上环绕宝座前撒拉弗那不间断的呼喊之声：“**圣哉！圣哉！圣哉！**”（以赛亚 6：3），地上人的宗教也应当是同一个声音，反射我们的创造力，我们灵感之源的——神的荣耀。宗教里每一个动机的起始点是神而不是人。人是器皿、是方法，唯有神是目的，是始点也是终点，是众水之源泉，也是众水所流回的海洋。无视宗教就是弃决我们存在的最高目的；而除神之外对自己的存在别无所求，除神的旨意之外别无他望，全身心地沉浸在主名的荣耀之中，这才是所有真正宗教信仰的精髓与核心。“**愿人都尊你的名为圣，愿你的国度降临，愿你的旨意成全**”是三重的祷告，是所有真正宗教的表达之语。我们的格言必须是“**先求神的国**”然后再想到自己的需要。我们首先承认的就是三位一体真神的绝对全权，**因为万有都是被他所造，藉着他所造，也为他而造**。因此，我们的祷告就是所有宗教生活的最深的表现。这就是加尔文主义坚持的根本性的宗教概念，再也没有人找到过比此概念更高的概念。因为比此更高的概念是不存在的。加尔文主义的这种根本思想就是圣经的根本思想，就是基督教信仰范畴里的根本思想，也是人最高理想的实现。今天的宗教哲学，既使是在它最大胆飞行中，也从未达到过比此更高之处，也从未形成过更理想的概念。

宗教信仰中的第二个原则问题是：宗教信仰必须是直接的，还是必须通过中介的？人的灵魂与神之间是否必须要有教会、祭司、巫师、或任何一种神职中介？还是应将所有的中间步骤统统扔掉，好使信仰将人的灵魂与神直接联结起来？我们知道在所有非基督教的宗教里，毫无例外地将人的中介视为必须的。既使是在基督教自己的范畴之内，罗马天主教也又一次塞进了圣母、众天使、圣徒、烈士和一整套等级森严的神职人员系统等所组成的中介、中保体制。虽然马丁路德曾站出来坚决地反对神父制的中介系统，那些以他的名字命名的教会（即：路德宗教会）却又

旧梦重温，自称为“中保的位置、神秘的管家”。在此点上，也是加尔文并且唯独加尔文完全认清，纯洁的属灵信仰的概念。他确信，宗教信仰是神与人心之间的直接交流，绝不应包括被造之人的中介。这决非出于对神职人员的憎恨，也不是轻视烈士的价值，更不是低估天使的重要性，而完全是因为加尔文以捍卫信仰的真谛和此信仰真谛中神的荣耀为责无旁贷的己任，绝不允许任何妥协与摇摆。他以圣洁的义怒，与任何站在灵魂与神之间的人和传统开战。他当然清楚地认识到，堕落的罪人要与真正的信仰有份，就必须有一位中保，但此中保绝不可能在任何人中找到，唯有既是神又是人，唯有神自己才能成为这样的中保。并且，确定此中保的职分不是来自我们人的一方，而唯独来自神的一方，来自神和圣灵内住的，被重生的心。

在所有的宗教里，神必须是主动的能力之源。唯有神才能使我们有信仰，他才能赐给我们真正的宗教之情，我们的能力所能做的是组成教会，以表达神自己在我们心底深处搅动起来的最深的情感。从这里我们就可以知道，那些把加尔文看作仅仅是奥古斯汀第二的人是错误的。尽管奥古斯汀对神圣恩典的坦承令人崇敬，但他仍然一直是一位主教，他保留了自己作为三位一体神与普通信徒之间的中介地位。并且，尽管他在他那时代是最敬虔之辈中的佼佼者，但他对代表一般信徒对信仰的真正要求却没有深刻见解。因而在他的教义里，把教会誉为一个神秘的供应者，认为神所有的恩典都只从教会里流出，所有的好处人只能从教会领受。然而奥古斯汀又比较注重预定论，因此奥氏本人才是造成奥古斯汀主义与加尔文主义之间模糊不清的原因。出于人的原故的宗教就会有这样一种立场，即：必须以人来作其他人的中介。而为了神的原故的宗教则不可阻挡地拒绝所有的人为中介。只要宗教的目的仍然是为了帮助人，只要人以为凭自己的献身就配得恩典，那么，不那么敬虔的人祈求敬虔之辈来做他们的中介就成为理所当然的了。因为一个人得不到，只好有求于他人。结果子的枝子太高，只有手长的才能摘到，那么手长的只好为那些无奈的代劳了。

与此相反，假如宗教的要求是每一个人必须将荣耀归给神，无人可以在神的面前来代替他人，那么每一个人就必须自己来到神面前，于是宗教也就只能在信徒们的普通祭司概念上达到其目的。甚至新生儿也必须从神自己那里获得信仰的种子。那么，哪怕婴儿在没来得及受洗之前就夭折，这孩子也不必被送去地狱边缘的清白之处（译注：罗马天主教的创新之说）等候。若是蒙拣选的孩子，那么就与其它蒙拣选的一样，进入与神的个人交往之处，直到永永远远。这第二点对于个人蒙拣选的承认上，其重要性是不可估量的，这也正是信仰的顶点。一方面，所有的宗教信仰都必须倾向于让人自由，让人可以对神刻在一切被造之物上的宗教印记清楚地表达出来。另一方面，每一个宗教范畴里的中介、祭司或巫师的出现都将人的心灵捆绑。并且，敬虔之心越热忱，这种捆绑与束缚也越可怕。在罗马天主教里，甚至在今天，那些虔诚的信徒仍然被紧紧地束缚在神职人员的桎梏之下，只有那些虔诚之心减弱了的天主教徒，通过与自己教会保持一种半松半紧的联系才为自己争取到了一半的自由。在路德宗教会里，教会的束缚要少一些，但却远远没有完全松开。唯有以加尔文主义为立场的教会中，我们才找得到属灵上的独立性，此独立性也使信徒若有必要，为了神的原故，可以站出来反对自己教会里最强有力的人。唯有那些自己

站在神面前不受干扰地享受与神交通的人才能真正具有那荣耀的自由翅膀。

在荷兰、在法国，在英格兰、在美国，历史提供了最无可否认的证据与事实。那些专制者们从未见过像加尔文的跟随者们那样如此具有良心的自由与不可征服的反抗精神，如此英勇无畏而充满坚定不移的必胜信心的人们。发生这种现象的原因就在于，每一种神职中介无一例外的，必然是造成一种外在的宗教并饰以神圣的形式。唯有当那些神职中介消失，神创世之前的全权拣选将人内在心灵与神自己直接相联，那上天之光直接照进人们的心底，唯有这样的宗教信仰，在最绝对的概念上，才真正是得以完美实现的宗教。

这就自然地引出第三个宗教信仰上的问题：信仰只是生活的一部分呢？还是在最严格意义上，最全面、最彻底的征服整个人的？

假如宗教的实现要依赖神职人员的中介，那么宗教也就只能是部分的。如此理所当然的是，每个人只在他的宗教需要被激发起来的时候，或者他能找到人为中介的时候才需要宗教。此类宗教信仰的这种特殊性可以用下面的三个特征来表明，即：此宗教必须在其特定的宗教组织之内，在其特定的宗教范围之内和在其特定的宗教人群之中才能生存，才能发达。

最近发生的一起争议可以来证明其第一种限止。我们这代人中的学者们声称宗教应该退出知识界。宗教想要表达自己，唯有使用或神秘兮兮或实用主义的手段。在宗教范畴之内，神秘性与道德性总是会被热烈喝采。同样，在宗教范畴内，知识与理智只会引向深奥的幻觉，也就只配闭嘴。抽象思维与教义正在被日益关入禁区，取而代之的是不可知论的趾高气扬。与人为善成为测验宗教的试金石。在情绪与感觉的河流上，你可以随心所欲地掌舵航行。而深入思考则被看作是要陷人于沼泽地而被避而远之。任何宣告，只要是带有教义的前提，就被标上不符合宗教的违禁品拒之门外。尽管同样是被这些学者们誉为宗教天才的基督以最强的语气教导我们说：“**你要尽心、尽性、尽意，爱主你的神**”（译注：中文合和本的“意”字原文希腊文为“心、意、智慧”）。但他们却反其道而行，想方设法要我们放弃思想，扔掉智慧，认为这些东西在圣洁范畴内是无用的，是不符合宗教信仰的。

于是，宗教信仰就被限制在我们的感觉与意志上，而不是我们的全人，其结果我们信仰生活的范围也就只能是限制在这种局部性之中。信仰被从科学、从社会政治生活中扫地出门，只好呆在我们内心的祷告隐秘之处。康德（译注：德国哲学家）把宗教的范围限定在道德生活的范畴之内。我们这个时代的神秘主义将宗教信仰关进了情感之域。其结果，一度是我们生活中坚定力量的信仰被推到了生活的边缘，不再成为推动世界前进的动力而被看作是躲在远远角落里的个人爱好。

接下来我们要看的就是特征之三，即：宗教信仰在我们这代人中被视为只适合于一群敬虔的人，与他人无关。因此，宗教组织的有限性也就造成了宗教范围的有限性，后者又造成了宗教圈子里的人群的有限性。正如艺术被视为有其自己的组织，自己的范围和自己的热衷者一样，宗教信仰也不例外。因着大部分人不具备神秘的感觉也缺乏坚强的意志，他们也就没有看见过神秘的发光，缺少虔诚的行为。但事实上，还是有许多人内心充满对无限者的感觉，充满了圣洁的力量，并且，敬虔与信仰使他们在想象力和实际能力上都成为出类拔萃之辈。

罗马天主教从一个完全不同的角度上也渐渐地喜欢起上述的部分性的观点。他们把天主教之内存在的视为唯一的宗教信仰，把信仰的影响范围限制在生活中那些他们使之成圣的部分。我完全承认，他们想要尽最大的努力把人类生活都拉进圣洁圈子之内，但是任何此圈子之外的，任何未受过他们洗的，未被他们点过圣水的都被认为是对真正宗教信仰无益的。就如他们将生活中被圣化过的与污秽的之间画上一条界线一样，他们也在自己的圣洁范围之内有不同的宗教标准划分——神父与修道院为“至圣所”，敬虔信徒为“内院”，那些虽然受过洗但仍然继续贪爱世界的罪中之乐之众则就成为“外院”。那些在外院里的人把生活中 90%的时间花在宗教以外的事上。

于是，宗教也就随着人们从平常日子到节日，好年头到危难、灾病之日，从人生得意到濒死之时，而成为与部分的人生有关系的東西了。这个体系的两重性在一年一度复活节来临之前的那段时间里表现得淋漓尽致：（译注：中世纪罗马天主教规定，复活节前四十天为大斋节，而斋节前则有一个星期的狂欢节）从尽性狂欢到斋戒、忏悔，给人的灵魂荡个大千秋。不过中间倒还给属血气的一个机会，让他们在沉入幽谷之前来倒空他们欢乐之杯里的狂笑、荒唐之残滓。

对此，加尔文主义予以坚决反对，并证明宗教信仰的全面性与完全的实际应用。假如万事万物存在的目的是为了神，那么他们就当然应该将荣耀归给神。天上的日、月、星辰，空中的飞鸟，周围的整个大自然和所有的生命，以及在这一切之上的作祭司的人都必须向神负责。尽管被造物的大部分因罪向着神的荣耀死了，那理想的要求并未改变，即：每个被造物必须沉浸在宗教信仰的河流里，以信仰作为祭献给全能之神。把信仰仅仅限于感觉与意志，对于加尔文主义来说，简直就是匪夷所思。被造物之物的祭司所受的膏油从头顶流到胡须一直流到他的长袍的底边。他的整个人，包括他的能力、他的力量必须被圣洁之情渗透，他又怎么能够将自己里面的理性良心，即：那从神自己那里来的，照耀他的亮光拒之门外呢？

要让他所信的神成为他感情之下的世界，成为他意志的外在表现，而不在他的内心，不在他的良心中，不在他的思想之中；在研究自然与哲理有一套标准，但在想到创造主本身的时候却没有一个标准，对于加尔文主义看来，所有这一切无异都是在公开否认永恒之神。

加尔文主义宣告说，无论在宗教的范围之内还是在对人的影响上，信仰都应当具有统一性。

神创造了万事万物并给它们的存在设立了不变的规律。加尔文主义认为既然神已经为所有的生命预定了规律与法则，万有都当绝对顺服神、事奉神。那种躲藏在秘室里、局限在教会里的宗教为加尔文所憎恶。加尔文与诗篇的作者一起要求天、地，要求万国万民将荣耀归给神。神是无所不在的神，全能全权的神。宗教信仰要求人生活的每一个层面都必须赞美神，遵守神的法律。人手所做的一切就当被热情的、不停的祷告所渗透。一个人无论站在何处，无论做什么，从事何种行业，不拘是种地还是经商，无论是体力劳动还是脑力劳动，或从事艺术或研究科学，他都永远站在神的面前，他都受雇于服事神的工作，他都必须顺服他的神。在一切之上，他的最高目的就是荣耀神。

如此，加尔文主义者是不可能将信仰只限于一群人或人群中的一部分人中间，宗教信仰关系到全人类。因为全人类都是神的创造，是他的奇妙创造之工的产物，也完全属于他。因此，全人类都当充满对神的敬畏，男、女、老、少，卑贱、尊贵，不仅是那些已经开始进入他里面的，也包括那些还站在远处的，都不例外。因为神不仅创造了人类，不仅将他的特殊恩典赐给一群特殊的、蒙他拣选的人，也将他的普通恩典赐给所有的人。有一点是肯定的，信仰的亮光和信仰的生活在教会里是最集中的，但此永恒之光也通过教会洞开的围墙和宽敞的窗口射向全世界。这是座落在山上的城，人人都能从远处看到她。这是神圣的盐，渗透每一个方向，抑止所有的腐败。哪怕是那些尚未见到那上头来的光的人或者闭上眼睛不看的人，也同样地被告诫，也同样地被强调要在万事上归荣耀给神。所有的部分宗教都将其两重性来影响人们的生活，但真正的加尔文主义者从不丢弃宗教一致性的准则。来自神的同一个要求必须刻在所有人的生活里。因为只有这位神维持、保护了所有的生命，正如他创造了所有的生命一样。

这，就直接引出了我们的第四个主要问题：宗教信仰。

宗教信仰到底应该是一般性的、正常的，还是特殊的，关于救赎的？

我所关心的是，信仰上所必须来思考的关于人的现状到底是正常，还是已经败坏、陷入罪中、已不属正常。眼下最时兴的观点是，宗教信仰的起始点应该把人都视为正常的，即：非但人之初性本善，而且现在还是不错。这到并不是说所有的人都已经达到了宗教信仰的正常标准，没有人坚持这种说法，每个人都知道，这种声明的荒唐。事实上，我们所见到的远远达不到正常的宗教标准，因此，宗教的发展一直都是不完美的，正是这种“正常”宗教的观点，认为宗教就是从低等渐渐发展到高级的理想才是正常的。根据这种观点，最早的宗教痕迹就应该在动物身上找。这，可以从狗对主人的爱慕上看到，就像我们人是从猿猴进化来的一样，宗教也就是逐渐从低向高阶发展的。从那时起到现在，宗教经历过所有的记录，目前它正在做的就是使自己脱离教会与教义，进入到一个所谓更高的阶段——人对那不可知的无限具有的一种无意识的感觉。

这一整套的理论遭到一个完全不同理论的坚决反对。这个完全不同的理论并不否认在动物

里面有许多与人相似的地方，或者你若允许我这样说的话，动物都是事先按人的形象造的，就如人是照神的形象造的一样。然而有一点是肯定的，人被造时与神之间的关系是完美的，即：他的里面充满了纯洁的、真正的宗教。这就能解释为什么在外邦泛神主义中有那么多的不完全的、荒唐的宗教，其原因不在人被造时的状况，而是人堕落后的结果。这些低级的，不完全的宗教形式不是从低到高的发展过程，而是一种可悲的败坏。这种败坏就其本质而言，只有以一种救赎的方式才有可能得以恢复，回到真正的宗教。

在上述两种理论的选择上，加尔文主义毫不迟疑。在神的面前，加尔文主义者如此地被神的圣洁所感动，乃至他对自己身上罪的认识立即使他的灵魂遭受折磨，自己罪的可怕本质给他的心压上了负不起的重担。任何企图把罪解释成人向完美发展道路上不完美的阶段，只会引起他的忿怒，因为这是对神无尚权威的侮辱。他承认，罪的外在表现或许在我们看来是逐渐变得不那么可怕，但人心的道德状况却从未改变过。三千多年前，大卫的灵魂向神哭喊，十六世纪每位神的儿女在神面前的激情仍然丝毫未变。罪的败坏是人类一切不幸的根源，这个概念今天远不如在加尔文的时代那么深刻，然而加尔文主义者根据圣经，所坚持的关于地狱与定罪的断言则绝非严酷，而是生活的最严肃性和对神的绝对圣洁的最深刻认识的证明。难道从那位至高者嘴里没有流出最温柔、最感人的话吗，难道不是吗？但同样从他口里不也是重复地、决定性地说出“**丢到外面的黑暗里**”（马太 22：13），“**那里，火是不灭的，虫是不死的**”（马可 9：48）吗？在此点上，加尔文也是对的，因为那不同意这些话，拒绝这些话的人就是表里不一。这种人既想要真诚地承认神的圣洁，又不想放弃罪的毁坏能力。与此形成鲜明对照的是，在对罪的认识一事上，加尔文主义者在对自己生活的悲惨和在对神的圣洁伟大的深切体会与信服上认识到，真正的生存首先是重生，第二是良心的清洁。

重生就好像是神将那扭曲的生命轮子一下子纠正过来。但因这一讲的主题不是重生，我就不能详细展开。但我必须提一下启示，即：圣经的权威，很重要的一点是，施韦策（注：德国新派神学家）等人把圣经说成仅仅是改革宗教信仰告白的原则。但真正的加尔文主义关于圣经的概念远比此深刻，加尔文认为，圣经是圣经启示中必不可少的。对于加尔文来说，圣经是高于一切的权威，这也是为什么直到今天，此教义使加尔文主义者能够把对圣经的批判性分析与应用（注：新派神学用的就是此批判性分析）视为对基督教本身的背弃。在人堕落之前的伊甸园里没有圣经，在将来荣耀的天堂里也不需要圣经。当那透明的自然之光作我们的衣裳，当神里面的话以本来的清晰在我们心中响起，当人类的所有语言都完全诚实，当我们里面的耳朵完全打开之日来临，我们为什么还需要圣经呢？哪一个母亲正当她那些亲爱的儿女环绕膝下之时，正当神允许她尽情享受儿女们的爱之时，会在一份关于“儿女之爱”的协议书中失落呢？

但是在目前这种状况之下，在这种不能通过自然与神交往之下，我们的心已经失落。罪带来与神的隔绝，当今在那种反对圣经权威的观点上反映出来的就是基于这样一种假设，即：我们人的状况是正常的，我们的宗教信仰不需要拯救。既然如此，那么圣经也就大可不必了，非

但不必，并且还给我们的感觉造成阻碍，成为条条框框。因为圣经把一本书夹在了神与我们的心之间。有了口头的交流就不需要书写了。当太阳升起照亮屋子时，你就会关掉电灯，而太阳下山后，你就感到人工照明的需要了，每间住人的屋子都需要照明。宗教信仰也一样，在没有雾来挡住我们的眼睛见到神圣之光的时候，我们的脚前就不需要灯，路上也不需要光。

但是，当历史、当我们的经验和良心同证这样一个事实，即：纯洁与完全的天上之光已消失，我们在黑暗里摸索的时候，那么就必须有一种不同的光来照亮我们，神所使用的这种光就是他的圣洁话语。

因此，对于加尔文主义者来说，圣经之绝对必要性不是来自于推理，而是直接来自圣灵的见证。这不仅是历史上一贯的立场，也是圣经本身所宣告的。但圣经那影响灵魂，吸引灵魂的铁般力量，犹如磁铁一样，不是出于推论也不是什么不可喻的魔术，而是清楚明了地叫人知道。

神重生我们，他重新点燃起我们心里那被罪所扑灭了了的灯。此重生的必然结果就是在我们的内心世界里与外面的世界之间产生了不可调和的冲突。此冲突越强烈，重生的原则就越渗入我们的良心。神在圣经里向被重生的人启示了一个不同的思想世界，一个不同的力量的世界，一个完全的美丽人生的世界。这与他的日常世界截然相反，却与他心里新生命的奇妙之道相吻合。于是蒙重生的人开始体会从他灵魂深处所搅动起来的特征，体会到圣经中向他启示的。从而认识到他周围世界的本性，认识到圣经里的神圣真实。一旦他开始认识到这些的真实，他就接受了圣灵的见证，他里面就对众光、众灵之父产生渴慕。离开圣经，他只能找到价值的影子，但现在他透过圣经的棱镜向上看，他重新找到了他的父、他的神。为此原因，他并不为科学设限制。若有人批判就由他批判吧，这种批判甚至能帮助我们更深刻地认识到圣经的伟大。加尔文主义者一刻也不会因任何批评而放弃手中的棱镜，它将神圣之光分解成灿烂的五彩缤纷。无论人如何指摘，他内心所蒙受的恩典，圣灵的果子能够使他决不放弃神圣，决不放弃那对罪人来说必不可少的、宗教信仰的救赎立场与特性。我们在地上的生活如同花草、动物一般。我们的无意识与孩童，与入睡了的，与失去理智的亦无差异。让我们之所以成为高级的生命，之所以使我们成为头脑清醒的人的关键是我们的完全的自我意识。因此，假如宗教信仰作为最重要的功能，要在自我意识的最高范畴内运作的话，那么救赎的信仰，与内心重生的必要性都要求有一种亮光，一种启示来照亮我们的那点微光。此亮光来自神，通过人写成的圣洁的话语赐给我们。

综上所述，在宗教信仰这四个最重要的问题上，加尔文主义已经一一表达了自己的教义，作出了自己的选择。即使是三百多年后的今天，仍然满足最理想的要求，并为更高的发展铺平了道路。

第一，它认为宗教信仰既不是实用主义，也不应该是那种为了人而存在的善良的守护神的概念，而是为了神，并且唯独是为了神而存在。这就是加尔文主义的神全权全能的教义。

第二，在宗教信仰里，神与灵魂之间绝不允许有任何被造之物作为中介。真正的宗教信仰是神自己在人内心的直接工作，这就是拣选的教义。

第三，宗教信仰不是一般性的，而必须是救赎性的。这也就引出了第四点：由重生之必要性与圣经之必要性所组成的教义。

在讨论了宗教信仰的这些特性之后，接下来我们就来看教会。从它的组织形式，或者说它的存在现象上来看，我会分三个阶段来看，加尔文主义概念上基督的教会本质，教会的具体表现和教会的目的。

1、 1、 教会的本质

加尔文主义认为教会的本质是一个属灵的有机组织，包括天上、地上，其中心和一切行为的起始点是在天上而不是在地上。我们应该这样来理解：神创造了宇宙，并将此宇宙的属灵中心置于我们这个星球之上，使地上的万物以人为被造的顶峰，按神的形象被造，并吩咐人使万有为了神的荣耀而成为圣洁。因此，在神的创造中，人是先知、祭司和君王，尽管罪已经搅扰了此设计，但神仍然使这一切继续在地上存留、运作。他如此爱他的世界以致他以自己儿子的位格自己赐给世人，再一次使我们人类、并通过我们人类使他的宇宙与他重新建立起一个与永生有份的关系。毫无疑问，人类这棵树的许多枝子、叶子会雕落，这棵树本身仍然会得救；靠着在基督里的新根，这棵树会再一次开出荣耀之花。因为并不单单是在这里、那里拯救一些个人，最后机械地堆积成一团，重生得救的是人类的有机的活组织。因此，所有蒙重生之人的生命组成了我们有机组织，基督是此有机组织元首，所有成员都通过奥秘地与他联合而凝聚在一起，但是只有在主第二次再来之日，此作为宇宙中心的完美的有机组织才会真正显明，目前，它还是隐藏的，就像是剪影一样只能隐约看到。将来，新耶路撒冷从天上，从神而降。目前它从我们的眼里收回其光芒于奥秘之不可见之中。因此，真正的圣所是在天上。在那里有赎罪祭坛与祷告香坛，在那里有基督按麦基洗德的等次在祭坛前，在神的面前作唯一的大祭司。

在中世纪的那些年代里，罗马教会越来越丢掉此教会的特性而变成为世界俗的性质。在地上的教会里又搬回圣所，用石头再砌祭坛，并设立一套等级森严的祭司制度在祭坛前运作。接下来，那有形的牺牲就成为必然，最后就发明了那套不流血的弥撒献祭仪式。加尔文主义坚决反对这一套，不是从原则上与祭司制度对抗或反对祭坛与牺牲本身，因为祭司的职分不会消失。原因很简单，每个人都深知自己心里的罪需要赎罪祭这个事实。所以，加尔文主义要除去的是这套世界上的自备献祭制度，要每一位信徒都再一次抬起眼睛，仰望天上的真正圣所，那里有我们唯一的祭司基督站在真正的祭坛前作执事。因此，这场战争中所反对的不是祭司职分，而是，罗马天主教关于弥撒仪式中的那套圣餐献祭教义，并且唯有加尔文一人从头到底言行一致地彻底反对。路德宗和英国圣公会（即英国国教）的人们重新建起一种地上的祭坛，唯有加尔文主义敢于完全

将其弃之。结果，圣公会中的祭司制（即：主教制）被保留下来，在路德宗的国家里王子们成了最高主教，教会中也模仿了罗马天主教的等级制；而加尔文主义宣告教会里所有人的绝对平等，拒绝为教会领袖和管理人员添加任何其它的职称，他们都是执事（译注：英语长老、执事传道人都可用 Minister 一词），都是仆人。加尔文认为，把旧约时代作教导用的，在新约已经实现了的影子与预表今天再拿出来，有损于基督的荣耀，也降低了教会的属天性质。

因此，这些悦人眼目的浮华仪式一日不停止，加尔文主义就一日不罢休。唯有当这种神职司铎的最后一粒闪闪发亮的扣子被除去，地上的教会才会再一次成为外院，信徒们可以在此仰望天上永活神的真正圣所。

威敏斯特信仰告白对教会的这种属天特征作了如下完美的描述：

“无形的普世教会为过去、现在与将来在教会的元首基督之下所召集合而为一的选民总数所构成。这教会就是主的配偶、身体和那充满万有所充满的。”

唯有此才是无形教会成为圣洁，并具有长期重要性的教义。诚然，基督的教会是不可能在地上真正地、完全地存在的，至多也就是一代信徒在某一段时间里，在此圣殿大门之内。从创世起以前各世代的信徒们已经离开了这个世界去到了天上，因此，那些存留在此的是客旅，正从圣殿大门往圣所去的路上，那些在今生未与基督联合的人死后是不可能得救的。弥撒仪式绝不能为死去的做什么，也没有能力叫死者再悔改，这是德国的现代新派神学家们正在鼓吹的。

这一切的人为仪式被加尔文视为是在混淆天上真教会与地上不完全教会之间的区别。不是地上的教会将光送到天上，而是天上的教会必要将光送到地上的教会，地上的教会就好像是被一片幔子遮住看不到天上教会的真象。因此，我们在地上首先是通过圣灵与天上的真教会奥秘在交通，其次我们也因着显示在透明幔子上那真教全的影子而喜乐。神的儿女不应以为真教会在地上，幔子的那边只不过是想象力所能及的理想产物，与此相反，我们应该诚信的是，基督成为人，成为我们的样式，已经进入了幔子那一边的无形之中，成为与他同在、在他周围、在他里面的教会的元首，那里是我们得救的真正的、根本的圣所。

在清楚地知道了无形教会的本质和对我们蒙重生的人类与天地所起的作用之后，让我们来看看地上教会的形式。各地有不同的地方教会，或信徒以教会的形式聚集的团体，遵守基督自己制定的规定。地上的教会不是分配恩典的机构，就好像是在那里分配属灵药物似的。教会里没有神秘的、属灵的高、低等次可以让神职人员对普通信徒施加神秘的影响。教会里只有蒙重生的，公开承认信仰的信徒根据圣经的命令，在信仰的结构下所形成的一个团体，以基督为王共同生活。这才是地上的教会，不是建筑物，不是严密的组织，也不是属灵的论资排辈。对于加尔文来说。只有在一群由公开承认信仰的个人所组成的人群中才能找到教会，不是单独的个人而是众人合在一起，不是以他们自己看为合适，而是按照基督的命令而行。在地上的教会里，众信徒的普遍祭

司作用必须得以执行。请不要误解，我不是说教会是一群敬虔之辈为了宗教目的的组合。这不是教会的本质，真正的、天上的教会必定会在地上反映出它自己。若不是如此，你可以有一个社会，但都不是教会。

教会的本质就是基督的身体，蒙重生的人是肢体。因此，地上的教会只应由在基督里的人群所组成，他们在神面前低头，活在神的话里，遵守他的命令。为此，地上的教会必定要宣讲神的话，施洗与分领圣餐，执行教会纪律，凡事都面对神。

这也就决定了教会的管理机制，正如教会本身一样，它的管理机制也是出于天上、出于基督。他通过圣灵在会众中的工作有效地管理教会，因此，在基督之下既然人人平等，信徒中就不应有高、低之分，只有服侍、带领、管理的执事，一种完全的长老集体制；教会的权力直接来自基督自己，并通过会众集体于长执同工。又由他们来管理会众。因此，基督的全权是绝对唯一的权威，但教会的管理机制则是民主的，由此又符合逻辑地产生一个系统，任何教会无权凌驾于另一教会之上，所有的教会都是平等的，都属于一个身体，各教会之间联合的唯一途径是教会大会制。

现在让我来提醒你们此同一种原则下所产生的后果，即：教会与教会之间以不同的纯洁程度与差异所造成的宗教派的多种性。假如教会被视为一个与信仰无关的恩典的机构，或者是一个由等级分明的神职人员把托付给他们的恩典向众人分发，其结果就必然是此等级森的制度本身延伸到所有的国家，在所有的教会生活中加上同一个印章。但若教会是由会众所组成，由信徒联合而成，并且各教会仅仅是以联合的方式合一，那么各国的国情、历史、甚至思考方式都会对教会产生不同的影响，不同宗派、不同形式教会的出现就是必然结果。于是，一个很重要的结果是，每所教会的绝对特征就不复存在，各教会并肩而立，在纯洁程度上有差异，但仍以不同的形式来表现出基督在天上的圣洁教会的特性。

我并没有说加尔文主义神学家们从一开始就已宣告了此结果。权力的欲望也同样在他们的心门上叩击，即便不是出于此种危险的心态，他们从神学基础上，从他们的理想标准上来判断其它教会也没有错，也是很自然的。但这一点儿也无损于一个伟大的事实，即：在看待他们教会的时候不是作为一个等级制的机构而是由个体信徒所组成的教会，他们教会生活的开始，以及他们的政治生活的开始和他们社会生活的开始不是出于强制，而是出于自由。正因为此出发点，除了各教会自行联合所规定的之外，没有一间教会可以拥有比其它教会更高的权力。

因此，人与人之间自然的、历史的差别就必定会在教会生活中反映出来。不同民族之间在道德上、性格上、情绪上和对生活的见解上的差别也一定会产生对同一真理从不同的角度来强调，这也就造成各种不同宗派外在的教会生活上的不同。从而在我们（抗罗宗）的一边就出现了离开那丰富而深刻的加尔文主义信仰告白，不仅仅是离开，甚至还有公开反对的，然而这些教会都深

深地基于对罗马天主教神职制教义的对立和承认教会乃众信徒的组合，而此真理正是加尔文主义最基本的概念。尽管这事实不可否认地导致了不圣洁的竞争，甚至有罪的错误做法；然而这三个多世纪以来的历史，叫人不能不承认，这种有着与加尔文主义的根本思想不可分割关系的多宗派性，对于信仰生活的成长与兴旺远比那种强制性的统一要有利。并且，我们可以预见到将来的果子会更丰硕，但条件上，教会自由不可堕落成漠不关心，也不可有一间仍然举着加尔文主义旗帜，承认加尔文主义信仰告白却不履行其神圣使命向其它教会建议、说明上述原则之优越性的教会。

另外还有与此有关的一点必须指明，上述关于“教会由信徒所组成”的概念可能会引出一个唯有信徒所组成，连他们的孩子排除之外的概念。这决不是加尔文主义所教导的，加尔文主义关于婴儿受洗一事上的教导与此正相反。信徒们相聚决不会破坏他们与自己后代之间的自然联系，相反，他们会使此联系圣洁化，孩子们通过受洗归入教会之中，直到他们长大后或公开承认信仰或公开拒绝信仰，这就是加尔文主义极其重要的“约”的概念，这也是我们信仰告白中的重要条款，它表明教会之河不是流在人生的自然河流之外，而是因为教会生活与人类有机的后代子孙平行向前。约与教会是不可分割的：约将教会与人相联，神自己在恩典生活与自然生活的联结上加上印记。当然，这里必须有教会纪律，以在保护此约的纯洁性，防止因为自然与恩典的混淆而削弱教会的纯洁。因此，加尔文主义认为一个将其所有居民都包括在内的国家教会是不可能的，所谓只包括一个国家，并将其整个国家都包括在内的国家教会是外邦人的概念，或者最多也就是犹太人的概念，基督的教会不是国家性的，而是世界性的，教会的范畴不是一个国家而是全世界。当路德宗的改教家们在他们国家的王子们的唆使之下使他们的教会国有化时，有些加尔文主义的教会也偏离而走上此路，他们所走的方向不是高出而是连罗马天主教都不如。

值得高兴的是，我可以用下面的见证来作个小结：我们的多特信经（译注：1618~1619）期间与你们的同样令人尊敬的威敏斯特信仰告白（译注：1643~1648）都珍视改革宗教会的教会特征，对每一种离开唯一正确原则的宗派倾向进行毫不留情地批评。

在对教会的本质与教会的形式进行了叙述之后，现在让我将你们的注意力引到教会的目的上来。这里，我不打算谈政教分离的问题，这是下一讲“加尔文与政治”要讨论的内容。我们要来看的是教会在世上寄居所应有目的，此目的不可能为了人，而是让信徒为将来天上作准备。一个蒙重生的孩子若死在摇篮里，就不再需要进一步的准备而直接进天堂。无论在哪里，只要是圣灵在灵魂里点燃起了永生的光花，圣徒的坚忍到底就保证了他们的永远得救。地上的教会仅仅是为神的原故而存在，对于神的选民来说，蒙重生就足以使他清楚自己永远的目的地，但这还不是以彰显神在人群中作工的荣耀。为了我们神的荣耀，心里蒙了重生的人必然要公开承认信仰，教会则必须通过宣讲神的话来对此公开承认，对人的归正作出贡献。在蒙重生的人心里闪烁着火花，但唯有在归正了的人身上，火花才能燃起火焰，此火焰又聚成教会的光照耀世界，这，就是按我们主耶稣所命令的，好叫人将荣耀归给我们在天上的父。

首先，我们信主之后和成圣过程中按主耶稣的要求行善，服侍人，这不是为了保障自己的得救，而是为了荣耀神。其次，教会必须来挑旺此火，使之更明亮，方法是通过圣徒的交通与施行圣礼，即：洗礼与分领主餐。只有当几百支蜡烛在一个灯台上燃烧时那柔和的光才能发出明亮之光。同样信徒也当聚集起来，他们就能增加他们的亮光，那在七支灯台间行走的基督就要使这光变得纯洁、变得更亮更热。因此，教会的目的不在于我们，而在于神，在于他那荣耀之名。

正是出于此神圣的目的，加尔文主义才在教会里竭力恢复严格的属灵敬拜。甚至连远离基督教的哲学家冯·哈特曼也承认说：这种真正宗教信仰上的属灵敬拜越是敬虔就越有勇气鄙视外在的宗教表演，就越具有从象征转变到实际的能量，从而使加尔文主义变得更为美丽——那是一颗敬拜的灵魂内在的，属灵的美丽。

那种注重感情的教会敬拜活动使人有一种宗教上的舒适也讨人喜欢。唯有加尔文主义的纯洁的属灵敬拜以对神的真崇拜，用心灵和诚实敬拜为目的。出于此同样的原因，就引出了我们的教会纪律，这是每一所真正的加尔文主义教会中不可或缺的一项重要内容。教会纪律的目的不是为了防止丑闻，甚至也不是为了要修剪那些野枝子，而是为了保存神的约之圣洁，也要让世人看到这样一个庄严的事实：神是如此纯洁他决不能看罪恶。最后，我们来看教会的慈善行为，这是加尔文一人所理解、并按其在初代教会中的形式加以恢复。真正理解执事这个职分性质的，不是罗马教庭也不是西腊教会，不是路德宗也不是英国国教。唯有加尔文主义重新恢复执事这个教会生活中不可缺少的组织形式的荣耀地位。但是，在此执事的事工上，最重要的原则不是要突出、荣耀那些分发救济的人，而是要荣耀那在人们心里动了善工的神的名。执事们不是我们的仆人，而是基督的仆人。我们所交于他们的是我们交还给神的，因为我们是管家，我们的一切都是神的。因此，教会的慈善事工是以神的名义将东西分给神的穷人，我们的弟兄姐妹。教会里贫困的会员若只感谢执事和那些给予的人而不是基督，他事实上是在拒绝那真正的给予者，正是他通过他的执事们，有目的地证明他不仅是救人灵魂，也是看顾人身体、生活的救赎主、安慰者，是神在永世之前为我们堕落的人类所膏立的。是的，这一切都是无可争议地说明，加尔文关于教会的基本概念完全适合于宗教信仰的理念。所有形式的自我为中心和守护神的概念毫无立脚之地。我们所拥有的永远是一种真正的宗教，一个真正的教会，目的是为了神而不是为了人。教会起源于神，她的形式来自于神，过去，现在，将来永远都是为彰显神的荣耀。

最后，我要谈的是宗教信仰在我们实际生活中的果子，或者说加尔文主义在道德问题上的立场，这也是本讲座的最后一部分。

我们首先注意到的是，加尔文主义里的一种看上去矛盾的现象：一方面，信仰告白被指责为淡化对道德的强调，另一方面，在实际生活中对道德的要求又是那么的高。反律法主义（或唯信仰论）与清教徒的严肃混在了一起。一眼看上去，加尔文主义的信仰告白的逻辑结论就是反律法主义，就好像清教徒将他们高度的道德热情碰巧地注进了预定论教义的冷酷无情之中。罗马天

主教、路德宗、阿米念主义和自由派对加尔文主义的指责向来就是预定论的绝对性，而其登峰造极当然是圣徒坚忍到底。他们认为，此教义必然导致太轻松的良心安慰，太危险的道德放纵。然而，加尔文主义不是以理性辩论来回答此指责，而是以世界各地有口皆碑的具体行动来驳斥这种由错误推论所产生的臆测。我们要问的只有一句：“世界上有那一种宗教信仰产生过像清教徒那样高尚纯洁的道德生活？”我们可以仍在罪中，叫恩典显多呀，（译注：罗马书6：1）就是教会在作孩童时期邪灵用来污蔑圣徒保罗的魔咒。十六世纪《海德堡要理问答》就是对可耻的指责“难道加尔文主义的教义不是引人过放荡的生活吗？”的回答，以捍卫加尔文主义。

维尔西努和奥利维亚努（译注：“海德堡要理问答”的作者）作面对的也同样是那古老陈旧的诽谤之词。毫无疑问，属肉体的情欲仍然不肯放弃甚至还鼓励人里头的罪。是的，反律法主义本身就一再一再地滥用、妄用加尔文主义信仰告白，利用告白作挡箭牌来隐藏那未归正之心的欲望。但是，正如机械、重复地阅读书面告白的文字对真正的信仰鲜有共同之处一样，要让加尔文主义信仰告白对那些仅仅反射加尔文的教义，然而又毫无加尔文主义热心的石头负责，也同样不可理喻。唯有那些灵魂里被神的伟大崇高与无上权威所击，顺服他那势不可挡的永恒之爱，敢于在撒旦和世界面前，在他们自己属世界的心里宣告此大爱，确信自己是蒙神拣选，因而为此永远恩典单单感谢神的人们才是加尔文主义者，才配是上高举加尔文主义的大旗。这种人不能不在伟大崇高、无上权威的神面前战惊颤抖，视神的话为掌管他人生的最高准则而紧紧伴随左右。现在，很多人视加尔文主义为毫无作用的宗教律法，“宗教律法”这个词本身就代表了一种以人遵守律法便可得救的宗教，而加尔文主义则正相反，它那完全的救赎定义上指出，人若不在基督和基督的救赎之工里，绝无得救的可能。

然而，加尔文主义的一贯特征是将人置于神的面前，不仅是在神的教会里，而且是在他个人、家庭、社会与政治生活里。一个加尔文主义者，只要他在地上存在一天，神的伟大与权威就永远在他眼前、在他心上。他是过旅，是寄居的，但并不是那种对世界不闻不问只是走过场而已的概念，而是在那条漫长道路的每一步上，都必须牢记他对那位全然伟大，等候在他旅途终点的神的责任。

在那扇为他打开的进入永生的大门前面是最后的审判。此大审判必要细察、看他在这条漫长的客旅之路上是否有一颗按那至高者规条、命令的一切而行，要荣耀神的心。

现在我们来看加尔文主义者在神的命令、规条里的信心到底是什么。此信心乃是确信所有的生命在被造之前就已经在神的恩典里了。因此所有的生命就必定在其存在里有一条神自己所立的法律，天地之间没有一种生命存在于神的命令、规条之外。这些命令、规条也可以被称为自然规律，这里我们必须指出的是，自然规律并非源于自然，而是神加给自然的规律。因此，天空有天空的规律，地上有地上的规律。这个宇宙正是由这些出于神的规律而得以运转，正如诗篇作者所言，这些规律都是神的仆役。因此，我们的身体，我们血液循环，我们的呼吸功能都有神设立

的规律。在神设立的规律里，有管理我们思维的逻辑，也有我们的审美观，更有人类生活严格的道德准则。这里所说的道德准则不是人所规定的成文法律，而是神对每一个最小最具体的细节所制定的道德准则，就如神为最大的行星所制定的轨道和最小的星星制定的运行路线一样，叫我们在每一种情况下都知道什么是神的旨意。神的这些掌管万事的规律准则，不象法律书上可以宣读的条文，也不象生活里的清规戒律，只能在一时一事上对我们行使权力，而是让我们随时随地都能感受到的，那位无所不在的全能之神的旨意，也正是这位神一直以他神圣的权威约束我们。加尔文主义者不象康德（译注：十九世纪德国的人本主义哲学家）那样以自己的理性思维从十诫的命令中将神只看作为立法者。因为他站在神的面前，因为他看见神，他与神同行，他在自己这个人，在他的存在中感受到神。因此他的耳朵边永远响着那在自然中也在他身体里面，在他思维也在他行为之中的不停的，来自神的诫命。

那么，真正的加尔文主义者随时根据这些命令、规定来调整自己，不是出于被迫，好像它们是套在他脖子上的、他自己想要甩掉的重轭，而是视它们如茫茫沙漠中的向导，深知自己的无知，若不依靠、不跟随此向导绝无安全出路。若我们的呼吸道被堵塞时，我们不可抗拒地、立即就会试着要除去堵塞物，使我们的呼吸恢复正常，恢复到神根据他定的自然规律的那样。一旦堵塞物除去，我们就立刻感到一种说不出的如释重负。基督徒也一样，他正常生活中所发生的每一个扰乱，都会令他要尽力尽快地恢复他的属灵呼吸，恢复到根据神所定的道德律的正常上来，因为只有当恢复正常之后，他里面的生命会再一次在他的灵魂里活过来，才有可能重新得力。所以，那种把普通的道德规律与特定的“基督教”诫命区分开来的说法对于加尔文主义者来说是陌生的。难道我们能够想象得出，神在一个时候定旨要以一套道德律管理万事，而现在在基督里他又另有不同的一套？就好像他不是永恒的、不变的神，不是从创世之日起直到永永远远，就已经定旨，现在仍以此旨意并且将永远以此旨意用同一个道德律来管理世界似的！基督已经扫去了遮盖他那管理世界的道德律上人的罪性之尘，使其重新放射出原来那耀眼的光芒。

正是基督，也唯有基督向我们显明了他的永恒之爱，也正是这爱从起初就是这个世界运作的原则。在此一切之上，基督已经赐给我们里面能力，以坚定不移的脚步行在他的道德律中。

但此道德律从起初就从未改变过。它不仅要求信徒，也同样是对每一个人，对所有的人际关系的要求。因此，加尔文主义不是把以哲学方法总结出来所谓的道德规范，就好像我们不得不创造出、寻找出一套东西来管理生活似的。加尔文主义做的就是将我们置于神的伟大崇高之下，让我们服在他那永不改变的命令规条与诫命之下。因此，加尔文主义的所有论理道德都立足于西乃山之法律（即：十诫），这并非意味着那才是这个世界的道德律的开始，而是将十诫尊为神最初造人时写在他们心里的律法之神圣而权威性的总结。它们也是神重新写在每一颗归正之心心版上的律法。加尔文主义者所顺从的是良心，不是每个人心里都有的，作为一个立法者的那个良心，

而是一个神自己在人心里激励起来的，用以审判人的良心，就像是一具直接的神圣探测器。他不是顺从宗教信仰，把教义视为一个分离的独立存在，然后把他自己的道德生活作为附属于宗教信仰的第二种独立存在。而是视宗教信仰为将自己置于神的面前、得蒙神圣旨意的方式。对于加尔文来说，敬爱与崇拜是每一种属灵活动的驱动力。因此，一种对神的敬畏之心就作为一个现实注入他的全部生命——家庭、社会、科学与艺术、个人生活与政治生涯等等，等等。一个得赎的人，在他生活的所有一切事情上、所有一切选择中都被一种明察秋毫的、最激励人心的对神的敬畏所控制，因为他的良心永远在神的面前，在神的眼中。这就是历史上的加尔文主义者。在万事上永远以对永生神的最深刻最神圣的敬畏之心来作自己的生活准则——这才是真正清教徒的写照。

离世出尘从来就不是加尔文主义者的特征，而是重洗派的口号。这可以由重洗派的教义来证明。根据他们的教义，重洗派主义者宣称自己是“圣徒”，坚决与他们所站立于其中的世界势不两立。他们拒绝宣誓；憎恶参军，遣责任何担任政府职位的人。他们想在这个罪的世界中模塑出一个与我们现实的存在毫无关系的新世界。他们拒绝对旧世界的一切责任与义务，怕自己受污染、被接触感染。这正是加尔文主义者一贯不赞同并予以否认的。事实上，并不存在一善、恶并存的两个世界。神所造的完美的，后来堕落成为罪人的是同一个人：这个“自我”的老罪人就是蒙了重生的，进入永生的那个人。同样，一度曾展现出乐园的所有荣耀的，后来被咒诅所惩治，并且从人堕落之后靠着神的普通恩典而立的也是同一个世界，此世界的中心已被基督所赎所救，并且将来必要经历可怕的审判而进入荣耀。

正因为此原因，加尔文主义者不能将自己关在教会之内，把世界交给命运。相反，他感到自己被呼召要根据神一贯的命令、规条，为了神的名，致力于使这个世界向更高的阶段发展，并且身在极其痛苦的堕落与恶行之中而坚立，行众人眼中看为高尚、看为善、看为美好的一切事。也正因为此原因，我们在历史上看到（假如你们能允许我以我祖辈为例），加尔文主义竟能够在正值我们祖国荷兰处于一个挣扎着不知何去何从的时代，在短短的四分之一个世纪里，在我们的社会里，在人类活动的每一个层面，从商业贸易到手工业到制造业，从农业到园艺，从艺术到科学，酿造出不屈不挠的能量，建立起前所未有的光辉灿烂，为整个西欧注入了一种崭新的、人类生活发展的驱动力。

但上述的一切仍然有例外，此例外乃是，加尔文主义并不认为与未归正的世界之间的每一项亲密交往是合法的。我们对三件事情投反对，以此对未来世界的极不敬虔之举设路障：它们是牌局、戏院和舞场的娱乐。我会先一一分析，然后再作一总结。

加尔文主义禁止打牌，并不是禁止所有的游戏或运动，不是因为牌里面就有魔鬼的引诱，而是因为打牌在我们心里助长一种引导，把我们的信任寄托于运气、离开神的危险倾向。一种游戏若需要眼睛尖、反应快、经验丰富，那么它就有一种很好的特性。而牌局之类的游戏主要由牌的分布，盲目的分配来决定，就有一种想象出来的在神以外的倾向，即所谓机会或运气。而这一类

的不信是我们大家都有的倾向。股票炒作的热情就说明人们对运气比对认真工作要有远远大得多的兴趣。因此，加尔文主义者认为要防止年轻一代被打牌这种有危险倾向的游戏所害。加尔文和他的跟随者们以自己永远感受到的在神面前这个事实作为一个永不枯竭的泉源，并依靠此泉源过一种严肃的生活，因此，他们就不可能姑息以命运来取代神的特性，把凭运气置于坚信神的旨意之上的那种对上述泉源的下毒。对于加尔文来说，敬畏神与凭运气犹如水、火互不相容。

我们反对上戏院的理由则不同。小说、戏剧创作并无罪性可言，人的想象力本身就是神自己所赐的。跌宕起伏的剧情也没有特别的邪恶之处。当年密尔顿（译注：英国清教徒时期伟大诗人，著有“失落园”）非但很赞赏莎士比亚的戏剧，自己不也是以戏剧性的形式创作的吗？

现在我是否可以请问诸位，难道此事的结果不值得他们这样的勇敢行为吗？即使是三个多世纪后的今天，你在我的加尔文主义祖国，在苏格兰，在你们美国，上述的那种世俗娱乐活动仍不得在社会上登堂入室，而人们的生活因着人心里属灵的有根有基，已经发展到如此高的水平和对圣洁的如此追求，以至引来心怀敌意之辈的妒嫉。不仅是那些文艺圈子里的蝴蝶翅膀被完整地保存下来，就连翅膀上的金粉也从未这般的闪闪发光。

这就是我所以想要敬请你们注意的证据。我们的时代比起加尔文的时代来，伦理道德的论文著作和专题讨论可算是汗牛充栋；哲学家们、神学家们抢着向我们显示他们所找到的（或者说是他们所藏起来的）通往道德之路。但是有一件事是所有这些学者们都做不到的，那就是在大众那无能为力的良心里重建高尚的道德标准。

然而我们必须抱怨、要抗议的是，我们道德大楼的基础正在渐渐松动，渐渐失去了其稳定性，直到那可以让各阶层人民都能感到的，可以保证未来仍有道德可言的最后一个堡垒消失为止。

现在，政治家们，立法官员们都在公开地宣告弱肉强食；财产私有被视为偷窃，爱情变成了儿戏，诚实被公开嘲笑。泛神主义者已经毫无顾忌地将耶稣和尼罗混为一谈；尼采走得更远，认为基督对温柔的人祝福是对人性的咒诅。（译注：①第一世纪极残忍的罗马皇帝；②尼采是法国二十世纪存在主义奠基人）。

同样，公共戏院、剧场本身也并不邪恶。当年在日内瓦就有公开上映的剧场，加尔文也同意。不，那使我们的先辈生气的不是喜剧、不是悲剧，也不是歌剧本身，而是这些戏剧里要求男、女演员把牺牲道德作为一条规则，目的就是为了取悦于公众。当时戏剧界的道德水平的确很低。一方面这种道德水平的低下会对人的品德起一种潜移默化的作用，另一方面，现代的剧场里不象古希腊时代舞台上只有男性演员，为了起到吸引人的效果，女人上台将神所赐给女人的最圣洁的珍宝，即她的无瑕疵名声处险境、遭毁坏。当然，具有严格道德标准的剧院是受欢迎的，但除了很少的几个大城市之外，这样的剧院从经济角度上说也是很难生存的。事实是，剧院上演的剧目道德上越遭，剧院就越赚钱。太多的情况下，剧院的兴旺是以男人的品格、女人的纯洁为代价的。

坚信人身上的一切都是为了神的名的加尔文主义者,对这种以牺牲道德来满足人的眼目之愉的勾当就不能不谴责了。

说到跳舞,就连象巴黎“费加罗报”这种非基督教的世俗报纸都赞同加尔文主义者的观点。最近,费加罗报上有一篇文章专门谈到了一个父亲第一次把女儿带进舞厅所引起的道德麻烦。文章指出,这种道德上的令人痛苦的现象,至少在眼下的巴黎,足可以从娱乐场中那些窃窃耳语和不正经的眼神中看到的。这里,加尔文主义所抗议的也不是跳舞本身,而是跳舞常常引人走向不纯洁的倾向。现在我就回到刚才我所说的障碍上来。我们父辈的判断实在准确,这个世界着迷般地热爱着的就是此三件事,跳舞、打牌和上戏院。在世俗的圈子里,这些娱乐活动非旦毫无非议之处,而且还是头等重要的事情。谁要是胆敢站出来反对,那么就必定招来恶意攻击。正是为此原因,真正的加尔文主义者清清楚楚地知道,当他越过这条界线时,他所做的是以牺牲。

现在,让我们来把这一切与三个世纪以来加尔文主义的辉煌成果作个比较。加尔文主义知道伦理道德的哲学研究不能救这个世界,但唯有重塑人的良心才能使世界变得美好。

因此,加尔文主义不沉缅于理性探讨,而是将人的灵魂直接置于永活的神面前,以至人心在神的神圣伟大面前战兢颤抖,并使人在此神圣伟大中发现神大爱的荣耀。回顾历史,你们都很清楚,在加尔文的时代,世界腐败到了何等可怕的程度,道德降到了何种低下的水准。从皇宫贵族到平民百姓,从神职人员到科研人员,男女老少没有例外。你们中间谁敢否认加尔文主义在道德上的胜利冠冕?它曾在一代人中,虽然被逼上战场,被押上断头台,但却能够同时在五个国家里创造出大批高贵的男人和更高贵的女人,产生出那闻所未闻的崇高理念,俱备那无与伦比的道德自律能力。

(第二讲完,译于2003年)

《加尔文主义讲座》第3讲

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔(Abraham Kuyper)著 (1898年) 王兆丰译

第三讲:加尔文主义与政治

我的第三讲从宗教信仰转到国家政权,从神圣的范畴进入世俗生活。从现在起,我会

从总体上、原则上与那种不符合历史事实的论调来论战，此论调说加尔文主义只是一种救赎上的、教义上的运动。

加尔文主义在宗教信仰上的动量也为社会与政治定下了根本性的概念。它不仅仅是修剪枝子、清理枝干，它也触及了我们人类生活之根。

任何一个人只要理解这样一个事实：从来没有任何一个政治体制不是建立在一个特殊的宗教概念或一个特殊的反宗教概念之上，就不难理解上面的这句话。历史上发生在荷兰、英国和美国政治上的改变就是加尔文主义给这三片土地所带来的政治上的自由。

每一位称职的历史学家都无一例外地证实班克罗夫特 [注：二十世纪初美国著名历史学家、出版家] 在《美国历史》一书中的话：“对加尔文主义的狂热就是对自由的狂热；在为自由而战的道德战场上，加尔文的信仰告白就是他的武器，就是他最忠诚的同盟军。”另一位美国历史学家普林斯特这样说：“我们国家在宪法上所确立的自由来自于、也扎根于加尔文主义。”

加尔文主义给法律开辟了新的道路，首先在西欧，然后是欧洲大陆与北美大陆，今天正影响越来越多的国家，假如说这个事实还没有被公众完全承认的话，至少已经为所有从事科学的人所承认。但我认为仅仅有这几句声明是不够的。

为了了解加尔文主义对我们的政治发展所带来的影响，我们必须来看加尔文主义是如何为根本性的政治理念之形成打开大门的，这些政治理念又是如何从加尔文主义的原则之根上发芽成长的。

这一主导原则不是救赎概念上的因信称义，而是在最广的范畴里三位一体上帝对整个宇宙的全权掌管，包括每一层面、所有一切的范畴与国度，包括可见的、不可见的。这一全权管理可以归纳成涉及人类生活的以下三个方面：

1. 上帝对国家掌有全权
2. 上帝对社会掌有全权
3. 上帝对教会掌有全权

下面，请允许我来从这三个方面来论证加尔文主义是如何理解上帝全权的。

首先，我们来看上帝在政治范畴内的全权。所谓政治范畴也就是国家。我们承认，国家的概念来自人具有社会性这个特征。对此亚里斯多德早有论述，他把人称为是有政治倾向的群体动物。上帝或许造了互不相关的个体的人，他们之间也没有血缘上的联系，就好像亚当是独立地被

造，接下来的每一个人都是独立地被造，但事实并非如此。

人是从人被造而来，一个人因着他的出身有机地与全人类联系在一起。合在一起，我们形成了人类，不仅与今天活在世上的人们，也与从前所有的人和将来数以万记、数以亿记的人联系在一起。所有的人类来自一个血脉。但是，那将地球分割为各大陆，将大陆分割为各个国家的国家概念却与上述人类相联这个概念无法调和。唯有当整个人类形成一个帝国，国家这个概念才可能使我们人类有机的统一，在政治上得以实现。毫无疑问，若不是罪的介入，这统一早已实现；假如不是罪这个分离之力将人类分裂，没有任何东西会沾污、会破坏我们人类的有机统一性。亚历山大、奥古斯塔和拿破仑 [注：三者都曾试图统一全球] 的错误不是因为他们被世界帝国的魅力所迷惑，而是他们不顾罪的力量早已使人类的统一破坏殆尽这个事实，在那里企图实现统一的理想。

同样，眼下国际上的社会民主力量在试图实现的，也是这个吸引人的统一理想。我们知道，他们的努力是想要在这个充满罪的现今世界上就实现这个崇高与圣洁的理想。不，就算把那些无政府主义者自以为可以在拆除人与人之间现有的一切关系、打倒一切人的权威之后，从自然本身可以长出一根新的有机纽带而实现合一的企图和前述的努力加在一起，也不过是对一个失去了的乐园回眸而已。

假如没有罪的存在，政府与国家就没有存在的必要，整个政治生活最多也就包在家庭生活的各种关系之中。在一个没有罪的世界里，监狱、警察不会存在；陆军、海军也无从谈起；制度和法律会销声匿迹，政府的权威与控制也就不复存在；生活就会自然地、不受阻碍地、正常地发展。没有破裂，何需捆绑？四肢健全又何必拐杖？因此，国家的建立，政府的权力，保障人民生活安全的一切秩序都是不自然的，都是我们的本性深处所要反抗的。正是这一原因造成了掌权者们可怕的滥权和百姓的不断反叛。这就是历世历代以来权威与自由之战的根源。在这场战争中，人心底里对自由的渴望乃是上帝预旨所定，为的是要阻止权力堕落成专制独裁。因此，真正的国家概念和政府权威，人民保卫他们自由的权力与责任这两个方面都依赖于加尔文主义放在我们面前的基本真理——上帝设立了世上的一切政权，原因是由于罪。

在这一思想里，隐藏着国家政权光明的一面和阴暗的一面。阴暗的一面是：各国政府本来不应该存在，本来应该只有一个国家。现在的各国政府由罪人掌权，所以就可能导致种种独裁野心。光明的一面是：假如没有国家，没有法律，没有政府的统一，对于一个满了罪的人类来说无异是地狱，或者说至少是在重蹈那被上帝用大洪水淹没的全然败坏一代的复辙。

加尔文主义出于对罪的深刻认识，告诉了我们国家、政府的本来面目，教导了我们两件事：首先，我们应当心存感恩地从上帝手里接受国家与政权，这是今天不可或缺的。另一方面，我们也必须十分警惕，因为政府的权力里潜伏着对我们个人自由的威胁。

此外，加尔文主义还教导我们，在政治上，人的因素即人民，不能作为首要的因素，否则，我们不只过是在人民需要的时候把上帝拉来帮忙。正相反，每一个国家都必须尊上帝的伟大之名为圣，万国加在一起在他面前不过是水桶中的一滴，不过是天平上的小小尘埃。上帝把万国召到他的审判座前，他们都是为他而存在，都是属于他的，万国万民都是为他的荣耀而存在，按照他的定旨而存在，好叫他们在遵行他的旨意时，他的智慧可以引导、照耀他们。

因此，当人性在罪中堕落，各处的人们各自为王，当罪在这些国家里盛行，将人搞得四分五裂，当罪显出各种的羞耻与不义的时候，上帝的荣耀就要求这些恐怖之事受到阻止，混乱得到控制，秩序得以恢复，就会有一股强制性的力量出现，使得人类社会成为可能。

这一权力是属于上帝的，也唯独属于上帝。

没有一个人有权统治别人，不然的话，就必定是弱肉强食。正如老虎在丛林中统治无防守能力的羚羊，尼罗河畔的法老就曾统治着埃及人的祖先。

也没有一群人可以依照合约以他们自己的权力来迫使你顺服他人。我们祖先在他们的时代与别人签的“社会合约”凭什么对我具有约束力？作为人，我在最强大的人面前勇敢地、自由地站立。我说的不是家庭里的事，因为家里的关系是有机的，自然的。但是在政治上，我不向任何人弯腰，因为我们都是人。

治理人的权力不可能来自人，历史告诉我们，虽然多数压迫少数，但少数往往是正确的。

加尔文主义的政治观念认为，第一，政府的存在就是因着罪的原因。第二，世界上的一切政府的权力单单来自上帝的主权。当上帝对我说：“你要顺服”，我就恭敬地低下我的头，但作为人我一丝一毫都不会以我个人的尊严与人讨价还价。因为，当你向和你一样靠鼻孔呼吸的人低下你的头时，你的降卑就如同你向天地之主的权威顺服而被举高一样。

正如圣经所说：“**列国的王靠我掌权**”，使徒也宣告：“**世上的权柄都是神所命的。所以抗拒掌权的，就是抗拒神的命。**”政府是上帝普通恩典的工具，目的是赏善罚恶。不但如此，政府是上帝设立作他仆役的，为的是叫政府或许可以保护上帝荣耀的创造之工，使人类免于全然毁灭。罪攻击上帝的创造之工、上帝的计划、上帝的公义、上帝的荣耀，因为上帝是万有的设计师与建造者，因此，上帝设立了政府的权力。上帝将人的生杀大权交给了政府，通过这些器皿的作用来抗衡罪、来维护公义。所以，无论是帝国还是共和国，不管是中央政权还是地方政府，都是在上帝的恩典之下掌权、运作。同理，司法就因此具有一种神圣的特性，出于同样的动机，每一个公民都必须顺服政府，不仅是出于惧怕，也是出于良心。

加尔文更进一步指出，一个政府的权威与这个政府是如何建立起来的，以及它的组织形式无关。就他个人而言，加尔文倾向于共和制度是众所周知的，他并不认为君主制度是神圣的、理想的政府形式，除非是在一个无罪的国家里。假如罪没有进入世界，上帝就一直会是人类唯一的君王。在将来的荣耀里就是这样，**上帝必贯乎万人之中又超出万人之上**。上帝所直接掌管的政府是绝对的君主制，这是所有一神论的人都承认的。加尔文认为，因着罪的原故，一个相互监督、集体管理的民主共和制度比较好。

在加尔文的思想里，共和制与君主制之间就权威而言，没有根本的差别，只有程度上的不同。他视君主制度、贵族制和民主制都是可行的政府形式，条件是：人人都必须无条件地承认，没有任何人可以宣告有权力统治其他人，除非他的权力是因着上帝的恩典而加给他的。因此，我们对权威的顺服不是因为人而是出于上帝。

根据加尔文的观点，那些出于上帝的权威而被授于权力的人，他们的责任与义务不能一概而论，可以因地因时而异。但他也毫不犹豫地声明，只要情况允许，最理想的是由人民自己选举他们的政府，在这种有条件进行民主选举的地方，人民应该存感恩之心承认这是上帝的特别恩待，正如我们国家宪法的序论里所声明的：“我们感谢至高上帝赋予我们民主选举政府的权力。”

在他的《撒母耳记注释》里，加尔文告诫所有能够选择自己政府的人们说：“*是啊，你们这些具有神赋权力选举自己政府的人们，当三思而行，不要辜负神的恩典，不要把恶人、把与神为敌之人选在高位上。*”

我想加一句的是，今天多数人的选择就成了正确的，原则已经不复存在了。每一个新的国家建立，不是来自武力征服，就是出于大众选择；每一个政权的倒台也不例外，或出于继承决定或毁于暴力革命，都是人民通过他们的代表来重建权力。但加尔文宣告说，上帝具有全权，他可以通过他的护理之工将此恩典从一国的人民手里收回，若一国的人民不配得此恩惠，或者因着他们的罪完全放弃了此祝福，上帝也可以根本就不赋予他们。

一个国家在历史中的发展过程就说明了其所获得权力的过程，这种权力可以由继承而来，君主制的国家就是如此。这种权力也可以通过浴血奋战而来，甚至也可以象比拉多对耶稣所行使的权力那样，是“**从上头赐给他的**”[注：约翰福音 19：11]。这权力也可以象古代日耳曼帝国那样，是通过那些选举神圣罗马帝国的诸侯而来。或者象昔日的荷兰共和国那样，权力来自各省。换言之，在各国的发展过程中，权力的形式应有尽有、不一而一。

今天你们美国的政府就不可能在中国存在。俄国至今为止还不配享有民主立宪制的政府，而非洲的许多国家连俄国式的沙皇政权都不能想象，这一切都是上帝以他的隐密旨意与护理之工所决定。但所有这一切政权都不是神权政治。神权政治唯有在以色列出现过，因为上帝在以色列直接介入过。上帝通过大祭司和先知，通过他的拯救奇迹，他的管教与审判，亲手掌管以色列的立法与政权来管理以色列人。

加尔文主义对上帝主权的承认适用于全世界的所有国家，是一切人统治人权威之源头，这也包括家庭里父母对孩子的权威。

作为政治信念，我们可以归纳为以下三点：

1、在所有国家的命运上唯独上帝具有全权，从来没有任何一个被造之物具有这种权力，因为万国都是被他的无尚权能所造，由他的定旨所掌管。

2、在政治的范畴内，罪已经破坏了上帝的直接统治，因此人被赋予行使政府的权力，来作为一种补救。

3、无论政府的权威是以何种形式出现，除非上帝赋予的权力，没有一个人有统治他人的权力。

与加尔文主义的信念直接对抗的理论有两种。前者是法国人 1789 年在巴黎所宣告的大众主权；后者是德国历史泛神主义所发展出来国家主权。从根本上说，这两种理论没有什么差别，但是为了清楚明了起见，我们来区别对待。

法国大革命所造就的是什么样的精神？是对政府滥权的愤怒吗？是独裁专制的恐怖吗？是对人民权利与自由的捍卫吗？当然都有一点，连加尔文主义者都心存感恩地承认，巴黎所发生的事的确含有上帝的审判。

但是，法国革命的驱动力不是对滥权的仇恨。伯克[注：十八世纪英国著名政治家]将 1688 年的“光荣革命”[注：即英国君主制转变成民主制的不流血的革命，历史上称为“光荣革命”，这是一场从下到上，因着宗教改革给英国带来人心改变所造成的政治变革。]与 1789 年的法国革命原则作了比较，说：“*英国革命与法国革命无论在细节上还是在总体精神上都截然相反。*”

同样是这位如此反对法国革命的伯克，则说你们美国对英国的反叛是：“*出于一种具有活力的原则。显示了美国人民的自由精神，美国革命反对的是思想、观点上一切要人屈服的東西。*”

在加尔文主义世界里发生的三场伟大革命[注：荷兰、英国和美国]不仅没有损害上帝的荣耀，不，它们正是出于对上帝无尚权威的承认。每一个人都承认，在“沉默的威廉”领导下，我

国〔荷兰〕反抗西班牙的革命就是如此，也从来没有人怀疑过英国的光荣革命推翻了斯图亚特王朝，迎来了奥林治三世。汉考克〔注：美国《独立宣言》的第一个签署者〕在《独立宣言》中一再地说明，美国人民“所依靠的，所遵从的是自然规律和上帝的法律”，他们以实际行动来体现“每一个人都具有他们的创造主所赋予的，不可剥夺的权力”，他们“向宇宙最高法官申诉他们正直的动机”，他们以“对上帝护理之工的全然依靠”来宣告《独立宣言》；在《十三州邦联宪法》的序言里代表美国最早的那些州宣告说：“我们心存感恩地称谢全能上帝长期以来赐予我们生活上、政治上和宗教上的自由，使我们仰望他来祝福我们的一切努力。”

这里，你们的父辈尊上帝为“全能的掌权者”，是“宇宙的立法者”，他们特别承认唯有从上帝那里人民才领受到“选择他们自己政府形式的权力”。富兰克林〔注“独立宣言”的起草人之一〕在起草《独立宣言》的“大陆会议”中当大家遇到极大的焦虑不安时，建议全体与会者一起向上帝祷告，求上帝赐下智慧。

假如有谁还是以为美国革命与法国革命有相似之处的话，那么 1793 年那场发生在杰斐逊与汉密尔顿〔注：前者为美国第三任总统、独立宣言的主要起草人，后者是美国独立战争时华盛顿的秘书，邦联党领袖〕之间的激烈论战就应该除去他的错误观点。正如德国历史学家霍尔兹所宣告的：只有疯了的人才会说美国革命的动力是从卢梭那里借来的〔注：卢梭是法国人本主义思想家、文学家，对法国革命产生很大影响〕或者就象汉密尔顿自己所说：“假如我们要拿法国革命与美国革命来作比较的话，那么就象拿法国小说中不贞的妻子与新英格兰清教徒的妻子相比，两者之间毫无相似之处。”

法国革命与上述荷兰、英国、美国的革命有着原则上的差别，后者都是用祷告、以信靠上帝的帮助进行的。法国革命无视上帝、反对上帝。他们否认政治上有任何比自然也就是比人自己更为深刻的基础。法国革命的《人权宣言书》第一章里就宣告了对上帝的绝对不信，他们把人的自由意志置于了全能上帝的宝座上。他们声称人的意志决定一切，所有的权威，一切的权力都出于人。于是，由个人到众人，从众人到人民，就成了一切权力的最深源泉。在你们的美国宪法里，最高权威来自上帝，是他将权力赋予人民。而在法国革命里，一切权力都来自人民自己，任何权威都不超过人的意志，这正是无神论的根本观点。在加尔文主义的范畴内，正象在你们的《独立宣言》里一样，膝盖谦卑地向神屈下，头颅骄傲地向人抬起。

在权力来自人民的法国革命里，一方面拳头握紧藐视上帝，另一方面在与自己一样的人面前奴颜婢膝，还荒唐地搬出个想象中几千年前古人曾立下的所谓“社会契约”来。

现在，你是否想要知道结果？那么就让历史告诉你：荷兰的起义，英国的光荣革命和你们美国向英国皇室的造反为自由带来了荣誉。也请你自己来回答这个问题：法国革命除了国家强权给自由带来的手铐之外还产生过什么？〔注：1789 年的法国大革命很快就导致了拿破仑·波拿巴

的极权专制] 在我们生活的十九世纪里，没有一个国家的历史比法国更惨了。

难怪注重科学的德国与这种人民权力的幻想一刀两断。历史学家都把 1789 年讥笑为一个从前的故事，甚至连古董鉴赏家们也在那里发出嘲笑。不过，历史学家们所能推荐的也并不比法国革命好到那里去。

今天，人民主权已经被国家主权所取代，这一概念是德国泛神主义哲学的产物。他们的种种概念都是从现实出发，其中之一就是：人与人之间关系上最高、最丰富、最完美的理想是国家。于是国家就成了一个神秘的概念、一个神秘的存在。随着这种国家概念的发展，渐渐形成了所谓国家意识，国家意志，直到盲目地达到国家目标这个最高概念。人民的概念已经不再象罗梭所认为的那样是个体的总和。人民不是一种聚集，而是有机的一体。这个有机体必然有其有机器官。这些有机器官渐渐在历史上发展成熟起来。国家意志就由这些器官来运作，所有一切都必须服从此国家意志，国家意志的主权可以以共和制的形式表现出来，也可以体现在君主制上；可以是亚细亚的皇帝也可以是西班牙的暴君，或者象拿破仑那样的独裁者。这一切不过是形式不同罢了，它们都包含了一个国家的概念，都是在无休止的发展之中。无论它的形式如何变化，万变不离其中：国家具有最高的权威，每一个成员都要服从国家这个被奉为圣明化的权力顶峰。

