

國科會專題計畫成果報告

題目：天啟與末劫

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一、中文摘要

猶太教發展至第一世紀中葉時，拉比傳統 (rabbinic tradition) 與往後蔚為大國的基督教已逐漸脫穎而出，在眾多社群中形成兩派壁壘之勢。相對於拉比猶太教的強調經典詮釋與拉比權威，早期基督教卻承襲自「第二聖殿期」(The Second Temple Period, 586BCE-70CE) 後半期以來漸形加溫的「天啟運動」，以激昂的宗教情緒期待末世救贖為特徵，在巴勒斯坦鄉鎮之間散播開來。更有甚者，此一「末世教派」溢出巴勒斯坦之外，急速的傳播於小亞細亞各重要都會，成為猶太僑社以及許多「外邦人」(pagans) 皈依的新興宗教，百年之後，已然成為羅馬帝國最重要的民間宗教之一。

本研究在上述歷史事實的認知上，以分析原典材料為基礎，處理早期基督教中的「末世」意含與實踐情況，討論其在歷史上的發展與特色。就時間之涵蓋範圍而言，始於「耶穌運動」(the Jesus Movement)(約公元三十年)，終於「蒙太奴運動」(Montanism) 結束之時(約公元一八一年)，前後約一百五十年。本研究特別指出，早期基督教的末世思想具有兩個面向，一為「未來的末世觀」(future eschatology)，另一為「已實現的末世觀」(realized eschatology)。當其理解「上帝之國」為一「尚未」(not yet) 實現卻即將來臨時，其隱含的動力驅策信徒們做好準備，企盼向前，以迎接其最後之實現。可是當其理解「上帝之國」為「已經」(already) 實現時，不但可以消除在等候過程中的不安與失望，更可突顯基督教社群做為人間「上帝之國」的合理地位，進一步匯聚信仰者的末世企求，成一膠合力強韌的宗教團體。早期基督徒的末世心態如此擺盪於「尚未」實現和「已經」實現之間，一方面緊繃期待，另一方面安心投靠，對外急速傳道，對內則強化組織，基督教即是在此一張力的基礎上，快速卻穩固的興起與發展。

關鍵詞：宗教史 基督教 天啟 末劫

二、Abstract

Toward the middle of the first century CE, the rabbinic tradition and the Christian sect gradually emerged in Judaism as two distinctive groups. While the former emphasized biblical interpretation and rabbinic authority, the later, inheriting the apocalyptic movement that began from the later part of the Second Temple Period, exhibited characteristics of eschatological enthusiasm. Early Christianity spread rapidly among villages and towns in Palestine and, moreover, reached to areas in Asia Minor. In the following one hundred years, this new religion attracted believers from the Jewish communities in Diaspora as well as from the pagan society and became one of the most competitive religious sects in the Roman Empire.

This research, against the background of the aforementioned fact and with the aid of primary sources, discusses the meaning of early Christian apocalypticism. It explores the development and prominent features of this apocalypticism from the beginning of the Jesus Movement (c. 30 CE) to the end of Montanism (c. 180 CE), ranging over roughly one hundred and fifty years. It significantly points out that there were two complementary dimensions of eschatology in early Christianity, one was termed “future eschatology,” the other, “realized eschatology.” When early Christians interpreted the Kingdom of God as an ideal not yet happened but soon to be realized, the momentum of this kind of eschatological world view drove them to get prepared and wait for the final consummation of the Kingdom. But if the Christians understood the Kingdom of God to be an already realized reality, this eschatological perception assuaged their anxiety caused by the delay of *parousia* in the first place. It further legitimated the Christian community as the representation of the Kingdom of God and solidified all the believers. The early Christians were thus caught in the tension between “not yet” and “already.” Primarily due to these two aspects of their apocalyptic eschatology, they were tensely urged to convert the unbelievers as many as they could on the one hand and, on the other, felt assured within their own community and devoted themselves to its construction; the rapid and yet steady rise of early Christianity accordingly.

Keywords: History of Religion Christianity Apocalypticism Eschatology

三、計畫緣由與目的

值此世紀末的轉折期 (*fin de siècle*)，各類「世界終末」(the End of the World) 現象層出不窮。現時的國內與國外社會，出現許多怪力亂神行徑，反映出世紀末的人類焦慮與莫名的企望。本研究計劃以早期基督教為例，分析其原典資料，從歷史發展的軌跡中，探討「天啟」與「末劫」思想的特色與發展，並從研究過程中反思當前普遍浮現的「末世」危機。因此對「天啟與末劫」的比較研究，不但在學術上可寬廣吾人的視野，在實際上亦可增進吾人對此時人心不安現象的了解，於學術研究與現世關切，兩相得宜，此為本計畫的緣起與目的。

四、結果與討論

本計畫雖以早期基督教的天啟終末思想及其在歷史上的發展為研究焦點，但其主題卻具有宗教現象學上的普遍性。在執行計畫期間，本人曾與其他宗教的專家學者多方交換意見，發現本主題極具比較研究之價值，未來當可擴充研究範圍，邀集多位學者，進行整合型研究計畫。另外，本人利用研究計畫期間，開設「中國歷史上的天啟與末劫思想」課程，理論與教學相互參照，收穫良多。再者，本計畫有助於本人觀察新興宗教中具有「末世」性格或特徵者，以古證今，以今驗古，對未來在現代宗教之研究上，幫助頗大。

五、計畫成果自評

「天啟」與「末劫」為宗教研究上極其重要的主題，晚近頗受西方宗教學界之重視，無論就理論或比較研究方面，已有相當的成績。不過殊為可惜的是，本國學者做相同領域研究者少，能與國際學界對話者更不多見。本研究計劃集中在早期基督教，深入其經典與原始史料，並參照西方宗教界的研究成果，因此就評介之功能而言，本研究對國內的宗教學界有拋磚引玉之效，相信有助於對本國傳統或現代相同宗教現象之研究。

本研究與八十六學年度執行的「西方天啟思想之興起」(NSC 86-24H-H-004-001) 隸屬同一性質，為其連續之作。本人另外後續幾則研究計畫，亦將以西方上古晚期 (late antiquity) 為範圍，繼續探討其他宗教案例，以進一步深究「天啟」與「末劫」之意義。本人有意集結這些篇章為專書，以饗國人。

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