于是那被压迫的人可以抬头仰望的、上帝的超然权威消失了。什么是正的、对的只有到法律里去找，法律之所以正确不是因为法律符合永恒者的真理、原则，而仅仅因为它是法律。法律随时可以改变，但却被视为总是正的、对的。这种致命的理论所产生的结果，就是使人的错、对良心成了瞎子，错、对的标准只以我们的头脑来衡量，人失去了对正直的热情。只要是存在的，就是好的，因为它存在。不再是创造我们、知道我们的上帝的意志，而是不停地改变着的国家的意志成为绝对的，至高无上的，成为了上帝。我们的生活，我们的存在都要由此国家的意志来决定。当你进一步思考到这个神秘的国家不过是以人来表现、来执行它的意志的时候，你就无疑会得出这个结论：这种国家主权，哪怕是一种民主形式的主权，也绝不会超出人向人屈膝折腰，人永远不可能上升到一种来自良心上的顺服。

站在那些主张无神论、人民主权的百科全书作者们和那些推崇泛神论国家主权的德国哲学家们的对立面，加尔文主义者坚持上帝的全权高于人间的一切主权。加尔文主义者将每一个民族、每一个人都摆在我们天上的父面前，从而获得最美的志向、最高的抱负。他清楚地认识到罪的事实。这个事实在 1789 年曾被人们在混乱中扔掉，今天则被人视为是一种悲观的多余，但加尔文主义者把它看作是我们人的本性。加尔文主义指出我们有机社会里的相互联系与政府权威带来的机械关系之间的区别，它使我们更容易地来顺服权威，因为在所有权威中，它使我们尊重上帝的权威。它使我们从出于对强者恐惧之心而来的顺从提升到为了良心缘故的顺服。它教导我们将眼光从人间的法律上升到上帝永恒的正义与真理，它在我们里面造就了不屈不挠的勇气，它以最高正义的名义与法律中的不义作不懈的抗争。无论国家用多大的权力来压制个人自由的发

展，我们灵魂的眼睛永远注目在高于国家权威的万王之王那闪耀光芒的无限权威上。受压迫者永远可以向他那公义标准上诉，人民的祷告永远可以上达到他的宝座之前，来求他祝福我们的国家，求他在此国家内祝福我们和我们的家业！

关于国家的主权，我就谈到这里。下面我们来看社会范畴内的权威。

从加尔文主义的观点上来说，家庭、贸易、科学、艺术等等都属于社会的范畴，它们的存在不必依赖国家，它们也不必从国家的权威之下为自己设立法则、规矩，它们顺服的是自己心里的最高权威，那是因着上帝的恩典在他们心里掌权的权威，正如国家也有比它自己更高的权威一样。

这里包含了国家与社会两者之间的对立，我们没有把社会看成是一个不同组织的聚合体，而认为社会是由各个有机部分所成。我们尊重每一个有机部分的独立性和特殊性。

在这种特殊性里，就必然包含了一个特殊的更高的权威，我们把此称为每一个社会独立部分自己的最高权威，为的是要明确地说明，社会的这些不同层面除了上帝之外，没有任何权威可以凌驾于它们头上，国家也不允许来干涉。你们马上就可以感觉到，这是涉及到我们人权、自由的，很有意思的问题。

这里我们必须牢牢记住的是社会的有机生活与政府的机械特征之间的显著差别。人本身所具有的特性以及后来发展的一切都直接源于被造之始。这一点，你从家庭、血缘关系上一下子就能看到，从男、女婚姻上就能看到，从一夫一妻制上就能看到。孩子之所以存在是人本身的繁衍能力，在一个家庭里，孩子们自然而然地具有兄弟姐妹的关系。当这些孩子们长大成人后，也会结婚。所有这些关系都来自血缘和其它关系，这些是主导整个家庭生活的关系。在这一切关系中，没有机械关系。发展是自动自发的，正如枝子从树干上长出来一样。诚然，罪已经对这一切产生了搅乱的影响，已经把本来是祝福扭曲成了咒诅。然而，罪的这种致命作用已经被上帝的普通恩典所阻止。人的滥爱试图要瓦解破坏婚姻、家庭的神圣关系，然而在我们绝大多数人里，婚姻仍然是人类社会的基础，家庭依旧是社会学中最基本的范畴。

这一点，在生活的其它范畴里也是如此。因为罪的原故，自然已经失去了乐园的荣耀，大地长出荆棘和蒺藜，我们必终身劳苦才能吃饱。但是人类一切努力的最主要目的仍然是人堕落之前被造之初的设计：**治理全地**。这一治理除了运用我们身上被造之初被赋予的能力之外，是无法获得的。科学不过是人类将我们里面被造的思维能力、调查研究能力应用到宇宙万物之中。艺术不是别的，乃是我们丰富想象力的自然产物。因此，当我们承认一方面罪被普通恩典所约束，另一方面，罪在生活的各方面所造成的改变必将随着荣耀国度来临之日而消灭的同时，我们仍然认为，上述这些生活中的基本特征都是来自起初的创造。所有一切的生命形式，都是根据创世之初创造主的定旨发展起来的。

政府的情况则完全不同。我们承认，即使罪不存在，还是会有一种需要来将众多的家庭联合起来，这一联合是在上帝的权威之下的联合，这将是一个从人们心里开始到外在形式完全统一、和谐地顺服于上帝的国度。那时，全世界除了一个上帝作王的有机王国之外，没有任何国家存在，罪已经完全消失，这正是先知所预言的、那等候着我们的未来。

今天，罪把这种全地联合的王国从我们的生活中除掉。这一联合已经不复存在。上帝的这一国度不能直接存在，它已经被罪被毁坏了。一个世界性的王国既不能够建立也不应该建立。当初建巴别塔正是这种叛逆的愿望。此后，各国各族渐渐形成，上帝为各国指定政府。因此，假如你们允许，我想用这种方式来叙述：一个国家的政府不是从其身体上自然长出来的，而是一颗机械地安上去的脑袋。这是一个错误状态下随之而来的补救，是这棵植物边上用来支撑它的棍子，否则，它那与身俱来的软弱必然使它倒下。

政府的主要作用是掌握生杀大权。根据使徒的见证，政府是佩剑的，这剑有三层意思。它是公义之剑，用来对罪犯施行惩罚。它是战争之剑，用以保卫国家的利益、权力与荣誉。它也是维护秩序之剑，平息内部的叛乱。路德和其它改教家们正确地指出，政府及其权力是在大洪水之后才设立的，那时上帝命令杀人必须抵命。取走生命的权力唯独属于上帝，因为唯有上帝才是赐生命者。因此，没有一个人具有处死人的权力，除非是上帝赋予。在这一点上，罗马法律本身就比摩西律法要低等得多，因为它把处死的权力交给了父亲和奴隶主。在摩西律法里，唯有政府才有权处人死刑。政府的最高责任是主持公义，其次政府也有责任管理好国内、外的事务，使本国人民的生活得到更好的发展，使他们安居乐业。

综上所述，在一个国家里，一方面社会中的各个有机部分在各个层面上自发地发展，另一方面，在它们之上又有一个政府的机械力量将它们联合在一起。所有的摩擦和冲突也都由此而起。因为政府的机械权威总是倾向于要侵犯人民的社会生活，想要来机械地安排、控制生活的各个层面。而社会生活又总是在设法摆脱政府的控制权威。正如眼下各处正在蕴酿着的社会民主和无政府主义思潮，两者的目的都是要想推翻政府的权威。若我们暂且将这两者放在一边，我们就会承认，人民生活的健康和国家的稳定都是有机的社会生活与机械的政府权威之间相互斗争的结果。今天的“立法政府”更强调上述两者之间的关系。在这场斗争中，加尔文主义第一个站了出来，既尊重上帝所设立的政权，又强调上帝在社会各个层面里根据创世时的定旨所植下的主权。

这两者之间必须要有一个规则来调整相互关系，这种调整不能靠执政者，而要靠法律，这就是加尔文主义极力强调的。因此，可以说是加尔文主义从其根本的原则出发，创立了宪法。

历史不容置疑地证明这种宪法没有在罗马天主教国家，也没有在路德宗国家里出现，

而在加尔文主义的各国被建立起来。这里的概念是：上帝在两个不同的范畴里将主权赋予人。一方面是机械范畴上的国家权威，另一方面是有机械范畴上的社会各层面的权力。在这两个范畴之内，都有各自的主权，唯有上帝在它们之上。

对于政府的机械性权威，我想不必多加论述。但对有机的社会各层面的权威我们应该来进行讨论。

这种权威在科学的领域里最容易来理解。托马斯 [注：中世纪意大利神学家、经院哲学家] 在他论到朗巴德 [注：十二世纪意大利神学家] 和阿奎那 [注：十三世纪意大利神学家] 时写道：“朗巴德的思想统治了一百五十年，并且产生了阿奎那。在他之后，阿奎那的思想在此后的五个世纪里影响了全欧洲，产生后来的所有神学家。”

这话固然是过于夸张了，但其中所表达的概念却无疑是对的。历史中诸如亚里斯多德和柏拉图，朗巴德和阿奎那，路德和加尔文，康德和达尔文等等这些巨人主宰了他们自己的领域。天才具有一种权威，他们形成学派，对人们的思想具有不可抗拒的力量，对人类的整个生活产生不可估量的影响。天才的这种权威是上帝的恩赐，也唯有出于上帝的恩典。这种权威不向任何人，唯向上帝负责，因为是上帝赋予天才这种能力。

我们在艺术的范畴内也同样能观察到这一现象。每一位艺术大师都是艺术王宫里的国王，既不是出于继承也不是被册封，而单单是因为上帝的恩典。这些艺术大师同样具有权威，同样不必向任何人屈服，并受到人们对他们艺术天才的尊敬。

这一点也可以用到个性的权威上，人与人之间不尽相同。有人心胸狭窄，翅膀不比麻雀宽多少；有人则宽宏大度，对人极具吸引力，犹如展翅雄鹰；更有王者风范之骄骄者，成为他们自己所在领域内的权威，不论是人们远离还是反对，他们的影响力仍然不可阻挡。这种种现象在生活的所有层面里比比皆是。无论在工厂里，在商店里，在市场上，在贸易中，还是在航海业，甚至在慈善机构里也不例外。每一个地方都有一个人因他的个性、他的天赋和具体的环境而比其他他人更有能力。到处都有这样占主导、支配地位的人，但这种主导、支配并不是政府的介入，而是一种有机的现象，是生活自己的主权。

出于同样的有机主权，与这种个人的权威并肩而立的是整个领域里的权威。例如，大学在学术界占主导地位；艺术学院拥有艺术权威；技术协会在发明创新上；工会在工人中等等、等等，各行各业都在各自的范围内承认这种完全独立的权威。在这些学术、艺术、技术权威的有机范畴后面，是家庭。每个家庭都有自己在婚姻、教育、财产和亲属之间关系上的主权；家庭的自然带

头人主动地行使他的权威，这种权威不是来自政府而是上帝所赋。父母的权威来自生命的本身，这也是上帝在给人的第五诫中所宣布的。[注：**当孝敬父母**] 最后，城镇、乡村也形成它们社会生活的存在，这是出于生活本身的需要，因此也必须有它们的自主权。

我们从上述这些例子中看到，每一个领域里都有自己的权威：

1. 在社会中有个人的天赋、能力。
2. 在集体的概念上有大学、协会等等。
3. 在家庭和婚姻里。
4. 在人们生活的社区里。

在这四个范畴里，政府不可将它的法规强加上去，政府必须尊重生活自己内在的规律。正如上帝以他所选择的政权来行使他在国家范畴内的主权一样，他也以他选择的专家来掌管这些领域。

既然是上帝的命定，政府就有自己的责任。政府不可无视，不可改变也不可破坏社会各个领域的主权。这里，政府的权威出于上帝，但为了上帝的原故这权威要受限制，因为社会的各领域同样具有出于上帝的主权。科学、艺术、工业、商业、航海、家庭生活或者任何其它人际的关系都不应该被迫来仰望政府的恩惠。国家永远不应该成为一条触角遍及八方的大章鱼，把生活给搞僵弄硬了。政府必须守住自己的岗位，与森林里的其它树木一起立在自己的根上。因此政府应该尊重、维护每一种生命形态，它们都具有各自独立的、神圣的自主权。

这是否就意味着政府对这些自主的生命形态就无权过问吗？完全不是，政府有三重的权力与义务：

1. 每当不同的领域之间发生冲突时，政府应该指出双方各自的界线。
2. 任何地方发生滥权时，政府应当保护个人、保护较弱的一方。
3. 政府以行政手段调整经济、维护国家的稳定。

但政府不能做一切决定。法律必须规定各方面的权力，人民必须具有不可征服的权力以防止政府的滥权。这是一个政府的权力与社会各领域自己的主权根据宪法相互合作的问题。这也是加尔文在他的时代所面对的问题，当时的政府缺乏权威，各地的公爵、城镇和同行协会等地方组织各霸一方，形成了各自的“小国”。因此加尔文希望制定法律来协调这些地方组织与政府之间的关系。

这种情况与中世纪遗留下来的封建制度有关，近代已经不复存在。今天，这类地方组织或社会的各个领域已经不具备自治的权力，国家的领导权则被议会或国会所取代。议会或国会的责任是代表全体人民，维护社会各个领域、各种团体的自由与权力，若有必要它们可以起来反对政

府，因为这种联合起来的力量要比个人的抵制更有效、也更容易与政府合作。但是，无论形式上如何改变，加尔文主义关于政府的概念不变，那就是：以民主的、健康的、有秩序的方式来保障包括各阶层，各领域、各组织在内的全体人民的合法权益和他们对立法的影响。

现在的问题是，我们是应该走今天盛行的将选举权交给个人的道路呢，还是把选举权交给各种不同团体。因为现在有一种倾向，要让工会、商会以及各种不同的团体也具有它们集体的选举权。甚至连法国也有这样的呼声。

关于这些我就不多说了，就我个人而言，哪一种方式都可以，只要不是一边倒的、不是排斥性的就行。但有一点必须清楚的是，加尔文主义反对国家大权独揽，反对把现有法律视为绝对标准、最高权威的可怕观点，反对不承认宪法的专制政府。

加尔文主义所反对的这三条，是走向泛神论主义的温床，是对人权宣判死刑。人们应当感谢加尔文主义在这条专制政府的河流上筑起的大坝。加尔文主义这么做既不是迎合大众的口味，也不是对人性的伟大抱有任何幻想，而是认识到这些社会生活里的主权与政府的权威都是出于同一个绝对权威——上帝的全权。个人的、家庭的、社会生活每个领域的主权和国家的统治权都是出于上帝。因此，社会生活与国家政权这双方都必须懂得，它们都有各自的神圣义务，履行上帝所赋的主权，顺服在上帝的无上权威之下。

因此，把家庭的权力拱手交给政府的人民，或把科学的权威让给政府的大学在上帝面前与一个抢夺国家权威的民族同样有罪。所以说，为自由而斗争不仅是允许的，而且是每一个人在自己所在位置上的义务。这不是象法国革命那样把上帝扔在一边，把人放到全能者的宝座上去，而是叫所有的人，包括政府在内，在至高神的权威面前必存谦卑地低下头来。

接下来是我们要讨论的第三点，也是难度最大的一点，那就是：教会在一个国家的主权。

我之所以把此称为难度大并非因为我对这个问题的结论有任何怀疑，也不是我对你们的结论有任何怀疑。因为在美国，你们的宪法一开始就已经宣告教会敬拜的自由和政府与教会之间的关系，从而除去了任何的不确定因素。就我个人而言，我在二十五年前就已经在我办的周刊上写下誓言：“一个自由国家里的自由教会。”为了强调这一点，我付出了极大的努力。今天我们荷兰的众教会既将在我们的信仰告白里论到这件事。这个问题的难度不在于这些，而在于火葬舍维塔斯的柴堆上 [注：即 1553 年日内瓦对异端分子舍维塔斯处以火刑一事]，在于长老会对独立派的态度上，几个世纪以来在于对人们敬拜方式的限制上，天主教徒甚至在荷兰也一直在吃这个苦头。这个问题的难度也在于历史上的加尔文主义信仰告白条款中把“预防、铲除一切形式的拜偶像和假宗教，保护教会的的神圣敬拜”之权交托给了政府。难度在于当年加尔文和他的同事们一致要求政府对宗教事务进行干涉。

于是，当我们选择宗教自由的时候，就会面临一个自然而然的指控：我们拣起的那杆骑士长枪不是为了加尔文主义，而是用来反对加尔文主义。

为了保护我自己免遭此怀疑，我要来宣告一条原则：一个体系的特殊之处不是以其与以前的各种体系的共同点而论。相反，一个体系的与众不同就在于它与以前的其它体系不同之处。

把铲除各种假宗教、拜偶像的责任交在政府手里不是加尔文主义的发明，这件事可以追溯到君士坦丁大帝 [注：第四世纪第一位成为基督的罗马皇帝，首次使基督教成为合法]。当时这是为了对抗他的前任罗马当局对基督徒的残酷迫害所采取的措施。从此以后，这一政策为所有的天主教神学家所接受并加以捍卫，也被每一个基督教国家的政府所采纳。在路德和加尔文的时代，这也是一项包括罗马天主教和所有宗教改革国家在内公认的政策。当时每一位杰出的神学家都同意对舍维塔斯处以火刑的判决，墨兰顿第一个站出来支持 [注：墨兰顿是路德宗最重要的神学家]。从改变宗的观点看，路德宗在莱比锡把加尔文主义者克瑞尔送上断头台这件事要比判处否认三位一体神性的舍维塔斯火刑不知道要罪恶多少。

在宗教改革时代，数以万计的加尔文主义者因着他们的信仰被送上断头台、火刑架，相比之下很难数出几个路德宗和罗马天主教的人因他们的信仰被杀，历史对舍维塔斯火刑这一事件紧咬不放了是极其不公平的 [注：请详见本文最后的附件]。

然而，我不仅对舍氏的火刑架深感悲哀，我也无条件地反对所有这一类的做法。但是，舍氏一案并不是加尔文主义的特色。正相反，这是加尔文主义建立之初所处时代的悲剧结果。令人悲哀的是，加尔文主义未能从此传统中完全地脱离出来。

假如我想要知道从这件事上，加尔文主义所必须产生的特殊原则的话，那么问题就必须以完全不同的方式提出。那么我们必须看到、必须承认，这种把宗教信仰上的差别置于政府的司法、刑事审判之下的系统直接来自于这样一种立场，即：地上基督的教会只能以一种形式、一个组织存在。在中世纪的时候，就只有这样一个教会，任何与她不同的都被视为这唯一真教会的敌人。因此，政府的责任不是自己来判断、决定，而是以政府的权威来保护这唯一的教会，铲除任何的分裂与异端。

一旦这唯一教会分开，承认基督的教会可以在不同的国家以不同的形式存在；不，甚至在同一个国家以多种形式存在，那么，所有从统一的有形教会这个概念之下所产生出来的东西就顿时消失了，因此，加尔文主义不可否认地打破了这种统一教会，在加尔文主义各国存在着丰富多彩的各种教会形式这个事实就迫使我们不能在当时的传统体系里去找加尔文主义的特征，而要到了它从自己的根基上长出的新生命里来找。

事实已经证明，甚至过了三个世纪之后，在所有的罗马天主教国家，包括南美洲的那些天主教国家仍然以天主教为国教。这和路德宗国家里路德宗教会是唯一的国教没有差别。唯有在加尔文主义春风吹过的瑞士、荷兰、英国、苏格兰和美国，各种形式的教会才获自由、得兴旺。

今天，罗马天主教国家在教皇的一统之下，仍然把有形教会与无形教会视作为同一件事；路德宗国家仍以法律形式可怕地命令人民以承认路德宗信仰为公民的条件，改革宗的人们不是被驱逐就是被视为基督的敌人而遭到不公正的对待。与此形成鲜明对照的是，在加尔文主义的荷兰，所有因为宗教原因遭迫害的人们找到了避难所。在这里，犹太人受到热情接待，路德宗的人们受人尊敬，门诺派得以兴旺[注：十六世纪荷兰新教的一派]，甚至连阿米念主义者和天主教徒都被允许在他们自己的教会、自己的家里实践他们的信仰。那些被逐出英国的独立派教会的人们在荷兰找到了他们的安身之处；满载清教徒移民先父的五月花号从这里出发，驶向美洲新大陆 [注：即 1621 年到达美国的第一批清教徒移民先父]。

我不是在这里寻找借口，而是指出勿庸质疑的历史事实。我在这里再一次重申，我们必须到加尔文主义所创造出来的而不是从过去接受过来的东西里面寻找加尔文主义的特点。与此相关的一件令人惊叹之事是，我们的加尔文主义神学家们和司法工作者们从一开始就以反对宗教法庭来捍卫良心的自由 [注：十六世纪臭名昭著的西班牙宗教审判团，专门迫害抗罗宗人士] 罗马教庭清楚地意识到，良心的自由必定会挖独一教会的墙根，于是就予以坚决反对。我们必须承认，加尔文主义因着对良心自由的大力赞扬，从原则上摈弃了有形教会的任何一种绝对性。

只要一个国家的人民获得良心的自由，就可以冲破思想的禁锢。早在 1649 年，我们就已经宣告，因为宗教信仰的原因对人进行迫害是“一种对精神、对灵魂的谋杀，是向神发怒，是最可怕的罪。”记录表明，加尔文认为在对付无神论者一事上，连罗马天主教也是我们的盟友。他公开承认路德宗教会，他曾强调指出：“人对基督教的真理有三种不同的偏离：第一种是稍微有点走偏，对这样的人我们不必过问。第二种是在一定程度上的偏离，对此我们一定要以中肯的态度严厉批评，将人挽救过来。最后一种是公开离经叛道，对这等人必须处以致命的惩罚。”

我承认这的确太严厉了点，但这一立场从原则上说，否认了那种把有形教会而不是真理视为绝对的天主教传统立场，一旦这种传统被打破，自由曙光的来到只不过是时间问题而已。这里问题的关键是：加尔文离开了罗马天主教把有形教会与无形教会等同起来的危险立场，因为罗马教廷就是根据这一立场对持不同看法的人进行迫害的。加尔文一生都坚持并加以捍卫的，是他所相信的真理，并认为那就是绝对真理。从我们个人的信仰角度，这必须永远是我们所坚信不移的；但从更广的角度上说，我们永远不应该把自己的信仰强加于人。

我们已经列举了不少事实，下面我们对照理论，分三步来考查一下政府在属灵事务的责任：

1. 政府与上帝的关系
2. 政府与教会的关系
3. 政府与个人的关系

对于上帝，政府应该是仆人。政府必须承认上帝是最高主宰，他们的权力都来自于上帝，他们应该根据上帝的定旨治理人民，服事上帝。他们在阻止褻渎之事上应该勇敢地承担起责任来。一个国家应该把承认上帝是万有的主宰写进宪法中去，政府应该让人守主日为安息日，设立祷告日、感恩节，应该向上帝祈祷，求他祝福。

为了能按照上帝的旨意治理国家，每一个政府都有责任在自然生活里，在上帝的话里来认识上帝。这并不意味着政府要服从任何教会的决定。而是为了政府自己可以来得到认识上帝所需要的神圣之光。至于政府对褻渎之事的限制，要依靠每一个人内心深处对上帝的敏感，政府行使此权力的责任乃是因为上帝是掌管万国万民的超然主宰。正是出于这一原因，才能把那些公然藐视上帝、否认上帝是国家超然主宰的观点判断为褻渎。因此，政府所惩罚的不是人在宗教信仰上的冒犯，也不是不敬虔的思想情操，而是人对国家和政府赖以存在的法律根基的攻击。同时，不同政治制度的国家之间也存在着差异。有些国家是完全的君主制，有些是立宪制，也有些是民主议会制。

在绝对君主制的国家里，国家的良心与意志出于国王一个人，他（她）按照自己对上帝旨意的理解来治理本国百姓，在立宪制或民主制的国家里，这种统一的良心与意志不再存在，取而代之的是许多人对上帝旨意的不同理解。无论是出于一个人的意志还是众人投票的结果，政府必须独立地作出决定。政府既不附属于教会，也不必听从教会的话，政府直接站在全能上帝之下，独立地对上帝负责。政府不是一片污秽之地。教会和政府都必须在他们自己的范围之内顺服上帝，荣耀他的名。为此，他们都必须遵从上帝的话，但方式不同。在政府的范畴里，是通过执政者的个人良心。当然，首要的事是所有的国家都应该以基督教的方式来进行管理，也就是说，从原则上说政府的一切权威都来自于基督。但这只有通过那些执政掌权者们个人对如何按基督教原则来治理国家的理解才能实现。

第二点是政府与教会。假如上帝的旨意是要可见教会的正式统一的话，那么这个问题的答案就完全不同了。信仰上的合一对于一国人民来说是极有利的事。只有头脑狭窄的人才会对十六世纪罗马教庭绝望而狂怒地要维持此统一性感到不满，教会的这种统一性最初是存在的，在人类生活发展的低级阶段，不同的意见相对来说比较少。但是随着生活的逐渐发展，多种多样、丰富多彩的形式不可避免地也会发展起来，这是很自然的事。因此，我们就看到可见教会开始分裂的这个事实。今天没有一个国家能够保持绝对合一的可见教会。

那么，政府的责任是什么呢？是否需要依靠个人的判断来决定哪些是真教会？政府是否必

须支持某一教会，反对另外一些教会呢？或者政府不应该作这样的判断，把教会的各宗派看作是基督教会在地上的总和呢？

从加尔文主义的观点出发，我们必须支持这后一种观点，这不是出于一个假中立性，也不是加尔文主义对真、假无动于衷，而是因为政府不具备作出此判断的证据，因为政府的每一个判断都会干涉教会的主权，不然的话，你就成了路德宗国家的王子了（这是加尔文主义历来反对的）。在民主制的国家，一所教会今天被认为是真的，明天就可能变成假的，因为这种判断是靠投票决定的。这样，政府与教会之间的关系就没有连续性可言。

加尔文主义者们勇敢而骄傲地为自由而斗争，为的是让教会可以在她自己的范畴内掌有主权。这与路德宗神学家们的立场不同，加尔文主义者视基督为教会自己的君王。她的地位不是政府批准，而是上帝赋予的。她有自己的组织，自己的行政管理，自己的信仰告白。因此，决定教会是否是真教会是教会自己的特权，而不是政府的决定。

假如她在这一立场上，被其它教会所反对，她会进行属灵的争战。但她决不接受任何人，包括政府在内，要想来对她与她的姐妹教会之间的分歧强行作出决定，政府佩带的是杀伤身体的剑，不是用来判断属灵问题的圣灵之剑。

正是为此原因，加尔文主义者拒绝让政府来做仲裁。一个家庭的信仰问题必须由父亲来决定。政府决不能废除家庭的地位与权力。政府的权力是有限的，决不能干涉基督在他教会里的主权。这里我们必须小心，不能过分夸张清教徒主义。至少在欧洲问题上，应该考虑到当时的历史情况。在一片空地上盖新楼和老房子翻修完全是两回事。

然而这决不能废除基本原则，那就是政府必须尊重教会的多样性，这种多样性是基督在地上的有形教会的表现形式。政府必须尊重各教会的自由和它们的主权。当政府允许教会在自愿的原则上按它们自己的能力成长的时候，教会的发展就很顺利。这不是沙皇俄国式凌驾于教会之上的政府，不是罗马教庭那样要求政府屈服于教会，也不是路德宗的法学家们对公民在承认信仰上的要求，更不是法国革命式的无宗教立场。唯有一种自由国家里自由教会的体系才是加尔文主义所尊重的。政府的主权与教会的主权共同存在，相互制约。

我要谈的第三点与前面两点性质完全不同，那就是政府在对待个人主权问题上的责任。在上面讨论过的第二点里，我已经提到过，成熟的人拥有自己生活范畴里的独立自主权，这指的是个人不是家庭，因为家庭是由纽带关系相联在一起的一些人所组成，这里我来引维特布来奇教授的话作参考：“*每一个人在他的良心里都有君王般的主权，不受任何辖制*”，或者象海尔德所言：“*从某些方面说，每一个人都是一个主权的个体，因为每个人都有自己的生活范畴，除了上帝之外，无人在他之上。*”

我引这些话并非要过分强调个人的良心自由，对于不顾上帝与他的话而一味强调良心自由的人，我持反对态度。但我仍然坚持良心自主是一切个人自由的保障，一个人的良心永远只顺服于全能上帝之下。

人的这种良心自由在成熟的国家里，在成熟的人身上不可抗拒地体现出来。一个真正成熟的人，为了良心自由的原故，宁可自愿流放，宁可坐牢，甚至宁可牺牲自己的生命。在过去的三百多年时间里，人们对于“宗教审判团”的抵抗与厌恶深深地扎根于良心自由这个基础上，认为宗教迫害是对人生命的直接侵犯。在此事上，政府有两重责任，第一，政府必须使教会尊重人的良心自由。第二，政府也必须尊重人的良心自主权。

教会的主权在个人自主权上受到自然的限制，教会在她自己的范畴内具有主权，但对教会之外的人没有任何权力。无论在何处，违反了这一条原则就是越权。政府必须保护每一位公民，每个人也有权根据自己的良心，决定留在或离开某一所教会。政府在要求教会尊重良心自由的同时，自己也必须允许每一位公民的良心自由，因为这是每一个人最基本的、不可剥夺的权力。

在宗教改革的英勇斗争中，为了使这一人类自由中最宝贵的自由脱离专制制度的桎梏，鲜血流成了河。今天任何一个宗教改革的后代若不奋力捍卫我们的这一自由就是在践踏父辈的荣誉。假如政府想要管理百姓，它就必须尊重我们人类最高的道德力量。一个伤害人民良心自由的国家自己破坏了自己的力量。

既使我被逼着承认，从理论上说我们的先父没有勇气从良心自由的原则上来实行言论自由、敬拜自由，并且我也完全清楚，他们极力地批评、阻止他们所不喜欢的书刊出版；但是所有这一切并不能抹杀这样一个事实：言论、思想与出版自由都是在加尔文主义的荷兰第一次成功实现的。任何一个在其它国家受限制的人，可以在加尔文主义的国土上第一次享受言论自由和出版自由。因此，那为世界带来祝福的良心自由和自由本身最早都是出自于加尔文主义。

诚然，在罗马天主教的国家里，精神上、政治上的专制最终都被法国革命所击败。我们也存感激之心承认，法国革命促进了自由的进程。但是，任何一个了解历史的人都知道，多少年来法国各地的断头台上，人们为了不同思想的原故而掉了脑袋；任何一个记得那些不愿意违背他们良心起褻渎之誓的天主教神甫们是如何被肆意残杀的，或者任何一个象我一样对自由主义和保守主义给欧洲大陆所带来的，并且今天仍然在发生的精神专制深感悲哀的人，都不得不承认，加尔文主义的自由与法国革命的自由是两码事。

在法国革命里，自由意味着每一位基督徒都要认同不信的大多数；在加尔文主义里，良心自由使得每一个人可以根据他自己的信仰，出于他自己的心来事奉上帝。

(第3讲完, 译于2004年)

附: 《这, 就是约翰·加尔文》节录 (加尔文与舍维塔斯)

《这, 就是约翰·加尔文》茜亚·凡赫尔斯玛 著 王兆丰译

第三十三章

日内瓦城外的一座小山上, 有个人被处以火刑。

奇怪的是, 此人因异端被焚烧过两次。四个月之前他被罗马教廷处以火刑, 但教皇手下的人不够仔细, 他越狱逃跑了。愤怒之下, 他们做了个假人, 里面塞满了他最新写的书, 剩下的这个人只好由抗罗宗的日内瓦来烧死他。

这个被烧两次的异端分子是个西班牙人, 名叫迈克尔·舍维塔斯。他早年的经历颇似加尔文, 父亲是公证人, 哥哥是神父, 自己是学法律的, 跟随罗马教会。象加尔文一样, 在法律系做学业生时, 他以母语学习圣经, 十八岁那年, 他转信了二十五年后使他走上火刑架的东西。

舍维塔斯说, 神不是三位, 那样神就成了三头怪物。这个西班牙人说: “在整本圣经里找不出一个三位一体的字, 耶稣是人, 不是神的儿子, 圣灵也不具有独立的位格, 而是神差到世上的灵。” 二十五岁那年, 他将这些革命性的思想写成书出版。从此以后, 他引起了人们的注意。……………

在假面具下生活的舍维塔斯此时正忙着写另一本书, 约翰·加尔文把他的名著称为《基督教信仰纲要》, 为的是要重新建立真正的基督教会, 舍维塔斯把他写的叫作《基督教信仰恢复》为的是要催毁基督教会[注: 引自雪佛的《教会历史第八册》]……………

舍维塔斯为什么到日内瓦来? 他在法庭上说, 是去意大利拿波里行医, 路过此地。但是从维耶纳到拿波里的方向与日内瓦、苏黎世是南辕北辙的呀。他好不容易逃出罗马的火刑, 为什么跑到日内瓦来呢? 是不是那位替他印书的放荡派告诉他说, 加尔文在日内瓦遭遇麻烦? 他是否知道加尔文的敌人们一直希望推倒加尔文? 是的, 他很可能知道这些, 那么他是否想要让这些敌人来支持他? 他是否想在日内瓦散布他自己的教义? 或许他只是路过, 怀着好奇心而已? 没有人知道真正的原因。

加尔文起草了一份 39 条起诉舍氏的文件。开庭审查断断续续持续了二个半月，有时是他俩之间以拉丁文作书面辩论，有时是面对面的辩论。

日内瓦的放荡派们很高兴地站在了舍氏的一边。小议会专案组主席是培林，另一位放荡派领袖伯特利耶也是专案组官员。舍维塔斯与那个在维耶纳法庭上卑躬屈膝、又哭又叫的舍维塔斯今判若两人——现在他不但很骄傲，甚至对加尔文不肖一顾。他看上去胸有成竹，污蔑加尔文为“罪犯、杀人犯、可怜虫、骗子、愚蠢的东西……你难道以为能以自己的狗叫声来堵住法官的耳朵吗”？似乎加尔文成了被告。

加尔文一步一步证明他对舍氏的控诉。两人继续辩论，不但舍氏的话里充满侮辱与蔑视，加尔文说话也是怒气冲冲，措词强烈。他的话象尖刀般锋利，对这个恬不知耻地否认基督是神的异端分子充满了怒火，此人骄傲地坚持说，人生来是清白无罪的，婴儿不应受洗，是人自己，而不是上帝决定人的救赎。

正当各地成千名忠信的抗罗宗基督徒们被火刑烧死时，难道能让此亵读异端者逍遥法外吗？对舍维塔斯必须绳之以法，当时的法律明文规定，神圣罗马帝国的法律上白纸黑字写明：否认三位一体的刑罚是死刑。

第三十四章

但是，判决舍维塔斯的权力不在加尔文手里，此权力完全在日内瓦小议会手里。舍氏入狱的那段时间，正是加尔文对小议会影响力最小的那段时间，因为放荡派与加尔文之间正为开除教籍的权力作殊死的搏斗。那个放荡派领袖伯特利耶被教会告知不准领圣餐，原因是他醉酒之后和一群同伙与一位牧师争执，并追打他一直到他家门口。现在小议会竟无视教会的决定，越俎代庖地宣布恢复伯特利耶领圣餐的资格……

舍维塔斯的情绪很不错，牢里的虱子与恶臭虽然可怕，但那个放荡派的狱卒送来了好消息。舍氏等待着加尔文的敌人们击败他，自己的无罪出狱已指日可待。他甚至大胆地写信给小议会说：“大人们，我要求严惩那个污陷我的人……他的财产应判给我作为赔偿……将他也投入监狱直等到最后判决，不是他死就是我活”。有趣的是，连舍维塔斯自己都期待着此案的最终判决将是死刑，但他没有料到死的将是他自己。

小议会不顾加尔文的反对，决定向日内瓦其它城市的教会、议会征求意见。小议会在类似的事上也向他们征求过意见，得到的回答都是“温和处置”。若这次的回答也是“温和处置”，他们打算释放舍维塔斯。

但这次来自苏黎世、伯恩、巴塞尔和雪佛豪森的回答出乎意料——事实上，对于放荡派来说，是个震惊。没有一个回答温和的，一个议会接一个议会，一间教会接一间教会都谴责舍氏，指出他的褻渎必须被制止，以免再伤害基督的教会。伯恩说，他若在这里，判决将是火刑。

最后一封回信于10月18日送到日内瓦。培林赶紧作了反应，他先是推说病了，不能参加作决定的会议，然后又建议将此事转交二百人的大议会决定，因为那里放荡派的力量更强。但小议会不想让自己的权力被忽视，不同意将此事交给大议会，判决舍维塔斯的时刻到了。

“根据你否认三位一体，反对婴儿受洗，顽固地执意要以你那散发薰人臭气的异端来污染世界的事实……本议会决定将你定罪，并作出如下的最终判决：判处迈克尔·舍维塔斯和你的所有书籍以火刑”。这就是日内瓦小议会的判决，这是一份以全票通过的判决，连自放荡都投了赞成票，因为他们知道不能无视来自那四个城市的一致意见。加尔文一听到判决，立即请求小议会将火刑改成砍头，因后者稍有怜悯，但小议会迅速否决了他的请求。

舍氏在牢里也听到了判决，这个完全出乎意料的结果使他疯了一般地嚎啕不止。几个钟头后，他终于安静下来，几乎是谦卑下来，但他仍坚持自己所信的东西。加尔文去看他，舍维塔斯请求饶恕，加尔文回答他、劝告他，一如从前对他所做的：“相信我，我从未因为你冒犯了我而要追究你的责任，你是否记得十九年前我曾冒着生命危险在巴黎如期赴约，为的是想要把你赢回主里来。后来，在你流亡的那些年间，我难道没有一再写信劝告你那当走之路，直到你开始恨恶我，只因为我坚定的态度冒犯了你……但是……你应当向你所褻渎的永生神求饶恕……乞求与神的儿子、与那位救主和好。”

法雷尔也来到日内瓦，也为舍氏请求。但舍氏仍被处以火刑，不象那些抗罗宗烈士们那样充满喜乐地走上火刑架，临死时他充满害怕，但仍坚持自己所信的，毫无悔意。

1553年10月27日，舍维塔斯和他的书被一起捆在火刑架上，死于火焰之中。这座小山叫作谢佩尔，他死时42岁。

从此以后，这个名字就永远地与加尔文的名字联在一起。联在一起的原因是因为火刑，但是加尔文是唯一请求对他不使用火刑的人。判处舍氏死刑的决定权不在加尔文手里，也与他那强有力的影响无关。那是日内瓦小议会在其瑞士众姐妹城市的劝告之下所作的决定，这些事实常常被遗忘了。

但加尔文确实在舍氏的死上有份，他要求议会逮捕舍氏，他起诉了舍氏，他在小议会进行了多次的辩论，证明此人的异端威胁基督的教会。虽然在真正判决时加尔文没有参加，他确是同

意的。尽管他反对使用火刑，加尔文也曾写过一本小册子称舍氏为“那个自取灭亡的……异端分子”并为处死舍氏辩护。

其他的抗罗宗领袖也都同意此死刑。个性温和，一直倾向于和平、妥协的墨兰顿写信给加尔文说：“基督的教会会感激您……您的政府所作的处死这个亵渎者的决定完全符合一切法律”。这是一个火刑的时代，是一个人们相信审判他人关于神的信仰是他们的责任的时代。

今天，在舍氏赴刑的山坡上立着一块石碑，那是多年后跟随加尔文的人们立的，上面用法文刻着下面这段文字：

我们——伟大的改教家加尔文的，尊敬他的、感激他的儿子们——否认接受他的这个错误。这是一个他那个年代的错误。根据福音的原则、宗教改革的精神，我们相信良心的自由。

我们特立此和好的纪念碑。

1903年10月27日。

从二十世纪的今天往回看，加尔文在处理舍维塔斯事件上与他同时代的人没有两样，是件令人伤心的事。正是因为加尔文在他所写的著作中，在他所行的许多事情上，远远超过了他的时代，指出了一条宽容与自由、政府与宗教分离，每个人应以自己的良心来信神的路，这才是令人伤心的原因。

然而，神如此伟大地使用象加尔文这样满有罪的仆人来建造他的教会，来影响他的世界。这，才是令人赞叹的真正神迹。

《加尔文主义讲座》第4讲

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔 (Abraham Kuyper) 著 (1898年) 王兆丰译

第四讲：加尔文主义与科学

在这一讲里，请允许我把诸位的注意力引到加尔文主义与科学之间的关系这个题目上来。当然，在这短短的一讲里，我们是不可能以这么大的题目作面面俱到的讨论的。我只想谈四点，请各位认真地思考。

- 1、 加尔文主义鼓励、促进了对科学的热爱
- 2、 加尔文主义恢复了科学应有的位置
- 3、 加尔文主义使科学从不自然的束缚中争脱出来

4、4、 加尔文主义是如何寻找并找到不可避免的科学冲突之答案的

首先，在加尔文主义里蕴藏着一种对科学研究的驱动力，一个倾向和一种鼓励。加尔文主义促进了科学发展是一个事实，加尔文主义本身的原则就要求科学精神，在我们进行深入讨论加尔文主义对科学所起的鼓励作用之前，加尔文主义在历史上的光荣一页可以先来作证。加尔文主义历史的这一页，或者让我们说人类历史上在我看来具有无可比拟之美的这一页，就是三百多年前的莱顿城之围（注：荷兰西部城市 Leyden）。围城的是西班牙将军阿尔瓦（注：曾率罗马天主教军队在葡萄牙、荷兰等国血腥镇压抗罗宗人民），守城的是威廉王子，此役影响了世界历史的进程，最后阿尔瓦将军被迫撤退，沉默的威廉终于将自由的大旗挥向全欧洲。当时，莱顿城的守卫几乎完全靠城里的人民，他们与当时号称世界上最精锐的军队对阵，被困三个月后，粮食消耗殆尽，城里发生了恐怖的饥荒。看上去必遭毁灭的市民们靠狗和老鼠充饥。接着又遭黑死病的瘟疫，几乎三分之一的人被夺去生命。此时围城的西班牙军队提出讲和并愿意饶恕那些濒死的人们。但莱顿人民没有忘记敌人在那丹和哈勒姆（注：荷兰的另外两座城市）的背信弃义，他们勇敢、骄傲地回答说：我们已经准备好，哪怕就是吃自己的左臂，也会用右臂来保卫我们的妻儿，我们的自由，我们的信仰，暴君啊，你休想得逞！他们坚守了下来，耐心地等待奥林治王子的军队前来解围，但是……，奥林治王子在等候神。莱顿城附近的运河、渠道都被打开，城外几乎被水包围，但由于风向不对，援军的舰队因水太浅无法接近。神让他的子民在痛苦中受试炼。十月一日，风终于转向西刮，围城的西班牙军队在涌来的潮水前面惶惶逃跑。十月三日，援军的舰队到达莱顿港口。荷兰得救了，欧洲得救了。城里那些奄奄一息的人们，几乎是拖着自己的身子，全体来到他们的祷告之殿，跪在神面前，献上感谢。当他们试着想要唱起诗篇时，已经虚弱的发不出声音，人们听到的只有一片感恩的哭泣声。

看哪，我已经告诉了你们这用血写成的一页历史。但你或许会问，这与科学有什么关系呢？下面就是答案：荷兰政府为了纪念莱顿人民的爱国勇气，对莱顿进行了奖励，不是骑士军功章，不是金、银也不是荣誉，而是建立一所科学之家——即：今日驰名于世的莱顿大学。德国历来以其一流的科学为骄傲，然而就象尼尔布（注：十九世纪德国著名的历史学家）这样有名的人也作证说：“莱顿大学学术委员会是最值得纪念的科学之殿。”这里，一流的学者济济一堂，当年法国的著名古典文学家斯卡杰利和另一位科学家萨尔马歇斯甚至都是用军队护送，来到莱顿大学任职的。我何必再一一列举莱顿大学里那些举世闻名的科学王子、学术伟人和他们的辉煌业绩呢，或者告诉你莱顿对科学的一片赤诚之心怎样传遍了荷兰全国呢。你们当然知道利浦希（著名历史学家），汉姆斯特霍楨（著名哲学家）和波尔哈夫（著名物理学家）的大名。你们也一定知道荷兰发明了望远镜、显微镜和温度表等科学仪器，使实验科学成为可能。

加尔文主义的荷兰热爱科学是无可否认的事实。但最有说服力的证据，无疑是莱顿大学的建立。在生死存亡的危急关头，以英雄主义气概扭转世界历史的过程中，来接受缔造一所科学大学的最高荣誉这件事，只有在这样的人民中才有可能发生，即：热爱科学就是他们生活原则的一部分。

下面，我就来谈一谈此种原则本身。单单知道事实还不够，我必须向你们证明，为什么说加尔文主义坚定不移地鼓励对科学的热爱，当我指出下面的理由时，你对我刚才的这个声明就不会

感到奇怪了。因为加尔文主义的预定论教义，从更高的意义上说，就是当年培养科学的动力。为了防止误解，让我先来解释一下这里我所说的“科学”一词的定义。

我说“科学”时，是指整个人类科学，而不仅仅是你们平时所说的科学，或法国人所说的“科学原理”。我特别要予以否定的是，把实验科学本身作为完美的科学，即使是使用最清晰的显微镜或最高倍的望远镜，也不过是加强了眼睛的观察能力而已。当你对特殊现象进行观察，进行实验，找出一个普遍的规律，从而形成一种解释事物运作的概念，这一过程就成为科学，专科科学就是以此方式开始的。但既使是在科学研究的这种过程中，人的思想也不会全都默然认同。不同学科的科学必须加以组织，服从于以理论或假设所建立起来一个起支配作用的原则之下，最后才能形成一整套体系。犹如一位科学女皇将不同学科的结果安排、组织成一个有机的整体。

我知道，很多人的确想用雷蒙德的那个流行之词“无知”来说明，从最高的意义上说，人类对科学的渴求欲是永远不可能得到满足的，而不可知论则在生命的奥秘前面拉上了一块帘子，他们满足于不求甚解。最近，人们对这种思想上的涂鸦行为开始进行报复。有关生命的起源，相互之间的关系，它们的终极去向的问题是可能被压制下去的。进化论所假设的前因后果与神的话为敌，转眼之间已经占领各个领域，尤其是在自然主义者中间，这就说明我们都需要有统一的观点。

现在，我们怎么来证明，正是加尔文主义所相信的，神对万事的预定才确保我们对科学的热爱呢？科学，从更高的意义上说，就是要寻找一个对宇宙的统一认知概念。假如你想要理解这点，你必须从预定论再进一步地来看神的旨意。这决非是件可有可无的事，正相反，你必须这么做。相信预定论不是别的，就是从神的预旨来看你个人的生活，或者你也可以这样来看，即：人所表现出来的英雄主义正是全能神的预定旨意在你自己存在中的实现。这就意味着，我们不仅仅是口头上承认一声而已，而是以今生实际生活中的行为和以对来生的盼望来证明我们所信的。这是我们对神旨意的统一性，对神运作的确定性，所表示的信念上坚定不移的、诚实的证明。这是一种极富勇气的行为，因为它证明你的不可动摇的思想、意识与观念。你若要来查看什么是神的预旨的话，除了下面这样一种确定性之外，神的预旨还会意味着什么呢？此确定性就是，包括整个宇宙在内的万有的存在、运作，不是被机会、偶然的命运所摆布，而是万事按规律与秩序运作，被一种不可更改的旨意所掌管，按此旨意的计划而行，无论是自然还是历史都不例外。你难道不同意，这种在我们思想上所形成的，一个不可摧毁的全面、综合的统一性的概念，所接受的一个关于掌管万事的原则，是何等强而有力吗？它强而有力地叫我们承认那种普遍的，不可见的，然而又在特殊事物上表明出来的东西。是啊，它强而有力地叫我们承认，统管万有的是稳定性与有序性。从而你认识到，这个宇宙不是一堆石头，胡乱堆积在一起而成。相反，它是一幢按极其何谐的设计而建成的纪念大厦。你若弃决这个观点，那么，任何时刻，任何事情的发生都是不确定的，无论是早上还是晚上，是你自己，是你的家庭，你的国家，还是整个世界，无一例外。否则，人的任意的决定就成为至关重要的了。每个人，在每个时刻，都可以选择以某种方式行事。但同样有可能的是，他以完全相反的方式而行。假如事情真的如此，那么就不存在相互关联，不会有发展，不会有连续性，不会有记录，当然就更不

会有历史了。现在，请你告诉我，在这样情况下哪来的科学呢？你或许可以说自然科学是这样，但人文科学是不清楚的、不确定的。若真是如此的话，那么历史上就只有赤裸裸的事实，事情的相互关联，计划在历史中就不再有地位，历史也就死了。

我根本没有想过要来讨论人的自由意志，我们没有这个时间。在我们这个时代，科学发展的越深入，在加尔文主义所相信的神预旨的统一性和稳定性与阿米念主义宁可要相信的事情的表面性和任意性这两个对立面之间，就越一致性支持加尔文主义的观点。在现代哲学家所形成的各种体系里，也都几乎一致地支持统一性与稳定性。巴克尔（注：十九世纪英国著名的历史学家）在他那本《英国文明史》中已经成功地证明，人类生活中有着几乎可以用数学方法证明的规律性。

龙勃罗梭（注：意大利犯罪学家，刑事人类学派创始人）和他手下的整套犯罪学家班子，在这一点上也都认同加尔文主义的观点。那最新的遗传与变异定律的假设，已经被所有的进化论者们接受，被认为是控制包括人类生命在内的整个自然界的“共同信条”。尽管我在这里没有批评这些哲学思想或自然主义假设；但至少在他们的系统里已经非常清楚地表明，当代的整个科学发展都以这样一个观点为前提，即：这个宇宙并不是偶然、机遇的捉弄对象，而是在一个原则下，以稳定的秩序，按照一个既定的计划而存在、发展。这种宣告与阿米念主义截然相反，而与加尔文主义的信念相一致。在加尔文主义的信念里，神的超然旨意是万事存在的原因，万事也遵照既定的规律，朝着早已制定的目标运行。加尔文主义从来就没有过这种概念，说神在宇宙中的预定只是他的一些旨意松松散散的总和。加尔文主义者一直坚持，整个被造世界和历史都是一个有机的整体。他视神的旨意，是一切自然律的源头与基础。同样地，他视神的旨意为一种道德律与属灵律的坚固基础。自然律与属灵律两者都靠神的命令而立，神的旨意也通过此两类的规律使他永恒的计划得以最终的实现。

对包括个人在内的万事的这种统一性、稳定性和秩序都出自神的旨意在宇宙间的预定，这种信心就不能不使人大声地呼吁，热情地鼓励对科学的热爱。没有对这种统一性、稳定性与良好秩序的坚信，科学就只能停留在猜测的阶段。唯有当人对这个宇宙的有机联系有信心，科学才能够从对特殊现象的实验、考察走向普通，从普通走向控制现象的定理，从定理又走向掌管这一切的原则。数据对于科学是极其重要的，但唯有在上述的前提下，数据才真正有意义。请记住，当年加尔文主义在生活中为自己清扫出一条路来的时候，半皮拉纠主义已经将此对统一性、稳定性与秩序的信念搞得如此地模糊不清，以致连阿奎那（注：中世纪罗马天主教的伟大神学家）也失去他的影响力，而司格托主义，神秘主义，伊壁鸠鲁主义（注：伊壁鸠鲁为古希腊哲学家）争先恐后地剥夺人类头脑的思维能力。谁都承认，驱动科学发展的动力来自于新生的加尔文主义，它有力地将秩序从混乱中带了出来，把那极其危险的属灵放纵置于原则之下，制止了在各种不同思想之间的摇摆，让我们在忽上忽下的迷雾之中看清了一幅画面，即：一股强大的巨流从山上冲下，通过完全有规律的河道冲向迎接它的海洋。加尔文主义在忠实地坚持神预定旨意的信念上经历了许许多多重大的考验，一次又一次地面临遭毁灭的边缘。加尔文主义因其信念而遭辱骂、被污蔑。加尔文主义拒绝把我们的罪排除在神的计划之外，不然的话，世界的秩序与进程就又会变得支离

破碎，而反对者们公开指责我们，说我们把神看作了罪的作者。他们所做的，他们不晓得。

加尔文主义者决不允许嘲笑与奚落夺走自己的信念，此信念就是，我们全部的生活必定是在神所建立起来的统一性、稳定性与秩序之下。正是此信念，才使加尔文主义对统一性的深刻理解，扎实的知识 and 世界观的一致性成为需要，这对于我们大家，包括普通人民在内都不例外。这种需要，唤起了对知识的渴求，而当年这种渴求唯有在加尔文主义国家里才能得到充分的满足。这也是为什么，在当年的那些著作中你会读到如此坚定的决心，如此充满活力的思想和对生活如此深刻的认识。我甚至还要说，在贵妇人的回忆里，在平民百姓的书信里，都能反映出当时人们对生活、对世界的统一认识，这种统一性就是烙在他们本身存在上的印记。与此紧密相关的，是他们对所谓意志至上这种观念毫不看重。在实际生活中，他们用以规范自己的是清洁的良心，此清洁的良心对幽默与幻想，对一时冲动与机会偶然都无动于衷，它唯顺服于最高的原则之下。在此他们找到了存在的意义，他们也被此最高原则分别为圣。

下面，我要来谈第二点：加尔文主义恢复了科学的位置。

天文学研究的确是从古希腊、古罗马开始的。到了中世纪，科学消失了，人们的注意力完全被引向来生。加尔文主义在不失去属灵眼光的同时，使科学得以复兴。假如我们不得不在具有美丽的天文科学，然而对永恒之事却瞎眼的古希腊与对天文科学茫然无知，而对基督存谜一般爱慕的中世纪之间作一选择的话，毫无疑问，每一位神的孩子在他濒死之际都会感谢贝尔纳和阿奎那的膏油（注：两者都是中世纪罗马天主教的著名神学家）而不是赫拉克利特和苏格拉底（注：两者均为古希腊哲学家）。一个在世寄居的圣游者，对这个世界的存亡与终极不感兴趣，但却给我们树立了一个远比世俗的希腊人要理想的榜样，后者拜的是女神维那斯、酒神巴克斯，一方面自我陶醉于英雄崇拜，另一方面又不顾人的尊严沉溺于庙妓，甚至堕落为衣冠禽兽般的同性恋。不过，请不要误会，我并非要对希腊、罗马的经典歌功颂德，也决非要想对中世纪迷雾中闪烁的天堂之光抵毁、贬低。然而，我还是坚持认为亚里斯多德一人知道的天文学知识要比所有教会先父们加在一起还多；在伊斯兰教的统治下，自然科学也比在欧洲的天主教堂和修道院里昌盛的多；重新找到的亚里斯多德的著作对于落后的科学研究无疑是个刺激。我也坚持认为，唯有加尔文主义，以其根本的原则，即：不断提醒我们从十字架回到创世之初，同时也承认神的普通恩典，为科学重新打开了那被公义的太阳（注：即耶稣基督）照亮了的宇宙广阔天地的大门，因为圣经见证说在基督里面藏着所有的智慧与知识。下面让我们先来讨论这里所说的加尔文主义的一般原则，然后再讨论关于神普通恩典的教义。

众所周知，基督教信仰从本质上说是拯救性的，“我当怎样行才可以得救？”（使：16：30）这是历世历代以来焦虑的慕道友所问的问题，这是一句必定得到回答的问题。但在那些只知今生不知永生的人眼里是个愚拙的问题，因为他们从来不会从道德上有机地将今生与来生联系在一起。诚然，每当两种要素同时出现，就如罪人与圣徒，暂时的与永恒的，地上的生活与天堂的生

命，往往有一种危险倾向容易忽视两者之间的相互联系，走向一个极端。我们不得不承认，基督教在历史上也犯了同样的错误。二元论的重生概念造成了自然生命与恩典生命之间的断裂，此概念已经造成过分强调天上的事而忽略了我们对于神创造的世界所应有的重视；因为只爱永恒的东西，而忽视了人在地上生活的责任；因为只考虑灵魂而不顾对身体的照顾。这种一边倒的、不和谐的倾向导致了各种偏差，例如，只对基督进行神秘敬拜，或者只对创造天地的全能父神敬拜等等。在此观念的影响下，基督只被视为救主，而他的人性一方面则被忽视了。

这种二元论的观点是没有圣经根据的，约翰福音一开始就告诉我们基督是永生之道，万事都藉着他所造，生命在他里面。保罗也见证说，万有都是靠基督造的，万有也靠他而立。救赎之工不仅仅限于罪人得救，也及至神造的世界，使地上的，天上的万有都在基督的元首之下重新联合。基督自己在马太 19: 28 中不仅论到地上的复兴，也包括整个宇宙的复兴。保罗说：“受造之物切望等候神的众子显现”（罗马 8: 19）。当约翰在拔摩岛上听到天使和被赎的歌唱，将一切荣耀、赞美与感恩都献给神时说，“你创造了天、地”。这正是创世纪第一章第一节的话“起初，神创造了天、地”。先知在圣经中对将来的预言说明，将来并不仅仅只有得救灵魂的存在，而是整个宇宙的重新恢复，在新天新地里到处都有神的同在。福音的这种全面的、广泛的、宇宙的意义也被加尔文所理解。并且这不是一种逻辑论证的结果。这种理解来自于加尔文对神的无上权威与伟大崇高的深刻体会，这也是模塑加尔文一生的原因。

诚然，我们的得救是极其重要的，但这却绝不会比神的荣耀更重要，神已经在他奇妙的创造之工里彰显了他的伟大崇高与无上权威。宇宙万物都是神亲手所造，虽然眼下被罪所污染，将来的重建会更加荣耀；被救赎的与被重建的都是起初所造的，都是神亲手所做的奇妙之工。基督的中保职位是人最美的诗歌与天使最动听的声音所永远要称颂的。然而，此中保的目的也是为了荣耀父神。并且，无论基督的国度有多么壮丽辉煌，最后也顺服于父神之下。现在，基督是我们的代表，但到了那个时候，他的代祷也会停止，因为我们将要见到爱我们的父神。因此，加尔文主义摒弃了那种轻看这个世界，忽视今世的、不具有很高价值的所有被造之物的观点。这种对世上生活的重视决不是以牺牲永恒事物为代价，因为被造世界是神的亲手之工，它们具有启示神特征的价值。对此，我可以举两个事实来证明：

十六世纪意大利米兰市发生大瘟疫，波罗米奥大主教以感人的爱每天救济二千多濒死的人们，成为很好的见证。十六世纪瑞士的日内瓦也发生了一场大瘟疫，加尔文做的更好，更有智慧。他不仅一直在为病人提供属灵的供养，也建立起了有史以来第一套公共卫生措施，从而控制了疫情。

第二个例子是十七世纪初荷兰阿姆斯特丹市的加尔文主义传道人普朗西斯，他不仅讲道极为出色，是一位在他所生活的教会问题很有争议时代的最敬虔的牧师，同时也是当地船主和船长们最信赖的顾问。因为他在地理学上博学多识。他对地球经度、纬度的研究是在他对基督大爱的长度、宽度的寻求中所形成的。他所看到的神的工作有两项，一是神的创造之工，一是基督的救赎之工。他在这两项工作中颂赞、爱慕神的伟大崇高与无上权威，也使他的灵魂喜乐无穷。

从这两个例子中，我们看到最出色的加尔文主义信仰告白中论到的关于我们认识神的两种方式，那就是圣经与自然。令人惊叹的是，加尔文不象其它许多神学家们那样，把自然只看作是附

属品，他常把圣经比作为一副眼镜，能帮助我们看清楚那被咒诅所模糊了的，神手所写的大自然这本书里神奇的思想，从而完全去除了那种把从事自然工作的人说成是在白费精力、浪费光阴的观念。因此，不仅把天上圣徒们相聚作为我们仰望的目标，地上人类社会也同样是值得我们去做科学研究的对象。这也解释了为什么加尔文主义与人文主义紧密共存的原因。若人文主义者试图将今世生活来取代永恒生命，那么每一个加尔文主义者都会予以坚决反对。但假如人文主义者只是满足于追求属世生活的知识，加尔文主义者就是他们的同盟。

下面我要来论述的是“普通恩典”的教义，不是从刚才我们所讨论的一般原则所产生的结果来看，而是从我们败坏了的本质——罪的角度来理解此教义的应用。罪在我们面前，就象个解不开的谜。假如你从罪与神为敌，是致死的毒药，是使人永远被定罪的角度，从罪人完全没有任何行善的能力，只有做恶的倾向，唯有被神重生的人心才能被改变的原则上看，那么所有不信的人，未重生的人就必然是穷凶极恶、令人厌恶的。但这与我们实际生活中的经验相去甚远，相反，不信的人往往在许多事情上远远胜过我们。古代外邦文明的宝贵遗产传给了我们。在柏拉图（古希腊著名哲学家）笔下，人可以读到一些很宝贵的东西。西塞罗（古罗马著名演讲家、哲学家）那高贵的口才不仅令人惊讶，甚至也会激起人的神圣感情来。假如你想一下自己周围的环境，从一些公开宣称不信神之人的著作中，你也一定读到不少吸引人的、令人产生同情与钦佩的东西。非基督徒的言、行中吸引你的，不仅仅是他们的天赋或才能所迸发出的火花，更是他们的品格、热情、献身，他们的爱与坦诚，守信与诚实所具有的美。是啊，我们不应该对此只保持沉默，你也常常希望基督徒身上能有更多这种吸引人的东西，我们中间谁没有过在“外邦人的道德品格”面前感到羞颜的时候？

因此，我们关于罪使人完全败坏的教义并非与我们的生活经验相一致，这是一个事实。但是，假如我们调转头来，以这些经验为起点，那么请你记住，你的基督教信仰就无从谈起，因为你把人的本性视为好的，未堕落的；于是你的关于上面来的恩典看上去不过就是一种麻醉剂，并且还常常无效。有些人为了逃避这种窘境，一方面把非基督徒的良好品德说成是“有光彩的恶行”；另一方面又把自己的罪推到老亚当身上。然而你们都很清楚，这不过是缺乏诚挚的托辞而已。对此，罗马天主教曾试图找到一条出路。他们把生活分为两种不同的存在，一种是地上的生活，一种是更高层次的天上的生活，后者在神的眼里看为宝贵。根据这种理论，神为亚当同时准备了这两种生活，既给了他自然生活的本性，又赐给他超自然的起初的义。在这位聪明的亚当身上，不仅有自然生命，也有属天的生命。堕落之后，他失去了后者，却没有失去前者。他身上自然生活的人性几乎没有受损失。虽然他的人性变得软弱了点，但作为整体仍然是完整无损的。堕落之后，亚当仍然具有他一切的秉赋。于是，他们就找到了原因，说这就是为什么堕落的人常常在自然生活中很出色、很成功，因为那不过就是地上的生活。你们可以看得出来，这套理论想要调和堕落的教义与我们周围现实生活之间对不上号的矛盾。整个罗马天主教就建立在这种惊人的人论基础上。

这个系统里有两个问题。第一个错误是它缺乏圣经对罪的深刻概念；第二个错误是低估了自然人性所带来的结果。这是一种错误的二元论，在上一讲里，我们对此举过一个罗马天主教狂欢节的例子：狂欢节上，人人都尽情享受，接下来的四旬斋期间，为了保持理

想化，又来一阵子属灵生活的提升。出于同样的理由，神职人员实行非婚制度，修士们不仅转离地上的物质生活，也牺牲自己的意志，在道德上甚至胜过神职人员。这还不够，为了追求最高的完美，有的修士整天站在高柱之上苦修，有的则钻进深洞中与世隔绝整天忏悔。那种按圣洁与世俗来划分界线的思想基本上也同出一源。任何东西，若没有教会的支持与安排就被看作是没有多大价值的，是不圣洁的。这种观点当然不会鼓励基督徒去从事地上事情的研究。那些坚决捍卫理想化的人，唯有属天的、定罪的事情才能吸引他们来做学习和研究。

加尔文主义在原则上反对这种对堕落的人类道德状况的概念，加尔文主义的立场是，一方面对罪有一个最深刻的认识，另一方面认为堕落的人的好行为是因为神的普通恩典。按照圣经对罪的定义，加尔文主义认为假如罪不受控制地任其泛滥，那么就一定会造成整个人类生活的完全堕落、败坏，就像大洪水之前一样。但是神对罪进行抑制，使他的亲手之工不至于完全毁灭，因为那是罪任意泛滥的必然结果。神以他的普通恩典介入个人的生活、介入人类整体的生活，也介入自然的运作，然而，此恩典并不根除罪，也与救赎和永生无关，而是起到控制罪的作用，就如人类以智慧来控制动物的野性一样。人可以用不同的方法来防止野兽的伤害，或者用笼子，或者驯化。比如狗和猫最早是从野狗和野猫驯化过来的。神的普通恩典也是用类似的方法来限制人里面罪的运作，一方面击败罪的能力，一方面驯服人里面的邪恶之灵。此外也驯化一个民族或一个家庭。普通恩典可以使得一个未蒙重生之人的言行既可爱又充满活力，很吸引人，正如我们的家养动物一样。这里所作的当然是比喻。然而，罪的本质仍然像毒蛇一样不会改变。这点，我们也能从猫身上看到，假如你把一只猫放回到森林里去，两代之后就完全变回到野猫了。人的情况也一样，目前在艾米尼亚和古巴发生的悲剧就是一个例子。有些人读到圣巴特罗米的大屠杀（注：十六世纪法国圣巴特罗米发生的对加尔文主义抗罗宗人士的预谋大屠杀）时，把它归咎于当时的文明水平低下。不！请看十九世纪的今天，艾米尼亚的大屠杀比当时更可怕，（注：艾米尼位于小亚细亚地区，当地的大部分基督徒惨遭伊斯兰教徒的屠杀）。凡是读过十六世纪西班牙人如何在荷兰对手无寸铁的老儒妇幼残酷行为，又听到今天古巴所发生的惨剧。（译注：读到这里，不禁使人联想到二十世纪在希特勒德国、斯大林的苏联和中国尤其是60~70年代的文革期间所发生的骇人听闻的事）。在邪恶没有表现出来，没有直接反应出来的地方，决不是因为人性没有败坏到那个程度，而单单是因为神，因为神以他的普通恩典阻止了火焰从冒烟之处喷发出来。你若要问，在这种对邪恶的限止中怎么可能产生出吸引人的，好的东西来呢？那么我们就拿渡轮作个比喻吧：这是水中的一只船，激流可以截载着它箭一般冲向下游而遭毁坏，但若以链索牵引，同样的激流则以将船安全地送到对岸。正是这么满有智慧的神，从恶中产生出善来。与此同时，我们加尔文主义者决不会对自己的罪性轻描淡写，但我们仍然赞美神、感谢神让人生活在有秩序的社会里，阻止我们不致于犯下恐怖可怕的罪行。我们也感谢他将隐藏在人身上的聪明智慧开发出来，渐渐地使人类的历史得以发展，并且以同样的恩典使他的教会在世上也有立足之地。

这种教义可以使基督徒对生活有一个完全不同的态度，在他的眼里，不仅是教会，而是整个世界都属于神，两者都是这位超然设计师与掌管者的杰作，因而都值得人去学习、研究。

一位寻求神的加尔文主义者一刻也不会让自己只限于神学思考之中，把其它学科视为低等的、只属于不信之人的东西。相反，他会把自己所从事的一切都视为在神的工作中来认识神；他清楚地知道并全力以赴去做他所从事的工作，无论是教会内的还是世界上的；在大自然的奇妙之中，在人类的勤劳生产之中和在人类社会与历史之中，他对神的创造和神的普通恩典都同样爱慕。你可以看得出来，此普通恩典的教义不仅一下了除去了那种把世俗生活视为卑贱的禁令，也防止了另一种专爱从事一般科学研究的极端倾向。

现在我们可以知道，正是由于神的普通恩典，才产生了、留给了我们宝贵的古希腊、古罗马哲学、艺术和正义的遗产，激发起我们对经典文明的研究，好使我们从这些瑰丽的遗产中得益处，没有普通恩典的概念，就很难看清人类历史并不是一场残酷的舞台戏，而是一个以十字架为中心的，前后一致的进程。在此进程中，每个民族都有其特殊的任务，各民族都以自己的智慧使人民蒙福。学者、专家对政治科学、对经济的研究的确很有必要。不仅如此，我们的直觉都告诉我们，无论是我们周围的自然、生命还是人类的生命本身都值得认真地学习、研究。这样的研究也会使我们对整个宇宙令人惊叹的可见现象与不可见运作有更多的了解。从另一个角度看，如果说科学知识的不断进步常常使人变得骄傲，使人的心远离神的话，那么正是由于普通恩典的教义才使得加尔文主义最杰出的科学家们时刻不忘自己在神面前是个罪人，他们也感谢神让自己能够对上述的这些学问有很深的造诣。

到此为止，我已经证明了加尔文主义鼓励、促进了对科学的热爱，恢复了科学应有的位置。下面，请允许我来讨论一下加尔文主义是如何使科学获得必不可缺的自由的。自由对于科学来说，就像空气对于我们呼吸一样重要。这并不意味着科学是完全不受制约的，是不需要遵守规律的。正相反，一条躺在地上的鱼是完全自由的，但却是要死的，要消亡的。鱼要自由的活着，就必须被水所包围，必须靠它的鳍和尾才能自由的活动。同样，每一门科学都必须与它所研究的对象紧密相关，必须严格地使用正确的方法，才能自由地遨游。因为科学的自由并不是胡来乱搞，而是不受一切不符合科学原则的不自然的束缚。

为了帮助我们完全理解加尔文所采取的立场，首先我们应该对中世纪大学的概念与实践有一个正确的认识。当时，是没有什么叫着公立大学这个概念的。大学都是私立的，与你们美国早期的大学类似，在那个时代，一般认为大学是“学者的团体”，她的生死存亡与资金和师资的才能休戚相关。当时，对科学自由的侵犯不是来自政府。长久以来，人类社会只有两种统治势力：教会与政府。这是把身体与灵魂分隔开来的二元论在社会上的反映。教会就是灵魂，政府则是身体，除此之外没有第三种势力。教会生活以教皇为中心，而政治生活则是以国王为核心。历史上多次为争夺帝国皇冠与教皇的三重冠冕所发生冲突就是一种想把这两股势力统一起来的努力。文艺复兴带来了第三种力量，十三世纪末，大学的出现使得科学自成一体，在教皇与国王之间宣告她自己的独立存在。

剩下的唯一问题是，这股新生的力量是否会产生一个等级中心，成为教皇与国王之外的第三位君王。

但是，大学的民主特点本身就排除了君主制的倾向。然而那些习惯于控制一切的统治者无论

是教皇还是凯撒都自然而然地会对这第三种独立势力的发展密切注视，并且想方设法要把它置于自己的控制之下。假如当时的各大学都能坚定地站立，他们就不必屈服于教皇的权势之下。然而，就如其它形式的自由竞争一样，弱小者总是想去寻找支持者，因此他们就转向了凡蒂冈。这样一来，使得那些著名的大学也步其后尘。于是，所有的大学都纷纷贪婪教皇的青睐。这里我们看到了邪恶的根源，聪明的科学双手交出了他的独立特性，无视这样的一个事实，即：我们对宇宙的研究、思考包括了各门学科，它们形成了一个完全不同于教会的领域。宗教改革，尤其是加尔文主义制止了这种邪恶。首先，加尔文主义废除了教会本身的等级制度，在基督的唯一权威之下，教会形成了由长老、执事集体领导的民主管理机制。教会作为大学的属灵统治者，这一现象也就不复存在。在路德宗来说，作为统治者，王子被尊称为“第一主教”，但在加尔文主义的国家里，教会与政府被分开作为生活的两个不同范畴。在这里，颁发博士文凭既不需要听众公众的意见，也不需要教皇的批准或教会的按立，完全是科学本身的决定。

另外还有一点需要指出，尽管大学已伏首在教皇之下获青睐，罗马天主教仍然对科学施加压力，对那些发表自己创新观点的科学家们施以骚扰、指责和迫害。教庭不仅在教会里压制正确的观点，也常常使学术界无言论自由可谈。这样，正确的东西要想在社会中推行，就不能靠谬误之间通过坦诚的辩论，而是要靠在法官面前的胜诉才能站立得住。于是，科学的自由就受到了损害，教会解决不了的科学问题就只好由法庭来判决。于是，胆小怕事的就保持沉默与顺服，而那富有勇气不肯屈服的就被砍断了翅膀，假如他执意要以试着用断翅来飞，那么他的脖子就会被拧断。如果有人出版太大胆的见解，他就会被视为罪犯，等待着他的是宗教裁判团和火刑架。当时的教会坚持认为，所有值得人去认识的东西早已有了答案，并且是绝对的答案，他们不知调查研究为何物。当时的教会也根本不知道那为科学所预备的巨大的任务，正从中世纪的沉睡中苏醒过来，也不知道“为生活而奋斗”是科学在执行其任务时必不可少的原则。教会没有把科学的曙光看作是正在地平线上升起的太阳，反而把它的朝霞视为对世界形成威胁的星星之火。因此，她自以为义地、责无旁贷地要去扑灭此火苗于未燃之际。

假如我们处于当时的时代，对这种现象或许可以理解，但我们要谴责的是这种现象背后的理论，假如全世界都支持这种理论的话，那么新生的科学就会被扼杀在摇篮里。在这件事上，加尔文主义是配得称赞的，它弃决了这种有害的立场。首先找到了普通恩典的理论，不久之后又为各国在科学迫害中遭难的人们提供了安全港。就像在其它许多事上一样的，的确，加尔文主义并非马上就懂得他们所采取的这个立场所产生的深刻影响。因为一开始的时候，只是废除了教会领导、干涉科学的做法，然而这个富有勇气的观点，假以时日，必定导致言论自由，使教会的工作集中在“特殊恩典”的范畴内，在她的权力范围之外，就是“普通恩典”的广泛而自由的天下。其结果，针对科学观点的刑事法律渐渐地失去了意义。这里仅举一例：当时有位叫卡帝斯的学者不得离开罗马天主教的法国，来到加尔文主义的荷兰，获得安全。此外还有一点需要说一下，为了使科学得以发展，必须先创造出一种对科学的需求。为此，人们的思想必须先获得解放。然而，只要教会仍然对整个社会生活管头管脚，束缚就会继续下去，因为生活的唯一目的是为了将来天

上积德。享受地上的东西必须要得到教会的认可。根据这种观点，一个人若想要热情地投身、从事地上的事，那简直是件不可想象的事情，人所有热情都应该放在永恒的事上。当时的人们没有认识到，除了盼望永远的救恩之外，基督教还有一项神圣的责任，一个伟大的任务，那就是认识、管理这个宇宙。这个新概念是由加尔文主义首先向人介绍的，它把每一种关于地上生活的唯一目的是为了积德、为了准备将来天上的祝福这种概念毫不留情地连根砍断。每一个加尔文主义者都清楚，天上的祝福不是靠人的行为而是来自蒙神重生与圣徒坚忍到底。在此教义之下，对得救的确信取代了兜售赎罪卷的勾当（注：宗教改革之前罗马天主教发明的收敛钱财的方式）。加尔文主义使基督教回到当初神创造世界时所立的顺序：“你们要生养众多，遍满地面，治理这地，也要管理地上各样的活物”（创 1: 28）。基督徒的生活是寄居的，这一点没有变，但作为寄居的，加尔文主义者在走向我们的永恒之家的路上，在地上仍然有重要的任务。展现在人周围的是整个自然界和宇宙万物，在这片广阔天地里，有着无数的工作要做。加尔文主义者在他的劳动里献上热情与能力。因为整个天地里的一切，按照神的旨意都要服从于人的管理。因此，在我的祖国，宗教改革时期出现了前所未有的工业、农业、商业和航海业的大发展。这种举国上下的新生活唤起了新的需要，为了征服、管理全地，就必需要有海洋学和所有自然科学的知识。因此，人民对自然科学激起了一股前所未有的自由的热情并付诸于行动。在此之前，政府、教会是不鼓励人们去从事科学的。

下面，我要来讨论最后一点。科学的解放必然导致各种不同原则的冲突，唯有加尔文主义为此冲突找到了答案，这里所说的冲突是指自由的调查、研究所导致观念上的冲突。各人对生活，对世界都有不同的观念，这也是不同学派或不同思潮的结果。例如，乐观主义者与悲观主义者；康德学派与里格尔学派（注：两者都是德国哲学家）；法制主义者与道德学家。医学上，有顺势疗法与对抗疗法；地质上有火成论与水成论，自然科学上有达尔文主义与反达尔文主义；语言学上也有完全不同的学派；哲学上，形成主义者与实用主义者总是争论不休……。到处都有争论、冲突与争斗。这些冲突有时并不是因为各人之间的不和，而常常是严肃认真而又充满热情的。然而，这一切的冲突都可以被归纳为原则的冲突。原则上的最大冲突就是那些相信三位一体神和他的话与那些自然神论，泛神论和自然主义者之间在如何解决这个世界的问题上的冲突。请注意，我没有说是信仰与科学的冲突。这种冲突是不存在的，在一定程度上，每一门科学都是从相信开始的。信仰与科学不仅不冲突，相反，脱离科学的信仰是迷信、是假的。每一门科学在我们的内在意识上，感官运作上和思想方法上都以相信为前提。科学有这样的一个前提：在特殊现象后面有隐藏着的普遍的东西。我们对生活有相信的前提，对指导我们行为的原则更是以相信为前提的。这就说明，所有对科学研究极为重要的各种原则不是来自证明，而是在我们的概念里，在意识中建立起来的。

另一方面，每一种相信本身都想要表达自己。要表达，就需要词汇、名称和表达方式。这些又必定是思想的结果，这些思想不仅本身之间相互关联，也与我们的环境、时间与永恒相关。我们的意识中一旦出现相信，科学和表达的需要就随之而来。所以，冲突不在于信仰与科学之间，

而在于如何看待这个世界，即：这个世界是属于**正常状态**呢？还是**不正常状态**。假如宇宙是处于一种**正常状态**，那么它就是在从原始状态渐渐向理想状态进化的过程。但是，假如这个宇宙目前的状态是**不正常的**，那么它已被打扰了，唯有重建才能达到起初的目标。在科学的范畴里，没有哪两个对立的思想、原则上上述的这两种更经渭分明了。持**正常论**观点的人只看自然数据，他们竭尽全力，分析、检查因、果之间的逻辑关系，不找到一种可以解释所有现象的答案誓不罢休。他们也尊重信心，但只是在某种形式上的信心，即：必须是与人的一般意识相和谐的信心，并且他们认为这是正常的，在物质上，他们否认创造论，只接受进化论——过去没有起始点，未来也一直在进化，直到消失在无穷远。他们认为，所有的生物，包括人类在内，都是从生命的低等状态进化而来。他们坚决否认神迹，认为只有自然规律统治一切。他们否认罪，只承认道德从低等向高等的进化，如果说他们能够容忍圣经的话，那么有一个前提，那就是，所有不能以人的逻辑来解释的必须统统删除。假如一定要有一位基督的话，那不过就是以色列人发展过程中的一个产物。同样，关于神，更确切地说，关于超然存在，他们所持的观点就是不可知论，那是隐藏在可见世界后面的，或者泛泛地藏在于万物之中的，人头脑所形成的概念。

另一方面，持**不正常论**的人，承认有微观进化，但坚信万物之初皆出于创造而不是进化，坚决反对**正常论**的观点。他们不可动摇地相信人是一个独立的物种，因为只有人才反映了神的形象；罪毁掉了人最初的本性，人生来就有罪，因而是背逆神的。因此，他们认为神迹是修复不正常状态的唯一方法：重生是神迹，圣经是神迹，基督是神迹，是神本身降卑到我们中间来。因着不正常状态的重生，他们就不断地在三位一体神里，而不是在自然之中找到真正的正常。

因此，相互冲突的不是信仰与科学，而是两种科学体系或者说是两种科学论述，两者都有各自的信仰。发生冲突的双方也不是科学与神学，而是科学的两种绝对形成，双方都认为自己对人类的认知起主导作用，双方都以对超然个体的概念为自己一方世界观的起始点。泛神论主义，自然神主义和整个现代神学都归属于**正常状态论**的大旗之下。

正常状态论与**不正常状态论**这两个科学体系之间，不是一种相对的，可以和平共处的对立关系，双方都竭力地驳斥，完全地否认对方对于人生全部范畴内的观点与立场。无论哪一方，假如他们不如此行，那么就是对自己所相信的不诚实，不严肃，也不懂得什么是科学的最基本要求，即：思想、观念的一致性。

假如一个**正常状态论**者认为创造论；人按神的形象被造，堕落之罪；基督道成肉体，重生；圣经是神的启示等有一丁点儿的可能性的话，他就是一个脚踏两只船的人就是背弃科学之称的人；反之，一个**不正常状态论**者若把创造论部分地改变成进化论，不认为动物是以具有人的形象的原始型被造物，而认为人是从动物进化来的，放弃人最初被造时是神的这一概念，竭尽其能地把重生、基督、圣经都归为出于人而不是出于神，这一切就使他成为一个两面派，一个不科学的人，不配与我们为伍。

正常状态论与**不正常状态论**是两个截然相反的世界观，两者的出处毫无相似之处，犹如平行线永远不会相交一样。你必须在两者之间作出选择，但是，无论你选择的是哪一方，作为一个

科学的人，你必须保持一致，不仅是神学，也包括你的全人，你的世界观、生活观。

在欧洲历史上，很久以来，我们**不正常状态论**者的确是说了算的，我们的对手几乎没有有什么机会来与我们争辩，随着古老的外邦文化的衰弱，基督教世界观的兴起，万物都是神创造的这个概念很快地在人们心中深深扎根：人是按照神的形象被造，具有起初的义，并且因着罪，最初人与神之间的和谐关系被破坏，为了使这种被破坏了的不正常状态恢复到起初的和谐，神以不正常的方式引入了重生，基督作中保和圣经。长期以来，嘲笑这些观点的人一直存在。此外，还有相当多的人采取的则是无动于衷的态度。但是，在近一千年的时间里，真正以科学方式来反对公认的基督教世界观的人屈指可数。文艺复兴无疑带来了一股不信之风，人文主义激起了人们对希腊、罗马思想的热情，这是凡帝冈也感觉到的。的确，作为基督教的反对势力，**正常状态论**是从中世纪结束时开始的，但此后的几百年里，大部分哲学家、法学家、医生和物理学家都没有对上述的基督教直接进行挑战。直到十八世纪，反对之声采取了行动。这一转变是从新的哲学开始的。**正常状态论**者们第一次宣告说，基督教世界观是完全站不住脚的。他们从怀疑开始，然后意识到自己对基督教的根本性的对立。从那时起，各种反对立场渐渐地发展成为哲学体系，它们之间虽然各不相同，但是在否认**不正常状态论**上是完全一致的。这些哲学思潮一旦在政界、科学界站住了脚，就立即引入了一个假设，一个无限的正常进程是他们的起始点，接着就在法律学、医学、自然科学、历史学等等范畴内开始他们的研究。

接下来的一段时间里，公众中引起了一阵突然惊恐失措。由于很多人本来就没有真正相信，这种表面看上去有点不情愿的状况很快就改变了。在短短的二十五年时间里，**正常状态**主义者很快就征服了各个领域。唯一没有加入这种赞美“现代思想”大合唱的，是那些具有真正信仰，坚持**不正常状态论**立场的人。

在此第一波的巨大冲击之下，他们倾向于咒诅所有的科学，退回到神秘主义的帐篷里去。诚然，神学家们也曾试图从护教教学的角度来捍卫信仰，然而这却是一种徒劳的努力，就好像一个人试着要调整歪了的窗框但却不知道房子的基础已经摇摇欲坠了。

这就是为什么那些有才华的神学家们，特别是在德国，以为只有接受这些新哲学才能维持基督教。这种哲学与神学混合产物的第一个结果就是所谓的中间神学，它在神学上越来越糟，而在哲学上却日益发展，直到现代神学把彻底清除自己的**不正常状态论**神学引以为荣，把基督看作是和我们一样的人，并且也是有罪的；把圣经视为充满了神话，传说和寓言的一本文学集。诗篇作者的话在他们身上完全应验：“**我们不见我们的标识，他们竖了自己的旗作记号**”。所有的不正常记号包括基督和圣经都被连根铲除，正常状态论成了真理的唯一标准。前面我已经说过，这里再重申一下，我们对此根本不感到吃惊。一个主观地看他自己，客观地看他周围世界，认为一切都是正常的人，是不可能得出一个不同的结论的。否则，作为一个科学的人，他就是不真诚的，因此，若我们暂且不论人在神的审判面前应负的责任，从道德角度上看，我们对他的个人立场是无可非议的，他主动离开教会也就自以为是一种勇气。

假如上述这些确实是冲突的关键所在，那么加尔文主义给我们指出的就是在此紧张冲

突中不可战胜的立场，它不是忙于徒劳无济的护教学，也不是把大事化小，而是直接回到人的内心意识上去，因为每个人的科学都是源于内心意识。每个人在看待事物的不正常状态特性上不尽相同，假如事物的正常状态未被破坏，所有人的内心意识都会相同，但事实并非如此，在一些人内心，罪的意识非常强，但这在另一些人则根本无所谓。在一些人身上，因着蒙了重生，他们对信仰确有把握，明确无疑。而在另一些人，则根本无法理解信仰到底是怎么回事。在一些人，圣灵在他内心的见证响亮而坚定，但在另一些人则对此见证闻所未闻。因此对罪的意识，对信仰的确信和圣灵的内在见证组成了每一个加尔文主义者的内心意识。没有这三样，他就没有内心意识。对此，**正常状态论**者是不承认的，因此他要把他的内心意识强加给我们，并宣称说我们的内心意识必须和他们的一样。以他的观点，除此之外，别无可能。因为他若承认他的意识与我们的意识间可能真的有差别的话，那么他就会承认事物的**正常状态**是有破绽的。同样，我们也不会认为在他的内心可以找到我们的意识。的确，加尔文认为，在每一个人的心里都藏着一颗“信仰的种子”，无论人承认不承认，在心理承受巨大压力时都会使他的灵魂战兢而产生“有神的感觉”。但加尔文同时认为，信的人与不信的人内心意识不可能相互认同，相互反对是不可避免的。未蒙重生的人不可能对罪有很深的认识，不信的人是不可能对信仰有把握的。没有圣灵内在的见证，一个人是不能相信圣经的。这一切正如基督自己的教导一样“人若未重生，就不能见神的国”，也如使徒保罗所说“属血气的人不领会神圣灵的事”。然而，加尔文并没有让不信者以此为借口。总有一天，他们一定会在自己的良心里承认，但对于事物的目前状态，我们不得不承认人类的内心意识，有两种：一种是蒙重生的，一种是未蒙重生的，两者之间不可能相同，在一种里面找不到另一种。那些没有意识到损坏的，就认同**正常状态论**，那些经历了损坏，经历了变化的，就在内心意识里知道了什么是**不正常状态**。假如一个人的内心意识是他的起始点，那么每一个科学者都会得出符合逻辑的结论：冲突双方是不可能达成共识的，任何想要促使他们和好的努力都注定要失败。作为诚实的人，双方都有责任要建立起与自我意识相符合的关于宇宙的科学观念。

于是，你们马上可以看出加尔文主义对于这个复杂问题的答案具有何等重要的意义，科学不再被轻视、被扔在一边。相反，科学对于整个宇宙和其间的万事都很重要。你的科学必须是一个整体。**正常状态论**者与**不正常状态论**者的科学之间的差别不在于调查研究的结果，而在双方不可否认的自我意识上。我们所捍卫的是科学自由，我们所反对的是她那暴君般的孪生姐妹。正常状态论者试图要想伤害我们的良心，他对我们说，我们的良心必须与他的步调一致；我们所想象出的每一件事都是幻觉，因此当被定罪。换言之，正常状态论者想要与我们较量的，就是我们心里最大最圣洁的礼物——我们的清洁良心，那是我们对神的感激之情的源泉。他把我们视为比生命更为宝贵，更为确切，在神面前的良心称为是谎言。对此，我们信仰之心对神的忠诚与自豪叫我们起来反抗。我们轻看在此世界上遭轻视、遭逼迫，但我们决不允许任何人来控制我们的良心。我们不会攻击正常状态论者从他自己的良心出发所建立起来的科学。但假如别人要攻击我们的良心所建立起来的，那么我们会不惜一切代价来捍卫它，因为那是我们的权力与自由。

不久前，非正常状态论者的立场、原则在几乎所有的大学里，在科学界被视为公理，那少数几位持反对立场的正常状态论者是很难找到一席之地的。他们不是被迫害就是遭开除，最多也就是得到宽容。但眼下不同了，他们成了当道者。他们占领了百分之九十以上的教授职位。结果，非正常状态论者被赶了出来，不得不为自己找一片枕头的地方。从前，我们对他们颐指气使，今天这种对他人自由的侵犯之罪反过来报复我们，这也是神公义的审判。现在的问题是，那为他们赢得眼下胜利的勇气、忍耐和力量是否能在基督徒学者们身上找到并且更强更大，愿神赐给我们！你不可能，甚至连想都不用想，要剥夺他人的思想、言论和出版自由。他们出于自己的立场，他们不可避免地要想抵毁你看为圣洁的东西。我们不应为自己受伤的科学良心寻找安慰，也不必以神秘的感觉或不承认来作出路。相反，我们的对手所付上的精力，所表现出来的彻底性应该激励每一位基督徒学者回到自己的思想原则上，发奋图强，在这些原则指导下，重新全力以赴去进行科学研究。假如我们想以这样一种念头来安慰自己，即：把科学研究都拱手交给我们的对手并无大害，假如我们只满足于救恩神学上的成功，那么我们就无疑成了一只把头埋进沙里的鸵鸟。这就犹如人知道整栋房子已经起火，却还只躲在楼上避难一样愚拙。加尔文早就懂得这一点，他曾要求（日内瓦大学）建立基督教哲学，让每一位教授，在每一门科学里都允许对立原则的存在。你若对事物的真实情况视若无睹，你是找不到安身之处的。无论是天文学家、地质学家、物理学家，他们的每一个发现你都应当予以重视。当然，他们加在这些发现后面的假设，他们所得出的结论我们不能接受，但你必须记录下每一个客观事实和数据，以与他们一样科学态度来进行研究。为了实现这一切，大学必须来一场大变革，就如当初加尔文主义兴盛之时一样。

根据加尔文主义的要求，教会与政府都不应该干涉大学（这当然不是指经费上的赞助而是指行政上的干予），好使大学在自己的土壤里扎根成长，欣欣向荣。

（译注：最后两段略）

（第四讲完，译于 2003 年）

《加尔文主义讲座》第 5 讲

亚伯拉罕·凯帕尔 (Abraham Kuyper) 著（1898 年） 王兆丰译

第五讲：加尔文主义与艺术

在这一讲里，我要来谈的是加尔文主义与艺术。眼下艺术是一种时尚，但我之所以这么做并非出于此原因。今天，人们对艺术的崇尚已经疯狂到了屈膝敬拜的地步。这与加尔文主义所提倡

的严肃生活没有什么合谐性可言。加尔文主义所提倡的，不是在画室里用素描铅笔和雕刻刀具，而是以断头台上和战场上宝贵鲜血所完成的。我们不应被当代日益增长的艺术之爱蒙住了双眼，而应该对此热情进行冷静而认真的查验。

今天，这种对艺术的热情说明了一个事实：艺术已经不再是属于少数人所爱好的阳春白雪，它不仅在中产阶级中拥有相当的市场，有时也屈尊地在社会底层，在平民百姓里占有一席之地。你也可以这样来看：这是一种以高雅的魅力来表达生活的民主化过程，虽然真正富有才华的艺术家可能会抱怨说，绝大多数的艺术爱好者不过是在钢琴上乱弹，在画布上涂鸦；然而那种与艺术特权有份的兴奋感觉实在迷人，以致于人们宁可被艺术家嘲笑，也不愿放弃普及艺术教育。无论你的作品多么蹩脚，只要能让它摆上艺术祭坛就好。这已经越来越成为一种文明成就的象征。在这一切之中，所表达的乃是人们视觉上、听觉上的娱乐享受要求，其中最典型的要数音乐和戏剧。

一方面我们不能否认，许多人追求这种享受的方式不那么高尚，不那么洁净；另一方面我们也同样看到，这也将人引向追求较高尚的东西而不仅仅是为了低级的感官满足而已。特别是在我们的大都市里，剧院经理们确实向人们提供了一流的娱乐节目。同时，各国间日益增加的交流使得许许多多的人都能负担得起一张欣赏一流歌唱家、演员精湛表演的入场卷。公正地说，针对物质主义和理性主义对人心所带来的萎缩退化威胁，人心会自然地寻求对抗手段来阻止这种枯萎。要是没有艺术的直觉，那么金钱的统治和毫无结果的理智就会使人的感情生活降到冰点。缺乏来自宗教的圣洁益处，人心的神秘主义就沉醉于艺术之中。虽然我没有忘记，真正的艺术天才寻求的是高度的个人风格，而不是随波逐流，但我们生活的这个时代实在缺乏伟大的艺术作品，就只好沉湎在昔日的艺术余辉里。是啊，尽管我承认，今天不敬不虔的大众对艺术的崇敬必然导致艺术的堕落；但依我看，哪怕是最缺乏判断力的艺术狂热也站得远远高于人们对金钱的追求，也比在巴克斯、维纳斯（译注：古希腊酒神、女神）这些假神面前屈膝要好些。在当今这个冷漠无情、只讲实用、缺乏信仰的时代，这种对艺术的献身热情让人们的心灵保持一种较高的渴望。否则，人们的心灵大概早就象上一个世纪中叶那样死了过去。因此，你可以看出我并没有低估目前的艺术、美学运动。然而，从历史的角度看，我们应该反对的是把此艺术热潮置于哪怕是与十六世纪宗教改革运动同等的地位，更不用说把它推崇备至了。但假若我乞求人们对加尔文主义也象对此新艺术运动那样地投以热情的话，那么我就是在做我们应该反对的事了。因此，当我指出加尔文主义在艺术范畴内的重要性时，我一点儿也不会借用艺术世俗化的方式，而是将我的目光定睛在加尔文主义最美丽最崇高的永恒意义上，把艺术视为神赐给人类最宝贵的礼物之一。

当然，每一学历史的人都知道我会跌倒在一个根深蒂固的偏见上：在人们的眼里，不但加尔文本人缺乏艺术细胞，那在荷兰犯了捣毁圣像之“罪”的加尔文主义也既不具备发展艺术的能力，又没有产生过真正有价值的艺术作品。因此，在这里有必要对这种强烈的偏见稍微说上几句。勿庸置否，马丁·路德的艺术修养要比约翰·加尔文高明。但这又说明了什么呢？

你难道会因为苏格拉底自夸他那个大鼻子可以让他呼吸畅通这种毫无美感可言的声明就否认古希腊的艺术桂冠吗？基督教会三大支柱约翰、彼得、保罗的写作里哪一个字违背了艺术生命的真谛？是的，当我们存一颗敬畏之心来问：四部基督福音书里有没有哪一次是在提倡艺术追求，或寻求视、听享受？当你不得不对这些问题回答说：“不会、没有”的时候，你难道还有权来否

认基督教已经对艺术的发展作出了无价的贡献了吗？假如你的确承认这些，那么你还会仅仅因为加尔文本人不具备艺术天赋这一点而来指责加尔文主义吗？当你荷兰的加尔文主义者捣毁圣像一事评头论足的时候，你难道忘了在第八世纪美丽的希腊艺术气氛中，教皇利奥三世曾煽动起一股猛烈的毁灭圣像之风，你是否会因此而否认那美仑美兑的拜占廷艺术？你是否还需要更进一步的证明？那么请看伊斯兰教的历史吧。我们知道穆罕默德在他的可兰经里，比第八世纪的利奥和十六世纪的荷兰加尔文主义者更激烈地反对偶像，这难道就可以作为否认富丽堂皇的爱尔汗布拉宫、阿尔卡萨城堡作为建筑艺术的珍品的一条理由吗？

我们必须记得，艺术天性普遍存在于全人类之中。但它与各国、各族的传统、气候以及当地的历史发展有关，其发展也因地因人而异。假如你们允许我这样来表达的话，谁会扔下气候宜人、风景美丽的地中海国家不去，而跑到冰岛去调查艺术发展史？南欧的艺术发展远远胜过北欧，这个事实有什么可以让我们大惊小怪的呢？当历史告诉我们，加尔文主义最广泛地被北欧人民接受时，我们难道就可以因这些国家的气候比较寒冷，风景不如南欧国家那么优美来作为谴责加尔文主义的理由吗？

加尔文主义因着选择以心灵和诚实而不是神职人员的财富来敬拜神，已经被罗马天主教嘲笑为缺乏艺术品味。加尔文主义认为女孩子去给艺术家做模特有损于人格，视跳芭蕾舞为置自己的尊严于不顾，这种道德严肃性与那些认为只要是为了艺术女神的原故，人可以牺牲一切的肉欲主义形成了直接的冲突。然而，上述这一切所论到的，只是艺术在生活中的位置和范畴，并未能触及艺术本身。

为了能够站在一个较高的位置上来观察一下加尔文主义与艺术的关系，让我们来从以下的三点上作一个调查：

- 1、 1、 为什么加尔文主义不允许发展起一个自己的艺术形态
- 2、 2、 加尔文主义的原则会使艺术的本质生出什么样的效果
- 3、 3、 加尔文主义对艺术发展的真正贡献

假如加尔文主义曾经创造出一种自己的建筑风格，那么可能就万事大吉了。既然雅典人以帕特农殿自豪，罗马人因万神庙骄傲，拜占廷有圣索菲亚，科隆有大教堂，凡帝冈有圣彼得大教堂，那么加尔文主义也就应该有惊人的建筑杰作来容纳其全部的理想。它没有这么做就足以证明艺术上的赤贫。当然啦，人们认为加尔文主义也曾试图想要在艺术上有一番惊人之举，但被判断为心有余而力不足，并且这一定是它那僵硬古板所致。当人文主义者在赞美古希腊的经典艺术，希腊东正教的拜占廷教堂和罗马哥特式天主教堂之余，加尔文主义被视为站在那里，面对缺乏丰富全面生活的起诉茫然不知所措。

下面，我就要来反驳这种完全不公正的指控。我认为，正是加尔文主义那种更高的原则本身不允许它去发展自己的建筑风格。因为，论到艺术，就离不开建筑，无论是古典艺术还是所谓的基督教艺术，艺术绝对的、包含一切的产物就体现在建筑里。艺术的各种不同形式最终都被运用在圣殿、教堂、清真寺和庙宇的建筑上。世界上很少有哪一种艺术形式不是源于某种敬拜，不是想要通过宏伟的结构来表达其理念的。艺术的这种强大的驱动力本身是高尚的，推动艺术发展的

根本是宗教。宗教热情犹如一座金矿，她为各种最大胆的构思提供财富与后盾。当她在这种神圣范畴之内将其种种理念付诸实践时，不仅是艺术爱好者，连整个国家都会拜倒在她脚下。神圣敬拜把各种截然不同的艺术联合于一体。并且，与这种永恒理念联系起来之后，艺术内部就产生了统一性，其创作概念也随之被圣洁化。

这就解释了一个事实，那就是：无论宫殿或剧院对艺术的发展起过何种作用，作为敬拜场所的庙宇圣殿永远是特定艺术的代表作，也是蕴育此艺术创作的摇篮。艺术型态往往与敬拜方式相一致。

倘若敬拜因着与艺术结合而受启发，假如由敬拜所产生的艺术灵感不是一种中间阶段而是原本欲获得的最高境界，那么我们就必须不违地承认，加尔文主义只好自叹弗如，甘拜下风。但假如我们能够来证明宗教与艺术的这种结盟代表的是人类发展过程中宗教的一种较低级状态，那么很显然，上述这种对特殊建筑风格的要求恰恰说明了加尔文主义应该受到更高的推崇。现在就让我来对此进行阐述。

首先，唯有在较低级的阶段，神圣敬拜美学的发展能够将宗教带到理想的高度。这种一统的宗教在王子与祭司的权威之下被强加于整个国家。巴特农殿、罗马万神庙、圣索菲亚、圣彼得大教堂的花岗岩上、大理石上所铭刻的就是最好的见证。于是任何灵性上的不同表达都溶入了一种象征性敬拜的模式之中。在政府和神职人员的掌管之下，人民大众在这种统一之中就有能力支付庞大的开支来完成宏伟壮丽、精雕细凿的教堂、寺庙等建筑工程。然而，随着各国的逐渐发展，随着民众的统一被不同的个体特性所分裂，宗教上升到一个更高的阶段，从象征性转变为具有明确自觉意识的生活，从所有的神职与政权的监护之下独立出来，成熟起来。

在十六世纪的欧洲，属灵发展就逐渐地走向更高的程度。促成这种发展的。不是那将整个国家和宗教置于王子的信仰之下的路德宗主义，而是具有深刻的信仰自由概念的加尔文主义。在每一个加尔文主义出现的国家里，此概念造成了生活的多样化，打破了政府对宗教的控制，在很大程度上中止了司铎神职制。结果，它摈弃了象征形式的敬拜，拒绝了把信仰观念渗入到壮观的建筑物中去的要求。

那种借口说象征形式在旧约以色列也曾占有一席之地的反对意见非但不能削弱我的论点，反而有助于我的论点。新约岂不是教导我们说，旧约时代所施行的是影儿，当预言实现时“**既说新约，就以前约为旧了，那渐旧渐衰的，就必快归无有了。**”在以色列我们看到的是在祭司领导之下的国教。到了所罗门时代象征性地溶入壮丽辉煌的圣殿之中。此象征性的形式为神所用直到基督来，预言说时候已到，人敬拜神不在耶路撒冷的圣殿，而应当以心灵与诚实敬拜。根据这一预言，你在新约使徒书信里找不到丝毫与艺术，与象征符号有关的东西。亚伦在地上那可见的大祭司地位让位给了天上按照麦基洗德的等次不可见的大祭司。纯洁的心灵冲破了象征的云雾。

我的第二个论据是，加尔文主义的这种立场完全符合宗教与艺术之间更高的关系。这里，我要来引一下黑格尔和哈特曼（译注：两者都是德国唯心主义哲学家）的话。他俩都不是加尔文主义者，不会对加尔文主义有偏心。

黑格尔说，*艺术在其发展的低级阶段，赋予还处在注重情感的宗教以最高的表达形式，并且最终会以同样的方式帮助宗教脱去那些多愁善感的羽毛；尽管我们不得不承认，对于处于低级阶*

段的宗教来说，唯有美学上的敬拜才能释放人的灵性，但是，我们的结论是，美的艺术并非是宗教的最高自由。

对此，哈特曼更是强调说，原始敬拜看上去与艺术是不可分割的。因为处于低级阶段的宗教仍然倾向于以美学形式来为自己松绑。在此阶段中，所有形式的艺术，不仅是音乐、绘画、雕刻和建筑，就是连舞蹈模仿和戏剧都是为宗教服务的。宗教灵性越是成熟，就越会挣脱艺术的束缚。因为艺术永远都不具备表达宗教之精髓的能力。在这种历史发展中，当宗教完全成熟时，必然会戒绝来自艺术的刺激，不愿沉醉于这种虚假的情感之中，为的是要全神贯注到纯宗教那有活力的情感上去。

黑格尔和哈特曼在这一根本性的概念上是对的。宗教与艺术都有各自的生活范围。初看上去，它们之间的这种差别很难加以区别，因为它们是紧密缠绕在一起的。随着发展与成熟，这两者就必然要分离。你很难区分一对躺在摇篮里的婴儿是男孩还是女孩，但是，当他们长大成人站在你面前，你可以从他们的体形，性格和特有的表达方式上区分出谁是男的谁是女的。因此，当宗教与艺术达到其最高阶段时，就会要求各自的独立。起初缠绕在一起的两株，看上去如同出一体，这时就能看出它们原来都有各自的根源。从亚伦到基督，从比撒列和亚何里伯到使徒们（译注：前两者为旧约中修造会幕的技工，见出埃及记 36: 1）就是如此。同理，十六世纪时，加尔文主义达到了比罗马天主教更高的阶段，因此，加尔文主义既不能够，也不允许从其信仰原则去发展自己的艺术形态。这样做会滑落回到信仰生活的低级层次，它不仅不会这样做，反过来更会去把神圣敬拜从情感的形式下释放出来，去鼓励充满活力的属灵敬拜。当时之所以能够做到，是因为在人类的动脉里，信仰造成了强劲的脉搏。今天，我们的加尔文主义教会被视为冷漠而又拘泥于形式，人们又渴望重新引入象征性的形式。与宗教改革先烈们的时代相比，我们这个时代信仰的脉搏实在是微弱。对此一令人痛心的事实，我们是有责任的。但是，解决这个问题的方法决不是去走回头路。软弱无力的信仰生活需要的是祷告求圣灵大大做工。一个敬畏神的人，一个身体功能尚未损坏的人，决不会因年迈而回到自己儿时所玩的把戏中去。

除了上述这些之外，我还想来回答另一种反对意见。有人或许会问一个真正有生命的独立体系，哪怕它是个与宗教信仰完全无关的世俗体系，是否也应该有其独特的艺术型态呢？事实上，这个问题的矛头所指，是在质问说，假如加尔文主义真的在美学上有什么重要性的话，那么它就应该对艺术实践给出一个方向，来向世人证明它自己。这个问题还有更深的意义。首先，它认为一个艺术型态是可以与信仰无关的；其次，它要求加尔文主义创造出这样一种纯世俗的、独特的艺术型态。对此，我的回答是：在艺术史上从来就没有过任何一种与宗教信仰无关的、独立的、完整的艺术型态。请注意，这里我所说的艺术型态并不是某一种特定的艺术形式，而是指一种全面的，对所有的艺术具有根本影响力的艺术型态。从一定的角度说，罗马艺术和意大利文艺复兴虽然缺乏宗教信仰的动力，但却也在各种艺术形式上都达到了一个极高的水平。论到建筑，罗马式的拱顶（即：古罗马的圆顶式建筑风格）和拜占廷艺术所表达的不是信仰，是政治理念。圆拱顶代表的是世界权势。我们不得不承认，文艺复兴的动力不是来自宗教而是来自民间，来自社会生活。关于文艺复兴，我们会在后面详细讨论，我先来谈一下罗马艺术型态。首先，它沿袭的是希腊艺术的衣钵，其本身很难有什么可以引以为豪的东西。再者，当时的罗马帝国政

治理念与宗教信仰混为一谈，其艺术发展的巅峰时期人们开始向奥古斯塔大帝烧香献祭，成为一个名副其实的政教合一时代。

既使我们不看历史，有没有可能产生一种与宗教无关的包罗万象的、全面的艺术型态呢？一个民族中要产生这种艺术型态就要求在这个民族的思想、感情生活中必须有一占主导地位的动机，并且，此动机又必然由上至下地影响整个民族的存在。当然，这并不意味着一个国家的理性思想不能产生出一种民族艺术来，但理性并不等于艺术。黑格尔理性思想所产生的作用就是与艺术本质相连的。我们的理性思想、理性道德、宗教信仰和美学艺术都有各自的范畴。它们之间是一种平行而非因果的关系。它们是我们存在的神秘之源向外部世界表达自己情感、冲动与兴奋的最主要的四个分叉。虽然艺术与宗教的关系比与理性思想和伦理道德近得多，但艺术是从我们生活本身延伸出来的一个独立枝干，而不是枝干上的一个分枝。我们若问理性思想、伦理道德、宗教信仰和美学艺术如何才有可能统一起来的话，那么，唯有源于那位无限者，我们这些有限的人身上才能产生出这种统一性；除非有一个完整的哲学体系，我们的思想是不可能具有统一性的；每一个哲学体系都试图寻索关于无限的问题。我们的里面若没有一个统一的道德体系，那么我们的道德就不可能有一致性；除非有一位具有无限能力的预先命定，这个世界不可能有一个统一的道德体系存在。

同样，若没有从那位无限者那里流出的激发艺术构想的永恒之美，艺术也就成为无水之源；若不是此无限者在我们里面的特殊之工，那么包罗万象的，全面的艺术型态也就无从谈起。

正因为只有宗教信仰而不是理性、道德或艺术才在我们的自觉意识里具有与那永恒者产生交流的特权，因此那种说一个世俗的、全面的艺术型态可以独立于宗教信仰而产生的观点是荒唐的。

当我们理解了艺术不是一种点缀，不是生活中的娱乐，而是我们存在中的一种最严肃的力量之后，我们就知道艺术上的不同表达形式和主要的变化与我们整个生活中的主要变化有着密切的关系，我们整个人类存在中的这些变化是由我们与上帝之间的关系所决定的。如此，假如我们把艺术想象成是自生自养的，是与整个人类的生命都源自于上帝这个事实没有关系的话，那么这难道不是贬低了艺术、小瞧了艺术吗？这也是为什么十八世纪的理性主义和法国革命没有产生出一种艺术形态。我们今天生活的十九世纪花了九牛二虎之力想要创造出一个自己的艺术型态来，结果只落了个完全失败。倒是那些甘愿受夕日艺术杰作影响与激发而产生出来的作品，才称得上颇具魅力。

综上所述，艺术本身就否定了那种关于完整的艺术形态可以独立宗教信仰而产生的论点。即使这种论点成立，若我们要求加尔文主义也具有这种世俗的倾向，则是不可理喻的。这也是我要谈的第二点。加尔文主义的原动力在于将所有的人和他们的生活传讯到神的面前。对于这样一个生活体系，你怎么可以期望她会在象艺术这样伟大、重要的领域里到神之外去寻找动力、热情和激励呢？因此，那种把嘲笑加尔文主义没有自己的建筑风格作为它艺术贫乏的证据的指责是毫无根据的。

唯有加尔文主义严格的信仰原则才创造出一种普遍的艺术型态；也正是因为加尔文主义在信仰上发展到一个如此的高度，使它的原则本身就不允许以可见的、情绪化的象征符号来表达其信仰。

所以说，我们应该问的问题不是加尔文主义是否产生过一个它自己的艺术型态，而是加尔文主义是如何根据自己的高标准来解释艺术本质的？换言之，在加尔文主义的世界观里、生活里是否有艺术的地位？若有，艺术占什么样的地位？加尔文主义的原则是否反对艺术？按照加尔文主义的原则，一个没有艺术的世界是否失去了一个理想的范畴？这里指的是艺术的应用，而不是滥用。

任何一个范畴都有各自的界线，都应当受到尊重。越俎代庖是不合法的。只有当各种领域按其功能运作发展、彼此合作时，我们的生活才能达到更高的合谐。头脑的逻辑不应轻视心灵的感觉；对美的热爱也不可抹杀良心的声音。无论信仰有多圣洁，也绝不应超越自己的范围，免得越界，堕落成为迷信、颠狂和极端。同样，对艺术的热情若狂热到置良心于不顾的话，也必然走向其反面。因此，加尔文主义对于牺牲妇女尊严的不圣洁戏剧的坚决反对，和把每一种不道德的娱乐享受视为堕落，但不在我们的讨论范围之内。

上述这些对于滥用艺术的正当谴责并不影响艺术的合法的应用。加尔文主义非但不反对合法地应用艺术，而且还加以鼓励甚至推荐。这从加尔文本人的以下的话中可以证明。当圣经中第一次提到艺术时，（**犹八是弹琴吹箫之人的祖师**，创世纪 4：21），加尔文在创世纪注解中特意提醒我们，这是圣灵的美好恩赐。他说，神赐给犹八和他的后代少有的艺术天份。他宣告说，这种艺术创造能力最好地见证了神的丰富。在“出埃及记注解”中，加尔文也强调指出，“所有的艺术都来自神，因此我们应当将此尊为神圣的创造。”根据加尔文的观点，自然生活中这些宝贵的东西都源于圣灵的恩赐。所有的艺术型式都应该赞美、荣耀神的名。他说，艺术是赐给我们作为此抑郁、沮丧人生中的安慰，是用来抵抗生活和自然在始祖犯罪召来的咒诅之下的败坏。当年他在日内瓦的同事考帕教授曾站出来坚决反对艺术。加尔文有意地采取了措施，为的是要纠正这种愚蠢行为，使他回到正常的理智和感情上来。加尔文说，对于那种以十诫中的第二条作为理由，盲目反对雕塑的偏见，简直都不值得一驳（注：十六世纪日内瓦的宗教改革除去了教堂内的一切雕像、画像，但教会的敬拜里首次加入了会众的唱诗）。他极力赞扬音乐，认为音乐具有感动人心、纯化道德的奇妙力量。是神赐给我们生活和娱乐的一切恩典中最高的一种。既使当艺术被仅仅作为大众娱乐的工具时，加尔文坚持认为，我们也不应加以禁止。从他的这些观点里我们可以看出，加尔文很重视艺术。他从艺术所产生的一切效果中得出结论，认为艺术是神的恩赐，更具体一点说，是圣灵的恩赐。他完全了解艺术对人感情生活中所产生的深刻作用。他懂得人之所以蒙艺术的秉赋，是为了叫我们荣耀神的名，是为了使人类可以享高尚的生活，饮纯洁的愉悦。是的，连普通的体育运动也不例外。最后，他得出结论说，艺术绝不是照抄自然，艺术向人揭示一个比这个充满罪行与邪恶的世界让我们看到的更高的现实。

假如这些仅仅是加尔文个人的解释，那么他的见证当然就不能对加尔文主义有多大的价值。但是，当我们知道加尔文本人并不具备艺术秉赋之后，那么我们就得出结论说，他的上述美学思想一定是来自他的其它原则。因此，他对加尔文主义的审美观的确是卓有贡献的。现在，我们可以从上述加尔文关于艺术向我们揭示了一个比这个充满罪恶世界让我们看到的更高的现实这个结论，直接来看我们所讨论的问题之关键所在。前面已说过，我们的问题是关于艺术应当模仿自然呢还是超出自然。在古希腊，人们把葡萄画得逼真得连

鸟儿都上当，想要来啄着吃。对于苏格拉底学派来说，这是最理想的境界。事实上太多太多的时候，理想主义者忘了，自然所表达出来的各种形状和它们之间的关系必须是，也永远是一切真实存在的形状和相互之间的关系。若不观察自然的形状与运动，不倾听自然各种声音，只是凭主观臆想，那么艺术就下降成为作者幻想的任意发挥。另一方面，艺术的理想解释绝不应该是纯粹地单凭经验与观察，因为经验与观察把（艺术）限制在了模仿之中。这种错误不仅艺术家经常在犯，当科学家把自己的任务仅限于观察、计算和准确地报告事实时，也在犯同样的错误。就如科学必须从观察到的各种现象上升到调查研究这些现象的内在关系与规律，人在获得了这种科学知识后，可以繁殖出比自然的动物、花卉和水果等更好的品种。艺术也绝不是单单观察一切可见可闻的东西，加以领会并艺术地重现它们。更重要的是在这些自然形状中找到美的规律，并且因着这种认识可以创造出一个超越自然美的美丽世界。这正是加尔文观点，即：艺术展现的是神所赐的、要我们管理的礼物。但令人伤心的是，罪的后果使那真正美丽的东西已经离开了我们。你对于艺术的观点取决于你对这个世界的解释，假如你认为这个世界是绝对美善的体现，那么艺术的最高目标和境界就是照抄自然。假如象泛神主义者所以为的，这个世界是从不完美渐渐发展成完美的，那么艺术就成了预告未来生活的先知。但是，假如你承认这个世界曾一度是美丽的，因人犯罪的咒诅而失去了原来的美，并且将来这个世界要过去，进入到它完全荣耀的状况，甚至超过当初乐园的美丽，那么艺术就有一个神秘的任务，要以她的作品来提醒我们，美的已经失去，完美的将会来临，这就是加尔文主义观点。它比罗马天主教更清楚地认识到罪的败坏影响，从而让我们更懂得人堕落之前乐园里的美。这也让加尔文主义可以预见将来在天上荣耀里，自然界也会得赎成为完美的新天新地。从这一立场出发，加尔文主义视艺术为圣灵所赐的礼物，作为我们今生的安慰，使我们透过这个充满罪的今生能看到一个更丰盛更荣耀的背景。站在这个一度曾是美的奇妙的被造世界的废墟上，艺术对于加尔文主义者来说，既指出了那原始蓝图依稀可辨的轮廓，又指向那位超然艺术家、建筑大师有一天将要重新修复，比当初创世之美更美的新天地。

因此，假如在这一关键之点上，加尔文个人的解释与加尔文主义的立场完全吻合的话，那么我们就可以来考查下面一点：假如神的全权仍然是也永远是加尔文主义不改变的起始点，那么艺术就不可能出于那恶者。因为撒旦不具备任何创造能力，他所能做的不过就是滥用、毁坏神的礼物。艺术也不能源于人。作为一个被造者，人所能做的是应用神所赐给他的能力与秉赋。假若神仍然是全权的，那么艺术的魅力就不可能超出那位超然艺术大师在当初以他的话创造世界之前所预定了的美丽。并且，假如神一直是全权的话，那么他凭自己的意志将艺术赐给他所想要赐的人。先是赐给该隐的后代而不是亚伯的后代。并不是因为艺术是属于该隐的，而是让那因犯罪而与最大的礼物无份的人，正如加尔文优美地指出的，在最小的礼物——艺术上可以来见证神的丰富。在我们人的天性里之所以有艺术能力、艺术秉赋不是别的，乃是因为我们是按神的形象被造。在这个现实世界里，神是万物的创造者。唯有神才具有创造能力，他也一直是一位满有创造性的艺术家。神是唯一的创

造者，我们都只是他形象的领受者。我们之所以有创造性是因为他是创造者，是因为他已经创造了万有。因此我们才会以我们的方式来模仿神的亲手创造之工。在宏伟的建筑物里，我们创造了一个宇宙；在典雅的雕塑上，我们美化了自然的形状；在美丽的绘画里，我们以线条与色彩再现了生命；我们又将语言难以表达的溶入了音乐与诗歌之中。所有这一切的美不是因为我们自己的想象能力，也不是因为我们的主观概念，而是客观存在本身是出于神圣完美者之手。在创造了天地、万物之后，神看都是甚好。想象一下吧，哪怕全世界每一对眼睛都闭上，每一双耳朵都关掉，美依然存在，神能看见、听见。不仅是因着他那永恒的大能，也是他的神性在创世的时候就已经感知了包括灵性也包括实体在内这一切的美。艺术家可能在自己身上注意到这点。假如他认识到他的艺术创作能力取决于他的艺术眼光，那么他就必定会得出结论说，世界上最初的那双艺术眼光是在神自己身上，他的艺术创造能力是最全面的，艺术家和其他人都是按照他的形象被造成。这，我们从围绕我们的被造世界，从笼罩我们的苍穹，从大自然的富饶，从人体和动物身上优美的形状，从溪流的奔流和夜莺的歌唱中就可以知道。原因很简单，假如那位创造者若没有在他自己里面预先知道这一切之美，没有从他自己的神圣完美中创造出来，这一切之美怎么可能存在呢？

现在你可以看到，神的全权和我们按他的形象被造这个事实必然会使人高瞻远瞩地得出对艺术之源头、属性和功能的解释。这，不但为加尔文所采用，也可以被我们自己的艺术直觉所证明。除了神以外，声音的世界、形体的世界、色彩的世界和诗情画意都不可能有任何其它出处。作为神形象的领受者，能够感知，能够艺术地再现，能够享受这个美丽的世界，的确是我们人的特权。

下面我来谈一下第三点。我们已经知道，缺少自己的艺术型态非但不是反对加尔文主义的理由，相反更说明了加尔文主义（比其它体系）所达到的更高阶段。接着我们又讨论了基于加尔文主义的原则，我们能够对艺术的本质得出多么非凡的解释。下面，我们就来看加尔文主义是如何从理论上和实践上卓越地鼓励、促进艺术发展的。

这里，我要把你们的注意力引到这样一个重要的事实上来：正是加尔文主义通过将艺术从教会的监护之下释放出来，第一次承认了艺术重要性。我不否认文艺复兴也具有同样的倾向。但文艺复兴被一边倒的外邦异教热情所污染。加尔文则坚定地站在基督教的立场上，比其他任何一位改教家都更尖锐地反对每一种外邦异教的影响。然而，为了对这件事作出充分的解释和公允的判断，我们应该来回顾一下教会的历史。基督教最初出现在希腊罗马世界。当时的社会虽然道德上已经完全堕落，但却仍然具有高度的文明和灿烂的艺术。因此，从原则上出发，基督教不得不与当时占主宰地位且过份夸张的艺术对垒，从而可以将其外邦主义通过它那美丽动人的最后挣扎而带来的影响斩断。只要与外邦主义之间的斗争仍然是你死我活的性质，基督教就必定与艺术为敌，别无选择。紧接着，就是日耳曼各部落渐渐溶入罗马帝国。当时这些日耳曼地区几乎仍处于未开化状态，随着福音很快传开，权力中心渐渐从意大利转移到阿尔卑斯山的北部。到了第八世界几乎整个欧洲都在教会之下。此后的几个世纪里，教会成了人们生活的监护人。教会变得如此强大，没有任何其它宗教或党派胆敢站出来质问她所取得的辉煌成就。毫无夸张地说，当时所有的进步都完全依靠教会。若没有教会的保护，无论是科学还是艺术都无法发展。从那时开始的基督教艺

术其最大的热情就是要来表达属灵的东西，因而最少地运用形状、色彩与色调。这时候，艺术创作不是来自自然，而是被天上的事情所激发。格列高利圣咏的音乐就受此限制，绘画和雕塑表达的都是创世的题材，成了天主教堂内的不朽作品。然而，监护人和被监护人之间的关系终究要结束。聪明的监护人会睁只眼闭只眼；紧抓大权不放的，最终必引来反抗。当北欧的学校产生出第一届毕业生时，罗马教廷仍然固执地用她的绝对权杖指挥一切，掌管一切。于是欧洲大地上就产生四个伟大的运动：艺术界的文艺复兴，政治上意大利的共和运动，科学上的人文主义运动，以信仰为中心的宗教改革运动。

毫无疑问，这四个运动的动机各不相同，有些还有原则上的冲突。但他们有一个共同点，那就是要脱离教会的监护，按他们自己的原则创造出一种新生活来。

因此，十六世纪这四股力量常常联合起来就不足为奇了。人们对处处受监护的生活已经厌倦，一旦尝到了自由发展的甜头后，更要想方设法地去争取；而那老监护人又想强制性地抓牢大权，于是这四股力量就自然会彼此鼓励、进行抗争，不获胜利决不罢休。若不是这个联盟的不懈努力，教会的监护非但会继续控制整个欧洲，也会比以前管得更严酷。其间，这种反抗也曾一度被镇压下去。也正是因为这个联盟的合作，他们的大胆行动获得了胜利。这些偕手并肩征战的人们促成了艺术、科学、政治和宗教信仰的成熟，也赢得了不朽的荣誉。

从这个历史的角度看，我们是否能得出结论说，加尔文主义解放了宗教信仰，但为艺术赢得自由的荣誉只属于文艺复兴？我可以毫不犹豫地，文艺复兴的确对此胜利果实有其一份贡献，尤其是她所创造出来的那些艺术杰作刺激了艺术的发展。艺术天才（假如我可以如此称呼的话）是神自己设立在希腊人中间的。如果说艺术能够宣告她的独立存在的话，那么她就应该为希腊的艺术天才们发现美术的基本规律与法则一事而欢欣鼓舞。但这一点本身是不可能使艺术获得解放的，因为当时的教会根本就不反对古典艺术。相反，教会很欢迎文艺复兴，基督教艺术毫不犹豫地利用文艺复兴的最佳成果装备她自己。意大利文艺复兴时期布拉曼特（译注：建筑师、画家，意大利文艺复兴盛期建筑风格的代表），达芬奇、米开朗基罗和拉斐尔（译注：意大利文艺复兴时期公认的艺术三巨头）使得罗马天主教的各大教堂成为艺术宝库。他们的作品可谓是空前绝后、无与伦比。因此教会与艺术间的这种老关系仍然一直在继续下去，这种关系也为艺术提供了永久性的经济资助。

艺术的真正解放需要更大的力量，教会必须被逼回到她自己的属灵范围去。这样，艺术才能从单纯宗教的圈子来到社会上。在教会里，信仰也应该脱下她的象征性外袍，升华到更高的属灵水平，好使那赐人生命的活力可以影响整个社会。前面提到过的哈特曼说过一段很中肯的话：

“真正属灵的信仰一方面从艺术家手中夺去宗教艺术；但另一方面又将整个世界交在他手里，好叫全世界都因着信仰的原故而充满活力。”

这是马丁·路德所盼望的纯洁信仰。但加尔文主义第一次将它付诸实践。在加尔文主义的推动下，我们的父辈们脱离了外面闪着光芒的罗马天主教以及她那巨大财富。当时的艺术也被此财富所紧紧捆绑。人文主义虽然对教会的那种压制和不自然的状态曾反抗过，但从未期望过能靠自

己的力量来一个剧变。以拉斯马就是一个很好的例子，（译注：以拉斯马是当时著名的人文主义学者；他将拉丁文新约圣经翻译成希腊文，对马丁·路德发起的宗教改革运动起过很大影响与作用，但他自己最后却回到了罗马天主教的怀抱）单有一个批评的眼光或态度是不可能取得宗教自由的，胜利只属于那些站在宗教发展的更高水平上，不愿守着象征性宗教的人。因此，我们可以放胆地说，是加尔文主义所产生的属灵驱动力赢得了胜利；是加尔文主义不屈不挠持之以恒的努力才结束了教会对人们生活的不公正监护，这当然也包括艺术在内。与此同时，我也同意，假如加尔文主义没能对人类生活和艺术有一个更深的解释，那么这一胜利不过是纯属偶然罢了。十九世纪意大利获得自由的时候，韦尔多人也见到了自由的曙光。但发起此次运动的意大利民主解放领袖加里波第连想都没有想到过韦尔多人。所以我们也可以说加尔文主义在争取人类自由的时候，正好也砍断了艺术的捆绑，这不过是由于它行事原则所产生的结果，事实上根本就没有这个计划。

因此，我必须来告诉你们第二个因素，这也是唯一决定性的因素。前几讲里我已经不止一次地提到加尔文主义“普通恩典”教义的重要性。在艺术这一讲里，我当然也要谈到普通恩典。罗马天主教认为，凡事都要加盖上一个信仰的大印，于是真正的基督教艺术就只能出于信徒之手。与此相反，加尔文主义教导我们，所有的艺术天赋都是神任意地赐给信的和不信的人的。正如历史所告诉我们的，艺术的恩赐在神圣的圈子之外更为硕果累累。正如加尔文所说，“这些神圣之光的幅射，在不信的人们中间比在神的百姓之中照得更加明亮。”这当然与我们所以为的秩序几乎是背道而驰的。假如你把艺术的高尚享受只与重生联系起来，那么这一恩赐也就只属于基督徒，也就必定带有教会的特征。这样艺术就成了特殊恩典的果子。但历史和经验让你看到，艺术是一种自然秉赋，因而属于普通恩典，与罪的问题无关。因此，艺术可以激发信的人和不信的人，基督教国家或外邦社会。这完全取决于神的全权，随他的美意而赐。这不仅适用于艺术，也适用于人类生活的各个方面。我们从早年以色列和其它国家的例子上就可以看到。在圣洁的事上，以色列是唯一被神所拣选的国家。不仅比其它国家更蒙祝福，在信仰上也唯有她有真理。所有其它国家包括古希腊、古罗马也都伏在假神的轭下，无一例外。基督不是又属于以色列又属于其它民族，他单单出于以色列，救恩从犹太人而出。但你若从以色列的宗教信仰，如明光照耀一般这个角度再来看以色列在艺术、科学、政治、商业贸易上的发展，并拿它们和周围国家比一比的话，你就看它到正好成反比。建圣殿从外邦之国请来户兰。所罗门满有神那里来的智慧，他不仅知道以色列在建筑上比较落后，需要外部的帮助，并且作为犹太国王，他以自己的行动向人民表明，他毫不以此为羞耻，因为他知道这是神自然的安排。

所以，加尔文主义在圣经和历史的基础上认识到并公开承认，当圣所关上门后，所有不信的民族都站在外面，与此无份。然而在他们的世俗历史上，他们被神所召，连他们本身的存在都是万事万物中不可或缺的一环。人类生活发展的每一个方面都包括了血亲相传，都含有对各种情况的适应，也都有受自然环境和气候条件的影响。在以色列，所有这一切都是为了接受神的启示，以色列因信仰的原故被拣选，但决不意味着希腊人就没有在哲学上、在艺术上受拣选，也不是说

罗马人在政治和法律上的贡献不同样是神的拣选。艺术生命包括了当时的发展和以后的逐渐展开。但为了保证其更有活力的成长，它首先需要的是一个清楚的自我意识，使它理想存在的不可更改的基础可以体现出来。艺术的这种现象只在起初出现一次，并且这一启示一旦赐给了希腊人，就成为经典的、占主导地位的艺术。尽管在以后的发展过程中，艺术会寻求新的形式和更好的材料，但其最初的本质仍然不变，因此，加尔文主义不仅能够也必定要公开承认，因着神的恩典，希腊是艺术的起源国，希腊的古典艺术发展使得艺术赢得了她的独立存在，尽管艺术也应该在信仰上作出贡献，但却不需要被嫁接到教会这棵树上。因此，作为重新发现其艺术根基，文艺复兴在加尔文主义的眼里并不是件罪恶的勾当，而是神所命定的运动。所以，加尔文主义对文艺复兴的鼓励决不是出于偶然，而是出于清洁的良心和清楚的目的，是基于加尔文主义最深刻的原则。

所以，加尔文主义鼓励艺术解放不是因为反对罗马教廷的等级制度而带来的一个自然结果。正相反，加尔文主义要求艺术的解放，也必定在自己的范围内去努力争取。这是它世界观和生活观的必然结论，这个世界在人堕落之后，并不单单是一个迷失了的星球，她的继续存在仅仅是为了教会的需要；人类也决不是一大群毫无目的的芸芸众生，只是为了生出被拣选的人来。正相反，今天的世界和起初的世界一样，是神伟大之工的舞台，人类仍然是神的亲手创造之工。在神的拯救工作之外，在目前的这个阶段，在地上，在历史的发展中人类正经历一个伟大的过程，为的是荣耀万军之耶和華神的名。这为了这一目的，神命定了人类生活的多种多样、各个方面。艺术就在其中占有一个独立的位置。艺术能够揭示科学、政治、宗教信仰甚至启示都不能揭示的创造之工。她象一棵树，有自己的根，有自己的花。这并不否认外界暂时的帮助。早年，教会的确很好地帮助过她，但加尔文主义的原则要求这棵地上的树渐渐地长大、独立，并向各个方面伸展她的枝子。因此，加尔文主义认为，既然是希腊人第一个发现这棵艺术之树的生长规律，他们就有权对这棵树的继续成长负责。但这决不意味着艺术应该留在希腊，也不是对她的外邦形式不闻不问，就象科学一样，艺术不能停留在原处，她必须不断发展，变为更丰富。同时又渐渐脱离早期混合在她身上的那些不纯洁的东西。艺术生命与发展的规律一旦被发现，就必须除去一切束缚，使其恢复自然的状态。

加尔文没有将艺术、科学和宗教信仰疏远开来、孤立起来。正相反，他所盼望的就是这三股至关重要的力量渗透全人类的生活。科学必须不停地向前发展直到完全弄清楚整个宇宙物质世界；基督教信仰必须渗透影响人类生活的每一个层面；同样艺术也决不能忽略人类生活的任何一个方面，包括信仰在内。

最后，我就以艺术的广泛延伸这个话题上来介绍加尔文主义是如何在真实的意义上促进艺术发展的。

（译注：最后一部分略）

（第五讲完，译于2004年）

Kuyper Foundation

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LECTURES ON CALVINISM: THE STONE LECTURES OF 1898 - ABRAHAM KUYPER

Abraham Kuyper

Jul 17, 2003

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Lectures on Calvinism

Six Lectures Delivered at Princeton University, 1898 under the auspices of the L. P. Stone Foundation

Lecture 1: Calvinism as a Life System

Lecture 2: Calvinism and Religion

Lecture 3: Calvinism and Politics

Lecture 4: Calvinism and Science

Lecture 5: Calvinism and Art

Lecture 6: Calvinism and the Future

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First Lecture - Calvinism as a Life System

The page numbering of the Eerdmans printed edition has been retained for the benefit of readers.

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A TRAVELLER from the old European Continent, disembarking on the shore of this New World, feels as the Psalmist says, that "His thoughts crowd upon him like a multitude." Compared with the eddying waters of your new stream of life, the old stream in which he was moving seems almost frostbound and dull; and here, on American ground, for the first time, he realizes how so many divine potencies, which were hidden away in the bosom of mankind from our very creation, but which our old world was incapable of developing, are now beginning to disclose their inward splendor, thus promising a still richer store of surprises for the future.

You would not, however, ask me to forget the superiority which, in many respects, the Old World may still claim, in your eyes, as well as in mine. Old Europe remains even now the bearer of a longer historical past, and therefore stands before us as a tree rooted more deeply, hiding between its leaves some more matured fruits of life. You are yet in your Springtide,—we are passing through our Fall;—and has not the harvest of Autumn an enchantment of its own?

But, though, on the other hand, I fully acknowledge the advantage you possess in the fact that (to use another simile) the train of life travels with you so immeasurably faster than with us,—leaving us miles and miles behind,—still we both feel that the life in Old Europe is not something separate from life here; it is one and

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the same current of human existence that flows through both Continents.

By virtue of our common origin, you may call us bone of your bone,—we feel that you are flesh of our flesh, and although you are outstripping us in the most discouraging way, you will never forget that the historic cradle of your wondrous youth stood in our old Europe, and was most gently rocked in my once mighty Fatherland.

Moreover, besides this common parentage, there is another factor which, in the face of even a wider difference, would continue to unite your interests and ours. Far more precious to us than even the development of human life, is the crown which ennobles it, and this noble crown of life for you and for me rests in the Christian name. That crown is our common heritage, It was not from Greece or Rome that the regeneration of human life came forth,—that mighty metamorphosis dates from Bethlehem and Golgotha; and if the Reformation, in a still more special sense, claims the love of our hearts, it is because it has dispelled the clouds of sacerdotalism, and has unveiled again to fullest view the glories of the Cross. But, in deadly opposition to this Christian element, against the very Christian name, and against its salutiferous influence in every sphere of life, the storm of Modernism has now arisen with violent intensity.

In 1789 the turning point was reached.

Voltaire's mad cry, "Down with the scoundrel," was aimed at Christ himself, but this cry was merely the expression of the most hidden thought from which the French Revolution sprang. The fanatic outcry of another philosopher, "We no more need a God," and the odious shibboleth, "No God, no Master," of the Convention;—these were the sacrilegious watchwords which at that time heralded the liberation of man as an emancipation from all Divine Authority. And if, in His impenetrable wisdom, God employed the Revolution as a means by which to overthrow the tyranny of the Bourbons, and to bring a judgment on the princes who abused His nations as their footstool, nevertheless the principle of that

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Revolution remains thoroughly anti-Christian, and has since spread like a cancer, dissolving and undermining all that stood firm and consistent before our Christian faith

There is no doubt then that Christianity is imperiled by great and serious dangers. Two life systems are wrestling with one another, in mortal combat. Modernism is bound to build a world of its own from the data of the natural man, and to construct man himself from the data of nature; while, on the other hand, all those who reverently bend the knee to Christ and worship Him as the Son of the living God, and God himself, are bent upon saving the "Christian Heritage." This is the struggle in Europe, this is the struggle in America, and this also is the struggle for principles in which my own country is engaged, and in which I myself have been spending all my energy for nearly forty years

In this struggle Apologetics have advanced us not one single step. Apologists have invariably begun by abandoning the assailed breastwork, in order to entrench themselves cowardly in a ravelin behind it.

From the first, therefore, I have always said to myself,—If the battle is to be fought with honor and with a hope of victory, then principle must be arrayed against principle; then it must be felt that in Modernism the vast energy of an all-embracing life-system assails us, then also it must be understood that we have to take our stand in a life-system of equally comprehensive and far-reaching power. And this powerful life-system is not to be invented nor formulated by ourselves, but is to be taken and applied as it presents

itself in history. When thus taken, I found and confessed, and I still hold, that this manifestation of the Christian principle is given us in Calvinism. In Calvinism my heart has found rest. From Calvinism have I drawn the inspiration firmly and resolutely to take my stand in the thick of this great conflict of principles. And therefore, when I was invited most honorably by your Faculty to give the Stone-Lectures here this year, I could not hesitate a moment as to my choice of subject. Calvinism, as the only decisive, lawful, and consistent defence for Protestant nations against encroaching. and overwhelming Modernism,—this of itself was bound to be my theme.

Allow me, therefore, in six lectures, to speak to you on Calvinism.

1. On Calvinism as a Life-system;

2. On Calvinism and Religion;

3. On Calvinism and Politics;

4. On Calvinism and Science;

5. On Calvinism and Art;

and 6. On Calvinism and the Future.

Clearness of presentation demands that in this first lecture I begin by fixing the conception of Calvinism historically. To prevent misunderstanding we must first know what we should not, and what we should, understand by it. Starting therefore from the current use of the term, I find that this is by no means the

same in different countries and in different spheres of life. The name Calvinist is used in our times first as a sectarian name. This is not the case in Protestant, but in Roman Catholic countries, especially in Hungary and France. In Hungary the Reformed Churches have a membership of some two and a half millions, and in both the Romish and Jewish press of that country her members are constantly stigmatized by the non-official name of "Calvinists," a derisive name applied even to those who have divested themselves of all traces of sympathy with the faith of their fathers. The same

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phenomenon presents itself in France, especially in the Southern parts, where "Calviniste" is equally, and even more emphatically, a sectarian stigma, which does not refer to the faith or confession of the stigmatized person, but is simply put upon every member of the Reformed Churches, even though he be an atheist. George Thiebaud, known for his anti-Semitic propaganda, has at the same time revived the anti-Calvinistic spirit in France, and even in the Dreyfus-case, "Jews and Calvinists" were arraigned by him as the two anti-national forces, prejudicial to the "esprit gaulois." Directly opposed to this is the second use of the word Calvinism, and this I call the confessional one. In this sense, a Calvinist is represented exclusively as the out-spoken subscriber to the dogma of fore-ordination. They who disapprove of this strong attachment to the doctrine of predestination cooperate with the Romish polemicists, in that by calling you "Calvinist," they represent you as a victim of dogmatic narrowness; and what is worse still, as being dangerous to the real seriousness of moral life. This is a stigma so conspicuously offensive that theologians like Hodge, who from fulness of conviction were open defenders of Predestination, and counted it an honor to be Calvinists, were nevertheless so deeply impressed with the disfavor attached to the "Calvinistic name," that for the sake of commending their conviction, they preferred to speak rather of Augustinianism than of Calvinism. The denominational title of some Baptists and Methodists indicates a third use of the name Calvinist. No less a man than Spurgeon belonged to a class of Baptists who in England call themselves "Calvinistic Baptists," and the Whitefield 2 Methodists in Wales to this day bear the name of "Calvinistic Methodists." Thus here also it indicates in some way a confessional difference, but is applied as the name for special church denominations. Without doubt this practice would have been most severely criticized by Calvin himself. During his life-time, no Reformed Church ever dreamed of naming the Church of Christ after any man. The Lutherans have done this, the Reformed Churches never. But beyond this sectarian, confessional, and denominational use of the name "Calvinist," it serves

moreover, in the fourth place, as a scientific name, either in a historical, philosophical or political sense. Historically, the name of Calvinism indicates the channel in which the Reformation moved, so far as it was neither Lutheran, nor Anabaptist nor Socinian. In the philosophical sense, we understand by it that system of conceptions which, under the influence of the master-mind of Calvin, raised itself to dominance in the several spheres of life. And as a political name, Calvinism indicates that political movement which has guaranteed the liberty of nations in constitutional statesmanship; first in Holland, then in England, and since the close of the last century in the United States. In this scientific sense, the name of Calvinism is especially current among German scholars. And the fact that this not only is the opinion of those who are themselves of Calvinistic sympathies, but that also scholars who have abandoned every confessional standard of Christianity, nevertheless assign this profound significance to Calvinism. This appears from the testimony borne by three of our best men of science, the first of whom, Dr. Robert Fruin, declares that: "Calvinism came into the Netherlands consisting of a logical system of divinity, of a democratic Church-order of its own, impelled by a severely moral sense, and as enthusiastic for the moral as for the religious reformation of mankind."³ Another historian, who was even more outspoken in his rationalistic sympathies, writes: "Calvinism is the highest form of development reached by the religious and political principle in the 16th century."⁴ And a third authority acknowledges that Calvinism has liberated Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England, and in the Pilgrim Fathers has provided the impulse.

to the prosperity of the United States.⁵ Similarly Bancroft, among you, acknowledged that Calvinism "has a theory of ontology, of ethics, of social happiness, and of human liberty, all derived from God."⁶ Only in this last-named, strictly scientific sense do I desire to speak to you on Calvinism as an independent general tendency, which from a mother-principle of its own, has developed an independent form both for our life and for our thought among the nations of Western Europe and North America, and at present even in South Africa.

The domain of Calvinism is indeed far broader than the narrow confessional interpretation would lead us to suppose. The aversion

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to naming the Church after a man gave rise to the fact that though in France the Protestants were called "Huguenots," in the Netherlands "Beggars," in Great Britain "Puritans" and "Presbyterians," and in North America "Pilgrim Fathers," yet all these products of the Reformation which on your Continent and ours bore the special Reformed type, were of Calvinistic origin. But the extent of the Calvinistic domain should not be limited to these purer revelations. Nobody applies such an exclusive rule to Christianity. Within its boundaries we embrace not only Western Europe, but also Russia, the Balkan States, the Armenians, and even Menelik's empire in Abyssinia. Therefore it is but just that in the same way we should include in the Calvinistic fold those Churches also which have diverged more or less from its purer forms. In her XXXIX Articles, the Church of England is strictly Calvinistic, even though in her Hierarchy and Liturgy she has abandoned the straight paths, and has met with the serious results of this departure in Puseyism and Ritualism. The Confession of the Independents was equally Calvinistic, even though in their conception of the Church the organic structure was broken by individualism. And if under the leadership of Wesley most Methodists became opposed to the theological interpretation of Calvinism, it is nevertheless the Calvinistic spirit itself that created this spiritual reaction against the petrifying church-life of the times. In a given sense, therefore, it may be said that the entire field which in the end was covered by the Reformation, so far as it was not Lutheran and not Socinian, was dominated in principle by Calvinism. Even the Baptists applied for shelter at the tents of the Calvinists. It is the free character of Calvinism that accounts for the rise of these several shades and differences, and of the reactions against their excesses. By its hierarchy, Romanism is and remains uniform. Lutheranism owes its similar unity and uniformity to the ascendancy of the prince, whose relation to the Church is that of "summus episcopus" and to its "ecclesia docens." Calvinism on the other hand, which sanctions no ecclesiastical hierarchy, and no magisterial interference, could not develop itself except in many and varied forms and deviations, thereby of course incurring the danger of degeneration, provoking in its turn all kinds of one-sided reactions. With the free development of life, such as was intended

by Calvinism, the distinction could not fail to appear between a centre, with its fulness and purity of vitality and strength, and the broad circumference with its threatening declensions. But in that very conflict between a purer centre and a less pure circumference the steady working of its spirit was guaranteed to Calvinism.

Thus understood, Calvinism is rooted in a form of religion which was peculiarly its own, and from this specific religious consciousness there was developed first a peculiar theology, then a special church-order, and then a given form for political and social life, for the interpretation of the moral world-order, for the relation between nature and grace, between Christianity and the world, between church and state, and finally for art and science; and amid all these life-utterances it remained always the self-same Calvinism, in so far as simultaneously and spontaneously all these developments sprang from its deepest life-principle. Hence to this extent it stands in line with those other great complexes of human life, known as Paganism, Islamism and Romanism, by which we distinguish four entirely different worlds in the one collective world of human life. And if, speaking precisely, you should co-ordinate Christianity and not Calvinism with Paganism and Islamism, it is nevertheless better to place Calvinism in line with them, because Calvinism claims to embody the Christian idea more purely and accurately than could Romanism and Lutheranism. In the Greek world of Russia and the Balkan States, the national element is still dominant, and therefore the Christian faith in these countries has not yet been able to produce a form of life of its own from the root of its mystical orthodoxy. In Lutheran countries, the interference of the magistrate has prevented the free working of the spiritual principle. Hence of Romanism only can it be said that it has embodied its life-thought in a world of conceptions and utterances entirely its own. But by the side of Romanism, and in opposition to it, Calvinism made its appearance, not merely to create a different Church-form, but an entirely different form for human life, to furnish human society with a different method of existence, and to populate the world of the human heart with different ideals and conceptions.

That this had not been realized until our time, and is now acknowledged by friend and enemy in consequence of a better study

of history, should not surprise us. This would not have been the case, if Calvinism had entered life as a well constructed system, and had presented itself as an outcome of study. But its origin came about in an entirely different way. In the order of existence, life is first. And to Calvinism life itself was ever the first object of its endeavors. There was too much to do and to suffer to devote much time to study. What was dominant was Calvinistic practice at the stake and in the field of battle. Moreover the nations among whom Calvinism gained the day—such as the Swiss, the Dutch, the English and the Scotch—were by nature not very philosophically predisposed. Especially at that time, life among those nations was spontaneous and void of calculation; and only later on has Calvinism in its parts become a subject of that special study by which historians and theologians have traced the relation between Calvinistic phenomena and the all-embracing unity of its principle. It can even be said that the need of a theoretical and systematical study of so incisive and comprehensive a phenomenon of life only arises when its first vitality has been exhausted, and when for the sake of maintaining itself in the future, it is compelled to greater accuracy in the drawing of its boundary lines. And if to this you add the fact that the stress of reflecting our existence as a unity in the mirror of our consciousness is far stronger in our philosophical age than it ever was before, it is readily seen that both the needs of the present, and the care for the future, compel us to a deeper study of Calvinism. In the Roman Catholic Church everybody knows what he lives for, because with clear consciousness he enjoys the fruits of Rome's unity of life-system. Even in Islam you find the same power of a conviction of life dominated by one principle. Protestantism alone wanders about in the wilderness without aim or direction, moving hither and thither, without making any progress. This accounts for the fact that among Protestant nations Pantheism, born from the new German Philosophy and owing its concrete evolution-form to Darwin, claims for itself more and more the supremacy in every sphere of human life, even in that of theology, and under all sorts of names tries to overthrow our Christian traditions, and is bent even upon exchanging the heritage of our fathers for a hopeless modern Buddhism. The leading thoughts that had their rise in the

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French Revolution at the close of the last, and in German philosophy in the course of the present century, form together a life-system which is diametrically opposed to that of our fathers. Their struggles were for the sake of the glory of God and a purified Christianity; the present movement wages war for the sake of the glory of man, being inspired not by the humble mind of Golgotha but by the pride of Hero-worship. And why did we, Christians, stand so weak, in the face of this Modernism? Why did we constantly lose ground? Simply because we were devoid of an equal unity of life-conception, such as alone could enable us with irresistible energy to repel the enemy at the frontier. This unity of life-conception, however, is

never to be found in a vague conception of Protestantism winding itself as it does in all kind of tortuosities, but you do find it in that mighty historic process, which as Calvinism dug a channel of its own for the powerful stream of its life. By this unity of conception alone as given in Calvinism, you in America and we in Europe might be enabled once more to take our stand, by the side of Romanism, in opposition to modern Pantheism. Without this unity of starting point and life-system we must lose the power to maintain our independent position, and our strength for resistance must ebb away.

The supreme interest here at stake, however, forbids our accepting without more positive proof the fact that Calvinism really provides us with such an unity of life-system and we demand proofs of the assertion that Calvinism is not a partial, nor was a merely temporary phenomenon, but is such an all-embracing system of principles, as, rooted in the past, is able to strengthen us in the present and to fill us with confidence for the future. Hence we must first ask what are the required conditions for such general systems of life, as Paganism, Islamism, Romanism and Modernism, and then show that Calvinism really fulfills these conditions.

These conditions demand in the first place, that from a special principle a peculiar insight be obtained into the three fundamental relations of all human life: viz., (1) our relation to God, (2) our relation to man, and (3) our relation to the world.

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Hence the first claim demands that such a life system shall find its starting-point in a special interpretation of our relation to God. This is not accidental, but imperative. If such an action is to put its stamp upon our entire life, it must start from that point in our consciousness in which our life is still undivided and lies comprehended in its unity,—not in the spreading vines but in the root from which the vines spring. This point, of course, lies in the antithesis between all that is finite in our human life and the infinite that lies beyond it. Here alone we find the common source from which the different streams of our human life spring and separate themselves. Personally it is our repeated experience that in the depths of our hearts, at the point where we disclose ourselves to the Eternal One, all the rays of our life converge as in one focus, and there alone regain that harmony which we so often and so painfully lose in the stress of daily duty. In prayer lies not only our unity with God, but also the unity of our personal life. Movements in history, therefore, which do not spring from this deepest source are always partial and transient, and only those historical acts which arose from these lowest depths of man's personal existence embrace the

whole of life and possess the required permanence.

This was the case with Paganism, which in its most general form is known by the fact that it surmises, assumes and worships God in the creature. This applies to the lowest Animism, as well as to the highest Buddhism. Paganism does not rise to the conception of the independent existence of a God beyond and above the creature. But even in this imperfect form it has for its starting-point a definite interpretation of the relation of the infinite to the finite, and to this it owed its power to produce a finished form for human society. Simply because it possessed this significant starting-point was it able to produce a form of its own for the whole of human life. It is the same with Islamism, which is characterized by its purely anti-pagan ideal, cutting off all contact between the creature and God. Mohammed and the Koran are the historic names, but in its nature the Crescent is the only absolute antithesis to Paganism. Islam isolates God from the creature, in order to avoid all commingling with the creature. As antipode, Islam was possessed of an equally far-reaching

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tendency, and was also able to originate an entirely peculiar world of human life. The same is the case with Romanism. Here also the papal tiara,⁷ the hierarchy, the mass, etc., are but the outcome of one fundamental thought: viz., that God enters into fellowship with the creature by means of a mystic middle-link, which is the Church;—not taken as a mystic organism. but as a visible, palpable and tangible institution. Here the Church stands between God and the world, and so far as it was able to adopt the world and to inspire it, Romanism also created a form of its own for human society. And now, by the side of and opposite to these three, Calvinism takes its stand with a fundamental thought which is equally profound. It does not seek God in the creature, as Paganism; it does not isolate God from the creature, as Islamism; it posits no mediate communion between God and the creature. as does Romanism; but proclaims the exalted thought that, although standing in high majesty above the creature, God enters into immediate fellowship with the creature, as God the Holy Spirit. This is even the heart and kernel of the Calvinistic confession of predestination. There is communion with God, but only in entire accord with his counsel of peace from all eternity. Thus there is no grace but such as comes to us immediately from God. At every moment of our existence, our entire spiritual life rests in God Himself. The “Deo Soli Gloria” was not the starting-point but the result, and predestination was inexorably maintained, not for the sake of separating man from man, nor in the interest of personal pride, but in order to guarantee from eternity to eternity, to our inner self, a direct and immediate communion with the Living God. The opposition against Rome aimed therefore with the Calvinist first of all at the dismissal of a Church which placed itself between the soul and God. The Church consisted not in an office, nor in an independent institute, the

believers themselves were the Church, inasmuch as by faith they stood in touch with the Almighty. Thus, as in Paganism, Islamism and Romanism, so also in Calvinism is found that proper, definite interpretation of the fundamental

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relation of man to God, which is required as the first condition of a real life-system.

Meanwhile I anticipate two objections. In the first place, it may be asked whether I do not claim honors for Calvinism which belong to Protestantism in general. To this I reply in the negative. When I claim for Calvinism the honor of having re-established the direct fellowship with God, I do not undervalue the general significance of Protestantism. In the Protestant domain, taken in the historic sense, Lutheranism alone stands by the side of Calvinism. Now I wish to be second to none in my praises of Luther's heroic initiative. In his heart, rather than in the heart of Calvin, was the bitter conflict fought which led to the world historic breach. Luther can be interpreted without Calvin, but not Calvin without Luther. To a great extent Calvin entered upon the harvest of what the hero of Wittenberg had sown in and outside Germany. But when the question is put, Who had the clearest insight into the reformatory principle, worked it out most fully, and applied it most broadly, history points to the Thinker of Geneva and not to the Hero of Wittenberg. Luther as well as Calvin contended for a direct fellowship with God, but Luther took it up from its subjective, anthropological side, and not from its objective, cosmological side as Calvin did. Luther's starting-point was the special-soteriological principle of a justifying faith; while Calvin's extending far wider, lay in the general cosmological principle of the sovereignty of God. As a natural result of this, Luther also continued to consider the Church as the representative and authoritative "teacher," standing between God and the believer, while Calvin was the first to seek the Church in the believers themselves. As far as he was able, Luther still leaned upon the Romish view of the sacraments, and upon the Romish cultus, while Calvin was the first in both to draw the line which extended immediately from God to man and from man to God. Moreover, in all Lutheran countries the Reformation originated from the princes rather than from the people, and thereby passed under the power of the magistrate, who took his stand in the Church officially as her highest Bishop, and therefore was unable to change either the

social or the political life in accordance with its principle. Lutheranism restricted itself to an exclusively ecclesiastical and theological character, while Calvinism put its impress in and outside the Church upon every department of human life. Hence Lutheranism is nowhere spoken of as the creator of a peculiar life-form; even the name of "Lutheranism" is hardly ever mentioned; while the students of history with increasing unanimity recognize Calvinism as the creator of a world of human life entirely its own.

The second objection we have to meet is this: If it is true that every general development form of life must find its starting point in a peculiar interpretation of our relation to God,—how then do you explain the fact that Modernism also has led to such a general conception, notwithstanding it sprang from the French Revolution, which on principle broke with all religion. The question answers itself. If you exclude from your conceptions all reckoning with the Living God just as is implied in the cry, "no God no master," you certainly bring to the front a sharply defined interpretation of your own for our relation to God. A government, as you yourselves experienced of late in the case of Spain, that recalls its ambassador and breaks every regular intercourse with another power, declares thereby that its relation to the government of that country is a strained relation which generally ends in war. This is the case here. The leaders of the French Revolution, not being acquainted with any relation to God except that which existed through the mediation of the Romish Church, annihilated all relation to God, because they wished to annihilate the power of the Church; and as a result of this they declared war against every religious confession. But this of course very really implied a fundamental and special interpretation of our relation to God. It was the declaration that henceforth God was to be considered as a hostile power, yea even as dead, if not yet to the heart, at least to the state, to society and to science. To be sure, in passing from French into German hands, Modernism could not rest content with such a bare negation; but the result shows how from that moment it clothed itself in either pantheism or agnosticism, and under each disguise it maintained the expulsion of God from practical and

theoretical life, and the enmity against the Triune God had its full course.

Thus I maintain that it is the interpretation of our relation to God which dominates every general life system, and that for us this conception is given in Calvinism, thanks to its fundamental interpretation of an immediate fellowship of God with man and of man with God. To this I add that Calvinism has neither invented nor conceived this fundamental interpretation, but that God Himself implanted it in the hearts of its heroes and its heralds. We face here no product of a clever intellectualism, but the fruit of a work of God in the heart, or, if you like, an inspiration of history. This point should be emphasized! Calvinism has never burned its incense upon the altar of genius, it has erected no monument for its heroes, it scarcely calls them by name. One stone only in a wall at Geneva remains to remind one of Calvin. His very grave has been forgotten. Was this ingratitude? By no means. But if Calvin was appreciated, even in the 16th and 17th centuries the impression was vivid that it was One greater than Calvin. even God Himself, who had wrought here His work. Hence, no general movement in life is so devoid of deliberate compact, none so unconventional in which it spread as this. Simultaneously. Calvinism had its rise in all the countries of Western Europe, and it did not appear, among those nations. because the University was in its van, or because scholars led the people, or because a magistrate placed himself at their head: but it sprang from the hearts of the people themselves, with weavers and farmers, with tradesmen and servants, with women and young maidens; and in every instance it exhibited the same characteristic: viz., strong Assurance of eternal Salvation, not only without the intervention of the Church, but even in opposition to the Church. The human heart had attained unto eternal peace with its God: strengthened by this Divine fellowship, it discovered its high and holy calling to consecrate every department of life and every energy at its disposal to the glory of God: and therefore, when those men or women, who had become partakers of this Divine life, were forced to abandon their

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faith, it proved impossible, that they could deny their Lord; and thousands and tens of thousands burned at the stake, not complaining but exulting, with thanksgiving in their hearts and psalms upon their lips. Calvin was not the author of this, but God who through His Holy Spirit had wrought in Calvin that which He had wrought in them. Calvin stood not above them, but as a brother by their side, a sharer with them of God's blessing. In this way, Calvinism came to its fundamental interpretation of an immediate fellowship with God, not because Calvin invented it, but because in this immediate fellowship God Himself had granted to our fathers a privilege of which Calvin was only the first to become clearly conscious. This is the great work of the Holy Spirit in history, by which Calvinism has been consecrated, and which interprets to us its wondrous energy.

There are times in history when the pulse of religious life beats faintly; but there are times when its beat is pounding, and the latter was the case in the 16th century among the nations of Western Europe. The question of faith at that time dominated every activity in public life. New history starts out from this faith, even as the history of our times starts from the unbelief of the French Revolution. What law this pulse-like movement of religious life obeys, we cannot tell, but it is evident that there is such a law, and that in times of high religious tension the inworking of the Holy Spirit upon the heart is irresistible; and this mighty inworking of God was the experience of our Calvinists, Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers. It was not in all individuals to the same degree, for this never happens in any great movement; but they who formed the centre of life in those times, who were the promoters of that mighty change, they experienced this higher power to the fullest: and they were the men and women of every class of society and nationality who by God Himself were admitted into communion with the majesty of His eternal Being. Thanks to this work of God in the heart, the persuasion that the whole of a man's life is to be lived as in the Divine Presence has become the fundamental thought of Calvinism. By this decisive idea, or rather by this mighty fact, it has allowed itself to be controlled in every department of its

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entire domain. It is from this mother-thought that the all embracing life system of Calvinism sprang.

This brings us of itself to the second condition, with which, for the sake of creating a life system every profound movement has to comply: viz., a fundamental interpretation of its own touching the relation of man to man. How we stand toward God is the first, and how we stand toward man is the second principal question which decides the tendency and the construction of our life. There is no uniformity among men, but endless multiformity. In creation itself the difference has been established between woman and man. Physical and spiritual gifts and talents cause one person to differ from the other. Past generations and our own personal life create distinctions. The social position of the rich and poor differs widely. Now, these differences are in a special way weakened or accentuated by every consistent life system, and Paganism and Islamism, Romanism as well as Modernism, and so also Calvinism have all taken their stand in this question in accordance with their primordial principle. If, as Paganism contends, God dwells in the creature, a divine superiority is exhibited in whatever is high among men. In this way it obtained its demigods, hero-worship, and finally its sacrifices upon the altar of Divus Augustus. On the other hand, whatever is lower is considered as godless, and therefore gives rise to the systems of caste in India and

in Egypt, and to slavery everywhere else, thereby placing one man under a base subjection to his fellowman. Under Islamism, which dreams of its paradise of houries,⁸ sensuality usurps public authority, and the woman is the slave of man, even as the kafir ⁹ is the slave of the Moslim. Romanism, taking root in Christian soil, overcomes the absolute character of distinction, and renders it relative, in order to interpret every relation of man to man hierarchically. There is a hierarchy among the angels of God, a hierarchy in God's Church, and so also a hierarchy among men, leading to an entirely aristocratic interpretation of life as the

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embodiment of the ideal. Finally Modernism, which denies and abolishes every difference, cannot rest until it has made woman man and man woman, and, putting every distinction on a common level, kills life by placing it under the ban of uniformity. One type must answer for all, one uniform, one position and one and the same development of life; and whatever goes beyond and above it, is looked upon as an insult to the common consciousness. In the same way Calvinism has derived from its fundamental relation to God a peculiar interpretation of man's relation to man, and it is this only true relation which since the 16th century has ennobled social life, If Calvinism places our entire human life immediately before God, then it follows that all men or women, rich or poor, weak or strong, dull or talented, as creatures of God, and as lost sinners, have no claim whatsoever to lord over one another, and that we stand as equals before God, and consequently equal as man to man. Hence we cannot recognize any distinction among men, save such as has been imposed by God Himself, in that He gave one authority over the other, or enriched one with more talents than the other, in order that the man of more talents should serve the man with less, and in him serve his God. Hence Calvinism condemns not merely all open slavery and systems of caste, but also all covert slavery of woman and of the poor; it is opposed to all hierarchy among men; it tolerates no aristocracy save such as is able, either in person or in family, by the grace of God, to exhibit superiority of character or talent, and to show that it does not claim this superiority for self-aggrandizement or ambitious pride, but for the sake of spending it in the service of God. So Calvinism was bound to find its utterance in the democratic interpretation of life; to proclaim the liberty of nations; and not to rest until both politically and socially every man, simply because he is man, should be recognized, respected and dealt with as a creature created after the Divine likeness.

This was no outcome of envy. It was not the man of lower estate who reduced his superior to his level in order to usurp the higher place, but it was all men kneeling in concert at the feet of the Holy One of Israel. This accounts for the fact that Calvinism made no sudden break with the past. Even as in its early

stage Christianity did not abolish slavery, but undermined it by a moral judgment, so Calvinism allowed the provisional continuance of the conditions of hierarchy and aristocracy as traditions belonging to the Middle Ages. It was not charged against William of Orange that he was a prince of royal lineage; he was the more honored for it. But inwardly Calvinism has modified the structure of society, not by the envying of classes, nor by an undue esteem for the possessions of the rich, but by a more serious interpretation of life. By better labor and a higher development of character the middle and working classes have provoked the nobility and the wealthier citizens to jealousy. First looking to God, and then to one's neighbor was the impulse, the mind and the spiritual custom to which Calvinism gave entrance. And from this holy fear of God and this united stand before the face of God a holier democratic idea has developed itself, and has continually gained ground. This result has been brought about by nothing Egmont so much as by fellowship in suffering. When, though loyal to the Romish faith, the dukes of Egmont and Hoorn ascended the same scaffold on which, for the sake of a nobler faith, the working-man and the weaver had been executed, the reconciliation between the classes received its sanction in that bitter death. By his bloody persecutions, Alva the Aristocrat advanced the prosperous development of the spirit of Democracy. To have placed man on a footing of equality with man, so far as the purely human interests are concerned, is the immortal glory which incontestably belongs to Calvinism. The difference between it and the wild dream of equality of the French Revolution is that while in Paris it was one action in concert against God, here all, rich and poor, were on their knees before God, consumed with a common zeal for the glory of His Name.

The third fundamental relation which decides the interpretation of life is the relation which you bear to the world. As previously stated, there are three principal elements with which you come into touch: viz., God, man and the world. The relation to God and to man into which Calvinism places you being thus reviewed, the third and last fundamental relation is in order: viz., your attitude toward the world. Of Paganism it can be said in general,

that it places too high an estimate upon the world, and therefore to some extent it both stands in fear of, and loses itself in it. On the other hand Islamism places too low an estimate upon the world, makes sport of it and triumphs over it in reaching after the visionary world of a sensual paradise. For the purpose in view however we need say no more of either, since both for Christian Europe and America the antithesis between man and the world has assumed the narrower form of the antithesis between the world and the Christian circles. The traditions of the Middle Ages gave rise to this. Under the hierarchy of Rome the Church and the World were placed over against each other, the one as being sanctified and the other as being still under the curse. Everything outside the Church was under the influence of demons, and exorcism banished this demoniacal power from everything that came under the protection, influence and inspiration of the Church. Hence in a Christian country the entire social life was to be covered by the wings of the Church. The magistrate had to be anointed and confessionally bound; art and science had to be placed under ecclesiastical encouragement and censure; trade and commerce had to be bound to the Church by the tie of guilds; and from the cradle to the grave, family life was to be placed under ecclesiastical guardianship. This was a gigantic effort to claim the entire world for Christ, but one which of necessity brought with it the severest judgment upon every life-tendency which either as heretical or as demoniacal withdrew itself from the blessing of the Church. Hence the stake was fit alike for witch and heretic, for in principle both lay under the same ban. And this deadening theory was carried out with iron logic, not from cruelty, nor from any low ambition, but from the lofty purpose of saving the christianized world, i.e., the world as overshadowed by the Church. Escape from the world was the counterpoise in monastic and partly even in clerical orders, which emphasized holiness in the centre of the Church in order to wink the more lightly at worldly excesses without. As a natural result the world corrupted the Church, and by its dominion over the world the Church proved an obstacle to every free development of its life.

Thus making its appearance in a dualistic social state, Calvinism has wrought an entire change in the world of thoughts and

conceptions. In this also, placing itself before the face of God, it has not only honored man for the sake of

his likeness to the Divine image, but also the world as a Divine creation, and has at once placed to the front the great principle that there is a particular grace which works Salvation, and also a common grace by which God, maintaining the life of the world, relaxes the curse which rests upon it, arrests its process of corruption, and thus allows the untrammelled development of our life in which to glorify Himself as Creator¹⁰. Thus the Church receded in order to be neither more nor less than the congregation of believers, and in every department the life of the world was not emancipated from God, but from the dominion of the Church. Thus domestic life regained its independence, trade and commerce realized their strength in liberty, art and science were set free from every ecclesiastical bond and restored to their own inspirations, and man began to understand the subjection of all nature with its hidden forces and treasures to himself as a holy duty, imposed upon him by the original ordinances of Paradise: "Have dominion over them." Henceforth the curse should no longer rest upon the world itself, but upon that which is sinful in it, and instead of monastic flight from the world the duty is now emphasized of serving God in the world, in every position in life. To praise God in the Church and serve Him in the world became the inspiring impulse, and, in the Church, strength was to be gathered by which to resist temptation and sin in the world. Thus puritanic sobriety went hand in hand with the reconquest of the entire life of the world, and Calvinism gave the impulse to that new development which dared to face the world with the Roman thought: *nil humanum a me alienum puto*, although never allowing itself to be intoxicated by its poisonous cup.

Especially in its antithesis to Anabaptism Calvinism exhibits itself in bold relief. For Anabaptism adopted the opposite method, and in its effort to evade the world it confirmed the monastic starting-point, generalizing and making it a rule for all believers, It was not from Calvinism, but from this anabaptistic principle, that Akosmism had its rise among so many Protestants

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in Western Europe. In fact, Anabaptism adopted the Romish theory, with this difference: that it placed the kingdom of God in the room of the Church, and abandoned the distinction between the two moral standards, one for the clergy and the other for the laity. For the rest the Anabaptist's standpoint was: (1) that the unbaptized world was under the curse, for which reason he withdrew from all civil institutions; and (2) that the circle of baptized believers—with Rome the Church, but with him the kingdom of God—was in duty bound to take all civil life under its guardianship and to remodel it; and so John of Leyden violently established his shameless power at Munster as King of the New Zion, and his devotees ran naked through the streets of Amsterdam.¹¹ Hence, on the same grounds on which Calvinism rejected Rome's theory concerning the world, it rejected the theory of the Anabaptist, and proclaimed that the Church

must withdraw again within its spiritual domain, and that in the world we should realize the potencies of God's common grace.

Thus it is shown that Calvinism has a sharply-defined starting-point of its own for the three fundamental relations of all human existence: viz., our relation to God, to man and to the world. For our relation to God: an immediate fellowship of man with the Eternal, independently of priest or church. For the relation of man to man: the recognition in each person of human worth, which is his by virtue of his creation after the Divine likeness, and therefore of the equality of all men before God and his magistrate. And for our relation to the world: the recognition that in the whole world the curse is restrained by grace, that the life of the world is to be honored in its independence, and that we must, in every domain, discover the treasures and develop the potencies hidden by God in nature and in human life. This justifies us fully in our statement that Calvinism duly answers the three above-named conditions, and

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thus is incontestably entitled to take its stand by the side of Paganism, Islamism, Romanism and Modernism, and to claim for itself the glory of possessing a well-defined principle and an all-embracing life-system.

But even this is not all. The fact that in a given circle Calvinism has formed an interpretation of life quite its own, from which both in the spiritual and secular domain a special system arose for domestic and social life, justifies its claim to assert itself as an independent formation. But it does not yet credit it with the honor of having led humanity, as such, up to a higher stage in its development, and therefore this life-system has not, so far as we have yet considered it, attained that position which alone could give it the right to claim for itself the energy and devotion of our hearts. In China it can be asserted with equal right that Confucianism has produced a form of its own for life in a given circle, and with the Mongolian race that form of life rests upon a theory of its own. But what has China done for humanity in general, and for the steady development of our race? Even so far as the waters of its life were clear, they formed nothing but an isolated lake. Almost the same remark applies to the high development which was once the boast of India and to the state of things in Mexico and Peru in the days of Montezuma and the Incas. In all these regions the people attained a high degree of development, but stopped there, and, remaining isolated, in no way proved a benefit to humanity at large. This applies more strongly still to the life of the colored races on the coast and in the interior of Africa a far lower form of existence, reminding us not

even of a lake but rather of pools and marshes. There is but one world-stream, broad and fresh, which from the beginning bore the promise of the future. This stream had its rise in Middle Asia and the Levant, and has steadily continued its course from East to West. From Western Europe it has passed on to your Eastern States, and from thence to California. The sources of this stream of development are found in Babylon and in the valley of the Nile. From thence it flowed on to Greece. From Greece it passed on to the Roman Empire. From the Romanic nations it continued its way

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to the Northwestern parts of Europe, and from Holland and England it reached at length your continent. At present that stream is at a standstill. Its Western course through China and Japan is impeded; meanwhile no one can tell what forces for the future may yet lie slumbering in the Slavic races which have thus far failed of progress. But while this secret of the future is still veiled in mystery, the course of this world-stream from East to West can be denied by none. And therefore I am justified in saying that Paganism, Islamism and Romanism are the three successive formations which this development had reached, when its further direction passed over into the hands of Calvinism; and that Calvinism in turn is now denied this leading influence by Modernism, the daughter of the French Revolution.

The succession of these four phases of development did not take place mechanically, with sharply outlined divisions and parts. This development of life is organic, and therefore each new period roots in the past. In its deepest logic Calvinism had already been apprehended by Augustine; had, long before Augustine, been proclaimed to the City of the seven hills by the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans; and from Paul goes back to Israel and its prophets, yea to the tents of the patriarchs. Romanism likewise does not make its appearance suddenly, but is the world organization product of the three potencies of Israel's priesthood, the cross of Calvary, and the world organization of the Roman Empire. Islam in the same way joins itself to Israel's Monism, to the Prophet of Nazareth, and to the tradition of the Korashites. And even the Paganism of Babylon and Egypt on the one hand, and of Greece and Rome upon the other, stand organically related to what lay behind these nations, preceding the prosperity of their lives. But even so, it is as clear as day that the supreme force in the central development of the human race moved along successively from Babylon and Egypt to Greece and Rome, then to the chief regions of the Papal dominion, and finally to the Calvinistic nations of Western Europe. If Israel flourished in the days of Babylon and Egypt, however high its standard, the direction and the development of our human race was not in the hands of the sons of Abraham but in those of the Belshassars and the Pharaohs. Again, this leader

ship does not pass from Babylon and Egypt on to Israel but to Greece and Rome. However high the stream of Christianity had risen when Islam made its appearance, in the 8th and 9th centuries the followers of Mahomet were our teachers and with them rested the issue of the world. And though the hegemony of Romanism still maintained itself for a short time after the peace of Munster, no one questions the fact that the higher development, which we are now enjoying, we owe neither to Spain nor to Austria, nor even to the Germany of that time, but to the Calvinistic countries of the Netherlands and to England of the 16th century. Under Louis XIV, Romanism arrested this higher development in France, but only that in the French Revolution it might exhibit a ghastly caricature of Calvinism, which in its sad consequences broke the inner strength of France as a nation, and weakened its international significance. The fundamental idea of Calvin has been transplanted from Holland and England to America, thus driving our higher development ever more Westward, until on the shores of the Pacific it now reverently awaits whatsoever God has ordained. But no matter what mysteries the future may yet have to disclose, the fact remains that the broad stream of the development of our race runs from Babylon to San Francisco, through the five stadia of Babylonian-Egyptian, Greek-Roman, Islamitic, Romanistic and Calvinistic civilization, and the present conflict in Europe as well as in America finds its man cause in the fundamental antithesis between the energy of Calvinism which proceeded from the throne of God, found the source of its power in the Word of God, and in every sphere of human life exalted the glory of God, and its caricature in the French Revolution, which proclaimed its unbelief in the cry of, "No God no master"; and which presently in the form of German Pantheism is reducing itself more and more to a modern Paganism.

Thus notice I was not too bold when I claimed for Calvinism the honor of being neither an ecclesiastical, nor a theological, nor a sectarian conception, but one of the principal phases in the general development of our human race; and among these the youngest, whose high calling still is to influence the further course of human life. Just now, however, allow me to indicate another

circumstance, which strengthens my principal statement, viz., the commingling of blood as, thus far, the physical basis of all higher human development. From the high-lands of Asia our human race came down in groups, and these in turn have been divided into races and nations; and in entire conformity to the prophetic blessing of Noah the children of Shem and of Japheth have been the sole bearers of the development of the race. No impulse for any higher life has ever gone forth from the third group. With the two other groups a twofold phenomenon presents itself. There are tubal nations which have isolated themselves and others which have intermingled. Thus on the one hand there are groups which have dominated exclusively their own inherent forces, and on the other hand groups which by commingling have crossed their traits with those of other tribes, and thus have attained a higher perfection. It is noteworthy that the process of human development steadily proceeds with those groups whose historic characteristic is not isolation but the commingling of blood. On the whole the Mongolian race has held itself apart, and in its isolation has bestowed no benefits upon our race at large. Behind the Himalayas a similar life secluded itself, and hence failed to impart any permanent impulse to the outside world. Even in Europe we find that with the Scandinavians and Slavs there was hardly any intermingling of blood, and consequently having failed to develop a richer type, they have taken little part in the general development of human life. On the other hand, the tablets from Babylon in our great Museums by the two languages of their inscriptions still show that in Mesopotamia the Aryan¹² element of the Accadians¹³ mingled itself at an early period with the Semitic-Babylonian; and Egyptology leads us to conclude that in the land of the Pharaohs we deal from the beginning with a population produced by the mingling of two very different tribes. No one believes any longer the pretended race-unity of the Greeks. In Greece as well as in Italy we deal with races of a later date who have intermingled with the earlier Pelasgians, Etruscians and others. Islam seems to be exclusively Arabic, but a study of the spread of Islamism among

the Moors, Persians, Turks and other series of subjected tribes, with whom intermarriage was common, at once reveals the fact that especially with Mahometans the commingling of blood was even greater than with their predecessors. When the leadership of the world passed into the hands of the Romanic nations, the same phenomenon presented itself in Italy, Spain, Portugal and France. In these cases the Aborigines were generally Basques or Celts,¹⁴ the Celts in turn being overcome by the Germanic tribes, and even as in Italy the East Goths and Lombards, so in Spain the West Goths, in Portugal the Swabians,

and in France the Franks instilled new blood into debilitated veins, and to this wonderful rejuvenescence the Roman nations owed their vigor until far into the 16th century. Thus in the life of nations the same phenomenon repeats itself which so often strikes the historian as a result of international marriages among princely families, as we see how the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons, the Oranges and the Hohenzollern, for instance, have been, century after century, productive of a host of most remarkable statesmen and heroes. The raiser of stock has aimed at the same effect in the crossing of different breeds, and botanists harvest large profits by obeying the same law of life with plants; and by itself it is not difficult to perceive that the union of natural powers, divided among different tribes, must be productive of a higher development. To this it should be added that the history of our race does not aim at the improvement of any single tribe, but at the development of mankind taken as a whole, and therefore needs this commingling of blood in order to attain its end. Now in fact history shows that the nations among whom Calvinism flourished most widely exhibit in every way this same mingling of races. In Switzerland, the Germans, united with Italians and French; in France, the Gauls, with Franks and Burgundians; in the Lowlands, Celts and Welsh¹⁵ with Germans; also in England the old Celts and Anglo Saxons were afterwards raised to a still higher standard of

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national life by the invasion of the Normans. Indeed it may be said that the three principal tribes of Western Europe, the Celtic, Romanic and Germanic elements under the leadership of the Germanic, give us the genealogy of the Calvinistic nations. In America, where Calvinism has come to unfold itself in a still higher liberty, this commingling of blood is assuming a larger proportion than has ever yet been known. Here the blood flows together from all the tribes of the ancient world, and again we have the Celts from Ireland, the Germans from Germany and Scandinavia, united to the Slavs from Russia and Poland, who promote still further this already vigorous intermingling of the races. This latter process takes place under the higher exponent that it is not merely the union of tribe with tribe, but that the old historic nations are dissolving themselves in order to allow the re-union of their members in one higher unity, hitherto constantly assimilated by the American type. In this respect also Calvinism fully meets the conditions imposed on every new phase of development in the life of humanity. It spread itself in a domain where it found the commingling of blood stronger than under Romanism, and in America raised this to its highest conceivable realization.

Thus it is shown that Calvinism meets not only the necessary condition of the mingling of blood, but that in the process of human development it also represents, with respect to this, a further stadium. In

Babylon this commingling of blood was of small significance; it gains in importance with the Greeks and Romans; it goes further under Islamism; is dominant under Romanism; but only among Calvinistic nations does it reach its highest perfection. Here in America it is achieving the intermingling of all the nations of the old world. A similar climax of this process of human development is also exhibited by Calvinism in the fact that only under the influence of Calvinism does the impulse of public activity proceed from the people themselves. In the life of the nations also there is development from the underage period to that of maturity. As in the family-life, during the years of childhood, the direction of affairs is in the hands of the parents, so also in the life of the nations it is but natural that during their under-age period

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first the Asiatic despot, then some eminent ruler, afterwards the priesthood, and finally both priest and magistrate together should stand at the head of every movement. The history of the nations in Babylon and under the Pharaohs, in Greece and Rome, under Islamism and under the papal system, fully confirms this course of development. But it is self-evident that this could not be a permanent state of things. Just because in their progressive development the nations finally came of age, they must at length reach that stadium in which the people itself awoke, stood up for their rights, and originated the movement that was to direct the course of future events; and in the rise of Calvinism this stadium appears to have been reached. Thus far every forward movement had gone forth from the authorities in State, Church or Science, and from thence had descended to the people. In Calvinism, on the other hand, the peoples themselves stand out in their broad ranks and form a spontaneity of their own, press forward to a higher form of social life and conditions. Calvinism had its rise with the people. In Lutheran countries the magistrate was still the leader in public advances, but in Switzerland, among the Huguenots, in Belgium, in the Netherlands, in Scotland and also in America the peoples themselves created the impetus. They seemed to have matured; to have reached the period in which they were of age. Even when in some cases, as in the Netherlands, the nobility for a moment took a heroic stand for the oppressed, their activity ended in nothing, and the people alone, by undaunted energy, broke the barrier, and among these it was the "common folk", to whose heroic initiative William the Silent, as he himself acknowledges, owed the success of his undertaking.

Hence, as a central phenomenon in the development of humanity, Calvinism is not only entitled to an honorable position by the side of Paganistic, Islamistic and Romanistic forms, since like these it represents a peculiar principle dominating the whole of life, but it also meets every required condition for the advancement of human development to a higher stage. And yet this would remain a bare possibility

without any corresponding reality, if history did not testify that Calvinism has actually caused the stream of human life to flow in another channel, and has ennobled

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the social life of the nations. And therefore in closing I assert that Calvinism not only held out these possibilities but has also understood how to realize them. To prove this, just ask yourselves what would have become of Europe and America, if in the 16th century the star of Calvinism had not suddenly arisen on the horizon of Western Europe. In that case Spain would have crushed the Netherlands. In England and Scotland the Stuarts would have carried out their fatal plans. In Switzerland the spirit of halfheartedness would have gained the day. The beginnings of life in this new world would have been of an entirely different character. And as an unavoidable sequence, the balance of power in Europe would have returned to its former position. Protestantism would not have been able to maintain itself in politics. No further resistance could have been offered to the Romish-conservative power of the Hapsburgs, the Bourbons and the Stuarts; and the free development of the nations, as seen in Europe and America, would simply have been prevented. The whole American continent would have remained subject to Spain. The history of both continents would have become a most mournful one, and it ever remains a question whether the spirit of the Leipzig Interim¹⁶ would not have succeeded, by way of a Romanized Protestantism, in reducing Northern Europe again to the sway of the old Hierarchy. The enthusiastic devotion of the best historians of the second half of this century to the struggle of the Netherlands against Spain, as one of the finest subjects of investigation, only explains itself by the conviction that if the power of Spain at that time had not been broken by the heroism of the Calvinistic spirit, the history of the Netherlands, of Europe and of the world would have been as painfully sad and dark as now, thanks to Calvinism, it is bright and inspiring. Professor Fruin justly remarks that: "In Switzerland, in France, in the Netherlands, in Scotland and in England, and wherever Protestantism has had to establish itself at the point of the sword, it was Calvinism that gained the day."

Call to mind that this turn in the history of the world could not have been brought about except by the implanting of another principle

in the human heart, and by the disclosing of another world of thought to the human mind; that only by Calvinism the psalm of liberty found its way from the troubled conscience to the lips; that Calvinism has captured and guaranteed to us our constitutional civil rights; and that simultaneously with this there went out from Western Europe that mighty movement which promoted the revival of science and art, opened new avenues to commerce and trade, beautified domestic and social life, exalted the middle classes to positions of honor, caused philanthropy to abound, and more than all this, elevated, purified, and ennobled moral life by puritanic seriousness; and then judge for yourselves whether it will do to banish any longer this God-given Calvinism to the archives of history, and whether it is so much of a dream to conceive that Calvinism has yet a blessing to bring and a bright hope to unveil for the future.

The struggle of the Boers in the Transvaal against one of the mightiest powers must often have reminded you of your own past. In what has been achieved at Majuba, and recently at the occasion of Jameson's raid, the heroism of old Calvinism was again brilliantly evident. If Calvinism had not been passed on from our fathers to their African descendants, no free republic would have arisen in the South of the Dark Continent. This proves that Calvinism is not dead—that it still carries in its germ the vital energy of the days of its former glory. Yea, even as a grain of wheat from the sarcophagi of the Pharaohs, when again committed to the soil, bears fruit a hundredfold, so Calvinism still carries in itself a wondrous power for the future of the nations. And if we, Christians of both Continents, in our still holier struggle, are still expected to achieve heroic deeds, marching under the banner of the Cross against the spirit of the times, Calvinism alone arms us with an inflexible principle, by the strength of that principle guaranteeing us a sure, though far from easy victory.

1. As Dr. James Orr (in his valuable lectures on the Christian View of God and the World, Edinb. 1897, p. 3) observes, the German technical term *weltanschauung* has no precise equivalent in English. He therefore used the literal translation *view of the world* notwithstanding this phrase in English is limited by associations, which connect it predominately with physical nature. For this reason the more explicit phrase; *life and world view* seems to be more preferable. My American friends, however, told me that the shorter phrase, *life system*, on the other side of the ocean, is often used in the same sense. So lecturing before an American public, I took the shorter phrase, at least in the title of my first lecture, the shortest expression always having some preference for what is to be the general indication of your subject matter. In my lectures, on the contrary, I interchanged alternately both phrases of *life-system* and *life and world view* in accordance with the special meaning predominating in my argumentation. See also Dr. Orr's note on page 365.

2. George Whitefield, born in 1714, in Gloucester, England; died in 1770, in America. Preacher of unusual eloquence.

3. R. Fruin, Tien Jaren uit den tachtig-jarigen Oorlog, p. 151

4. R. C. Bakhuizen Van den Brink, Het Huwelijk van Willem van Orange met Anna van Saksen; 1853, p. 123: "Zoo al de laatste in tijdsorde, zoo was het Calvinisme de hoogste ontwikkelingsvorm van het Godsdienstig-staatkundig beginsel der zestiende eeuw. Zelfs de rechtzinnige staatkundigen dier eeuw, zagen met niet minder verachting en afschuw neder op den Geneefschen regeeringsvorm – als men het in onze dagen zou kunnen doen, wanneer een Staat het socialisme tot gebinsel mocht aannemen. Een hervormingskamp, die zoo laat na het ontstaan der Hervorming kwam als dat bij ons, in Frankrijk en in Schotland plaats had, kon niet anders dan Calvinistisch en ten voordeele van het Calvinisme zijn."

5. Cd. Busken Huet, Het Land van Rembrandt; 2de druk, II, p. 223

P. 159: "Was uit den aard der zaak de religie eene der hoofdzenen van den Calvinistischen Staat," enz. (om andere redenen de negotie):

en. p.10, Noot 3: "De geschiedenis van onze vrijwording is voor een groot gedeelte geschiedenis van onze hervorming, en de geschiedenis van onze hervorming is grootendeels geschiedenis van de uitbreiding van het Calvinisme." Bakhuizen Van den Brink, Studien en Schetsen, IV, 68, v.g.

6. History of the United States of America, Ed. New York, II, p. 405. Cf. Von Polenz, Geschichte des Französischen Protestantismus, 1857, I, p. viii: "Eine Geschichte . . . in welcher der Geist, den Luther in Frankreich geweckt, dieses mit Eigenem und Fremden genährt und gefordert, Calvin aber gereinigt, geregelt, gehütet, gestärkt, fixirt und als ein bewegendes Ferment über die Schranken des Raums und der Verhältnisse weiter getrieben hat, der in seinen mannigfachen Strahlen alle geschichtlichen Momente mehr oder weniger beruhenden Brenn- und Lichtpunkt bildet. Nennen wir diesen Geist, uneigentlich uns anachronistisch zwar, aber, da er ohne Calvin sich verflüchtigt haben würde, nicht unwahr, Calvinismus; so ist meine Geschichte, ausser der der französischen Calvinismus im engeren und eigentlichen Sinne, die seiner einwirkung auf Religion, Kirche, Sitte, Gesellschaft und sonstige Verhältnisse Frankreichs."

C. G. McCrie, The Public Worship of Presbyterians Scotland; 1892, p. 95: "It may lead some to attach value to these sentiments of Calvin if they know in what light the system which bears his stamp and his name is regarded by an Anglican Churchman of learning and insight, which give him a right to be heard in such a matter, 'The Protestant movement,' wrote Mark Pattison, 'was saved from being sunk in the quicksands of doctrinal dispute chiefly by the new moral direction given to it in Geneva. 'Calvinism saved Europe.'"

P. Hume Brown. John Knox; 1895, p. 252: "Of all the developments of Christianity, Calvinism and the Church of Rome alone bear the stamp of an absolute religion."

P. 257: "The difference between Calvin and Castilio, and between Knox and the Anabaptist, was not

merely one of doctrine and dogma: their essential difference lay in the spirit with which they respectively regarded human society intself.”

R. Willis, Servetus and Calvin; 1877, p. 514, 5: “There can be little question, in fact, that Calvinism, or some modification of its essential principles, is the form of religious faith that has been professed in the modern world by the most intelligent, moral, industrious, and freest of mankind.”

Chambers, Encyclopaedia; Philadelphia; 1888, in voce Calvinism: “With the revival of the evangelical party in the end of the century Calvinism revived, and it still maintains, if not an absolute sway, yet a powerful influence over many minds in the Anglican establishment. It is one of the most living and powerful among the creeds of the Reformation.”

Dr C. Sylvester Horne, Evangelical Magazine, August, 1898. New Calvinism, p.375 ff, and Dr W. Hastie, Theology as Science; Glasgow, 1899, pp. 100-106: “My apology and plea for the Reformed Theology, in presence of the other tendencies of the time, have been founded upon the two most general and fundamental points of creed that can be takem: the universality of its basis in human nature, as the condition of its method, and the universality of God, as the ground of its absolute truth.”

7. (Ed.) Originally a Persian headdress. The tiara of papacy denotes its triple power; temporal, spiritual, purgatorial.

8. (Ed.) From a Persian word signifying “black-eyed.”

9. (Ed.) Kafir is an Arabic word denoting “unbeliever.”

10. Cf. p.159 ff.

11. (Ed.) John Beuckelszoon, named John of Leyden after the city of his birth, 1510, Dutch fanatical leader of the Anabaptists in the capture of Munster. Died 1536. The devotees named above, 7 men and 3 women, were holding a nocturnal meeting, in February, 1535, in Amsterdam, when their leader, Hendrick Hendricks Snyder cast his clothes into the fire, and commmanded his followers to do likewise. At his behest they followed him, running through the streets and crying, “Woe, woe, woe; the vengeance of God, the vengeance of God.” They were soon captured. The men were beheaded, the women drowned, except one who escaped. Snyder claimed he had seen heaven, hell, and God, and that the judgment day was at hand.

12. (Ed.) Aryan from the Sanskrit word Arya meaning noble – a term formerly used with Indo European or Indo German. The term is sometimes used loosely in the sense of Japhetic.

13. (Ed.) From Accad, perhaps the southern of the two ancient divisions of Babylon; Sumer and Accad. Held by some to be non-Semitic. Cf. Gen. 10:10.

14. (Ed.) Celt or Kelt a member of that western European branch of the Aryan family that includes the Ghadelic peoples, the Scotch Gaelics, the Irish, the Erse and Manx, and the Cymric (the Welsh Cornish and low Bretons). The Romans knew them as Gauls. They evidently were related to the Teutons. The indiscriminate use of the term Celt has led to much confusion.

15. (Ed.) Inhabitants of Wales, part of Great Britain. The word Welsh (Dutch, Waalsch) signifies foreigner. The Welsh language is the Cymric as spoken by the Welsh. Cf. preceding note

16. (Ed.) This interim was made in 1548 by Melanchthon and others at the command of Maurice of Saxony. The R. C. ceremonies were declared adiaphoron, and Luther's "Sola" was shunned. It was a very much mediating modification of the Augsburg interim held the same year. Interim denotes "provisional arrangement," in this case between the German Roman Catholics and German Protestants.

Second Lecture - Calvinism and Religion

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THE CONCLUSION arrived at in my previous Lecture was first, that, scientifically speaking, Calvinism means the completed evolution of Protestantism, resulting in a both higher and richer stage of human development. Further, that the world-view of Modernism, with its starting-point in the French Revolution, can claim no higher privilege than that of presenting an atheistic imitation of the brilliant ideal proclaimed by Calvinism, therefore being unqualified for the honor of leading us higher on. And, lastly, that whosoever rejects atheism as his fundamental thought, is bound to go back to Calvinism, not to restore its worn-out form, but once more to catch hold of the Calvinistic principles, in order to embody them in such a form as, suiting the requirements of our own century, may restore the needed unity of Protestant thought and the lacking energy to Protestant practical life.

In my present Lecture, therefore, treating of Calvinism and Religion, first of all I will try to illustrate the dominant position occupied by Calvinism in the central domain of our worship of the Most High. The fact

that, in the religious domain, Calvinism has occupied from the first a peculiar and impressive position, nobody will deny. As if by one magical stroke, it created its own Confession, its own Theology, its own Church Organization, its own Church Discipline, its own Cultus, and its own Moral Praxis. And continued historical investigation proves with increasing certainty that all these new Calvinistic forms for our religious life were the logical product of its own fundamental thought and the embodiment of one and the same principle. Measure the energy which

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Calvinism here displayed by the utter incapability Modernism evinced in the same domain by the absolute fruitlessness of its endeavors. Ever since it entered its "mystical" period, Modernism also, both in Europe and in America, has acknowledged the necessity of carving out a new form for the religious life of our time. Hardly a century after the once glittering tinsel of Rationalism, now that Materialism is sounding its retreat in the ranks of science, a kind of hollow piety is again exercising its enticing charms and every day it is becoming more fashionable to take a plunge into the warm stream of mysticism. With an almost sensual delight this modern mysticism quaffs its intoxicating draught from the nectar cup of some intangible infinite. It was even purposed that, on the ruins of the once so stately Puritanic building, a new religion, with a new ritual, should be inaugurated as a higher evolution of religious life. Already, for more than a quarter of a century, the dedication and solemn opening of this new sanctuary has been promised us. And yet it has all led to nothing. No tangible effect has been produced. No formative principle has emerged from the imbroglia of hypotheses. Not even the beginning of an associative movement is as yet perceptible, and the long looked for plant has not even lifted its head above the barren soil.—Now, in contraposition to this. Look at the giant spirit of religious in the sixteenth century, with one master-stroke, placed before the gaze of the astonished world an entire religious edifice, erected in the best Scriptural style. So rapidly was the whole building completed that most of the spectators forgot to pay attention to the wonderful structure of the foundations. In all that the religious modern thought has, I will not say created, as with a master hand. but heaped together. like an unsuccessful amateur.—not one nation, not one family, hardly one solitary soul has (to use Augustine's words) ever found the requiescat for his "broken heart," while the Reformer of Geneva, by his mighty spiritual energy, unto five nations at once, both then, and after the lapse of three centuries, has afforded guidance in life, the uplifting of the heart unto the Father of Spirits, and holy peace, forever. This naturally leads to the question—what was the secret of this wonderful energy? Allow me to present the answer to this

question,—first in Religion as such, next in religion as manifested in the Life of the Church, and lastly in the fruit of Religion for Practical Life.

First, then, we must consider Religion as such. Here four mutually dependent fundamental questions arise:—1. Does Religion exist for the sake of God, or for Man? 2. Must it operate directly or mediately? 3. Can it remain partial in its operations or has it to embrace the whole of our personal being and existence? and, 4. Can it bear a normal, or must it reveal an abnormal, i.e., a soteriological character? To these four questions Calvinism answers: 1. Man's religion ought to be not egotistical, and for man, but ideal, for the sake of God. 2. It has to operate not mediately, by human interposition, but directly from the heart, 3. It may not remain partial, as running alongside of life, but must lay hold upon our whole existence. And, 4. Its character should be soteriological, i.e., it should spring, not from our fallen nature, but from the new man, restored by palingenesis to his original standard.

Allow me, then, successively to elucidate each of these four points.

Modern religious philosophy ascribes the origin of religion to a potency, from which it could not originate, but which acted merely as its supporter and preserver. It has mistaken the dead prop of the living shoot for the living shoot itself. Attention is called, and very properly, to the contrast between man, and the overwhelming power of the cosmos which surrounds him; and now religion is introduced as a mystical energy, trying to strengthen him against this immense power of the cosmos which inspires him with such deadly fear. Being conscious of the dominion which his unseen soul exercises over his own tangible body, he infers, quite naturally, that Nature, also, must be moved by the impulse of some hidden spiritual power. Animistically, therefore, he first explains the movements of nature as the result of an in-

dwelling army of spirits, and tries to catch them, to conjure them, to bend them to his advantage. Then, rising from this atomistic idea to a more comprehensive conception, he begins to believe in the existence of personal gods, expecting from these divine beings, who stand above nature, effectual assistance against the fiendish power of Nature. And finally, grasping the contrast between the spiritual and the material, he pays homage to the Supreme Spirit, as standing over against all that is visible, till, in the end, having abandoned his faith in such an extramundane Spirit, as a personal being. and charmed by the loftiness of his own human spirit, he prostrates himself before some impersonal ideal, of which in self adoration he deems himself to be the worshipful incarnation. But whatever may be the various stages in the progress of this egoistic religion, it never overcomes its subjective character, remaining always a religion for the sake of man. Men are religious in order to conjure the spirits hovering behind the veil of Nature, to free themselves from the oppressive sway of the cosmos. It matters not whether the Lama priest confines the evil spirits in his jugs, whether the nature-gods of the Orient are invoked to afford shelter against the forces of nature, whether the loftier gods of Greece are worshipped in their ascendancy above nature, or whether, finally. idealistic philosophy presents the spirit of man himself as the real object of adoration;—in all these different forms it is and remains a religion fostered for man's sake, aiming at his safety, his liberty, his elevation, and partly also at his triumph over death. And even when a religion of this kind has developed itself into monotheism. the god whom it worships remains invariably a god who exists in order to help man, in order to secure good order and tranquility for the State, to furnish assistance and deliverance in time of need, or to strengthen the nobler and higher impulse of the human heart in its ceaseless struggle with the degrading influences of sin. The consequence of this is that all such religion thrives in time of famine and pestilence, it flourishes among the poor and oppressed, and it expands among the humble and the feeble; but it pines away in the days of prosperity, it fails to attract the well-to-do, it is abandoned by those who are more highly cultured. As soon as the more civilized classes enjoy tranquility and comfort,

and by the progress of science feel more and more delivered from the pressure of the cosmos, they throw away the crutches of religion, and with a sneer at everything holy go stumbling forward on their own poor legs. This is the fatal end of egoistic religion;— it becomes superfluous and disappears as soon as the egoistic interests are satisfied. This was the course of religion among all non-Christian nations, in

earlier times, and the same phenomenon is repeating itself in our own century, among nominal Christians of the higher, more prosperous and more cultured classes of society.

Now the position of Calvinism is diametrically opposed to all this. It does not deny that religion has also its human and subjective side; it does not dispute the fact that religion is promoted, encouraged and strengthened by our disposition to seek help in time of need and spiritual elevation in the face of sensual passions; but it maintains that it reverses the proper order of things to seek, in these accidental motives, the essence and the very purpose of religion. The Calvinist values all of these as fruits which are produced by religion, or as props which gave it support, but he refuses to honor them as the reason for its existence. Of course, religion, as such, produces also a blessing for man, but it does not exist for the sake of man. It is not God who exists for the sake of His creation;—the creation exists for the sake of God. For, as the Scripture says, He has created all things for Himself.

For this reason God even impressed a religious expression on the whole of unconscious nature, —on plants, on animals and also on children. “The whole earth is full of His glory.” “How excellent is Thy Name, God, in all the earth.” “The Heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.” “Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast ordained praise.” Frost and hail, snow and vapor, the abyss and the hurricane—everything does praise God. But just as the entire creation reaches its culminating point in man, so also religion finds its clear expression only in man who is made in the image of God, and this not because man seeks it, but because God Himself implanted

in man's nature the real essential religious expression, by means

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of the “seed of religion” (semen religionis), as Calvin defines it, sown in our human heart. 1

God Himself makes man religious by means of the *sensus divinitatis*, i.e., the sense of the Divine, which He causes to strike the chords on the harp of his soul. A sound of need interrupts the pure harmony of this divine melody, but only in consequence of sin. In its original form, in its natural condition, religion is exclusively a sentiment of admiration and adoration which elevates and unites, not a feeling of dependence which severs and depresses. Just as the anthem of the Seraphim around the throne is one

uninterrupted cry of "Holy,—Holy,—Holy!" so also the religion of man upon this earth should consist in one echoing of God's glory, as our Creator and Inspirer. The starting-point of every motive in religion is God and not Man. Man is the instrument and means, God alone is here the goal, the point of departure and the point of arrival, the fountain, from which the waters flow, and at the same time, the ocean into which they finally return. To be irreligious is to forsake the highest aim of our existence, and on the other hand to covet no other existence than for the sake of God, to long for nothing but for the will of God, and to be wholly absorbed in the glory of the name of the Lord, such is the pith and kernel of all true religion.

"Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy Will be done," is the threefold petition, which gives utterance to all true religion. Our watchword must be,—“Seek first the kingdom of God,” and after that, think of your own need. First stands the confession of the absolute sovereignty of the Triune God; for of Him, through Him, and unto Him are all things. And therefore our prayer remains the deepest expression of all religious life. This is the fundamental conception of religion as maintained by Calvinism, and hitherto, no one has ever found a higher conception. For no higher conception can be found. The fundamental thought of Calvinism, at the same time

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the fundamental thought of the Bible, and of Christianity itself, leads, in the domain of religion, to the realization of the highest ideal. Nor has the philosophy of religion in our own century, in its most daring flights, ever attained a higher point of view nor a more ideal conception.

The second principal question in all religion is whether it must be direct, or mediate. Must there stand a church, a priest, or, as of old, a sorcerer, a dispenser of sacred mysteries, between God and the soul, or shall all intervening links be cast away, so that the bond of religion shall bind the soul directly to God? Now we find that in all non-Christian religions, without any exception, human intercessors are deemed necessary, and in the domain of Christianity itself the intercessor intruded again upon the scene, in the Blessed Virgin, in the host of angels, in the saints and martyrs, and in the priestly hierarchy of the clergy; and although Luther took the field against all priestly mediation, yet the church which is called by his name, renewed by its title of "ecclesia docens" the office of mediator and steward of mysteries. On this point also it was Calvin, and he alone, who attained to the full realization of the ideal of pure spiritual religion. Religion, as he conceived it, must "nullis mediis interpositis," i.e., without any creaturely intercession, realize the direct communion between God and the human heart. Not because of any hatred against priests, as such, not because of any undervaluing of the martyrs, nor underestimating the

significance of angels, but solely because Calvin felt bound to vindicate the essence of religion and the glory of God in that essence, and absolutely devoid of all yielding or wavering, he waged war, with holy indignation, against everything that interposed itself between the soul and God. Of course he clearly perceived that in order to be fitted for the true religion fallen man needs a Mediator, but such a mediator could not be found in any fellow-man. Only the God-man, only God Himself could be such a mediator. And this mediatorship could be confirmed not by us, but only from the side of God, by the indwelling of God the Holy Spirit in the heart of the regenerated.

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In all religion God Himself must be the active power. He must make us religious, He must give us the religious disposition, nothing being left to us but the power to give form and expression to the deep religious sentiment which He, Himself, stirred in the depth of our heart. There we see the mistake of those who regarded Calvin as only an Augustinus redivivus. Notwithstanding his sublime confession of God's holy grace, Augustine remained the Bishop. He kept his intermediate position between the Triune God and the layman. And although prominent among the most pious men of his time, he had so little insight into the real claims of thorough-going religion on behalf of laymen that in his dogmatics he lauds the church as the mystical Purveyor, into whose bosom God caused all grace to flow and from whose treasure all men had to accept it. Only he, therefore, who superficially confines his attention to predestination can confuse Augustinianism and Calvinism. Religion for the sake of man carries with it the position that man has to act as a mediator for his fellow-man. Religion for the sake of God inexorably excludes every human mediatorship. As long as it remains the chief purpose of religion to help man, and as long as man is understood to deserve grace by his devotion, it is perfectly natural that the man of inferior piety should invoke the mediation of the holier man. Another must procure for him what he cannot procure for himself. The fruit on the branches hangs too high, and, therefore, the higher-reaching man has to pluck it, and hand it down to his helpless comrade. If, on the contrary, the demand of religion is that every human heart must give glory to God, no man can appear before God on behalf of another. Then every single human being must appear personally, for himself, and religion achieves its aim only in the general priesthood of believers. Even the new-born babe must have received the seed of religion from God Himself; and in case it dies without being baptized, it must not be sent off to a limbus innocentium, but, if elected, enter, even as the long-lived, into personal communion with God, for all eternity.

The importance of this second point, in the question of religion, culminating, as it does, in the confession of personal election

is incalculable. On the one hand, all religion must tend to make man free, that by a clear utterance he may express that general religious impression stamped, by God Himself, upon unconscious nature. On the other hand, every appearance of an interposing priest or enchanter in the domain of religion fetters the human spirit in a chain which presses the more woefully the more the piety increases in fervor. In the Church of Rome, even at the present day, the bons catholiques are most closely confined in the fetters of the clerus. Only the Roman Catholic whose piety has decreased is able to secure for himself a partial liberty by loosening more than halfway the tie which connects him with his church. In the Lutheran churches the clerical fetters are less confining, yet far from being loosened, entirely. And only in churches which take their stand in Calvinism, do we find that spiritual independence which enables the believer to oppose, if need be, and for God's sake, even the most powerful office-bearer in his church. Only he who personally stands before God on his own account, and enjoys an uninterrupted communion with God, can properly display the glorious wings of liberty. And both in Holland and in France, in England as well as in America, the historic result affords most undeniable evidence of the fact that despotism has found no more invincible antagonists, and liberty of conscience no braver, no more resolute champions than the followers of Calvin. In the last analysis, the cause of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the effect of every clerical interposition invariably was, and must be, to make religion external and to smother it with sacerdotal forms. Only where all priestly intervention disappears, where God's sovereign election from all eternity binds the inward soul directly to God Himself, and where the ray of divine light enters straightway into the depth of our heart-only there does religion, in its most absolute sense, gain its ideal realization.

This leads me, naturally, to the third religious question: Is religion partial, or is it all-subduing, and comprehensive,—universal in the strict sense of the word? Now, if the aim of religion be found in man himself and if its realization be made dependent on

clerical mediators, religion cannot be but partial. In that case it follows logically that every man confines his religion to those occurrences of his life by which his religious needs are stirred, and to those cases in which he finds human intervention at his disposal. The partial character of this sort of religion shows itself in three particulars: in the religious organ through which, in the sphere in which, and in the group of persons among which, religion has to thrive and flourish.

Recent controversy affords a pertinent illustration of the first limitation. The wise men of our generation maintain that religion has to retire from the precinct of the human intellect. It must seek to express itself either by means of the mystical feelings, or else by means of the practical will. Mystical and ethical inclinations are hailed with enthusiasm, in the domain of religion, but in that same domain the intellect, as leading to metaphysical hallucinations, must be muzzled. Metaphysics and Dogmatics are increasingly tabooed, and Agnosticism is ever more loudly acclaimed as the solution of the Great enigma. On the rivers of sentiment and of feeling, navigation is made duty-free, and ethical activity is becoming the only touch-stone for testing the religious gold but Metaphysics is avoided as drowning us in a swamp. Whatsoever announces itself with the pretension of an axiomatic dogma, is rejected as irreligious contraband. And although that same Christ whom these very scholars honor as a religious genius has taught us most emphatically: "Thou shalt love God, not only with all thy heart and with all thy strength, but also with all thy mind," yet they, on the contrary, venture to dismiss our mind, or intellect, as unfit for use, in this holy domain, and as not fulfilling the requirements of a religious organ.

Thus the religious organ being found, not in the whole of our being, but in part of it, being confined to our feelings and our will, consequently also the sphere of religious life must assume in consequence the same partial character. Religion is excluded from science, and its authority from the domain of public life; henceforth the inner chamber, the cell for prayer, and the secrecy of the heart should be its exclusive dwelling place. By his *du Sollst*, Kant

limited the sphere of religion to the ethical life. The mystics of our own times banish religion to the

retreats of sentiment. And the result is that, in many different ways, religion, once the central force of human life, is now placed alongside of it; and, far from the thriving of the world, is understood to hide itself in a distant and almost private retreat.

This brings us naturally to the third characteristic note of this partial view of religion,—religion as pertaining not to all, but only to the group of pious people among our generation. Thus the limitation of the organ of religion brings about the limitation of its sphere, and the limitation of its sphere consequently brings about the limitation of its group or circle among men. Just as art is understood to have an organ of its own, a sphere of its own, and therefore, also, its own circle of devotees, so also, according to this view, must it be with religion. It so happens that the great bulk of the people are almost devoid of mystical feeling, and energetic strength of will. For this reason they have either no perception of the glow of mysticism, or are incapable of really pious deeds. But there are also those whose inner life is overflowing with a sense of the Infinite, or who are full of holy energy, and among such it is that piety and religion flourish most brilliantly both in their imaginative power, and in their realizing capability.

From a quite different standpoint, Rome gradually and increasingly came to favor the same partial views. She knew religion only as it existed in her own Church, and considered the influence of religion to be confined to that portion of life which she had consecrated. I fully acknowledge that she tried to draw all human life as far as possible into the holy sphere, but everything outside this sphere, everything not touched by baptism, nor aspersed by her holy water, was devoid of all genuine religious efficiency. And just as Rome drew a boundary line between the consecrated and the profane sides of life, she also subdivided her own sacred precincts according to different degrees of religious intensity,—the clergy and the cloister constituting the Holy of Holies, the pious laity forming the Holy Place, thus leaving the Outer Court to those who, although baptized, continued to prefer to church-devotion the often sinful pleasures of the world,—a system of limitation and

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division, which for those in the Outer Court, ended in setting nine tenths of practical life outside of all religion. So religion was made partial, by carrying it from ordinary days to days of festival, from days of prosperity to times of danger and sickness, and from the fulness of life to the time of approaching death. A dualistic system which has found its most emphatic expression in the praxis of the Carnival, giving Religion a full sway over the soul during the weeks of Lent, but leaving to the flesh a fair chance, before descending into this vale of gloom, to empty to the dregs the full cup of pleasure, if not of mirth and folly.

Now this whole view of the matter is squarely antagonized by Calvinism, which vindicates for religion its full universal character, and its complete universal application. If everything that is, exists for the sake of God, then it follows that the whole creation must give glory to God. The sun, moon, and stars in the firmament, the birds of the air, the whole of Nature around us, but, above all, man himself, who, priestlike, must concentrate to God the whole of creation, and all life thriving in it. And although sin has deadened a large part of creation to the glory of God, the demand,—the ideal, remains unchangeable, that every creature must be immersed in the stream of religion, and end by lying as a religious offering on the altar of the Almighty. A religion confined to feeling or will is therefore unthinkable to the Calvinist. The sacred anointing of the priest of creation must reach down to his beard and to the hem of his garment. His whole being, including all his abilities and powers, must be pervaded by the *sensus divinitat**, and how then could he exclude his rational consciousness,—the logos which is in him,—the light of thought which comes from God Himself to irradiate him? To possess his God for the underground world of his feelings, and in the outworks of the exertion of his will, but not in his inner self, in the very center of his consciousness, and his thought; to have fixed starting-points for the study of nature and axiomatic strongholds for practical life, but to have no fixed support in his thoughts about the Creator Himself,—all of this was, for the Calvinist, the very denying of the Eternal Logos.

The same character of universality was claimed by the Calvinist for the sphere of religion and its circle of influence among men.

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Everything that has been created was, in its creation, furnished by God with an unchangeable law of its existence. And because God has fully ordained such laws and ordinances for all life, therefore the Calvinist demands that all life be consecrated to His service, in strict obedience. A religion confined to the closet, the cell, or the church, therefore, Calvin abhors. With the Psalmist, he calls upon heaven and earth, he calls upon all peoples and nations to give glory to God. God is present in all life, with the influence of His omnipresent and almighty power, and no sphere of human life is conceivable in which religion does not maintain its demands that God shall be praised, that God's ordinances shall be observed, and that every labor shall be permeated with its ora in fervent and ceaseless prayer. Wherever man may stand, whatever he may do, to whatever he may apply his hand, in agriculture, in commerce, and in industry, or his mind, in the world of art, and science, he is, in whatsoever it may be, constantly standing before the face of his God, he is employed in the service of his God, he has strictly to

obey his God, and above all, he has to aim at the glory of his God. Consequently, it is impossible for a Calvinist to confine religion to a single group, or to some circles among men. Religion concerns the whole of our human race. This race is the product of God's creation. It is His wonderful workmanship, His absolute possession. Therefore the whole of mankind must be imbued with the fear of God,—old as well as young,—low as well as high,—not only those who have become initiated into His mysteries, but also those who still stand afar off. For not only did God create all men, not only is He all for all men, but His grace also extends itself, not only as a special grace, to the elect, but also as a common grace (*gratia communis*) to all mankind. To be sure, there is a concentration of religious light and life in the Church, but then in the walls of this church there are wide open windows, and through these spacious windows the light of the Eternal has to radiate over the whole world. Here is a city, set upon a hill, which every man can see afar off. Here is a holy salt that penetrates in every direction, checking all corruption. And even he who does not yet imbibe the higher light, or maybe shuts his eyes to it, is nevertheless admonished, with equal emphasis, and in all things, to give glory to the name of the Lord. All partial religion drives

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the wedges of dualism into life, but the true Calvinist never forsakes the standard of religious monism. One supreme calling must impress the stamp of one-ness upon all human life, because one God upholds and preserves it, just as He created it all.

This brings us, without any further transition, to our fourth main question, viz, Must religion be normal or abnormal, i.e., soteriological ? The distinction which I have in mind here is concerned with the question, whether in the matter of religion we must reckon *de facto* with man in his present condition as normal, or as having fallen into sin, and having therefore become abnormal. In the latter case religion must necessarily assume a soteriological character. Now the prevailing idea, at present, favors the view that religion has to start from man as being normal. Not of course as though our race as a whole should conform already to the highest religious norm. This nobody affirms. Everyone knows better than to make such an absurd statement. As a matter of fact, we meet with much irreligiousness, and imperfect religious development continues to be the rule. But precisely in this slow and gradual progress from the lowest forms to the highest ideals, the development demanded by this normal view of religion contends that it has found confirmation. According to this view, the first traces of religion are found in animals. They are seen in the dog who adores his master, and as the *homo sapiens* develops out of the chimpanzee, so religion only enters upon a higher stage. Since that time religion has passed through all the notes of the

gamut. At present it is engaged in loosening itself from the bands of Church and dogma, to pass on to what is again considered a higher stage, the unconscious feeling for the Unknown infinite. Now, this whole theory is opposed by that other and entirely different theory, which, without denying the preformation of so much that is human, in the animal, or the fact that (if you will allow me to say so) animals were created after the image of man, just as man was created after the image of God, nevertheless maintains that the first man was created in perfect relations to his God, i.e., as imbued by a pure and genuine religion, and consequently explains the many low,

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imperfect and absurd forms of religion found in Paganism, not as the result of his creation but as the outcome of his Fall. These low and imperfect forms of religion are not to be understood as a process that leads from a lower to a higher, but as a lamentable degeneration,—a degeneration, which, in the nature of the case, makes the restoration of the true religion possible only in the soteriological way. Now in the choice between these two theories Calvinism allows no hesitation. himself, with this question, too, before the face of God, the Calvinist was so impressed with the holiness of God that the consciousness of guilt immediately lacerated his soul, and the terrible nature of sin pressed on his heart as with an intolerable weight Every attempt to explain sin as an incomplete stage on the way to perfection. aroused his wrath. as an insult to the majesty of God. He confessed. from the beginning, the same truth which Buckle has demonstrated empirically in his “History of Civilization in England,” viz., that the forms in which sin makes its appearance may show us a gradual refinement. but that the moral condition of the human heart. as such. has remained the same throughout all the centuries. To the de profundis with which. thirty centuries ago, the soul of David cried unto God, the troubled soul of every child of God in the sixteenth century still sounded a response with undiminished power. The conception of the corruption of sin as the source of all human misery was nowhere more profound than in Calvin's environment. Even in the assertions which the Calvinist made. in accordance with Holy Scripture. concerning hell and damnation. there is no coarseness. no rudeness hut only that clearness which is the result of the utmost seriousness of life, and the undaunted courage of a deep-rooted conviction of the holiness of the most High. Did not He, from whose lips flowed the most tender, and the most winning words.—did not He. Himself, also speak most decidedly and repeatedly of an “outer darkness,” of a “fire that cannot he quenched,” and of a “worm that dieth not”? And in this, also, Calvin was right, for to refuse to assent to these words is nothing but a lack of thoroughgoing consistency. It shows a want of sincerity in our confession of the holiness of God, and of the destructive power of sin. And on the contrary, in this spiritual experience of sin, in this empirical

consideration of the misery of life, in this lofty impression of the holiness of God, and in this staunchness of his convictions, which led him to follow his conclusions to the bitter end, the Calvinist found the roots of the necessity first of Regeneration, for real existence; and secondly, the necessity of Revelation, for clear consciousness.

Now my subject does not induce me to speak in detail of regeneration, as that immediate act by which God, as it were, sets right again the crooked wheel of life. But it is necessary that I say a few words concerning Revelation, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Very improperly, the Scriptures have been represented, by Schweizer and others, as only the formal principle of the Reformed confession. The conception of genuine Calvinism lies much deeper. The meaning of Calvin was expressed in what he called the *necessitas S. Scripturae* i.e, the need of Scriptural revelation This *necessitas S. S.* was for Calvin the unavoidable expression for the all-dominating authority of the Holy Scriptures, and even now it is this very dogma which enables us to understand why it is that the Calvinist of today considers the critical analysis and the application of the critical solvent to the Scriptures as tantamount to an abandoning of Christianity itself. In Paradise, before the Fall, there was no Bible, and there will be no Bible in the future Paradise of glory. When the transparent light, kindled by Nature, addresses us directly, and the inner word of God sounds in our heart in its original clearness, and all human words are sincere, and the function of our inner ear is perfectly performed, why should we need a Bible? What mother loses herself in a treatise upon the "love of our children" the very moment that her own dear ones are playing about her knee, and God allows her to drink in their love with full draughts? But, in our present condition, this immediate communion with God by means of nature, and of our own heart is lost. Sin brought separation instead, and the opposition which is manifest nowadays against the authority of the Holy Scriptures is based on nothing else than the false supposition that, our condition being still normal, our religion need not be soteriological. For of course, in that case, the Bible is not wanted, it becomes, indeed, a hindrance, and grates

upon your feelings, since it interposes a book between God and your heart. Oral communication excludes writing. When the sun shines in your house, bright and clear, you turn off the electric light, but when the sun disappears below the horizon, you feel the *necessitas luminis artificiosi*, i.e., the need of artificial light, and the artificial light is kindled in every dwelling. Now this is the case in matters of religion. When there are no mists to hide the majesty of the divine light from our eyes, what need is there then for a lamp unto the feet, or a light upon the path? But when history, experience and consciousness all unite in stating the fact that the pure and full light of Heaven has disappeared, and that we are groping about in the dark, then, a different, or if you will, an artificial light must be kindled for us,—and such a light God has kindled for us in His Holy Word.

For the Calvinist, therefore, the necessity of the Holy Scriptures does not rest in ratiocination, but on the immediate testimony of the Holy Spirit, on the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*. Our theory of inspiration is the product of historical deduction, and so is also every canonical declaration of the Scriptures. But the magnetic power with which the Scripture influences the soul, and draws it to herself, just as the magnet draws the steel, is not derived, but immediate. All of this takes place in a manner which is not magical, nor unfathomably mystical, but clear, and easy to be understood. God regenerates us,—that is to say, He rekindles in our heart the lamp sin had blown out. The necessary consequence of this regeneration is an irreconcilable conflict between the inner world of our heart and the world outside, and this conflict is ever the more intensified the more the regenerative principle pervades our consciousness. Now, in the Bible, God reveals, to the regenerate, a world of thought, a world of energies, a world of full and beautiful life, which stands in direct opposition to his ordinary world, but which proves to agree in a wonderful way with the new life that has sprung up in his heart. So the regenerate begins to guess the identity of what is stirring in the depth of his own soul, and of what is revealed to him in Scripture, thereby learning both the inanity of the world around him, and the divine reality of the

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world of the Scriptures, and as soon as this has become a certainty to him, he has personally received the testimony of the Holy Spirit. Everything that is in him thirsted for the Father of all Lights and Spirits. Outside the Scripture, he discovered only vague shadows. But now as he looked upward, through the prism of the Scriptures, he rediscovers his Father and his God. For this reason he puts no shackles on science. If a man wants to criticize, let him criticize. Such criticism even holds the promise that it will deepen our own insight into the structure of the scriptural edifice. Only no Calvinist ever allows the critic

to dash out of his hand, for a moment, the prism itself which breaks up the divine ray of light into its brilliant tints and colors. No appeal to the grace bestowed inwardly, no pointing to the fruits of the Holy Ghost, can enable him to dispense with the necessitas which the soteriological standpoint of religion among sinners carries with it. As mere entities we share our life with plants and animals. Unconscious life we share with the children, and with the sleeping man, and even with the man who has lost his reason. That which distinguishes us, as higher beings, and as wide awake men, is our full self-consciousness, and therefore, if religion, as the highest vital function, is to operate also in that highest sphere of self-consciousness, it must follow that soteriological religion, next to the necessitas of inward palingenesis, demands also the necessitas of an assistant light, of revelation to be kindled in our twilight. And this assistant light coming from God Himself, but handed to us by human agency, beams upon us in His holy Word.

Summing up the results of our investigations thus far, I may express my conclusion as follows. In each one of the four great problems of religion, Calvinism has expressed its conviction in an appropriate dogma and each time has made that choice which even now, after three centuries, satisfies the most ideal wants, and leaves the way open for an ever richer development. First, it regards religion, not in an utilitarian, or eudaemonistic sense, as existing for the sake of man, but for God, and for God alone. This is its dogma of God's Sovereignty. Secondly, in religion there must be no intermediation of any creature between God and the soul,—

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all religion is the immediate work of God Himself, in the inner heart. This is the doctrine of Election. Thirdly, religion is not partial but universal,—this is the dogma of common or universal grace. And, finally, in our sinful condition, religion cannot be normal, but has to be soteriological,—this is its position in the twofold dogma of the necessity of Regeneration, and of the necessitas S. Scripturae.

Having considered Religion as such, and coming now to the Church, as its organized form, or its phenomenal appearance, I shall present, in three successive stages, the Calvinistic concept of the essence, the manifestation and the purpose of the Church of Christ upon earth.

In its essence, for the Calvinist, the Church is a spiritual organism, including heaven and earth, but having at present its center, and the starting-point for its action, not upon earth, but in heaven. This is to be understood thus: God created the Cosmos geocentrically, i.e., He placed the spiritual center of this Cosmos on our planet, and caused all the divisions of the kingdoms of nature, on this earth, to culminate in man, upon whom, as the bearer of His image He called to consecrate the Cosmos to His glory. In God's creation, therefore, man stands as the prophet, priest and king, and although sin has disturbed these high designs, yet God pushes them onward. He so loves His world that He has given Himself to it, in the person of His Son, and thus He has again brought our race, and through our race, His whole Cosmos, into a renewed contact with eternal life. To be sure, many branches and leaves fell off the tree of the human race, yet the tree itself shall be saved; on its new root in Christ, it shall once more blossom gloriously. For regeneration does not save a few isolated individuals, finally to be joined together mechanically as an aggregate heap. Regeneration saves the organism, itself, of our race. And therefore all regenerate human life forms one organic body, of which Christ is the Head, and whose members are bound together by their mystical union with Him. But not before the second Advent shall this

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new all-embracing organism manifest itself as the center of the cosmos. At present it is hidden. Here, on earth, it is only as it were its silhouette that can be dimly discerned. In the Future, this new Jerusalem shall descend from God, out of heaven, but at present. it withdraws its beams from our sight in the mysteries of the invisible. And therefore the true sanctuary is now above. On high are both the Altar of Atonement, and the incense-Altar of Prayer; and on high is Christ, as the only priest who, according to Melchizedek's ordinance, ministers at the Altar, in the sanctuary, before God.

Now, in the middle ages, the Church had more and more lost sight of this celestial character,—she had become worldly in her nature. The Sanctuary was again brought back to earth, the altar was rebuilt of stone, and a priestly hierarchy had reconstituted itself for the ministrations of the altar. Next of course it was necessary to renew the tangible sacrifice on earth, and this at last brought the church to create the unbloody offering of the Mass. Now against all this, Calvinism opposed itself, not to contend against priesthood on principle, or against altars as such, or against sacrifice in itself, because the office of priest cannot perish, and everyone knowing the fact of sin realizes in his own heart the absolute need of a propitiatory sacrifice; but in order to do away with all this worldly paraphernalia, and to call believers to lift up their eyes again, on high, to the real sanctuary, where Christ, our only priest, ministers at the only real altar. The battle was waged, not against sacerdotium, but against sacerdotalism, 2 and Calvin alone fought this battle through to the end, with thorough consistency. Lutherans and Episcopalians rebuilt a

kind of altar, on earth; Calvinism alone dared to put it away, entirely. Consequently, among the Episcopalians the earthly priesthood was retained, even in the form of a hierarchy; in Lutheran lands the sovereign became summus episcopus and the divisions of ecclesiastical ranks were imitated; but Calvinism proclaimed the absolute equality of all who engaged in the service of the church, and refused to ascribe to its leaders and officebearers any other character than that of

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Ministers (i.e., servants). That which, under the shadows of the Old Testament dispensation, furnished intuitive instruction by types and symbols, now the types were fulfilled, had become to Calvin a detriment to the glory of Christ, and lowered the heavenly nature of the Church. Therefore, Calvinism could not rest until this worldly tinsel had ceased to charm and attract the eye. Only when the last grain of the sacerdotal leaven had been eliminated, could the Church on earth again become the outer court, from which believers could look up and onward to the real sanctuary of the living God in heaven,

The Westminster Confession beautifully sets forth this heavenly all-embracing nature of the Church, when it says: "The Catholic or Universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are or shall be, gathered into one, under Christ the Head, thereof and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." Only thus was the dogma of the invisible church religiously consecrated and apprehended in its cosmological, and enduring significance. For, of course, the reality and fulness of the Church of Christ cannot exist on earth. Here is found, at most, one generation of believers at a time. in the portal of the Temple, all previous generations, from the beginning and foundation of the world, had left this earth, and had gone up on high. Therefore, those who remained here, were, eo ipso, pilgrims, meaning thereby that they were marching from the portal unto the Sanctuary itself, no possibility of salvation after death remaining for those who had not been united to Christ during this present life. No room could be left for masses for the dead, nor for a call to repentance on the other side of the grave, as German Theologians are now advocating. For all such processional and gradual transitions were regarded by Calvin as destroying the absolute contrast between the essence of the Church in Heaven, and its imperfect form, here on earth. The Church on earth does not send up its light to heaven, but the Church in heaven must send its light down to the Church on earth. There is now, as it were, a curtain stretched before the eye, which hinders it from penetrating while on earth into the real essence of the Church. Therefore, all that remains possible to us on earth is first, a mystical

communion with that real Church, by means of the Spirit, and in the second place, the enjoyment of the shadows which are displaying themselves on the transparent curtain before us. Accordingly no child of God should imagine that the real Church is here on earth, and that behind the curtain there is only an ideal product of our imagination; but, on the contrary, he has to confess that Christ in human form, in our flesh, has entered into the invisible, behind the curtain; and that, with Him, around Him, and in Him, our Head is the real Church, the real and essential sanctuary of our salvation.

After having thus clearly grasped the nature of the Church, in its bearing upon the re-creation both of our human race and of the Cosmos as a whole, let us now turn our attention to its form of manifestation, here on earth. As such it displays, unto us, different local congregations of believers, groups of confessors, living in some ecclesiastical union, in obedience to the ordinances of Christ Himself. The Church on earth is not an institution for the dispensation of grace, as if it were a dispensary of spiritual medicines. There is no mystical, spiritual order gifted with mystical powers to operate with a magical influence upon laymen. There are only regenerated and confessing individuals, who, in accordance with the Scriptural command, and under the influence of the sociological element of all religion, have formed a society, and are endeavoring to live together in subordination to Christ as their king. This, alone, is the Church on earth.—not the building—not the institution, not a spiritual order. For Calvin, the Church is found in the confessing individuals themselves,—not in each individual separately, but in all of them taken together, and united, not as they themselves see fit, but according to the ordinances of Christ. In the Church on earth, the universal priesthood of believers must be realized. Do not misunderstand me. I do not say: The Church consists of pious persons united in groups for religious purposes. That, in itself, would have nothing in common with the Church. The real, heavenly, invisible Church must manifest itself in the earthly Church. If not, you will have a society, but no church.

Now the real essential Church is and remains the body of Christ, of which regenerate persons are members. Therefore the Church on earth consists only of those who have been incorporated into Christ, who bow before Him, live in His Word, and adhere to His ordinances; and for this reason the Church on earth has to preach the Word, to administer the sacraments, and to exercise discipline, and in everything to stand before the face of God.

This at the same time determines the form of government of this Church on earth. This government, like the Church itself, originates in Heaven, in Christ. He most effectually rules, governs His Church by means of the Holy Spirit, by whom He works in His members. Therefore, all being equal under Him, there can be no distinctions of rank among believers; there are only ministers, who serve, lead and regulate; a thoroughly Presbyterian form of government; the Church power descending directly from Christ Himself, into the congregation, concentrated from the congregation in the ministers, and by them being administered unto the brethren. So the sovereignty of Christ remains absolutely monarchical, but the government of the Church on earth becomes democratic to its bones and marrow; a system leading logically to this other sequence, that all believers and all congregations being of an equal standing, no Church may exercise any dominion over another, but that all local churches are of equal rank, and as manifestations of one and the same body, can only be united synodically, i.e., by way of confederation.

Now let me draw your attention to another most important consequence of this same principle, viz., to the multiformity of denominations as the necessary result of the differentiation of the churches, according to the different degrees of their purity. If the Church is considered to be an institute of grace, independent of the believers, or an institute in which a hierarchical priesthood distributes the treasury of grace entrusted to it, the result must be that this hierarchy itself extends through all nations, and imparts the same stamp to all forms of ecclesiastical life. But if the

Church consists in the congregation of believers, if the churches are formed by the union of confessors, and are united only in the way of confederation, then the differences of climate and of nation, of historical past, and of disposition of mind come in to exercise a

widely variegating influence, and multiformity in ecclesiastical matters must be the result. A result, therefore, of very far-reaching importance, because it annihilates the absolute character of every visible church, and places them all side by side, as differing in degrees of purity, but always remaining in some way or other a manifestation of one holy and catholic Church of Christ in Heaven.

I do not say that Calvinistic theologians have proclaimed this full consequence from the beginning. The desire for ruling power lurked also at the door of their heart, and even apart from this dangerous disposition it was right and natural for them theoretically to judge each church according to the standard of their own ideals. But this does not in the least detract from the great significance of the fact that by regarding their church, not as a hierarchy or institution, but as the gathering of individual confessors, they started for the life of the church, as well as for the life of the state, and civil society, from the principle not of compulsion, but of liberty. For, of course, by virtue of this starting-point, there was no other church-power superior to the local churches, save only what the churches themselves constituted, by means of their confederation. Hence it followed of necessity that the natural and historic differences between men should also, wedge-like, force their way into the phenomenal life of the church upon earth. National differences of morals, differences of disposition and of emotions, different degrees in depth of life and insight, necessarily resulted in emphasizing first one, and then another side of the same truth. Hence the numerous sects and denominations into which the external church-life has fallen by virtue of this principle. So on our side there are denominations which may have departed from the rich, deep and full Calvinistic Confession, in no small degree, even such as bitterly oppose more than one capital article of our Confession; yet they all owe their origin to a deep-rooted opposition to sacerdotalism, and to the acknowledgment of the Church as the "congregation of believers," the truth in which Calvinism expressed its fundamental conception. And although this fact unavoidably led to much unholy rivalry, and even to sinful errors of conduct; yet, after an experience of three centuries it must be confessed that this multiformity, which is inseparably connected with the fundamental thought of Calvinism, has been much more

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favorable to the growth and prosperity of religious life than the compulsory uniformity in which others sought the very basis of its strength. And fruit is to be expected more abundantly still in the future, provided only that the principle of ecclesiastical liberty does not degenerate into indifference, and that no church, which, in its name and confession still upholds the Calvinistic banner, omits to fulfil its holy mission of recommending to others the superiority of its principles.

Still another point must be brought forward in this connection. The conception of the Church as the “congregation of believers” might lead to the conception that it included the believers only, without their children. This, however, is by no means the teaching of Calvinism; its teaching on the subject of infant baptism showing quite the contrary. Believers who meet together do not thereby sever the natural bond that binds them to their offspring. On the contrary, they consecrate this bond, and by baptism incorporate their children in the communion of their church, and these minors are kept in this Church communion until, when of age, they become themselves confessors, or sever themselves from the church by their unbelief. This is the all-important Calvinistic dogma of the Covenant; a prominent article of our confession, showing that the waters of the Church do not flow outside the natural stream of human life, but cause the life of the Church to proceed hand in hand with the natural organic reproduction of mankind in its succeeding generations. Covenant and Church are inseparable,—the Covenant binding the Church to the race, and God Himself sealing in it the connection between the life of grace and the life of nature. Of course, Church discipline must come in here, in order to preserve the purity of this Covenant as soon as the interpermeation of grace by nature tends to lower the purity of the Church. From the Calvinistic point of view, therefore, it is impossible to speak of a national Church as being destined to embrace all the inhabitants of a whole country. A national Church, i.e., a Church comprising only one nation, and that nation entirely, is a Heathen, or at most, a Jewish conception. The Church of Christ is not national but ecumenical. Not one single state, but the whole world is its domain. And when the Lutheran Reformers at the instigation of their sovereigns, nationalized their churches, and

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Calvinistic churches allowed themselves to deviate into the same track, they did not ascend to a higher conception than that of Rome’s world-church, but descended to distinctly lower ground. Happily I may conclude by bearing witness that both our Synod of Dordt, and your not less venerable Westminster Assembly, have honored again the ecumenical character of our Reformed Churches, thereby censuring as unpardonable, every deviation from the only right principle.

Having thus far given an outline of the nature of the Church, and the form of its manifestation, let me now draw your attention in the last place to the purpose of its appearance on earth. I shall not say anything for the present on the separation of Church and State. This will naturally find place in the next Lecture. At

present I confine myself to the purpose that has been assigned to the Church in its pilgrimage through the world. That purpose cannot be human or egoistic, to prepare the believer for Heaven. A regenerate child, dying in the cradle, goes straight to Heaven, without any further preparation and wheresoever the Holy Ghost has kindled the spark of Eternal life in the soul, the perseverance of the saints assures the certainty of eternal salvation. Nay, upon earth also, the Church exists merely for the sake of God. Regeneration is sufficient for the elect man, to make him sure of his eternal destiny, but it is not enough to satisfy the glory of God in His work among men. For the glory of our God it is necessary to have regeneration followed by conversion, and to this conversion the Church must contribute, by means of the preaching of the Word. In the regenerate man glows the spark, but only in the converted man does the spark burst into a blaze, and that blaze radiates the light from the Church into the world, that, according to our Lord's commandment, our Father, which is in Heaven, may be glorified. And both our conversion and our sanctification in good works are only then marked by the lofty character which Jesus demands, when we make them serve, in the first place, not as the guarantee of our own salvation, but rather the glorifying of God. In the second place, the Church must fan this blaze, and make it brighten, by the communion of the saints and by the Sacraments. Only when hundreds of candles are burning from one candelabrum, can

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the full brightness of the soft candlelight strike us, and in the same way it is the communion of saints which has to unite the many small lights of the single believers so that they may mutually increase their brightness, and Christ, walking in the midst of the seven candlesticks, may sacramentally purify the glow of their brightness to a still more brilliant fervour. Thus the purpose of the Church does not lie in us, but in God, and in the glory of His name,

From this solemn purpose originates, in the same way, the severely spiritual cultus which Calvinism tried to restore in the services of the Church. Even Von Hartman, the far-from-Christian philosopher, perceived that cultus becomes more religious just in proportion as it has the courage to despise all external show, and the energy to evolve itself from symbolism, in order to clothe itself in beauty of a much higher order,—the inward, spiritual beauty of the worshipping soul. Sensual church services tend to soothe and flatter man religiously, and only the purely spiritual service of Calvinism aims at the pure worship of God, and at adoration of Him in spirit and truth.—The same tendency leads our church discipline, that indispensable element of every genuine Calvinistic church activity, Church discipline was also instituted in the first place, not to prevent scandals, not even primarily to prune the wild branches, but rather to preserve the sanctity of the Covenant of God, and ever to impress upon the outside world the solemn fact

that God is too pure to look upon evil.—Finally we have the service of Church philanthropy, in the Diaconate which Calvin alone understood, and restored to its primordial honor. Neither Rome nor the Greek Church, neither the Lutheran nor the Episcopal Church, caught the real meaning of the Diaconate. Calvinism alone has restored the Diaconate to its place of honor, as an indispensable and constitutive element of ecclesiastical life. But, in this Diaconate, also, the lofty principle must prevail that it may not glorify those who give alms, but only the name of Him who moves the hearts of the people to liberality. The Deacons are not our servants, but servants of Christ. That which we commit to them we simply give back to Christ, as stewards of what is His property; and in His name it must be distributed to His poor,—our brothers and sisters. The poor church member, who thanks the

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Deacon and the giver, but not Christ, actually denies Him Who is the real and divine Giver, and Who through His Deacons, purposes to make it manifest that for the whole man, and for the whole of life He is the Christus Consolator, the Heavenly Redeemer, anointed and appointed by God Himself, for our fallen race, from all eternity. And so, as you see, the result proves incontestably that in Calvinism, the fundamental conception of the Church fits perfectly to the fundamental idea of Religion. All egoism and eudaemonism are excluded from both, even unto the end. Always and ever we have a Religion, and a Church, for the sake of God, and not for the sake of man. The origin of the Church is in God, its form of manifestation is from God, and from beginning to end, its purpose is and remains to magnify God's glory.

Now finally, I come to the fruit of religion in our practical life, or the position taken by Calvinism in the question of morals,—the third and last division, with which this lecture on Calvinism and Religion will naturally conclude.

Here, the first thing that attracts our attention is the apparent contradiction between a confession, which, it is alleged, blunts the edge of moral incentives, and a practice, which, in moral earnestness exceeds the practice of all other religions. The Antinomian and the Puritan seemed to be mingled in this field like tares and wheat, so that at first sight it seemed as though the Antinomian were the logical result of the Calvinistic confession, and as though it were only by a fortunate inconsistency that the Puritan could infuse the warmth of his moral earnestness into the all-congealing chill emanating from the dogma of predestination. Romanists, Lutherans, Arminians and Libertines have ever charged against Calvinism that its absolute doctrine of predestination, culminating in the perseverance of saints, must necessarily result in a too easy conscience and a dangerous laxity of morals. But Calvinism answers this charge, not

by opposing reasoning against reasoning, but by putting a fact of world-wide reputation over against this false deduction of fictitious consequences. It simply asks: "What rival moral fruits have other religions to oppose if we point to the high moral earnestness of the Puritans?" "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound" is the old diabolical whisper which the evil spirit hurled against the Holy Apostle himself in the childhood

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of the Christian Church. And when, in the sixteenth century the Heidelberg Catechism had to defend Calvinism against the shameful charge: "Does not this doctrine lead to careless and ungodly lives?" Ursinus and Olevianus had to deal with nothing less than the echoing and monotonous repetition of the same old slander. Certainly the ungodly lust to persist in, and even to foster, indwelling sin, yea, even Antinomianism itself, again and again abused the Calvinistic confession, seizing it like a shield, to hide the carnal appetites of the unconverted heart. But as little as the mechanical repetition of a written confession had ever anything in common with genuine religion, just so little may the Calvinistic Confession be made responsible for those reverberating stone pillars, echoing Calvin's formulae, but without a grain of Calvinistic earnestness in their heart. He only is the real Calvinist, and may raise the Calvinistic banner, who in his own soul, personally, has been struck by the Majesty of the Almighty, and yielding to the overpowering might of his eternal Love, has dared to proclaim this majestic love, over against Satan and the world, and the worldliness of his own heart, in the personal conviction of being chosen by God Himself, and therefore of having to thank Him and Him alone, for every grace everlasting. Such an one could not but tremble before the might and the majesty of God, as a matter of course accepting His Word as the ruling principle of His conduct in life a principle which has led so far that for its strong attachment to the Scriptures, Calvinism has been censured as being a nomistic religion, but without any warrant. Nomistic is the appropriate name for a religion which proclaims salvation to be attained by the fulfilment of the law, while Calvinism, on the other hand, in a thoroughly soteriological sense, never derived salvation but from Christ and the atoning fruit of His merits.

But it remained the special trait of Calvinism that it placed the believer before the face of God, not only in His church, but also in his personal, family, social, and political life. The majesty of God, and the authority of God press upon the Calvinist in the whole of his human existence. He is a pilgrim, not in the sense that he is marching through a world with which he has no concern, but in the sense that at every step of the long way he must remember his responsibility to that God so full of majesty, who awaits him at

his journey's end. In front of the Portal which opens for him, on the entrance into Eternity, stands the last Judgment; and that judgment shall be one broad and comprehensive test, to ascertain whether the long pilgrimage has been accomplished with a heart that aimed at God's glory, and in accordance with the ordinances of the Most High.

What now does the Calvinist mean by his faith in the ordinances of God? Nothing less than the firmly rooted conviction that all life has first been in the thoughts of God, before it came to be realized in Creation. Hence all created life necessarily bears in itself a law for its existence, instituted by God Himself. There is no life outside us in Nature, without such divine ordinances,—ordinances which are called the laws of Nature—a term which we are willing to accept, provided we understand thereby, not laws originating from Nature, but laws imposed upon Nature. So, there are ordinances of God for the firmament above, and ordinances for the earth below, by means of which this world is maintained, and, as the Psalmist says, These ordinances are the servants of God. Consequently, there are ordinances of God for our bodies, for the blood that courses through our arteries and veins, and for our lungs as the organs of respiration. And even so are there ordinances of God, in logic, to regulate our thoughts; ordinances of God for our imagination, in the domain of aesthetics; and so, also, strict ordinances of God for the whole of human life in the domain of morals. Not moral ordinances in the sense of summary general laws, which leave the decision in concrete and detailed instances to ourselves, but just as the ordinance of God determines the course of the smallest asteroid, as well as the orbit of the mightiest star, so also these moral ordinances of God descend to the smallest and most particular details, stating to us what in every case is to be considered as the will of God. And those ordinances of God, ruling both the mightiest problems and the smallest trifles, are urged upon us, not like the statutes of a law-book, not like rules which may be read from paper, not like a codification of life, which could even for a single moment, exercise any authority of itself—but they are urged upon us as the constant will of the Omnipresent and Almighty God, who at every instant is determining the course of life, ordaining its laws and continually binding us by His divine

authority. The Calvinist does not, like Kant, ascend in his reasoning from the "Du sollst" (Thou shalt) to the idea of a lawgiver, but, because he stands before the face of God, because he sees God, and walks with God, and feels God in the whole of his being and existence, therefore he cannot withdraw his ear from that never silenced "Thou shalt," which proceeds continually from his God, in nature, in his body, in his reason, and in his action.

Thence it follows that the true Calvinist adjusts himself to these ordinances not by force, as though they were a yoke of which he would like to rid himself, but with the same readiness with which we follow a guide through the desert, recognizing that we are ignorant of the path, which the guide knows, and therefore acknowledging that there is no safety but in closely following in his footsteps. When our respiration is disturbed, we try irresistibly and immediately to remove the disturbance, and to make it normal again, i.e., to restore it, by bringing it again into accordance with the ordinances which God has given for man's respiration. To succeed in this gives us a feeling of unspeakable relief. Just so, in every disturbance of the normal life the believer has to strive as speedily as possible to restore his spiritual respiration, according to the moral commands of his God, because only after this restoration can the inward life again thrive freely in his soul, and renewed energetic action become possible. Therefore every distinction between general moral ordinances, and more special Christian commandments is unknown to him. Can we imagine that at one time God willed to rule things in a certain moral order, but that now, in Christ, He wills to rule it otherwise? As though He were not the Eternal, the Unchangeable, Who, from the very hour of creation, even unto all eternity, had willed, wills, and shall will and maintain, one and the same firm moral world-order! Verily Christ has swept away the dust with which man's sinful limitations had covered up this world-order, and has made it glitter again in its original brilliancy. Verily Christ, and He alone, has disclosed to us the eternal love of Christ which was, from the beginning, the moving principle of this world-order. Above all, Christ has strengthened in us the ability to walk in this world-order with a firm, unflinching step. But the world-order itself remains just what it was from the beginning. It lays full claim, not only to the

believer (as though less were required from the unbeliever), but to every human being and to all human relationships. Hence Calvinism does not lead us to philosophize on a so-called moral life, as though we

had to create, to discover, or to regulate this life. Calvinism simply places us under the impress of the majesty of God, and subjects us to His eternal ordinances and unchangeable commandments. Hence it is that, for the Calvinist, all ethical study is based on the Law of Sinai, not as though at that time the moral world-order began to be fixed, but to honor the Law of Sinai, as the divinely authentic summary of that original moral law which God wrote in the heart of man, at his creation, and which God is re-writing on the tables of every heart at its conversion. The Calvinist is led to submit himself to the conscience, not as to an individual lawgiver, which every person carries about in himself, but as to a direct *sensus divinitatis*, through which God Himself stirs up the inner man, and subjects him to His judgment. He does not hold to religion, with its dogmatics as a separate entity, and then place his moral life with its ethics as a second entity alongside of religion, but he holds to religion as placing him in the presence of God Himself, Who thereby imbues him with His divine will. Love and adoration are, to Calvin, themselves the motives of every spiritual activity, and thus the fear of God is imparted to the whole of life as a reality—into the family, and into society, into science and art, into personal life, and into the political career. A redeemed man who in all things and in all the choices of life is controlled solely by the most searching and heart-stirring reverence for a God Who is ever present to his consciousness, and Who ever holds him in His eye thus does the Calvinistic type present itself in history. Always and in all things the deepest, the most sacred reverence for the ever-present God as the rule of life—this is the only true picture of the original Puritan.

The avoidance of the world has never been the Calvinistic mark, but the shibboleth of the Anabaptist. The specific, anabaptistical dogma of “avoidance” proves this. According to this dogma, the Anabaptists, announcing themselves as “saints,” were severed from the world They stood in opposition to it. They refused to take the oath; they abhorred all military service; they condemned the holding of public offices. Here already, they shaped a new

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world, in the midst of this world of sin, which however had nothing to do with this our present existence. They rejected all obligation and responsibility towards the old world, and they avoided it systematically, for fear of contamination, and contagion. But this is just what the Calvinist always disputed and denied. It is not true that there are two worlds, a bad one and a good, which are fitted into each other. It is one and the same person whom God created perfect and who afterwards fell, and became a sinner— and it is this same “ego” of the old sinner who is born again, and who enters into eternal life. So, also, it is one and the same world which once exhibited all the glory of Paradise, which was afterwards smitten with the curse, and which, since the Fall, is upheld by common grace; which has now been redeemed and saved by Christ, in its center, and which shall pass through the horror of the judgment into the state of glory. For

this very reason the Calvinist cannot shut himself up in his church and abandon the world to its fate. He feels, rather, his high calling to push the development of this world to an even higher stage, and to do this in constant accordance with God's ordinance, for the sake of God, upholding, in the midst of so much painful corruption, everything that is honorable, lovely, and of good report among men Therefore it is that we see in History (if I may be permitted to speak of my own ancestors) that scarcely had Calvinism been firmly established in the Netherlands for a quarter of a century when there was a rustling of life in all directions, and an indomitable energy was fermenting in every department of human activity, and their commerce and trade, their handicrafts and industry, their agriculture and horticulture, their art and science, flourished with a brilliancy previously unknown. and imparted a new impulse for an entirely new development of life, to the whole of Western Europe.

This admits of only one exception, and this exception I wish both to maintain and to place in its proper light. What I mean is this. Not every intimate intercourse with the unconverted world is deemed lawful, by Calvinism, for it placed a barrier against the too unhallowed influence of this world by putting a distinct "veto" upon three things, card playing, theatres, and dancing—three forms

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of amusement which I shall first treat separately, and then set forth in their combined significance.

Card-playing has been placed under a ban by Calvinism, not as though games of all kinds were forbidden, nor as though something demoniacal lurked in the cards themselves. but because it fosters in our heart the dangerous tendency to look away from God, and to put our trust in Fortune or Luck. A game which is decided by keenness of vision, quickness of action, and range of experience, is ennobling in its character, but a game like cards, which is chiefly decided by the way in which the cards are arranged in the pack, and blindly distributed, induces us to attach a certain significance to that fatal imaginative power, outside of God, called Chance or Fortune. To this kind of unbelief, every one of us is inclined. The fever of stock-gambling shows daily how much more strongly people are attracted and influenced by the nod of Fortune, than by solid application to their work. Therefore the Calvinist judged that the rising generation ought to be guarded against this dangerous tendency, because by means of card-playing it would be fostered. And since the sensation of God's ever-enduring presence was felt by Calvin and his adherents as the never-failing source from which they drew their stern seriousness of life, they could not

help loathing a game which poisoned this source by placing Fortune above the disposition of God, and the hankering after chance above the firm confidence in His will. To fear God, and to bid for the favors of Fortune, seemed to him as irreconcilable as fire and water.

Entirely different objections were entertained against Theatre-going. In itself there is nothing sinful in fiction—the power of the imagination is a precious gift of God Himself. Neither is there any special evil in dramatic imagination. How highly did Milton appreciate Shakespeare's Drama, and did not he himself write in dramatic form? Nor did the evil lie in public theatrical representations, as such. Public performances were given for all the people at Geneva, in the Market Place, in Calvin's time. and with his approval. No, that which offended our ancestors was not the comedy or tragedy, nor should have been the opera, in itself, but the moral sacrifice which as a rule was demanded of actors and actresses for the amusement of the public. A theatrical troop, in

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those days especially, stood, morally, rather low. This low moral standard resulted partly from the fact that the constant and ever-changing presentation of the character of another person finally hampers the moulding of your personal character; and partly because our modern Theaters, unlike the Greek, have introduced the presence of women on the stage, the prosperity of the Theater being too often gauged by the measure in which a woman jeopardizes the most sacred treasures God entrusts to her, her stainless name, and irreproachable conduct. Certainly, a strictly normal Theater is very well conceivable; but with the exception of a few large cities, such Theaters would neither be sufficiently patronized nor could exist financially; and the actual fact remains that, taking all the world over, the prosperity of a Theater often increases in proportion to the moral degradation of the actors. Too often therefore Hall Caine in his "Christian" corroborated once more the sad truth—the prosperity of Theaters is purchased at the cost of manly character, and of female purity. And the purchase of delight for the ear and the eye at the price of such a moral hecatomb, the Calvinist, who honored whatever was human in man for the sake of God, could not but condemn.

Finally, so far as the dance is concerned, even worldly papers, like the Parisian "Figaro," at present justify the position of the Calvinist. Only recently an article in this paper called attention to the moral pain with which a father takes his daughter into the ball-room for the first time. This moral pain, it declared, is evident, in Paris at least, to all who are familiar with the whisperings, indecent looks and actions prevalent in those pleasure-loving circles. Here, also, the Calvinist does not protest against the Dance

itself, but exclusively against the impurity to which it is often in danger of leading.

With this I return to the barrier of which I spoke. Our fathers perceived excellently well that it was just these three: Dancing, Card-playing, and Theater going, with which the world was madly in love. In worldly circles these pleasures were not regarded as secondary trifles, but honored as all-important matters: and whoever dared to attack them exposed himself to the bitterest scorn and enmity. For this very reason, they recognized in these three

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the Rubicon which no true Calvinist could cross without sacrificing his earnestness to dangerous mirth, and the fear of the Lord to often far from spotless pleasures. And now may I ask, has not the result justified their strong and brave protest? Even yet, after a lapse of three centuries, you will find, in my Calvinistic country, in Scotland, and in your own States, entire social circles into which this worldliness is never allowed to enter, but in which the richness of human life has turned, from without, inward, and in which, as the result of a sound spiritual concentration, there has been developed such a deep sense of everything high, and such an energy for everything holy, as to excite the envy even of our antagonists. Not only has the wing of the butterfly in those circles been preserved intact, but even the gold dust upon this wing shines as brilliantly as ever.

This now is the proof to which I invite your respectful attention. Our age is far ahead of the Calvinistic age in its overflowing mass of ethical essays and treatises and learned expositions. Philosophers and Theologians really vie with one another in discovering for us (or in hiding from us, just as you may be pleased to put it) the straight road in the domain of morals. But there is something that all this host of learned scholars have not been able to do. They have not been able to restore moral firmness to the enfeebled public conscience.

Rather must we complain that ever more and more the foundations of our moral building are gradually being loosened and unsettled, until finally there remains not one stronghold left of which the people in their wider ranks can feel that it guarantees moral certainty for the Future. Statesmen and Jurists are openly proclaiming the right of the strongest; the ownership of property is called stealing; free love has been advocated; and honesty is ridiculed. A pantheist has dared to put Jesus and Nero on the same footing; and Nietzsche, going further still, deemed Christ's blessing of the meek to be the curse of

humanity.

Now compare with all this the marvelous results of three centuries of Calvinism. Calvinism understood that the world was not to be saved by ethical philosophizing, but only by the restoration of tenderness of conscience. Therefore it did not indulge in reasoning

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but appealed directly to the soul, and placed it face to face with the Living God, so that the heart trembled at His holy majesty, and in that majesty, discovered the glory of His love. And when, going back in this historical review, you observe how thoroughly corrupt and rotten Calvinism found the world, to what depth moral life at that time had sunk, in the courts, and among the people, in the clergy and among the leaders of science, among men and women, among the higher and the lower classes of society—then what censor among you will dare to deny the palm of moral victory to Calvinism, which in one generation, though hunted from the battlefield to the scaffold, created, throughout five nations at once, wide serious groups of noble men, and still nobler women, hitherto unsurpassed in the loftiness of their ideal conceptions and unequalled in the power of their moral self-control.

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1. (Ed.) Calvin's Institutes, Eng. Edinburgh translation, Vol. I, book I, Chapter 3: "That there exists in the human mind and indeed by natural instinct, some sense of Deity we hold to be beyond dispute . . ."
Chapter 4, sect. 1. "But though experience testifies that a seed of religion is divinely sown in all scarcely one in a hundred is found who cherishes it in his heart, and not one in whom it grows to maturity, so far it is from yielding fruit in its season. In no part of the world can genuine godliness be found."
 2. (Ed.) Sacerdotium denotes priesthood; sacerdotalism is the doctrine that the priest offers sacrifice in the Eucharist.

Third Lecture - Calvinism and Politics

The page numbering of the Eerdmans printed edition has been retained for the benefit of readers.

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MY THIRD LECTURE leaves the sanctuary of religion and enters upon the domain of the State—the first transition from the sacred circle to the secular field of human life. Only now therefore we proceed, summarily and in principle, to combat the unhistorical suggestion that Calvinism represents an exclusively ecclesiastical and dogmatic movement.

The religious momentum of Calvinism has placed also beneath political Society a fundamental conception, all its own, just because it not merely pruned the branches and cleaned the stem, but reached down to the very root of our human life.

That this had to be so becomes evident at once to everyone who is able to appreciate the fact that no political scheme has ever become dominant which was not founded in a specific religious or anti-religious conception. And that this has been the fact, as regards Calvinism, may appear from the political changes which it has effected in those three historic lands of political freedom, the Netherlands, England and America.

Every competent historian will without exception confirm the words of Bancroft: "The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty, for in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was a part of his army, and his most faithful ally in the battle."¹ And Groen van Prinsterer has thus expressed it: "In Calvinism lies the origin and guarantee of our constitutional liberties." That Calvinism has led public law into new paths, first in Western Europe, then in two Continents, and today more and more among all civilized nations, is admitted by all scientific students, if not yet fully by public opinion.

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But for the purpose I have in view, the mere statement of this important fact is insufficient.

In order that the influence of Calvinism on our political development may be felt, it must be shown for what fundamental political conceptions Calvinism has opened the door, and how these political conceptions sprang from its root principle.

This dominating principle was not, soteriologically, justification by faith, but, in the widest sense cosmologically, the Sovereignty of the Triune God over the whole Cosmos, in all its spheres and kingdoms, visible and invisible. A primordial Sovereignty which radiates in mankind in a threefold deduced supremacy, viz., 1. The Sovereignty in the State; 2. The Sovereignty in Society; and 3. The Sovereignty in the Church.

Allow me to argue this matter in detail by pointing out to you how this threefold deduced Sovereignty was understood by Calvinism.

First then a deduced Sovereignty in that political sphere, which is defined as the State. And then we admit that the impulse to form states arises from man's social nature, which was expressed already by Aristotle, when he called man a *zoon politikon*. God might have created men as disconnected individuals, standing side by side and without genealogical coherence. Just as Adam was separately created, the second and third and every further man might have been individually called into existence; but this was not the case.

Man is created from man, and by virtue of his birth he is organically united with the whole race. Together we form one humanity, not only with those who are living now, but also with all the generations behind us and with all those who shall come after us pulverized into millions though we may be. All the human race is from one blood. The conception of States, however, which subdivide the earth into continents, and each continent into morsels, does not harmonize with this idea. Then only would the organic unity of our race be realized politically, if one State could embrace all the world, and if the whole of humanity were associated in one world empire. Had sin not intervened, no doubt this would actually have been so. If sin, as a disintegrating force, had not divided humanity into different sections, nothing would have

marred or broken the organic unity of our race. And the mistake of the Alexanders, and of the Augusti, and of the Napoleons, was not that they were charmed with the thought of the One World Empire, but it was this—that they endeavored to realize this idea notwithstanding that the force of sin had dissolved our unity.

In like manner the international cosmopolitan endeavors of the Social-democracy present, in their conception of union, an ideal, which on this very account charms us, even when we are aware that they try to reach the unattainable, in endeavoring to realize this high and holy ideal, now and in a sinful world. Nay, even Anarchy, conceived as the attempt to undo all mechanical connections among men, together with the undoing of all human authority, and to encourage, in their stead, the growth of a new organic tie, arising from nature itself – I say, all this is nothing but a looking backward after a lost paradise.

For, indeed, without sin there would have been neither magistrate nor state-order; but political life, in its entirety, would have evolved itself, after a patriarchal fashion, from the life of the family. Neither bar of justice nor police, nor army, nor navy, is conceivable in a world without sin; and thus every rule and ordinance and law would drop away, even as all control and assertion of the power of the magistrate would disappear, were life to develop itself, normally and without hindrance, from its own organic impulse. Who binds up, where nothing is broken? Who uses crutches, where the limbs are sound?

Every State-formation, every assertion of the power of the magistrate, every mechanical means of compelling order and of guaranteeing a safe course of life is therefore always something unnatural; something against which the deeper aspirations of our nature rebel; and which, on this very account, may become the source both of a dreadful abuse of power, on the part of those who exercise it, and of a continuous revolt on the part of the multitude. Thus originated the battle of the ages between Authority and Liberty, and in this battle it was the very innate thirst for liberty which proved itself the God-ordained means to bridle the authority wheresoever it degenerated into despotism. And thus all true conception of the nature of the State and of the assumption of authority by the magistrate, and on the other hand all true conception

of the right and duty of the people to defend liberty, depends on what Calvinism has here placed in the foreground, as the primordial truth –that God has instituted the magistrates, by reason of sin.

In this one thought are hidden both the light-side and the shady side of the life of the State. The shady-side for this multitude of states ought not to exist; there should be only one world-empire. These magistrates rule mechanically and do not harmonize with our nature. And this authority of government is exercised by sinful men, and is therefore subject to all manner of despotic ambitions. But the light-side also, for a sinful humanity, without division of states, without law and government, and without ruling authority, would be a veritable hell on earth; or at least a repetition of that which existed on earth when God drowned the first degenerate race in the deluge. Calvinism has, therefore, by its deep conception of sin laid bare the true root of state-life, and has taught us two things: first –that we have gratefully to receive, from the hand of God, the institution of the State with its magistrates, as a means of preservation, now indeed indispensable. And on the other hand also that, by virtue of our natural impulse, we must ever watch against the danger which lurks, for our personal liberty, in the power of the State.

But Calvinism has done more. In Politics also it taught us that the human element –here the people –may not be considered as the principal thing, so that God is only dragged in to help this people in the hour of its need; but on the contrary that God, in His Majesty, must flame before the eyes of every nation, and that all nations together are to be reckoned before Him as a drop in a bucket and as the small dust of the balances. From the ends of the earth God cites all nations and peoples before His high judgment seat. For God created the nations. They exist for Him. They are His own. And therefore all these nations, and in them humanity, must exist for His glory and consequently after his ordinances, in order that in their well-being, when they walk after His ordinances, His divine wisdom may shine forth.

When therefore humanity falls apart through sin, in a multiplicity of separate peoples; when sin, in the bosom of these nations, separates men and tears them apart, and when sin reveals

itself in all manner of shame and unrighteousness –the glory of God demands that these horrors be bridled, that order return to this chaos, and that a compulsory force, from without, assert itself to make

human society a possibility.

This right is possessed by God, and by Him alone.

No man has the right to rule over another man, otherwise such a right necessarily, and immediately becomes the right of the strongest. As the tiger in the jungle rules over the defenceless antelope, so on the banks of the Nile a Pharaoh ruled over the progenitors of the fellaheen of Egypt.

Nor can a group of men, by contract, from their own right, compel you to obey a fellow-man. What binding force is there for me in the allegation that ages ago one of my progenitors made a "Contrat Social," with other men of that time? As man I stand free and bold, over against the most powerful of my fellow-men.

I do not speak of the family, for here organic, natural ties rule; but in the sphere of the State I do not yield or bow down to anyone, who is man, as I am.

Authority over men cannot arise from men. Just as little from a majority over against a minority, for history shows, almost on every page, that very often the minority was right. And thus to the first Calvinistic thesis that sin alone has necessitated the institution of governments, this second and no less momentous thesis is added that: all authority of governments on earth originates from the Sovereignty of God alone. When God says to me, "obey," then I humbly bow my head, without compromising in the least my personal dignity, as a man. For, in like proportion as you degrade yourself, by bowing low to a child of man, whose breath is in his nostrils; so, on the other hand do you raise yourself, if you submit to the authority of the Lord of heaven and earth.

Thus the word of Scripture stands: "By Me kings reign," or as the apostle has elsewhere declared: "The powers, that be, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God." The magistrate is an instrument of "common grace," to thwart all license and outrage and to shield the good against the evil. But he is more. Besides all this he is instituted by God as His Servant, in order that he may

preserve the glorious work of God, in the creation of humanity, from total destruction. Sin attacks God's handiwork, God's plan, God's justice, God's honor, as the supreme Artificer and Builder. Thus God, ordaining the powers that be, in order that, through their instrumentality, He might maintain His justice against the strivings of sin, has given to the magistrate the terrible right of life and death. Therefore all the powers that be, whether in empires or in republics, in cities or in states, rule "by the grace of God." For the same reason justice bears a holy character. And from the same motive every citizen is bound to obey, not only from dread of punishment, but for the sake of conscience.

Further Calvin has expressly stated that authority, as such, is in no way affected by the question how a government is instituted and in what form it reveals itself. It is well known that personally he preferred a republic, and that he cherished no predilection for a monarchy, as if this were the divine and ideal form of government. This indeed would have been the case in a sinless state. For had sin not entered, God would have remained the sole king of all men, and this condition will return, in the glory to come, when God once more will be all and in all. God's own direct government is absolutely monarchical; no monotheist will deny it. But Calvin considered a co-operation of many persons under mutual control, i.e., a republic, desirable, now that a mechanical institution of government is necessitated by reason of sin.

In his system, however, this could only amount to a gradual difference in practical excellency, but never to a fundamental difference, as regards the essence of authority. He considers a monarchy and an aristocracy, as well as a democracy, both possible and practicable forms of government; provided it be unchangeably maintained, that no one on earth can claim authority over his fellow-men, unless it be laid upon him "by the grace of God"; and therefore, the ultimate duty of obedience is imposed upon us not by man, but by God Himself.

The question how those persons, who by divine authority are to be clothed with power, are indicated, cannot, according to Calvin, be answered alike for all peoples and for all time. And yet he does not hesitate to state, in an ideal sense, that the most desirable conditions exist, where the people itself chooses its own magistrates.

Where such a condition exists he thinks that the people should gratefully recognize therein a favor of God, precisely as it has been expressed in the preamble of more than one of your constitutions; –“Grateful to almighty God that He gave us the power to choose our own magistrates.” In his Commentary on Samuel, Calvin therefore admonishes such peoples:–“And ye, O peoples, to whom God gave the liberty to choose your own magistrates, see to it, that ye do not forfeit this favor, by electing to the positions of highest honor, rascals and enemies of God.”

I may add that the popular choice gains the day, as a matter of course, where no other rule exists, or where the existing rule falls away. Wherever new States have been founded, except by conquest or force, the first government has always been founded by popular choice; and so also where the highest authority had fall. into disorder, either by want of a determination of the right of succession, or through the violence of revolution, it has always been the people who, through their representatives, claimed the. right to restore it. But with equal decision, Calvin asserts that God has the sovereign power, in the way of His dispensing Providence, to take from a people this most desirable condition, or never to bestow it at all. when a nation is unfit for it, or, by its sin, has utterly forfeited the blessing.

The historic development of a people shows, as a matter of course, in what other ways authority is bestowed. This bestowal may flow from the right of inheritance, as in a hereditary monarchy. It may result from a hard-fought war, even as Pilate had power over Jesus, “given him from above.” It may proceed from electors, as it did in the old German empire. It may rest with the. States of the country, as was the case in the old Dutch republic. In a word it may assume a variety of forms, because there is an endless difference in the development of nations. A form of government like your own could not exist one day in China. Even now, the people of Russia are unfit for any form of constitutional government. And among the Kaffirs and Hottentots of Africa, even a government, such as exists in Russia, would be wholly inconceivable. All this is determined and appointed by God, through the hidden counsel of His providence.

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All this, however, is no theocracy. A theocracy was only found in Israel, because in Israel, God intervened immediately. For both by Urim and Thummim and by Prophecy; both by His saving miracles, and by His chastising judgments, He held in His own hand the jurisdiction and the leadership of His people. But the Calvinistic confession of the Sovereignty of God holds good for all the world, is true for all nations, and is of force in all authority, which man exercises over man; even in the authority which

parents possess over their children. It is therefore a political faith which may be summarily expressed in these three theses: 1. God only—and never any creature—is possessed of sovereign rights, in the destiny of the nations, because God alone created them, maintains them by His Almighty power, and rules them by His ordinances. 2. Sin has, in the realm of politics, broken down the direct government of God, and therefore the exercise of authority for the purpose of government, has subsequently been invested in men, as a mechanical remedy. And 3. In whatever form this authority may reveal itself, man never possesses power over his fellow-man in any other way than by an authority which descends upon him from the majesty of God.

Directly opposed to this Calvinistic confession there are two other theories. That of the Popular-sovereignty, as it has been antitheistically proclaimed at Paris in 1789; and that of State-sovereignty, as it has of late been developed by the historico-pantheistic school of Germany. Both these theories are at heart identical, but for the sake of clearness they demand a separate treatment.

What was it that impelled and animated the spirits of men in the great French revolution? Indignation at abuses, which had crept in? A horror of a crowned despotism? A noble defense of the rights and liberties of the people? In part certainly, but in all this there is so little that is sinful, that even a Calvinist gratefully recognizes, in these three particulars, the divine judgment, which at that time was executed in Paris.

But the impelling force of the French Revolution did not lie in this hatred of abuses. When Edmund Burke compares the “glorious Revolution” of 1688 with the principle of the Revolution of 1789, he says: “Our revolution and that of France are just the reverse

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of each other, in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction.”²

This same Edmund Burke, so bitter an antagonist of the French revolution, has manfully defended your own rebellion against England, as “arising from a principle of energy, showing itself in this good people the main cause of a free spirit, the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion.”

The three great revolutions in the Calvinistic world left untouched the glory of God, nay, they even proceeded from the acknowledgement of His majesty. Every one will admit this of our rebellion against Spain, under William the Silent. Nor has it even been doubted of the “glorious Revolution,” which was crowned by the arrival of William III of Orange and the overthrow of the Stuarts. But it is equally true of your own Revolution. It is expressed in so many words in the Declaration of Independence, by John Hancock, that the Americans asserted themselves by virtue —“of the law of nature and of nature’s God”; that they acted —“as endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights”; that they appealed to “the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intention”;³ and that they sent forth their “declaration of Independence” —“With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence.”⁴ in the “Articles of Confederation” it is confessed in the preamble, —“that it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislators.”⁵ It is also declared in the preamble of the Constitution of many of the States: —“Grateful to Almighty God for the civil, political and religious liberty, which He has so long permitted us to enjoy and looking unto Him, for a blessing upon our endeavors.”⁶ God is there honored as “the Sovereign Ruler,”⁷ and the “Legislator of the Universe”⁸ and it is there specifically admitted, that from God alone the people received “the right to choose their own form of government.”⁹ In one of the meetings of the Convention, Franklin

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proposed, in a moment of supreme anxiety, that they should ask wisdom from God in prayer. And if any one should still doubt whether or not the American revolution was homogeneous with that of Paris, this doubt is fully set at rest by the bitter fight in 1793 between Jefferson and Hamilton. Therefore it remains as the German historian Von Holtz stated it: “Es ware Thorheit zu sagen dass die Rousseauschen Schriften einen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung in America ausgeubt haben.”¹⁰ (“Mere madness would it be to say that the American revolution borrowed its impelling energy from Rousseau and his writings.”) Or as Hamilton himself expressed it, that he considered “the French Revolution to be no more akin to the American Revolution than the faithless wife in a French novel is like the Puritan matron in New England.”¹¹

The French Revolution is in principle distinct from all these national revolutions, which were undertaken with praying lips and with trust in the help of God. The French Revolution ignores God. It opposes God. It refuses to recognize a deeper ground of political life than that which is found in nature, that is, in this instance, in man himself. Here the first article of the confession of the most absolute infidelity is “ni Dieu

ni maitre." The sovereign God is dethroned and man with his free will is placed on the vacant seat. It is the will of man which determines all things. All power, all authority proceeds from man. Thus one comes from the individual man to the many men; and in those many men conceived as the people, there is thus hidden the deepest fountain of all sovereignty. There is no question, as in your Constitution, of a sovereignty

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derived from God, which He, under certain conditions, implants in the people. Here an original sovereignty asserts itself, which everywhere and in all states can only proceed from the people itself, having no deeper root than in the human will. It is a sovereignty of the people therefore, which is perfectly identical with atheism. And herein lies its self-abasement. In the sphere of Calvinism, as also in your Declaration, the knee is bowed to God, while over against man the head is proudly lifted up. But here, from the standpoint of the sovereignty of the people, the fist is defiantly clenched against God, while man grovels before his fellowmen, tinseling over this self-abasement by the ludicrous fiction that, thousands of years ago, men, of whom no one has any remembrance, concluded a political contract, or, as they called it, "Contrat Social." Now, do you ask for the result? Then, let History tell you how the rebellion of the Netherlands, the "glorious Revolution" of England and your own rebellion against the British Crown have brought liberty to honor; and answer for yourself the question: Has the French Revolution resulted in anything else but the shackling of liberty in the irons of State-omnipotence? Indeed, no country in our 19th century has had a sadder State history than France.

No wonder that scientific Germany has broken away from this fictitious sovereignty of the people, since the days of De Savigny and Niebuhr. The Historical school, founded by these eminent men, has pilloried the a-prioristic fiction of 1789. Every historical connoisseur now ridicules it. Only that which they recommended instead of it, bears no better stamp.

Now it was to be not the sovereignty of the people, but the Sovereignty of the State, a product of Germanic philosophical pantheism. Ideas are incarnated in the reality, and among these the idea of the State was the highest, the richest, the most perfect idea of the relation between man and man. Thus the State became a mystical conception. The State was considered as a mysterious being, with a hidden ego; with a State-consciousness, slowly developing; and with an increasing potent State-will, which by a slow process

endeavored to blindly reach the highest State-aim. The people was not understood as with Rousseau, to be the sum total of the individuals. It was correctly seen that a people is no aggregate, but an organic whole. This organism must of necessity have its organic members. Slowly these organs arrived at their historic development. By these organs the will of the State operates, and everything must bow before this will. This sovereign State-will might reveal itself in a republic, in a monarchy, in a Caesar, in an Asiatic despot, in a tyrant as Philip of Spain, or in a dictator like Napoleon, All these were but forms, in which the one State-idea incorporated itself; the stages of development in a never-ending process. But in whatever form this mystical being of the State revealed itself, the idea remained supreme: the State shortly asserted its sovereignty and for every member of the State it remained the touchstone of wisdom to give way to this State-apotheosis.

Thus all transcendent right in God, to which the oppressed lifted up his face, fails away. There is no other right, but the immanent right which is written down in the law. The law is right, not because its contents are in harmony with the eternal principles of right, but because it is law. If on the morrow it fixes the very opposite, this also must be right. And the fruit of this deadening theory is, as a matter of course, that the consciousness of right is blunted, that all fixedness of right departs from our minds, and that all higher enthusiasm for right is extinguished. That which exists is good, because it exists; and it is no longer the will of God, of Him Who created us and knows us, but it becomes the ever-changing will of the State, which, having no one above itself, actually becomes God, and has to decide how our life and our existence shall be.

And when you further consider that this mystical State expresses and enforces its will only through men what further proof is demanded that this state-sovereignty, even as popular sovereignty, does not outgrow the abasing subjection of man to his fellow-man and never ascends to a duty of submission which finds its cogency in the conscience?

Therefore in opposition both to the atheistic popular-sovereignty of the Encyclopedians, and the pantheistic state-sovereignty of German philosophers, the Calvinist maintains the Sovereignty of God, as the source of all authority among men. The Calvinist upholds the highest and best in our aspirations by placing every man and every people before the face of our Father in heaven. He takes cognizance of the fact of sin, which erstwhile was juggled away in 1789, and which now, in pessimistic extravagance, is accounted the essence of our being. Calvinism points to the difference between the natural concatenation of our organic society and the mechanical tie, which the authority of the magistrate imposes. It makes it easy for us to obey authority, because, in all authority, it causes us to honor the demand of divine sovereignty. It lifts us from an obedience born of dread of the strong arm, into an obedience for conscience sake. It teaches us to look upward from the existing law to the source of the eternal Right in God, and it creates in us the indomitable courage incessantly to protest against the unrighteousness of the law in the name of this highest Right. And however powerfully the State may assert itself and oppress the free individual development, above that powerful State there is always glittering, before our soul's eye, as infinitely more powerful, the majesty of the King of kings, Whose righteous bar ever maintains the right of appeal for all the oppressed, and unto Whom the prayer of the people ever ascends, to bless our nation and, in that nation, us and our house!

So much for the sovereignty of the State. We now come to sovereignty in the sphere of Society.

In a Calvinistic sense we understand hereby, that the family, the business, science, art and so forth are all social spheres, which do not owe their existence to the state, and which do not derive the law of their life from the superiority of the state, but obey a high authority within their own bosom; an authority which rules, by the grace of God, just as the sovereignty of the State does.

This involves the antithesis between State and Society, but upon this condition, that we do not conceive this society as a conglomerate

but as analyzed in its organic parts, to honor, in each of these parts, the independent character, which appertains to them.

In this independent character a special higher authority is of necessity involved and this highest authority we intentionally call –sovereignty in the individual social spheres, in order that it may be sharply and decidedly expressed that these different developments of social life have nothing above themselves but God, and that the State cannot intrude here, and has nothing to command in their domain. As you feel at once, this is the deeply interesting question of our civil liberties.¹²

It is here of the highest importance sharply to keep in mind the difference in grade between the organic life of society and the mechanical character of the government. Whatever among men originates directly from creation is possessed of all the data for its development, in human nature as such. You see this at once in the family and in the connection of blood relations and other ties. From the duality of man and woman marriage arises. From the original existence of one man and one woman monogamy comes forth. The children exist by reason of the innate power of reproduction, Naturally the children are connected as brothers and sisters. And when by and by these children, in their turn, marry again, as a matter of course, all those connections originate from blood-relationship and other ties, which dominate the whole family-life. In all this there is nothing mechanical. The development is spontaneous, just as that of the stem and the branches of a plant. True, sin here also has exerted its disturbing influence and has distorted much which was intended for a blessing into a curse. But this fatal efficiency of sin has been stopped by common grace. Free-love may try to dissolve, and the concubinate to desecrate, the holiest tie, as it pleases; but, for the vast majority of our race, marriage remains the foundation of human society and the family retains its position as the primordial sphere in sociology.

The same may be said of the other spheres of life.

Nature about us may have lost the glory of paradise by reason of sin, and the earth may bear thorns and thistles so that we can

eat our bread only in the sweat of our brow; notwithstanding all this the chief aim of all human effort remains what it was by virtue of our creation and before the fall, –namely dominion over nature. And this dominion cannot be acquired except by the exercise of the powers, which, by virtue of the ordinances of creation, are innate in nature itself. Accordingly all Science is only the application to the cosmos of the powers of investigation and thought, created within us; and Art is nothing but the natural productivity of the potencies of our imagination. When we admit therefore that sin, though arrested by “common grace,” has caused many modifications of these several expressions of life, which originated only after paradise was lost, and will disappear again, with the coming of the Kingdom of glory; –we still maintain that the fundamental character of these expressions remains as it was originally. All together they form the life of creation, in accord with the ordinances of creation, and therefore are organically developed.

But the case is wholly different with the assertion of the powers of government. For though it be admitted that even without sin the need would have asserted itself of combining the many families in a higher unity, this unity would have internally been bound up in the Kingship of God, which would have ruled regularly, directly and harmoniously in the hearts of all men, and which would externally have incorporated itself in a patriarchal hierarchy. Thus no States would have existed, but only one organic world-empire, with God as its King; exactly what is prophesied for the future which awaits us, when all sin shall have disappeared.

But it is exactly this, which sin has now eliminated from our human life. This unity does no longer exist. This government of God can no longer assert itself. This patriarchal hierarchy has been destroyed. A world-empire neither cannot be established nor ought it to be. For in this very desire consisted the contumacy of the building of Babel's tower. Thus peoples and nations originated. These peoples formed States. And over these States God appointed governments. And thus, if I may be allowed the expression, it is not a natural head, which organically grew from the body of the people, but a mechanical head, which from without has

been placed upon the trunk of the nation. A mere remedy, therefore, for a wrong condition supervening. A stick placed beside the plant to hold it up, since without it, by reason of its inherent weakness. it would

fall to the ground.

The principal characteristic of government is the right of life and death. According to the apostolic testimony the magistrate bears the sword, and this sword has a threefold meaning. It is the sword of justice, to mete out corporeal punishment to the criminal. It is the sword of war to defend the honor and the rights and the interests of the State against its enemies. And it is the sword of order, to thwart at home all forcible rebellion. Luther and his co-Reformers have correctly pointed out that the institution proper and the full investiture of the magistrate with power were only brought about after the flood, when God commanded that capital punishment should fall upon him who shed man's blood. The right of taking life belongs only to Him, who can give life, i.e., to God; and therefore no one on earth is invested with this authority, except it be God-given. On this account, Roman law, which committed the *jus vitae et necis* to the father and to the slave-owner stands intrinsically much lower than the law of Moses, which knows no other capital punishment but that by the magistrate and at his command.

The highest duty of the government remains therefore unchangeably that of justice, and in the second place it has to care for the people as a unit, partly at home, in order that its unity may grow ever deeper and may not be disturbed, and partly abroad, lest the national existence suffer harm. The consequence of all this is that on the one hand, in a people, all sorts of organic phenomena of life arise, from its social spheres but that, high above all these, the mechanical unifying force of the government is observable. From this arises all friction and clashing. For the government is always inclined, with its mechanical authority, to invade social life, to subject it and mechanically to arrange it. But on the other hand social life always endeavors to shake off the authority of the government, just as this endeavor at the present time again culminates in social-democracy and in anarchism, both of which

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aim at nothing less than the total overthrow of the institution of authority. But leaving these two extremes alone, it will be admitted that all healthy life of people or state has ever been the historical consequence of the struggle between these two powers. It was the so-called "constitutional government," which endeavored more firmly to regulate the mutual relation of these two. And in this struggle Calvinism was the first to take its stand. For just in proportion as it honored the authority of the magistrate, instituted by God, did it lift up that second sovereignty, which had been implanted by God in the social spheres, in accordance with the ordinances of creation.

It demanded for both independence in their own sphere and regulation of the relation between both, not by the executive, but under the law. And by this stern demand, Calvinism may be said to have generated constitutional public law, from its own fundamental idea.

The testimony of history is unassailable that this constitutional public law has not flourished in Roman Catholic or in Lutheran States, but among the nations of a Calvinistic type. The idea is here fundamental therefore that the sovereignty of God, in its descent upon men, separates itself into two spheres. On the one hand the mechanical sphere of State-authority, and on the other hand the organic sphere of the authority of the Social circles. And in both these spheres the inherent authority is sovereign, that is to say, it has above itself nothing but God.

Now for the mechanically coercing authority of the government any further explanation is superfluous, not so, however, for the organic social authority.

Nowhere is the dominating character of this organic social authority more plainly discernible than in the sphere of Science. In the introduction to an edition of the "Sententiae" of Lombard and of the "Summa Theologica" of Thomas Aquinas, the learned Thomist wrote: "The work of Lombard has ruled one hundred and fifty years and has produced Thomas, and after him the 'Summa' of Thomas has ruled all Europe (totam Europam rexit) during

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five full centuries and has generated all the subsequent theologians."¹³ Suppose we admit that this language is overbold, yet the idea, here expressed, is unquestionably correct. The dominion of men like Aristotle and Plato, Lombard and Thomas, Luther and Calvin, Kant and Darwin, extends, for each of them, over a field of ages. Genius is a sovereign power; it forms schools; it lays hold on the spirits of men, with irresistible might; and it exercises an immeasurable influence on the whole condition of human life. This sovereignty of genius is a gift of God, possessed only by His grace. It is subject to no one and is responsible to Him alone Who has granted it this ascendancy.

The same phenomenon is observable in the sphere of Art. Every maestro is a king in the Palace of Art,

not by the law of inheritance or by appointment, but only by the grace of God. And these maîtres also impose authority, and are subject to no one, but rule over all and in the end receive from all the homage due to their artistic superiority.

And the same is to be said of the sovereign power of personality. There is no equality of persons. There are weak, narrow-minded persons, with no broader expanse of wings than a common sparrow; but there are also broad, imposing characters, with the wing-stroke of the eagle. Among the last you will find a few of royal grandeur, and these rule in their own sphere, whether people draw back from them or thwart them; usually waxing all the stronger, the more they are opposed. And this entire process is carried out in all the spheres of life. In the labor of the mechanic, in the shop, or on the exchange, in commerce, on the sea, in the field of benevolence and philanthropy. Everywhere one man is more powerful than the other, by his personality, by his talent and by circumstances. Dominion is exercised everywhere; but it is a dominion which works organically; not by virtue of a State-investiture, but from life's sovereignty itself.

In relation herewith, and on entirely the same ground of organic superiority, there exists, side by side with this personal sovereignty

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the sovereignty of the sphere. The University exercises scientific dominion; the Academy of fine arts is possessed of art power; the guild exercised a technical dominion; the trades-union rules over labor –and each of these spheres or corporations is conscious of the power of exclusive independent judgment and authoritative action, within its proper sphere of operation. Behind these organic spheres, with intellectual, aesthetical and technical sovereignty, the sphere of the family opens itself, with its right of marriage, domestic peace, education and possession; and in this sphere also the natural head is conscious of exercising an inherent authority, –not because the government allows it, but because God has imposed it. Paternal authority roots itself in the very lifeblood and is proclaimed in the fifth Commandment. And so also finally it may be remarked that the social life of cities and villages forms a sphere of existence, which arises from the very necessities of life, and which therefore must be autonomous.

In many different directions we see therefore that sovereignty in one's own sphere asserts itself –1. In the social sphere, by personal superiority. 2. In the corporative sphere of universities, guilds, associations, etc. 3. In the domestic sphere of the family and of married life, and 4. In communal autonomy.

In all these four spheres the State-government cannot impose its laws, but must reverence the innate law of life. God rules in these spheres, just as supremely and sovereignly through his chosen virtuosi, as He exercises dominion in the sphere of the State itself, through his chosen magistrates.

Bound by its own mandate. therefore, the government may neither ignore nor modify nor disrupt the divine mandate, under which these social spheres stand. The sovereignty, by the grace of God, of the government is here set aside and limited, for God's sake, by another sovereignty, which is equally divine in origin. Neither the life of science nor of art, nor of agriculture, nor of industry, nor of commerce, nor of navigation, nor of the family, nor of human relationship may be coerced to suit itself to the grace of the government. The State may never become an octopus, which stifles the whole of life. It must occupy its own place, on its own

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root, among all the other trees of the forest, and thus it has to honor and maintain every form of life which grows independently in its own sacred autonomy,

Does this mean that the government has no right whatever of interference in these autonomous spheres of life? Not at all.

It possesses the threefold right and duty: 1. Whenever different spheres clash, to compel mutual regard for the boundary-lines of each; 2. To defend individuals and the weak ones, in those spheres, against the abuse of power of the rest; and 3. To coerce all together to bear personal and financial burdens for the maintenance of the natural unity of the State. The decision cannot, however, in these cases, unilaterally rest with the magistrate. The Law here has to indicate the rights of each, and the rights of the citizens over their own purses must remain the invincible bulwark against the abuse of power on the part of the government.

And here exactly lies the starting-point for that cooperation of the sovereignty of the government, with the sovereignty in the social sphere, which finds its regulation in the Constitution. According to the order of

things, in his time, this became to Calvin the doctrine of the “magistratus inferiores.” Knighthood, the rights of the city, the rights of guilds and much more, led then to the self-assertion of social “States,” with their own civil authority; and so Calvin wished the law to be made by the cooperation of these with the High magistrates.

Since that time these medieval relations, which in part arose from the feudal system, have become totally antiquated. These corporations or social orders are now no longer invested with ruling power, their place is taken by Parliament, or whatever name the general house of representatives may bear in different countries, and now it remains the duty of those Assemblies to maintain the popular rights and liberties, of all and in the name of all, with and if need be against the government. A united defence which was preferred to individual resistance, both to simplify the construction and operation of State institutions and to accelerate their functions.

But in whatever way the form may be modified, it remains essentially the old Calvinistic plan, to assure to the people, in all its

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classes and orders, in all its circles and spheres, in all its corporations and independent institutions, a legal and orderly influence in the making of the law and the course of government, in a healthy democratic sense. And the only difference of opinion is yet on the important question whether we shall continue in the now prevailing solution of the special rights of those social spheres in the individual right of franchise; or whether it is desirable to place by its side a corporative right of franchise, which shall enable the different circles to make a separate defence. At present a new tendency to organization reveals itself even in the spheres of commerce and industry and not less in that of labor, and even from France voices, like that of Benoit, arise, which clamor for the juncture of the right of franchise with these organizations.

I for one, would welcome such a move, provided its application were not one-sided, much less exclusive; but I may not linger over these side issues. Let it suffice to have shown that Calvinism protests against State-omnipotence; against the horrible conception that no right exists above and beyond existing laws; and against the pride of absolutism, which recognizes no constitutional rights, except as the result of princely favor.

These three representations, which find so dangerous a nourishment in the ascendancy of Pantheism, are death to our civil liberties. And Calvinism is to be praised for having built a dam across this absolutistic stream, not by appealing to popular force, nor to the hallucination of human greatness, but by deducing those rights and liberties of social life from the same source from which the high authority of the government flows—even the absolute sovereignty of God. From this one source, in God, sovereignty in the individual sphere, in the family and in every social circle, is just as directly derived as the supremacy of State authority. These two must therefore come to an understanding, and both have the same sacred obligation to maintain their God-given sovereign authority and to make it subservient to the majesty of God.

A people therefore which abandons to State Supremacy the rights of the family, or a University which abandons to it the rights of science, is just as guilty before God as a nation which lays its hands upon the rights of the magistrates. And thus the struggle for liberty is not only declared permissible, but is made a duty for

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each individual in his own sphere. And this not as was done in the French Revolution, by setting God aside and by placing man on the throne of God's Omnipotence; but on the contrary, by causing all men, the magistrates included, to bow in deepest humility before the majesty of God Almighty.

As third and last part of this lecture, the discussion remains of a question yet more difficult than the previous one, namely how we must conceive of the Sovereignty of the Church in the State.

I call this a difficult problem, not because I am in doubt as to the conclusions, or because I doubt your assent to these conclusions. For, as far as regards American life, all uncertainty in this respect is removed by what your Constitution at first declared—and has later been modified in your Confessions concerning the liberty of worship and the coordination of Church and State. And as far as I am personally concerned, more than a quarter of a century ago I wrote above my Weekly paper the motto “A free

Church in a free State." In a hard struggle this motto has ever been lifted on high by me, and our Netherland churches also are about to reconsider the article in our Confession which touches on this matter.

The difficulty of the problem lies elsewhere. It lies in the pile and fagots of Servetus. It lies in the attitude of the Presbyterians toward the Independents. It lies in the restrictions of liberty of worship and in the "civil disabilities," under which for centuries even in the Netherlands the Roman Catholics have suffered. The difficulty lies in the fact that an article of our old Calvinistic Confession of Faith entrusts to the government the task "of defending against and of extirpating every form of idolatry and false religion and to protect the sacred service of the Church." The difficulty lies in the unanimous and uniform advice of Calvin and his epigones, who demanded intervention of the government in the matter of religion.

The accusation is therefore a natural one that, by choosing in favor of liberty of religion, we do not pick up the gauntlet for Calvinism, but that we directly oppose it.

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In order to shield myself from this undesirable suspicion, I advance the rule –that a system is not known in what it has in common with other preceding systems; but that it is distinguished by that in which it differs from those preceding systems.

The duty of the government to extirpate every form of false religion and idolatry was not a find of Calvinism, but dates from Constantine the Great, and was the reaction against the horrible persecutions which his pagan predecessors on the imperial throne had inflicted upon the sect of the Nazarene. Since that day this system had been defended by all Romish theologians and applied by all Christian princes. In the time of Luther and Calvin, it was a universal conviction that that system was the true one. Every famous theologian of the period, Melancthon first of all, approved of the death by fire of Servetus; and the scaffold, which was erected by the Lutherans at Leipzig for Krell,¹⁴ the thorough Calvinist, was infinitely more reprehensible when looked at from a Protestant standpoint.

But whilst the Calvinists, in the age of Reformation, yielded their victims, by tens of thousands, to the scaffold and the stake (those of the Lutherans and Roman Catholics being hardly worth counting), history

has been guilty of the great and far-reaching unfairness of ever casting in their teeth this one execution of fire of Servetus, as a crimen nefandum.

Notwithstanding all this, I not only deplore that one stake, but I unconditionally disapprove of it; yet not as if it were the expression of a special characteristic of Calvinism, but on the contrary as the fatal after-effect of a system, grey with age, which Calvinism found in existence, under which it had grown up, and from which it had not yet been able entirely to liberate itself.

If I desire to know what in this respect must follow from the specific principles of Calvinism, then the question must be put quite differently. Then we must see and acknowledge that this system of bringing differences in religious matters under the criminal jurisdiction of the government resulted directly from the

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conviction that the Church of Christ on earth could express itself only in one form and as one institution. This one Church alone, in the Middle Ages, was the Church of Christ, and everything, which differed from her, was looked upon as inimical to this one true Church. The government, therefore, was not called upon to judge, or to weigh or to decide for itself. There was only one Church of Christ on earth, and it was the task of the Magistrate to protect that Church from schisms, heresies and sects.

But break that one Church into fragments, admit that the Church of Christ can reveal itself in many forms, in different countries; nay, even in the same country, in a multiplicity of institutions; and immediately everything which was deduced from this unity of the visible church drops out of sight. And therefore, if it cannot be denied that Calvinism itself has ruptured the unity of the Church, and that in Calvinistic countries a rich variety of all manner of church-formations revealed itself, then it follows that we must not seek the true Calvinistic characteristic in what, for a time, it has retained of the old system, but rather in that, which, new and fresh, has sprung up from its own root.

Results have shown that, even after the lapse of three centuries, in all distinctively Roman Catholic countries, even in the South American Republics, the Roman Catholic church is and remains the State Church, precisely as does the Lutheran Church in Lutheran countries. And the free churches have exclusively flourished in those countries which were touched by the breath of Calvinism, i.e., in

Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and the United States of North America

In Roman Catholic countries, the identification of the invisible and the visible Church, under Papal unity, is still maintained. In Lutheran countries, with the aid of "cuius regio eius religio," the Court-confession has been monstrosly imposed on the people as the land-confession; there the Reformed were treated harshly, they were exiled and outraged, as enemies of Christ. In the Calvinistic Netherlands, on the contrary, all those who were persecuted for religion's sake, found a harbor of refuge. There the Jews were hospitably received; there the Lutherans were in honor there the Mennonites flourished; and even the Arminians and Roman Catholics

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were permitted the free exercise of their religion at home and in secluded churches. The independents, driven from England, have found a resting place in the Calvinistic Netherlands; and from this same country the Mayflower sailed forth to transport the Pilgrim Fathers to their new fatherland.

I do not build therefore on subterfuge, but I appeal to clear historical facts. And here I repeat the underlying characteristic of Calvinism must be sought, not in what it has adopted from the past, but in what it has newly created. It is remarkable, in this connection, that, from the very beginning, our Calvinistic Theologians and jurists have defended liberty of conscience against the Inquisition. Rome perceived very clearly how liberty of conscience must loosen the foundations of the unity of the visible Church, and therefore she opposed it. But on the other hand it must be admitted that Calvinism, by praising aloud liberty of conscience, has in principle abandoned every absolute characteristic of the visible Church.

As soon as in the bosom of one and the same people the conscience of one half witnessed against that of the other half, the breach had been accomplished, and placards were no longer of any avail. As early as 1649 it was declared that persecution, for faith's sake, was –"A spiritual murder, an assassination of the soul, a rage against God himself, the most horrible of sins." And it is evident that Calvin himself wrote down the premises of the correct conclusion, by his acknowledgment that against atheists even the Catholics are our allies; by his open recognition of the Lutheran Church; and still more emphatically by his pertinent declaration "Scimus tres esse errorum gradus, et quibusdam fatemur dandam esse veniam, aliis modicam castigationem sufficere, ut tantum manifesta impietas capitali supplicio plectatur."¹⁵ That is

to say: "There exists a threefold departure from the Christian truth; a slight one, which had better be left alone; a moderate one, which must be restored by a moderate chastisement; and only manifest godlessness must be capitally punished." I admit that this is a harsh decision, but yet a decision in which in principle the visible unity is discarded; and where that unity is broken, there liberty will dawn as a matter of course. For here lies the solution of the

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problem: With Rome the system of persecution issued from the identification of the visible with the invisible Church, and from this dangerous line Calvin departed. But what he still persevered in defending was the identification of his Confession of the Truth with the absolute Truth itself, and it only wanted fuller experience to realize that also this proposition, true as it must ever remain in our personal conviction, may never be imposed by force upon other people.

So much for the facts. Now let us put the theory itself to the test and look successively at the duty of the magistrate in things spiritual: 1. towards God, 2. towards the Church, and 3, towards individuals. As regards the first point, the magistrates are and remain –"God's servants." They have to recognize God as Supreme Ruler, from Whom they derive their power. They have to serve God, by ruling the people according to His ordinances. They have to restrain blasphemy, where it directly assumes the character of an affront to the Divine Majesty. And God's supremacy is to be recognized by confessing His name in the Constitution as the Source of all political power, by maintaining the Sabbath, by proclaiming days of prayer and thanksgiving, and by invoking His Divine blessing.

Therefore in order that they may govern, according to His holy ordinances, every magistrate is in duty bound to investigate the rights of God, both in the natural life and in His Word. Not to subject himself to the decision of any Church, but in order that he himself may catch the light which he needs for the knowledge of the Divine will. And as regards blasphemy, the right of the magistrate to restrain it rests in the God-consciousness innate in every man; and the duty to exercise this right flows from the fact that God is the Supreme and Sovereign Ruler over every State and over every Nation. But for this very reason the fact of blasphemy is only then to be deemed established, when the intention is apparent contumaciously to affront this majesty of God as Supreme Ruler of the State. What is then punished is not the religious offence, nor the impious sentiment, but the attack upon the foundation of public law,

upon which both the State and its government are resting.

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Meanwhile there is in this respect a noteworthy difference between States which are absolutely governed by a monarch, and States which are governed constitutionally; or in a republic, in a still wider range, by an extensive assembly.

In the absolute monarch the consciousness and the personal will are one, and thus this one person is called to rule his people after his own personal conception of the ordinances of God. When on the contrary the consciousness and the will of many cooperate, this unity is lost and the subjective conception of the ordinances of God, by these many, can only be indirectly applied. But whether you are dealing with the will of a single individual, or with the will of many men, in a decision arrived at by a vote, the principal thing remains that the government has to judge and to decide independently. Not as an appendix to the Church, nor as its pupil. The sphere of State stands itself under the majesty of the Lord. In that sphere therefore an independent responsibility to God is to be maintained. The sphere of the State is not profane. But both Church and State must, each in their own sphere, obey God and serve His honor. And to that end in either sphere God's Word must rule, but in the sphere of the State only through the conscience of the persons invested with authority. The first thing of course is, and remains, that all nations shall be governed in a Christian way; that is to say, in accordance with the principle which, for all statecraft, flows from the Christ. But this can never be realized except through the subjective convictions of those in authority, according to their personal views of the demands of that Christian principle as regards the public service.

Of an entirely different nature is the second question, what ought to be the relation between the government and the visible Church. If it had been the will of God to maintain the formal unity of this visible Church, this question would have to be answered quite differently from what is now the case. That this unity was originally sought is natural. Unity of religion has great value for the life of a people and not a little charm. And only narrow mindedness can feel itself offended by the rage of despair wherewith Rome in the 16th century fought for the maintenance

of that unity. It can also be easily understood that this unity was originally established. The lower a people stands in the scale of development, the less difference of opinion is revealed. We see therefore that nearly all nations begin with unity of religion. But it is equally natural that this unity is split up, where the individual life, in the process of development, gains in strength, and where multiformity asserts itself as the undeniable demand of a richer development of life. And thus we are confronted with the fact that the visible Church has been split up, and that in no country whatever the absolute unity of the visible Church can be any longer maintained.

What then is the duty of the government ?

Must it –for the question may be reduced to this –must it now form an individual judgment, as to which of those many Churches is the true one? And must it maintain this one over against the others? Or is it the duty of the government to suspend its own judgment and to consider the multiform complex of all these denominations as the totality of the manifestation of the Church of Christ on earth?

From a Calvinistic standpoint we must decide in favor of the latter suggestion. Not from a false idea of neutrality, nor as if Calvinism could ever be indifferent to what is true and what false, but because the government lacks the data of judgment, and because every magisterial judgment here infringes the sovereignty of the Church. For otherwise, if the government be an absolute monarchy, you get the “*cuius regio eius religio*” of the Lutheran princes, which has ever been combated from the side of Calvinism. Or if the government rests with a plurality of persons, the Church which yesterday was counted the false one, is today considered the true one, according to the decision of the vote; and thus all continuity of state-administration and church-position is lost.

Hence it is that the Calvinists have always struggled so proudly and courageously for the liberty, that is to say, for the sovereignty, of the Church, within her own sphere, in distinction from the Lutheran theologians. In Christ, they contended, the Church has her own King. Her position in the State is not assigned her

by the permission of the Government, but *jure divino*. She has her own organization. She possesses her own office-bearers. And in a similar way she has her own gifts to distinguish truth from the he. It is therefore her privilege, and not that of the State, to determine her own characteristics as the true Church, and to proclaim her own confession as the confession of the truth.

If in this position she is opposed by other Churches, she will fight against these her spiritual battle, with spiritual and social weapons; but she denies and contests the right of everyone whomsoever, and therefore also of the government, to pose as a power above these different institutions and to render a decision between her and her sister-churches. The government bears the sword which wounds; not the sword of the Spirit, which decides in spiritual questions. And for this reason the Calvinists have ever resisted the idea to assign to the government a *patria potestas*. To be sure a father regulates in his family the religion of that family. But when the government was organized, the family was not set aside, but remained; and the government received only a limited task, which is defined by the sovereignty in the individual sphere, and not least of all by the sovereignty of Christ in His Church. Only let us guard here against exaggerated Puritanism and let us not refuse, in Europe at least, to reckon with the effects of historical conditions. It is an entirely different matter whether one puts up a new building on a free lot or whether one must restore a house which is standing.

But this can in no regard break the fundamental rule that the government must honor the complex of Christian churches as the multiform manifestation of the Church of Christ on earth. That the magistrate has to respect the liberty, i.e., the sovereignty, of the Church of Christ in the individual sphere of these churches. That Churches flourish most richly when the government allows them to live from their own strength on the voluntary principle. And that therefore neither the Caesaropapy of the Czar of Russia; nor the subjection of the State to the Church, taught by Rome nor the "*Cuius regio eius religio*" of the Lutheran jurists; nor the irreligious neutral standpoint of the French revolution; but that only the system of a free Church, in a free State, may be honored from a Calvinistic standpoint.

The sovereignty of the State and the sovereignty of the Church exist side by side, and they mutually limit each other.

Of an entirely different nature, on the contrary, is the last question to which I referred, namely, the duty of the government as regards the sovereignty of the individual person.

In the second part of this lecture I have already indicated that the developed man also possesses an individual sphere of life, with sovereignty in his own circle. Here I do not refer to the family, for this is a social bond between several individuals. I have reference to that which is thus expressed by Prof. Weitbrecht: "Ist doch vermöge seines Gewissens jeder ein König ein Souverain, der über jede Verantwortung exhaben is."¹⁶ ("Every man stands a king in his conscience, a sovereign in his own person, exempt from all responsibility.") Or that which Held has formulated in this way: "In gewisser Beziehung wird jeder Mensch supremus oder Souverain sein, denn jeder Mensch muss eine Sphäre haben, und hat sie auch wirklich, in welcher er der Oberste ist."¹⁷ (In some respects every man is a sovereign. for everybody must have and has a sphere of life of his own, in which he has no one above him, but God alone.) I do not point to this to over-estimate the importance of conscience, for whosoever wishes to liberate conscience, where God and His Word are concerned, I meet as an opponent, not as an ally. This, however, does not prevent my maintaining the sovereignty of conscience as the palladium of all personal liberty, in this sense –that conscience is never subject to man but always and ever to God Almighty.

This need of the personal liberty of conscience, however, does not immediately assert itself. It does not express itself with emphasis in the child, but only in the mature man; and in the same way it mostly slumbers among undeveloped peoples, and is irresistible only among highly developed nations. A man of ripe and rich development will rather become a voluntary exile, will rather suffer imprisonment, nay, even sacrifice life itself, than tolerate constraint in the forum of his conscience. And the deeply rooted

repugnance against the Inquisition, which for three long centuries would not be assuaged, grew up from the conviction that its practices violated and assaulted human life in man. This imposes on the government a twofold obligation. In the first place it must cause this liberty of conscience to be respected by the Church, and in the second place, it must give way itself to the sovereign conscience.

As regards the first, the sovereignty of the Church finds its natural limitation in the sovereignty of the free personality. Sovereign within her own domain, she has no power over those who live outside of that sphere. And wherever, in violation of this principle, transgression of power may occur, the government has to respect the claims on protection of every citizen. The Church may not be forced to tolerate as a member one whom she feels obliged to expel from her circle; but on the other hand no citizen of the State must be compelled to remain in a church which his conscience forces him to leave.

Meantime what the government in this respect demands of the churches, it must practice itself, by allowing to each and every citizen liberty of conscience, as the primordial and inalienable right of all men.

It has cost a heroic struggle to wrest this greatest of all human liberties from the grasp of despotism; and streams of human blood have been poured out before the object was attained. But for this very reason every son of the Reformation tramples upon the honor of the fathers, who does not assiduously and without retrenching, defend this palladium of our liberties. In order that it may be able to rule men, the government must respect this deepest ethical power of our human existence. A nation, consisting of citizens whose consciences are bruised, is itself broken in its national strength.

And even if I am forced to admit that our fathers, in theory, had not the courage of the conclusions which follow from this liberty of conscience, for the liberty of speech, and the liberty of worship; even if I am well aware that they made a desperate effort to hinder the spread of literature which they disliked, by censure and refusal of publication –all this does not set aside the fact that the

Netherlands. Whosoever was elsewhere straightened, could first enjoy the liberty of ideas and the liberty of the press on Calvinistic ground. And thus the logical development of what was enshrined in the liberty of conscience, as well as that liberty itself, first blessed the world from the side of Calvinism.

For it is true that, in Roman lands, spiritual and political despotism have been finally vanquished by the French Revolution, and that in so far we have gratefully to acknowledge that this revolution also began by promoting the cause of liberty. But whosoever learns from history that the guillotine, all over France, for years and years could not rest from the execution of those who were of a different mind; whosoever remembers how cruelly and wantonly the Roman Catholic clergy were murdered, because they refused to violate their conscience by an unholy oath; or whosoever, like myself, by a sad experience, knows the spiritual tyranny which liberalism and conservatism on the European Continent have applied, and are still applying, to those who have chosen different paths, –is forced to admit that liberty in Calvinism and liberty in the French Revolution are two quite different things.

In the French Revolution a civil liberty for every Christian to agree with the unbelieving majority; in Calvinism, a liberty of conscience, which enables every man to serve God according to his own conviction and the dictates of his own heart.

1. BANCROFT, History of the United States of America. Fifteenth Edition; Boston 1853: I. 464; Ed. New York, 1891, I, 319

2. (Ed.) BURKE, Works, III p. 25, Ed. McLean, London.

3. American Constitutions by FRANKLIN B. HUGH; Albany; Weed, Parsons & Co; 1872. Vol.1, p.5.

4. Ibidem, p.8.

5. Ibidem, p.19.

6. Ibidem, II, p. 549.

7. Ibidem, p. 555.

8. Ibidem, p. 555

9. Ibidem, p. 549.

10. VON HOLZ, Verfassung und Democratie der Vereinigten Staten von America; Dusseldorf, 1873: I, p.96.

11. JOHN F. MORSE, Thomas Jefferson; Boston. 1883; p. 147. In a positively Christian sense Hamilton proposed in a letter to Bayard (April, 1801) the founding of "A Christian Constitutional Society," and wrote in another letter, quoted by Henry Cabot Lodge, Alexander Hamilton; Boston, 1892: p. 256: "When I find the doctrines of Atheism openly advanced in the Parisian Convention. and heard with loud applause; when I see the sword of fanaticism extended to force a political creed upon citizens, who were invited to submit to the arms of France as the harbingers of Liberty; when I behold the hand of rapacity outstretched to prostrate and ravish the monuments of religious worship, I acknowledge, that I am glad to believe, that there is no real resemblance between what was the cause of America and the cause of France."

12. Cf. Dr A. KUYPER Calvinism the Source and Guarantee of Our Constitutional Liberties 1873: and Dr A. KUYPER Sovereignty in the Spheres of Society, 1880.

13. Edition of Migne at Paris, 1841. Tome 1, proof 1.

14. (Ed.) Nicholas Crellius, chancellor of Christian I, leader in the crypto-calvinistic struggle in Germany. Beheaded in 1601, after ten years of harsh imprisonment. He had become much hated by the nobles. The process which led to his death sentence as traitor was conducted very arbitrarily.

15. Tome VIII, p. 516c; Ed Schippers.

16. WEITBRECHT, Woher und Wohin; Stuttgart, 1877; p. 103.

17. HELD, Verfassungssystem, I, p. 234.

Fourth Lecture - Calvinism and Science

The page numbering of the Eerdmans printed edition has been retained for the benefit of readers.

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IN MY FOURTH LECTURE allow me to draw your attention to the nexus between Calvinism and Science. Not, of course, in order to exhaust in one lecture such a weighty subject. Four points of it only I submit to your thoughtful consideration; first, that Calvinism fostered and could not but foster love for science; secondly, that it restored to science its domain; thirdly, that it delivered science from unnatural bonds; and fourthly, in what manner it sought and found a solution for the unavoidable scientific conflict.

First of all then: There is found hidden in Calvinism an impulse, an inclination, an incentive, to scientific investigation. It is a fact that science has been fostered by it, and its principle demands the scientific spirit. One glorious page from the history of Calvinism may suffice to prove the fact, before we enter more fully upon the discussion of the incentive to scientific investigation found in Calvinism as such. The page from the history of Calvinism, or let us rather say of mankind, matchless in its beauty, to which I refer, is the siege of Leyden, more than three hundred years ago. This siege of Leyden was in fact a struggle between Alva and Prince William about the future course of the history of the world; and the result was that in the end Alva had to withdraw, and that William the Silent was enabled to unfurl the banner of liberty over Europe. Leyden, defended almost exclusively by its own citizens, entered the lists against the best troops of what was looked upon at that time as the finest army of the world. Three months after the commencement of the siege, the supply of food became exhausted. A fearful famine began to rage. The apparently doomed citizens managed to live on dogs and rats. This black famine was soon followed by the black death or the plague, which carried off a third part of the inhabitants. The Spaniards offered peace and

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pardon to the dying people; but Leyden, remembering the bad faith of the enemy in the treatment of Naarden and Haarlem, answered boldly and with pride: If it is necessary, we are ready to consume our left arms, and to defend with our right arms our wives, our liberty and our religion against thee, O tyrant. Thus they persevered. They patiently waited for the coming of the Prince of Orange to raise the siege, . . .

but . . ., the prince had to wait for God. The dikes of the province of Holland had been cut through; the country surrounding Leyden was flooded; a fleet lay ready to hasten to Leyden's aid; but the wind drove the water back, preventing the fleet from passing the shallow pools. God tried his people sorely. At last however, on the first of October, the wind turned towards the West, and, forcing the waters upward, enabled the fleet to reach the beleaguered city. Then the Spaniards fled in haste to escape the rising tide. On the 3rd of October the fleet entered the port of Leyden, and the siege being raised, Holland and Europe were saved. The population, all but starved to death, could scarcely drag themselves along, yet all to a man limped as well as they could to the house of prayer. There all fell on their knees and gave thanks to God. But when they tried to utter their gratitude in psalms of praise, they were almost voiceless, for there was no strength left in them, and the tones of their song died away in grateful sobbing and weeping.

Behold what I call a glorious page in the history of liberty, written in blood, and if you now ask me, what has this to do with science, see here the answer: In recognition of such patriotic courage, the States of Holland did not present Leyden with a handful of knightly orders, or gold, or honor, but with a School of the Sciences, –the University of Leyden, renowned through the whole world. The German is surpassed by none in pride of his scientific glory, and yet no less a man than Niebuhr has testified, “that the Senate chamber of Leyden's University is the most memorable hall of science.” The ablest scholars were induced to fill the amply endowed chairs. Scaliger was conveyed from France in a man-of-war. Salmasius came to Leyden under convoy of a whole squadron. Why should I give you the long list of names of the princes of science, of the giants in learning, who have filled Leyden with the lustre of their renown, or tell you how this love for science,

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going forth from Leyden, permeated the whole nation? You know the Lipsii, the Hemsterhuizen, the Boerhaves.¹ You know that in Holland were invented the telescope, the microscope and the thermometer;² and thus empirical science, worthy of its name, was made possible. It is an undeniable fact, that the Calvinistic Netherlands had love for science and fostered it. But the most evident, the most convincing proof is doubtless found in the establishment of Leyden's University. To receive as the highest reward a University of the Sciences in a moment, when, in a fearful struggle, the course of the history of the world was turned by your heroism is only conceivable among a people in whose very life-principle love for science is involved.

And now I approach the principle itself. For it is not enough to be acquainted with the fact, I must also show you why it is that Calvinism cannot but foster love for science. And do not think it strange, when I point to the Calvinistic dogma of predestination as the strongest motive in those days for the cultivation of science in a higher sense. But in order to prevent misunderstanding let me first explain what the term "science" here means.

I speak of human science as a whole, not of what is called among you "sciences," or as the French express it "sciences exactes." Especially do I deny that mere empiricism in itself ever is perfect science. Even the minutest microscopic, the farthest reaching telescopic investigation is nothing but perception with strengthened eyes. This is transformed into science when you discover in the specific phenomena, perceived by empiricism, a universal law, and thereby reach the thought which governs the whole constellation

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of phenomena.³ In this wise the special sciences originate; but even in them the human mind cannot acquiesce. The subject-matter of the several sciences must be grouped under one head and brought under the sway of one principle by means of theory or hypothesis, and finally Systematics, as the queen of sciences, comes forth from her tent to weave all the different results into one organic whole. It is true, I know, that Dubois Raymond's winged word Ignorabimus has been used by many to make it seem impossible that our thirst for science in the highest sense will ever be quenched, and that Agnosticism, drawing a curtain across the background and over the abysses of life, is satisfied with a study of the phenomena of the several sciences; but some time ago, the human mind began to take its revenge on this spiritual vandalism. The question about the origin, interconnection and destiny of everything that exists cannot be suppressed; and the *veni, vidi, vici*, wherewith the theory of evolution with full speed occupied the ground in all the circles, inimical to the Word of God, and especially among our naturalists, is a convincing proof how much we need unity of view.

How, now, can we prove that love for science in that higher sense, which aims at unity in our cognizance of the entire cosmos, is effectually secured by means of our Calvinistic belief in God's fore-ordination? If you want to understand this you have to go back from predestination to God's decree in general, This is not a matter of choice; on the contrary, it must be done. Belief in predestination is nothing but the

penetration of God's decree into your own personal life; or, if you prefer it, the personal heroism to apply the sovereignty of God's decreeing will to your own existence. It means that we are not satisfied with a mere profession of words, but that we are willing to stand by our confession in regard both to this life and the life to come. It is a proof of honesty, unmovable firmness and solidity in our expressions concerning the unity of God's Will, and the certainty of His operations. It is a deed of high courage because it brings you under the suspicion of

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high-mindedness. But if you now proceed to the decree of God, what else does God's fore-ordination mean than the certainty that the existence and course of all things, i.e., of the entire cosmos, instead of being a plaything of caprice and chance, obeys law and order, and that there exists a firm will which carries out its designs both in nature and in history? Now do you not agree with me that this forces upon our mind the indissoluble conception of one all comprehensive unity, and the acceptance of one principle by which everything is governed? It forces upon us the recognition of something that is general, hidden and yet expressed in that which is special. Yea, it forces upon us the confession that there must be: stability and regularity ruling over everything. Thus you recognize that the cosmos, instead of being a heap of stones, loosely thrown together, on the contrary presents to our mind a monumental building erected in a severely consistent style. Do you abandon this point of view, then it is uncertain at any moment, what is to happen, what course things may take, what every morning and evening may have in store for you, your family, your country, the world at large. Man's capricious will is then the principal concern. Every man may then choose and act every moment in a certain way, but it is also possible that he may do just the reverse. If this were so, you could count upon nothing. There is no interconnection, no development, no continuity; a chronicle, but no history. And now tell me, what becomes of science under such conditions? You may yet speak of the study of nature, but the study of human life has been made ambiguous and uncertain. Nothing but bare facts may then be historically ascertained, interconnection and plan have no longer a place in history. History dies away.

I do not for a moment propose to enter just now into a discussion about man's free will. We have no time for it. But it is a fact that the more thorough development of science in our age has almost unanimously decided in favor of Calvinism with regard to the antithesis between the unity and stability of God's decree, which Calvinism professes, and the superficiality and looseness, which the Arminians preferred. The systems of the great modern philosophers are, almost to one, in favor of unity and stability. Buckle's History of the Civilization in England has succeeded in proving

the firm order of things in human life with astonishing, almost mathematical demonstrative force. Lombroso, and his entire school of criminalists, place themselves on record in this respect as moving on Calvinistic lines. And the latest hypothesis, that the laws of heredity and variation, which control the whole organization of nature, admit of no exception in the domain of human life, has already been accepted as "the common creed" by all evolutionists. Though I abstain at present from any criticism either of these philosophical systems or of these naturalistic hypotheses, so much at least is very clearly demonstrated by them, that the entire development of science in our age presupposes a cosmos which does not fall a prey to the freaks of chance, but exists and develops from one principle, according to a firm order, aiming at one fixed plan. This is a claim which is, as it clearly appears, diametrically opposed to Arminianism, and in complete harmony with Calvinistic belief that there is one Supreme will in God, the cause of all existing things, subjecting them to fixed ordinances and directing them towards a pre-established plan Calvinists have never thought that the idea of the cosmos lay in God's foreordination as an aggregate of loosely conjoined decrees, but they have always maintained that the whole formed one organic programme of the entire creation and the entire history. And as a Calvinist looks upon God's decree as the foundation and origin of the natural laws, in the same manner also he finds in it the firm foundation and the origin of every moral and spiritual law; both these, the natural as well as the spiritual laws, forming together one high order, which exists according to God's command and wherein God's counsel will be accomplished in the consummation of His eternal, all-embracing plan.

Faith in such an unity, stability and order of things, personally, as predestination, cosmically, as the counsel of God's decree, could not but awaken as with a loud voice, and vigorously foster love for science. Without a deep conviction of this unity, this stability and this order, science is unable to go beyond mere conjectures, and only when there is faith in the organic interconnection of the Universe, will there be also a possibility for science to ascend from the empirical investigation of the special phenomena to the general, and from the general to the law which rules over it, and from

that law to the principle, which is dominant over all. The data, which are absolutely indispensable for all higher science, are at hand only under this supposition. Remember the fact that in those days when Calvinism cleared for itself a path in life, tottering semipelagianism had blunted this conviction of unity, stability and order to such an extent that even Thomas Aquinas lost a great deal of his influence, while Scotists, Mystics and Epicureans vied with one another in their endeavors to deprive the human mind of its steady course. And who is there who does not perceive what entirely new impulse to undertake scientific investigations had to grow out of the new-born Calvinism, which with one powerful grasp brought order out of chaos, putting under discipline so dangerous a spiritual licentiousness, making an end to that halting between two or more opinions, and showing us instead of rising and falling mists, the picture of a powerfully-rushing mountain stream, taking its course through a well-regulated bed towards an ocean which waits to receive it. Calvinism has gone through many fierce struggles on account of its clinging to the counsel of God's decree. Again and again it seemed to be near the brink of destruction. Calvinism has been reviled and slandered on account of it, and when it refused to exclude even our sinful action from God's plan, because without it the programme of the order of the world would again be rent to pieces, our opponents did not shrink from accusing us of making God the author of sin. They knew not what they did. Through evil report and good report Calvinism has firmly maintained its confession. It has not allowed itself to be deprived by scoff and scorn of the firm conviction that our entire life must be under the sway of unity, solidity and order, established by God himself. This accounts for its need of unity of insight, firmness of knowledge, order in its world-view, fostered among us, even in the wide circles of the common people, and this manifest need is the reason that a thirst for knowledge was quickened, which in those days was nowhere satisfied in a more abundant measure than in Calvinistic countries. This explains why it is that in the writings of those days you meet with such a determination, such an energy of thought, such a comprehensive view of life. I even venture to say, that in the memoirs of noble women of that century and in

the correspondence of the unlettered, a unity of world-view and life-view is manifest, which impressed a scientific stamp on their whole existence. Intimately connected with this is also the fact that they never favored the so-called primacy of the will. They demanded, in their practical life, the bridle of a clear conscienceness, and in this consciousness the leadership could not be entrusted to humor or whim, to fancy or chance, but only to the majesty of the highest principle, wherein they found the explanation of

their existence and to which their whole life was consecrated.

I now leave my first point, that Calvinism fostered love for science, in order to proceed to the second, that Calvinism restored to science its domain. I mean to say that cosmical science originated in the Graeco-Roman world; that in the middle ages the cosmos vanished behind the horizon to draw the attention of all to the distant sights of future life, and that it was Calvinism which, without losing sight of the spiritual, led to a rehabilitation of the cosmic sciences. If we were forced to choose between the beautiful cosmic taste of Greece with its blindness for things eternal, and the middle ages with their blindness for cosmical things, but with their mystic love for Christ, then certainly every child of God on his death-bed would tender the palm to Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas rather than to Heraclitus and Aristotle. The pilgrim who wanders through the world without concerning himself about its preservation and destiny, presents to us a more ideal figure than the Greek worldling who sought religion in the worship of Venus, or Bacchus, and who flattered himself in hero-worship, debased his honor as a man in the veneration of prostitutes, and at last sank lower than the brutes in pederasty. Let it be quite understood therefore that I do not in any way over-rate the classical world, to the detracting of the heavenly lustre which sparkled through all the haze of the middle ages. But notwithstanding all this I assert and maintain that the one Aristotle knew more of the cosmos than all the church-fathers taken together; that under the dominion of Islam, better cosmic science flourished than in the cathedral- and monastic-schools of Europe; that the recovery of

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the writings of Aristotle was the first incentive to renewed though rather deficient study; and that Calvinism alone, by means of its dominating principle, which constantly urges us to go back from the Cross to Creation, and no less by means of its doctrine of common grace, threw open again to science the vast field of the cosmos, now illumined by the Sun of Righteousness, of Whom the Scriptures testify that in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Let us pause then to consider first that general principle of Calvinism and afterwards the dogma of "common grace."

All agree that the Christian religion is substantially soteriological. "What must I do to be saved?" remains throughout all the ages the question of the anxious inquirer, to which above all else an answer must be given. This question is unintelligible for those who refuse to view time in the light of eternity, and who are

accustomed to think of this earth without organic and moral connection with the life to come. But of course, wherever two elements appear, as in this case the sinner and the saint, the temporal and the eternal, the terrestrial and the heavenly life, there is always danger of losing sight of their interconnection and of falsifying both by error or one-sidedness. Christendom, it must be confessed, did not escape this error. A dualistic conception of regeneration was the cause of the rupture between the life of nature and the life of grace. It has, on account of its too intense contemplation of celestial things, neglected to give due attention to the world of God's creation. It has, on account of its exclusive love of things eternal, been backward in the fulfilment of its temporal duties. It has neglected the care of the body because it cared too exclusively for the soul. And this one-sided, inharmonious conception in the course of time has led more than one sect to a mystic worshipping of Christ alone, to the exclusion of God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. Christ was conceived exclusively as the Savior, and His cosmological significance was lost out of sight.

This dualism, however, is by no means countenanced by the Holy Scriptures. When John is describing the Savior, he first tells us that Christ is the "eternal Word, by Whom all things are made, and who is the life of men." Paul also testifies that "all things

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were created by Christ and consist by Him ;" and further, that the object of the work of redemption is not limited to the salvation of individual sinners, but extends itself to the redemption of the world, and to the organic reunion of all things in heaven and on earth under Christ as their original head. Christ himself does not speak only of the regeneration of the earth, but also of a regeneration of the cosmos (Matt. 19:28). Paul declares: "The whole creation groaneth waiting for the bursting forth of the glory of the children of God." And when John on Patmos listened to the hymns of the Cherubim and the Redeemed, all honor, praise and thanks were given to God, "Who has created the heaven and the earth." The Apocalypse returns to the starting-point of Gen. 1:1 – "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." In keeping with this, the final outcome of the future, foreshadowed in the H. Scriptures, is not the merely spiritual existence of saved souls, but the restoration of the entire cosmos, when God will be all in all under the renewed heaven on the renewed earth. Now this wide, comprehensible, cosmical meaning of the gospel has been apprehended again by Calvin, apprehended not as a result of a dialectic process, but of the deep impression of God's majesty, which had moulded his personal life.

Certainly our salvation is of substantial weight, but it cannot be compared with the much greater weight of

the glory of our God, Who has revealed His majesty in His wondrous creation. This creation is His handiwork, and being marred by sin, the way was opened, it is true for a still more glorious revelation in its restoration, yet restoration is and ever will be the salvation of that which was first created, the theodicy of the original handiwork of our God. The mediatorship of Christ is and ever will be the burden of the grand hymn of the tongues of men and the voices of angels, but even this mediatorship has for its final end the glory of the Father; and however grand the splendor of Christ's kingdom may be, He will at last surrender it to God and the Father. He is still our Advocate with the Father, but the hour is coming when His prayer for us will cease, because we shall know in that day that the Father loves us. Thereby of course Calvinism puts an end once and for all to contempt for the world, neglect of temporal and

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under-valuation of cosmical things. Cosmical life has regained its worth not at the expense of things eternal, but by virtue of its capacity as God's handiwork and as a revelation of God's attributes.

Two facts may suffice to impress you with the truth of this. During the terrible plague which once devastated Milan, Cardinal Borromeo's⁴ heroic love shone brightly in the courage he manifested in his ministrations to the dying; but during the plague, which in the 16th century tormented Geneva, Calvin acted better and more wisely, for he not only cared incessantly for the spiritual needs of the sick, but at the same time introduced hitherto unsurpassed hygienic measures whereby the ravages of the plague were arrested. The second fact to which I draw your attention is not less remarkable. The Calvinistic preacher Peter Plancius⁵ of Amsterdam was an eloquent sermonizer, a pastor unrivaled in his consecration to his work, foremost in the ecclesiastical struggle of his days, but at the same time he was the oracle of shipowners and sea-captains on account of his extensive geographical knowledge. The investigation of the lines of longitude and latitude of the terrestrial globe formed in his estimation one whole with the investigation of the length and breadth of the love of Christ. He saw himself placed before two works of God, the one in creation, the other in Christ, and in both he adored that majesty of Almighty God, which transported his soul into ecstasy. In this light it is deserving of notice that our best Calvinistic Confessions speak of two means whereby we know God, viz., the Scriptures and Nature. And still more remarkable it is that Calvin, instead of simply treating Nature as an accessorial item as so many Theologians were inclined to do, was accustomed to compare the Scriptures to a pair of spectacles, enabling us to decipher again the divine Thoughts, written by God's Hand in the book of Nature, which had become obliterated in consequence of the curse. Thus vanished every dread possibility that he who occupied himself with nature was wasting his capacities in pursuit of vain and idle things.

It was perceived, on the contrary, that for God's sake, our attention may not be withdrawn from the life of nature and creation; the study of the body regained its place of honor beside the study of the soul; and the social organization of mankind on earth was again looked upon as being as well worthy an object of human science as the congregation of the perfect saints in heaven. This also explains the close relation existing between Calvinism and Humanism. In as far as Humanism endeavored to substitute life in this world for the eternal, every Calvinist opposed the Humanist. But in as much as the Humanist contented himself with a plea for a proper acknowledgment of secular life, the Calvinist was his ally.

Now I proceed to consider the dogma of "common grace," that natural outcome of the general principle, just presented to you, but in its special application to sin, understood as corruption of our nature. Sin places before us a riddle, which in itself is insoluble. If you view sin as a deadly poison, as enmity against God, as leading to everlasting condemnation, and if you represent a sinner as being "wholly incapable of doing any good, and prone to all evil," and on this account salvable only if God by regeneration changes his heart, then it seems as if of necessity all unbelievers and unregenerate persons ought to be wicked and repulsive men. But this is far from being our experience in actual life. On the contrary the unbelieving world excels in many things. Precious treasures have come down to us from the old heathen civilization. In Plato you find pages which you devour. Cicero fascinates you and bears you along by his noble tone and stirs up in you holy sentiments. And if you consider your own surroundings, that which is reported to you, and that which you derive from the studies and literary productions of professed infidels, how much there is which attracts you, with which you sympathize and which you admire. It is not exclusively the spark of genius or the splendor of talent, which excites your pleasure in the words and actions of unbelievers, but it is often their beauty of character, their zeal, their devotion, their love, their candor, their faithfulness and their sense of honesty. Yea, we may not pass it over in silence, not

unfrequently you entertain the desire that certain believers might have more of this attractiveness, and who among us has not himself been put to the blush occasionally by being confronted with what is called the "virtues of the heathen" ?

It is thus a fact, that your dogma of total depravity by sin does not always tally with your experience in life. Yet, if you now run to the opposite direction and proceed from these experimental facts, you must not forget that your entire Christian confession falls to the ground, for then you look upon human nature as good and incorrupt; the criminal villains have to be pitied as ethically-insane; regeneration is entirely superfluous in order to live honorably; and your imagination of higher grace seems to be nothing else than playing with a medicine, which often proves entirely ineffectual. True, some people save themselves from this awkward position by speaking of the virtues of unbelievers as "splendid vices," and, on the other hand, by charging the sins of believers to old Adam, yet you feel, yourselves, that this is a subterfuge, which lacks earnestness.

Rome tried to find a better way of escape in the well-known doctrine of the *pura naturalia*. Romanists taught that there existed two spheres of life, the earthly or the merely human here below, and the heavenly, higher than the human as such; the latter offering celestial enjoyments in the vision of God. Now, Adam, according to this theory, was well prepared by God for both spheres, for the common sphere of life by the nature He gave him, and for the extra-common by granting him the supra-natural gift of original righteousness. In this wise Adam was doubly furnished for the natural as well as the celestial life. By the fall he lost the latter, not the former. His natural equipment for his earthly life remained almost unimpaired. It is true, human nature was weakened, but as a whole it remained in its integrity. Adam's natural endowments remained his possession after the fall. This explains to them why it is that fallen man often excels in the natural order of life, which is in fact merely human. You perceive that this is a system which tries to reconcile the dogma of the fall with the real state of things round about us, and on this remarkable anthropology is founded the entire Roman catholic religion. Two

things only are faulty in this system, on the one hand it lacks the deep Scriptural conception of sin, and on

the other it errs by the undervaluation of human nature to which it leads. This is the false dualism, to which a previous Lecture pointed, in the carnival. At that time the world is once more fully enjoyed, before one enters upon the *Caro vale*, but after the Carnival, in order to save the ideal, follows, for a short time, spiritual elevation into the higher spheres of life. For this reason the clergy, severing the earthly tie in celibacy, rank higher than the laity, and again, the monk, who turns away from earthly possessions also and sacrifices his own will, stands, ethically considered, on a higher level than the clergy. And finally the highest perfection is reached by the stylite, who, mounting his pillar, severs himself from everything earthly, or by the yet more silent penitent who causes himself to be immured in his subterranean cave. Horizontally, if I may use this expression, the same thought finds embodiment in the separation between sacred and secular ground. Everything uncountenanced and uncared for by the church is looked upon as being of a lower character, and exorcism in baptism tells us that these lower things are really meant to be unholy. Now, it is evident that such a standpoint did not invite Christians to make a study of earthly things. Nothing but a study appertaining to the sphere of heavenly things and condemnation could attract those who under such a banner had mounted guard over the sanctuary of the ideal.

This conception of the moral condition of fallen man has been opposed in principle by Calvinism, on the one hand by taking our conception of sin in the most absolute sense, and on the other by explaining that which is good in fallen man by the dogma of common grace. Sin, according to Calvinism, which is in full accord with the Holy Scriptures, sin unbridled and unfettered, left to itself, would forthwith have led to a total degeneracy of human life, as may be inferred from what was seen in the days before the flood. But God arrested sin in its course in order to prevent the complete annihilation of His divine handiwork, which naturally would have followed. He has interfered in the life of the individual, in the life of mankind as a whole, and in the life of nature itself by His common grace. This grace, however, does not kill the core of sin, nor does it save unto life eternal, but it arrests the complete

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effectuation of sin, just as human insight arrests the fury of wild beasts. Man can prevent the beast from doing damage: 1st by putting it behind bars; 2nd, he can subject it to his will by taming it; and 3rd, he can make it attractive by domesticating it, e.g., by transforming the originally wild dog and cat into domestic animals. In a similar manner God by His "common grace" restrains the operation of sin in man, partly by breaking its power, partly by taming his evil spirit, and partly by domesticating his nation or his family. Common grace has thus led to the result that an unregenerated sinner may captivate and attract us by much that is lovely and full of energy, just as our domestic animals do, but this of course after the manner of man. The nature of sin, however, remains as venomous as it was. This is seen in the cat, which,

brought back to the woods, returns to its former wild state after two generations, and a similar experience has been made with regard to human nature, just now, in Armenia and Cuba. He who reads an account of the massacres of St. Bartholomew is easily inclined to place these horrors to the account of the low state of culture in those days, but behold! our nineteenth century has surpassed these horrors by the massacres in Armenia. And he who has read a description of the cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the 16th century in the villages and cities of the Netherlands against defenceless old men, women and children, and then heard the news of what occurred now in Cuba, cannot help acknowledging that, what was a disgrace in the 16th, has been repeated in the 19th century. Where evil does not come to the surface, or does not manifest itself in all its hideousness, we do not owe it to the fact that our nature is not so deeply corrupt, but to God alone, Who by His "common grace" hinders the bursting forth of the flames from the smoking fire. And if you ask how it is possible, that in such a way out of restrained evil something may come forth which attracts, pleases and interests you, take then as an illustration the ferry-boat. This boat is put in motion by the current, which would carry it swiftly as an arrow down stream and ruin it; but by means of the chain, to which it is fastened, the boat arrives safely on the opposite side, pressed forward by the same power, which would otherwise have demolished it. In this wise God restrains the

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evil, and it is He who brings forth good out of evil; and meanwhile we Calvinists, never remiss in accusing our sinful nature, yet praise and thank God for making it possible for men to dwell together in a well-ordered society, and for restraining us personally from horrible sins. Moreover, we thank Him for bringing to light all the talents, hidden in our race, developing, by means of a regular process, the history of mankind, and securing by the same grace, for His church on earth, a place for the sole of her foot.

This confession, however, places the Christian in a quite different position over against life. For then, in his judgment, not only the church, but also the world belongs to God and in both has to be investigated the masterpiece of the supreme Architect and Artificer.

A Calvinist who seeks God, does not for a moment think of limiting himself to theology and contemplation, leaving the other sciences, as of a lower character, in the hands of unbelievers; but on the contrary, looking upon it as his task to know God in all his works, he is conscious of having been called to fathom with all the energy of his intellect, things terrestrial as well as things celestial; to open to view both the order of creation, and the "common grace" of the God he adores, in nature and its wondrous character, in

the production of human industry, in the life of mankind, in sociology and in the history of the human race. Thus you perceive how this dogma of "common grace" suddenly removed the interdict, under which secular life had laid hound, even at the peril of coming very near a reaction in favor of a one-sided love for these secular studies.

It was now understood that it was the "common grace" of God. which had produced in ancient Greece and Rome the treasures of philosophic light, and disclosed to us treasures of art and justice, which kindled the love for classical studies, in order to renew to us the profit of so splendid an heritage. It was not clearly seen that the history of mankind is not so much an aphoristic spectacle of cruel passions as a coherent process with the Cross as its center; a process in which every nation has its special task, and the knowledge of which may be a fountain of blessing for every people. It

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was apprehended that the science of politics and national economy deserved the careful attention of scholars and men of thought. Yea, it was intuitively conceived, that there was nothing either in the life of nature round about us, or in human life itself, which did not present itself as an object worthy of investigation, which might throw new light on the glories of the entire cosmos in its visible phenomena and its invisible operations. And if on a different standpoint, progress in thorough scientific knowledge on these lines often led to pride and estranged the heart from God, we owe it to this glorious dogma of common grace that in Calvinistic circles the most profound investigator never ceased to acknowledge himself a guilty sinner before God. and to ascribe to God's mercy alone, his splendid understanding of the things of the world.

Having proved that Calvinism has fostered love for science and restored to science its domain, allow me now in the third place to show in what manner it has advanced its indispensable liberty. Liberty is for genuine science what the air we breathe is for us. This does not mean that science is entirely untrammelled in the use of its liberty and need obey no laws. On the contrary, a fish lying on dry land is perfectly free, viz., to die and to perish, while a fish, which really shall be free to live and to thrive must be entirely surrounded by water and guided by its fins. In the same manner every science has to keep up the closest connection with its subject, and strictly to obey the claims of its proper method; and only when strictly bound by this double tie, can science move freely on. For the liberty of science does not consist in

licentiousness or lawlessness. but in its being freed from all unnatural bonds, unnatural because they are not rooted in its vital principle. Now in order fully to understand the position Calvin took, we should abstain from any wrong conception of university-life in the middle ages. State universities were not known in those days The universities were free corporations, and in so far prototypes of most of the universities in America. It was the general opinion in those days that science called into existence a *respublica litterarum*, "a commonwealth of learned men," which has to live upon its own spiritual

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capital or to die of lack of talent and energy. The encroachment upon the liberty of science in those days came not from the State but from an entirely different quarter. For ages two dominant powers, only, had been known in the life of mankind, the Church and the State. The dichotomy of body and soul was reflected in this view of life. The Church was the soul, the State the body a third power was unknown. Church-life was centralized in the Pope, while the political life of the nations found its point of union in the Emperor, and it was the endeavor to resolve this dualism into a higher unity, that kindled the flames of the fierce struggle for the supremacy of the imperial crown or the papal tiara, as seen in the conflict between the and the Golfs. Since then, however, science as a third power, thanks to the Renaissance, had pushed itself in between them. Before the thirteenth century elapsed. Science had found in the rising university-life an embodiment of its own, and claimed an existence independent of pope and emperor.

The only remaining question was whether this new power also was to create a hierarchial center in order to unveil itself as the third great potentate at the side of the pope and the emperor.

On the contrary, the republican character of the university demanded the exclusion of all monarchical aspirations. But it was just as natural for Pope and Caesar, who had partitioned among themselves the entire domain of life, to watch with suspicion the growth of a third, entirely independent power, and to try everything in order to subject the universities to their rule. If all the then existing universities had taken a firm stand such a plan would never have succeeded. But as is often the case among free corporations, competition allured the weaker to seek support from without and so they turned for help to the Vatican. This compelled the stronger Universities to follow, and rather soon the favor of the Pope was universally coveted, in order to secure special privileges. Herein is found the fundamental evil. In this wise Science surrendered its independent character. It was overlooked that the intellectual reception into, and the reflection from, our consciousness of the cosmos wherein all science consists, forms a sphere

entirely different from the Church. Now this evil has been checked by the Reformation, and mastered especially by Calvinism. Formally mastered, because in the Church itself the monarchical hierarchy being abandoned, and under the monarchical authority of Christ a republican and federal organization having been introduced, a spiritual Church-head, whose task it would be to rule over universities, no longer existed for our Calvinists. For Lutherans such a visible head was at hand in the ruler of the land, whom they honored as "first Bishop"; but not for Calvinistic nations, which kept Church and State separate as two different spheres of life. A doctor's diploma, in their system, might not derive its significance from public opinion, neither from papal consent, nor from an ecclesiastical ordinance, but solely from the scientific character of the institution.

To this must be added a second point. Without regarding the Papal auspices over the University as such, the Church exercised pressure upon Science by harassing, accusing and persecuting the innovators on account of their expressed opinions and published writings Rome did oppose, not only in the Church, what was right, but also beyond its boundaries, the freedom of the word. Truth alone, not error, had the right to propagate itself in society and truth was expected to keep its ground, not by conquering error in honest conflict, but by arraigning it at the bar of justice. This impaired the liberty of Science, because it submitted scientific questions which could not be settled by ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the judgment of the civil Court. He who shrunk from conflicts kept silence or submitted to circumstances; and he, who being of more heroic mettle defied opposition, was punished by having his wings clipped; and if he nevertheless tried to fly with clipped wings, had his neck wrung. He who published a book, betraying too bold opinions, was considered a criminal, and came at last in contact with the Inquisition and the scaffold. The right of free inquiry was unknown. Firmly believing that everything knowable and worthy of being known was known already, and known firmly and well, the Church in those days had no idea of the immense task, reserved for science, just awaking from its mediaeval slumber, nor of the "struggle for life," which was to be the indispensable rule in the execution of its task. The Church was unable to hail, in the dawn of

science, a rosy morn, heralding to the horizon the rising of a new sun, but saw in its glittering rather the smouldering sparks, which threatened to set the world on fire; and therefore she considered herself justified and in duty bound to quench this fire and to extinguish these flames wherever an outbreak occurred. This position, when we place ourselves back in those times, we can understand, but not without firmly condemning its underlying principle, for it would have smothered nascent science in its very cradle, if all the world had persisted in favoring it. Glory, therefore, to Calvinism, which first of all abandoned this pernicious position with effectual results; theoretically by its discovery of the sphere of common grace, and, before long, practically, by offering a safe harbor to all who were caught in a storm elsewhere. It is true, Calvinism, as always happens in such cases, did by no means immediately understand the full bearing of its opposition, for it began by leaving the duty to extirpate error untouched in its own code, and yet the invincible idea, which was bound to lead and in the course of time has led to freedom of the word found its absolute expression in the principle that the church has to retire to the domain of particular grace, and that exempted from her rule lies the wide and free domain of "common grace." The result of this was that the penalties of criminal law were gradually reduced to a dead letter, and that, to instance only one case, Des Cartes, who had to leave Roman Catholic France, found among the Calvinists of the Netherlands, of course, a scientific antagonist in Voetius, but in the republic a safe retreat.

To this I must add that in order to cause science to flourish a demand for science had to be created, and to that end the public mind had to be made free. As long, however, as the Church stretched out her velum over the entire drama of public life, the state of bondage naturally continued, because the only object of life was to merit heaven and to enjoy as much of the world as the Church considered to be consistent with this main end. From this point of view it was unimaginable that any one should be willing to devote himself with sympathy and with the investigator's love to the study of our earthly existence. The seeking love of all was directed

towards eternal life, and it could not be realized that Christianity, besides its yearning for eternal salvation, has to perform on earth, by divine commission, a grand task with regard to the cosmos. This new

conception was first introduced by Calvinism when it cut at the root in the most absolute sense of every idea, that life on earth were ever destined to merit the blessedness of heaven. This blessedness, for every true Calvinist, grows out of regeneration, and is sealed by the perseverance of the saints. Where in this manner the "certainty of faith" supplanted the traffic of indulgences, Calvinism called Christendom back to the order of creation: "Replenish the earth, subdue it and have dominion over everything that lives upon it." Christian life as a pilgrimage was not changed, but the Calvinist became a pilgrim, who, while on his way to our eternal home, had yet to perform on earth an important task. The cosmos, in a the wealth of the kingdom of nature, was spread out before, under, and above man. This entire limitless field had to be worked. To this labor the Calvinist consecrated himself with enthusiasm and energy. For the earth with all that is in it, had, according to God's Will, to be subjected to man. Thus flourished, in those days, in my native country, agriculture and industry, commerce and navigation as never before. This new-born national life awakened new needs. In order to subdue the earth, a knowledge of the earth was indispensable, knowledge of its oceans, of its nature, and of the attributes and laws of this nature. And so it came to pass that the people itself, who had until now refrained from encouraging science, by a new and sparkling energy, suddenly called it into action, spurring it on to a sense of liberty, hitherto entirely unknown.

And now I approach my last point, viz., the assertion that the emancipation of Science must inevitably lead to a sharp conflict of principles, and that, for this conflict, also, Calvinism alone offered the ready solution. You understand which conflict I have in view. Free investigation leads to collisions. One draws the lines on the map of life differently from his neighbor. The result is the origin

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of schools and tendencies. Optimists and pessimists. A school of Kant, and a school of Hegel. Among jurists the determinists oppose the

moralists. Among medical men the homeopaths oppose the allopaths. Plutonists and Neptunists, Darwinists and anti-Darwinists compete with one another in the natural sciences. Wilhelm van Humboldt, Jacob Grimm and Max Mueller form different schools in the domain of Linguistics. Formalists and Realists pick quarrels with one another within the classical walls of the philological temple. Everywhere contention, conflict, struggle, sometimes vehement and keen, not seldom mixed with personal asperity. And yet, although the energy of the difference of principle lies at the root of all these disputes, these

subordinate conflicts are entirely put in the shade by the principal conflict, which in all countries perplexes the mind most vehemently, the powerful conflict between those who cling to the confession of the Triune God and His Word, and those who seek the solution of the world-problem in Deism, Pantheism and Naturalism.

Notice that I do not speak of a conflict between faith and science. Such a conflict does not exist. Every science in a certain degree starts from faith, and, on the contrary, faith, which does not lead to science, is mistaken faith or superstition, but real, genuine faith it is not. Every science presupposes faith in self, in our selfconsciousness; presupposes faith in the accurate working of our senses; presupposes faith in the correctness of the laws of thought; presupposes faith in something universal hidden behind the special phenomena; presupposes faith in life; and especially presupposes faith in the principles, from which we proceed; which signifies that all these indispensable axioms, needed in a productive scientific investigation, do not come to us by proof, but are established in our judgment by our inner conception and given with our self-consciousness. On the other hand every kind of faith has in itself an impulse to speak out. In order to do this it needs words, terms, expressions These words must be the embodiment of thoughts. Those thoughts must be connected reciprocally not only with themselves but also with our surroundings, with time and eternity, and as soon as faith thus beams forth in our consciousness, the need of science and demonstration is born. Hence it follows that the conflict

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is not between faith and science, but between the assertion that the cosmos, as it exists today, is either in a normal or abnormal condition. If it is normal, then it moves by means of an eternal evolution from its potencies to its ideal. But if the cosmos in its present condition is abnormal, then a disturbance has taken place in the past, and only a regenerating power can warrant it the final attainment of its goal. This, and no other is the principal antithesis, which separates the thinking minds in the domain of Science into two opposite battle-arrays.

The Normalists refuse to reckon with other than natural data, do not rest until they have found an identical interpretation of all phenomena, and oppose with the utmost vigor, at every turn of the line, all attempts to break or to check the logical inferences of cause and effect. Therefore, they also honor faith in a formal sense but only as far as it remains in harmony with the general data of the human consciousness and this be considered as normal. Materially, however, they reject the very idea of creation, and can only accept evolution, –an evolution without a point of departure in the past, and

eternally evolving itself in the future, until lost in the boundless infinite. No species, not even the species Homo sapiens, originated as such, but within the circle of natural data developed out of lower and preceding forms of life. Especially no miracles, but instead of them the natural law, dominating in an inexorable manner. No sin, but evolution from a lower to a higher moral position. If they tolerate the Holy Scriptures at all, they do it on condition that all those parts which cannot be logically explained as a human production be excised. A Christ, if necessary, but such a one as is the product of the human development of Israel. And in the same manner a God, or rather a Supreme Being, but after the manner of the Agnostics, concealed behind the visible Universe, or pantheistically hiding in all existing things, and conceived of as the ideal reflection of the human mind.

The Abnormalists, on the other hand, who do justice to relative evolution, but adhere to primordial creation over against an evolution infinitum, oppose the position of the Normalists with all their might; they maintain inexorably the conception of man as an independent species, because in him alone is reflected the image of God; they conceive of sin as the destruction of our original

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nature, and consequently as rebellion against God; and for that reason they postulate and maintain the miraculous as the only means to restore the abnormal; the miracle of regeneration; the miracle of the Scriptures; the miracle in the Christ, descending as God with His own life into ours; and thus, owing to this regeneration of the abnormal, they continue to find the ideal norm not in the natural but in the Triune God.

Not faith and science therefore, but two scientific systems or if you choose, two scientific elaborations, are opposed to each other, each having its own faith. Nor may it be said that it is here science which opposes theology, for we have to do with two absolute forms of science, both of which claim the whole domain of human knowledge, and both of which have a suggestion about the supreme Being of their own as the point of departure for their world-view. Pantheism as well as Deism is a system about God, and without reserve the entire modern theology finds its home in the science of the Normalists. And finally, these two scientific systems of the Normalists and the Abnormalists are not relative opponents, walking together half way, and, further on, peaceably suffering one another to choose different paths, but they are both in earnest, disputing with one another the whole domain of life, and they cannot desist from the constant endeavor to pull down to the ground the entire edifice of their respective controverted assertions, all the supports included, upon which their assertions rest. If they did not try this, they would thereby

show on both sides that they did not honestly believe in their point of departure, that they were no serious combatants, and that they did not understand the primordial demand of science, which of course claims unity of conception.

A Normalist, who retains in his system the slightest possibility of creation, of a specific image of God in man, of sin as a fall, of Christ in so far as he transcends the human, of regeneration, as different from evolution, of the Scriptures, as bringing us real oracles of God, —is an amphibious scholar and forfeits the name of scientist. But on the other side, he, who, as Abnormalist, transforms creation to a certain extent into evolution; who does not see in the animal a protoplasmic creature, made in the image of man, but man's origin; who surrenders the creation of man in original righteousness; and who moreover tries every way to explain

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Regeneration, Christ, and the Scriptures as the result of merely human causes, instead of clinging with all the energy of his soul to the Divine cause, as dominating in all this over all human data, must as decidedly be banished from our ranks as an amphibious and unscientific man. The normal and the abnormal are two absolutely differing starting-points, which have nothing in common in their origin. Parallel lines never intersect. You have to choose either the one or the other. But whatever you may choose, whatever you are as a scientific man, you have to be it consistently, not only in the faculty of theology, but in all faculties; in your entire world- and life-view; in the full reflection of the whole world-picture from the mirror of your human consciousness.

Chronologically, it is true, we Abnormalists, for many ages in succession, have been the speakers, hardly ever having been challenged, while our opponents had scarcely any opportunity to dispute our principles. With the decay of the old heathen, and the rise of the Christian world-view, the general conviction soon took deep root among all students that everything has been created by God, that the species of beings have been brought into existence by special creative acts, and that among these species of beings man has been created as image-bearer of God in original righteousness; further, that the original harmony has been broken by intervening sin; and that, in order to restore this abnormal state of affairs to its primitive condition, God introduced the abnormal means of Regeneration, of Christ as our Mediator and of the Holy Scriptures. There were of course through all ages, even in large numbers, scoffers who derided these facts, and indifferent people who took no interest in them; but the very few who during ten centuries scientifically opposed this universal conviction, you may count at once on your fingers' ends. The

Renaissance doubtless favored the rise of an infidel tendency, which was felt even in the Vatican, and Humanism created enthusiasm for Graeco-Roman ideals; but granted, that after the close of the middle ages, the opposition of the Normalists made a beginning, it yet remains a fact, that the large host of philologists, jurists, physicians and physicists, for centuries afterwards left untouched these foundations, on which the very old conviction rested it was during the eighteenth century that the opposition made a change of front by leaving the

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circumference and taking up a position at the center; and it was the newer philosophy which, for the first time, on a general scale, set out with the declaration that the principles of the Christian worldview were utterly untenable. In this manner the Normalists first began to suspect, and then became conscious of their fundamental opposition. Every possible position, available in this reaction against the hitherto prevalent conviction, has been since that time by turn developed into a special philosophical system. These systems, divergent, if compared with each other, were however in perfect agreement in their denial of the abnormal. After these philosophical systems had secured the assent of the leading men, the several sciences followed, and were immediately solicitous to introduce the new hypothesis of an infinite normal process as the starting-point of their special investigations in the domains of jurisprudence, medicine, natural science and history.

Then for a moment surely, public opinion was stupefied with sudden fright, but since the mass of the people lacked personal faith, this superficial reluctance was only of short duration. Within a quarter of a century the life-view of the Normalists had conquered in a literal sense the world in its leading center. And only he who adhered to the abnormalist view by virtue of his personal faith refused to join in the chorus of those who sang the praises of "modern thought," and at the first brunt, felt inclined to anathematize all science, retiring to the tent of mysticism. It is true, for a short time theologians tried to defend their cause apologetically, but this defense might be compared to a man who tries to adjust a crooked window-frame, while he is unconscious of the fact that the building itself is tottering on its foundations.

This is the reason why the abler theologians, especially in Germany, imagined that the best thing to do would be to avail themselves of one or the other of these philosophical systems as a prop to sustain Christianity. The first result of this compound of philosophy and theology was the so-called mediating theology, which gradually became poorer and poorer in its theological, richer and richer in its philosophical part, until at last modern theology lifted up its head and found its glory in the attempt to

cleanse theology of its abnormal character in such a thorough manner that Christ was

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transformed into a man, born as we are born, who was not even entirely free of sin, and the Holy Scriptures into a collection of writings, for the most part pseudepigraphic and in every possible manner interpolated and filled with myths, legends and fables. The song of the Psalmist: "We see not our signs; they have set up their ensigns for signs," has been literally fulfilled by them. Christ and the Scriptures included, every sign of the abnormal was rooted out, and the sign of the normal process embraced as the only genuine criterion of truth. In this result, I repeat what I have already stated, there is nothing to surprise us. He, who subjectively looks upon his inner being and objectively upon the world around him as normal, cannot but speak as he does, cannot reach a different result, and would be insincere in his position as a scientific man, if he were to represent things in a different light. And therefore from a moral point of view, not thinking for a moment of such a man's responsibility in the judgment of God, nothing can be said against his personal stand-point, provided that, thinking as he does, he shows the courage to voluntarily leave the Christian church in all its denominations.

If the character of the keen and unavoidable conflict is thus and not otherwise, behold then the unconquerable position which Calvinism points out to us in the strain and struggle, resulting from this conflict. It does not keep itself busy with useless apologetics; it does not turn the great battle into a skirmish about one of the outworks, but immediately goes back to human consciousness, from which every man of science has to proceed as his consciousness. This consciousness, just on account of the abnormal character of things, is not the same in all. If the normal condition of things had not been broken, consciousness would emit the same sound from all; but as a matter of fact, this is not the case. In the one the consciousness of sin is very powerful and strong, in the other it is either feeble or entirely wanting. In the one the certainty of faith speaks with decision and clearness as a result of regeneration, the other does not even understand what it is. So also in the one the Testimonium Spiritus Sancti resounds loudly and

in tones firm and strong, while the other declares that he has never yet heard its testimony. Now, these three, consciousness of sin, certainty of faith and the testimony of the Holy Spirit, are constituent elements in the consciousness of every Calvinist. They form its immediate contents. Without these three self-consciousness does not exist with him. This the Normalist disapproves, and, therefore, he tries to force his consciousness upon us, and claims that our consciousness has to be identical with his own. From his point of view nothing else could be expected. For if he conceded that there might be a real difference between his consciousness and ours, he would thereby have admitted a break in the normal condition of things. We, on the contrary, do not claim that our consciousness shall be found in him. It is true, Calvin maintains, that there is hidden in the heart of every man a "religious seed," – semen religionis, and that the "God-feeling," –sensus divinitatis, confessed or unconfessed, in moments of intense mental strain, causes the soul to tremble, but it is no less true that it is just his system which teaches that human consciousness in a man who believes and in a man who disbelieves cannot agree, but that on the contrary disagreement is inevitable. He, who is not born again, cannot have a substantial knowledge of sin, and he, who is not converted, cannot possess certainty of faith; he who lacks the Testimonium Spiritus Sancti, cannot believe in the Holy Scriptures, and all this according to the thrilling saying of Christ himself: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God"; and also according to the saying of the apostle: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God." Calvin, however, does not excuse unbelievers on this account. The day will come when they will be convinced in their own conscience. But with regard to the present condition of things we, of course, have to acknowledge two kinds of human consciousness: that of the regenerate and the unregenerate; and these two cannot be identical. In the one is found what is lacking in the other. The one is unconscious of a break and clings accordingly to the normal; the other has an experience both of a break and of a change, and thus possesses in his consciousness the knowledge of the abnormal. If, therefore, it be true that man's own consciousness is his primumverum, and hence must be also the starting-point for every scientist

then the logical conclusion is that it is an impossibility that both should agree, and that every endeavor to

make them agree must be doomed to failure. Both, as honest men, will feel duty bound to erect such a scientific edifice for the whole cosmos, which is in harmony with the fundamental data, given in their own self-consciousness.

You perceive immediately how radical and fundamental this Calvinistic solution of the perplexing problem is; Science is not undervalued or pushed aside, but postulated for the cosmos as a whole and all its parts. The claim is maintained that your science has to form a complete whole. And the difference between the science of the Normalists and Abnormalists is not founded upon any differing result of investigation, but upon the undeniable difference which distinguishes the self-consciousness of the one from that of the other. Free science is the stronghold we defend against the attack of her tyrannical twin-sister. The Normalist tries to do us violence even in our own consciousness. He tells us that our self consciousness must needs be uniform with his own, and that everything else we imagine we find in ours stands condemned as self delusion. In other words, the Normalist wishes to wrest from us the very thing which, in our self-consciousness, is the highest and holiest gift for which a continual stream of gratitude wells up from our hearts to God. He calls a lie in our own souls that which is more precious and certain to us than our life. With royal pride our consciousness of faith, and the indignation of our heart, rise up against all this. We resign ourselves to the fate of being slighted and oppressed in the world, but we refuse to be dictated to by anyone in the sanctuary of our heart. We do not assail the liberty of the Normalist to build a well construed science from the premises of his own consciousness, but our right and liberty to do the same thing we are determined to defend, if needs be, at any cost.

The parts are now exchanged. Not so very long ago the principal positions of Abnormalism were looked upon as axioms for all sciences in almost all universities, and the few Normalists, who at that time opposed the principle of their antagonists, found it difficult to find a chair. First they were persecuted, then outlawed, after that at the most tolerated. But at present they are the masters of the situation, control all influence, fill ninety per cent of all

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professorial chairs, and the result is that the Abnormalist, who has been forced out of the official house, is now obliged to look for a place where he may lay down his head. Formerly, we showed them the door, and now this sinful assault upon their liberty is by God's righteous judgment avenged by their turning us out into the street, and so it becomes the question, if the courage, the perseverance, the energy, which enabled them to win. their suit at last, will be found now in a still higher degree, with Christian scholars.

May God grant it! You cannot, nay, you even may not think of it, deprive him, whose consciousness differs from yours, of freedom of thought, of speech and of the press. That they, from their standpoint pull down everything that is holy in your estimation, is unavoidable. Instead of seeking relief for your scientific conscience in downhearted complaints, or in mystic feeling, or in unconfessional work, the energy and the thoroughness of our antagonists must be felt by every Christian scholar as a sharp incentive himself also to go back to his own principles in his thinking, to renew all scientific investigation on the lines of these principles, and to glut the press with the burden of his cogent studies. If we console ourselves with the thought that we may without danger leave secular science in the hands of our opponents, if we only succeed in saving theology, ours will be the tactics of the ostrich. To confine yourself to the saving of your upper room, when the rest of the house is on fire, is foolish indeed. Calvin long ago knew better, when he asked for a *Philosophia Christiana*, and after all every faculty, and in these faculties every single science, is more or less connected with the antithesis of principles, and should consequently be permeated by it. As little may you seek your safety in shutting your eyes to the actual conditions of things, wherein so many Christians imagine they find a safe shield. Everything astronomers or geologists, physicists or chemists, zoologists or bacteriologists, historians or archaeologists bring to light has to be recorded, detached of course from the hypothesis they have slipped behind it and from the conclusions they have drawn from it, –but every fact has to be recorded by you, also, as a fact, and as a fact that is to be incorporated as well in your science as in theirs.

In order, however, to make this possible, university life has to be subjected again, just as in the days when Calvinism began its

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splendid career, to a radical change. Of late, university life all over the world presumed that science grew up only from one homogeneous human consciousness, and that nothing but learning and ability determined whether you might claim a professorial chair or not. No one thought, like William the Silent when he founded the Leyden University over against that of Louvain, of two lines of universities, opposed to one another on account of radical difference of principle. Since, however, the world-wide conflict between the Normalists and Abnormalists broke out in full force, the need of a division of university-life began again to be felt more generally on both sides. The first in the field were (I speak only of Europe) the unbelieving Normalists themselves, who founded the *Université Libre* of Brussels. Before this in the same Belgium the Roman Catholic university of Louvain, in virtue of old traditions, had been placed in

opposition to the neutral-universities of Liege and Ghent. In Switzerland a university arose at Freiburg, renowned, although yet young, as an embodiment of the Roman Catholic principle. In Great Britain the same principle is followed in Dublin. In France, Roman Catholic faculties are pitted against the faculties of the State institutions. And also in the Netherlands, Amsterdam saw the birth of the Free University, for the general cultivation of the sciences on the foundation of the Calvinistic principle.

If now, according to the demands of Calvinism, Church and State withdraw, I do not say their liberal gifts but their high authority, from university-life, in order that the university may be allowed to take root and flourish in its own soil, then certainly the division, which is already begun, will be accomplished of itself and undisturbed, and in this domain also it will be seen that only a peaceful separation of the adherents of antithetic principles warrants progress, –honest progress, –and mutual understanding. We here call upon History as our witness. First, the emperors of Rome tried to realize the false idea of one State, but the division of their universal monarchy into a multitude of independent nations was needed to develop the hidden political powers of Europe. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe yielded to the enchantment of one world-Church, until the reformation dispelled this delusion, also, thus opening the way for a higher development

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of Christian life. Nowhere else is this as clearly seen as in the United States of America, where denominational multiformity gave a separate Church-embodiment to every differentiation of principle. In the idea of one Science only, the old curse of uniformity is yet maintained. But of this also it may be prophesied that the days of its artificial unity are numbered, that it will split up, and that in this domain also at least the Roman Catholic, the Calvinistic and the Evolutional principles will cause to spring up different spheres of scientific life, which will flourish in a multiformity of universities. We must have systems in science, coherence in instruction, unity in education. That is only really free, which, while it is strictly bound to its own principle, has the power to free itself from all unnatural bonds. The final result, therefore, will be, thanks to Calvinism, which has opened for us the way, that liberty of science will also triumph at last; first by guaranteeing full power to every leading life-system to reap a scientific harvest from its own principle; –and secondly, by refusing the scientific name to whatsoever investigator dare not unroll the colors of his own banner, and does not show emblazoned on his escutcheon in letters of gold the very principle for which he lives, and from which his conclusions derive their power.

1. (Ed.) Justus Lipsius, 1547-1606 linguist, critic, and humanist R. C. He was in turn Lutheran, Reformed, and again Roman Catholic. At his death he was historian of the king of Spain. Tiberius Hemsterhuis, philologist, 1685 –1766; F. Hemsterhuis, nephew of Tiberius, 1721 –1790, philosopher, moralist. Herman Boerhave, very famous as physician, 1668 –1738

2. (Ed.) The invention of the telescope is attributed to Lipperhey of Middelburg, about 1600; of the microscope to Z. Jansen (1590), and of the thermometer, as well as the barometer, to C. Drebbel. Drebbel in 1619 exhibited Jansen's compound microscope to James I. Anton van Leeuwenhoek, 1632-1723, was one of the most successful pioneer microscopists.

3. (Ed.) In his Encyclopedia of Theology, II, p. 29, Dr Kuyper defines science as an impulse in the human spirit that the cosmos to which he is related organically, may be reflected plastically in us, according to its moments, (causes, originating things), and may be comprehended logically, in its relations. Cf. p. 168

4. (Ed.) Frederick Borromeo (1564-1631) cardinal, archbishop of Milan. During the famine and pest at Milan, he fed 2,000 poor daily.

5. (Ed.) Petrus Plancius, 1622, St. Steven called him "le tres-docte geograph."

Fifth Lecture - Calvinism and Art

The page numbering of the Eerdmans printed edition has been retained for the benefit of readers.

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IN THIS FIFTH LECTURE, which is the last but one, I speak of Calvinism and Art. 1

It is not the prevailing tendency of the day that induces me to do this. Genuflection before an almost

fanatical worship of art, such as our time fosters, should little harmonize with the high seriousness of life, for which Calvinism has pleaded, and which it has sealed, not with the pencil or chisel in the studio, but with its best blood at the stake and in the field of battle. Moreover the love of art which is so broadly on the increase in our times should not blind our eyes, but ought to be soberly and critically examined. It presents the fact, which is in every way explainable, that artistic refinement, thus far restricted to a few favored circles, now tends to gain ground among broader middle classes, occasionally even betraying its inclination to descend to the widest strata of lower society. It is the democratizing, if you like, of a life-utterance which hitherto recommended itself by its aristocratic allurements. And though the really inspired artist may complain that, with the majority, piano-playing is mere strumming, and painting little more than daubing, yet, the exuberant feeling of having a share in the privileges of art is so overwhelming, that the scorn of the artist is preferred to the abandonment of art-training in education. To have laid a production of your own, however poor, upon the altar of art becomes more and more the characteristic of an accomplished civilization. Finally, in all this the desire of enjoyment through ear and eye expresses itself, especially by means of music and of the

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stage. And if it cannot be denied that many court these sensual pleasures in ways that are less noble and too often sinful, it is equally certain that in many instances this love of art leads men to seek enjoyment in nobler directions and lessens the appetite for lower sensuality. Especially in our great cities, stage-managers are able to provide such first rate entertainments, and the easy means of communication between the nations imparts such an international character to our best singers and players, that the finest artistic enjoyments are now brought for almost no price within the reach of an ever-widening class. Besides, it is but fair to concede that, threatened with atrophy by materialism and rationalism, the human heart naturally seeks an antidote against this withering process, in its artistic instinct. Unchecked, the dominating influences of money and of barren intellectualism would reduce the life of the emotions to freezing-point. And, unable to grasp the holier benefits of religion, the mysticism of the heart reacts in an art intoxication. Hence, though I do not forget that the real genius of art seeks the heights of isolation rather than the plains below, and that our age, so poor in the production of real creative art, is deemed to warm itself at the splendid glow of the past; yea, though I admit that the homage of art by the profanum vulgus must necessarily lead to art-corruption, nevertheless, in my estimation, even the most injudicious aesthetical fanaticism stands far higher than the common race for wealth, or an unholy prostration before the shrines of Bacchus and Venus. In this cold, irreligious and practical age the warmth of this devotion to art has kept alive many higher aspirations of our soul, which otherwise might readily have died, as they did in the middle of the last century. Thus you see, I do not under-estimate the present aesthetical movement. But what in the light of History should be

discountenanced is the mad endeavor to place it higher than, or even to make it of equal value with the religious movement of the 16th century; yet this is what I should be doing if I begged for Calvinism the favor of this new artistic movement. And therefore, when I plead the significance of Calvinism in the domain of art, I am not in the least induced to do so by this vulgarization of art, but rather keep my eyes fixed upon the Beautiful and the Sublime in its eternal significance, and upon art as one of the richest gifts of God to mankind.

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Here, however, every student of history knows that I founder upon a deeply-rooted prejudice. Calvin, it is said, was personally devoid of the artistic instinct, and Calvinism, which in the Netherlands proved guilty of Iconoclasm, cannot but be incapable either of artistic development or of real, noteworthy art-production. A brief word therefore about this strong prejudice is here in order. Without putting too high an estimate upon his: "Wer nicht liebt Weib, Wein und Gesang," it is beyond dispute that Luther was more artistically disposed than Calvin; but what does it prove? Will you deny Hellenism its artistic laurels because, devoid of all sense of the beautiful, Socrates boasted of the beauty of his giant nose because it allowed his breath to pass more freely? Do the writings of John, Peter and Paul, the three pillars of the Christian Church, in a single word betray any special appreciation of artistic life? Yea, be it asked reverently, is there any instance in the Gospels of Christ ever pleading for art as such, or seeking its enjoyment? And when these questions, one by one, must be answered in the negative, have you therefore the right to deny the fact that Christianity as such has been of an almost invaluable significance to the development of art? And if not, why then would you accuse Calvinism on the mere ground that Calvin personally had little feeling for art? And when you speak of the Iconoclasm of the Beggars, should you forget that in the 8th century in the midst of the artistic and beautiful Grecian world the manly spirit of Leo Isaurus instigated a still more violent Iconoclasm, and should therefore the honor be denied to Byzantium of having produced the finest monuments? Do you ask for still further proof to the contrary? Well, more sharply even than Leo Isaurus in the 8th century or the Netherland's Beggars in the 16th century, did Mahomed in his Khoran militate against images of all kinds, but will this justify the charge that the Alhambra in Grenada and the Alcazar at Seville are no wonderfully beautiful products of architectural art?

We must not forget that the artistic instinct is a universal human phenomenon, but that in connection with national types, climates and countries, the development of that artistic instinct is most unequally divided among the nations. Who will look for a development of art in Iceland, and who on the other hand will not scent it, if I may so express myself, amidst the luxury of nature in the Levant? Is it then a matter of surprise that the South of

Europe was more favorable for the development of this artistic instinct than the North? And when History shows that Calvinism was most widely received by the people of the North, does it prove aught against Calvinism, that in nations living in a colder climate and of poorer natural surroundings, it was not able to quicken an artistic life such as flourished among the Southern nations? Because Calvinism preferred a worship of God in spirit and in truth, to sacerdotal wealth, it has been accused by Rome of being devoid of an appreciation of art, and because it disapproved of a woman debasing herself as an artist's model or casting away her honor in the ballet, its moral seriousness has clashed with the sensualism of those who deemed no sacrifice too sacred for the Goddess of Art. All this, however, concerns only the place which art has to occupy in the sphere of life, and the boundaries of its domain, but does not touch art itself. To view therefore from a higher platform the significance of Calvinism to art, follow me in the investigation of these three points: 1. why Calvinism was not allowed to develop an art-style of its own; 2. what flows from its principle for the nature of art; and 3. what it has actually done for its advancement.

All would be well, if only Calvinism had developed an architectural style of its own. Just as the Parthenon is boasted of at Athens, the Pantheon at Rome, the Saint Sophia at Byzantium, the Cathedral at Cologne, or the Saint Peter's at the Vatican, so also ought Calvinism to be able to exhibit an impressive structure, embodying all the fulness of its ideal. And that it did not do this is considered sufficient proof of its artistic poverty. Of course Calvinism is understood as having tried to ascend to the same artistic luxury, but is censured as having proved unable to accomplish it; its barren inflexibility being the obstacle that prevented every higher aesthetical development. And when the humanist boasts of the classic art of Old Hellas, the Greek Church of the Byzantine, and Rome of its Gothic Cathedral, then Calvinism is looked upon as standing perplexed by the painful charge of having lessened the fulness of human life. Now in opposition to this thoroughly unfair accusation, I maintain that for the very reason of its higher principle

Calvinism was not allowed to develop such an architectural style of its own. I was bound in this connection to put architecture to the front, because both in classic and in so-called Christian art the absolute and all-embracing production of art was exhibited in architecture, all the other departments of art finally adapting themselves to the temple, church, mosque or pagoda. Scarcely a single art-style can be mentioned which did not arise from the center of divine worship and which did not seek the realization of its ideals in the sumptuous structure for that worship. This was the thriving of an impulse which in itself was noble. Art derived her richest motives from Religion. The religious passion was the gold-mine, which financially rendered her boldest conceptions possible. For the realization of her conceptions in this holy domain she found not only the narrow circle of art-lovers, but also the whole nation at her feet. Divine worship furnished the tie that united the separated arts. And what tells more still, by this connection with the Eternal, art received its inner unity and its ideal consecration. And this explains the fact that whatever the palace and the stage may have done for the development of art, it was always the sanctuary by which it was impressed with the stamp of a special character and to which it was indebted for a creative style. Art-style and the style of worship coincided. Now of course, if this wedding of art inspired worship, with worship-inspired art be no intermediate stage, but the highest end to be obtained, then it must frankly be confessed that Calvinism cannot but plead guilty. If, however, it can be shown that this alliance of religion and art represents a lower stage of religious, and in general of human development, then it is plain that in this very want of a special architectural style, Calvinism finds an even higher recommendation. Being fully convinced that this is the case, I proceed to account for this conviction.

First then the aesthetic development of divine worship carried to those ideal heights of which the Parthenon and the Pantheon, the Saint Sophia and Saint Peter are the stone-embroidered witnesses, is only possible at that lower stage, in which the same form of religion is imposed upon a whole nation, both by prince and priest. In that case every difference of spiritual expression fuses into one mode of symbolical worship, and this union of the masses, under the leadership of the magistrate and the clergy, furnishes the possibility of defraying the immense expense of such colossal structures

and of ornamenting and decorating them. In the case, however, of a progressive development of the

nations, when individual character-traits split the unity of the masses, Religion also rises to that higher plain where it graduates from the symbolical into the clearly-conscious life, and thereby necessitates both the division of worship into many forms, and the emancipation of matured religion from all sacerdotal and political guardianship. In the 16th century Europe was approaching, though slowly, this higher level of Spiritual development, and it was not Lutheranism with its subjection of the whole nation to the religion of the prince, but Calvinism with its profound conception of religious liberty, which initiated the transition. In every country where Calvinism has made its appearance, it has led to a multiformity of life-tendencies, it has broken the power of the State within the domain of religion, and to a great extent has made an end of sacerdotalism. As a result of this, it abandoned the symbolical form of worship, and refused, at the demand of art, to embody its religious spirit in monuments of splendor.

The objection that such a symbolic service had a place in Israel does not weaken my argument, it rather supports it. For does not the New Testament teach us that the ministry of shadows, naturally flourishing under the old dispensation, under the dispensation of fulfilled prophecy is "old and waxeth aged and is nigh unto vanishing away?" In Israel we find a state-religion, which is one and the same for the entire people. That religion is under sacerdotal leadership. And finally it makes its appearance in symbols, and is consequently embodied in the splendid temple of Solomon. But when this ministry of shadows has served the purposes of the Lord, Christ comes to prophesy the hour when God shall no longer be worshipped in the monumental temple at Jerusalem, but shall rather be worshipped in spirit and in truth. And in keeping with this prophecy you find no trace or shadow of art for worship in all the apostolic literature. Aaron's visible priesthood on earth gives place to the invisible High-priesthood after the order of Melchizedek in Heaven. The purely spiritual breaks through the nebula of the symbolical.

My second proof is that this agrees entirely with the higher relation between Religion and Art. Here I appeal to Hegel and Von

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Hartmann who, both standing outside Calvinism, may be relied upon as being disinterested witnesses. Hegel says that art, which, at a lower stage of development, imparts to a still sensual religion its highest expression, finally helps it by these very means to cast off the fetters of sensuality; for though it must be granted that at a lower level it is only the aesthetical worship that liberates the spirit, nevertheless, he concludes, "beautiful art is not its highest emancipation," for that is only found in the realm of the invisible and spiritual. And Von Hartmann even more emphatically declares that: Originally Divine worship

appeared inseparably united to art, because, at the lower stage, Religion is still inclined to lose itself in the aesthetic form. At that period, all the arts, he says, engage in the service of the cult, not merely music, painting, sculpture and architecture, but also the dance, mimicry and the drama. The more, on the other hand, Religion develops into spiritual maturity, the more it will extricate itself from art's bandages, because art always remains incapable of expressing the very essence of Religion. And the final result of this historic process of separation, he concludes, must be that Religion, when fully matured, will rather entirely abstain from the stimulant by which aesthetic pseudo-emotion intoxicated it, in order to concentrate itself wholly and exclusively upon the quickening of those emotions which are purely religious."

And both Hegel and Von Hartmann are correct in this fundamental thought. Religion and Art have each a life-sphere of their own these may at first be scarcely distinguishable from each other and therefore closely intertwined, but, with a richer development, these two spheres necessarily separate. Looking at two babies in a cradle you can scarcely tell which is boy or girl, but when, having reached the years of maturity, they stand before you, as man and woman, you see them both with forms, and traits, and modes of expression peculiarly their own. And so, arrived at their highest development, both Religion and Art demand an independent existence, and the two stems which at first were intertwined and seemed to belong to the same plant, now appear to spring from a root of their own. This is the process from Aaron to Christ, from Bezaleel and Aholiab to the Apostles. And, by virtue of that same process, Calvinism occupies a higher standpoint in the 16th century

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than Romanism could reach. Consequently Calvinism was neither able, nor even permitted, to develop an art-style of its own from its religious principle. To have done this would have been to slide back to a lower level of religious life. On the contrary, its nobler effort must be to release religion and divine worship more and more from its sensual form and to encourage its vigorous spirituality. This it was enabled to do because of the powerful pulsebeat by which at that time the religious life coursed through the arteries of mankind. And the fact that in these days our Calvinistic churches are deemed cold and unheimish, and a reintroduction of the symbolical in our places of worship is longed for, we owe to the sad reality that the pulsebeat of the religious life in our times is so much fainter than it was in the days of our martyrs. But so far from borrowing from this the right of re-descending to a lower level of religion, this faintness of the religious life ought to inspire the prayer for a mightier in-working of the Holy Spirit. Second childhood, in your old age, is a painful, retrograde movement. The man who fears God, and whose faculties remain clear and unimpaired, does not on the brink of age return to the playthings of his infancy.

One more objection might maintain itself after this demonstration, and that too I want to face. The question may be asked whether a really independent life-tendency should not create its own art-style, even if it developed itself as absolutely secular. Let the real meaning of the objection be well understood. It does not suggest that Calvinism if truly possessed of an esthetic significance should have given a certain direction to the practice of art, for the fact that Calvinism has truly done this will presently show itself. The point of this objection hits deeper, and puts the question whether in the first place a secular art-style is conceivable; and in the second place, whether the creation of such a purely secular and dominating art-style could have been demanded of Calvinism. The answer I make to the first is: that in the history of art no record of the rise of such an all-embracing art-style independent of Religion, is to be found. Mark you, I do not here speak of a school of a single art, but of an art-style which puts a concentric impress upon all the arts together. To a certain degree it could be asserted of Roman art and of that of the Renaissance that, although devoid

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of a leading religious impulse, they nevertheless reached an all-sided revelation in art-forms. Speaking of architecture, the dome in Roman and Byzantine art is not an expression of a religious thought but of political energy. The dome symbolizes world-power, and, though it may be in a different sense, of the Renaissance also it must be confessed that it did not take its rise in religion, but in the circles of civil and social life. Now the Renaissance will be considered more fully in the third part of this lecture, but with respect to the Roman art-style I here answer, first, that a style, which borrowed almost all its motives from Greek art can scarcely boast of an independent character; and secondly, that, in Rome, the State-idea had become so identified with the Religious idea, that when, in the period of the emperors, art reached its height of prosperity while sacrifices were burned to Divus Augustus, it is unhistorical to consider State and Religion any longer as being at that time separate spheres.

But, apart from this historic outcome, it may be questioned, whether such an all-embracing art-style ever could have originated outside of Religion. The rise of such a style demands a central motive in the mental and emotional life of a people, which shall dominate the whole existence from within, and which consequently carries its effect from this spiritual center to its outermost circumference. Not of course as though a national world of art ever could be the product of intellectual thought. Intellectual art is no art, and the effort put forth by Hegel to draw out from thoughts, militated against the very nature of art. Our intellectual, ethical, religious and aesthetic life each commands a sphere of its own. These spheres run

parallel and do not allow the derivation of one from the other. It is the central emotion, the central impulse, and the central animation, in the mystical root of our being, which seeks to reveal itself to the outer world in this fourfold ramification. Art also is no side-shoot on a principal branch, but an independent branch that grows from the trunk of our life itself, even though it is far more nearly allied to Religion than to our thinking or to our ethical being. If, however, it be asked how there can arise a unity of conception embracing these four domains, it constantly appears that in the finite this unity is only found at that point where it springs from the fountain of the infinite. There is

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no unity in your thinking save by a well-ordered philosophical system, and there is no system of philosophy which does not ascend to the issues of the infinite. In the same way there is no unity in your moral existence save by the union of your inner existence with the moral world-order, and there is no moral world-order conceivable but for the impression of an Infinite power that has ordained order in this moral world. Thus also no unity in the revelation of art is conceivable, except by the art-inspiration of an Eternal Beautiful, which flows from the fountain of the Infinite. Hence no characteristic all-embracing art-style can arise except as a consequence of the peculiar impulse from the Infinite that operates in our inmost being. And since this is the very privilege of Religion, over intellect, morality and art, that she alone effects the communion with the Infinite, in our self-consciousness, the call for a secular, all-embracing art-style, independent of any religious principle, is simply absurd.

Understand that art is no fringe that is attached to the garment, and no amusement that is added to life, but a most serious power in our present existence, and therefore its principal variations must maintain, in their artistic expression, a close relation with the principal variations of our entire life; and since, without exception, these principal variations of our entire human existence are dominated by our relation to God, would it not be both a degradation and an underestimation of art, if you were to imagine the ramifications, into which the art-trunk divides itself, to be independent of the deepest root which all human life has in God? Consequently no art-style has sprung from the Rationalism of the 18th century, nor from the principle of 1789, and however grievous it may be to our 19th century, all her efforts to create a new art style of her own have ended in perfect failure, and then only do her artistic productions possess a real charm when she allows herself to be inspired by the wonders of the past.

Thus by itself the possibility must be denied that a proper art style can originate independently of religion; but even if this were otherwise, it would still be illogical, and this was my second argument, to demand

such a secular tendency of Calvinism. For how can you desire that a life-movement, which found the origin of its power in the arraignment of all men and of all human life

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before the face of God, should have sought the impulse, the passion and the inspiration for its life outside of God in so exceedingly important a domain as that of the mighty arts? There remains, therefore, no shadow of a reality in the scornful reproach that the non-creation of an architectural style of its own is a conclusive proof of Calvinism's artistic poverty. Only under the auspices of its religious principle could Calvinism have created a general art style, and just because it had reached a so much higher stage of religious development, its very principle forbade it the symbolical expression of its religion in visible and sensual forms.

Hence the question must be differently stated. And this brings us to our second point. The question is not whether Calvinism produced what, with its higher view-point, it was no longer allowed to create, viz., a general art-style of its own, but what interpretation of the nature of art flows from its principle. In other words, is there in the life- and world-view of Calvinism a place for art, and if so, what place? Is its principle opposed to art, or, if judged by the standards of the Calvinistic principle, would a world without art lose one of its ideal spheres? I do not speak now of the abuse, but simply of the use of art. In every domain, life is bound to respect the dimensions of this domain. Encroachment on the domain of others is always unlawful; and our human life will only then attain its nobler harmony when all its functions cooperate in just proportion to our general development. The logic of the mind may not scorn the feelings of the heart, nor should the love of the beautiful silence the voice of conscience. However holy Religion may be, it must keep within its own bounds, lest, in crossing its lines, it degenerate into superstition, insanity or fanaticism. And, in the same way, the too exuberant passion for art which laughs at the whispering of conscience, must end in an unlovely discord quite different from what the Greeks exalted in their kalokagathos. The fact, for instance, that Calvinism arrayed itself against all unholy play with woman's honor, and stigmatized every form of immoral artistic enjoyment as a degradation, lies therefore outside our scope. All this properly denounces the abuse, while it carries no weight whatever with the question of the lawful use. And that

the lawful use of art was not opposed, but encouraged and even recommended, by Calvin himself, his own words readily prove. When the Scripture mentions the first appearance of art, in the tents of Jubal, who invented the harp and organ, Calvin emphatically reminds us that this passage treats of "excellent gifts of the Holy Spirit." He declares that in the artistic instinct God had enriched Jubal and his posterity with rare endowments. And he frankly states that these inventive powers of art prove most evident testimonies of the Divine bounty. More emphatically still, he declares, in his commentaries on Exodus, that 'all the arts come from God and are to be respected as Divine inventions.' According to Calvin, these precious things of the natural life we owe originally to the Holy Ghost. In all Liberal Arts, in the most as well as in the least important, the praise and glory of God are to be enhanced. The arts, says he, have been given us for our comfort, in this our depressed estate of life. They react against the corruption of life and nature by the curse. When his colleague, Prof. Cop, at Geneva, took up arms against art, Calvin purposely instituted measures, by which, as he writes, to restore this foolish man to sounder sense and reason. The blind prejudice against Sculpture, on the ground of the Second Commandment, Calvin declares unworthy of refutation. He exults in Music as a marvelous power to move hearts and to ennoble tendencies and morals. Among the excellent favors of God for our recreation and enjoyment, it occupies in his mind the highest rank. And even when art condescends to become the instrument of mere entertainment to the masses, he asserts that this sort of pleasure should not be denied them. In view of all this we may say that Calvin esteemed art, in all its ramifications, as a gift of God, or, more especially, as a gift of the Holy Ghost; that he fully grasped the profound effects worked by art upon the life of the emotions; that he appreciated the end for which art has been given, Vi[sterling]., that by it we might glorify God, and ennoble human life, and drink at the fountain of higher pleasures, yea even of common sport; and finally, that so far from considering art as a mere imitation of nature, he attributed to it the noble vocation of disclosing to man a higher reality than was offered to us by this sinful and corrupted world.

Now if this implied nothing beyond the personal interpretation of Calvin, his testimony would of course have no conclusive value

for Calvinism in general. But when we observe that Calvin himself was not artistically developed, and that therefore he must have derived this brief system of Aesthetics² from his principles, he may be credited with having expounded the Calvinistic consideration of art as such. To go direct to the heart of the question, we begin with Calvin's last saying, viz., that art reveals to us a higher reality than is offered by this sinful world. You are familiar with the question, already mentioned, whether art should imitate nature or should transcend it. In Greece grapes were painted with such accuracy that birds were deceived by their appearance and tried to eat them. And this imitation of nature seemed the highest ideal to the Socratic school. Herein lies the truth, all too often forgotten by idealists, that the forms and relations exhibited by nature are and ever must remain the fundamental forms and relations of all actual reality, and an art which does not watch the forms and motions of nature nor listen to its sounds, but arbitrarily likes to hover over it, deteriorates into a wild play of fantasy. But on the other hand, all idealistic interpretation of art should be justified in opposition to the purely empirical, as often as the empirical confines its task to mere imitation. For then the same mistake is committed in art so often committed by scientists when they confine their scientific task to the mere observation, computation and accurate report of facts. For even as science has to ascend from the phenomena to the investigation of their inherent order, to the end that man, enriched by the knowledge of this order, may propagate nobler species of animals, flowers and fruits, than nature, herself, could produce, so also it is the vocation of art, not merely to observe everything visible and audible, to apprehend it, and reproduce it artistically, but much more to discover in those natural forms the order of the beautiful, and, enriched by this higher knowledge, to produce a beautiful world that transcends the beautiful of nature. And this is what Calvin asserted: viz., that the arts exhibit gifts which God has placed at our disposal, now that, as the sad consequence of sin, the real beautiful has fled from us. Your decision here depends entirely upon your interpretation of the world. If you are considering the world as the realization of

the absolute good, then there is none higher, and art can have no other vocation than to copy nature. If, as the pantheist teaches, the world proceeds, by slow processes, from the incomplete to perfection, then art becomes the prophecy of a further phase of life to come. But if you confess that the world once was beautiful, but by the curse has become undone, and by a final catastrophe is to pass to its full state of glory, excelling even the beautiful of paradise, then art has the mystical task of reminding us in its productions of the beautiful that was lost and of anticipating its perfect coming luster. Now this

last-mentioned instance is the Calvinistic confession. It realized, more clearly than Rome, the hideous, corrupting influences of sin; this led to a higher estimation of the nature of paradise in the beauty of original righteousness; and guided by this enchanting remembrance, Calvinism prophesied a redemption of outward nature also, to be realized in the reign of celestial glory. From this standpoint, Calvinism honored art as a gift of the Holy Ghost and as a consolation in our present life, enabling us to discover in and behind this sinful life a richer and more glorious background. Standing by the ruins of this once so wonderfully beautiful creation, art points out to the Calvinist both the still visible lines of the original plan, and what is even more, the splendid restoration by which the Supreme Artist and Master-BUILDER will one day renew and enhance even the beauty of His original creation.

If thus, on this principal point, Calvin's personal interpretation agrees entirely with the Calvinistic confession, the same applies to the next point in question, If the Sovereignty of God is and remains, for Calvinism, its unchangeable point of departure, then art cannot originate from the Evil One; for Satan is destitute of every creative power. All he can do is to abuse the good gifts of God. Neither can art originate with man, for, being a creature himself, man cannot but employ the powers and gifts put by God at his disposal. If God is and remains Sovereign, then art can work no enchantment except in keeping with the ordinances which God ordained for the beautiful, when He, as the Supreme Artist, called this world into existence. And further, if God is and remains Sovereign, then he also imparts these artistic gifts to whom He will, first even to Cain's, and not to Abel's posterity; not as if art

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were Cainitic, but in order that he who has sinned away the highest gifts, should at least, as Calvin so beautifully says, in the lesser gifts of art have some testimony of the Divine bounty. That artistic ability, that art-capacity, as such, can have room in human nature, we owe to our creation after the image of God. In the real world, God is Creator of everything; the power of really producing new things is His alone, and therefore He always continues to be the creative artist. As God, He alone is the original One, we are only the bearers of His Image. Our capacity to create after Him and after what He created, can only consist in the unreal creations of art. So we, in our fashion, may imitate God's handiwork. We create a kind of cosmos, in our Architectural monument; to embellish nature's forms, in Sculpture; to reproduce life, animated by lines and tints, in our Painting; to transfuse the mystical spheres in our Music and in our Poetry. And all this because the beautiful is not the product of our own fantasy, nor of our subjective perception, but has an objective existence, being itself the expression of a Divine perfection. After the Creation, God saw that all things were good. Imagine that every human eye were closed and every human ear stopped up, even then the beautiful remains, and God sees it and hears it, for, not only "His

Eternal Power, "but also His "Divinity, "from the very creation, has been perceived in His creature, both spiritually and somatically. An artist may notice this in himself. If he realizes how his own art capacity depends upon his having an eye for art, he must necessarily come to the conclusion that the original eye for art is in God Himself, Whose art capacity is all-producing, and after Whose image the artist among men was made. We know this from the creation around us, from the firmament that overarches us, from the abounding luxury of nature, from the wealth of forms in man and animal, from the rushing sound of the stream and from the song of the nightingale; for how could all this beauty exist, except created by One Who preconceived the beautiful in His own Being, and produced it from His own Divine perfection? Thus you see that the Sovereignty of God, and our creation after His Likeness, necessarily lead to that high interpretation of the origin, the nature and the vocation of art, as adopted by Calvin, and still approved by our own artistic instinct. The world of sounds, the world of forms, the world of tints, and the world of poetic

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ideas, can have no other source than God; and it is our privilege as bearers of His image, to have a perception of this beautiful world. artistically to reproduce, and humanly to enjoy it.

And thus I come to my third and last point. We found that the want of an art-style of its own, far from being an objection to Calvinism, on the contrary indicates the higher stage of its development. After that, we considered how exalted an interpretation of the nature of art flows from the Calvinistic principle. And now let us see how nobly Calvinism has encouraged the progress of the arts both in principle and in practice.

And here, in the first place, I draw your attention to the important fact that it was Calvinism which, by releasing art from the guardianship of the Church, first recognized its majority. I do not deny that the Renaissance had the same tendency, but, with the Renaissance, this was marred by a too one-sided preference for the Paganistic, and a passion for ideas more Heathen than Christian; while Calvin, on the other hand, kept firmly to the Christian ideas, and more sharply even than any other Reformed opposed every Paganistic influence, To deal justly, however, with the older Christian Church a somewhat fuller explanation is here in place. The Christian Religion made its appearance in the Greek and Roman world, which, though thoroughly demoralized, still recommended itself by its high civilization and its artistic

splendor. Therefore, in order to oppose principle to principle, Christianity was bound, at the outset, to react against the then-dominating over-estimation of art, and thereby to break the dangerous influence which Paganism was exercising, in its last convulsion, by the enchantment of its beautiful world. As long, therefore, as the struggle with Paganism remained a struggle for life or death, the relation of Christianity to art could not but be an hostile one. This first period was followed almost immediately by the influx into the highly civilized Roman Empire of the still almost barbaric Germanic tribes, after whose speedy baptism the center of power gradually removed from Italy to beyond the Northern Alps, thus giving to the Church, as early as the 8th century, an almost exclusive ascendancy over the whole of Europe. Thanks to this constellation,

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the Church for several centuries became the guardian of higher human life, and so nobly did she acquit herself of this exalted task that no religious hatred or party prejudice dares question any longer the glorious result she then achieved. In the literal sense of the word, all human development of that period depended entirely upon the Church. No science and no art could prosper unless shielded by ecclesiastical protection. And hence originated that specifically Christian art, which, in its first passion, tried to embody the maximum of spiritual essence in the minimum of form and tint and tone. It was no art copied from nature, but art invoked from out the spheres of heaven, which fettered music in the Gregorian chains, the pencil and chisel of which longed after acosmic creations, and which only in the building of the cathedrals attained the really Sublime and reaped imperishable fame. All educational guardianship, meanwhile, leads to its own dissolution. A right-minded guardian intends to render his guardianship superfluous as soon as possible, and he who tries to prolong his control, even after his ward has reached maturity, creates an unnatural relation and makes his guardianship itself an incentive to resistance. When therefore the first education of Northern Europe was completed, and the church still persisted in swaying her absolute sceptre across the entire domain of life, four great movements were started from as many different sides, viz., the Renaissance in the domain of art, the Republicanism of Italy in politics, Humanism in science, and centrally, in Religion, the Reformation.

No doubt these four movements received their impulse from very different, and in some cases conflicting principles, but they all agreed on this one point, viz., that they tried to escape from ecclesiastical tutelage, and to create a life of their own in accordance with their own principle. Hence it is not at all surprising that, in the 16th century, these four powers repeatedly acted in concert. It was the one human life that, weary of any further guardianship, hastened in every way after a freer development, and therefore, when the old guardian tried by main force to hold back the declaration of maturity it was but natural that those four

powers should encourage one another fiercely to resist. nor to desist before freedom was obtained. Without this quadruple alliance not only would the tutelage of the Church have persevered over all Europe

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but –the rebellion once crushed –its rule would have become even more grievous and intolerable than beforehand. Thanks to this cooperation, the bold undertaking was crowned with enduring success, and the combatants, by their combined energy, earned the everlasting glory of having brought art and science, as well as politics and religion, to the full enjoyment of maturity.

Will it be fair on this ground to assert that Calvinism has freed Religion, and not Art, and that the honors of the emancipation of art belong exclusively to the Renaissance? I readily grant that the Renaissance has a right to claim its share of the victory, especially in so far as it stimulated art herself to vindicate her liberty by her wonderful productions. Aesthetic genius, if I may so call it, had been implanted by God Himself in the Greek, and only by hailing again, amid loud rejoicings, the fundamental laws of art, which Greek genius had discovered, could art justify her claim to an independent existence. This by itself, however, could not have achieved the desired liberation. For the church of those days did not in the least oppose classical art as such. On the contrary, she welcomed the Renaissance, and Christian art did not hesitate a moment to enrich herself with the best the Renaissance had to offer. In the so-called Cinquecento, or high-Renaissance, Bramante and Da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael, stored the Romish Cathedrals with treasures of art, quite unique and inimitable, never to be surpassed. Thus the old tie continued to unite Church and Art, and this of itself established a permanent patronage. The real liberation of art required much more patent energies. From principle, the Church was to be forced back to her spiritual realm. Art, having hitherto confined herself to the holy spheres, had now to make her appearance in the social world. And in the Church. Religion had to put aside her symbolical robes, in order that, after having ascended to the higher spiritual level, her life giving breath might animate the whole world. Just as Von Hartmann truly observes: "It is pure spiritual Religion which with one hand deprives the artist of his specifically religious art, but which, with the other, offers him, in exchange, a whole world, to be religiously animated." Now Luther certainly desired such a pure, spiritual Religion, but Calvinism was the first to grasp it. First under the stirring impulses of Calvinism. our fathers broke with

the splendor ecclesiae, i.e., with her outward glitter, and so also with her vast possessions, by which art was financially held in bondage. And although Humanism rebelled against this oppressive and unnatural state of things, it could never hope to effect a radical change if left to its own resources. Only think of Erasmus. Triumph in the struggle of that time was not reserved for the man who carried on the strife for Religious liberty by mere criticism, but only for him, who, standing on an higher stage of religious development, overcame the symbolical religion as such. And, therefore, we may boldly assert that it was Calvinism which prompted the spirited impulse by which the victory was won, and, by its indefatigable perseverance, has put an end to the unjustified tutelage of the church over all human life, art included.

Meanwhile I readily grant that this outcome would have been purely accidental, if Calvinism had not, at the same time, led to a deeper interpretation of human life and so of human art. When, under Victor Emmanuel, with the help of Garibaldi,³ Italy was made free, the day of liberty also dawned for the Waldenses, in Middle and Southern Italy, but neither the Re galantuomo, nor Garibaldi, had even thought of the Waldensians. Thus it were possible that in its struggle for human liberty Calvinism also cut the tie that thus far held art a captive, but without having in the least intended to do this, by virtue of its principle. And therefore I must still illustrate the second factor, which alone decides the case. I have already, more than once, called your attention to the important significance of the Calvinistic doctrine of "common grace," and of course in this lecture on art I must refer to it again. That which is to be ecclesiastical must bear the stamp of faith, therefore genuine Christian art can only go out from believers. Calvinism, on the contrary, has taught us that all liberal arts are gifts which God imparts promiscuously to believers and to unbelievers, yea, that, as history shows, these gifts have flourished even in a larger measure outside the holy circle. "These radiations of Divine Light," he wrote, "shone more brilliantly among unbelieving people than among God's saints." And this of course quite reverses the proposed order of things. If you limit the higher enjoyment of art to regeneration, then this gift is exclusively the portion of believers,

and must bear an ecclesiastical character. In that case it is the outcome of particular grace. But if, at the hand of experience and history, you become persuaded that the highest art-instincts are natural gifts, and hence belong to those excellent graces which, in spite of sin, by virtue of common grace, have continued to shine in human nature, it plainly follows that art can inspire both believers and unbelievers, and that God remains Sovereign to impart it, in His good pleasure, alike to Heathen and to Christian nations. This applies not only to art, but to all the natural utterances of human life, and is illustrated by the comparison in early times between Israel and the other nations. As far as holy things are concerned, Israel is chosen, and is not only blessed above all nations, but stands among all nations, isolated. In the question of Religion, Israel has not only a larger share, but Israel alone has the truth, and all the other nations, even the Greeks and the Romans, are bent beneath the yoke of falsehood. Christ is not partly of Israel and partly of the nations; He is of Israel alone. Salvation is of the Jews. But just in proportion as Israel shines forth from within the domain of Religion, so is it equally backward when you compare the development of its art, science, politics, commerce and trade to that of the surrounding nations. The building of the Temple required the coming of Hiram from a heathen country to Jerusalem; and Solomon, in whom, after all, was found the Wisdom of God, not only knows that Israel stands behind in architecture and needs help from without, but by his action he publicly shows that he, as the king of the Jews, is in no way ashamed of Hiram's coming, which he realizes as a natural ordinance of God.

So Calvinism, on the ground both of the Scriptures and of history, has arrived at the confession, that, wherever the Sanctuary discloses itself, all unbelieving nations stand outside, but that nevertheless, in their secular history, they are called by God to a special vocation, and form by their very existence, an indispensable link in the long chain of phenomena. Every utterance of human life requires a special disposition in blood and in descent, and proper adaptations of lot and incident as well as of natural environment and climatic effects are to contribute to its development. In Israel all this was adapted to the holy heritage which it was to receive in the Divine Revelation. But if Israel was chosen for the

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sake of Religion, this in no way prevented a parallel election of the Greeks for the domain of philosophy and for the revelations of art, nor of the Romans for the classical development within the domain of Law and of State. The life of art also has both its provisional development, and its later unfoldings, but in order to insure a more vigorous growth, it wanted first of all clear self-consciousness in its centrum that, once for all, the unchangeable foundations of its ideal existence might be brought to light. Such a phenomenon as art arrives at this self-revelation once only, and that revelation, once granted to the Greek, remains classical, tone giving and for ever dominant. And although a further art-development may seek newer

forms and richer material, the nature of the original find remains the same. Thus Calvinism was not only able, but bound, to confess that, by the grace of God, the Greeks were the primordial nation of art; that owing to this classical Greek development, art conquered its right of independent existence; and that although it certainly ought to radiate also in the sphere of Religion, it should in no wise be engrafted in a dependent sense upon the ecclesiastical tree. Therefore, being a return of art to her rediscovered fundamental lines, the Renaissance did not present itself to Calvinism as a sinful effort, but as a divinely ordered movement. And as such Calvinism encouraged the Renaissance not by pure accident, but with clear consciousness and definite purpose, in accordance with its deepest principle.

Hence there is no question that, simply as an involuntary result of its opposition to the Hierarchy of Rome, Calvinism should at the same time have encouraged the emancipation of art. On the contrary, it demanded this liberation and was bound to effect it, within its own circle, as a consequence of its world- and life-view. The world after the fall is no lost planet, only destined now to afford the Church a place in which to continue her combats; and humanity is no aimless mass of people which only serves the purpose of giving birth to the elect. On the contrary, the world now, as well as in the beginning, is the theater for the mighty works of God and humanity remains a creation of His hand, which, apart from salvation, completes under this present dispensation, here on earth, a mighty process, and in its historical development is to glorify the name of Almighty God. To this end He has ordained

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for this humanity all sorts of life-utterances, and among these, art occupies a quite independent place. Art reveals ordinances of creation which neither science, nor politics, nor religious life, nor even revelation can bring to light. She is a plant that grows and blossoms upon her own root, and without denying that this plant may have required the help of a temporary support, and that in early times the Church lent this prop in a very excellent way, yet the Calvinistic principle demanded that this plant of earth should at length acquire strength to stand alone and vigorously to extend its branches in every direction. And thus Calvinism confessed that, inasmuch as the Greeks had first discovered the laws by which the growth of the art-plant is governed, they therefore remain entitled to bind every further growth and every new impulse of art to their first, their classical development, not for the sake of stopping short with Greece, or of adopting her Paganistic form without criticism. Art, like Science, cannot afford to tarry at her origin, but must ever develop herself more richly, at the same time purging herself of whatsoever had been falsely intermingled with the earlier plant. Only, the law of her growth and life, when once discovered, must remain the fundamental law of art for ever; a law, not imposed upon her from without, but sprung from her own nature. And so, by loosening every unnatural tie, and cleaving to every tie that is natural, art must

find the inward strength required for the maintenance of her liberty. Calvin therefore does not estrange art, science, and religion, from one another; on the contrary, what he desires is that all human life shall be permeated by these three vital powers together. There must be a Science which will not rest until it has thought out the entire cosmos; a Religion which cannot sit still until she has permeated every sphere of human life; and so also there must be an Art which, despising no single department of life adopts, into her splendid world, the whole of human life, religion included.

Let this suggestion of the wide extension of the domain of art introduce my last point, viz., that Calvinism has also actually and in a concrete sense advanced the development of the arts. It scarcely needs a reminder that, in the realm of art, Calvinism was not able to play the role of a sorcerer, and could only work with natural data. That the Italian has a more tuneful voice than the Scot,

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and that the German is carried away by a more passionate impulse of song than the Netherlander, are simple data with which art had to reckon, under Roman supremacy, as well as under that of Calvinism. An undeniable fact, which explains why it is neither logical nor honest to reproach Calvinism for that which is merely due to the differences of national character. The truth is equally plain that, in the Northern countries of Europe, Calvinism was not able to produce, as by magic, marble, porphyry or free-stone, from the ground, and that therefore the arts of sculpture and architecture, which require rich, natural stone, were more readily developed in those countries where quarries abound, than in a country such as the Netherlands, where the ground consists of clay and mire. Poetry, music, and painting, therefore, can alone be considered here as the three free arts that are most independent of all natural data. This does not imply that the Flemish and Dutch city hall fails to hold a position of honor all its own among the creations of architecture. Louvain and Middleburg, Antwerp and Amsterdam still bear witness to what Dutch art wrought in stone. And he who has seen the statues in Antwerp and at the tomb of William the Silent, carved by Quellinus and by De Keyzers, does not question the ability of our artists of the chisel. But this is subject to the objection that the style of our City Hall was found long before Calvinism made its appearance in the Netherlands, and that, even in its later development, it exhibits no single feature that can remind one of Calvinism. By virtue of its principle Calvinism built no cathedrals, no palaces and no amphitheatres, and was unable to populate the vacant niches of these gigantic buildings with sculptured ornaments.

Indeed, the merits of Calvinism, with respect to art, are to be found elsewhere. Not in the objective, but

exclusively in the more subjective arts which, not depending upon the patronage of wealth and not in want of the marble quarry, have their spontaneous rise in the human mind. Of poetry I can make no further mention in this connection. To that purpose I should have to disclose to you the treasures of our own Dutch Literature, for the narrow bounds within which our Netherland language is confined have excluded our poetry from the world at large. This privilege of making their poetry a world phenomenon is only reserved for those larger

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nations, whose language, being spoken by millions and millions, becomes a vehicle for international intercourse. But if the province of language for smaller nations is limited, the eye is international, and music heard by the ear is understood in every heart. In order, therefore, that we may trace the influence of Calvinism upon the development and the welfare of art, we must limit ourselves, in the international sense, to the two subjective and independent arts, those of painting and music.

Now of both these arts it is to be stated that, before the days of Calvinism, they soared high above the common life of the Nations, and that only under the Calvinistic influence did they descend to the so much richer life of the people. As regards painting, just recall the productions of Dutch art by brush and etching-needle in the 16th and 17th centuries. Rembrandt's name alone is here sufficient to summon a whole world of art-treasures before your mind's eye. The museums of every country and continent still vie with each other, to the utmost, in their effort to obtain some specimen of his work. Even your brokers have respect for an art-school whose returns represent so vast a capital. And even in our days the masters all over the world are still borrowing their most effectual motives and their best art-tendencies from what, at that time, demanded the world's admiration as an entirely new school of painting. Of course this does not say that all these painters were personally staunch Calvinists. In the earlier art-school, which flourished under the influence of Rome, the "bon Catholiques" were also very rare. Such influences do not operate personally, but put their impress upon surroundings and society, upon the world of perceptions, of representations and of thought; and as a result of these various impressions an art-school makes its appearance. And, taken in this sense, the antithesis between the past and the present in the school of Dutch art is unmistakable. Before this period, no account was taken of the people; they only were considered worthy of notice who were superior to the common man, viz., the high world of the Church and of the priests, of knights and princes. But, since then, the people had come of age, and under the auspices of Calvinism, the art of painting, prophetic of a democratic life of later times, was the first to proclaim the people's maturity. The family ceased to be an annex to the Church, and asserted its stand

ing in its independent significance. By the light of common grace it was seen that the non-churchly life was also possessed of high importance and of an all-sided art-motive. Having been overshadowed for many centuries by class-distinctions, the common life of man came out of its hiding-place like a new world, in all its sober reality. It was the broad emancipation of our ordinary earthly life, and the instinct for liberty, which thereby captured the heart of the nations and inspired them with delight in the enjoyment of treasures so long blindly neglected. Even Taine has sounded the praises of the blessing, which went forth from the Calvinistic love of liberty to the realm of art, and Carriere, who himself was equally far from sympathizing with Calvinism, loudly proclaims that Calvinism alone was able to plough the field on which free art could flourish.

It has frequently been remarked, moreover, that the idea of election by free grace has contributed not a little toward interesting art in the hidden importance of what was seemingly small and insignificant. If a common man, to whom the world pays no special attention, is valued and even chosen by God as one of His elect, this must lead the artist also to find a motive for his artistic studies in what is common and of every-day occurrence, to pay attention to the emotions and the issues of the human heart in it, to grasp with his artistic instinct their ideal impulse, and, lastly, by his pencil to interpret for the world at large the precious discovery he has made. Even foolish and drastic extravagances became the motive for art-productions, merely as revolutions, of the human heart and as manifestations of human life. Man was also to be shown the image of his folly, that he might depart from evil. Thus far the artist had only traced upon his canvas the idealized figures of prophets and apostles, of saints and priests; now, however, when he saw how God had chosen the porter and the wage-earner for Himself, he found interest not only in the head, the figure and the entire personality of the man of the people, but began to reproduce the human expression of every rank and station. And if thus far the eyes of all had been fixed constantly and solely upon the sufferings of the "Man of Sorrows," some now began to understand that there was a mystical suffering also in the general woe of man, revealing hitherto unmeasured depths of the human heart, and

thereby enabling us to fathom much better the still deeper depths of the mysterious agonies of Golgotha. Ecclesiastical power no longer restrained the artist, and princely gold no longer chained him in its fetters. If artist, he also was man, mingling freely among the people, and discovering in and behind their human life, something quite different from what palace and castle had hitherto afforded him, something, too, which proved to be much more valuable than the keenest eye had ever surmised. As Taine so significantly says: To Rembrandt, human life hid its face behind many sombre hues, but even in that chiaroscuro⁴ his grasp upon that life was profoundly real and significant. As the result therefore of the declaration of the people's maturity and of the love of liberty which Calvinism awakened in the hearts of the nations, the common but rich human life disclosed to art an entirely new world, and, by opening the eye for the small and the insignificant, and by opening the heart for the sorrows of mankind, from the rich content of this newly discovered world, the Dutch school of art has produced upon the canvas those wondrous art-productions which still immortalize its fame, and which have shown the way to all the nations for new conquests.

Finally, as to the significance Calvinism had for Music, we face one of its excellencies which, though less widely known, is notwithstanding highly important –as Mr. Douen taught us ten years ago, in his two big volumes on Marot. Music and painting here run parallel. Even as in the ecclesiastical-aristocratic period it was only the high and the holy that interested the masters of the pencil, so in music the plain chant of Gregory was dominant, which abandoned rhythm, despised harmony, and which according to a professional critic, by its provisionally conservative character barred the way to the further artistic development of music. Far below the level of this stately chant flowed the freer song of the people, too often, alas, inspired by the worship of Venus, which at the times of the so-called "donkey-festivals," much to the chagrin of ecclesiastical officials, penetrated even the walls of the churches, and there occasioned those repulsive scenes which the Council of Trent first succeeded in putting under the ban. The Church alone

was privileged to make music, while that which the people produced was scorned, as being beneath the dignity of the art. Even in the oratory itself, while the people were allowed to listen to the holy music, they

were forbidden to join in the song. Thus, as an art, music was almost entirely deprived of its independent standing. Only in so far as it could serve the church was it permitted to flourish artistically. Whatever it undertook on its own responsibility had no higher call than the popular use. And as in every department of life, Protestantism in general, but Calvinism more consistently, bridled the tutelage of the church, so also was music emancipated by it, and the way opened to its so splendid modern development. The men who first arranged the music of the Psalm for the Calvinistic singing were the brave heroes who cut the strands that bound us to the Cantus firmus, and selected their melodies from the free world of music. To be sure, by doing this, they adopted the people's melodies, but as Douen rightly remarks, only in order that they might return these melodies to the people purified and baptized in Christian seriousness. Music also would flourish, henceforth, not within the narrow limitations of particular grace, but in the wide and fertile fields of common grace. The choir was abandoned; in the sanctuary the people themselves would sing, and therefore Bourgeois⁵ and the Calvinistic virtuosi who followed him were bound to make their selections from the popular melodies, but with this end in view, viz., that now the people would no longer sing in the saloon or in the street, but in the sanctuary, and thus, in their melodies, cause the seriousness of the heart to triumph over the heat of the lower passions.

If this is the general merit of Calvinism, or rather the change which it effected in the domain of music, by forcing the idea of the laity to give room to that of the general priesthood of believers, historic accuracy requires a still more concrete elucidation. If Bourgeois was the great master whose works still assure him a front rank among the most notable composers of Protestant Europe, it is also worthy of note that this Bourgeois lived and labored

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in Geneva, under the very eyes of Calvin and even partly under his direction. It was this same Bourgeois who had the courage to adopt rhythm and to exchange the eight Gregorian modes for the two of major and minor from the popular music; to sanctify its art in consecrated hymn, and so to put the impress of honor upon that musical arrangement of tunes, from which all modern music had its rise. In the same way Bourgeois adopted the harmony or the song of several parts. He was the man who wedded melody to verse by what is called expression. The solfeggio, i.e., the singing by note, the reduction of the number of chords, the clearer distinction of the several gamuts, etc., by which the knowledge of music was so much simplified, is all owing to the perseverance of this Calvinistic Composer. And when Goudimel,⁶ his Calvinistic colleague, once at Rome the teacher of the great Palestrina, listening to the singing of the people in the church, discovered that the higher voices of the children outstripped the tenor, which had thus far held the lead, he for the first time gave the leading part to the soprano; a change of far reaching

influence which has ever since been maintained.

Pardon me if for a moment I detained you with these particulars, but the merits of Protestantism, and more particularly of Calvinism, in music are of too high an order to suffer longer depreciation without protest. I fully acknowledge that Calvinism exercised over some arts only an indirect influence, by the declaration of their maturity, and by affording them liberty to flourish in their own independence, but on music, the influence of Calvinism was a very positive one, due to its spiritual worship of God, which provided no room for the more material arts, but assigned a new role to song and to music by the creation of melodies and songs for the people. Whatever the old school did to join itself to the newer development of music, the modern music remained unnatural to the *cantus firmus*, because it sprang from a quite different root. Calvinism on the other hand not only joined itself to it, but under the leadership of Bourgeois and Goudimel gave it its first impulse

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pulse, so that even Roman Catholic writers are constrained to acknowledge that our beautiful development of music in the last and present centuries for the most part owed its rise to the heretical church-hymns.

That in a later period Calvinism lost almost all influence in this domain, cannot be denied. For a long time Anabaptism overwhelmed us with its dualistic prejudices, and an unhealthy spiritualism prevailed. But when on that account, with entire disregard of our great musical past, Calvinism is accused by Rome of aesthetic dullness, it is well to call to mind that the great Goudimel was murdered by Romish fanaticism in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This fact is suggestive; for we naturally ask with Douen: Has that man any right to complain about the stillness of the forest, who with his own hand has caught and killed the nightingale?

1. (Ed.) Art has been defined as the embodiment of beautiful thought in sensuous form, as for example, marble or speech. In *Calvinisme en Kunst* Dr. Kuyper states: "as image-bearer of God, man possesses

the possibility to create something beautiful, and to delight in it. This 'kunstervermogen' is in man no separate function of the soul but an unbroken (continuous) utterance of the image of God. ”

2. (Ed.) Aesthetics may be defined as the science of beauty and taste; the branch of knowledge that pertains to the fine arts and art criticism There is no generally accepted Aesthetics. There are three schools: the sensualistic (Hogarth): the empirical, (Helmholtz) and the idealistic owing its origin to Kant.

3. (Ed.) Garibaldi, Italian patriot and liberator, 1807-1882.

4. (Ed.) Chiaroscuro from the Latin “clarus”: and oscuro: obscure. It indicates a blending of light and shade in pictures.

5. (Ed.) Loys Bourgeois born about 1510 at Paris, in 1541 followed Calvin to Geneva where he became “chartre ”of the church. He was one of the first psalmbewerkers. ” But since he desired to introduce still more “meerstemmige ”Psalms, he got into conflict with Calvin and his consistory and in 1557 returned to Paris. He published his 'vierstemmige' Psalter in Lyons (1547) and Paris (1554). Also wrote “Le droit chemin de musique,” 1550.

6. (Ed.) Claude Goudimel, born in Besancon, France, 1505 or 1510. About 1540 he opened a school of Music. That Palestrina at one time was one of his pupils has been denied. He embraced the Reformed religion and settled at Lyons where he was murdered during the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572. He furnished music for the Psalms (1562) and published tunes still in use.

Sixth Lecture - Calvinism and the Future

The page numbering of the Eerdmans printed edition has been retained for the benefit of readers.

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THE CHIEF PURPOSE of my lecturing in this country was to eradicate the wrong idea that Calvinism represented an exclusively dogmatical and ecclesiastical movement.

Calvinism did not stop at a church-order, but expanded in a life system, and did not exhaust its energy in a dogmatical construction. hut created a life- and world-view. and such a one as was, and still is, able to fit itself to the needs of every stage of human development, m every department of life. It raised our Christian religion to its highest spiritual splendor: it created a church order, which became the

preformation of state confederation it proved to be the guardian angel of science; it emancipated art: it propagated a political scheme, which gave birth to constitutional government, both in Europe and America; it fostered agriculture and industry, commerce and navigation; it put a thorough Christian stamp upon home-life and family-ties; it promoted through its high moral standard purity in our social circles and to this manifold effect it placed beneath Church and State, beneath society and home-circle a fundamental philosophic conception strictly derived from its dominating principle, and therefore all its own.

This, of itself, excludes every idea of imitative and what the descendants of the old Dutch Calvinists as well as of the Pilgrim fathers have to do, is not to copy the past, as if Calvinism were a petrification. but to go back to the living root of the Calvinist plant, to clean and to water it. and so to cause it to bud and to blossom once more, now fully in accordance with our actual life in these modern times, and with the demands of the times to come.

This explains the subject of my final lecture. A new Calvinistic development needed by the wants of the future.

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The prospect of this future does not present itself to us, as every student of sociology will acknowledge, in bright colors, I would not go so far as to assert that we are on the eve of universal social bankruptcy, but that the signs of the times are ominous admits of no denial. To be sure, in the control of nature and her forces, immense gains are being registered year by year, and the boldest imagination is unable to foretell to what heights of power in this respect the race may attain in the next half century. As a result of this, the comforts of life are increasing. World-intercourse and communication are constantly becoming more rapid and widespread. Asia and Africa, until recently dormant, gradually feel themselves drawn into the larger circle of stirring life. Aided by sport, the principles of hygiene exert a growing influence. Consequently, we are physically stronger than the preceding generation. We live longer. And in combating the defects and infirmities that threaten and afflict our bodily life, surgical science makes us marvel at her achievements. In brief, the material, tangible side of life holds out the fairest of promises for the future.

And yet discontent makes itself heard, and the thinking mind cannot suppress its misgivings; for, however high one may value the material things, they do not fill out the round of our existence as men

Our personal life as men and citizens subsist not in the comforts that surround us, nor in the body, which serves us as a link with the outward world, but in the spirit that internally actuates us; and in this inner consciousness we are becoming more and more painfully aware how the hypertrophy of our external life results in a serious atrophy of the spiritual. Not as if the faculties of thought and reflection, the arts of poetry and letters, were in abeyance. On the contrary, empirical science is more brilliant in her attainments than ever, universal knowledge spreads in constantly widening circles, and civilization, in Japan, for instance, is almost dazzled by her too rapid conquests. But even the intellect does not constitute the mind. Personality is seated more deeply in the hidden recesses of our inner being, where character is formed, .hence the flame of enthusiasm is kindled, where the moral foundations are laid, where love's blossoms bud, whence spring consecration and heroism, and where in the sense for the Infinite, our time-bound existence reaches out unto the very gates of eternity.

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It is in regard to this seat of personality that we hear on all sides the complaint of impoverishment, degeneracy, and petrification, The prevalence of this state of malaise explains the rise of a spirit like Arthur Schopenhauer's; and the wide acceptance of his pessimistic doctrine reveals to what a deplorable extent this fatal Sirocco has scorched already the fields of life. It is true, Tolstoi's efforts show force of character, but even his religious and social theory is a protest along the whole line against the spiritual degeneracy of our race. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche¹ may give us offence by his sacrilegious mockery, still what else is his demand for the "Uebermensch" (over-man), but the cry of despair wrung from the heart of humanity by the bitter consciousness that it is spiritually pining away? What is Social Democracy also but one gigantic protest against the insufficiency of the existing order of things ? Even Anarchism and Nihilism but too plainly demonstrate that there are thousands upon ten thousands who would rather demolish and annihilate everything, than continue to bear the burden of present conditions. The German author of the "Decadenz der Völker" descries nothing in the future but decay and social ruin. Even the sober-minded Lord Salisbury recently spoke of peoples and states for whose unceremonious burial preparations were already being made. How often has not the parallel been drawn between our time and the golden age of the Roman empire, when the external brilliancy of life likewise dazzled the eye, notwithstanding that the social diagnosis could yield no other verdict than "rotten to the very core." And, although on the American continent, in a younger world, a relatively healthier tone of life prevails than in senescent Europe, yet this will not for a moment mislead the thinking mind. It is impossible for you to shut yourselves off hermetically from the old world, as you form no humanity apart, but are a member of the great body of the race. And the poison having once entered the system at a single point, in due time must necessarily pervade the whole organism.

Now the serious question with which we are confronted is whether we can expect that by natural evolution a higher phase of social life will develop out of the present spiritual decline. The answer

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history supplies to this question is far from encouraging. In India, in Babylon, in Egypt, in Persia, in China and elsewhere, like periods of vigorous growth they have been succeeded by times of spiritual decadence; and yet in not one of these lands has the downward course finally resolved itself in a movement towards higher things. All these nations to this day have persevered in their spiritual stagnation in the Roman empire alone has the dark night of boundless demoralization been broken by the dawn of a higher life. But this light did not arise through evolution; it shone from the Cross of Calvary. The Christ of God appeared, and by His Gospel alone was the society of that time saved from certain destruction. And again, when towards the close of the middle ages Europe was threatened with social bankruptcy, a second resurrection from the dead and a manifestation of new vital power were witnessed, now among the peoples of the Reformation, but this time also not by way of evolution, but again through the same Gospel for which the hearts were thirsting, and whose truth was freely proclaimed as never before. What antecedents, then, does history furnish to lead us to expect in the present instance an evolution of life from death, whilst the symptoms of decomposition already suggest the bitterness of the grave? Mohammed, it is true, in the seventh century succeeded in creating a stir among the dead bones throughout the entire Levant by throwing himself upon the nations as a second Messiah, greater even than the Christ. And assuredly if the coming of another Christ, surpassing in glory the Christ of Bethlehem, were possible, then the cure for moral corruption were found. Hence some, indeed, have been anxiously looking for the coming of some glorious "Universal Spirit," who might again instill his vitalizing power into the heart-blood of the nations. But why dwell longer on such idle fancies? Nothing can possibly surpass the God-given Christ, and what we are to look for, instead of a second Messiah, is the second coming of the same Christ of Calvary, this time with His fan in His hand for judgment, not to open up for our sin-cursed life a new evolution, but to receive at its goal and solemnly to conclude the history of the world. Either this second coming, therefore, is near at hand, and what we are witnessing are the death-throes of humanity; or a rejuvenation is still in store for us; but if so, that rejuvenation can come only through the old and yet ever new Gospel which, at the

beginning of our era, and again at the time of the Reformation, has saved the threatened life of our race.

The most alarming feature, however, of the present situation is the lamentable absence of that receptivity in our diseased organism, which is indispensable to the effecting of a cure. In the Greco-Roman world such receptivity did exist; the hearts opened spontaneously to receive the truth. To an even stronger degree this receptivity existed in the age of the Reformation, when large masses cried for the gospel. Then, as now, the body suffered from anemia, and blood-poisoning even had set in, but there was no aversion to the only effectual antidote. Now it is precisely this that distinguishes our modern decadence from the two preceding ones, that with the masses the receptivity for the Gospel is on the decrease, whilst with the scientists the positive aversion to it is on the increase. The invitation to bow the knee before Christ, as God, is met so often with a shrug of the shoulders, if not with the sarcastic rejoinder: "Fit for children and old women, not for us men!" The modern philosophy, which gains the day, considers itself in ever-increasing measure as having outgrown Christianity.

Therefore, first of all, the question must be answered what has brought us to this pass, a question deriving its paramount importance from the fact that only a correct diagnosis can lead to effective treatment. Now, historically, the cause of the evil is found in nothing else than in the spiritual degeneration which marked the close of the preceding century. The responsibility for this degeneration undoubtedly rests in part with the Christian churches themselves, not excepting those of the Reformation. Worn out by their struggle with Rome, these last churches had fallen asleep, had allowed leaf and flower to wither on their branches, and had apparently become forgetful of their duties in reference to humanity at large, and the whole sphere of human life. It is not necessary to enter upon this more fully. It may be taken for granted that towards the end of that century the general tone of life had become vapid and common-place, ignoble and base at heart. The eagerly devoured literature of that period furnishes the proof. By way of reaction against this, the proposal was then made by deistic and

atheistic philosophers, first in England, but afterwards chiefly in France on the part of the Encyclopedists, to place the whole of life on a new basis, turn upside down the existing order of affairs, and arrange a new world on the assumption that human nature continues in its uncorrupted state, This conception was an heroic one, and awakened response; it struck some of the noblest chords of the human heart. But in the great Revolution of 1789 it was put into execution in its most dangerous form for in this mighty revolution, in this upheaval not only of political conditions, but even more of convictions, ideas, and usages of life, two elements should be sharply distinguished. In one respect it was an imitation of Calvinism, whilst in another respect it was in direct opposition to its principles. The great Revolution, it should not be forgotten, broke out in a Roman Catholic country, where first in the night of St. Bartholomew, and subsequently by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Huguenots had been slaughtered and banished. After this violent suppression of Protestantism in France, and other Roman Catholic countries, the ancient despotism had regained its ascendancy, and to these nations all the fruits of the Reformation had been lost. This, by way of caricature of Calvinism, invited and compelled the attempt to strike for freedom by external violence, and to establish a pseudo-democratic state of affairs, which was to preclude for ever a return to despotism. Thus the French Revolution, by meeting violence with violence, crime with crime, strove after the same social liberty which Calvinism had proclaimed among the nations, but which had been attempted by Calvinism in the course of a purely spiritual movement. By this the French Revolution in a sense executed a judgment of God, the result of which affords, even to Calvinists, cause for rejoicing. The shades of De Coligny were avenged in the September murders of Mazas.

But this is only one side of the medal. Its reverse discloses a purpose directly opposed to the sound Calvinistic idea of liberty. Calvinism, by virtue of its profoundly serious conception of life, had strengthened and consecrated the social and ethical ties; the French Revolution loosened and entirely unfastened them, detaching life not merely from the Church, but also from God's ordinances, even from God Himself. Man as such, each individual henceforth, was to be his own lord and master, guided by his own free will and good pleasure. The train of life was to rush for

ward even more rapidly than heretofore, but no longer bound to follow the track of the divine

commandments. What else could result than wreckage and ruin? Enquire of the France of today what fruit the fundamental idea of her grand Revolution has yielded to the nation after its first century of free sway so rich in horrors, and the answer comes in a most pitiful tale of national decadence and social demoralization.

Humbled by the enemy from beyond the Rhine, internally rent by partisan fury, dishonored by the Panama cabal, and more still by the Dreyfus case, disgraced by its pornography, the victim of economic retrogression, stationary, nay, even decreasing in population, France, as has been well said by Dr. Garnier, a medical authority on the subject, has been led by egotism to degrade marriage, by lust to destroy family-life and presents today, in wide circles, the disgusting spectacle of men and women lost in unnatural sexual sin. I am aware that there are still thousands upon thousands of families in France living without reproach, who dearly grieve at the moral ruin of their country, but then these are the very circles which have resisted the false pretenses of the Revolution; and, on the other hand, the almost bestialized circles are those that have succumbed to the first onset of Voltairianism.

From France this spirit of dissolution, this passion of wild emancipation, has spread among the other nations, especially through the medium of an infamously obscene literature, and infected their lives. Then nobler minds, particularly in Germany, perceiving what depth of wickedness had been reached in France, made the bold attempt of realizing this enticing and reducing idea of "emancipation from God" in a higher form while yet retaining its essence. Philosophers of the first rank, in a stately procession, each for himself constructed a cosmology endeavoring to restore a firm foundation to social and ethical relations, either by putting them on the basis of natural law, or by giving them an ideal substratum evolved from their own speculation. For a moment this attempt seemed to have a fair chance of success: for, instead of atheistically banishing God from their system, these philosophers sought refuge in Pantheism, and thus made it feasible to found the social structure, not as the French, on a state of nature or on the atomistic will of the individual, but on the processes of history and

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the collective will of the race, unconsciously tending towards the highest goal. And, indeed, for more than half a century this philosophy has imparted a certain stability to life; not that any real stability was inherent in the system themselves, but because the established order of law and strong political institutions in Germany lent the indirect support of tradition to the walls of an edifice which otherwise would have immediately collapsed. Even so, however, it could not prevent that in Germany also, the moral principles

became more and more problematic, moral foundations more and more insecure, no other right than that of actual law received recognition; and, however much German and French development might differ between themselves, both agreed in their aversion to, and rejection of, traditional Christianity. Voltaire's "Ecrasez l'infâme" is already left far behind by Nietzsche's blasphemous utterances on the Christ, and Nietzsche is the author whose works are being most eagerly devoured by the young modern Germany of our day.

After this manner, then, we in Europe at least, have arrived at what is called modern life, involving a radical breach with the Christian traditions of the Europe of the past. The spirit of this modern life is most clearly marked by the fact that it seeks the origin of man not in creation after the image of God, but in evolution from the animal. Two fundamental ideas are clearly implied in this: (1) that the point of departure is no longer the ideal or the divine, but the material and the low; (2) that the sovereignty of God, which ought to be supreme, is denied, and man yields himself to the mystical current of an endless process, a regressus and processus in infinitum. Out of the root of these two fertile ideas a double type of life is now being evolved. On the one hand the interesting, rich, and highly organized life of University circles, attainable by the more refined minds only; and at the side of this, or rather far beneath it, a materialistic life of the masses, craving after pleasure, but, in their own way, also taking their point of departure in matter, and likewise, but after their own cynical fashion, emancipating themselves from all fixed ordinances. Especially in our ever-expanding large cities this second type of life is gaining the upper hand, overriding the voice of the country districts, and is giving a shape to public opinion, which avows its ungodly

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character more openly in each successive generation. Money, pleasure, and social power, these alone are the objects of pursuit; and people are constantly growing less fastidious regarding the means employed to secure them. Thus the voice of conscience becomes less and less audible, and duller the lustre of the eye which on the eve of the French Revolution still reflected -some gleam of the ideal. The fire of all higher enthusiasm has been quenched, only the dead embers remain. In the midst of the weariness of life, what can restrain the disappointed from taking refuge in suicide? Deprived of the wholesome influence of rest, the brain is over-stimulated and over-exerted till the asylums are no longer adequate for housing the insane. Whether property be not synonymous with theft, becomes a more and more seriously mooted question. That life ought to be freer and marriage less binding, is being accepted more and more on an established proposition. The cause of monogamy is no longer worth fighting for, since polygamy and polyandry are being systematically glorified in all products of the realistic school of

art and literature. In harmony with this, religion is, of course, declared superfluous because it renders life gloomy. But art, art above all, is in demand, not for the sake of its ideal worth, but because it pleases and intoxicates the senses. Thus people live in time and for temporal things, and shut their ears to the tolling of the bells of eternity. The irrepressible tendency is to make the whole view of life concrete, concentrated, practical. And out of this modernized private life there emerges a type of social and political life characterized by a decadence of parliamentarism, by an ever stronger desire for a dictator, by a sharp conflict between pauperism and capitalism, whilst heavy armaments on land and on sea, even at the price of financial ruin, become the ideal of these powerful states whose craving for territorial expansion threatens the very existence of the weaker nations. Gradually the conflict between the strong and the weak has grown to be the controlling feature of life, arising from Darwinism itself, whose central idea of a struggle for life has for its mainspring this very antithesis. Since Bismarck introduced it into higher politics, the maxim of the right of the stronger has found almost universal acceptance. The scholars and experts of our day demand with increasing boldness that the common man shall bow to their authority. And the end can only be

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that once more the sound principles of democracy will be banished, to make room this time not for a new aristocracy of nobler birth and higher ideals, but for the coarse and overbearing kratistocracy of a brutal money power. Nietzsche is by no means exceptional, but proclaims as its herald the future of our modern life. And while the Christ, in divine compassion, showed heart-winning sympathy with the weak, modern life in this respect also takes the precisely opposite ground that the weak must be supplanted by the strong. Such, they tell us, was the process of selection to which we, ourselves, owe our origin, and such is the process which, in us and after us, must work itself out to its ultimate consequences.

Meanwhile,² as observed above, it should not be forgotten that there flows in modern life a side current, of nobler origin. A host of high-minded men arose, who, shrinking from the uneasy chill of the moral atmosphere, and taking alarm at the brutality of the prevailing egotism, endeavored to put new warmth in life partly by means of altruism, partly by means of a mystical cult of the feelings, partly even by means of the name Christianity. Though in accord with the school of the French Revolution in their breach with Christian tradition and in their refusal to recognize any point of departure besides that of empiricism and rationalism, these men nevertheless, by accepting, as Kant does, a crass dualism, tried to escape from the fatal consequences of their principle. It is precisely from this dualism that they drew the inspiration for

the many noble ideas elaborated in their theories, embodied in their poetry, conjured up before our imagination in touching novels, commended to our consciences in ethical treatises, and, let us never forget. realized not infrequently in the serious pursuit of life. With them conscience, side by side with the intellect, had maintained its authority, and that human conscience is so richly endowed, (geinstrumenteerd) by God. To the vigorous initiative of these men we owe the numerous sociological investigations and practical measures, which have allayed and alleviated so much suffering, and by an ideal altruism have put to shame the selfishness

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in many a heart. Having a personal predisposition for mysticism, some of them claimed the right to emancipate the inner life of the soul from all restraints of criticism. To lose one's self in the Infinite, and to feel the stream of the Infinite pulsate through the deepest recesses of the inner life, meant to them desirable piety. Others again especially theologians, –to a less extent divorced from Christianity by reason of their antecedents, office, or scholarly occupation, falling in with this altruism and mysticism, set themselves the task of so metamorphosing the Christ that He might continue to glitter from the throne of humanity, as the highest ideal of the modernized human heart. Each and all inspired by sincerity and inspiring by their ideal intent, these endeavors may be traced from Schleiermacher down to Ritschl.³ He, therefore, who would look down upon such men. would only dishonor himself. Much rather v. e ought to thank them for what they endeavored to save, also those women of noble aspirations, who by their character-novels, written in a similar Christian spirit, have counteracted so much that was base and have fostered so many precious germs. Even Spiritism, fraught with error though it be, has often received its impulse from the alluring hope that the contact with the eternal world. destroyed by criticism, could thus be reestablished through the medium of visions. Unfortunately, however boldly conceived this ethical dualism might be. and whatever bold metamorphoses this mysticism might indulge in, there always lurked behind it the naturalistic. rationalistic system of thought which the intellect had devised. They extolled the normal character of their cosmology over against the abnormalism of our belief: and the Christian religion, being abnormalistic in principle and mode of manifestation, inevitably lost ground to such an extent that some of our best men did not shrink from professing that they preferred not only Spiritism. hut Mohammedanism, and Schopenhauer or even Buddhism to the old evangelical faith. It is true that the entire phalanx of theologians from Schleiermacher to Pfleiderer continued to pay high honors to the name of Christ. but it is equally undeniable that this remained possible only by subjecting Christ and the Christian confession to ever bolder metamorphoses. A painful fact, but one

which becomes absolutely evident, if you compare the creed now current in these circles with the confession for which our Martyrs died.

Even confining ourselves to the Apostles' Creed, which for almost two thousand years substantially has been the common standard of all Christians, we find that the belief in God as the "Creator of heaven and earth" has been abolished; for creation has been supplanted by evolution. Abolished also has been the belief in God the Son, as born of the Virgin Mary, through the conception from the Holy Ghost. Abolished further, with many, the belief in His resurrection and ascension and return to judgment. Abolished, finally, even the belief of the church in the resurrection of the dead, or at least in the resurrection of the body. The name of the Christian religion is still being retained, but in essence it has become a quite different religion in its principle, even of a diametrically opposite character. And when incessantly the charge is brought against us, that in point of fact the traditional Christ of the Church involves a complete metamorphosis of the genuine Jesus, whilst the modern interpretation has lifted the veil off the true character of the historical Jesus of Nazareth, we can but answer that, after all, historically, not this modern conception of Jesus of Nazareth, but the Church's confession of the Christ is the one that has conquered the world; and that century after century, the best and most pious of our race have paid homage to the Christ of tradition and rejoiced in Him as their Savior in the shadow of death.

Though desiring to be second to none, therefore, in sincere appreciation of what is noble in such attempts, I am fully settled in my conviction that no help is to be expected from that quarter. A theology which virtually destroys the authority of the Holy Scriptures as a sacred book; which sees in sin nothing but a lack of development; recognizes Christ for no more than a religious genius of central significance; views redemption as a mere reversal of our subjective mode of thinking; and indulges in a mysticism dualistically opposed to the world of the intellect, –such a theology is like a dam giving way before the first assault of the inrushing tide. It is a theology without hold upon the masses, a quasi-religion

utterly powerless to restore our sadly tottering moral life to even a temporary footing.

May more perhaps be expected from the marvelous energy displayed in the latter half of this century by Rome? Let us not too hastily dismiss this question. Though the history of the Reformation has established a fundamental antithesis between Rome and ourselves, it would nevertheless be narrow-minded and shortsighted to underestimate the real power which even now is manifest in Rome's warfare against Atheism and Pantheism. Only ignorance of the exhaustive studies of Romish philosophy and of Rome's successful efforts in social life, could account for such a superficial judgment. Calvin in his day already acknowledged that, as against a spirit from the Great Deep, he considered Romish believers his allies. A so-called orthodox Protestant need only mark in his confession and catechism such doctrines of religion and morals as are not subject to controversy between Rome and ourselves, to perceive immediately that what we have in common with Rome concerns precisely those fundamentals of our Christian creed now most fiercely assaulted by the modern spirit. Undoubtedly on the points of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of man's nature before and after the Fall, of justification, of the mass, of the invocation of saints and angels, of the worship of images, of purgatory, and many others, we are as unflinchingly opposed to Rome as our fathers were. But does not current literature show that these are not now the points on which the struggle of the age is concentrated? Are not the lines of battle drawn as follows: Theism over against Pantheism; sin over against imperfection; the divine Christ of God over against Jesus the mere man; the cross a sacrifice of reconciliation over against the cross as a symbol of martyrdom; the Bible as given by inspiration of God over against a purely human product; the ten commandments as ordained by God over against a mere archaeological document; the ordinances of God absolutely established over against an ever-changing law and morality spun out of man's subjective consciousness? Now, in this conflict Rome is not an antagonist, but stands on our side, inasmuch as she also recognizes and maintains the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Cross as an atoning sacrifice. the Scriptures as the Word of God. and the

Ten Commandments as a divinely-imposed rule of life. Therefore. let me ask ii Romish theologians take

up the sword to do valiant and skillful battle against the same tendency that we ourselves mean to fight to the death, is it not the part of wisdom to accept the valuable help of their elucidation? Calvin at least was accustomed to appeal to Thomas of Aquino. And I for my part am not ashamed to confess that on many points my views have been clarified through my study of the Romish theologians.

This, however, does not in the least involve that our hope for the future may be placed in Rome's endeavor, and that we, idle ourselves, may await Rome's victory. A rapid survey of the situation will suffice to convince us of the contrary. To begin with your own continent, can South America for a moment stand a comparison with the North? Now in South and Central America the Roman Catholic Church is supreme. It has exclusive control in this territory, Protestantism not even counting as a factor. Here, then, is an immense field in which the social and political power, which Rome can bring to bear upon the regeneration of our race, can freely exert itself, a field, moreover, in which Rome is not a recent arrival, but which she has occupied for almost three centuries. The youthful development of the social organism of these countries has stood under her influence; she has remained in control also of their intellectual and spiritual life since their liberation from Spain and Portugal. Moreover, the population of these States is derived from such European countries as have always been under the undisputed sway of Rome. The test, therefore, is as complete and fair as possible. But in vain do we look in those American Romish States for a life which elevates, develops energy, and exerts a wholesome influence outside. Financially they are weak, comparatively unprogressive in their economic conditions in their political life they present the sad spectacle of endless internal strife: and, if one were inclined to form an ideal picture of the future of the world, he might almost do so by imagining the very opposite of what is the actual situation in South America. Nor can it be pleaded in excuse of Rome that this is due to exceptional circumstances, for in the first place this political backwardness is met with not only in Chili, but likewise in Peru, Brazil as well as in the Venezuelan Republic; while, crossing from the New to the Old

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World, we reach, in spite of ourselves, the same conclusion in Europe, also, the credit of all Protestant states is high, that of the Southern countries which are Roman Catholic, is at a painful discount. Economic and administrative affairs in Spain and Portugal, and not less than in Italy, offer cause for continual complaint. The outward power and outside influence of these states is visibly declining. And, what is more discouraging still, infidelity and a revolutionary spirit have made such inroads in these countries, that half of the population, though still nominally Romish, has in reality broken with all true religion. This may be seen in France, which is almost entirely Roman Catholic, and yet has voted time and again with overwhelming majorities against the advocates of religion. In fact we may say that in

order to appreciate the noble, energetic traits of the Romanists, one must observe them, not in their own countries where they are on the decline, but in the centre of Protestant North Germany, in Protestant Holland, and England, and in your own Protestant United States. In regions where, deprived of a controlling influence, they adjust themselves to the polity of others and concentrate their strength as an opposition party, under such leaders as Manning and Wiseman, Von Ketteler and Windthorst, they compel our admiration by the enthusiastic championship of their cause.

But even apart from this testimonium paupertatis furnished by Rome herself through the mismanagement in Southern Europe an

South America, where she has full sway, in the contest of the nations also her power and influence are visibly waning. The balance of power in Europe is now gradually passing into the hands of Russia, Germany, and England, every one of them non-Romish States, and on your own continent the Protestant North holds the supremacy. Since 1866 Austria has been continually retrogressing. and at the death of the present Emperor will be seriously threatened with dissolution. Italy has attempted to live beyond its resources: it strove to be a great, colonial, naval power, and the result is that it has brought itself to the verge of economic ruin. The battle of Addua dealt the deathblow to more than her colonial aspirations. Spain and Portugal have absolutely lost all influence on the social, intellectual, and political development of Europe. And France, which only fifty years ago, made all Europe tremble

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at the unsheathing of her sword, is now herself anxiously scanning the Sibylline books of her future. Even from a statistical point of view, the power of Rome is all the while decreasing. Economic and moral depression has in more than one Romish country brought about a considerable decrease of the birthrate. Whilst in Russia, Germany, England, and the United States population is growing, it has in some Romish countries become almost stationary. Even now statistics give only the smaller half of Christendom to the Roman Catholic Church, and it is safe to predict that within the next half century its share will be less than forty per cent. However highly, therefore, I may be inclined to value the inherent power of Roman Catholic unity and scholarship for the defense of much we also count sacred, and though I do not see how we could repulse the attack of Modernism save by combined exertion, nevertheless there is not the slightest prospect that the political supremacy will ever again pass into Rome's hands. And, even if this were to happen contrary to expectations, who could possibly rejoice as in the realization of his ideal, if he beheld the conditions now prevailing in Southern Europe and South America, reproduced elsewhere?

We may, in fact, even put it more strongly: it would be a step backwards in the course of history. Rome's world and life-view represents an older and hence lower stage of development in the history of mankind. Protestantism succeeded it, and hence occupies a spiritually higher standpoint. He who will not go backwards, but reaches after higher things, must therefore either stand by the world-view once developed by Protestantism, or, on the other hand, for this, too, is conceivable, point out a still higher standpoint. Now this is what the latter modern philosophy does indeed presume to do, acknowledging Luther as a great man for his time, but hailing in Kant and Darwin the apostles of a much richer gospel. But this need not detain us. For our own age, however great in invention, in the display of powers of mind and energy, has not advanced us a single step in the establishment of principles, has in no wise given us a higher view of life, and has yielded us neither greater stability nor greater soundness in our religious and ethical, that is, truly human existence. The solid faith of the Reformation it has bartered for shifting hypothesis; and in

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so far as it ventured upon a systematized and strictly logical life view it did not reach forward, but backward, to that heathen wisdom of pre-Christian times, of which Paul testified that God has put it to shame by the foolishness of the Cross. Let no one therefore say: Ye who, because history does not go backward, protest against a return to Rome, ye yourselves have no right to make a stand on Protestantism; for after Protestantism came Modernism. The pertinence of such an objection must be denied, as long as my contention be not disproved, that the material advance of our century has nothing in common with advancement in the matter of ethical principles, and that what Modernism offers us is not modern, but rather very antique not posterior, but anterior to Protestantism, reaching back to the Stoa and to Epicurus.

Only along the lines of Protestantism, therefore, can a successful advance be attempted, and on those lines indeed salvation is sought at present, by two different tendencies, both of which must lead to bitter disappointment. The one of these is practical, the other mystical in character. Without hope of defence against modern criticism and still less against criticism of dogma, the former, the practical tendency, holds that Christians can do no better than fall back upon all manner of Christian works. Its devotees are at a loss what attitude to assume towards the Scriptures; they have become themselves estranged from

dogma; but what is to prevent such hesitating believers from sacrificing their person and their gold to the cause of philanthropy, evangelism, and missions! This even offers a threefold advantage: it unites Christians of all shades of opinion, alleviates much misery, and has a conciliatory attraction for the non-Christian world. And, of course, this propagandism through action must be gratefully and sympathetically hailed. In the century that has passed, Christian activity was indeed far too limited; and a Christianity that does not prove its worth in practice, degenerates into dry scholasticism and idle talk. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Christianity can be confined within the limits of such practical manifestation. Our Savior made whole the sick and fed the hungry, but the paramount thing in His ministry was, after all, that in strict allegiance to the Scriptures of

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the old Covenant, He openly proclaimed His own Divinity and Mediatorship, the expiation of sins through His blood, and His coming to judgment. No central dogma, in fact, has ever been confessed by the Church of Christ which was not the intellectual definition of what Christ proclaimed about His own mission to the world, and about the world to which He was sent. He healed the sick body, but He even more truly bound up our spiritual wounds. He rescued us from Paganism and Judaism, and translated us into a wholly new world of convictions of which He Himself, as the God-ordained Messiah, constituted the center. Besides, as far as our dispute with Rome is concerned, we should not lose sight of the fact that in Christian works and devotion Rome still outstrips us. Nay, let us acknowledge without reserve that even the unbelieving world is beginning to rival us, and that in deeds of philanthropy, she tries more and more to overtake us. In missions, to be sure, unbelief does not follow in our footsteps; but pray how can we continue to prosecute missions, unless we have a well-defined Gospel to preach? Or is it possible to imagine anything more monstrous than so-called liberal missionaries preaching only humanity and colorless piety, and met by the pagan sages with the answer that they themselves in their cultured circles have never taught or believed anything else than just this modern humanism?

Does perhaps the other tendency, the mystical one, possess stronger powers of defence? What thinker or student of history would affirm this? No doubt mysticism radiates a fervor that warms the heart; and woe betide the giant of dogma and the hero of action, who are strangers to its depths and tenderness. God created hand, head, and heart; the hand for the deed, the head for the world, the heart for mysticism. King in deed, prophet in profession, and priest in heart, shall man in this threefold office stand before God, and a Christianity that neglects the mystic element grows frigid and congeals. We are, therefore, to be accounted fortunate whenever a mystic atmosphere envelops us, making us breathe the balmy air of spring. Through it life is made truer, deeper, and richer. But it would be a sad mistake to suppose that

mysticism, taken by itself, can bring about a reversal in the spirit of the age. Not Bernard of Clairvaux but Thomas of Aquino, not Thomas a Kempis but Luther, have ruled the spirits of men.

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Mysticism is, in its very nature, seclusive, and strives rather to avoid contact with the outside world. Its very strength lies in the indifferentiated life of the soul, and on this account it cannot take a positive stand. It flows along a subterranean bed and does not show sharply demarcated lines above the ground. What is worse, history proves that all one-sided mysticism has always become morbid, and has ultimately degenerated into a mysticism of the flesh, astounding the world with its moral infamy.

Accordingly, although I rejoice in the revival of both the practical and mystical tendencies, both will result in loss instead of gain, if they are expected to compensate for the abandonment of the Truth of Salvation. Mysticism is sweet, and Christian works are precious, but the seed of the Church, both at the birth of Christianity and in the age of the Reformation, has been the blood of martyrs; and our sainted martyrs shed their blood not for mysticism and not for philanthropic projects, but for the sake of convictions such as concerned the acceptance of truth and the rejection of error. To live with consciousness is man's well-nigh divine prerogative, and only from the clear, unobscured vision of consciousness proceeds the mighty word that can make the times reverse their current, and cause a revolution in the spirit of the world. It is self-deception, therefore, and only self-deception, when these practical and mystical Christians believe they can do without a Christian life and world-view of their own. No one can do without that. Everyone who thinks he can abandon the Christian truths, and do away with the Catechism of Reformation, lends ear unawares to the hypotheses of the modern world-view and, without knowing how far he has drifted already, swears by the Catechism of Rousseau and Darwin.

Therefore, let us not stop half-way. As truly as every plant has a root, so truly does a principle hide under every manifestation of life. These principles are interconnected, and have their common root in a fundamental principle; and from the latter is developed logically and systematically the whole complex of ruling ideas and conceptions that go to make up our life and world-view. With such a coherent world and life-view, firmly resting on its principle

and self consistent in its splendid structure, Modernism now confronts Christianity; and against this deadly danger, ye, Christians cannot successfully defend your sanctuary, but by placing, in opposition to all this, a life- and worldview of your own, founded as firmly on the base of your own principle, wrought out with the same clearness and glittering in an equally logical consistency. Now this is not obtained by either Christian works or mysticism but only by going back, our hearts full of mystical warmth and our personal faith manifesting itself in abundant fruit, to that turning-point in history, and in the development of humanity which was reached in the Reformation. and this is equivalent to a return to Calvinism. There is no choice here. Socinianism died an inglorious death; Anabaptism perished in wild revolutionary orgies. Luther never worked out his fundamental thought. And Protestantism, taken in a general sense, without further differentiation, is either a purely negative conception without content, or a chameleon-like name which the deniers of the God-Man like to adopt as their shield. Only of Calvinism can it be said that it has consistently and logically followed out the lines of the Reformation, has established not only Churches but also States, has set its stamp upon social and public life, and has thus, in the full sense of the word, created for the whole life of man a world of thought entirely its own.

I feel convinced that, after what I have said in my first lectures, no one will accuse me of underrating Lutheranism; yet the present Emperor of Germany has no less than three times furnished an example of the evil after-effects of Luther's apparently slight mistakes. Luther was misled into recognizing the Sovereign of the land as the head of the Established Church, and what have we, as a result of this, been called upon to witness from German's eccentric Emperor ? First of all, that Stocker, the champion of Christian democracy, was dismissed from his court, merely because this bold defender of the freedom of the churches had so much as expressed the wish that the Emperor should abdicate his chief episcopate. Next, that at the sailing of the German squadron for China, Prince Henry of Russia was instructed to carry to the far orient not the "Christian" but the "imperial gospel." More recently that he called upon his loyal subjects to be faithful in the

performance of their duties, urging as a motive that after death they were to appear before God . . . and His Christ? . . . No; but . . . before God . . . and the great Emperor. And finally, on the banquet of Porta Wesphalia, that Germany had to continue its labors undisturbedly under the blessing of peace, as enjoined, he concluded, by the outstretched hand of the great Emperor, who here stands above us. Ever bolder encroachment, it will be noticed, of Caesarism upon the essence of the Christian religion, These, as you see, are far from mere trifles; rather, they touch principles of world-wide application, for which our forefathers in the age of the Reformation fought their great battles. To I am as averse as any man; but in order to place for the defence of Christianity, principle over against principle, the world-view over against world-view, there lies at hand, for him who is a Protestant in bone and marrow, only the Calvinistic principle as the sole trustworthy foundation on which to build.

What, then, are we to understand by this return to Calvinism? Do I mean that all believing Protestants should subscribe, the sooner the better, to the Reformed symbols, and thus all ecclesiastical multiformity be swallowed up in the unity of the Reformed church-organization? I am far from cherishing so crude, so ignorant, so unhistorical a desire. As a matter of course, there is inherent in every conviction, in every confession, a motive for absolute and unconditional propagandism, and the word of Paul to Agrippa: "I would to God that with little or with much, not only you, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am," must remain the heartfelt wish not only of every good Calvinist, but of every one who may glory in a firm immovable conviction. But so ideal a desire of the human heart can never be realized in this our dispensation. First of all, not one Reformed standard, not even the purest, is infallible as was the word of Paul. Then, again, the Calvinistic confession is so deeply religious, so highly spiritual that, excepting always periods of profound religious commotion, it will never be realized by the large masses, but will impress with a sense of its inevitability only a relatively small circle. Furthermore, our inborn one-sidedness will always necessarily lead to the manifestation

of the Church of Christ in many forms. And, last not least, absorption on a large scale by one Church of the members of another can only take place at critical moments in history. In the ordinary run of things

eighty per cent of the Christian population die in the Church in which they were born and baptized. Besides, such an identification of my program with the absorption of one Church by another would be at variance with the whole tendency of my argument. Not ecclesiastically confined to a narrow circle, but as a phenomenon of universal significance. have I commended to you the Calvinism of history. Therefore, what I ask may in the main be reduced to the following four points: (1) that Calvinism shall no longer be ignored where it still exists, but be strengthened where its influence continues; (2) that Calvinism shall again be made a subject of study in order that the outside world may come to know it; (3) that its principles shall again be developed in accordance with the needs of our time, and consistently applied to the various domains of life; and (4) that the Churches which still lay claim to confessing it, shall cease being ashamed of their own confession.

First, then, Calvinism should no longer be ignored where it still exists. but rather be strengthened where its historical influences are still manifest. A pointing out in detail. with even some degree of completeness, of the traces that Calvinism has everywhere left behind in social and political, in scientific and aesthetic life, would in itself demand a broader study than could be thought of in the rapid course of a lecture. Allow me. therefore, addressing an American audience, to point out a single feature in your own political life. I have already observed in my third lecture how in the preamble of more than one of your Constitutions, while taking a decidedly democratic view, nevertheless not the atheistic standpoint of the French Revolution, but the Calvinistic confession of the supreme sovereignty of God, has been made the foundation, at times even in terms, as I have pointed out, corresponding literally with the words of Calvin. Not a trace is to be found among you of that cynic anti-clericalism which has become identified with the very essence of the revolutionary democracy in France and elsewhere. And when your President proclaims a national day of thanksgiving, or when the houses of Congress assembled in Washington are

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opened with prayer, it is ever new evidence that through American democracy there runs even yet a vein which, having sprung from the Pilgrim Fathers, still exerts its power at the present day. Even your common school system, inasmuch as it is blessed with the reading of Scripture and opening prayer, points, though with decreasing distinctness, to like Calvinistic origin. Similarly in the rise of your university education, springing for the larger part from individual initiative; in the decentralized and autonomous character of your local governments; in your strict and yet not nomistic Sabbath-observance; in the esteem in which woman is held among you, without falling into the Parisian deification of her sex; in your sense for domesticity; in the closeness of your family ties; in your championship of free speech, and in your unlimited regard for freedom of conscience; in all this your Christian democracy is in direct

opposition to the democracy of the French Revolution; and historically also it is demonstrable that you owe this to Calvinism and to Calvinism alone. But, lo and behold, while you are thus enjoying the fruits of Calvinism, and while even outside of your borders the constitutional system of government as an outcome of Calvinistic warfare, upholds the national honor, it is whispered abroad that all these are to be accounted blessings of Humanism, and scarcely any one still thinks of honoring in them the after-effects of Calvinism, the latter being believed to lead a lingering life only in a few dogmatically petrified circles. What I demand then, and demand with an historic right, is that this ungrateful ignoring of Calvinism shall come to an end; that the influence it has exerted shall again receive attention where it still remains stamped upon the actual life of today; and that, where men of a wholly different spirit would unobservedly divert the current of life into French revolutionary or German pantheistic channels, you on this side of the water. and we on our side, should oppose with might and main such falsification of the historic principles of our life.

That we may be enabled to do so, I contend in the second place, for an historical study of the principles of Calvinism. No love without knowledge; and Calvinism has lost its place in the hearts of the people. It is being advocated only from a theological point of view, and even then very one-sidedly, and merely as a side is

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The cause of this I have pointed out in a previous lecture. Since Calvinism arose, not from an abstract system, but from life itself, it never was in the century of its prime presented as a systematic whole. The tree blossomed and yielded its fruit, but without any one having made a botanic study of its nature and growth. Calvinism, in its rise, rather acted than argued. But now this study may no longer be delayed. Both the biography and biology of Calvinism must now be thoroughly investigated and thought out, or, with our lack of self-knowledge, we shall be side-tracked into a world of ideas that is more at discord than in consonance with the life of our Christian democracy, and cut loose from the root on which we once blossomed so vigorously.

Only through such study will there become possible what I named in the third place: the development of the principles of Calvinism in accordance with the needs of our modern consciousness, and their application to every department of life. I do not exclude theology from this; for theology, too, exercises its influence upon life in all its ramifications; and it is, therefore, sad to see how even the theology of the Reformed Churches has in so many a country come under the sway of wholly foreign systems. But, at all

events, theology is only one of the many sciences that demand Calvinistic treatment. Philosophy, psychology, aesthetics, jurisprudence, the social sciences, literature, and even the medical and natural sciences, each and all of these, when philosophically conceived, go back to principles, and of necessity even the question must be put with much more penetrating seriousness than hitherto, whether the ontological and anthropological principles that reign supreme in the present method of these sciences are in agreement with the principles of Calvinism, or are at variance with their very essence.

Finally, I would add to these three demands –historically justified as it seems to me still a fourth, that those Churches which lay claim to professing the Reformed faith, shall cease being ashamed of this confession. You have heard how broad my conception and how wide my views are, even in the matter of ecclesiastical life. In free development only do I see the salvation of this Church-life. I exalt multiformity and hail in it a higher stage of development. Even for the Church that has the purest confession, I would not dispense with the aid of other Churches in order that

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its inevitable one-sidedness may thus be complemented. But what has always filled me with indignation was to behold a Church or to meet the office-bearer of a Church, with the flag furled or hidden under the garb of office, instead of being thrown out boldly to display its glorious colors in the breeze. What one confesses to be the truth, one must also dare to practice in word, deed, and whole manner of life. A Church Calvinistic in origin and still recognizable by its Calvinistic confession, which lacks the courage, nay rather which no longer feels the impulse to defend that confession boldly and bravely against all the world, such a Church dishonors not Calvinism but itself. Albeit the Church reformed in bone and marrow may be small and few in numbers, as Churches they will always prove indispensable for Calvinism; and here also the smallness of the seed need not disturb us, if only that seed be sound and whole, instinct with generative and irrepressible life.

And thus my final lecture is rapidly drawing to its end. But before I close, I feel nevertheless that one question continues to press for an answer. which accordingly I shall not refuse to face, the question, namely, at what I am aiming in the end: at the abandonment or at the maintenance of the doctrine of election. Thereunto allow me to contrast with this word Election another word that differs from it in a single letter. Our generation turns a deaf ear to Election, but grows madly enthusiastic over Selection.

How, then, may we formulate the tremendous problem that lies hidden behind these two words, and in what particular do the solutions of this problem, as represented by these two, almost identical formulas, differ? The problem concerns the fundamental question: Whence are the differences? Why is not all alike? Whence is it that one thing exists in one state, another in another? There is no life without differentiation, and no differentiation without inequality. The perception of difference the very source of our human consciousness. the causative principles of all that exists and grows and develops, in short the mainspring of all life and thought. I am therefore justified in asserting that in the end every other problem may be reduced to this one problem: Whence are those differences? Whence is the dissimilarity, the heterogeneity of existence,

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of genesis, and consciousness? To put it concretely, if you were a plant you would rather be a rose than mushroom; if insect, butterfly rather than spider; if bird, eagle rather than owl; if a higher vertebrate, lion rather than hyena; and again, being man, richer than poor, talented rather than dull-minded, of the Aryan race rather than Hottentot or Kaffir. Between all these there is differentiation, wide differentiation. Everywhere then differences, differences between the one being and the other; and that, too, such differences as involve in almost every instance, preference. When the hawk rends and tears the dove, whence is it that these two creatures are thus opposed to, and different from each other? This is the one supreme question in the vegetable and animal kingdom, among men, in all social life, and it is by means of the theory of Selection that our present age attempts to solve this problem of problems, Even in the single cell it posits differences, weaker and stronger elements. The stronger overcomes the weaker, and the gain is stored up in a higher potency of being. Or, should the weaker still maintain its subsistence, the difference will be manifest in the further course of the struggle itself.

Now the blade of grass is not conscious of this, and the spider goes on entrapping the fly, the tiger killing the stag, and in those cases the weaker being does not account to itself for its misery. But we men are clearly conscious of these differences, and by us therefore the question cannot be evaded, whether the theory of Selection be a solution calculated to reconcile the weaker, the less richly endowed creature, with its existence. It will be acknowledged that in itself this theory can but incite to a more furious struggle, with a *lasciate ogni speranza, voi che'ntrate* for the weaker being. Against the ordinance of faith that the weaker shall succumb to the stronger, according to the system of election, no struggle can avail. The reconciliation, not springing from the facts, would therefore have to spring from the idea. But what is here the idea? Is it not this, that, where these differences have once become established, and highly differentiated beings appear, this is either the result of chance, or else the necessary consequence of

blind natural forces? Now, are we to believe that suffering humanity will ever become reconciled to its suffering by such a solution? Nevertheless I welcome the progress of this theory of Selection; and

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I admire the penetration and power of thought of the men who commend it to us. Not forsooth, on account of what it urges upon us as a truth; but because it has mustered courage to attack once more the most fundamental of all problems, and thus in point of profundity reaches the same depth of thought, to which Calvin boldly descended.

For this is precisely the high significance of the doctrine of Election that, in this dogma, as long as three centuries ago, Calvinism dared to face this same all-dominating problem, solving it, however, not in the sense of a blind selection stirring in unconscious cells, but honoring the sovereign choice of Him Who created all things visible and invisible. The determination of the existence of all things to be created, of what is to be camellia or buttercup, nightingale or crow, hart or swine, and, equally among men, the determination of our own persons, whether one is to be born as girl or boy, rich or poor, dull or clever, white or colored, or even as Abel or Cain, is the most tremendous predestination conceivable in heaven or on earth; and still we see it taking place before our eyes every day, and we ourselves are subject to it in our entire personality; our entire existence, our very nature, our position in life being entirely dependent on it. This all-embracing predestination, the Calvinist places, not in the hand of man, and still less in the hand of a blind natural force, but in the hand of Almighty God, Sovereign Creator and Possessor of heaven and earth; and it is in the figure of the potter and the clay that Scripture has from the time of the Prophets expounded to us this all-dominating election. Election in creation, election in providence, and so election also to eternal life; election in the realm of grace as well as in the realm of nature. Now, when we compare these two systems of Selection and Election, does not history show that the doctrine of Election has century upon century, restored peace and reconciliation to the hearts of the believing sufferer; and that all Christians hold election as we do, in honor, both in creation and in providence; and that Calvinism deviates from the other Christian confessions in this respect only, that, seeking unity and placing the glory of God above all things, it dares to extend the mystery of Election to spiritual life, and to the hope for the life to come?

This then is what Calvinistic dogmatic narrowness amounts to. Or rather, for the times are too serious for irony or jest, let every Christian, who cannot yet abandon his objections, at least put this all-important question to himself: Do I know of another solution of this fundamental world-problem enabling me better to defend my Christian faith, in this hour of sharpest conflict, against renewed Paganism collecting its forces and gaining day by day? Do not forget that the fundamental contrast has always been, is still, and will be until the end: Christianity and Paganism, the idols or the living God. So far there is a deeply felt truth in the drastic picture drawn by the German Emperor, representing Buddhism as the coming enemy. A closely drawn curtain hides the future; but Christ has prophesied to us on Patmos the approach of a last and bloody conflict, and even now Japan's gigantic development in less than forty years has filled Europe with fear for what calamity might be in store for us from the cunning "yellow race" forming so large a proportion of the human family. And did not Gordon testify that his Chinese soldiers, with whom he defeated the Taipings, if only well drilled and officered, made the most splendid soldiers he ever commanded? The Asiatic question is in fact of most serious import. The problem of the world took its rise in Asia, and in Asia it will find its final solution; and, both in technical and material development, the issue has shown that heathen nations, as soon as they awake, and arise from their lethargy, rival us almost instantly.

Of course, this danger would be far less menacing in case Christendom, in both the Old and the New World, stood united around the Cross, shouting songs of praise to their King, and ready as in the days of the crusades to advance to the final conflict. But how when pagan thought, pagan aspiration, pagan ideals are gaining ground even among us and penetrating to the very heart of the rising generation? Have not the Armenians, just because the conception of Christian solidarity has become so sadly weakened, been basely and cravenly abandoned to the fate of assassination? Has not the Greek been crushed by the Turk, while Gladstone, the Christian statesman, politically a Calvinist to the very core, who had the courage to brand the Sultan "Great Assassin," has departed from among us? Accordingly radical determination must

be insisted upon. Half-measures cannot guarantee the desired result. Superficiality will not brace us for the conflict. Principle must again bear witness against principle, world-view against world-view, spirit against spirit. And here, let him who knows better speak, but I for one know of no stronger and no firmer bulwark than Calvinism, provided it be taken in its sound and vigorous formation,

And if you retort, half mockingly, am I really naive enough to expect from certain Calvinistic studies a reversal in the Christian world-view, then be the following my answer: The quickening of life comes not from men: it is the prerogative of God, and it is due to His sovereign will alone, whether or not the tide of religious life rise high in one century, and run to a low ebb in the next. In the moral world, too, we have at one time spring, when all is budding and rustling with life, and again, the cold of winter, when every vital stream congeals, and all religious energy is petrified.

Now the period in which we are living at present, is surely at a low ebb religiously.

Unless God send forth His Spirit, there will be no turn, and fearfully rapid will be the descent of the waters. But you remember the Aeolian Harp, which men were wont to place outside their casement, that the breeze might wake its music into life. Until the wind blew, the harp remained silent, while, again, even though the wind arose, if the harp did not lie in readiness, a rustling of the breeze might be heard, but not a single note of ethereal music delighted the ear. Now, let Calvinism be nothing but such an Aeolian Harp, –absolutely powerless, as it is, without the quickening Spirit of God –still we feel it our God-given duty to keep our harp, its strings tuned aright, ready in the window of God's Holy Zion, awaiting the breath of the Spirit.

1. (Ed.) F. W. Nietzsche, 1844-1900, German Philosopher; died insane. Author of Thus Spake Zarathustra.

2. (Ed.) The following paragraph has been revised after the Dutch original.

3. (Ed.) Albrecht Ritschl, 1822-1889. German theologian.

Lectures on Calvinism

Six Lectures Delivered at Princeton University, 1898 under the auspices of the L. P. Stone Foundation

Dr Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) was a Dutch Calvinist theologian, philosopher and politician. As leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party in the Netherlands he served as Prime Minister of his country from 1901 to 1905. A man of immense talents and indefatigable energy, he occupied himself with the task of reconstructing the social structures of his native land on the basis of its Calvinistic heritage in almost every area of life. He was editor of two Christian newspapers for over forty five years, served his country as a member of parliament for over thirty years; in 1880 he founded the Free University of Amsterdam in which he occupied himself as teacher and administrator, and still found time to publish over 200 volumes of intellectually challenging material including Encyclopaedia of Sacred Theology, The Work of the Holy Spirit, and the classic devotional text To Be Near Unto God. At his seventieth birthday celebrations in 1907 it was said of him that "The history of the Netherlands in Church, in State, in Society, in Press, in School, and in the Sciences of the last forty years, cannot be written without the mention of his name on almost every page."

His Lectures on Calvinism uncover the riches of Calvinism as not just a set of theological dogmas but more importantly as the foundation of a whole view of life.

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加尔文传略

■伯特纳著、赵中辉译

约翰·加尔文（John Calvin）1509年7月10日生于法国诺阳（Noyon），这是一个主教城，离巴黎东北约70哩。他父亲的性格相当刚直严厉，担任诺阳主教的助理，与当时的社会名流过往甚密。他母亲则以美貌与敬虔闻名，但是加尔文年轻时她便去世了。加尔文在1528年至1533年间连续在奥尔良（Orleans）大学、簿记（Bourges）大学、巴黎大学这三所著名学府念书，受的是当时法国最好的教育。他父亲打算栽培他从事法律，因为这行业通常能让人名利双收。但是年轻的加尔文不觉得有特别的呼召进入法律界，便转攻神学，发觉他的天赋和兴趣正适合他在神学的领域效力。一般人对加尔文的描写是害羞，不喜交际，工作极勤奋而规律，责任感极重；这使他作起事来格外带劲，又特别敬虔。

加尔文很早就显出一种特别的悟性，论证清晰而具说服力，又善于逻辑分析。由于他勤奋过人，所以心中蕴藏了丰富的知识，但是也使他的健康受损。他进步如此神速，以致有时受邀上台报告，他的同学也都把他当成是老师。那时加尔文仍是性格纯良的天主教徒，正预备作一个人文学家、律师，或神职人员，前程似锦，却忽然转为抗议宗，把他的一生投给这艰难的教门，一生受逼迫。

他转向抗议宗之后，不到一年就成为巴黎的福音派领袖。这原不是他的本意，甚至违背他的本意，但是他知识之渊博，谈吐之认真，每一个与他接触过的人，都留下极深刻的印象。当时他仍然暂时留在天主教，希望在体制内改革，不要在体制外革命。沙夫提醒我们，“每位改教领袖都是在天主教出生、受洗、坚信（confirm）、受教，又被天主教赶出来的；就好像每位使徒都是在会堂里受割礼、受训练，又被赶出会堂一样。”¹

加尔文刚成为改教领袖，热情与诚挚就遇到了考验，以致必须逃离巴黎，亡命他乡。教会历史学家沙夫对这段过程记载如下：“加尔文有位朋友尼可拉·科普（Nicholas Cop），是世居瑞士巴塞尔（Basel）的著名御医威廉·科普（William Cop）之子。尼可拉·科普于1533年10月10日被选为巴黎大学校长，照例要在那年的万圣节11月1日于马斯林（Mathurins）教会当众发表就职演说。他请加尔文为这次演说撰稿，结果加尔文根据新约圣经为宗教改革请命，并且大胆攻击当时天主教经院派神学家，把他们说成是一群不明白福音的辩士-----巴黎大学的所尔波恩（Sorbonne）神学院与议会都认为这是对罗马教会宣战的檄文，所以定罪这篇讲稿，下令焚毁，并且明令如果有人捉到尼可拉·科普，不论生死皆赏三百银币。科普闻讯便马上投奔巴塞尔的亲戚。至于真正引发这波逼迫的加尔文，据说是以床单当绳子，从楼上的窗户缒到地上，装成园丁逃出巴黎，肩上还背着锄头，房间则被搜得不留一书一纸。从1534年11月10日到1535年5月5日，有24位无辜的抗议宗信徒被活活焚于街市-----许多人被罚，下监，拷打，也有许多人逃往斯特拉斯堡（Strassburg），其中便有加尔文与帝勒特（Du Tillet）。加尔文流亡于法国南部、瑞士、意大利达三年之久，以化名游行传道，直到了日内瓦才定居下来。”²

1536年5月，加尔文的《基督教要义》初版问世了。之后没多久，加尔文与帝勒特便翻越阿尔卑斯山到文艺复兴发祥地意大利（也有一种说法是：他们在《基督教要义》出版之前就到意大利了）。他们在那里传福音一段时间，后来异教裁判所开始镇压文艺复兴与宗教改革这两只他们眼中的毒蛇，他们就离开意大利，迂回而行，可能是取道亚索他（Asota），翻越圣大伯纳多（Great St. Bernard）山口，来到了瑞士。他曾经从巴塞尔回故乡诺阳城，把家里的事作个了结，从此

就再也没有回来了。那时他同弟弟安东尼（Antonie）、妹妹玛莉（Marie）永别了法国，希望能 在巴塞尔或斯特拉斯堡定居，作一个安静的学者，一生写作。从法国到瑞士，原本走洛林（Lorrain）这条路最直接，但是当时因为查理五世正和法兰西一世打仗，洛林这条路走不通，只得迂回而行，途中经过日内瓦。

加尔文本来只打算在日内瓦住一个晚上，但是神另有安排。日内瓦改教领袖法惹勒（Farel）体认到当时日内瓦的宗教改革已经到了存亡的关键，他知道加尔文来到日内瓦，便直觉认定加尔文必能完成日内瓦的宗教改革，拯救日内瓦脱离天主教的势力。沙夫曾经详述加尔文与法惹勒见面的情形如下：“法惹勒立刻拜访加尔文，好像从神领了圣旨一样，坚持要加尔文留在日内瓦。加尔文以年幼、无经验、还要进修、生性害羞、内向、不适公众活动为由婉拒，但是这些理由都没用。法惹勒心中异常火热，一心传扬福音，威胁加尔文如果选择自己的兴趣，弃上主事工不顾，就必受全能神咒诅。这位福音勇士大无畏的精神撼动了加尔文，使他战兢不已，觉得犹如神在高天之上向他伸手。加尔文最后降服，受任作日内瓦福音派教会的牧师与教师。”³

加尔文比路德与慈运理小二十五岁，所以能在他们立好的根基上建造，这是他得天独厚的地方。加尔文公开服事的头十年正是路德生涯中的最后十年，但是二人从未见过面。不过加尔文与墨兰顿私交甚笃，直到死前彼此仍有书信往来。

当加尔文在改教运动初露头角的时候，世人还无法确定路德到底会成为一个大大成功的英雄，还是会成为一个大大失败的叛徒。路德已经把新观念提出来了，而加尔文的工作就是把这个新观念整理成一个体系，好让这宝贵的成果得以保存下来，并且发扬光大。抗议宗运动缺乏一致性，本来差点要沦为教义的争论，并且会愈陷愈深，所幸日内瓦的改教领袖加尔文给它注入一股新动力，才使它免于下陷的命运。当时罗马天主教会上下一心，强势运作，不择手段，力求扑灭这个从北方兴起的各个抗议宗团体，慈运理见此危机，尝试联合所有抗议宗信徒抵挡公敌。他在马尔堡（Marburg）先是流泪恳请，接着不顾他与路德对“圣餐中基督怎样与会众同在”的歧见，向路德伸手表示彼此相合为一，但是路德受制于狭隘的教义，表示他的良心不容许他这样作，拒绝了慈运理的请求。

加尔文在瑞士工作，也有很多机会看到罗马天主教的威胁已经迫在眉睫，认为抗议宗教会必须团结，并且为这样的事奔走。他曾经写信给英国的克蓝麦（Cranmer）说：“我渴望基督的肢体有一个神圣的相通（communion）；至于我，如果有我能效劳之处，我很乐意为此效力，即使远渡重洋也在所不惜。”加尔文的著作，书信，门生发挥的影响力之大，世界各国均有强烈的感受；如果说加尔文对抗议宗运动有救亡图存之功，也不算夸大。

之后三十年间，加尔文一心一意推动宗教改革，全神贯注，别无旁骛。李德（Reed）说：“加尔文为宗教改革鞠躬尽瘁，奋战不懈，坚忍不拔，随时准备以身相殉。他真的将生命中每一滴脂油投入其中，毫不犹豫，毫不吝惜。加尔文献身于十六世纪的宗教改革，其专注、其坚毅、其舍己，翻遍历史也找不到第二人。”⁴

加尔文是一位忠心、刚毅、不朽的人物，从使徒时代以来，基督的仆人恐怕没有人像他既深得人爱戴、敬佩、称赞、祝福，又深受人憎恨、厌恶、羞辱、咒诅。他生在论战激烈的时代，又站在西欧改教运动的高台，众目所视，各方攻击如林雨而来。宗教与宗派感情原本就是人类感情中最深刻，最强烈的，而人还活在世上，天性里有善也有恶，所以世人这样对待加尔文的教导与著作，

也实在不足为奇。

加尔文年仅廿六岁便以拉丁文出版了《基督教要义》，初版的内容是他思想体系重点的纲要。加尔文年纪轻轻就能写出这样的东西，显示他的心智早熟到令人惊讶的程度。这本书后来经过增订，篇幅达初版时的五倍，并且以法文出版；内容虽然有修订，但是没有一处偏离初版时提出的教义。这本书一出版，就独占鳌头，公认是一本最能表达抗议宗主张，捍卫抗议宗理念的著作。其他书只是片面论述改教运动，这本书则是通盘讨论，一以贯之。李德说：

这本书是神所给宗教改革的一份礼物，价值难以言喻，抗议宗与天主教一同见证其价值，前者以最大的热诚迎之，后者以最毒的咒骂诅之。在巴黎和一些其他地方，巴黎大学的所尔波恩神学院下令焚烧这本书；在别的地方，它也引来最猛烈的口诛笔伐。罗马天主教的神学家雷孟德（Florimond de Raemond）称之为“可兰经，异端的法典，使我们堕落的主因”，另外一位罗马天主教徒肯巴修特（Kampachulte）说：“这本书是教会的敌人共享的军械库，他们都从其中取得最精锐的武器”，又说：“宗教改革时期没有一本书像加尔文的《基督教要义》一样，罗马天主教对它既惊恐害怕，全力抵挡，又严严搜寻。”从《基督教要义》一版紧接一版印行，就可以看出它多么受欢迎了。欧洲各个主要国家都有它的译本，改革宗教会都用它作训练与教导的材料，制定信条时也参考引用它。⁵

华腓德说：“加尔文对人类的贡献很多，而且每一项贡献都很有份量，其中最大的贡献无疑就是他善用神的恩赐，使我们的信仰体系焕然一新，他的天份带来一股新的活力，使我们的信仰得到新的生机。”⁶

这本《基督教要义》一出版，就立刻受到抗议宗信徒的激赏与赞誉，认为是从使徒时代以来，护卫基督教教义最清晰有力、最合逻辑、最具说服力的一本书。沙夫对这个现象有段描述说得好：“加尔文写这本《基督教要义》，原则上是为了有系统地解释基督教信仰的意义，但是也特别着眼于为福音派信仰辩解；这既是一本护教的书，也是一本实用的书，为了要保护抗议宗信徒，尤其是保护法国的抗议宗信徒，帮助他们抵挡当时来自各方的逼迫与毁谤”。⁷整本书散发出强烈而真挚的感情，勇敢而严谨的论证，使人不得不承认，圣经确实是规范理性与传统的最高权威。这本书公认为十六世纪最伟大的一本书，加尔文主义也因此得以大规模传播。黎秋（Albrecht Ritschl）称之为“抗议宗的神学杰作”。华腓德博士说：“三世纪半之后，本书仍然毫无疑问是最伟大、最有影响力的教义著作”；他还说：“这本书光从文学角度来看，就足以在同类书中称为顶尖巨著；一个人如果有心要认识世界文学杰作，就必须熟悉这本书的内容。加尔文的《基督教要义》在神学著作的地位，就好像希腊文学的修西狄第（Thucydides）、十八世纪英国历史界的吉朋（Gibbon）、哲学家中的柏拉图、史诗中的伊利亚德（Iliad）、戏剧家中的莎士比亚一样”。⁸这本书使罗马天主教惊惶狼狈，使抗议宗大大团结，显明加尔文是抗议宗主义最有力的辩护者，罗马天主教最可畏的对手。这本书在英国受欢迎的程度几乎是空前的，各大学甚至用它作教科书，出版之后马上就被翻译成九种不同的欧洲语言。这本书近年来未受重视，主要是因为大部份的史书对它的介绍太少了。

《基督教要义》出版几个礼拜之后，德国改教领袖中的第三号人物布瑟写信给加尔文说：“显然主已经拣选你为他的器皿，要将最完满丰富的祝福赐给他的教会。”路德没有系统神学的著作；他的著作虽然汗牛充栋，但是议题分散。而且许多只是针对当代的问题。福音派信仰需要有人作有系统的介绍，而这工作留给了加尔文。

加尔文虽然才华横溢，但是首要的工作还是神学。人很自然就把加尔文与奥古斯丁并列，认为他们是使徒保罗以来两位最伟大的基督教信仰体系阐释者。墨兰顿本身即是信义宗的“神学王子”，他称路德为“德国导师”，称加尔文为“那位正宗的神学家”。

如果有人觉得《基督教要义》用字过于严厉，那么他应该知道，用字严厉是那个时代神学争论的特征与弱点。加尔文处在一个好辩的时代，抗议宗信徒正与罗马天主教展开一场殊死战，有太多的事会激动人，使人失去耐心，而且都不是小事。不过我们只要浏览一下路德为了与主张意志自由的伊拉斯墨（Erasmus）辩论而写的《意志的枷锁》，就会发现加尔文的用字和路德相比，还算是温和的哩！何况讲到文字严厉，当时恐怕没有任何抗议宗信徒的著作能和罗马天主教针对抗议宗信徒所颁布的赶逐谕令和咒诅谕令相比。

除了《基督教要义》以外，加尔文也写了几乎整本新旧约圣经的注释书，这套《加尔文圣经注释》翻译成英文共有五十大册，再加上他的其他著作，总数之多令人乍舌，品质精良无与伦比。《加尔文圣经注释》不但刚出版就被人认为是极优秀的一套圣经注释书，就是几百年后的今天，还是常常被最权威的圣经学者引用，这是其他老一辈的圣经注释书比不上的。加尔文毫无疑问是宗教改革时期最伟大的圣经注释家。路德是当时圣经翻译的第一把交椅，加尔文则是当时圣经注释的第一把交椅。

如果我们要评估《加尔文圣经注释》的真正价值，还有一件事不可忽略，就是加尔文用的解经原则在当时是很罕见的。李德说：“加尔文开风气之先，不用沿袭已久的寓意解经。说到寓意解经，基督教刚开始的时候就盛行一时，教会历史中的伟大人物从俄利根（Origen）到路德也都认同，但是寓意解经至终使圣经沦为任人摆布的工具；人如果没有活泼的想象力，也无法踏入寓意解经的大门”。⁹ 加尔文的解经严守分际，不逾越圣经作者的精意与字句，又假设圣经作者只有一个明确的思想，而且是用自然的日常用语来表达。他毫不留情地揭穿罗马天主教错谬的教义，腐败的规矩。他的著作鼓舞人心，使改教志士在这场争战中有了克敌致胜的武器。加尔文确保宗教改革的成果，使改教大业不致功亏一篑，甚至使它更上层楼，影响之大，笔墨难以形容。

加尔文是研究教父和经院（scholastic）哲学的专家。他受过当时最好的教育，精通拉丁文和法文，对希腊文和希伯来文也相当了解。《加尔文圣经注释》最早出版时就有拉丁文和法文两种版本，解释详尽，立论公正，下笔坦诚，研判经文意义也力求平衡，避免极端，这都是这套注释书的独特之处。此外，法文在当时还是一种不成熟的语言，而加尔文的著作使法文有了固定的形式，而路德在翻译德文圣经的过程中也塑造了近代德文的风貌，二者有异曲同工之妙。

还有一个人的见证我们也不应该忽略，那就是与加尔文主义唱反调的阿民念。他的见证显然有其特别的价值，他说：“我鼓励我的学生除了研究圣经外，还要查考《加尔文圣经注释》。赫尔墨克（Helmick，荷兰神学家）推崇《加尔文圣经注释》，我比他更加推崇，因为我敢断言，没有另外一本圣经注释书能比得上它。从古教父到现在，教会的前辈先贤留下许多好书给我们，但是这套注释书值得我们更加重视。我承认他有独特的先知恩赐，很少人比得上他，甚至可以说没有人比得上他。”¹⁰

加尔文还与抗议宗教会的领袖、王公、贵族有许多书信往来，这就使他的思想更加广传。这些书信还有三百多封保存至今，内容都不是简单的寒暄，而是他对复杂的教会问题与神学问题发表看法，反复铺陈，气度恢弘。这样一来，加尔文也就引导了全欧洲宗教改革的方向，影响非常深远。

加尔文定居日内瓦二年之后，想和法惹勒推行一套相当严格的纪律，但是因为这套纪律太过严格，受到很大的反对，以致他们不得不暂时离开日内瓦。加尔文来到德国西南部的斯特拉斯堡，在那里受到布瑟和德国改教领袖的热烈欢迎。他在那里安静地过了三年，从事教学、牧会、写作的工作，劳心劳力，都有明显的成效，也与信义宗主义有直接的接触。加尔文极欣赏信义宗的领袖，也觉得和信义宗的理念很近，不过对信义宗缺乏纪律，神职人员依附世上君王的印象不太好。从他的书信与各种著作可以看出，他后来非常热切地跟随德国改教的步调。当加尔文不在日内瓦的这段期间，事态日趋严重。甚至宗教改革的成果看起来好像岌岌可危，于是有人极力敦请加尔文回日内瓦。经过多次多方地恳请，加尔文终于答应，重拾他离开日内瓦之前的工作。从此以后，日内瓦湖畔的日内瓦城就成了加尔文的家，改革宗教会也从日内瓦传到全欧洲和美国。瑞士对全世界教会与国家的影响之大，远远超过它面积所占的比例。

加尔文对日内瓦产生很大的影响，我们如果不存偏见，光从这件事就可以看出加尔文主义转化人心的力量。杰出的教会历史家沙夫：“日内瓦人无忧无虑、成天快活，喜欢在街市玩耍、跳舞、歌唱、化妆、荒宴，城内充满各种粗鲁、赌博、醉酒、淫乱、褻渎等类的恶事。娼妓是市政府许可的行业，老鸨备受推崇。老百姓普遍无知，神父不尽心教导，反而立下坏榜样。”我们只要研究当时的历史就知道，在加尔文去日内瓦的前夕，日内瓦的神职人员从修士到主教都还在犯罪，而且这些罪在今天都是可以判死刑的大罪。加尔文在日内瓦工作的结果，使日内瓦一扫往日的臭名，反倒以市容恬静，居民有序著称。当时来加尔文门下受教的人数以千计，其中有约翰·诺克斯，他说他在日内瓦看到“使徒时代以来，在地上所设立最完全属基督的学校”。

日内瓦经过加尔文的辛勤耕耘，已经成为人们受逼迫时的避难所，又成为改革宗信仰的训练营；全欧洲各国都有人流亡到日内瓦，等他们回国时都已经接受清楚的教导，完全明了宗教改革的原则，于是日内瓦成为改教的中心，在灵命上散发能力，在悟性上施行教导，引导邻近各国宗教改革的方向，塑造他们宗教改革的风貌。斑克鲁说：“加尔文对人类的贡献比梭伦（Solon）更真实。他比莱克尔古（Lycurgus）更舍己，他的精神也为日内瓦的各种制度注入一股持久的影响力，使它成为人民自由的坚固堡垒，民主制度的丰沃苗床，以迎接现代世界的来到。”¹¹

加尔文对日内瓦的影响之大，还有一封天主教徒狄撒尔斯（de Sales）写给萨伏衣（Savoy）公爵的信函为证。他在这封信里说日内瓦是罗马天主教眼中异端的首都，应该要镇压。他说：

所有的异端都以日内瓦为他们宗教的避难所-----。全欧洲再没有别的城市比它更方便鼓励异端滋生了；它是法国、意大利、德国的门户，那里各国的人都有，例如意大利人、法国人、德国人、波兰人、西班牙人、英国人，甚至更远的国家。此外，大家都知道它是培养牧师的地方，光是去年一年，就训练出二十名牧师给法国，甚至还提供牧师给英国；此外，它庞大的印刷设备使邪书泛滥全世界，甚至用公费印刷，这一切我真不知该说什么才好?-----一切大举对抗教宗和枢机主教的阴谋都是在日内瓦发起的，全欧洲也没有别的城市像它这么广纳各阶层的背道者，其中包括修会内的圣职人员，也包括修会外的圣职人员。所以我的结论是：毁掉日内瓦，异端就会消失。

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还有一个见证来自抗议宗的死敌，就是西班牙的腓力二世。他曾经写信给法王说：“这城（日内瓦）是法兰西一切灾难的根源，罗马最可怕的仇敌；我随时都准备好了，要加入消灭日内瓦的行列，全力以赴。”当亚尔伐公爵率领军队经过日内瓦的时候，教宗庇乌（Pius）五世甚至请他改变原定路线，转攻日内瓦，要他“捣毁那恶魔与背道者的巢穴”。

著名的日内瓦学院（academy of Geneva）创立于1558年，连加尔文在内共有十位教授，每位都才思敏捷，勇于任事，课程包括文法、逻辑、数学、物理、音乐、古语文。学院办学成效显著，头一年就有九百多名学生注册，大部分都是从欧洲各国来日内瓦避难的，而另外差不多还有九百多名学生专门来上加尔文的神学课程。他们都准备一旦学成回国，就按照日内瓦的模式传福音、教导信徒、建立教会。二百年来，日内瓦学院一直是改革宗神学的主要学府和出版重镇。

加尔文是第一个要求教会与国家完全分离的改教领袖，这是加尔文提出的另一个极宝贵的原则。宗教改革在德国是由君王决定的，在瑞士是由人民决定的，不过无论是德国或是瑞士，统治者与大部分人民的看法都相去不远，所以两地的宗教改革并没有重大差异，只是瑞士的改教领袖住在民主共和体制的日内瓦，便在一个自由的国家发展出一个自由的教会，而路德与墨兰顿生来崇敬君主制度和德意志帝国，便教导信徒在政治上要顺服政府，教会也就因此受政治权柄的管辖了。

加尔文于1564年过世，享年五十五岁，可谓英年早逝，他的工作由他的密友伯撒（Beza）接续。伯撒描述加尔文之死为“寿终正寝”。他说：“正当太阳下山的时候，这位最灿烂的星辰，教会的灯台，就被接回天家了。当夜加尔文与世长辞，隔日举市哀恸，因为政府失去了最智慧的公民，教会失去了最忠实的牧者，学院失去了最卓越的教师。”

哈克奈斯（Harkness）教授在一本他的近着中说：“加尔文一生清贫，室无华饰，衣装朴素，人有急难便慷慨解囊，却很少花钱为自己打点，有一次日内瓦议会送他一件大衣，一方面表示对他的敬意，一方面也让他可以御寒过冬。这份礼物加尔文欣然接受，但是另外有几次教会要提供他金钱援助，他则不受，也谢绝微薄薪金之外的任何馈赠。他在最后那场病中，教会想要替他付医药费，但是被他拒绝。他的理由是他既然已经不能工作，连领薪水都觉得很勉强了，更不能接受教会这样的好意。他过世之后，属灵的遗产价值连城，无法估算，属世的遗产却只在一千五百元到二千元之间。”¹³

沙夫说：“世上有一种人，只能让人尊敬景仰，却不能让人喜欢；加尔文就是这种人。他不容许人和他过分亲近，过分熟识，但是人和他深交之后，就会长进。人愈认识他，就愈敬仰尊崇他。”沙夫论到加尔文的死是这样说的：“加尔文明白表示他的葬礼严禁虚荣，坟墓也不立碑。他希望比照摩西下葬的方式，好使他日后绝对不可能成为偶像，这正与他‘降卑人，高举神’的神学相合”。¹⁴今天甚至在日内瓦都没有人知道加尔文的墓地到底在什么地方，只有一个刻有J.C.（就是约翰·加尔文的缩写）的简单石碑，用以满足游客的好奇。坟墓也不立碑是加尔文自己的请求，不过正如毛里斯（S. L. Morris）说的，加尔文真正的纪念碑是“世上每个民主共和国，世界各国的公共学校制度，和全世界持守长老会思想体系的改革宗教会。”

哈克奈斯有时下笔对加尔文并不友善，不过他有段话是这么说的：“有许多人只看到加尔文面容严肃，却忽略了他向教会许多会友都表现温柔，而且几乎是女性的温柔。他与忧伤的人同悲，与喜乐的人同乐；他写信给那些因家人过世哀伤的人，有些信显示他非常柔细地体会对方的心情，堪称同类作品中的杰作。有时候别人家有喜事，或是有婴孩诞生，他也不会冷冰冰地不闻不问，而是相当热情地关切。他虽然常常有大事要办，却也不忘在街头停下来，拍拍小学生肩膀，说些鼓励的话。反对他的人称他为教皇、国王、加尔夫（caliph，译注：回教国王），但是他的朋友只把他当成弟兄、亲爱的领袖”。¹⁵在他写给朋友的一封信中这样说：“我马上就要来拜访你，到时候我们可以好好大笑一场。”

现在我们必须谈一件发生在加尔文身上的事；这件事对他的美名或多或少是个阴影，也使他被扣

上不宽容、迫害人的罪名。这就是瑟维特（Servetus）事件。有一位瑟维特死于加尔文在日内瓦工作期间。这件事作错了，这是每个人都承认的。历史上只有一个人毫无瑕疵，就是罪人的救主，其余的人都有软弱的记号，使人绝对不至于成为别人的偶像。

不过一般人在这件事上对加尔文的批评常常过份严厉，好像这件事的责任完全在加尔文一个人身上似的。事实上瑟维特是经过法院两个月以上的审理，并且由全体市议会判决，才被烧死的。这都是按照当时全体基督教界公认的法律执行的，而且加尔文根本没有极力主张动用严刑，反倒是极力建议行刑时用刀剑即可，不要动用火刑，但是他的意见没有被采纳。我们不应该只用我们二十世纪的高标准来严加批判加尔文和他当时的人，而必须在某种程度上以他们十六世纪的背景来看这件事。我们看到今天的政治宽容、宗教宽容、监狱改革，废止奴隶制度、禁止贩奴、废除封建制度，禁施火刑于女巫、改善穷人生活条件等进步现象，这都是基督教后来才提倡的；这些教导经过一段时日才出现，也更显出这些教导的真实。当时一般人提出不宽容的主张，甚至表现出不宽容的作法，我们今天来看是错谬，不过这也是他们那个时代普遍的错谬。平心而论，我们不应该因为他们犯了这样的错误，就怀疑他们的性格与动机，更不应该因此对他们的教义存有成见，以致当他们讨论那些更重要的问题时，我们也都充耳不闻。

那时抗议宗信徒刚刚挣脱罗马天主教的辖制，常在险恶的环境中力求自保，难免被迫用不宽容抵抗不宽容。在十六、七世纪，全欧洲不分君王百姓，都一致公认护卫正统，惩罚异端不但是政府的权力，也是政府的责任，甚至主张政府在必要的时候应该将顽固的异端份子或亵渎份子处死，才能确保社会大众不受他们危害。抗议宗信徒与天主教主要的差别只是对异端有不同的定义，而且处罚异端份子比天主教温和许多。异端在当时是干犯全体社会的罪，有时候甚至比杀人罪更严重，因为杀人者只杀人的身体，而异端份子却灭人的灵魂。今天我们走到另一个极端，大多数信徒判断真理或误谬的尺度太宽松了，有时候甚至根本漠不关心。到了十八世纪，不宽容的精神才逐渐式微，英国与荷兰的抗议宗率先倡导人民应该有更多政治自由与信仰自由，美国的宪法更将这样的理论付诸实现，使基督教所有宗派在法律面前一律平等，保证他们享有相同的权利。

当时每一位改教领袖都完全认同加尔文处理瑟维特事件的整个过程。信义宗的神学领袖墨兰顿完全支持加尔文与日内瓦议会的处置，甚至引为模范。瑟维特死后约一年，墨兰顿写信给加尔文说：“我已经读了你清楚驳斥瑟维特的书，瑟维特的亵渎真是可怕-----。教会不但现在要感谢你，就是千秋万代之后还是要感谢你。我完全同意你的看法，我也肯定日内瓦市府当局经过正式审理程序惩罚这亵渎者的作法。这件事作得对。”德国的改教领袖布瑟、慈运理的密友与工作继承人布灵格、日内瓦的法惹勒、伯撒都支持加尔文。路德与慈运理那时已经过世了，我们无法确定他们如果在世，是否会同意瑟维特被处火刑，不过路德与威丁堡（Wittenberg）的神学家们都曾经批准几位德国重洗派（Anabaptist）的死刑，因为他们认为这些人是危险的异端。他们还补充说明，表示这样刑罚他们固然残忍，但是如果纵容他们咒骂神话语的职事，毁灭地上的国家，那就更残忍了。瑞士曾经有6名重洗派被处死刑，当时慈运理也没有表示反对。几百年来大家对这事的看法有很大的转变：十六世纪最优秀的人物都完全认同瑟维特事件的处理方式，到了二十世纪，情况却刚好相反。

瑟维特是西班牙人，反对基督教，不管是罗马天主教还是抗议宗他都反对。沙夫称他为“狂热不止，冒称改教，实为泛神论，是十六世纪最无耻的异端，甚至亵渎神”。16 沙夫在另外一个地方称瑟维特“自大，桀骜，好争，记仇，喜用不敬言辞，欺瞒，虚伪”，又说瑟维特性喜谩骂，蛮不讲理，罗马天主教与改教领袖都曾经被他糟蹋。17 布灵格说即使撒但自己从地狱里出来，咒骂三位一体神用的亵渎话也比不上这个西班牙人。罗马天主教的白勒色（Bolsec）写过一本关于加

尔文的书，里面提到瑟维特是一个“非常桀傲不逊的人”、“荒谬的异端份子”，应该灭绝。

瑟维特是从法国的维安（Vienne）逃到日内瓦的。当瑟维特在日内瓦受审的时候，维安的罗马天主教审判官传来一封信给日内瓦议会，并且附上维安宣判瑟维特死刑的正式文件，请日内瓦议会将会将瑟维特遣返维安行刑，又表示维安当局已经把死刑执行在瑟维特的肖像和著作上了。议会回绝这请求，但是答应秉公处理这个案件。瑟维特本人宁愿在日内瓦受审，因为维安已经把柴堆好了，他回维安必死无疑。维安当局传来这封信，或许会使日内瓦议会更热心维护正统信仰，因为他们不愿意在这件事上落在罗马天主教后面。

瑟维特去日内瓦之前，曾经多次写信给加尔文，希望博得加尔文的注意。加尔文有段时间曾经详细回信给瑟维特，但是发觉无效后就停笔了。可是瑟维特仍然继续写信给加尔文，而且语气愈来愈傲慢，甚至侮蔑。他认为加尔文是正统抗议宗的教皇，一心一意要让加尔文改变信仰，否则就要把他扳倒。当瑟维特到达日内瓦的时候，正逢反对加尔文的自由派控制市议会。瑟维特表面上加入此党，实际上想藉此把加尔文赶走。加尔文显然察觉到这个危险，并且绝对不容许他在日内瓦散布异端邪说，所以他以除灭这个危险人物为己任，好叫他不能危害大众，又下定决心，如果不能让他改变立场，就要让他受到应得的惩罚。瑟维特马上被捕受审，加尔文主审神学部份，结果瑟维特被判有罪，罪名分别是“在基要真理上是异端”、“虚伪”、“褻渎”。这个审判经过很长的时间，审判过程中瑟维特的胆子愈来愈大，甚至想用各种漫骂压过加尔文的气势。18 这个案子最后送交民事庭，结果裁定瑟维特要处以火刑。加尔文曾经请求议会用刀不用火，但是议会没有采纳，所以瑟维特受火刑的责任最后不在加尔文，而在议会。

陶莫格（E.Doumergue）博士是研究加尔文的专家，他写《约翰·加尔文》（Jean Calvin）一书，毫无疑问是有关加尔文最详尽、最权威的著作。他对瑟维特事件有段话说：“瑟维特到了日内瓦之后，加尔文把他逮捕，并且向法院具名控诉。加尔文确实希望瑟维特被判死刑，但不是火刑。1553年8月20日加尔文写信给法惹勒说：‘我希望瑟维特被定死罪，但是希望能免了他火刑的痛苦’。法惹勒9月8日回信表示‘不很赞成加尔文这种心软的态度’，接着又警告加尔文小心，不要‘因为希望减缓瑟维特受火刑的残酷，而使你最大的仇敌当成朋友。我恳请你在这件事上自制，好让以后没有人胆敢发表这种教义，或是以身试法，想和这人一样闯这么大的祸，为害这么久，却还安好无事’。

加尔文并没有因为法惹勒这番话改变想法，但是也没有办法说服法惹勒；十月廿六日加尔文再写信给法惹勒说：‘明天就是瑟维特行刑的日子了。我们已经尽全力要求改变行刑的方式了，但是没有成功；至于为什么没有成功，等我们见面再谈。’¹⁹

这样看来，加尔文最引人非议的瑟维特被焚事件，其实加尔文自己也相当反对。他不必为此负责，因为他已经尽全力救瑟维特免于火刑了。这火刑架上的柴堆和烟硝使人得着许多指责加尔文的把柄，有的振振有辞，有的根本条理不清，其实如果瑟维特不是受火刑，恐怕就是无声无息地离开世界，无人过问。

陶莫格博士接着说瑟维特事件是“时代的错误，责任不应该特别落在加尔文身上。瑟维特被宣判死刑之前，瑞士众教会都事先被征询过意见，有些教会和加尔文完全没有交情，但是都投赞成票-----。此外，审判结果是议会宣判的，而议会中多数是与加尔文素不和睦的自由派思想家。”²⁰

由加尔文日后的书信可以清楚看出，他认为自己不应该为这件事负责。“自从瑟维特被定罪为异

端之后，我从来没有对他应该受什么刑罚讲过一句话，这是每一个诚实的人能为我作见证的”。

21

加尔文在瑟维特被捕之前，和受审之初，都曾经根据“亵渎耶和華名的，必被治死”（利廿四 16）这条摩西律法，主张瑟维特要被治死。加尔文认为这条律法的效力和十诫相同，也适用于异端；但是他完全让议会决定这个案件应该如何判决。他认为瑟维特是宗教改革的大敌，并且真实相信“政府有权利与责任决定，干犯¹会的罪行应该受怎样的惩罚”。加尔文也觉得神呼召他洁净教会，使教会不至被各样人事物玷污而腐化。他直到过世的那一天，都没有改变这样的看法，也不后悔他对瑟维特所作的事。

荷兰的凯波尔博士是一位政治家，也是一位神学家，他几年前在美国演讲，其中有段话谈到这件事，值得在此一提：

政府有义务铲除一切伪宗教和偶像崇拜。这不是加尔文主义的创见，从康斯坦丁大帝开始就有这种观念了。在康斯坦丁大帝之前，罗马皇帝是异教徒，他们逼迫基督徒的作为令人发指，到了康斯坦丁大帝，则反过来铲除异教。从那时候开始，每位罗马天主教神学家都为这种制度辩护，每位信奉基督教的君王也都遵行。在路德与加尔文的时代，一般人都确信遵行这种制度就是奉行真理。当时每位著名神学家，尤其是墨兰顿，都赞同瑟维特被处火刑。从抗议宗的角度来看，信义宗在来比锡(Leipzig)为极端加尔文主义者克里尔(Kreel)所设的绞刑台，更应该被谴责千万倍才对。

宗教改革时期，成千上万的加尔文主义者走向绞刑台、火刑堆，牺牲殉道（信义宗与天主教的殉道者人数却是寥寥无几），历史对这样的事实好像视而不见，却专挑瑟维特事件的毛病，称之为极恶之罪（*crimen nefandum*），一直用这件事指责加尔文和他的跟随者，这是不公平的，也是不对的，而这种不公平的态度造成的影响也是很深远的。虽然如此，我不但为这火刑感到遗憾，也绝对不认同这种作法；不过我认为这不是加尔文主义的特征，而是加尔文主义所处的那个时代的问题，只是加尔文主义也没能完全脱离这样的错误。²²

所以我们如果要公正看待瑟维特事件，就应该考虑十六世纪的背景，也应该从几个不同的角度看这件事。第一，其他改教领袖都同意这件事；其次，社会大众普遍痛恨妥协，认为妥协就表示对真理漠不关心，也认为异端份子和亵渎者如果不肯悔改，就应该处死；此外，我们还可以想到罗马天主教也同样判瑟维特火刑、瑟维特的人品和他对加尔文的态度、瑟维特存心到日内瓦找麻烦，而且判决权在民事庭，不是加尔文所能掌控，加尔文也请求用比较轻的行刑方式。所以我们可以得到两个结论：一、有许多外在环境使我们可以再斟酌一下我们对加尔文的指责；二、不管怎么说，加尔文是因为有强烈的责任感才作这件事。我们爱从哪个角度看加尔文都可以。克伦威尔在别人为他画肖像时说：“好看的、不好看的，全都画进来吧！”我们如果要给加尔文画肖像，也应该这样；而正如沙夫说的：“加尔文和人熟识之后，给人的感觉就好多了”。加尔文毫无疑问是神所差遣，要来震撼世界的，这种人物在历史上出现的次数寥寥可数。

注释

1. Schaff, *The Swiss Reformation*, p. 312.
2. 同上, p. 322.
3. 同上, p. 348.

4. R. C. Reed, Calvin Memorial Addresses, p. 34.
5. 同上, p. 20.
6. Warfield, "The Theology of Calvin," p. 1.
7. Schaff, The Swiss Reformation, p. 330.
8. Warfield, Calvin and Calvinism, pp. 8, 374.
9. Reed, Calvin Memorial Addresses, p. 22.
10. Quoted by James Orr. Calvin Memorial Addresses, p. 92.
11. Bancroft, Miscelanies, p. 406.
12. Vie de ste, Francoisdesales, par son. Neveu, p.20.
13. Harkness, John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics, p. 54.
14. Schaff, Swiss Reformation, p.826.
15. Harkness, John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics, p. 55.
16. Schaff, The Creeds of Christiandom, I. , p. 464.
17. Schaff, The Swiss Reformation, II., p. 787.
18. 同上, 11. , p. 778.
19. Doumergue, Opera, XIV, pp. 590, 613-657.
20. Doumergue, "What Ought to be Known About Calvin," in Evangelical Quaterly, Jan., 1929.
21. Doumergue, Opera, VIII., p.461.
22. A. Kuyper, Calvinism, p.129.

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